

Proactive Release

The following documents have been proactively released by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC), on behalf of (Rt Hon Chris Hipkins), Minister for National Security and Intelligence:

Proactive Release: Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy

The following documents have been included in this release:

Title of paper: Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy (CAB-23-SUB-0343).

- Appendix B: Proactive Release: Updates to national security strategic policy settings since initial Cabinet agreement in July 2022.
- Appendix C: Key Features of the National Security Strategy.

Title of minute: Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy (CAB-23-MIN-0343).

Title of summary: Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy (CAB-23-SUB-0343).

Please note that Note that Appendix A: Secure Together Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023 - 2028 – is not being released as part of this proactive release as it is now available online here: https://www.dpmc.govt.nz/our-programmes/national-security/aotearoas-national-security-strategy. The link to this document is mentioned on page 17 on of this release.

Some parts of this information release would not be appropriate to release and, if requested, would be withheld under the Official Information Act 1982 (the Act). Where this is the case, the relevant section of the Act that would apply has been identified. Where information has been withheld, no public interest has been identified that would outweigh the reasons for withholding it.

Key to redaction codes:

- Section 6(a), to protect the security or defence of New Zealand or the international relations of the Government of New Zealand;
- section 9(2)(f)(iv), to maintain the confidentiality of advice tendered by or to Ministers and officials.

Office of the Minister for National Security and Intelligence
Cabinet ERS Committee

Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy

Proposal

- This paper seeks your agreