

UNA NZ News 2017

UNA·NZ NEWS

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF NEW ZEALAND
TE ROOPU WHAKAKOTAHI WHENUA O AOTEAROA

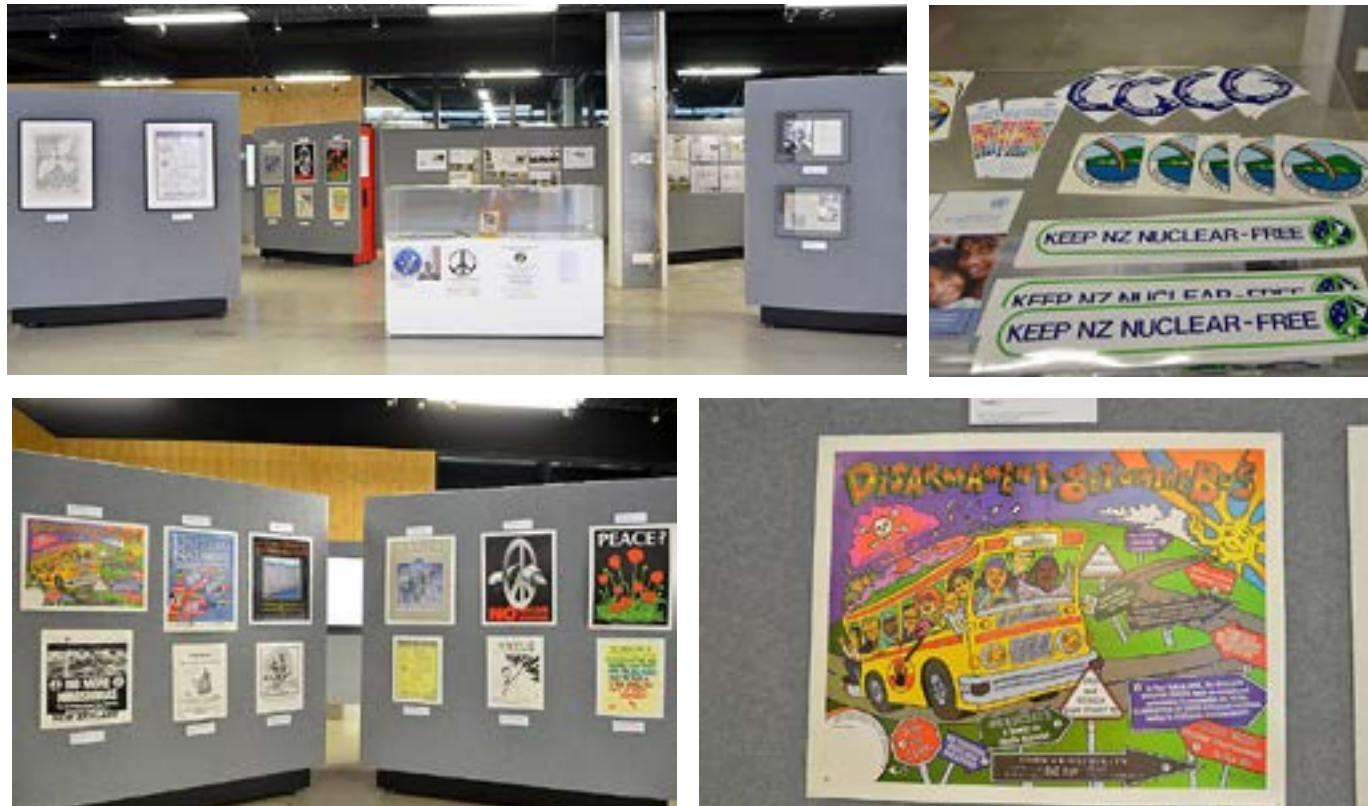
**2017 NATIONAL
CONFERENCE**

**KI ROTO I TE
NGĀHERE**

**UN NUCLEAR
WEAPON
BAN TREATY**



UNA·NZ



Above: Exhibits at the UNA NZ Nuclear Free NZ Peacemaker Heritage Poster Exhibition and Sustainable Architecture Student Project, VUW School of Architecture. The exhibition was displayed between 18-24 July 2017.



Team Kiwi celebrates the adoption of the ban treaty, 7 July 2017, UN Headquarters, New York. (L-R): Lucy Stewart, Dr Kate Dewes, Charlotte Skerten (MFAT), Dr Anna Crowe, Prof. Roger Clark, Alice Osman, Assoc. Prof. Treasa Dunworth, Amb. Dell Higgie (MFAT), Katy Donnelly (MFAT), Michelle Podmore (MFAT), Richard Slade, Dr John Borrie, Dr Lyndon Burford, Cmdr Rob Green, RN Ret'd

About the UNA NZ News

The UNA NZ News is the annual printed publication of the United Nations Association of New Zealand. UNA NZ welcomes articles, short letters, and images from outside sources for our e-newsletters and other publications. If you would like to submit something for consideration, please send it to the newsletter editor at office@unanz.org.nz



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Cover photograph: Helen Clark at the UNA NZ Conference, Wellington 2017

Thanks to our contributors for this issue

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A moment for friends

Dame Grace Hollander's story
by UNA Canterbury Member Mary McGiven

Before the earthquakes Dame Grace, who turned 90 in March 2012, lived her whole life in Christchurch. She was forced to leave Christchurch because her home was destroyed in the 22 February 2011 earthquake.

She said she had a wonderful life, met wonderful people and enjoyed it all while living in Christchurch. I was privileged to know Grace was the daughter of post WW1 Jewish Migrants from the



Dame Grace Hollander

UK who raised their family to serve the community. She dedicated much of her adult life to fulfilling these commitments locally, nationally, and internationally. She also successfully combined marriage, parenthood, and running a business, with community service.

At the time of the February 2011 earthquake Grace was the Treasurer of six voluntary organisations.

Her life has been fulfilled with service both paid and unpaid, and with a wide varied focus.

Having already studied accountancy, Dame Grace was a 'statistical' officer for a large department store, at the end of WW2.

Upon her marriage in the mid 1940's she was involved with the Christchurch Branch of the National Council of Women, and NZ Women Projects. Grace's son packed up her former home so she had not seen the damage to her home herself. She did hear about this from her many friends who remained in Christchurch.

Grace shifted to Palmerston North after the earthquakes, and spoke highly of the staff at her new retirement village, and made many friends among their residents. She also joined several local organisations and was availing herself of what life was like in a new city and what a new retirement village had to offer.

Grace missed Christchurch and all that she had known throughout her long life,

but was philosophical about her new unplanned life. Her son in Christchurch kept her aware of what was happening in Christchurch.

Grace died in Palmerston North and was buried in Christchurch.

A Eulogy for Dame Laurie Salas
by Joy Dunsheath, President of the United Nations Association of NZ
26 January 2017

We gather with the Salas family, knowing that their loss is personal and profound, to give thanks for the life of Dame Laurie Salas.

We are deeply saddened by the passing of the beautiful Dame Laurie – Wahine Toa. She worked tirelessly for peace, security, human rights and for women. She was a champion of the vision and values of the United Nations.

Her strength as a person was expressed best through her unfailing support of the aims of the Charter of the United Nations.

Laurie was a gracious and benevolent presence at our United Nations Association meetings. She would always make reasoned statements which would add greatly to the debate. Always, she displayed dignity and leadership.

She was President of the United Nations Association from 1988 to 1992. I want to give you a quick overview of some examples of her views and actions.

In 1989 she criticised the power of the big 5 of the Security Council: "...The General Assembly, she wrote, was given no authority to enact binding law but only the

power to make recommendations to the Security Council."

On other issues she wrote about literacy, justice and refugees. She continued to urge the end of apartheid in South Africa. She trusted that under Nelson Mandela's wise leadership that ..." true justice and democracy will replace the unhappy and unequal system which ... is an affront to the principles of the UN Charter."

Until recently she was writing letters to the Editor. She was in her 80s when she wrote about the effect of smacking and hitting children:

"The end result will, I hope, be a society where children have the same protection from assault as adults and animals do, and New Zealand will be seen to comply with all the provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child."

And one more example. ... about Trade and Tibet she wrote:

"I applaud your Tibet editorial. It is no time for silence on Tibet violence, and, as with others who have written to the Prime Minister I hope the Government will take note."

Laurie has dedicated her life, beyond her family, to various organisations for women whose objectives embraced the concepts of peace, justice and humanitarian assistance.

These are PPSEAWA (Pan Pacific South East Asia Women's Association), UN Women (formerly UNIFEM NZ) GWNZ (Graduate Women NZ, formerly New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women) and National Council of Women.

At PPSEAWA, she shared recently thoughts about Parihaka and passive resistance.

Laurie supported the New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women for most of her life.

She donated to the IFUW Hegg Hoffet Fund for refugees and displaced women graduates and Laurie encouraged me for 6 years to continue work for this international fund.

I recall her calling at my home with a donation for refugees as she toured a Cambodian student round Wellington. She cared for international students and their wellbeing.

Laurie took great interest in the arts. As a long-term member of the Friends of

the New Zealand Portrait Gallery she has supported the Gallery's growth into a national arts institution.

Laurie was a pioneering and outstanding supporter of The Peace Foundation, The Peace Movement Aotearoa, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). She promoted peace education and believed in non-violent protest.

You, Dame Laurie, have left a wonderful legacy. Let us be part of that legacy, by continuing your work for peace, justice, respect, human rights, and tolerance. These are values enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Dame Laurie Salas, Wahine Toa. Rest in Peace. Arohanui.



L-R: Former UNA President Dame Laurie Salas, with Past President Dr Graham Hassall and current President Joy Dunsheath

Promoting support for the UN in NZ

Ka nui te mihi kia koutou Katoa

This month we produce this first extensive, printed United Nations Association NZ Newsletter for 2017 which complements our regular e-newsletters. In this issue, we include articles demonstrating scholarship and profound knowledge of the United Nations as revealed within seminars, social activities, our 2017 Conference and other UN celebrations. In December 2016, we began our monthly UNA NZ e-newsletters which have been widely accepted as the collective focus of our Association, a source of proceedings and a record of events and activities.

Our theme for 2017 is: **NZ and the SDGs: committed to sustainable peace and development.** Interest in monitoring and achieving the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) is global. Implementation of the SDGs is the core work of the United Nations. You can read the report by UN Secretary-General

António Guterres in this Newsletter. He notes that progress has been sadly underwhelming. At our 2017 National Conference in late June, we considered New Zealand's engagement with the UN system and with the SDGs by providing a platform for promoting dialogue and mobilising efforts. Questions remain. What does "leaving no one behind" mean? What kind of inequalities exist and why is it important to address them? How can we measure success? How does sustainable consumption and production fit with economic growth and poverty eradication? We need our government to take the lead and involve the wider community.

The Executive worked hard to organise the 2017 National Conference with presentations from distinguished international and national experts including the former head of UNDP and former Prime Minister of New Zealand,



UN Day Reception at the Governor-General's Residence hosted by their Excellencies The Rt Hon Dame Patsy Reddy GNZM, QSO and Sir David Gascoigne KNZM. Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay

Helen Clark. A standing ovation concluded the session with Helen in conversation with political journalist Audrey Young. On the final afternoon of the Conference we held our Speech Award. The topic was: **Is there a role for nuclear weapons in today's world?** There are more details about the Conference and this Award in this newsletter.

A highlight of 2016 was celebrating both our 70th Anniversary and UN Day at the splendid reception hosted by their Excellencies The Rt Hon Dame



Members and friends of UNA NZ attending the UN Day celebration at Government House 25 October 2016. Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay

Patsy Reddy GNZM, QSO and Sir David Gascoigne KNZM, at Government House in Wellington. They warmly welcomed members of the UNA NZ and our invited guests, totalling about 300.

Sadly, we reported the death of Dame Laurie Salas, a past-President, Honorary Life Member and long-time supporter of the United Nations and a tireless worker for peace and the rights of women. She will be sadly missed by our members and friends. Also, we were sad to learn of the death of Dame Grace Hollander, an Honorary Life Member and strong supporter of the UN. You can read about these significant women in this newsletter.

Our seminars are public events which promote important aspects of the UN. A sample of these are:

- *New Zealand's contribution to the Global Management and Governance of the Internet*, organised by Paul Oliver (Treasurer). This topic has been and is proceeding largely "under the radar" from the public. This seminar gathered experts to discuss the future and ongoing issues. It had support from the NZ National Commission for UNESCO;
- George Troup, former ambassador, spoke eloquently on *Peace and Justice: The Role of Legal Institutions*;
- John Morgan organised the Human Rights Day presentation entitled *The Achievement of the SDGs Agenda 2030—A Human Right?*
- For International Day of Peace, the National Executive worked with our Wellington Branch and the Wellington Mayor Celia Wade Brown's office to convene an expert panel to discuss the topic: *A future for the United Nations Alliance of Civilisations—Communities coming together Post Syria, Yemen, Iraq and Daesh.*
- *We the Peoples: Global Citizenship and Constitutionalism Conference* was a superb event organised by Dr Kennedy Graham and Dr Graham Hassall.

- We value the participation of the diplomatic community in our Diplomats Seminar Series on UN engagement.

With the help of Ronja and Caspian levers we have developed a new stylish UNA NZ Brochure which contains superb photos by Pedram Pirnia (Special Officer for Sustainable Development). Our UNA NZ logo has been refreshed. A UNA NZ identity sheet assists Branches and others with maintaining a consistent public image. Book marks using the 17 Goals to Transform our World have been designed and printed. An e-newsletter, as mentioned before, is being distributed monthly by email.

We maintain close links with WFUNA, the World Federation of United Nations Associations. One of our Honorary Life Members, Lady Rhyl Jansen, is an Honorary President of WFUNA.

UNA NZ has a social media campaign on Facebook and Twitter focusing on the 17 SDGs to increase awareness and understanding of them. Analysis of the outcomes will be interesting. This year we welcome Robyn Holdaway as our Communications Officer.

Over the year I have completed a range of activities and attended and spoken at a variety of events and seminars to promote UNA NZ. Extensive lists can

be read in the UNA NZ National Council Reports of 2016–2017. I am attending the UNA Australia Conference in Canberra in September.

I am delighted to announce that Dr Graham Hassall was conferred as an Honorary Life Member of UNA NZ at our 2017 AGM.

The UNA NZ Executive is committed to good and ethical governance, sound management, and sensible financial decisions. Our clear focus is on securing a sustainable and peaceful future for all. People's involvement at all levels of local, national and global decision-making is essential to achieve the goals of the United Nations.

I will continue to work with you to achieve the aims of the UNA NZ. I am very grateful and pay tribute to the people mentioned in this newsletter and to the many volunteers who make possible our organisation, our events, seminars, conference and our associated paper and electronic communications.

Joy Dunsheath JP
President
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Te Roopu Whakakotahi Whenua o Aotearoa

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A seminar to mark 2016 UN Human Rights Day was held on Thursday 8 December at Victoria University of Wellington's Rutherford House, celebrating the 68th anniversary of the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris on 10 December 1948. The topic: the UN SDGs programme, or Agenda 2030, and human rights. Posters to raise awareness of the event and the SDGs were put up around town.

Secretary-General's remarks to the Economic and Social Council on repositioning the UN Development System to deliver on the 2030 Agenda

[as delivered] 5 July 2017 – Allow me first of all to express my deep gratitude to all the colleagues that have worked hard – in the Secretariat, in the Agencies, Funds and Programmes – to allow for this report to be ready on time. And to the leader of the team – the Deputy Secretary-General, Amina Mohammed – who has been not only the inspiration, but also the centre of management and strength to make things happen, and to make things happen with the required ambition and with the required detail.

I also want to thank Member States for the very important possibility of interaction that were given to us allowing, even in this first report, to take as much as possible into account – the concerns, the aspirations, the desires of Member States, because this basically is a reform to serve Member States in the implementation of an agenda in which the leaders are the Member States themselves.

The 2030 Agenda is our boldest agenda for humanity, and requires equally bold changes in the UN development system.

You tasked me with putting forward proposals that match the ambition needed to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. This report is the first step of that response.



António Guterres (right), who became the 9th Secretary-General of the United Nations on 1 January 2017, swore in Deputy Secretary-General Amina J. Mohammed (left) the following month *Photo credit: UN*

It is my offering for debate and discussion on what I am convinced is the most ambitious yet realistic roadmap for change.

It includes 38 concrete ideas and actions to usher in a new era of strengthened implementation founded on leadership, cohesion, accountability and results.

This effort is not about what individual entities do alone – it is about what we can

and must do together to better support your efforts in implementing such a transformative agenda.

The UN development system has a proud history of delivering results. Across the decades, it has generated ideas and solutions that have changed the world for millions of the poorest and most vulnerable people on earth.

In many countries, we have supported

flagship national policies and the reinforcement of institutions, which have made a profound difference in people's lives.

The system made significant contributions to supporting countries in their pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals, the most successful global anti-poverty effort in history.

All of you were critical to producing the 2030 Agenda, the most ambitious anti-poverty, pro-planet agenda ever adopted by the UN.

Yet we all know that the system is not functioning at its full potential.

We are held back by insufficient coordination and accountability on system-wide activities.

Yes, there may often be good reasons why things are the way they are.

But far too much of what we do is rooted in the past rather than linked to the future we want.

We need to change in order to secure the promise of sustainable development, human rights and peace for our grandchildren. And we have no time to lose.

The 2030 Agenda points the way and has to be given life as the defining agenda of our time, because it is the integrated platform to respond to the needs of people and governments.

The UN development system, therefore, must itself be far more integrated in our response ... more aligned ... and more able to work seamlessly across sectors and specializations – and to do so more effectively.

Our shared goal is a 21st century UN development system that is focussed more on people and less on process, more on results for the most poor and excluded and less on bureaucracy, more on integrated support to the 2030 Agenda and less on “business as usual”.

This means asking some deep and difficult

questions about our structures, skillsets and the architecture for action.

This is our collective responsibility. After all, sustainable development is pivotal to the lives of every person, everywhere.

It is a means to improve the lives of people, communities and societies without harming our planet; and a route to advancing the realization of economic, cultural, social and political rights for all as well as for enabling global peace and security.

It is our most powerful tool for prevention.

For all these reasons, I made a very conscious decision to be as explicit as possible in this first report in the interests of full transparency – to put ideas on the table in black and white for discussion and debate.

This report is also an integral component of a broader reform agenda to strengthen the United Nations to better meet today's complex and interlinked challenges.

These actions include reforming the peace and security architecture – giving adequate priority to prevention and

sustaining peace.

It includes management reform – to simplify procedures and decentralize decisions, with transparency, efficiency and accountability.

It includes clear strategies and actions to achieve gender parity, end sexual exploitation and abuse; and strengthen counter-terrorism structures.

But reform is not an end in itself. And, of course – we all know – reform is not easy.

We undertake reforms keenly aware of our obligation to live up to the values of the United Nations Charter in the 21st century.

Ultimately this is about ensuring we are positioned to better deliver for people.

Those who suffer most from poverty or exclusion, those who have been left behind and who have no access to development, to peace or to respect for their rights and dignity and who look to us with hope to help better their lives.

To meet the mandates of the Quadrennial Comprehensive Policy Review, we held extensive and inclusive consultations with

Our shared goal is a 21st century UN development system that is focused more on people and less on process, more on results for the most poor and excluded and less on bureaucracy, more on integrated support to the 2030 Agenda and less on “business as usual”.

Member States and the UN system.

We created an internal mechanism with DESA and the UN Development Group to work together, with transparency and accountability.

We initiated technical work and drew on previous studies on accountability, transparency, coordination and oversight of the UN development system.

We worked with external experts in the largest-such effort to gather and analyze data on system-wide functions and capacities across the UN.

The proposals reflect the leadership needed at the country level to help Member States achieve their goals, and the leadership needed at headquarters to meet the ambition of the 2030 Agenda on the ground.

Some require further consultations. Others can be set in motion immediately.

I will continue to engage with you in the coming months before I put forward a more detailed report in December as required.

Guiding ideas

Allow me to outline the eight guiding ideas:

First, the UN development system must accelerate its transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the 2030 Agenda. There are major gaps in the system’s current skillsets and mechanisms.

The system is still set up to perform on a narrower set of goals focused on certain

sectors, rather than across the entire sustainable development agenda.

Of course, we must be humble. The UN cannot do everything, everywhere.

But we must be able to provide advice, pool expertise and help governments implement the Sustainable Development Goals in their entirety. And we must help convene the partners they require to take actions to scale.

Better coordination, planning and accountability will provide the platform for UN Country Teams to transform overlaps into synergies and to help governments identify partners to bridge gaps.

Second principle, we need a much stronger focus on financing for development.

Governments and people expect the UN to help deliver on Official Development Assistance and unlock doors to financing, expertise, know-how and technologies. And we must do so working with the international financial institutions, the private sector and all other partners.

The report envisions a role for Resident Coordinator offices as a country-level hub to support governments in broadening their own resource bases and for leveraging financing for development and mobilizing agency-specific expertise.

A strengthened DESA will work in collaboration with Regional Commissions and the UN development system to provide policy guidance and backing that Resident Coordinators and UN Country

Teams need to help governments leverage financing.

Third principle, we need a new generation of Country Teams that are tailored to the specific needs of each country.

Our country offices around the world have an average of 18 agencies.

The 2030 Agenda compels us to move to Country Teams that are more cohesive, flexible, leaner, and more efficient and focussed in their scope. We need teams that can respond to evolving national priorities in an integrated and holistic way.

This includes the imperative of addressing the humanitarian-development nexus and its links with building and sustaining peace in a way that does not lead to a diversion of funds or shift in focus from development to other objectives, while also preserving the autonomy of the humanitarian space. We have discussed this for years; it is now time for action.

The old way of working has been based on weak collective accountability. This approach has not, and will not lead, to transformative change to improve people’s lives.

We must make the most of the strengths of individual agencies with their strong mandates while trying to achieve greater coherence, unity and accountability – including at the top.

By December, we will put forward for your consideration specific criteria that could help determine the optimal UN configuration on a country-by-country basis.

Fourth principle, we must resolve

the ambiguity in the role of Resident Coordinators.

Today, Resident Coordinators are expected to steer UN Country Team support at the national level, but with limited tools and no formal authority over other UN agencies and offices.

To lead this new generation of Country Teams, Resident Coordinators must be well-staffed and supported with sufficient resources, and have direct supervisory lines over all UN Country Teams on system-wide responsibilities.

The members will naturally preserve the reporting lines to their headquarters in the exercise of their respective mandates.

With greater authority must also come greater accountability. These are two sides of the same coin.

Our consultations and analysis point to the value of delinking the functions of Resident Coordinators from UNDP Resident Representatives while ensuring continued access to the substantive policy support, operational tools and joint financing they need.

The current “firewall” between these two functions cannot guarantee the level of impartiality needed for Resident Coordinators to generate confidence and lead effectively.

The reporting lines from the Resident Coordinators to the Secretary-General will need to be clarified and strengthened, alongside increased accountability to Member States for UN development system-wide results.

Let me be crystal clear: Sustainable development must be the DNA of Resident Coordinators.

Resident Coordinators should be able to steer and oversee the system’s substantive contribution to the 2030 Agenda, in line with national priorities and needs.

But Resident Coordinators must also be able to take a broader view and lead integrated

analysis and planning processes which have significant implications for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals.

They must also support Governments in crisis prevention focused on building resilience and anticipating shocks that could undermine progress, whether they come from climate change, natural hazards or the risk of conflict.

The success of the 2030 Agenda requires that the Resident Coordinator function remains anchored in the operational system for development, firmly connected to the country level, and with UNDP as a key driver for development.

I will work with you to present more detailed proposals to improve the Resident Coordinator system by December 2017.

Fifth principle, for too long, reform efforts in the field have been hindered by the lack of similar efforts at headquarters.

To enable change on the ground, we need an accountability mechanism here at headquarters that is seen as impartial and neutral. And we need to do so without creating new bureaucracies or superstructures.

To address this long standing issue, I intend to assume my full responsibilities as Chief Executive of the United Nations, and reassert a leadership role in UN sustainable development efforts, in support of Member States and our staff on the ground.

I am asking the Deputy Secretary-General to oversee and provide strategic guidance to the UN Development Group, as well as leading a Steering Committee to foster coherence between humanitarian action and development work.

Decentralization is a key goal of all my reform efforts. Effective decentralization will require strengthening accountability in headquarters, but always with a focus on delivery on the ground.

Sixth principle, we need to foster a more cohesive UN policy voice at the regional

News in Brief

Paris climate accord

The Paris Agreement on climate change entered into force last November and calls on countries to combat climate change and to accelerate and intensify the actions and investments needed for a sustainable low carbon future, and to adapt to the increasing impacts of climate change.

New UN Chief

António Guterres became the 9th Secretary-General of the United Nations on 1 January 2017. He makes conflict-prevention and sustainable peace his overarching priorities.

New UNDP Administrator

Helen Clark’s term as UNDP Administrator came to an end after two four-year terms in mid-April this year. Among coping with the effects of the 2008 global financial crisis and formulating the SDGs programme, she’s made great contributions to global development these last eight years. Helen is replaced by Achim Steiner.

First UN Ocean Conference

The first UN conference of its kind on the issue has raised global consciousness of ocean problems ranging from marine pollution to illegal and over fishing, from ocean acidification to lack of high seas governance. The Conference produced a comprehensive and actionable range of solutions.

New Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty

On July 7, 2017, the United Nations adopted a Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (nuclear ban treaty) in an historic vote, following negotiations over 5 weeks during March, June and July.

Civilians are not a target

On World Humanitarian Day (19 Aug), the United Nations and its partners called on all global leaders to do everything in their power to protect people caught up in conflict, and to stand with the health and aid workers who risk their lives to help them. The call came as thousands of civilians were expected to flee northern Iraq, and amid continued attacks in Syria.

For breaking news from the UN News Service visit un.org/News

Decentralisation is a key goal of all my reform efforts. Effective decentralisation will require strengthening accountability in headquarters, but always with a focus on delivery on the ground.

level. We will launch a review of our regional representation and activities, to clarify the division of labour within the system and explore ways to reinforce the UN country-regional-global policy backbone.

Seventh principle, the accountability of the UN development system is a matter of priority.

Accountability is indeed an end in itself, because it fosters transparency, improves results and holds our institutions to agreed standards and commitments. It is also a critical incentive for collaboration and better reporting on system-wide impact.

My report outlines three specific areas for continued engagement with Member States: first, improving guidance and oversight over system-wide results, with the ECOSOC at the centre; second, more transparency around collective results, including through system-wide annual reporting and the establishment of a system-wide independent evaluation function; and third, more robust internal accountability to ensure that internal mechanisms such as the Chief Executives Board and the UN Development Group deliver on Member States mandates and internal agreements.

Eighth principle, and last, there is a critical need to address the unintended consequences of funding that have hampered our ability to deliver as one. Around 85% of funds are currently earmarked, around 90% of which to single-donor-single agency programmes.

A fragmented funding base is delivering a fragmented system undermining results in people's lives.

I would like to explore with you the possibility of a "Funding Compact", through which the system would commit to greater efficiency, value-for-money and reporting on system-wide results, against the prospect of more robust core funding support to individual agencies and improved joint funding practices.



L-R: Joy Dunsheath (UNA NZ President), Jean-Paul Bizoza (UNA NZ Special Officer for Humanitarian Affairs), and Laurie Ross (peacemaker and anti-nuclear activist). UNA NZ has 6 special officers who keep abreast of developments in their portfolio and report regularly to the National Council and the public on important issues and developments. Photo was taken at the 2017 UNA Northern Branch AGM.

The true test of reform will not be measured in words in New York or Geneva.

It will be measured through tangible results in the lives of the people we serve.

This report outlines areas where I believe ambitious but realistic changes can be implemented without creating unnecessary disruption on the ground. It also reflects my previous experience as head of a major UN operational agency. My decade leading UNHCR gave me first-hand experience on the strengths of the system and challenges of interagency cooperation.

I saw the need to preserve an adequate level of autonomy to ensure flexible and efficient delivery, in line with the specific mandates that need to be implemented.

Yet in many field visits, I heard time and time again from colleagues and partners that we must do far better in working together as a

system that delivers results for people.

We have entered a critical period for your concrete perspectives and ideas.

Many questions raised in this report will require answers and further consideration. We intend to seek these answers jointly with you. Repositioning the UN development system is indeed our shared responsibility.

Just as our founders looked well into the future when they shaped and adopted the UN Charter, we too have a collective responsibility to invest in the United Nations of tomorrow and the world if we want an agenda 2030 to be the success it deserves to be.

I am convinced that, together, we can take the bold steps that the new agenda requires and that humanity also deserves.

Thank you very much.

Murray McCully reflects on eight-and-a-half-years as New Zealand's foreign minister



Hon Murray McCully was NZ Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2008-2017

04 April 2017 –Thank you for the opportunity to make this address this evening.

In one month from now I will have tendered my resignation as New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, having served in this capacity for nearly eight-and-a-half years.

At the outset, I want to acknowledge - and I have said this many times to my staff and to the Ministry - that the real foreign minister is always the Prime Minister.

An effective Prime Minister / Foreign Minister team need to present a seamless face to both the outside world, and to the New Zealand public.

I have had the privilege of enjoying a highly successful eight-year partnership with John Key and would like to place on record tonight my appreciation of his quite extraordinary leadership and management style.

I have every confidence that Prime Minister English – and my soon-to-be-announced successor – will take the opportunity to build strongly on the platform that we have established.

It has been, in my view, a defining period in New Zealand foreign policy. I welcome this opportunity to give you my perspective on it - not in the nature of a comprehensive tour of the foreign policy waterfront, but rather a few strategic reflections on my term in office.

Before doing so, I am conscious that with us here tonight are many representatives of governments from around the world that have shown me great courtesy and hospitality over the past eight years, and I do want to take this opportunity of thanking you all for that.

I started in this role eight years ago with the intention of minimising my international travel, and operating as much as possible from home.

You may have observed that that has not worked out so well.

I very quickly learned that the official visit and the formal meeting are the essential currency of international relations.

So for a New Zealand foreign minister that means becoming accustomed to the demands of constant long distance travel, and the challenges associated with

conducting many important meetings and media interviews through that fog of jet lag that makes your brain work half a second behind your mouth.

In return, I have acquired many friendships, a huge amount of phone numbers and email addresses, and the ability to be both more effective and more efficient as a consequence.

I will strongly recommend that my successor follows a similar path.

I want to start tonight by doing something you will rarely see from a politician: I want to remind you of what I said in Opposition before I became Foreign Minister.

In both policy documents and speeches I said that a National-led Government would run an independent foreign policy - that we would not seek to join or re-join alliances, and that we would bring an independent New Zealand perspective to foreign policy.

I also said that, so far as possible, we would strive for bi-partisanship in formulating our foreign affairs and trade policies – that as a small country with large international interests, New Zealand could not afford to have its key positions and relationships change according to the vagaries of the domestic political cycle.

Hon Murray McCully MP was Minister of Foreign Affairs until May. This address was given at the NZIIA's Foreign Policy Lecture at Parliament on 4 April 2017, shortly before he relinquished his post.

New Zealand foreign policy needs to be conducted in decades, and not in three year political cycles.

So, during my term as Foreign Minister I have deliberately sought to ensure that the settings we have established would stand the test of time – that there would be no great need or incentive for successors to seek major policy change.

I have sought to respect and enhance the equities created by my predecessors and hope that my successors might do the same.

Underpinning principles

When asked to identify the principles that underpin New Zealand’s foreign policy, most fall back on democracy, the rule of law and human rights - and that is undoubtedly true.

But if we relied upon those principles alone, New Zealand would be indistinguishable from many of our Western friends.

So what are the additional values that New Zealand features which make us independent and, occasionally, different?

First, I would say that New Zealand’s style is to be respectful of other nations and their differences.

I have found that when you are as small as we are, being respectful is a fairly useful default setting in conducting foreign relations.

Second, in pursuing principles of democracy, the rule of law and human rights, we try to be constructive and ask ourselves whether others who might be the focus of critical scrutiny need a lecture, or need some help.

The New Zealand way should always be to offer help where it will be genuinely accepted. Megaphone diplomacy is not, in my view, New Zealand’s natural style – and nor should it be.

In my time in this role, I have always asked whether our proposed actions will make us part of the solution or part of the problem.

The New Zealand way should always be to offer help where it will be genuinely accepted. Megaphone diplomacy is not, in my view, New Zealand’s natural style—and nor should it be.

Third, I believe the New Zealand approach is to be strongly protective of the space for small nations in multi-lateral affairs.

Indeed, that is our rationale for investing in the multilateral system.

I have said before, with apologies to Winston Churchill, that multilateralism is the worst basis for the conduct of international affairs - apart from all the others.

In spite of their huge shortcomings New Zealand invests in multilateral processes and institutions because we understand that if we are to live in a world where the big guys always win and the small guys always lose, that is very bad news for us.

And finally, I believe that our positions and perspectives should always show a keen sense of the interests and needs of our Pacific neighbourhood.

That is surely an important responsibility and one that gives us greater credibility in international affairs.

Key elements

Back in 2008, the question of New Zealand’s anti-nuclear legislation, our relationship with the United States and our status in relation to the ANZUS alliance, laid at the very heart of any notion of an independent foreign policy.

For quite some time the National Party had been uncertain, or intentionally ambiguous, on this question.

During my time as Opposition spokesman we declared our intention to retain the antinuclear legislation, to focus on rebuilding trust and confidence in the relationship with the United States, and to build a new type of security relationship with the US, but outside of the ANZUS alliance.

Today, I think I can say that we have substantially achieved our objective of creating a full, mutually respectful relationship with the United States, involving cooperation in virtually every sphere, now including, after a thirty year hiatus, two US ship visits in recent months.

Importantly, we have achieved this in a way which has carried overwhelming public support, and which will likely see future governments build upon the base that has been created, rather than seeking further policy change.

Similarly, we have commenced our relationship with the new Trump Administration seeking to consolidate the significant advances in the relationship in recent years - with the obvious exception of TPP.

So, having charted this course with the United States, what are the other features of an independent foreign policy for New Zealand?

Of course, our closest and most complete relationship remains with our neighbour Australia.

So close, in fact, that it is not really a foreign policy relationship. In an era in which every member of our Cabinet has their Australian counterparts’ cellphone number, and in which Prime Ministers, without reference to their foreign ministries, arrange sleepovers at each other’s houses, the notion that the relationship can somehow be captured by clunky TPN’s or cable exchanges is simply fanciful.

While our two countries are so similar in outlook and history, there are some respects in which our foreign policy settings and international personalities are quite different, and we respect and welcome that.

For a start, Australia is a formal ally of the United States. And Australia is a middle or G20 power with interests to match, and New Zealand is a smaller niche actor with a tighter focus on our own region.

So while our unique relationship sees New Zealand and Australia naturally align almost all the time, we should never get bent out of shape over the issues on which we do not see eye-to-eye.

It was a cornerstone policy in our election platform that this Government would make trade and economic objectives our number one priority.

The key feature of the past decade has been the rise of China, in terms of both our bilateral relationship, and as a regional and global power.

In my eight-and-a-half-years in this role I have seen our exports to China increase from around \$2 billion to nearly \$10 billion, and visitor numbers more than quadruple from under 100,000 to over 400,000.

Had it not been for the dramatic expansion of trade and economic relations with China in the early years of the Key Government, New Zealand would have suffered a long and sustained recession, and all of the associated social challenges that we have seen in some European nations.

Managing this complex, intense, and dynamic relationship has been a key preoccupation during my tenure as Foreign Minister, as it will be for my successor.

Today, our two way trade is in excess of \$23 billion, about the same as our trade with Australia, traditionally our largest trading partner.

The very successful visit by Premier Li just last week has set the scene for a new chapter in which China will overwhelmingly become New Zealand’s biggest trade and economic partner.

We are currently investing nearly \$50 million in a new embassy in Beijing. This scale of commitment is required across both public and private sector agencies if we are to maintain our equilibrium during a time of such dramatic growth.

I do want to address directly the notion that seems to attract coverage on slow news days that somehow New Zealand will at times need to choose between its relationship with the US and its relationship with China.

That belief shows a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of both relationships.

It also runs directly counter to the whole notion of an independent foreign policy.

We will, and do, agree and disagree with both the US and China according to our own sense of what is right, and what is in New Zealand’s interests.

Major challenge

In light of the dramatic growth in trade and economic relations with China, a major challenge for New Zealand is to ensure that we maintain a balanced portfolio of trade relationships by achieving similar success in other markets.

No business, or country, should ever be too exposed to one customer.

A major focus of our work in the trade

sphere in recent years has been the EU, and more recently a post-Brexit UK.

The EU process was a challenging, and for a while frustrating, endeavour.

Given that we share a significant heritage, espouse the same principles, and work so naturally together, it was looking increasingly strange that New Zealand was on a dwindling list of nations with no pathway towards a free-trade agreement (FTA) with the EU.

The last few years have seen very considerable progress on that front and I will leave office comfortable that we are on track to achieve the architecture that will ensure our future trade and economic relations with the EU match the high quality of the rest of this relationship.

Along the way, of course, we have seen the decision from the UK to exit the European Union.

Given our very close historic and current ties with the UK we have been ensuring that New Zealand is well placed to conclude a trade and economic relationship, while being respectful of the space the UK and the EU will need to complete their own arrangements.

In relation to ASEAN we have good trade architecture in place, good bilateral relations with ASEAN members, and are committed participants in the regional security dialogues brokered by ASEAN.

But we are only just starting to achieve the trade and economic potential in this relationship.

Significantly strengthening our ASEAN relationships have been a major priority for me, and will be, I hope, for my successor.

Goal sighted

After a significant delay, a great deal of work, and a few political cuts and scratches, we now have the conclusion of the Gulf States FTA in close sight.

I say that having visited most and talked to



Colin Keating, who served as former NZ Ambassador to the UN and represented NZ on the Security Council in 1993-94, addresses an open session of the United Nations Security Council on April 16, 2014. *Photo credit: UN*

all states in the GCC in recent weeks.

Already an important market for New Zealand, the GCC has all of the ingredients to become a huge partner for New Zealand in its own right - as well as providing a gateway to the wider Middle East and the vast potential of Africa.

Over time, this will become critically important to our future as a significant world player in agriculture.

Latin America, where we are in the process of expanding our embassy network, presents significant opportunities for improved trading arrangements, initially amongst Pacific Alliance nations but also more widely.

We have already seen significant growth in key exports as the Korean FTA gains traction.

The Japanese market remains a major and long-standing one for New Zealand, and given the overall importance of this relationship we will be trying to find the best way forward following the US withdrawal from TPP.

On TPP, all I can say is that I am very

confident that the Asia Pacific region understands well the benefits of increased integration, free trade and regional cooperation and that we will keep finding ways of unlocking those benefits one way or another.

The unquestioned highlight of my time as Foreign Minister has been New Zealand's election to and service on the United Nations Security Council.

A Security Council election is unlike anything else in the foreign policy business. One of the great skill sets of the Foreign Ministry is an ability to record every meeting or exchange as an outstanding win for New Zealand diplomacy.

Unfortunately with a Security Council election, the numbers go up on a board in New York. And the numbers do not lie.

Prime Minister John Key said to me at the time that securing the support of three quarters of the countries in the UN was like winning the world cup in diplomacy.

It felt a bit like that at the time, but only very briefly, because serving a two-year

term on the Council provides a huge window on the terrible imperfections of the multilateral world.

Strong commitment

New Zealand was elected to the UN Security Council strongly committed to UN reform, and we left the Council even more strongly committed to it.

Rather than being overcome by frustration while on the Council we did try to play a constructive role, we did listen to the views of all parties, we were hugely active and energetic, we did call it as we saw it when this needed to be done, and we did annoy most of our friends at one time or another.

Whatever other criticisms anyone might make, I don't think anyone has accused us of just going along for the ride. I have made the point before that the UN system is seriously broken: our capacity to create human suffering through conflict now greatly exceeds our capacity to either prevent or resolve that conflict, or to pay for its consequences.

The international community now spends 80

per cent of humanitarian funding on support for victims of violent conflict, victims of man-made humanitarian tragedy, which was over US\$19billion in 2016.

That compares with about US\$4billion for humanitarian need caused by natural disasters.

The UN system last year spent about US\$9billion on peacekeeping operations, some in quite hopeless situations.

Yet a fraction of these amounts was invested in prevention of potential or emerging conflicts, much of it raised through voluntary contributions.

Donor fatigue is now the overwhelming feature of special pledging events.

The UN can no longer afford the consequences of its inability to prevent or resolve conflict.

There is little doubt that the use of, or threat to use, the veto in the Security Council is a huge contributing factor to the current state of affairs which, for most of our tenure bore a striking resemblance to the Cold War era.

None of the permanent members should be proud of that. And nor should the UN membership put up with it.

I said earlier that during our two years on the Council we managed at some stage to annoy pretty much all of our friends.

If we left anyone out, then I can assure you that we managed to rectify that in the Nuclear Suppliers Group or some other multi-lateral organisation.

It would be counterproductive for me, even at this late stage, to provide a comprehensive list of these occasions.

But it would be very remiss of me to leave office without recording my appreciation of the quite extraordinary cover that I received from Prime Minister Key to maintain a consistent New Zealand line on matters of importance to our values and

brand, sometimes in the face of personal calls to him from the leaders of the largest and most powerful countries in the world.

Pacific responsibilities

One of the most important commitments we made prior to being elected was to focus strongly on New Zealand's responsibilities in the Pacific.

While I will leave office without achieving everything I would have liked to achieve in this respect, I can look back on a period of significant progress.

With NZ's support, the Pacific has made enormous progress in its tuna fishery - the region's single greatest economic asset.

What is the point of all of the other initiatives we fund if the region's US\$3billion a year tuna fishery is yielding only a small percentage of its value to its owners, and when sustainable management practices are critical to avoid it going the way of other tuna fisheries on the planet.

While there is plenty of work ahead of us, I am now confident we have turned the corner in that debate - thanks in large part to the work of Ambassador Shane Jones and New Zealand officials.

We have also made huge progress towards shifting Pacific Islands from the fossil fuel based electricity systems that were costing them on average 10% of their GDPs, or one third of their total import bills, to renewable energy.

Whatever other criticisms anyone might make, I don't think anyone has accused us of just going along for the ride. I have made the point before that the UN system is seriously broken: our capacity to create human suffering through conflict now greatly exceeds our capacity to either prevent or resolve that conflict, or to pay for its consequences.

Using our convening capacity with the EU and with other partners we have now seen over \$2billion committed to renewable energy projects in the Pacific.

That has seen quite dramatic progress in Polynesia, and is currently focused on electricity access in parts of Melanesia where 85% of people have no electricity at all.

These are truly game-changing developments for many of our Pacific neighbours. We have always been clear that New Zealand will never have the biggest chequebook, which means we need to be prepared to focus on some of the more challenging projects.

We need to take some risks. We need to take advantage of the nimble decision-making and quick delivery that our size makes possible.

And we need to keep getting better at spending other people's money. It has never made any sense to me that New Zealand should simply try to deliver the same programmes as other countries.

They, for the most part, have greater capacity and scale, while we have world-class expertise in areas like agriculture and renewable energy.

We have tried to focus on these areas where we can really make a difference, including in relation to the scholarships programme that makes up over 10% of our total aid budget.

Unashamedly, we have tried to focus on investments that will create sustainable economic growth and jobs.

The huge turnaround in the fortunes of Niue, where tourism numbers have nearly trebled, and in the Cook Islands, where they have increased by 50%, are shining examples.

Global programme

While the Pacific consumes well over half of our development budget, we have also tried to re-shape our global programmes along the same lines, focusing heavily on agriculture and renewable energy in which New Zealand has a truly world-class offering.

The lessons we have learnt in our own region have given us the capacity and the confidence to deliver high value, relatively low cost expertise in renewable energy in half a dozen Caribbean countries and some in Africa.

And slowly improving our delivery of agricultural programmes not only provides many countries in the Pacific, South East Asia and Africa with the support they most want from New Zealand, it also paves the way for our commercial agricultural interests to play the more active global role that this country will require in the future.

These shifts have occurred as we have restructured the development side of the Ministry.

The decision to bring our diplomatic and development roles under one roof, denounced as heresy and the actions of a barbarian seven years ago, are now the established international orthodoxy.

The further step to full integration in the new Pacific and Development Group last year should set the scene for a further lift in performance.

On behalf of the Government I have made clear that the Ministry must do more than pay lip service to our role in the Pacific - we need to ensure the Ministry is the best and most respected centre of Pacific expertise on the planet.

We are not there yet, but I hope the goal and the building blocks towards it are now well established.

In the process we have become an acknowledged champion for the concerns of small island developing states (SIDs) which number around 40 of the UN's membership.

We used our term on the Security Council to advance their interests.

It is pleasing to see other countries contending for elected office now taking greater note both of the size of the SIDS bloc, and of the challenges they face.

Unsurprising reaction

Finally, a word of explanation: if on the second of May you hear the incessant popping of champagne corks at the headquarters of many of the world's multilateral funding institutions, do not be surprised.

These giant process-driven bureaucracies generally deliver a below-average quality of service to the poorer countries of the world, especially those in our region where compliance regimes designed for central Asian countries of 50 million people are a deal breaker for a country of

10,000 like Tuvalu. I plead guilty to having spent a good part of the last eight years persuading, cajoling, criticising, hectoring, and threatening to withhold budgets in order to try to achieve a more realistic, timely and effective service for our smaller neighbours.

It is my very firm observation, based on over eight years' experience, that while a shortage of funding and resources might often be a problem, a much bigger problem is the ability of institutions to deploy the resources they have in a timely, efficient and effective fashion.

I hope that my successors will continue New Zealand's forceful advocacy and deep engagement in our Pacific region.

Personally, I have found this simultaneously the most challenging and the most satisfying part of this role.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that New Zealand has a great international brand, a proud history, and a unique contribution to make to our region and to world affairs.

I want to place on record my appreciation of the many talented and hardworking people at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so very ably led by Brook Barrington, who have supported me over the past eight and a half years.

It is one of life's great privileges to serve as New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, charting our course during a defining period in our international relationships.

Thank you for honouring me with your attendance and your interest tonight.

What does the future hold for the UN?



Terence O'Brien, Senior Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Studies; formerly Ambassador to the UN, EU and WTO-GATT
Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay

In our world every generation believes, or likes to believe, that it exists at a time of great change. This mentality seems to be an integral part of human nature itself. Right now there are multiple layers of change reverberating around the world which challenge the role and potential of the UN system, and the international legitimacy that the UN embodies. What follows is a brief selective view of some of those layers of change.

Democratic popular choices in the US and in Europe throughout 2016, with more to come, are providing seismic shocks to the landscape of international relations. These occur in a global context where, in addition, the accomplishments of large newly emergent economies plus others, are changing the world's centre of economic and social gravity; and in the process affecting the international pecking order amongst leading nations.

This is a time too where technology and economics are shrinking the planet, where governments are no longer in control in quite the same ways as in the past, where non-government influence upon international relations is expanding (through single issue advocacy groups or powerful private enterprise) and radicalised violence employing the tactic of terrorism, has achieved global reach.

There are moreover modern threats to security and wellbeing that are appreciably greater than terrorism. These are comprehensive in their nature and impacts - climate change, environmental disfigurement, resource depletion, footloose migration, grave poverty and inequality, the spread of weapons especially of mass destruction all combine to present significant dangers. No one country or group, no matter how powerful, is able to master let alone solve these afflictions; and only one institution, the UN, conceptually possesses the competence and potential for comprehensive appraisal and collective action - across such a range of multiple challenges.

The UN system was designed of course in a largely different era in order to prevent war, to foster peace, prosperity and equality. Many of its structures, notably the composition of

its Security Council (UNSC) are outdated or uncoordinated. Inefficiencies abound. The system needs to move with the times. Principal founder governments display reluctance to surrender their monopolies on influence to accommodate legitimate expectations by newly emergent nations for greater voice. In practice and over a prolonged period, effective reform across the board in the UN has proved impossible.

In several important government quarters an interest in, and enthusiasm for, multilateralism display marked signs of diminishing. The new US administration signals a decided preference for bilateral trade/economic relationships and alliances in order to "make America great again." Financial support for American diplomacy is scheduled for reduction while military spending, which already surpasses by a huge margin spending by other countries, is programmed to increase.

Given its importance in the international scheme of things, even greater militarisation of US international relations that now seems probable, will likely entail more negative consequences for the UN system. What is more the US traditionally portrays itself as an 'exceptional' nation. A world leader that self-exempts America from international rules, norms or conventions that are judged to infringe US sovereignty, while urging compliance upon other nations.

In post 2016 Europe, governments on the other hand are consumed with ensuring a future for their fifty years old regional system; while the UK seeks a new destiny apart. All these preoccupations together and separately strongly suggest that priority attention in Washington and various European capitals over the period ahead, will not therefore centre around much needed improvements to the international system. That will be a real loss in the case of Europe because the European Union (EU) has proven a reliable proponent and defender of international rules-based order.

In Asia regionalism takes its own distinctive form. After the 2008/09 global financial crisis governments have amassed foreign exchange reserves to ensure financial independence from Atlantic sourced crisis. They have developed regional monetary and support arrangements, in addition to a veritable noodle bowl of trade/economic agreements with a professed goal eventually

Address given by Terence O'Brien, former NZ UN Ambassador, at the UNA Wellington Branch AGM, 27 March 2017

for a region wide bumper free trade area. China for its part has created a new Development Bank supported by most regional countries (and NZ) along with very ambitious set of wide-ranging development projects under the rubric of a 'new Silk Road'.

China's importance as the engine for the Asian regional economy and beyond can hardly be exaggerated, although its growth rates look set to slow. In political and security terms leadership in Asia has now to reconcile the interests of a more assertive China and those of the US which retains a considerable strategic stake within the region.

Such delicate accommodation will require constant diplomatic care on both sides and not be simply confined to regional dynamics alone. It involves as well the respective roles at the global level including inside the UN system. One cannot be divorced from the other. The US-China relationship in other words permeates all levels of our present world existence and experience, and other governments including those of small countries, need to calibrate their foreign policy broadly and accordingly.

At the same time large newly emergent economies from across the board, not just Asia, seek to institutionalise their international presence with the creation of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). Although they do not present a united front on all issues and each member struggles with difficult development challenges, BRICS represents new weight in the balance of the international economy. That is exemplified further in the emergence of G20 (comprising the biggest 20 economies of the world) as a new top table body involving heads of government, created in response to the 2008/09 global financial crisis.

Although this new piece of institutional furniture is primarily charged with concerns of the global economy, high level political preoccupations will inevitably intrude. G20 is however a self selected group and whatever global oversight role it evolves can only be to complement but not substitute for the UN - which retains the essential hallmark of international legitimacy. But the arrival of G20 certainly adds much force to the need for reform within the UN to reflect modern realities.

Old ways of doing things collectively are indeed changing which impacts upon the UN and its role. For example, rules and systems for delivery of aid (ODA) to developing countries are being reshaped by China which offers to recipients a different model from traditional aid principles, having itself shared the experiences of underdevelopment. The policies and practices of traditional western donors which have influenced the UN, are now much criticised by recipients as unwieldy, duplicative, bureaucratised and resource wasting.

There is particular objection to the conditionalities that invariably accompany traditional aid packages as well as the

financial remedies proposed by IMF for debt ridden countries. A respectable body of international opinion exists which concludes such conditionality does not work. Real pressures exist therefore to transform governance and accountability inside those international agencies and donor governments which are charged with resource transfers to the developing world.

There is likewise compelling need to remedy the significant gaps, insufficient coordination and lack of cooperation between the UN and its agencies as well as the IMF and World Bank.

As suggested earlier one of the comparative advantages inherent in the UN and its agency system is a potential to encompass the crucial connections in the world between sustainable development and the environment, between climate change and resource security, between trade and indebtedness, poverty and conflict and so on. It is not so long ago that such links were often sternly resisted by significant western governments as guides to international economic/social policy. But competition inside the UN and other agencies for influence and for turf, continues to drive the systems absence of cohesion and effectiveness

The UN has succeeded in establishing the principle that human security is the indispensable foundation for national and international security. The body of international human rights law enshrined by the UN provides a solid foundation.

The ground breaking annual UN Human Development Report provides key measurements to assist policy makers. UN work too over the years in famine relief, and in devising protections for refugees and for children as well as its leadership in overall development goal setting is exemplary; even though the efforts suffer invariably from tightfisted UN member states and those governments anxious as well to protect borders ; and there are and have been, undeniable mistakes in implementation.

The multiple UN agencies do galvanise member governments in respect, for example, to health protections and improvements to labour standards to transport and aviation regulations, to meteorological cooperation, to cultural heritage, food and agricultural production standards and much else besides. To risk abandonment of all of this through neglect by large powers and small alike, and by allowing the UN to subside into irrelevance, would be the height of folly.

The UN system has, at member state request, moreover discharged supervisory responsibilities for cease fire arrangements, for keeping peace, for monitoring nuclear development and for conduct of elections, frequently under harrowing conditions. There have inevitably been shortcomings and failures. In all of this however the UN frequently supplies a convenient scapegoat for deficiencies that actually derive from member states themselves.

Indeed coalitions of the willing are becoming the preferred

methods of choice for powerful member states concerned to assert leadership, and not just in peace support missions but in political, security and trade/economic relations more generally. Smaller countries confront hard and finely balanced choices about who or where to support. But basic interest is surely to remain anchored within the UN system that embodies international legitimacy; even in face of indifference, obstruction or single minded assertiveness by the powerful.

NZ has just completed a two year term as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. It has been a testing but creditable experience. It will hopefully have equipped this country with confidence and courage to stick with its convictions about the essential importance of an effective rules based international system - even as powerful friends with whom NZ sat around the top table so recently , are inclined themselves to set aside rules they consider unpalatable and assert leadership.

An early test of NZ's resolve will be the prospective negotiation inside the UN General Assembly (UNGA) in 2017 of a treaty on nuclear disarmament. After decades of fruitless effort in the relevant subsidiary bodies of the UN to win support for such a negotiation in the face of obdurate unremitting opposition from the nuclear weapon owning countries, the UNGA has dexterously succeeded in assuming itself the responsibility.

There can be no illusions that the nuclear weapon owning countries will ever be influenced by whatever the UNGA is able to agree. It is not certain those countries will join in the negotiation. There can be no illusion either about how difficult it will be even without them, to negotiate principles and content of a nuclear disarmament treaty in the plenary forum of the UN, with such a multitude of views, interests and aspirations around the table.

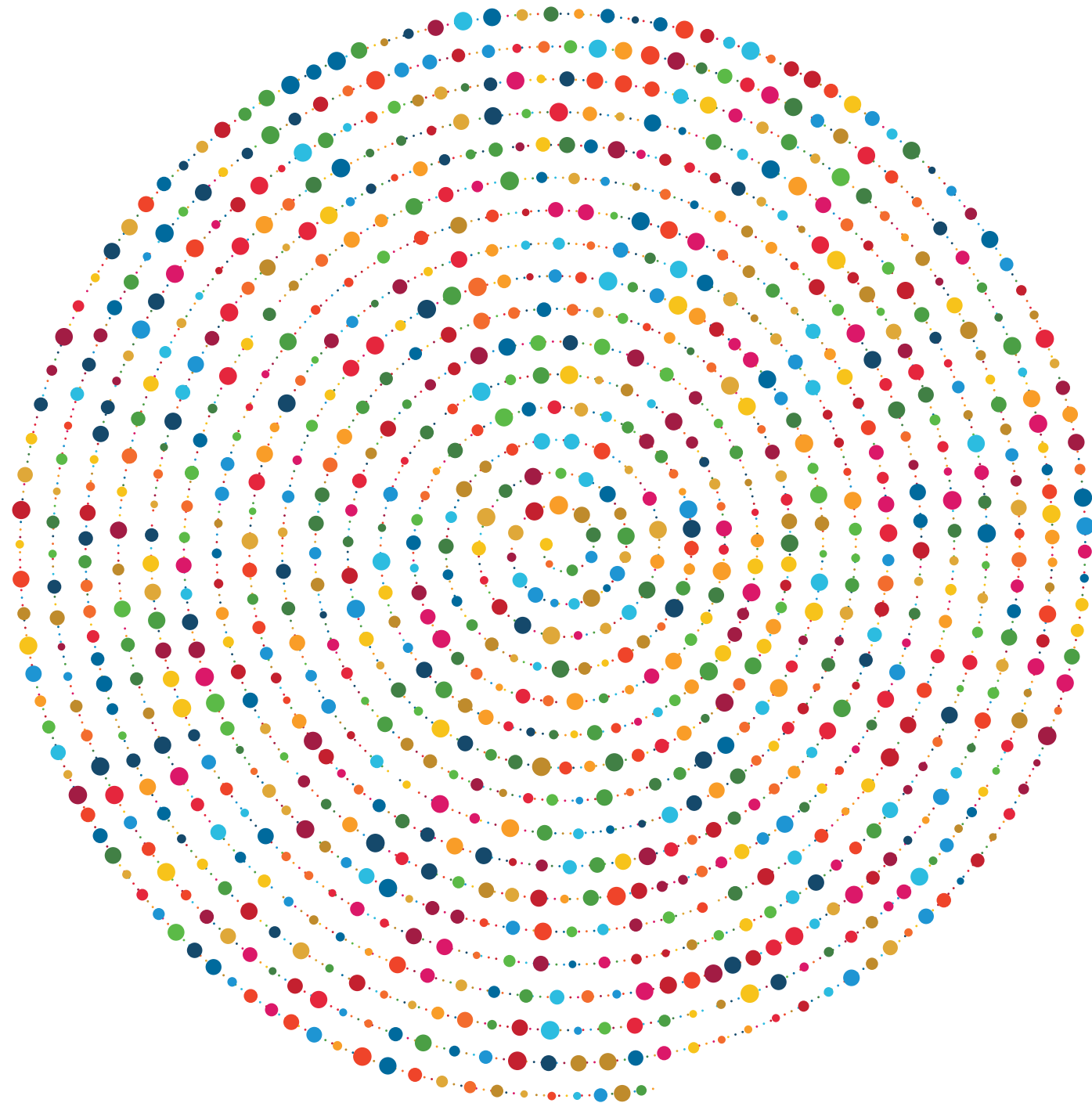
Nonetheless the mere prospect that such a draft treaty will be piloted through the UNGA is a sufficiently powerful symbol in its own right. The considerable efforts to date by nuclear weapon owners to derail the initiative bears ample witness to that. Such efforts will doubtless continue. With others the NZ Disarmament Ambassador has been assiduous in securing progress so far, even as traditional friends like Australia, remain adamantly opposed and the way ahead is complex.

The assertion by the UNGA of a right to a greater say in key questions traditionally monopolised by powerful UNSC members, is reflected too in the way in 2016 the Assembly sought to influence the selection of a new Secretary-General. It devised a new procedure whereby candidates had to declare themselves, and receive the approval of their governments and then submit to an open job interview before the assembled membership. The declared aim was to ensure greater transparency and therefore democracy, in the selection process, hitherto the unique responsibility of the UNSC (and in particular the permanent members) meeting behind closed doors. In the final analysis those aims may have been secured to a certain degree, but actual influence over the final choice of the new Secretary-General was at best qualified.

General sentiment had after all favoured appointment of a woman, for the first time, and from Eastern Europe, again the first time. The final choice by permanent UNSC members was a man, from Western Europe - for the fourth time out of the eight UN Secretaries Generals to-date. The new chief confronts truly formidable challenges in regenerating the UN. The Portuguese António Guterres has credentials. NZ can at least take some consolation that it also had a genuine creditable candidate in the field for Secretary-General.



The General Assembly held informal dialogues on 12-14 April 2016 with nine candidates for the position of the next Secretary-General of the United Nations. Former NZ Prime Minister Helen Clark was New Zealand's candidate for the position. *Photo credit: UN*



The National Conference of the United Nations Association of New Zealand seeks to consider New Zealand's engagement with the UN system and in particular with the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) which are at the heart of the core work of the United Nations. The 17 goals aim to mobilise global efforts to achieve these by 2030. How will these goals work? What are the pitfalls? How will they be reviewed? What is the role of civil society? At this conference we aim to provide a platform for promoting dialogue, providing thought-provoking discussion and mobilising efforts to achieve the SDGs in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Sustainable development for all?

The 2017 National Conference of the United Nations Association of New Zealand focused on the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), addressing the risks and opportunities of changing global geopolitical dynamics and the complex role of the UN in this context. The sold-out conference drew focus to New Zealand's progress in advancing the social and political rights of Māori and refugee and migrant communities. A strong need for political will to advance the SDGs both at home and on the global stage emerged as a key theme of the two-day conference.

The conference's opening discussion with the Rt Hon Helen Clark, which focused on her former role as the United Nations Development Programme Administrator, gave the conference insight into future challenges and opportunities facing the United Nations. The change in administration in the United States and subsequent lack of funding for key UN initiatives was described as a 'crisis' by Ms Clark, with initiatives such as the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), facing the withdrawal of US funding. The UNFPA, which aims to increase the reproductive health of women around the world, has previously relied on a baseline of US funding and enough political support in Congress to increase allocations. The executive decision to remove funding represents an uncertain future for the initiative. However, on the question of the UN's future in the face of populist nationalism, Ms Clark argued that the UN had increased in relevance as an intergovernmental institution following Brexit. The United States also retains the same external economic and political dependencies it did prior to the 2016 election and its ideological shift inwards.

A strong need for political will to advance the SDGs both at home and on the global stage emerged as a key theme of the two-day conference.

Both the discussion with Ms Clark, and Ms Carolyn Schwalger, recently Deputy Permanent Representative to the NZ Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, highlighted the need for greater participation from civil society actors and the media in UN processes. As described by Ms Schwalger, strengthening

a robust and inclusive approach within the UN, as well as being pragmatic in focusing on the issues as well as political relationships ('we spoke truth to power'), was part of New Zealand's contribution on the Security Council.

Progress in global responses to climate change were discussed with Ms Clark highlighting the pro-active leadership of California Governor, Jerry Brown, following the US withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement. Dr Kennedy Graham, MP and former UN official, however warned of the risk of uncoordinated 'atomisation' in an increasingly bottom-up response to climate change. Whether or not this transition is understood as a risk or an opportunity, the importance of 'hearts and minds' in advancing the objectives of equality and environmental sustainability, which underpin the SDGs, emerged as consensus at the conference.

In particular, the role of political will in transforming the objectives of UN frameworks into impact was identified as crucial to the advancement of social and political equality for Māori and migrant and refugee communities in New Zealand. A panel discussion, Rights and Responsibilities: Indigenous and Introduced, considered New Zealand's progress in advancing the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the development of New Zealand's bi-cultural relationship between tangata whenua and pakeha in the context of increasing multiculturalism. The discussion on the rights and resettlement of refugees and migrants in 2017 followed from the previous day's viewing of the Peter Coates' film New Zealand's involvement in the United Nations over its first 50 years, which presented New Zealand as a country leading the world in its resettlement programme responding to the Cambodian refugee crisis from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. This raised the question of New Zealand's current and future role in responding to the Syrian refugee crisis and our policies on migration.

A presentation on identity for rangatahi Māori and New Zealand's recent colonial past was led by UNA NZ interns, Liletina Vaka and Kahu Kutia, and highlighted ongoing institutional inequalities

This report on the outcomes of the National Conference was written by Robyn Holdaway, Communications Officer for UNA NZ

...the need for greater participation from civil society actors and the media in UN processes.

and the need to ‘decolonise our minds’. As we face the 2017 election following only 54% voter turn-out for 18-24-year-old Māori in 2014, discussions on political participation of indigenous populations seem more relevant than ever. Overall the conference cast the United Nations as an imperfect and uncertain institution, but one with objectives which are anything but irrelevant in 2017. Whilst the political will needed to back the advancement of the SDGs was evident in the room, engaging broader participation to support sustainable development and greater social and political equality emerged as a key future challenge for both the UNA of New Zealand and the United Nations.

The Secondary Schools Speech Finalists also spoke on the Friday to the topic “Is There a role for Nuclear Weapons in today’s World?”. Congratulations to Olivia Bennett from St Cuthbert’s College in Auckland who won the national competition.

SAVE THE DATE

UNA NZ is collaborating with Victoria University of Wellington towards the first SDG Summit in Wellington in April 2018. More information will be available soon on our website.



The core work of the United Nations is to implement the SDGs — a to-do list for people and planet, and a blueprint for success.



Secondary school speech finalists and 2017 winner, with UNA NZ President Joy Dunsheath and Chris Bishop MP (l-r): Joseph Sison, St Patricks College, Joy Dunsheath, UN NZ President, Emelye Brown, Whanganui High School, Elsie Spiers, John Paul College, Sean Millward, Tokoroa High School, Olivia Bennett, St Cuthbert’s College and 2017 winner, Maddison McQueen-Davies, Palmerston North Girls and 2017 runner-up, and Chris Bishop MP. Photo credit: Eva Kaprinay



Ka nui te mihi Kia Koutou Katoa.

We welcome you to our Conference. This 2017

National Conference of the United Nations Association of New Zealand seeks to consider New Zealand’s engagement with the UN system and in particular with the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) which guide the core work of the United Nations.

These seventeen goals aim to mobilise global efforts. Be a global SDG champion and help achieve New Zealand-driven projects that aim to: clean-up our planet; improve health, education and equality; and to channel resources towards the most vulnerable especially through education and health care. *Leave no one behind.* How will the goals work? What are the pitfalls? How will they be reviewed? What is the role of civil society?

We are delighted and honoured to welcome Rt Hon Helen Clark to speak at our Conference.

A conference spotlight is on the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. We will premiere the film, *Ngahere*, produced and directed by Liletina Vaka and Kahu Kutia.

The historic and seldom viewed film, *NZ and the UN – New Zealand’s involvement in the United Nations*

over its First 50 years, produced and directed by Peter Coates, will be followed by a discussion panel of three distinguished NZ Ambassadors to the United Nations.

This conference programme offers a platform for promoting dialogue, providing thought-provoking discussion and mobilising efforts to achieve the SDGs in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Thank you to our speakers, scholars, organisers and other contributors for their valuable and knowledgeable inputs.

We extend a sincere thank you to Chris Bishop MP who is hosting the second day of our conference at Parliament. Chris is a former winner of our Speech Award. We also thank Dr Graham Hassall, Past President, for hosting day one of the conference.

During the two conference days please enjoy the social and networking opportunities, meet national and international leaders and help us reboot and strengthen the work of the United Nations.

Joy Dunsheath JP
President, United Nations Association of New Zealand

Conference programme

THURSDAY 29 JUNE
Hosted by Graham Hassall at Old Government Buildings Lecture Theatre 2 (behind Law School)

Time	Session	Speakers
From 9.30am	Registration (closes between 10–11am)	
10–10.05am	Welcome by Joy Dunsheath, President, UNA NZ	
10.05–11am	Keynote address Helen Clark in conversation with Audrey Young	Chair: Joy Dunsheath , President UNA NZ Speakers: Helen Clark , former UNDP Administrator and Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Audrey Young , Political Editor for the New Zealand Herald
11–11.30am	Morning tea break	Enjoy morning tea provided in the foyer
11.30–11.40am	Presentation: Climate change, synergies and actions for New Zealand	Speaker: Kennedy Graham MP and Special Officer for UN Renewal, UNA NZ
11.45–1pm	Panel 1: Localising the Global Goals - what is our plan? This panel will explore progress towards achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals in New Zealand and the challenges we face, with the aim to identify key actions and cultivate ownership at all levels of society	Chair: Robbie Nicol , <i>White Man Behind A Desk</i> Speakers: Marjan Van Den Belt , Assistant Vice Chancellor (Sustainability), VUW, Josie Pagani , Director, Council for International Development, Anaru Fraser , GM, HuiE! Community Aotearoa, Sara Kindon , Associate Professor, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, VUW, Col Louisa O'Brien , New Zealand Defence Force; Tara Thurlow-Rae , Principal Development Manager Policy, MFAT
1–2pm	Lunch break	Please enjoy lunch at one of the many cafes near this lecture theatre. During the break we invite you to experience the SDGs through virtual reality with Christian Schott and his VUW students
2–2.45pm	Film: NZ and the UN – New Zealand's involvement in the United Nations over its First 50 years	Film written and directed by Peter Coates
2.45–3.30pm	Panel 2: Following the historic film a small panel of distinguished former Ambassadors of New Zealand to the UN will discuss those formative years of NZ at the UN	Chair: Joy Dunsheath , President, UNA NZ Speakers: Colin Keating , Michael Powles , and Terence O'Brien , former Ambassadors of NZ to the UN
3.30–3.45pm	Afternoon tea break	Enjoy afternoon tea provided in the foyer
3.45–4.15pm	Panel 3: Development with equal weighting for environmental and social values Former UN Specialists reminisce about many years working for the United Nations	Chair: Pedram Pirnia , Special Officer SDGs, UNA NZ Speakers: Mike Shone , current President of AFUNO (Association of Former UN Officials in NZ), formerly at ILO Geneva, Charmina Saili , Regional Planning Advisor at the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, and Greg Sherley , former head of UNEP in Apia
4.15–5.15pm	Presentation: The United Nations and the Pacific Islands This paper provides an initial survey of the extent of the UN presence in the Pacific Islands, as well as of the presence of Pacific nations within the UN	Speaker: Graham Hassall , Associate Professor at School of Government, VUW and immediate past UNA NZ President
5.15–5.30pm	Set-up for AGM	
5.30–6.30pm	Annual General Meeting	

Time	Session	Speakers
From 9.30am	Registration	Please allow at least 20 minutes to pass through security
10–10.05am	Welcome to day two of the conference by Joy Dunsheath, President, UNA NZ	
10.05–10.10am	Opening remarks by Chris Bishop MP	
10.10–10.45am	Keynote address <i>United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Ten years on</i>	Speaker: Christopher Woodthorpe , Director of the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC), Canberra
10.45–11.05am	Morning tea break	Enjoy morning tea provided in the Grand Hall
11.05am–12.05pm	Panel 4: Rights and Responsibilities: Indigenous and Introduced 2017 marks the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Against this backdrop, panellists from diverse cultural and sectoral backgrounds share their views on "Rights and Responsibilities" for all people, indigenous and introduced	Chair: Nedra Fu , National Council Member UNA NZ Speakers: Valmaine Toki , Associate Professor in Law at the Faculty of Law, University of Waikato, Caroline Herewini , Chief Executive of Te Whare Tiaki Wahine Refuge, Pereri Hathaway , Human Rights Commission's Manager for Indigenous Rights, Vanisa Dhiru , Acting Community Programme Director for InternetNZ and Vice President of National Council of Women NZ, Zainab Radhi , Dr International Law, Refugee Support
12.05–1pm	Presentation and film: Ki roto i te ngāhere: Reducing Inequalities for Rangatahi Māori is a national imperative Liletina Vaka and Kahu Kutia, with the guidance of other Māori students in Wellington, will explore the social landscape of Aotearoa for young Māori. The framework of the 'ngāhere', a symbiotic system of relationships, will inform their understanding of vital questions: What are the rights of a young Māori person in Aotearoa? And how can we sustainably develop their future?	Chair: Gracielli Ghizzi-Hall , National Council Member, UNA NZ Presenters: Liletina Vaka UNA NZ Intern and Kahu Kutia UNA NZ Intern
1–2pm	Lunch break	Enjoy lunch provided in the Grand Hall
2–3.30pm	Secondary school speech finals <i>Is there a Role for Nuclear Weapons in today's World?</i>	Chair: Robin Halliday , MNZM Honorary Life Member of UNA NZ Judges: Chris Bishop MP , Denise Almao , Sarah Patterson
3.30–3.40pm	Traditional dance	Performed by Radhika Ravi , student and graduate of Natraj School of Dance
3.45–4.15pm	Presentation: Representing NZ at the UN: the not-so Romantic Reality	Speaker: Carolyn Schwalger , Principal Capability Adviser, MFAT
4.15–4.30pm	Presentation of speaking awards and concluding remarks by Chris Bishop MP	
4.30pm	Finish and closing of conference by Joy Dunsheath	

Special thanks



Helen Clark in conversation with Audrey Young



Helen Clark mingling following her session



Helen Clark receiving a standing ovation following her session with Audrey Young



Sara Kindon demonstrating the connection between the social, economic and environmental aspects of sustainable development



L-R: Three former NZ Ambassadors to the UN, Terence O'Brien, Michael Powles, and Colin Keating join a panel chaired by Joy Dunsheath.
Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay



Greg Shirley and Charmina Saili among other guests at the Conference



Charmina Saili joined by Dr Graham Hassall and Seini Raiko



Mike Shone presenting on his work in the Pacific



Guests filling the Legislative Council Chamber at Parliament



Panel on rights and responsibilities (L-R): Caroline Herewini, Zainib Radhi, Vanisa Dhiru, Valmaine Toki, and Nedra Fu. Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay



9 August marked the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples. This year's theme is the 10th Anniversary of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 13 September 2007. What has been achieved or not achieved over the last decade? For more information: www.un.org/indigenous

Presented by Liletina Vaka and Kahu Kutia, and with the guidance of other Māori students in Wellington, this presentation will explore in some detail the social landscape of Aotearoa for young Māori. We will use the framework of the 'ngāhere', a symbiotic system of relationships to understand the guide questions. What are the rights of a young Māori person in Aotearoa? And how can we sustainably develop their future? We will be exploring the politics of identity and recognition, the current state of progress, and the need for spaces that are autonomous and indigenous.

KI ROTO I TE NGĀHERE: REDUCING INEQUALITIES FOR RANGATAHI MĀORI IS A NATIONAL IMPERATIVE.

Ngāhere: Bush, forest. An ecosystem.
Ngā Here. The ties, the bonds.

There is a whakatauki that says 'Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi. As an old net withers, another is remade. This saying speaks to the regeneration of society; the significance of passing the mantle to the young. Rangatahi Māori (young Māori) are the future of our culture, and must bear the burdens and the hardships of our tīpuna (ancestors). Unfortunately, like almost all indigenous cultures, Māori have been plagued with hardships and inequality.

This report is rooted in the upholding and honoring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Violations of Te Tiriti must be afforded multifaceted analysis as they belong to a historical legacy of rights-erasing, serving to maintain the strong holds of inequality that persist. Persisting inequalities include "the diseases of poverty that reduce our quality of life and shorten our life expectancy, the internalized violence born of oppression, and the despair among young Māori shaped by an unemployment rate four times higher than the general population" (Mutu, 2015, 274; see also Jackson 2004; Smith 2012). Such facts are merely a surface reflection of the issues we face as a people, issues born of colonisation and the continuing hardships that face indigenous peoples.

Reducing the inequalities faced by rangatahi Māori must be a national imperative. In the ngāhere we understand that if the indigenous plant thrives, the whole forest thrives. What rights should a young Māori person have? And how can we sustainably support the future for Māori? This question is imperative not only to one's sense of self, but to collectively building Aotearoa as one well-functioning eco-system; a ngāhere per se that sustainably

and successfully supports individuals to succeed as a whole. The concept to understand is indigenous, and within the ngāhere, our imperative is to recognise the complex and interwoven identities that make up the landscape.

In some parts of the world, more than 300 different plant types can be found within a space smaller than a rugby field (Terborgh 1992). Environments such as this don't only support an extensive plant ecosystem, but wider relationships of animals and land. Deforestation appears when those who are able to abuse their position, choose to, on the premise that land would be better served for economic profit. The national mindset must be altered. If society is to flourish, we must stop planting pine trees, and seek indigenous solutions, indigenous plants. We need to stop certain ideas of who we are and how we should grow, specifically those that are influenced by capitalism, colonisation, and a history of ingrained oppression.

Sustained alienation from culture is degrading of one's sense of self and belonging. A better understanding of the landscape and the history makes visible the silent stories of colonisation. Everyday, rangatahi face the complex and intersecting identity politics that govern how we interact, and are interacted with by the world. Understanding identity is a task that will present itself with a thousand questions. Who is asking? Who is answering? How and why do they identify and understand themselves? It is one of the most critical issues faced by rangatahi.



Kahu Kutia delivering her mihi to the audience. Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay

Tracey McIntosh (2005) spoke to the experience of identity and marginalisation. Māori identity as fixed, fluid, or forced. Our young people feel they are not brown enough, not fluent enough, too distant from the marae to engage culturally, but ostracised from mainstream society nonetheless.

“We need to be sensitive to the way identity articulations can exclude individuals who already have lives marked by exclusion. More critically, a focus solely on identity politics may blind us to the political-social-economic-structures that render the lives of too many to the margins” (Ibid, 217).

Identity is a minefield. Intersecting ideas of ethnicity, complicated further by elements of race, sexuality, socioeconomic status etc confront rangatahi on a day-to-day basis. In many instances, the results can be incredible, but such dynamics can also prove harmful. To be Māori today is to have a liminal existence. Those who are marginalised by ideas of being Māori live an even more liminal existence, which may lead directly to societal inequalities. As McIntosh summarises, so much of our daily association with Māori culture leads us towards issues such as unemployment, illness, poverty, and prison life.

For many, coming to grips with identity is a lifelong journey, one of healing through decolonisation. That which was colonised must be removed, and a culture that is beautiful and powerful must be remembered again. Moana Jackson (2016, 42) spoke to how the paradigm of society in Aotearoa today...

“is not designed to empower our mokopuna to be decolonised, to know that we are entitled to determine our own destiny and to make our own political and constitutional decisions”.

Decolonising mindsets is a mechanism currently only available to very specific groups. Māori have always and will continue to thrive and exemplify a powerful and exciting culture. Events such as 2017’s Matatini Festival in Ngāti Kahungunu show that the autonomous spaces we do currently have, function well. The point to understand, however, is that such spaces are minimal, and far between. Meaning many Māori, especially in urban spaces, are being left behind. Narratives of forced identity are prevalent, especially amongst urban Māori. To quote Māori academic Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, 19):

“Imperialism frames the indigenous experience. It is part of our journey, our

version of modernity... imperialism still hurts, still destroys, and is reforming itself constantly”.

How then, can we create solutions that fundamentally challenge ideas that threaten the social, ideological, psychological, and physical health of our people?

This is not only a right rangatahi Māori in Aotearoa are entitled to, but the answer to sustainably developing the future of all Māori to come. On reading Veronica Tawhai’s (2016) words on youth-led initiatives a piece I had read for an unrelated project came to mind:

“As with other elite-driven (top-down) strategies, development and policy experts tend to distrust the “masses”, believing that ordinary men and women are incapable of devising solutions to their problems and that only the experts have adequate problem-solving capabilities” (Hytrek & Zentgraf, 2008, 175).

Not only are initiatives for Māori drawn up by non-Māori, but with half our Māori population being under 23 years of age (Stats NZ, 2013) rangatahi Māori, with all their energy and liveliness, are ready to start expressing themselves and empowering each other- just as those before us were also ready. Engaging with us through

meaningful long-term commitment to our ideas matched with material resources and on-going recognition of right to culture and language is what we need. With this will come the understanding of how culture shapes our initiatives in ways that define Pakeha models.

The things that makeup our country, like the telling of our history and the curriculum in our classrooms, maintain types of forced identities that many of us struggle to battle with. They continue to alienate us from our sense of self and each other. And they serve to erase our rights as rangatahi Māori. We have a right to exist in the rich diversity that we are. A landscape with a diverse sense of being will grow tall and strong with interwoven intricacies that not only support the plant life that make up the forest but lend invaluable support to all

that it encompasses- from the insects in the ground to the birds above the trees. If the aim is to reduce inequalities, point one must be to remove the weeds that poison and strip the ngāhere of its wealth and vitality. What weeds poison our society, and reduce the wealth of our collective mindsets? How can we inform our youth of the rich legacy of their ancestors? Plans must be made to this nature, and towards a collective decision to make ourselves more aware of the structures in government and in society which inhibit growth. Our society is unsettled, and by that we mean there is a postcolonial gothic that leaves the landscape shivering. If we are to remain unsettled, let it be another kind; a society which seeks not to ‘settle’ the indigenous landscape, but rather to foster its indigenous growth, for the collective health

of the entire eco-system.

We end this report by quoting...

“Despite the size of the task before us, tino rangatiratanga will only be achieved by our collective contributions. We must have the courage to remember the taonga of tipuna and the legacy of those who have gone before to reclaim and create spaces for self-belief as a people. It is in the spirit of a collective commitment to tino rangatiratanga that we hope [our reflections] will assist in the praxis needed if we are to improve our conditions, retain our knowledge and belief systems, our values and practices, our relationships with the natural and spiritual worlds, and most of all, our faith in each other” (Hutchings & Lee-Morgan, 2016, 14).

Below: Thanks delivered to Lile and Kahu following their presentation. L–R: Dr Mere Skerrett (Senior Lecturer, School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington), Hana Mereraiha White (UNA NZ National Council Member), Liletina Vaka and Kahu Kutia (Interns). Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay



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United Nations adopts treaty to prohibit nuclear weapons

On July 7, 2017, the United Nations adopted a Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (nuclear ban treaty) following negotiations over 5 weeks during March, June and July.

122 countries voted in favour of the treaty, demonstrating the clear and unequivocal acceptance of the majority of UN members never to use, threaten to use, produce, possess, acquire, transfer, test or deploy nuclear weapons. The treaty will be open for signature on September 20 and will enter-into-force once 50 states ratify.

UN Secretary-General António Guterres noted that *'The treaty represents an important step and contribution towards the common aspiration of a world without nuclear weapons.'*

Impact on the nuclear-armed States

The nuclear-armed and allied States opposed the treaty, and are unlikely to join. As such, they will not be bound by its provisions. Regardless, adoption of the treaty strengthens the global norm against nuclear weapons, and could impact on the policies and practices of the nuclear-armed States.

The Disarmament and Security Centre, a New Zealand based non-governmental organization that participated in the

Written by Alyn Ware, UNA NZ Special Officer on Peace and Security

negotiations in New York, says that: *'The Treaty strongly stigmatises nuclear weapons, bringing them closer to other indiscriminate, inhumane weapons that are banned under international law, such as chemical and biological weapons, anti-personnel landmines and cluster munitions. Prohibiting nuclear weapons will help to build political will for disarmament, and is a vital next step towards a comprehensive nuclear weapons convention that would provide for their complete elimination, like the enforceable conventions that exist to eliminate other weapons of mass destruction.'*

The United Nations will hold a High-Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament in 2018 with the principal goal of advancing negotiations on such a nuclear weapons convention. The nuclear-armed and allied States are expected to participate in the High-Level Conference despite boycotting the negotiations on the nuclear ban treaty.

'The ban treaty could help build the political momentum to push the nuclear-armed States to adopt significant measures at the 2018 UN High Level Conference,' says Alyn Ware, UNA NZ Special Officer on Peace and Security, speaking at a side event on the 2018 UNHLC held during the ban treaty negotiations and chaired by Dr Kate Dewes from the Disarmament and Security Centre. 'Already parliaments in

the nuclear-armed States are starting to ask their governments what they will deliver in terms of nuclear disarmament measures at the 2018 UNHLC.'

The ban treaty could also impact directly on the policies and practices of the nuclear-armed States if the States parties to the treaty include in their national implementation measures a prohibition on financing of nuclear weapons and on transit of nuclear weapons through their territories, airspace and territorial waters.

Many of the countries supporting the nuclear prohibition treaty have public funds (such as national pension funds), and banks operating in their countries, that invest in corporations manufacturing nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. So far, a handful of countries including New Zealand have divested public funds from these corporations. If they are joined by a sizeable percentage of the countries ratifying the ban treaty, this will have significant impact on the nuclear weapons corporations and their lobbying power.

The experience of New Zealand in prohibiting port visits and transit of nuclear weapons, and in divesting from nuclear weapons corporations, was presented to the UN negotiations on the ban treaty, and could be very helpful to other countries as they undertake their ratification process. (See UN nuclear ban treaty negotiations: transit, threat and nuclear weapons financing¹).

Background to the ban treaty process

The ban treaty process has been driven by a growing recognition of the risks and catastrophic humanitarian and environmental consequences of nuclear weapons use, and by frustration amongst non-nuclear States at the failure of the nuclear-armed States to deliver on their obligations to negotiate and achieve comprehensive nuclear disarmament.

Earlier this year, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists moved the hands of their 'Doomsday Clock' to 2 ½ minutes to midnight², highlighting the growing risks of a nuclear catastrophe due increasingly to unstable leadership of nuclear-armed States and increased conflicts and

tensions between Russia and the West, North Korea and its neighbours, India and Pakistan and between China and others in the South China sea.

In 2010, the States Parties to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) concluded that any use of nuclear weapons would have catastrophic humanitarian consequences, and agreed that 'All States need to make special efforts to establish the necessary framework to achieve and maintain a world without nuclear weapons.'

This opened the door to non-nuclear States taking the lead in a series of UN Open Ended Working Groups (OEWGs) on taking forward nuclear disarmament negotiations, without having to wait

for agreement from the nuclear-armed States. These OEWGs resulted in agreement to negotiate a treaty to prohibit nuclear weapons under UN General Assembly rules of procedure, i.e. allowing a vote on the final outcome, rather than following the consensus approach of the Conference on Disarmament and the NPT Review Conferences.

New Zealand contributed strongly to this process by being one of the leaders in the OEWGs and the ban treaty negotiations. New Zealand was also among the leaders of the humanitarian initiative which helped build political will to pursue this new disarmament initiative, and served as a vice-president of the negotiating conference for the nuclear weapon prohibition.



Photo left: Alyn Ware speaking at the plenary of the negotiations on the issue of prohibiting financing of nuclear weapons. Photo right: Presenting the joint statement of mayors, parliamentarians and religious leaders to UN High Rep on Disarmament Affairs at a private meeting to discuss follow-up to the ban treaty, and in particular how to engage nuclear-armed countries in nuclear disarmament on 30 June 2017 (L-R): Randy Rydell (Mayors for Peace), Jonathan Granoff (Parliament of the World's Religions), Alyn Ware, Ms Izumi Nakamitsu (UN High Representative for Disarmament), Kyoichi Sugino (Religions for Peace), and Jean-Marie Collin (Parliamentarians for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament).



¹ unfoldzero.org/un-nuclear-ban-treaty-negotiations-transit-threat-and-nuclear-weapons-financing/
² pnnd.org/article/pnnd-holds-consultation-washington-dc-doomsday-clock-moves-closer-midnight

New Zealand can continue to play a lead role in implementation and follow-up by:

- signing the Treaty as soon as it opens for signature on 20 September 2017;
- amending the 1987 NZ Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone, Disarmament and Arms Control Act to incorporate our ratification of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons;
- providing assistance to other states in their ratification process by offering the experience of New

Zealand in prohibiting nuclear weapons, including port visits and transit, and in divesting from nuclear weapons corporations;

- announcing that New Zealand will participate in the 2018 UN High-Level Conference on Nuclear Disarmament at the highest level, calling on other states to also participate at the highest level and to use the occasion to either sign or ratify the ban treaty, or to adopt other significant measures at the UNHLC.



Interfaith vigil at Isaiah Wall just opposite the entrance to the UN. Alyn Ware, UNA NZ Special Officer on Peace and Security second to the right.

Dame Laurie Salas and the fierce urgency of freedom from the sum of nuclear fears



Professor Ramesh Thakur

This address was given by Prof Ramesh Thakur at a seminar hosted on 8 June 2017 by UNA NZ, NZIIA and WILPF, on NZ's Nuclear Weapon Free Legislation—Thirty years on, and in honour of the late Dame Laurie Salas.

For someone who has made a professional living by words, I could not even begin to express the depth of honour at being asked to deliver the Laurie Salas Oration. I am touched and humbled in equal measure. It is a measure of Laurie's giant stature that so many are gathered here today to honour her memory and pay tribute to her legacy. And, when I look around the room, not just so many people – but what people! In the words of the great Irish poet WB Yeats, it might truly be said of Laurie: *“And say my glory was I had such friends.”*

Slight of frame, gentle by nature and softly spoken, Dame Laurie Salas was motivated by core inner convictions that gave her the strength and the resolution to maintain the rage and stay the course until victories were achieved. Her milestones of success are the many changes to New Zealand laws, policies and practices, whether modest or consequential. As someone deeply distressed by declining civility in public discourse, let me say this: Laurie should be a role model for all social and political activists, relying on persuasion and the power of ideas instead of angry denunciations and shouted accusations of moral turpitude. She gained universal respect by never being disrespectful, even

to those with whom she disagreed most profoundly. Those who mistook her innate gentleness and politeness for weakness, learnt to their cost that her determination not to compromise on core values and her will to triumph against the odds were indomitable. It's something in the water in the South Island, I reckon. She was indeed a true inspiration and wise guiding light for the generation that followed.

Laurie should be a role model for all social and political activists, relying on persuasion and the power of ideas instead of angry denunciations and shouted accusations of moral turpitude.

The two causes that Dame Laurie [Dame – an old Otago friend and Daimler] will most be associated with are empowering women as change agents, and peace among nations through patient diplomacy rather than brute force. I don't know if she was aware of it, but she clearly believed in Mahatma Gandhi's bon mot that if everyone followed the philosophy of an eye for an eye, soon the whole world would be blind.

Combining the two and with an unshakeable faith in the symbolism and potential of the United Nations, Laurie would have derived deep satisfaction from New Zealand's global leadership on the humanitarian initiative to nuclear

disarmament, leading to this year's UN conference to ban the bomb. And she would have been immensely proud – but not surprised – of the formidable Dell Higgie's role and status as one of the global public faces of that effort.



New Zealand's Disarmament Ambassador Dell Higgie at the recent UN negotiations. Photo credit: ICAN

Nuclear Threats

What a contrast from the policy waffle across the Tasman. We face only two truly existential threats today, climate change and nuclear war. Those who reject climate science are widely derided as denialists, except in Australia and America where they are also known as the government. But intriguingly, those who reject the facts of nuclear risks and threats are praised for their realism. As my personal tribute to Dame Laurie Salas, I'd like to talk today about where we stand with trying to reduce and eliminate the multitude of nuclear risks and threats confronting us currently, in particular in the Asia-Pacific.

We may be at an inflection point in nuclear affairs with a world in disarray. One of many strong headwinds buffeting world

affairs is intensifying and multiplying nuclear threats. Boundaries are being steadily eroded between nuclear and conventional munitions; regional, global, tactical and strategic warheads; and nuclear, cyber and space domains. Geopolitical tensions have risen in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia and East Asia. Little wonder that former US Defense Secretary William Perry warns that 'the danger of a nuclear catastrophe today is greater than during the Cold War'. The nuclear peace has held so far owing as much to good luck as sound stewardship.

If not abolished, nothing is more certain than that they will proliferate and be used again: some day, somewhere, somehow. Remarkably, the romantic dreamers, who fantasise about everlasting nuclear peace under a permanent nuclear monopoly, call themselves realists. The overarching context for any discussion of nuclear weapons policy is three sobering reflections:

- For **nuclear peace to hold**, deterrence and fail-safe mechanisms must

work every single time. For nuclear Armageddon, deterrence or fail safe mechanisms need to break down only once. This is not a comforting equation.

- **Deterrence stability** depends on rational decision-makers being always in office on all sides: a dubious precondition. How reassured should we all feel that the world's nuclear peace depends on Donald Trump's and Kim Jong-un's fingers on nuclear buttons?

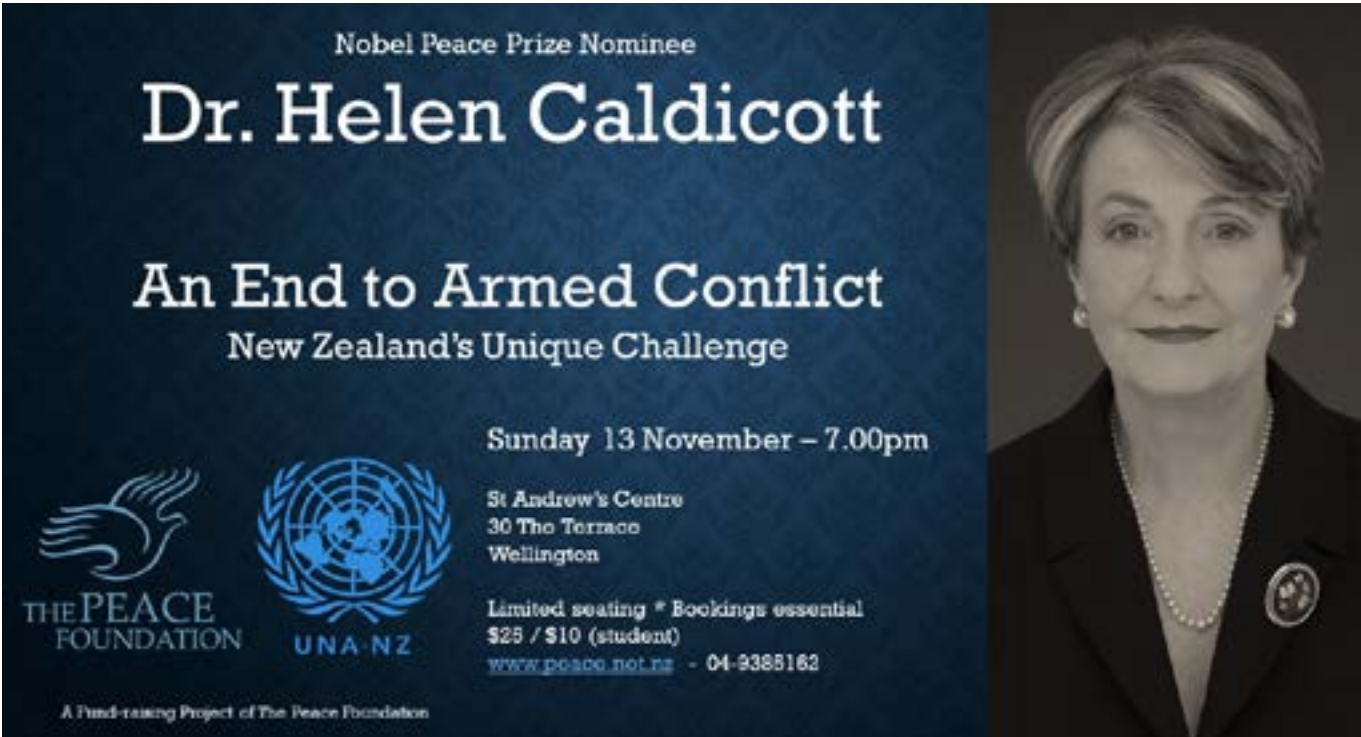
- **Deterrence stability** depends equally critically on there being no rogue launch, human error or system malfunction. This 100% guarantee is an impossibly high bar.

The Asia-Centric Second Nuclear Age

Asia remains the only site of nuclear weapon use and Japan the only victim of nuclear weapon use. Four of the world's nine nuclear weapon possessor countries are in Asia.

Only Asia contains states with the full spectrum of nuclear weapon status in relation to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT): one NPT-licit NWS (China), two non-NPT nuclear-armed states (India, Pakistan), the world's only NPT defector state (North Korea), three umbrella states (Australia, Japan, South Korea), and a vast majority of non-NWS States Parties. North Korea's unchecked nuclear ambitions could in turn trigger a cascade of proliferation right through the sub-region (South Korea, Japan, Taiwan), with the sole exception of Mongolia which like New Zealand has enshrined its nuclear-free status in national legislation.

China is also the sole Asian permanent member of the UN Security Council which functions as the global enforcement authority in the maintenance of nuclear peace. Of course, the P5 being the five NPT nuclear weapon states is a fatal conflict of interest that mires Security Council non-proliferation enforcement efforts in base hypocrisy.



In November 2016, UNA NZ collaborated with The Peace Foundation to bring Australian anti-nuclear warrior, Dr Helen Caldicott, to Wellington and Auckland. You can listen to her Radio NZ interview at <http://bit.ly/2ukmCmX>

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), signed by 183 countries and ratified by 166, is a key barrier to both vertical and horizontal proliferation. This still leaves eight out of 44 Annex 2 countries whose ratifications are needed to bring it into force. Four holdouts are Asian: China, India, North Korea and Pakistan. Since the treaty's adoption in 1996, the handful of nuclear tests have all been in Asia. Meanwhile Pakistan has consistently blocked the adoption of any program of work in the Conference of Disarmament (CD) in Geneva on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT).

The first nuclear age was shaped by the overarching US–Soviet ideological rivalry, their competitive nuclear arms build-up and doctrines, the development of mechanisms for maintaining strategic stability, and the practice of strategic nuclear policy dialogues among the US and its allies, and between the US allies and the Soviet Union. No equivalent dialogues exist in the Asia–Pacific.

The second nuclear age is characterised by:

- Multiple nuclear powers with criss-crossing ties of cooperation and conflict;
- Fragile command and control systems;
- Critical importance of cyber threats and security;
- Asymmetric perceptions of the military and political utility of nuclear weapons, with China and India having declared no first use policies because they foresee political more than military utility in nuclear weapons;
- Simultaneous, long-running and major territorial disputes between some states, e.g. China, India, and Pakistan;
- Threat perceptions between three or more nuclear-armed states simultaneously;
- The transformation of the Cold War nuclear dyads into interlinked nuclear chains today;

- The resulting greater complexity of deterrence relations between the nuclear powers. Changes in the nuclear posture of one can generate a cascading effect on several others. The nuclear relationship between India and Pakistan, for example, is historically, conceptually, politically and strategically deeply intertwined with China as a nuclear power;
- State-sponsored cross-border militancy and extremism involving nuclear-armed states;
- The risk of nuclear terrorism.

That is, the central dynamics and drivers of nuclear policy and relations in the second nuclear age are qualitatively different from the earlier era. Even though there are fewer nuclear weapons today in the world today than at the height of the Cold War (ca. 65-70k in the mid-1980s, 15k today), there is a higher likelihood of their use – by design, accident, rogue launch or system error. Do we really want to risk a nuclear war launched by blips on the radar screen?

The risks of nuclear war have grown with more countries with weaker command and control systems in more unstable regions possessing these deadly weapons, terrorists wanting them, and vulnerability to human error, system malfunction and cyber attack. Premeditated nuclear strikes seem unlikely pathways to a nuclear exchange. But the toxic cocktail of growing nuclear stockpiles, expanding nuclear platforms, irredentist territorial claims, and out of control jihadist groups makes the Indian subcontinent a high risk region of concern. Northeast Asia is the world's most dangerous cockpit for a possible nuclear war that could directly involve four nuclear-armed states, plus South Korea, Japan and Taiwan.

There are multiple pathways to danger in the Korean peninsula:

- Since the end of the Cold War, the US has been more skilled at starting new

- wars than ending those it is already fighting;
- Trump has the tendency to issue threats via tweets. His bluster could spook Kim Jong-un to launch a preemptive attack;
- Kim is a good match for Trump in being erratic, volatile and unpredictable. His serial provocations could incite a South Korea military response that creates an unstoppable escalation spiral;
- A growing nuclear arsenal and delivery capability could lead to higher risk postures and deployment practices in an already heavily militarised region;
- A growing stock of fissile material will increase the risk of theft and sabotage;
- A well stocked but impoverished North Korea could proliferate weapons, materials and technology for which there is always a market clearing price;
- An unchecked expansion of North Korean nuclear warheads and delivery platforms will intensify pressures to regional proliferation to breaking point.

It seems a safe bet that Kim's primary motivation is personal and regime survival. The strongest stimulus to nuclearisation has been the US policy of forcible regime change. Senior North Korean officials have said to Siegfried Hecker, former director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, that 'if Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia, Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Muammar Gaddafi in Libya had had nuclear weapons, their countries would not have been at the mercy of the Americans and their regime-change tactics'. To this list we might now well add the Russian intervention in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea.

In turn this means that threats are counter-productive: they re-validate Pyongyang's nuclearisation. Recently North Korean officials said that Trump's airstrikes on Syria vindicated their nuclear choices 'a million times over'. Washington is a long way off from being certain of taking out all of North Korea's nuclear and

That is, not that the NPT is bad, but it may have reached its limit and use by date. As we head towards the 50th anniversary of the NPT's signature next year, here is a startling fact: not a single nuclear warhead has been eliminated through a multilateral agreement—not one.

missile programs in a clean preventive hit. We cannot realistically discount the possibility of a nuclear retaliation by a regime with the freedom of nothing left to lose, as Janis Joplin sang a lifetime ago. Even with North Korea's capability to devastate South Korea with conventional weapons, military strikes on North Korea to abort its growing nuclear capability are so formidably difficult as to be ruled out, according to Admiral Dennis Blair, former director of national intelligence.

If a weaponised intercontinental nuclear capability is unacceptable but a military attack is impossible without causing unacceptable damage in the South, then some compromise must be found. Would Seoul and Washington agree to denuclearisation that includes the promise of no use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons against a denuclearised North Korea, and a comprehensive peace settlement for the peninsula? Instead of imposing capitulation as a precondition for talks, should not the US and its East Asian allies be exploring a mixed strategy of pressure and engagement – as proved successful in shrink wrapping Iran's nuclear program?

A ban treaty

All nine nuclear-armed states pay lip-service to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons. But their actions with respect to

weapons arsenals, fissile material stocks, force modernisation plans, declared doctrines and observable deployment practices demonstrate the intent to retain nuclear weapons indefinitely.

Even though their combined stockpiles total only three percent of global nuclear arsenals, warhead numbers are growing in all four Asian nuclear-armed states (and in none of the other five). Of the four, only China is legally bound by Article VI of the NPT to nuclear disarmament.

In 1996 the World Court advised, unanimously, that 'There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control'. Last December's General Assembly resolution mandating a UN conference to negotiate a nuclear weapon ban treaty conforms to this obligation and attempts to give practical expression to it. The conference held its first session 27–31 March with 132 states participating, and will hold its final session 15 June–7 July.

On 22 May the conference chair published a draft text of the prohibition convention that would fulfil the 127-nation humanitarian pledge 'to stigmatise, prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons'. It provides a solid basis to complete



Dame Laurie Salas Photo credit: Clark Photography

negotiations of a treaty to prohibit the acquisition, development, production, manufacture, possession, transfer, testing, extra-territorial stationing and use of nuclear weapons as major steps on the road to abolition.

This is the most significant multilateral development on nuclear arms control since the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 and the adoption of the CTBT in 1996. To be blunt, from one point of view the UN-mandated conference is a vote of no confidence in the NPT that – potentially although not necessarily – poses an existential threat to the NPT.

The primary drivers of the ban negotiations are deepening concern at the risks and threats posed by the existence and deployment of nuclear weapons and doctrines, and mounting frustrations at

the failure to eliminate them under existing frameworks and processes. Thus the exasperation extends both to the process and forum – the consensus based and veto paralysing stalemate of the CD; and to the substance – the nearly complete lack of progress.

On the one hand, the NPT has been and still is the normative sheet anchor of all nuclear orders. On the other hand, there are unmistakable indications that its normative potential has been exhausted. In addition, as the NPT regime is treaty based, its normative reach does not extend to non-signatories. This has the paradoxical result that the five Nuclear-Weapons States (NWS) are legally obligated to nuclear disarmament but the four extra-NPT nuclear-armed states are not. A UN treaty could help to bring all nine states under one common normative framework.

That is, not that the NPT is bad, but it may have reached its limit and 'use by date'. As we head towards the 50th anniversary of the NPT's signature next year, here is a startling fact: not a single nuclear warhead has been eliminated through a multilateral agreement – not one. In fact, no multilateral negotiation on nuclear weapons has ever been held under the NPT rubric. The bilateral US–Russian process has also stalled completely. There is a recommendation from a blue-ribbon Pentagon panel to expand US nuclear options by developing an arsenal capable of fighting 'limited' nuclear wars. This would further undermine the NPT. In addition, increasing attention is being paid to the possibility of nuclear weaponisation by Japan and South Korea in the Pacific, and to an independent European nuclear deterrent in the Atlantic ('Euro-deterrent').

Against this bleak nuclear landscape, the majority of non-NWS have decided to switch roles from rule takers to norm setters, reclaimed nuclear agency and hijacked the process from the NWS, and seem determined to proclaim

a more powerful and unambiguous prohibition norm. Western commentators seem curiously blind to the reality that the international community is a lot bigger than the Euro-Atlantic/Western community and typically conflate the former into the latter. In the case of the ban conference, the North Atlantic community finds itself in opposition to the international community. This is especially troubling because normally, most of the North Atlantic countries are not just good, but among the best, international citizens.

While NWS and allies allege that the ban conference threatens the integrity of the NPT and the CD, it seems unarguable that their boycott of the conference is an open act of defiance and disrespect of a duly constituted and multilaterally mandated disarmament process involving two-thirds of the NPT membership. Prima facie, non-participation also places them in non-compliance with the Article VI obligation of all 188 NPT States Parties, not just the NWS, to pursue and conclude disarmament negotiations. Many US allies that have previously championed disarmament credentials – Australia, Canada, Japan, Norway – have been outed instead as part of the problem with their embarrassing decision to boycott the UN conference. India, another self-professed champion of nuclear disarmament, explained its abstention from the talks by saying that the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament was the only 'right place for pursuing nuclear disarmament' because it alone has 'the mandate, the membership and the rules for embarking on the path to nuclear disarmament'. This is the same CD that for two decades has not even been able to agree on its own work agenda.

The [nuclear ban] treaty will also draw on the long-recognized unique role of the United Nations as the sole custodian and dispenser of collective legitimacy of the international community.

Five components of nuclear disarmament

The nuclear policy goals can be summarised as: delegitimise, prohibit, cap and contain, reduce, and eliminate. In this five-part agenda, only those possessing nuclear weapons can undertake the last three tasks. But the non-nuclear weapon countries, who constitute the overwhelming bulk of the international community, can pursue the first (delegitimation) and second (prohibition) goals on their own, both as an affirmation of global norms (standards as distinct from prevailing patterns of behaviour); and as one of the very few means available to them of exerting pressure on the possessor states to pursue the other three goals.

Cap, reduce, eliminate

Russia and the US, with 93 percent of global nuclear stockpiles, could negotiate substantial cutbacks to warhead numbers from the present several thousand each. Once these two have reduced their arsenals down to the hundreds, China could be drawn into the negotiations followed by the other nuclear-armed states.

The two nuclear superpowers could also reduce reliance on nuclear weapons in their national security policy by unilateral or mutually agreed changes to nuclear postures, doctrines and deployment practices like launch-on-warning and first use of nuclear weapons. NFU and de-alerting are strategic steps in downgrading the military role of nuclear weapons and transforming relations between nuclear adversaries from one of strategic confrontation to antagonistic collaboration. They would confirm nuclear weapons as weapons of last resort,

reinforce the normative barrier against use, and permit the dismantlement of vulnerable land-based warheads. Moreover, indefinite reliance on first use and on short notice alert can legitimise the nuclear ambitions of others by validating their role in providing national security. There is thus a non-proliferation as well as a disarmament and crisis stability argument for NFU and de-alerting.

Stigmatise and prohibit

In an unclassified NATO document of 17 October 2016 that urged allies to oppose ban negotiations, Washington conceded that ‘The effects of a nuclear weapons ban treaty could be wide-ranging’. In other words, US opposition is built not on the lack of practical effects of a ban treaty, but on the opposite: its very considerable impact in the real world.

The main impact of the ban treaty will be to reshape the global normative context: the prevailing cluster of norms, rules, practices and discourse that shape how we think about and act in relation to nuclear weapons.

Stigmatization implies illegitimacy of a practice based on the collective moral revulsion of a community. The ban treaty aims to delegitimize and stigmatize the possession, use and deployment of nuclear weapons, plus the practice of nuclear deterrence, owing to the risks of possession and the humanitarian consequences of any use. The foreseeable effects of use makes the doctrine of deterrence and the possession of nuclear weapons morally unacceptable to the community at large.

The nuclear discourse of the NWS ‘moves easily from’ the position that the NPT permits them to possess and deploy nuclear weapons, ‘to the language of entitlement, legal rights and enduring legitimacy’. They are able to claim legitimacy through the NPT because

it allegedly gave legal cover to their possession of nuclear weapons – and to no one else – until such time as they themselves negotiate the elimination of their stockpiles. But non-NWS are the majority shareholders in the NPT society of states and by acting together they can take back that legitimacy. By changing the prevailing normative structure, the treaty will shift the balance of costs and benefits of possession, deterrence doctrines and deployment practices and create a deepening crisis of legitimacy. In this argument stigmatization and prohibition become the necessary – not sufficient – precursors to elimination. From this point of view the treaty will also draw on the long-recognized unique role of the United Nations as the sole custodian and dispenser of collective legitimacy of the international community.

A legally binding prohibition treaty will harden the normative boundaries between conventional and nuclear, regional and global, and tactical and strategic weapons that are being blurred by technological developments. A ban treaty will also, at a minimum, reaffirm the global nuclear norms of non-proliferation, disarmament, security, and non-use, and thereby devalue the currency of nuclear weapons.

Conclusion

The NWS are right in the belief that the UN conference is a threat to the credibility and authority of the NPT that has enabled the continued possession of nuclear weapons by them by stubbornly denying the existence of a legal gap on prohibition, let alone filling the gap through credible action plans. At the same time, a successful ban conference could shatter irretrievably the NPT and the CD as the sole normative framework and multilateral forum, respectively, for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. But it will do so by revitalising the multilateral machinery for the task.

The immediate policy challenge is how to ensure that the two separate streams of the ban conference and NPT PrepCom processes are brought together in a smooth confluence. Non-participation by the nuclear-armed states and the US umbrella allies cannot contribute to developing a joint strategy to restore unity of purpose and action in striving for the declared common goal of nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. If they wish to rescue the NPT as the preferred framework and process, it is for them to demonstrate practical progress, through deeds not just words, the utility of the PrepComs and Review Conference by bringing the step-by-step approach to some productive conclusions. An agreed nuclear lexicon is not a practical disarmament measure.

The ban treaty is at present the only practical and credible effort to fulfil the dream of a world freed at last of the existence of nuclear weapons that constitute an existential threat to humanity. Asia–Pacific countries have been strong supporters. Almost the only opponents are the four nuclear-armed and the three umbrella states. Non-participation thus puts them on the wrong side of geography, history and humanity. The international community considers a ban treaty urgent, essential and, in current circumstances, the only practical way forward for achieving real disarmament. It should provide an impetus to efforts to a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) that is universal, non-discriminatory, verifiable, and enforceable. Actual elimination could be spread over more than a decade to ensure that decommissioning, dismantlement and destruction of weapons and weapon-producing materials and infrastructure are carried out safely and securely.

On that happy occasion of a NWC, perhaps we could declare it the Dame Laurie Salas day of celebration.

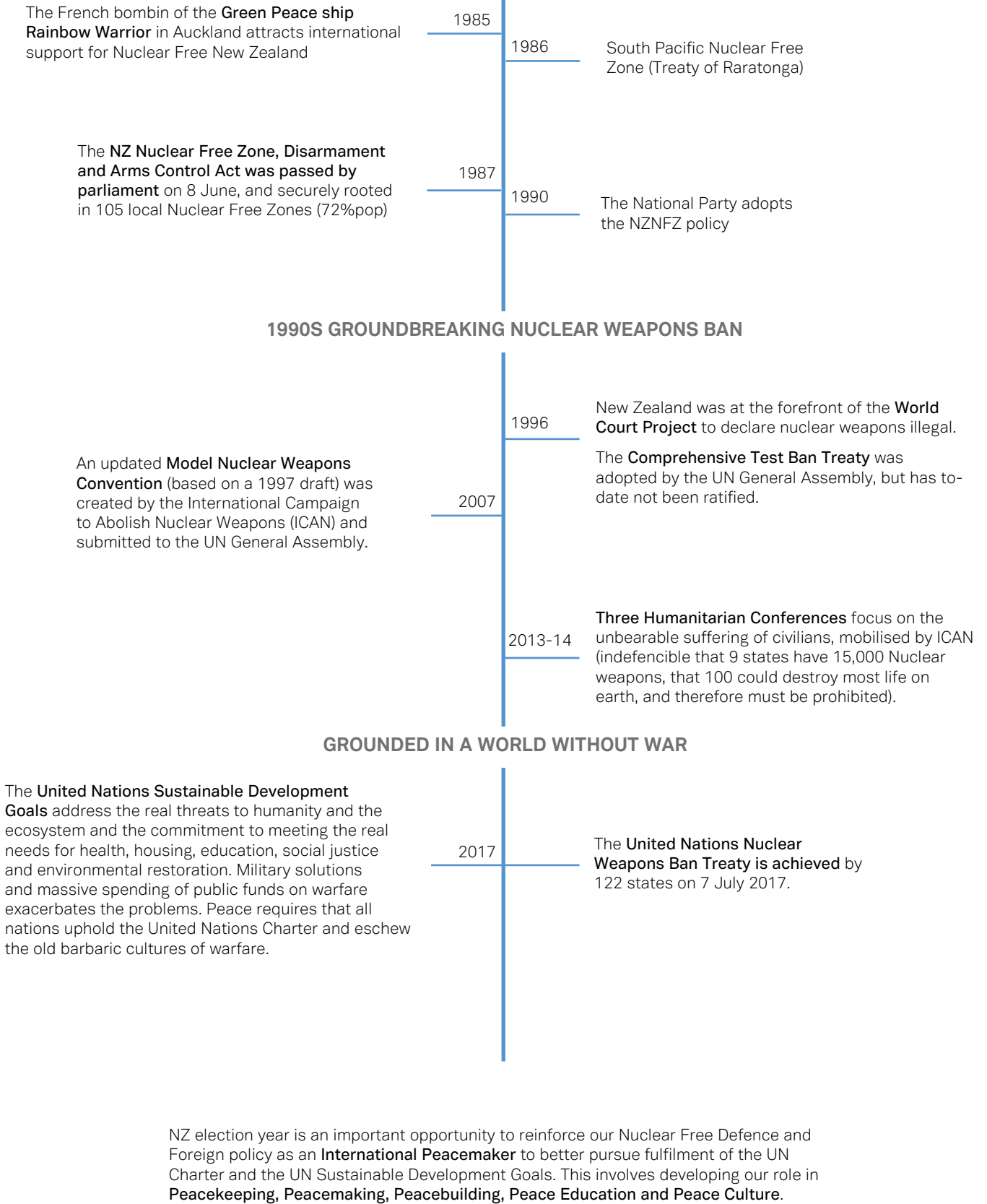
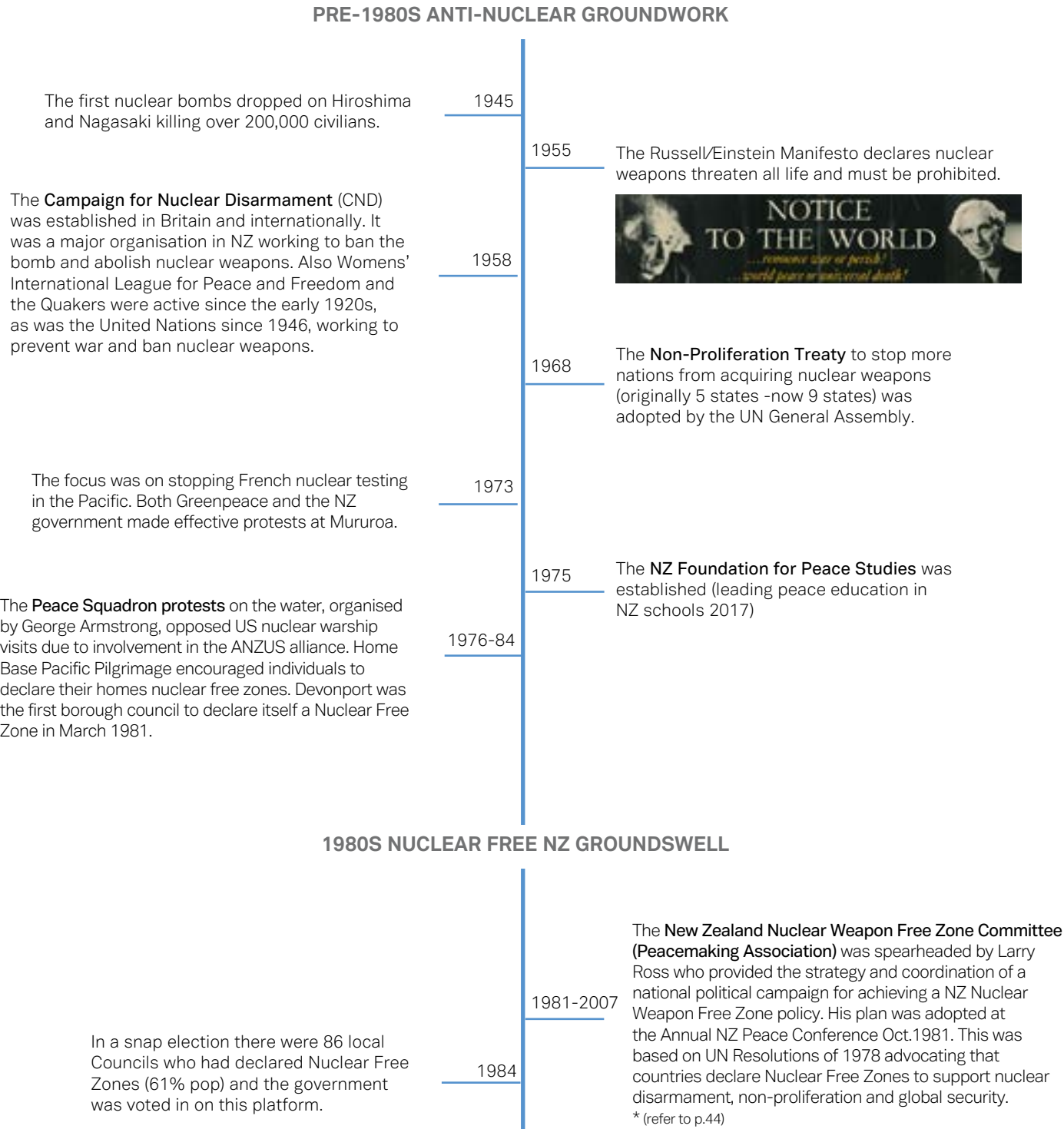


Large banner displayed in the foyer at the School of Architecture. Photo credit: Éva Kaprinay

The Nuclear Free New Zealand Peacemaker poster exhibition celebrated 30 years of a nuclear free New Zealand in collaboration with the Sustainable Architecture Student Project. The exhibition was co-hosted by the United Nations Association of New Zealand and Dr Maibritt Pedersen Zari, Deputy Head of School, School of Architecture, Victoria University of Wellington, where it was open to the public until Wednesday 26th July. The Peace Poster Collection on display is the legacy of Larry Ross, founder of the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee and Peacemaking Association 1981-2007. The exhibition and event was sponsored by the Peace & Disarmament Education Trust, Victoria University of Wellington, and the United Nations Association of New Zealand.

Celebrating 30 years of nuclear free New Zealand

Brief historic timeline of nuclear free New Zealand
by Laurie Ross



The UNA NZ Nuclear Free Peacemaker exhibition

The Nuclear Free Peacemaker exhibition features these [above] elements in the visual artwork with succinct wording to illuminate the meaning of peace work.

New Zealand/Aotearoa is in the vanguard of this movement to liberate humanity from the history and perpetuation of violence and warfare.

To achieve this we need to establish the infrastructure for training and employment of thousands of Peace workers and Peace educators.

This requires government investment

in cultural proliferation of these ideas. Illumination of our 'Peace History' is necessary for society to remember what the people of New Zealand achieved in the 1980s to protect humanity from the horror of nuclear war and annihilation. This is especially valuable for our young people and new migrants who do not know this history.

It is our national cultural heritage worthy of wholesome civic pride and it should be honoured.

From a nuclear free New Zealand to a nuclear free world working for peace.

The team at the Peace Foundation have been busy putting together a microsite to celebrate the 30th Anniversary of New Zealand being Nuclear Free. The website address is: www.nuclearfreenz30.org.nz

This micro-site is designed to:

- educate youth at home and abroad about New Zealand's path to nuclear freedom, and the country's ongoing efforts to advance international nuclear disarmament
- highlight events to celebrate New Zealand's 30 years of nuclear freedom
- provide information and resources related to the history of nuclear weapons activities in the Pacific, and their impact on indigenous Pacific peoples
- encourage support for the ongoing struggle for nuclear justice – including the negotiation of a treaty to ban nuclear weapons in 2017
- help to strengthen networks of peace and disarmament-focused NGOs in Aotearoa and abroad.

nuclearfreenz30.org.nz



Above and left: Exhibits at the NZ Peacemaker exhibition, which were displayed at the Architecture School, Victoria University of Wellington, between 18-24 July 2017. Below with Laurie Ross



*(from page 42): **The NZ Nuclear Free Zone Campaign Plan was carried out as follows:**

- 1/Public education materials on horror of nuclear weapons- mass produced disseminated.
- 2/Petitions to parliament to adopt

- Nuclear Free Zone policy and withdrawal from ANZUS, instituting a Peacemaking defence and foreign policy and delivery of humanitarian aid
- 3/Protest -Anti-nuclear demonstrations, marches, rallies, etc

- 4/Promotion and marketing and popularising the idea in mainstream society with badges, stickers, stalls, organisation of lecture tours, media publicity, events and newsletters.
- 5/Peace Groups established for lobbying local councils to declare Nuclear Free Zones

SDG report card on NZ children's well-being

*The theme for 2017 of the United Nations Association of New Zealand is **NZ and the SDGs: committed to sustainable peace and development.** One of our big concerns is this global report produced by UNICEF as part of its *Innocenti Report Card* series, and summarised by UNICEF NZ, on children's well-being. New Zealand has performed poorly and Kiwi kids will continue to miss out unless there is a change...*

Building the Future: Children and the Sustainable Development Goals in Rich Countries is the first report to assess the status of children in 41 high-income countries in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) identified as most important for child well-being. It ranks countries based on their performance and details the challenges and opportunities that advanced economies face in achieving global commitments to children.

New Zealand ranks 34th out of 41 EU/ OECD countries across Innocenti's League Tables. Across the nine Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the comparison, New Zealand performs best in "Sustainable cities and communities" (9th) and worst in "Good health and well-being" (39th).

Following is a summary of New Zealand's scores:

SDG 1: Ending poverty

In New Zealand 19.8% of children are living in relative income poverty (22nd on the League table) but New Zealand did not have data for the Report Card's League Table for Multidimensional child poverty*. New Zealand also presents no data on

how many children are lifted out of poverty through welfare.

*New Zealand appears to be shifting the definitive lines for defining poverty in its government's reports:

In New Zealand, the Ministry of Social Development's Household Income Survey classifies "material hardship" as being deprived of 7 or more key indicators such as nutrition, clothing, educational resources, leisure activities or housing. 155,000 (14%) of New Zealand children were reported in last year's housing income survey report as living with these conditions and therefore in a state of material hardship. Interestingly, Innocenti's Report Card measures "multidimensional poverty" as being deprived of only 2 or more similar indicators. The global average for just 2 or more indicators is 34.7%.

New Zealand is clearly capable of reporting against Innocenti's measures for multidimensional poverty, but hasn't, and has instead broadened the definitive lines of measurement for multidimensional poverty when reporting internally to New Zealand audiences.

SDG 2: Ending hunger

New Zealand ranks 18th, with 10.9% of children below the age of 15 living with an adult who is food insecure.

New Zealand is clearly capable of reporting against Innocenti's measures for child obesity but Innocenti calls specifically for the rates of 11-15 year olds, while New Zealand's rates are for 2-14 year olds*.

*According to the 2015/16 New Zealand

Health Survey, one in nine were obese (11%) and a further 21% were overweight, meaning 32% of New Zealand children are either obese or overweight. The Ministry of Health is aware this is an increase from 8% in 2006/2007. Innocenti's League Table gives a global average of just 15.2% for "overweight or obese" children aged 11-15, and the worst rates – Malta (27.4%) Canada (25.05%) and Greece (20.93%) – are nowhere near as high as New Zealand's for 2-14 year olds.

SDG 3 and 16: Ensuring health and well-being and promoting justice and strong institutions

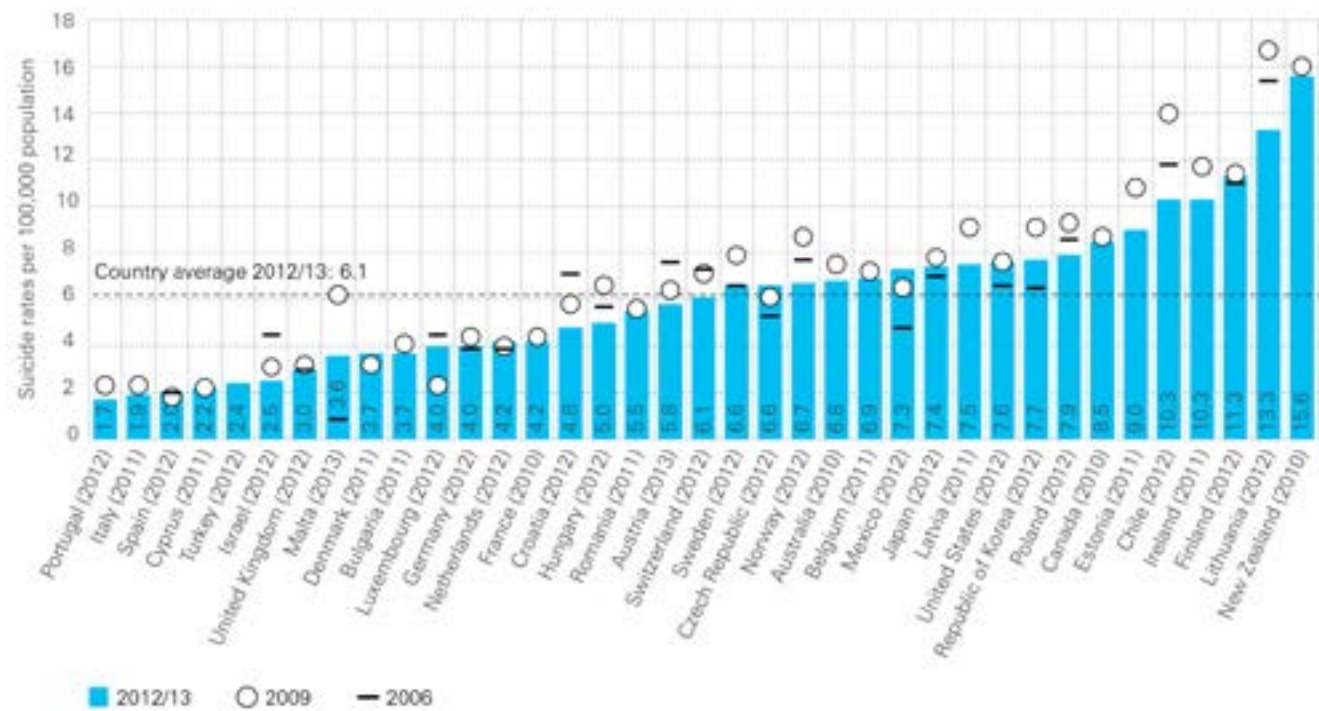
New Zealand ranks 38th out of 41 League nations for SDG 3. New Zealand's teenage birth rate is 23.3 births per 1,000 females aged 15-19, which is a reduction from 28.7 per 1,000 in 2005. Despite this drop, New Zealand's teen pregnancy rate is still the fifth highest teenage pregnancy rate in the world.

The neonatal mortality rate is 3.1 children per 1,000 - that's no change since 2005 and higher than the global average.

New Zealand has the worst adolescent (15-19) suicide rate in the world at 15.6 per 100,000. This rate is so high it brings the entire global average up 0.26 per 100,000. Countries nearest New Zealand's rate are considerably lower at 13 (Lithuania), 11 (Finland) and 10 (Chile and Ireland). Most countries have rates around 6 per 100,000, meaning New Zealand's rate is well over twice as high as the global average.

New Zealand's child-homicide rate is 7th highest in the world. There are 7.8 child deaths by intentional assault per million children.

Figure 3.2 Adolescent suicide rates vary widely between high-income countries
Suicide rates of adolescents aged 15–19 per 100,000 population, based on the latest available data (2009–2013)



Note: The country average is unweighted. Figures are three-year averages around the year in brackets. Earlier estimates are averages for the three years preceding. Data are missing for Greece. Most recent data for Iceland (c2008, 5.4), Slovakia (c2008, 2.5) and Slovenia (c2009, 7.6). Missing countries: Greece, Iceland, Slovakia and Slovenia. [c=around]
Source: WHO mortality database, 2016.

SDG 4 and 8: Ensuring quality education & Promoting decent economic growth and work

With 71.9% of 15-year-olds achieving baseline competency in reading, mathematics and science and 98.7% of children participating in organized learning one year before the start of compulsory schooling, New Zealand falls 15th on the ranking for the fourth Goal.

New Zealand ranks among the bottom (34th) under the eighth Goal, with 16% of children living in jobless households. The global average is 8.97% which means New Zealand's proportion is almost twice as high.

7.1% of 15-19-year-olds are also not in any education, employment or training, which is less than the global average (7.5%).

SDG 5: Achieving gender equality

Attitudes that reinforce gender inequality still exist in New Zealand as 1 in 20 adults agree that university education is more important for a boy than a girl (5.4%).

New Zealand has not shared data on either the gender difference in girls' and boys' share of daily participation in housework by age, or percentage of women aged 18-29 who have reported having experienced sexual violence before age 15*.

*New Zealand's participation in the World Health Organisation's Multi-Country Study on violence against women (sample size 2,855) found 24% of women reported experiencing child sexual abuse before the age of 15 in 2003.

The global average in this year's League Table for reported sexual assaults before age 15 is just 6.3%. No country on the League Table has a percentage higher than 13.05% (Luxembourg), however twelve other nations including Australia join New Zealand in failing to report on this important measure.

SDG 10: Reducing inequalities

New Zealand ranks 26th under this Goal. The share of total income going to the top 10% of households with children, is nearly 20% higher than the share of income of the bottom 40%, but this gap remained stable between 2008 and 2014.

There is a relative difference of 46.7% between household incomes of children at the 10th percentile and those at the median – a “bottom-end inequality” measure that puts New Zealand close to the middle among industrialized countries.

Family socio-economic background predicts test performance of 15-year-olds in reading, mathematics and science to a significant degree, and New Zealand's is higher than the average among EU/OECD countries.

SDG 11 and 12: Making cities safe and ensuring sustainable production and consumption

A silver lining perhaps: New Zealand ranks 9th under this Goal, with concentrations

Figure G8 – Inclusive economic growth

Average country performance across two indicators: youth inactivity (NEET) rates (15–19 years) and children living in jobless households (0–17 years of age)



Note: The data point for Turkey for the proportion of youth (aged 15–19) not in employment, education or training in 2014 is an outlier, and so is excluded from the calculation of the results for Goal 8. The inclusion of the outlier would result in Turkey ranking 41st on Goal 8.

of fine particulate matter in urban areas falling within the internationally recognized safe level. But less than half (49.7%) of 15-year-olds are familiar with five or more environmental issues, placing New Zealand 35th on this League Table. The global average is 62.1% and this indicates New Zealand youth are among those that know the least about sustainable production and consumption. Only Japan and Romania have worse rates of knowledge among countries with recorded data.

UNICEF NZ concludes

It's often said New Zealand is a great place to raise children. But is it a great place to grow up in? Sadly, Innocenti's Report Card suggests that for many children, it is definitely not.

You would expect high-income nations to perform better for their children. It's true that for some children, living in a place like New Zealand provides opportunities that children in poorer countries only dream about. But surely the greatest thing about New Zealand

having a high-income is the capability it affords to ensure these opportunities exist for all children in the nation.

When the economic well-being of our nation does not reflect the well-being of every child, it is a picture of economy drawn just for today. We need to wake up and look at the longer term picture.

Coming 34th out of the 41 EU/OECD countries is not good enough. New Zealand's level of income poverty reflects the League average (1 in 5) but our adolescent suicide rate (15.6 per 100,000) is the highest on the table. New Zealand's child-homicide rate is 7th highest and our proportion of children living in jobless households is almost twice as high as the League average.

Perhaps saddest of all the data shown by the report card is the data not there, because we don't provide it. When it comes to “multi-dimensional poverty” (or what the Ministry of Social Development renames and redefines “material

hardship”) New Zealand has no data. Neither does it have data on how many children are lifted out of poverty through welfare; on gender inequality and women reporting experiences of physical violence as a child; on child obesity; on adolescent self-reported mental health; on experiences of drunkenness and experiences of bullying.

These are all social indicators any high-income nation has the means to measure. Measurement reflects attention paid to the problem. Given our government's adoption of a “social investment” approach, one could be forgiven assuming such data sets were a high priority for our Leaders and the Ministry of Social Development to pay attention to.

What is “social investment” if it does not pay attention to the social outcomes indicating well-being for our children?

And what good is the current economic well-being of our high-income nation, if it does not reflect universal well-being for every child? It is a short term view of economy that loses sight of the future benefit equal opportunity affords. As a small, high-income nation, New Zealand can introduce welfare measures that lift every child out of poverty and redress its budget priorities to stop the freeze on health and education funding.

At the very least, our government can instruct its new Social Investment Unit to use the new Information Data Infrastructure to measure what needs to be measured in order for us to hold the long term picture of our nation's well-being.



What can you expect as a member?

Members can sign up annually, as individuals, students or as affiliates.

We welcome participation from anyone who would like to contribute towards our aims, whatever your specific interests and skills may be. We are also very interested in joining forces with organisations looking for synergies and collaboration.

UNA New Zealand branches run events for members throughout the year, such as conferences, dinners, film nights and speaker events. These are a great way to connect with UN officials, diplomats, politicians and academics, and provide opportunities to be updated about news from the UN and our activities around New Zealand. Meetings are also used to organise upcoming community events. The level of participation is entirely up to you.



We need to work together to help promote and achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. The leaders of the world have given us a clear blueprint, and by following it, we can help build a future of peace and prosperity.

Member benefits include:

- Monthly newsletter full of the latest UN and UNA New Zealand news and events.
- UNA New Zealand biannual magazine.
- Discounted entry into UNA New Zealand events across the country.
- The opportunity to participate in the UNA New Zealand National Conference and National Council Meetings.
- The right to nominate for office and to vote at your local UNA New Zealand Branch AGM.

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Photos: Pedram Pirnia, UNA NZ Special Officer for Sustainable Development



The United Nations
Association of New Zealand
Te Roopu Whakakotahi
Whenua o Aotearoa



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Why the United Nations?

The UN is central to our future

Global Cooperation is the key to our security, prosperity and development, nationally and internationally. Most of our critical challenges are global and rely on nations' businesses and people working together for effective solutions. Issues include conflict and nuclear weapons, climate change and environmental degradation, poverty and development, oil depletion and energy supplies and many more.

The United Nations brings together not only national governments, but also a wide range of people's organisations (Non-Government Organisations) and increasingly multinational corporations as well.

While the UN is still far from its ultimate goal, it has demonstrated its capacity to drive profound changes in attitudes to violence, human rights and global development. We need to enrich our understanding of its work, affirm our support for it, and to strengthen the UN so it can serve us more effectively.



Bringing people together

The United Nations Association of New Zealand (UNA New Zealand) is a national community organisation, and a registered charity. It is made up of a number of regional branches, an independent youth association (UN Youth New Zealand) and affiliates across New Zealand.

UNA New Zealand was founded shortly after the United Nations itself in 1945, and is formally associated with the UN Department of Public Information. We are a member of The World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) which provides links with United Nations Associations in other countries throughout the world.

UNA New Zealand members come from all areas and walks of life. What brings them together is a shared interest in the work of the United Nations and in trying to make the world a better place.

Making a difference

UNA New Zealand is committed to the ideals embodied in the UN Charter and the crucial role of the UN at the centre of multilateral cooperation to promote world peace and justice, and to eradicate poverty and hunger. We recognise that the UN has far to go to achieve its objectives, and are committed to its improvement.

We work in a variety of ways to highlight the importance of the UN, and to engender the skills within our young people to cope with this extraordinarily challenging international environment. We educate New Zealanders about the activities of the UN and its agencies, New Zealand's involvement, and how to get involved.

In addition to running regular awareness-raising events, workshops, seminars and panel discussions, UNA New Zealand plays a key role in encouraging the New Zealand Government to support the work of the UN. We also celebrate special UN related days, endeavouring to keep UN issues before the public.

Branch Reports

UNA NZ has active regional Branches for the Northern Region (including Auckland), Tauranga, Wanganui, Wellington and Canterbury, and a group in Waikato. UN Youth Aotearoa New Zealand is our youth arm. The best way to get involved in UNA NZ is through your nearest regional branch.

northern@unanz.org.nz
tauranga@unanz.org.nz
waikato@unanz.org.nz
wanganui@unanz.org.nz
wellington@unanz.org.nz
canterbury@unanz.org.nz

The following reports were submitted by Branches to the Annual General Meeting on 29 June 2017.

Northern Branch

Reported Gary Russell, Branch President

Tēnā koutou from the Northern Branch. Our highlights this past year have been:

Hosting the **UNA NZ 2016 AGM National Conference** and we had interesting speakers and for the first time had our own Special officers give their talks on a wide range of topics. The relax Arm chair 'fire side' talk format of the special officers report back added to the occasion. Thanks to the Quakers for the use of their meeting hall and the accommodation offer from our members.

The **Freedom of Association Conference** at the Auckland War Memorial Museum allowed for information to be shared to all persons, with a live link up to Norfolk Is. and the colonies, who struggle for survival politically and physically with climate change. The UNA NZ Northern

Branch submitted their remits at the AGM in support of the C-24 decolonisation UN Pacific program, which is on-going.

At the **Auckland Cultural Festival** our stall was a success again and we had a busy day. Thanks to those members who supported us on this occasion.

NZIIA lectures, members are supportive and again the speakers were very informative for our members and we hope more are able to attend.

Royal Commonwealth Society & the UK High Commissioner as a guest speaker hosted by the UNA NZ Northern function.

We want to thank all UNA NZ members for their support for Tahiti & Norfolk Is as passed on to me, kia kaha and the other colony nations as acknowledged in the Pacific region by many organisations e.g. Interfaith Council of Churches, Quakers-Society of Religious Friends Cardinal Catholic Church, ANON global officials in

support of the UN convention to progress all colonies towards the vote on the human right of freedom for their own self determination by 2020.

SDG Special Officer Pedram Pirnia's **"Voices of the Pacific"** and Humanitarian Special Officer Jean-Paul Bizozza's **"Burundi Empowerment Project"** photographic exhibitions drew attention to the global aspect of all the UN work and the fight for justice of indigenous people.

Thanks to Bradley McDonald, Monju Sakar, and all our Committee members, for supporting our branch and the work we do in the Northern Region.



Northern Branch AGM. L-R: Joy Dunsheath, Monju Sarkar, Laurie Ross, Bradley McDonald

Tauranga Branch

Reported by Gray Southon, Branch President

Tēnā koutou from the Tauranga Branch.

The following events were held over the past few months in our branch:

- Our AGM was held on 31st March with 5 members, 1 observer and 9 apologies.
- The Secondary School Speech Awards were held on 4th April with 6 contestants. Topic: "Is there a role for nuclear weapons in today's word?"
- Two Senior Secondary School Model Security Councils were held in the City Council Chambers, on 14th May, attended by 55 Students (topic: The Refugee Crisis), and on 13th August, attended by 36 Students (topic: Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals).
- One Junior Secondary School and

Intermediate Model UN were held at Mount Maunganui College, attended by 56 Students. The topics were: Rights of the Child and Sport for Peace.

- We also had a small end of year event.

Executive:

We had four students on our executive, three from Otumoetai and one from Bethlehem who maintained the chairing of the model UNs.

Members

We have gained a few new members, and welcome Doug Barnes, who has been an enormous help this year, and Hazel Hape. We are also fortunate that Simon Gyenge, previously one of our student chairs, has returned to Tauranga as a barrister, and has taken an interest in our activities. Our youth membership is now 5. The nearly 200 students that we have involved during the year are not registered as members.

2017

This year is looking good with strong registrations for both Speech Awards and Model Security Council. We have been able to resume our Multicultural Festival booth, and we have keen students involved.

Wanganui Branch

Report by Kate Smith, Branch President

Tēnā koutou from the Wanganui Branch

Our programme so far this year has followed our usual pattern:

- a Welcome to the New Year Brunch, with the local tourism manager speaking to us about Sustainable Tourism and its effects on the town and district. Although numbers were a bit low due to competing events, the presentation was most worthwhile and links were made to the SDGs.

- a successful MUN-GA for senior students with 24 delegations all in good form. It was rather sad to see many students attending the final MUN before leaving school. Many started out as junior students several years ago. It was a colourful event, with good discussions and a delicious array of food for lunch.

- our Regional Speech Award from which we have a very good candidate to represent us in Wellington in June.

In conjunction with Peace Through Unity and the Rotary Club of Whanganui, we have made a submission to the Whanganui District Council asking that they consider becoming a Peace City. A written and an oral submission have been made with council deliberations taking place at the end of the month.

We are already planning our Mid-Winter Brunch and will celebrate the International Day of Peace and UN Day. Continuing work on the Peace City will also occupy our attention.

At our AGM it was decided to maintain our current experiment of only having

committee meetings when absolutely necessary, for example, for planning events and when there are any accounts for payment which require approval. Otherwise occasional e-mail correspondence is carried out. A request is still open for volunteers to lend a hand.

Wellington Branch

Report by Izolda Kazemzadeh
Wellington Branch President

Tēnā koutou from the Wellington Branch.

The Wellington Branch of United Nations Association of New Zealand held its Annual General Meeting on Monday 27 March 2017. The guest speaker was Terence O'Brien, former New Zealand UN Ambassador who spoke on **What Does the Future Hold for the UN?** (*printed in this newsletter*) We were fortunate to welcome 16 members of the young diplomats from Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Chad, Comoros, Congo-Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djiboutti, Madagascar, Morocco and Mauritania who were visiting New Zealand as guests of Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade. As a result, we had over 30 people who heard Terence's thought provoking talk.

Regional Secondary Speech Award

The Speech Award attracted eight entries. The topic was **Is There a Role for Nuclear Weapons in Today's World?** Our judges were Professor Rod Alley and Emily Watson. The first and second prize respectively went to Joseph Sison and Ralph Zambrano both students at St Patricks College.

Sustainable Development Goals

The Branch made a commitment to focus on SDGs and to work with other like-minded organisations where possible. As it is a UN programme, our role is to promote and encourage others to get involved and are therefore endeavouring to contact as many NGOs as possible.

On June 1st Dr Rosalind McIntosh – Wellington Branch SDG Special Officer spoke at the Wellington Library as part of Māori New Year programme on the SDGs. It was a particularly thoughtful and well-crafted presentation.

International Peace Day was held on September 18 2016. This event was organised by the Wellington Branch with assistance from National office and co-sponsored by Wellington Mayor's office. The panel discussion topic was **A Future for the United Nations Alliance of Civilisations – Communities coming together Post Syria, Yemen, Iraq and Daesh**. The event was held in the Adams Auditorium City Gallery attracting around 70 people. It was opened by Mayor Wade-Brown and followed by the UNA NZ President Joy Dunsheath reading the United Nations Secretary General's message.

Chaired by Dr Roderic Alley of the Peace Foundation, speakers included Professor Paul Morris UNESCO chair of Inter-religious understanding and author of the National Statement on Religious Diversity and Dr Darren Brunk. The speakers were followed by a panel discussion with Paul Foster Bell MP, Shane La'ulu, Red Cross Humanitarian Services Manager, Michelle Carlile-Alkhoury of Make Foundation – a Charity supporting Syrian refugees. A Syrian refugee children singing group and Yordanos Tesfargi a former Ethiopian refugee performed for the audience. The refreshments – Middle Eastern – cuisine were prepared by the former Syrian refugees.

The **United Nations Day** celebration was held on 25 October at Governor-General's Residence – the first event officiated by the new Governor-General - celebrating 71st anniversary of UN and 70th anniversary of World Federation of United Nations Association in the Ballroom of the Governor-General's residence hosted by their Excellencies Dame Patsy Reddy and Sir David Gascoigne.



UNA NZ members and friends celebrating Helen Clark's leadership at UNDP, April 2017

On 19 October George Troup, former NZ Ambassador to The Netherlands spoke on **Peace and Justice: The Role of Legal Institutions of the Hague in International Affairs** (printed in this newsletter) organised by Karim Dickie a Wellington Branch Committee member.

On 13 November **Dr Helen Caldicott** - Noted physician, anti-nuclear activist and Nobel Peace Prize nominee gave a lecture on Global Arms Trade. This was organised by the Peace Foundation and co-sponsored by UNA NZ. There was good media coverage.

The 14 November earthquake postponed activities in November for a few weeks.

On 8 December UNA NZ commemorated Human Rights Day 2016 with a seminar on **Achievement of the UN SDGs Agenda - A Human Right?** Some of the speakers were Marjan van Den Belt, Assistant Vice Chancellor (Sustainability) Victoria University of Wellington, Moana Euren, Human Rights Specialist, and Josie Pagani, Director of Council for International Development. Our special thanks to Wellington Branch member and National Special Officer for Human Rights John Morgan who so ably organised this very successful event.

This was followed by a discussion led by Dr Rosalind McIntosh, Wellington Branch SDG Special Officer on how to promote and deliver SDGs in New Zealand. She pointed out that at this time of change in global political economic and ecological thinking SDGs have no specific bias and should be acceptable to all and asked the question: **Who then is responsible for their delivery?**

The Wellington Branch end of the year function was held the same evening – A Pulse (Bean) dinner celebrating the UN Year of Pulse. Beans are a staple crop in many areas of the world and it was good to try dishes from China, Central America, Ethiopia, India and the Middle East.

Following on from 8 December roundtable a noon seminar was held on 27 February 2017 on **Activating Civil Society's Participation on behalf of the Public Good in New Zealand Government's Agreement to United Nations Agenda 2030 — the Sustainability Goals**.

The Wellington Branch plans to have further lunch hour roundtables throughout this year focussing on the wide-ranging targets and goals.

The Wellington Branch expresses great appreciation for the work our members have done with special thanks to Robin Halliday who in addition to her role as Committee Secretary also organised our events as well as coordinating the Speech Awards around the country.

Canterbury Branch

Reported by Dr Lynette Hardie Wills,
Branch President

Tēnā koutou from the Canterbury Branch

The UNA NZ Canterbury Branch is now beginning to stand on its own feet and for this we must thank the 2016-2017 Committee¹. Although, we all know the impact of the devastating earthquakes are not completely behind us yet. It is timely, however, to acknowledge the leadership provided by Graham French, Barrister, who skilfully helped to sort out the issues, associated with the Canterbury Branch UNA NZ Charitable Trust and Margaret Arnold our Deputy President. Their strong intellectual grasp of the work of the United Nations along with their networks have enabled us to totally rebuild a strong organisation after the events of 2011. We must also acknowledge the support we have received from UNA NZ Head Office especially their Administrators – Pete

Cowley and now Ronja levers.

Canterbury's "Earthquake Repairs of Repairs" are still on-going...

Currently, CWC House and CWC Founders Hall at 190 Worcester Street near Latimer Square in the Central City is where UNA NZ Canterbury normally meets. The Earthquake "Repairs of Repairs" are now getting underway with Strata Group Consulting Engineers undertaking the project management. With access reduced other meeting places have needed to be found. Many Canterbury Committee members are also engaged in their own "Repairs or EQ Repairs".

Canterbury Branch UNA NZ Charitable Trust

There have now been two meetings of this Trust which is now functioning well. David Pine is the Trust Secretary. Raf Manji, Trust Chair, is working on a 2017 TRUST Fund Raiser around UN Day in late October. Raelene Rees is the Trust's Treasurer. The President of UNA NZ Canterbury is the fourth Trustee.

Brief overview of Branch size and membership

The only active South Island Branch has 32 UNA NZ members. The UNA NZ Canterbury Branch is now a vibrant branch with committed volunteers and a focus on developing UN Education initiatives.

The 2017 – 2018 Committee Members elected are:

UNA NZ Canterbury Executive
President – Dr Lynette Hardie Wills,
Deputy President – Margaret Arnold,
Secretary – Keefe Robinson-Gore,
Treasurer – Raylene Rees

UNA NZ Canterbury Committee
Hasni Atapattu, Alex Bryant, Dr Sally Carlton, Rob Clarke, Dr Kate Dewes, Lynne Ellis, Margryt Fennema, Pauline McKay, Dr Jeremy Moses, Prof Karen Scott, Hana Mereraiha-White, Milagro Nuñez Solis

UN Education is the focus of UNA NZ Canterbury's work

Our NZ Education Department is challenging NZ students to study the subjects - science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM Subjects) - but there is also a great need to support NZ students wishing to study languages, social sciences and law so they can pursue careers in the United Nations and other multi-lateral organisations.

Rob Clarke has established the UN Educational Portal as an umbrella for all UNA NZ Canterbury's educational activities and resources to be published and made available to the New Zealand educational sector.

In 2016, funding was received to support this work. In 2017 funding was received from the UNA NZ Canterbury Charitable Trust for three people to attend the 4-6 Oct 2017 NZ Social Sciences Conference in Napier – UNA NZ Canterbury is exploring leading Workshops for secondary school Social Science Teachers about the UN educational opportunities.

These monies have been allocated to progress work in these areas -

1. UN Education Portal, Website and Hosting - www.uneducation.nz
2. UN Webquests for Preschool, Primary and High School students, see [www. UNwebquests.nz](http://www.UNwebquests.nz)



This work includes Teacher incentive grants for writing a single DRAFT UNWebquest and Copywriter Incentive grant to produce and publish online Webquests.

3. UN Core Course for Year 12/13/ First Year University students- content developed for UN Global Citizenship Challenge below will be also included in the UN Core Course.

4. UN Global Citizenship Challenge (incl. content development as well as event itself) – A UN Quiz for High School teams which will be focussed in 2017 on the Sustainable Development Goals.

Rob has willingly volunteered his leadership skills and enabled many NZ students and their teachers to learn about the United Nations structure and how it operates.

Recent activities and events November 2016 through May, 2017

2016

Sept 15 - Greater Christchurch Postgraduate Women's Network – co-hosted by UNA NZ Canterbury and Canterbury Women's Club. Wellington Speaker Dr Judy Kavanagh from the NZ Productivity Commission spoke on 'New Models of NZ Tertiary Education'.

Nov 25 - Women Researchers' Breakfast at ARA - Visions Restaurant – Speaker: Dr

Chris Taua – How will you know they are telling the truth? Consent considerations in Mental Health & ID Research – co-hosted by UNA NZ Canterbury and Canterbury Women's Club.

2017

UNA NZ Canterbury Art Exhibition and Auction – Margryt Fennema is leading a group who are inviting both professional artists to exhibit an art work and High School Art teachers and their students to create a "Chair for an African Student who wants to be educated". The Art Education event will form one part of the 2017 UN Day events. Margryt is wanting volunteers to assist with this event.

Diplomats & the UN – 2017 Lecture Series–collaboration with NZIIA & UC Centre of European Union Events is being forged- Dr Sally Carlton is a Committee Member and also Secretary of NZIIA Canterbury.

Feb 21 – Canterbury Branch of UNA NZ Charitable Trust Meeting – UNA NZ Canterbury President attends - one of the FOUR Trustees.

Mar 8 – UN Women's Breakfast –Guest Speaker - Dr. Kate Dewes, O.N.Z.M. Peace Education Advocate and pioneer of the World Court Project, Kate was the New Zealand government expert on the United Nations Study on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education. Kate was an integral part of Christchurch's successful declaration as New Zealand's first Peace City in 2002. Organised by UN Women Canterbury – UNA NZ Canterbury members invited to attend.

Mar 16- Gerard van Bohemen NZ Ambassador & United Nations Permanent Representative in NY, NY spoke on New Zealand's Security Council Term. He focussed on Syria, Israel/Palestine and NZ's Working Methods to usher in a Behaviour Change "so things are done differently". He emphasised NZ's leadership with UN members being involved in "engaging conversations".

Mar 21 - Greater Christchurch Postgraduate Women's Network – co-hosted by UNA NZ Canterbury and Canterbury Women's Club – Guest Speaker: Dr Catherine Bishop – Materials Scientist, UC Dept of Mechanical Engineering. Hasni Atapattu (UNA NZ Cant Committee) shared her PhD Research – "Assessing Ethnic Factors affecting Business Succession Planning in Small and Medium Scale Family Owned Convenience Stores and Restaurants in Christchurch." Hasni plans to graduate PhD in June 2018.

Mar 30 – Dr Jeremy Moses – Guest Speaker (after AGM) spoke on "USA President TRUMP and the United Nations".

May 16 - Greater Christchurch Postgraduate Women's Network – co-hosted by UNA NZ Canterbury and Canterbury Women's Club – Guest Speaker: MP- Poto Williams, MBA

June – Dr Kate Dewes and Commander Robert Green Royal Navy (Ret'd) attended the United Nations NYNY re Treaty to Ban on Nuclear Weapons.

June 26 – 29 Christopher Woodthorpe, Regional Director of United Nation Information Centre in Canberra visited Christchurch and gave two presentations.

July 8 2017 – 21st Anniversary of the 1996 World Court Advisory Opinion on Nuclear Weapons.

Looking ahead

United Nations Global Citizenship 2017 Canterbury Challenge EVENT– a UN quiz evening for secondary school teams focussed on the 17 Sustainable Goals. Event is in the planning stages.

31 Aug – The Canterbury Women's Researchers Breakfast co-hosted by UNA NZ Canterbury & CWC. Margaret Pierson is organising this event with a speaker at Visions Restaurant at Te Ara (formerly CPIT).

Sept 13 – 10th Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Indigenous Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 13 September 2007. Hanna Skerrett-White and Keefe Robinson Gore are planning an educative event for New Zealanders and for all Pacific peoples. It provides a set of international human rights standards that apply to the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty affirmed the rights Tangata Whenua had prior to 1840, and gave Tauwiwi and the Crown a set of rights and responsibilities that enabled them to settle in Aotearoa; "the promise of two peoples to take the best possible care of each other." If "reconciliation" is at the heart of our democracy perhaps as we mark this 10th Anniversary in September. It is time to consider what particular changes NZ needs to make in our Pacific neighbourhood.

4-6 Oct 2017 NZ Social Sciences Conference in Napier – UNA NZ Canterbury through a generous grant from the Canterbury Branch UNA NZ Charitable Trust is planning to lead Workshops for secondary school Social Science Teachers about these UN educational opportunities.

YPP United Nations Exam for Public Service in ChCh is scheduled for 2018

Waikato Group Reported by Mano Manoharan, Group President

Tēnā koutou from the Waikato Group.

We had a very quiet 2017 due to unavoidable circumstances.

Our active members who had been giving all the support in the past were not quite well and one of them moved away from Hamilton, but they were able to help me in organizing the Speech competition and Model UN Assembly.

Waikato speech winner from Hillcrest High School took part in the National competition.

UN Model Assembly was held in the

Management School at Waikato University. More and more students are showing interest in taking part in the Model UN Assembly.

Waikato branch was represented in all the citizenship ceremonies and Anzac day celebration.



Participants of the 2017 UNANZ Waikato group speech competition held in Hamilton. Photo left to right: Nisha Novell Hillcrest High School, Eve Boister St Peters School, Sean Millward Tokoroa High School, Anjan Singh St.Pauls College, Henry Yaov Hamilton Boys High School

UN Youth Aotearoa/NZ

Report by Bowen Shi, National President

Tēnā koutou from UN Youth Aotearoa.

Regions

The past year the regions have put a great deal of effort refining and consolidating their educational offering. Furthermore, they have also been exploring new relationships and new formats for events to ensure their programs are as diverse and engaging as possible. For example, last year saw the introduction of a Model European Union conference for secondary students in Wellington, organised in conjunction with NCRE, and a Model ASEAN conference for tertiary students in Otago. Furthermore, Auckland has done a great job improving their case competition this year, with strong interest from other volunteers in introducing such an event in their own regions.

Outreach has also been strong in the regions, with most regions running at least a couple of events outside of their main centre. This gives students a chance to participate in a Model UN event when they

would be typically prevented from doing so due to geographical barriers. Another initiative that was started last year in the regions was a Speaker Series and this was largely organised by the previous National Relations Officer (Alex Stevenson). The Otago region has now fully integrated it as part of their educational program and the current National Relations Officer intends to support the other regions in organising these events.

National events

Our roster of national events include Aotearoa Youth Declaration held in Auckland in April, a civics education conference that focuses on the views of youth on domestic policy and issues; NZ Model United Nations held in July in Wellington, our flagship Model UN conference; and Diplomacy Competition, an online Model UN initiative that runs as four Rounds across the year. Together they develop the skills and knowledge of around 1,000 secondary school students. Aotearoa Youth Declaration 2017 was held a month ago and we are currently in the process of finalising the Declaration, comprising the perspectives and opinions of 196 students, to release to the public and officials. NZ Model United Nations is

only a month and a half away now and well on-track to being a very successful event. Diplomacy Competition has struggled a little this year with student and facilitator engagement, although many hundreds of participants are still receiving a very worthwhile and enriching educational experience.

International events

Our international program has been stronger than ever over the past year. Last year we organised a small four-student delegation to the National Finals of the Evatt Competition in Australia, which is UN Youth Australia's prestigious Model Security Council Competition. That was the first time we organised that event and we are looking forward to sending four more students to compete in this competition at the end of this year. Pacific Project was also run in July last year and despite some logistical problems, including moving the trip away from Vanuatu to Samoa halfway through the organising process, we received very positive feedback from the 10 students that went.

Early this year, the newly developed Global Development Tour (successor to THIMUN) ran for the first time. While

there is still a great deal of additional development that the 2018 committee will need to undertake, the 2017 tour built a very strong framework and foundation for next year. Our second largest international event, US Leadership Tour ran successfully for the third time at the beginning of this year, further entrenching itself as one of UN Youth's most successful ways of engaging with tertiary students.

Looking ahead

For many of our Volunteers, including the UN Youth National Executive, we are right in the middle of our terms. While most of our largest events for 2017 are now behind us, there are still many events left to go. Furthermore, we have recently appointed a new Director for Global Development Tour 2018, and will be continuing to appoint organising committees for all our 2018 national and international events throughout the year. Once each event committee is appointed, and on top of operational work supporting ongoing events, the National Executive will have an important job ensuring the new committees are set up with the information and support they need to realise their potential.



UN Youth-US Leadership Tour 2017 delegation meets with Helen Clark at the UNDP in New York



UN Youth-Education Focus Group at Aotearoa Youth Declaration 2017 (taken at the Business School of University of Auckland)

Peace and justice: The role of the legal institutions of The Hague in international affairs

Prologue: Is might right?

My starting point is the classic statement of foreign policy realpolitik by Thucydides, the historian of the Peloponnesian War, 2500 years ago: In this world, questions of right and wrong arise only between equals in power. The strong do what they can, the weak suffer what they must. This thought goes back even further; take Aesop's fable of the wolf and the lamb, memorably distilled in La Fontaine's version: the strong always have the best arguments. In other words, might is right.

Is size really everything? For the sake of small states (the weak) we must hope not.

Let me fast-forward 2,000 years to the early 17th century, when the Dutchman Hugo Grotius (Huig de Groot) laid the foundations of international law with his influential works on The Law of War and Peace and on the Law of the Sea. His concept of international society underpinned the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which ended the 30 Years' War (or, as the Dutch call it, the 80-year war of independence from Spain). This war was the bloodiest in Europe, and the nearest to total war, until World War 1. Westphalia established the principle of the equality of all states in international law and the right of national political self-determination. To this extent we can see it as positive for small states; but the accompanying concept of the absolute sovereignty of states is less conducive to international

cooperation and the rule of law. The main instrument of statecraft under the so-called Westphalia system was the balance of power among hegemonic ambitions. The Westphalia system was of course devised by and for Europeans, but the geostrategic realities of the next few centuries made it the de facto global norm.

The world wars of the 20th century exposed the limitations of the Westphalia system and galvanised the search for better institutions. The UN is the most obvious expression of the aspiration to find an alternative to the law of the jungle. A basic doctrine of foreign policy for many countries, including NZ and also the Netherlands, is that a rules-based international order is in our interests (in the trade and economic arena as well). In other words, we identify with the weak in the dictum quoted at the beginning. This is an important reason why we've always been keen on institutions like the UN with its one-country-one-vote in the General Assembly, and have staunchly opposed the veto power ever since the San Francisco conference of 1945.

I would like to explore the extent to which the legal institutions in The Hague have been able to neutralise the power imbalance between the great and the small. I will be essentially drawing from material in the public domain, seen through the lens of my experience in The Hague working in various ways with the institutions. The opinions stated

are personal, though my personal views generally coincide with NZ's official positions. My perspective is that of a generalist diplomat rather than a legal specialist, so my emphasis is on the political dimension.

Part 1: Why The Hague?

Several Secretaries General of the UN have recognised The Hague as the Legal Capital of the World. The City's motto is Pax et Justitia – Peace and Justice. Fittingly, the Mayor of the city is a former foreign minister. How did The Hague come to assume this role?



George Troup

UN Peace Day address given by George Troup, former New Zealand Ambassador in The Hague on 19 October 2016

At the end of the 19C there was growing concern over the dangerous arms race between Britain and Germany in particular. In 1899 Tsar Nicholas II convened the first-ever international peace conference, in The Hague. It seems that the city was chosen because it was accessible, neutral, and efficient; perhaps there were also echoes of Grotius, as well as the presence and influence of the great Dutch jurist Tobias Asser. 26 sovereign states attended, mostly European. Included on the agenda was the voluntary arbitration of international disputes. This led to the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA). A second Hague peace conference was held in 1906, with wider participation but less groundbreaking results.

Interestingly, the Tsar's response when his cousin the Kaiser appealed to him to help avert the escalation towards war in the summer of 1914 was to suggest re-convening the Hague conference.

The Scottish/American industrialist Andrew Carnegie, as a philanthropist with an interest in peace, was approached to fund a suitable building as seat for the PCA. I understand that he was initially reluctant, objecting that his priority was libraries. The deal was clinched when it was suggested that the building could house the world's finest international legal library, and he wrote a cheque for \$US 1.5 m, which bought a lot in those days. A spectacular building resulted – the disneyesque Peace Palace, the most recognisable icon of the city of The Hague. It opened 1913, just in time for WW1. Many countries made contributions in kind to the building and its decoration. There were big celebrations in 2013 for the centenary, while I was there; NZ responded to the request to donate legal texts to the library.

The Carnegie Foundation was established to manage the building. The Dutch government makes a substantial financial

contribution, and the Foundation is always chaired by an eminent Dutchman.

Carnegie was keen for the WW1 peace treaty negotiations to be conducted in the Peace Palace. But US President Woodrow Wilson had little time for Carnegie and wanted to recognise the role of France in the war, so the negotiations took place in Paris. Wilson's 14-point manifesto for peace was not much concerned with the settlement of disputes (other than the call for open diplomacy), but point 14 called for the establishment of the League of Nations. The Hague was canvassed as the seat for the League of Nations, but it seems that the Dutch tilt towards Germany during the war and disagreement over the fate of the Kaiser counted against it, and the nod went to Geneva.

But The Hague did secure the prize of hosting in the Peace Palace the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) that was established as part of the League of Nations. These two courts, along with the library and the Hague Academy established around the same time, seem to have provided the critical mass and centre of excellence to drive continuing growth in the city's role.

Part 2: The individual institutions

In this section I will look at the individual institutions through my "small country" political lens, considering their history, governance, and performance, and how they contribute to levelling the playing field among nations (in other words, how willing in practice are the big players to accept constraints on their power and sovereignty?). I will also consider the nature of the institutions' relationship with the UN system, and of course point out some of the angles of particular interest to NZ.

I have divided the institutions into three categories.

a) Litigation

Although it is not the oldest, the **International Court of Justice** (popularly

known as the World Court) is the best known of the institutions. It replaced the PCIJ after WW2. It is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (along with the General Assembly, Security Council, Secretariat, etc), which is considered a very big deal. It is the only Hague institution that is formally part of the UN, although the UN has some role in most. Its role is to settle inter-state litigation, and to provide advisory opinions when requested by specified UN bodies or agencies. Its budget is part of the UN budget, and currently stands at about USD 25 m/year.

There are 15 judges on the Court, elected for 9-year terms (one third elected every 3 years); they can be re-elected. They are expected to represent the diversity of the world's major legal systems – in particular the civil law system (France and co) and the common law system (anglo countries). The same regional balance as for the 15-member Security Council is maintained among the judges. Cases are determined in accordance with the provisions of international agreements, international custom, generally recognised principles of law, judicial decisions, and experts' writings. The Court has jurisdiction where the parties specifically agree to refer a dispute to it, where a treaty specifically provides for it, or when the states involved have made a declaration accepting its compulsory jurisdiction. Such declarations may or may not include reservations, and they can be reversed. Currently 75 states including NZ and Australia accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction, most with reservations.

The role of the five permanent members of the Security Council (P5) is something of a sore point. To be elected to the Court, a judge must obtain a majority of votes in both the Security Council and the General Assembly. The P5 always vote as a bloc in the Security Council to ensure that each of them is represented on the bench, despite only one of them (the UK) accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction.



Exterior view of the offices of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, 1979. Photo: United Nations

During my time in The Hague Sir Kenneth Keith was a judge of the Court – the first NZer to be elected, in 2005. I had campaigned with him during my earlier incarnation as ambassador in Mexico. Unfortunately for me, NZ's involvement in the Japanese whaling case meant that Ken and I were off limits to each other for much of the time. The handsome centennial book on the Peace Palace that Sir Ken and Lady Jocelyn gave us was a valuable historical source for this talk.

The Court is very much self-governing; the President and Vice President are elected by their fellows every 3 years, which apparently involves frantic lobbying among the judges. The current President is Ronnie Abraham of France. Ambassadors have no governance role in the ICJ, though they are usually engaged in the cases involving their countries.

The Court has had its ups and downs over the years. A low point was in 1966, when the Court (on the casting vote of its Australian President) declined to rule on the merits in a case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia against South Africa's rule in SW Africa (Namibia). The docket of cases dried up completely. In 1986, however, a

ruling against the US in a case brought by Nicaragua helped restore the Court's standing in the eyes of developing countries, and it is now kept busy. Around 100 countries have used it over the years.

Latin American countries have made extensive use of the Court in addressing the many territorial claims which are a legacy of 19th century decolonisation. Under the 1948 Pact of Bogotá most of them agreed to submit such disputes to peaceful resolution procedures. This has the political advantage for their governments that they do not have to be seen to compromise on vital national interests. Most of my Latin American ambassadorial colleagues in The Hague were eminent international lawyers whose main role there was in managing their countries' cases before the ICJ.

A longstanding border dispute between Cambodia and Thailand also came back to the Court during my time.

NZ has appeared before the ICJ 3 times: against France on FNT in the 1970s, an advisory opinion on the legality of nuclear weapons in the 1990s, and in 2013 as an intervener (3rd party) in the case brought by Australia against Japan's whaling in the

Antarctic. (An attempt in 1995 to reopen the case from the 1970s was rejected by the Court.) In each case, our participation was led by the Attorney General. As Ambassador I had an active role as "co-agent" in the latest case, exchanging documents and liaising with the Registrar, particularly on the procedural conduct of the case. As you will recall, the Court found that Japan's programme at the time did not constitute genuine scientific whaling, and its ruling picked up a good deal of NZ's argumentation. I note, however, that Japan has since made changes to its programme and has excluded living marine creatures from its acceptance of the ICJ's jurisdiction. Sir Geoffrey Palmer has commented that taking the ICJ route rather than continuing to seek a negotiated settlement with Japan may have been counterproductive.

An interesting angle in the case is that Australia, which did not have one of its own nationals on the Court at the time, was able to designate an ad hoc judge for the whaling case. If NZ had been a full party the presence of Sir Ken on the bench would have prevented this (there was already a Japanese judge, former ICJ President Owada, the Japanese Crown Prince's father in law).

The **Permanent Court of Arbitration** (PCA), dating back to 1899, is the oldest of the Hague legal bodies. There are currently 121 member states. Each member state nominates four potential arbitrators; these four are collectively known as the National Group, and have a role in nominating judges for the ICJ. But parties are free to choose arbitrators from outside this pool. The PCA has an Administrative Council in The Hague, but as Ambassador I had limited contact with it.

The PCA's mandate is to settle disputes arising out of international agreements: between states, or between states and non-state parties. This is done by the establishment of a specific tribunal for each case, with each party nominating arbitrators and both agreeing on an

independent chair. This model is essentially that used for the settlement of trade disputes, including through the World Trade Organisation and the proposed Transpacific Partnership. The PCA has a direct role in other major bodies involved in settling trade or investment disputes such as ICSID (International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes) and UNCITRAL (UN Commission on International Trade Law).

Arbitration is seen as having some advantages over a full judicial process, as the proceedings are simpler and usually quicker. In the case of the PCA, the parties have flexibility to agree on the rules of procedure for each case, and hearings are usually held behind closed doors. But the work of the PCA does not contribute to the development of international law as does the ICJ, particularly through the latter's advisory opinions, and it is less bound in to coherence with international jurisprudence. The PCA is based in the Peace Palace, but hearings can take place anywhere in the world.

Because the parties to a dispute cover the costs of the hearing the PCA budget is modest – about €1m/year. The first case involving a non-state party (Radio Corporation of America v Republic of China) was heard in 1935. With only three cases between 1946 and 1988, the PCA became known as the Sleeping Beauty of the Peace Palace, but it was kissed back to life with the establishment of the Iran-US Claims Tribunal in 1981. It is now extremely busy, with 8 inter-state proceedings, 75 investor-state disputes arising from treaties, and 34 "other" cases on the docket.

The highest profile recent case was brought by the Philippines in relation to China's activities in the South China Sea. The PCA's jurisdiction arose from the fact that both the Philippines and China are signatories to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. The PCA tribunal found comprehensively against China; China rejected the findings, but it remains to

be seen how this will play out. Another case currently under way was brought by Timor Leste in relation to Australia's alleged conduct during negotiations over the maritime treaty between them; related aspects of this matter were adjudicated by the ICJ, in Timor Leste's favour.

I mention in passing the newest litigation-related body: **PRIME Finance** (Panel of Recognized International Market Experts in Finance), which was launched while I was in The Hague. Its role is in dispute resolution and education in this complex technical area, promoting the rule of law in emerging markets. Hearings are held in the Peace Palace.

b) Penal institutions

The idea of an international tribunal to judge political leaders accused of international crimes was raised at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and again in Geneva under the League of Nations. The zeal to end impunity for war crimes was associated with the very beginnings of the UN concept in 1941 (before Japan and the US entered the war), with allied countries including NZ declaring that an organised process of justice to punish German war crimes was a principal war aim. This aim was incorporated in the St James Declaration and the London Charter of 1945, giving rise to the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials after the war. Less well known, the parallel UN War Crimes Commission of 1943-48 supported nearly 2000 war crimes trials. Despite a feeling that Nuremberg and Tokyo were flawed as victors' justice, the "Nuremberg principles" became widely accepted. The political impasse during the Cold War meant that little action was seen for the next 50 years, however.

A pioneer body was the **International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia** (ICTY), established in 1993 by a resolution of the UN Security Council in response to the atrocities and violations of humanitarian law being committed in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and

subsequently Kosovo and Macedonia.

Like the other penal institutions, the ICTY does not operate from the Peace Palace, though the library constitutes an important resource. It has issued 161 indictments for serious violations of international humanitarian law, leading to 83 persons being sentenced, 19 acquitted, 13 referred to national jurisdictions, and 17 dying before the process was concluded. Twenty indictments were withdrawn, and seven convictions are under appeal. The ICTY is now winding down; any further appeals will be held under the auspices of the Permanent Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals, which also folds in the Rwanda Tribunal, the ICTY's sister organisation based in Tanzania. The ICTY's budget, which is approved by the UN General Assembly, was over USD 100 m/ year at its height, but has been reducing. Ambassadors in The Hague do not have a direct governance role, although many take an interest. [(The tribunal building is next door to the NZ Embassy.)]

The "big three" indictees were Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, and Bosnian Serb general Ratko Mladic. Milosevic died in 2006 during his trial; he basically smoked himself to death. Karadzic was convicted this year of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, and sentenced to 40 years' imprisonment; his conviction is under appeal. Mladic was the last to be arrested, following EU arm-twisting of Serbia. His trial began in May 2012 and the verdict is expected in November 2017. The Dutch attached particular importance to bringing him to trial in view of his alleged responsibility for the Srebrenica massacre, where Dutch UN peacekeepers were helpless bystanders.

There are a number of NZ lawyers on the ICTY staff, and some of our people who served as peacekeepers in the region have been called as witnesses. In my observation the judges have been a mixed bag. A number apparently do not have experience in managing trials, and this partly accounts

for the inordinate length and complexity of some of them. Some judges regard the ICTY as a way-station in a career path which they hope will lead to the ICJ, and ambassadors receive a good deal of lobbying.

An interesting episode occurred during my time when Frederik Harhoff, a Danish judge on the ICTY, circulated a letter accusing the tribunal's president, the Jewish-American Theodore Meron, of succumbing to political pressure from the US and Israel to raise the bar for convictions to an unrealistically high level. One of Harhoff's colleagues commented to me that his reasoning was flawed, being based on the idea that the purpose of the tribunal was to secure convictions rather than to conduct fair trials. Harhoff was disqualified from further trials on the grounds of bias against the defence.

Although not the oldest of the penal tribunals in The Hague, the **International Criminal Court** (ICC) with its universal jurisdiction constitutes what is intended to be the definitive model. It was established by the Rome Statute of 1998, which was based on a 1994 draft by the International Law Commission, and is largely independent of the UN. New Zealand took an active role in negotiating the Rome Statute. 124 states have now ratified it and are thereby members of the Court; this includes only two of the P5, the UK and France. (The US did sign the Rome Statute but has made it clear that it will not ratify; the possibility of foreign courts trying US citizens constitutes a red line.) The ICC has jurisdiction for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes; and for the crime of aggression (defined in 2010, not yet activated). The focus is on those in leadership positions. The ICC's jurisdiction does not apply retrospectively. It is governed by the Assembly of States Parties, which meets alternately in New York and The Hague. The annual budget is around €150 million, which includes provision for victim participation, legal aid, and family visits as well as the prosecution and defence functions and the conduct of trials.

The ICC embodies the aspiration of the international community to end the

impunity of the powerful. Around the time of the Rome Statute the concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P in hip parlance) was being developed, also in response to the failure of the international community to prevent humanitarian violations. The report of UNSG Kofi Annan promoting R2P, *We the Peoples* was presented in 2000 and endorsed by all UN members at the World Summit of 2005. R2P has been described as the most important shift in the concept of sovereignty since Westphalia. It is open to abuse, and is not always practised; intervention in countries to protect the population remains subject to UNSC authorisation, and thus to the veto. Prosecution decisions in response to referrals are completely independent of governments, like the substantive work of all of the courts in The Hague.

The ICC is based on the principle of complementary jurisdiction: it takes cases if national courts are unable or unwilling to prosecute; or cases may be referred by the UN Security Council. (The irony of the Court's work being mandated by P5 members who do not belong to it or contribute to the budget does not go unnoticed.) The ICC got off to a slow start; although it was established in 2002, the first judgment was not issued until 2012. Some of the blame for this was attached to the first prosecutor, the publicity-hungry Luis Moreno Ocampo of Argentina.

Since 2011 the prosecutor has been Fatou Bensouda of The Gambia, Moreno's former deputy, and the quality of trial preparation is generally considered to have improved. 32 individuals have now been indicted (all from Africa, although investigations further afield have been undertaken) and 3 have so far been convicted: Jean-Pierre Bemba of the Central African Republic, and Germain Katanga and Thomas Lubanga Dyilo of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The Court has been criticised for picking on Africa. Some African governments have refused to honour its arrest warrants, for example in respect of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir. During my time there was a push at the African Union for African Court members to withdraw as a bloc in protest at the trial of sitting President Kenyatta of Kenya (the case has since been dropped). In my personal opinion much of this criticism is unfair. Witness intimidation and the conduct of ICC personnel in the field have also been problems, and the messy governance structure with responsibility divided between The Hague and New York is a source of frustration.

There is particular sensitivity over the involvement of the Palestinian Authority. The PA joined the Court last year, despite strenuous efforts by Israel to dissuade and prevent it. It has submitted evidence of actions by Israel, now under preliminary examination by the Court along with



The UN Peace Day address was co-hosted by UNA NZ and Dr Kennedy Graham at the New Zealand Parliament Buildings. R–L: Dr Kennedy Graham (UNA NZ Special Officer UN Renewal) and H.E. Mr. Rob Zaagman, Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to New Zealand. *Photo by Éva Kaprinay*

acts by Palestinians. There has been speculation that the US will use its UNSC veto to prevent any action against Israel by the ICC, just as Russia and China in 2014 vetoed referral of the Syrian situation to the ICC.

The **Special Tribunal for Lebanon** (STL) is an unusual creature. It was set up in 2007 by the Security Council to investigate the 2005 assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and related assassinations, after the investigations by the Lebanese authorities and the UN had bogged down. The backdrop to the case is a longrunning civil war, which has killed at least 120,000, and a pattern or interference by outside powers accompanied by huge refugee flows. The trial is being conducted under Lebanese law, and 4 of the 11 judges are Lebanese. The annual budget is around €60 m/year, half paid by Lebanon.

During most of my time in The Hague the President of the STL was the NZ judge Sir David Baragwanath, who also played an important role in setting up PRIME Finance. In preparing this talk I have benefited greatly from access to his extensive and penetrating writings on the philosophy and practice of international law.

Former New Zealand police personnel have also been involved in the preparation of the case, which is currently under way, with five members of Hezbollah on trial in absentia. [The case rests largely on telephone metadata: a dedicated network of 63 mobile phones was identified, linked to senior Hezbollah figures. The suspects were identified through the patterns of movement of these phones, as the suspects also carried personal phones to contact family and friends.]

The security measures at STL HQ are extreme. The precarious security situation in Lebanon, and the open hostility of Hezbollah to the STL, make it difficult to see the indictees ever being arrested; if they are, there is provision for a fresh trial to begin. The public reaction in Lebanon

to the revelations at the trial suggests that Hezbollah is paying something of a political price for its actions.

The Khmer Rouge Tribunal, based in Cambodia, falls outside the scope of my survey.

c) Track 2

I will briefly mention some of the non-governmental legal institutions in The Hague - "Track 2" as they are called in diplomatic jargon.

The **Hague Conference on Private International Law** (HCPIIL) was originally held in 1893. The present institution goes back to 1951, and promotes cross-border cooperation in civil and commercial matters. There are now 40 conventions under its umbrella, with the Hague Conventions on adoptions and abduction being the best known. The Hague Conference currently has 81 members including NZ, and a budget of around €4m. During my time in The Hague NZ Judge Peter Boshier, now our Chief Ombudsman, was a leading light in the substantive work of the Conference.

Many kiwis have been among the 40,000 students who have passed through the **Hague Academy of International Law**, which has been running summer courses in the Peace Palace since 1923.

The **Hague International Model United Nations** (THIMUN) is actively supported by many New Zealand schools. [It now has offshoots in Qatar and Singapore as well.] We used to invite the participating NZ students (many of whom had an eye on a future career in the foreign service) for afternoon tea and a chat at the Embassy, and also sometimes had the pleasure of providing briefings for students from other countries who were preparing to play the role of NZ at THIMUN.

As in all major international centres, a number of **think tanks and NGOs** have grown up around the legal institutions in The Hague.

Two **EU legal bodies**, Europol and Eurojust, are also part of this ecosystem. Eurojust undertakes judicial cooperation and is a closed book to me, whereas I had some contact with Europol, the EU equivalent of Interpol. But despite the efforts of the Dutch Government the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights are in Luxembourg and Strasbourg respectively.

Conclusion

Have the legal institutions in The Hague contributed to a more just and peaceful international order? It is clear that they do not provide a magic bullet – or perhaps that should be magic shield. I imagine that none of us here would seriously expect that. We cannot wish away the reality of hard and soft power – the military might and the broader influence of the major players, including of course the veto in the UN Security Council. (I see the veto as the original sin of the UN, but it was the price of getting the USSR and the US to participate at all.) It is easy to criticise the big players for holding on to their privileges, but it is understandable that they are not always keen to submit to rules that apply to all – after all, they have a lot to forgo. I note that even in relatively powerless countries, public opinion is often uncomfortable with the idea of international arbitration – many prefer to cling to the figment of national sovereignty. When I try to look at our era in a longer-term historical perspective, what I find remarkable is not that there are evident power imbalances (there are). Rather, it is the extent to which major powers have been willing to submit themselves to institutionalised processes, setting up institutions that constrain the exercise of their power and generally accepting the outcomes.

A belief in American exceptionalism, including an allergy to foreign courts, is at the heart of the US's international personality. But after both world wars this sense of America being special expressed itself in idealistic ways, through taking

a lead in the creation of the institutions that make up the so-called liberal international order, notably the United Nations. And in our time, humanitarian crises have mobilised public opinion to take action against abuses of power by leaders. (There may be some deterrent effect from the penal tribunals, though the counterfactual is very hard to determine.) The result of all this is that the **sphere of the rule of law in international relations has expanded**; from my point of view, and for New Zealand, that is a good thing. In many of the cases I have referred to in this brief survey the lamb prevailed over the wolf, though I did not select the examples on that basis; and the concept of Responsibility to Protect has shifted the dial as to what behaviour the international community will accept.

Sometimes in The Hague I heard the argument that the emphasis on bringing leaders to justice worked against the interests of peace – according to this reasoning, dictators are more likely to cling to power if they face retribution when they lose it. This trade-off between peace and justice undoubtedly exists to some extent, particularly in post-conflict situations in the short term (as we are currently seeing in Colombia), and there is a chicken-and-egg argument about which needs to come first. But my view is that in the longer term peace and justice are mutually reinforcing and both are necessary.

As regards the present, then, my conclusion is that the legal institutions of The Hague have been able to temper to some extent the reality behind the cynicism of Aesop and Thucydides – that is, to the extent that the better nature of the big powers has made them willing to permit this. So, a qualified positive verdict.

Looking ahead, it is interesting to speculate whether the emergence of a new balance of power, with China carrying greater weight, will allow this state of affairs to continue. One thought sometimes articulated is that the current liberal international order reflects western



values and that China will be looking to create new institutions more in line with its own values. The new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, a counterweight to the World Bank and the first generation of regional development banks, has been cited as an example of such a challenge to the post-war institutions. And China holds particularly strong views regarding non-interference in the affairs of states. The jury is still out, and while the still-unfolding situation in the South China Sea is of concern, it is worth noting that to date

China has in its actions been respectful of the international institutions that restrain the powerful: it has been accepting of the status quo since it joined the WTO, for example, and it has had less recourse to the veto in the UNSC than any of the other P5 members. Reasonable people can differ over some of the opinions I have offered, but I hope this presentation has given a sense of how some of these pieces fit with each other and with the overall international architecture.

The United Nations Association of New Zealand welcomes our new members to the National Council and National Executive. We also welcome the Association of Former UN Officials - NZ and Red Cross New Zealand as affiliated organisations. We sincerely thank Gary Russell, who served on the National Executive for many years as Vice President and hope he will continue his involvement with the association and as President for the Northern Branch.



Vice President – Peter Nichols is a former New Zealand Army Officer. He has had a long and varied career, having served with the UN in Angola, the NZ Provincial Reconstruction Team carrying out nation building in Afghanistan, and nearly a decade in South-east Asia including as Defence Attaché to Indonesia and the Philippines. Peter also served as Aide-de-Camp to two Governors-General. Following his military career, Peter worked in the Domestic and External Security Group of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet and then became Group Manager Security at Parliament. He is currently a Senior Advisor Strategy in the Environmental Protection Authority. Peter is a member of the NZ Indonesia Association and Council, former member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), former Chair of the Wellington Branch of the NZ Institute of International Affairs, and has been a member of the UNA NZ for many years. Peter has a Masters of Arts in Defence and Strategic Studies, First Class Honours.

Vice President – Pauline McKay joined Christian World Services (CWS) as National Director in February 2009. Pauline brings much experience of social justice action within New Zealand and the world wide ecumenical movement as well as a background in health development. She was active in the anti-apartheid movement and YWCA from the 1970s to the early 90s and worked for the Africa Information Centre and the Waitangi Consultancy, which introduced Treaty of Waitangi principles to pakeha New Zealanders. She then moved to Geneva where she spent 15 years working for the World Council of Churches, International

YWCA and the World Health Organisation (WHO). Much of her work was around organising international Conferences, latterly highlighting inequalities in health research and health issues in developing countries. She was one of the founders of the Council for International Development and served as its Chair, three times.

National Executive member – Clark Ehlers has a solid background and interest in the building and maintenance of relationships, and recognises the critical importance of collaboration between people and organisations to achieve the best outcomes. He works in the government sector in environmental regulation and risk analysis where he developed a keen sense of weighing benefits and risks pertaining to the economy, environment, society and cultural values. He is connected, committed and strives to be innovative whilst delivering results. He will use his skills and attributes to work for the UNA NZ and the wider community. Clark has a PhD in microbial biotechnology.

National Council – Hana Mereraiha White was born and raised a Māori/English bi-lingual in the Waikato region. She hails from Tainui, Te Arawa, Taranaki and Ngāi Tahu. Hana is a trained teacher and has worked across the various sectors in Education. Her passions are centred in the Arts and Humanities, she has a deep love of languages, culture and travel. She was an American Field Scholar (AFSER) in 2005 and lived in Spain for a year, picking up Spanish as her third language. In 2008 she lived in Hawai'i and studied the Hawaiian language for a semester. Hana is now a student at the University of Canterbury working towards a PhD in linguistics. She

is the president of the Māori Students' Association and sits on the wider student body, the UCSA. She is also a member of the Māori Women's Welfare League, a tradition which has been passed on through her female lineage. Her Great-grandmother was one of the founding members of the organisation. Last year Hana was selected to be a student at the school of excellence for Māori language (Te Panekiretanga o te reo).

Communications Officer – Robyn Holdaway has a background in policy and a strong focus on critical analysis and communications. Currently a policy consultant, she builds on relationships with a range of community, public, and private sector stakeholders to understand complex challenges and support the development of solutions. Robyn enjoys working across a range of areas and taking a wider systems view to better understand and support stronger social and economic outcomes. She holds a BA Hons in International Relations.

National Administrator – Ronja Ievers is an educator at heart. She worked in the Ministry of Education's international division for 5 years, from liaison advisor, policy analyst and senior advisor for policy and engagement. She was the penholder for several UNESCO reports on how the NZ education system performs for its most marginalised groups. A key interest of hers are the opportunities provided by the UN Sustainable Development Goals and in particular global citizenship education. Ronja has a Bachelor First Class Honours in International Business Management and is studying towards a diploma in early childhood and adult education.

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Photo caption above: Members of the National Council are joined by a group of young delegates to the UN Ocean Conference in New York in June this year.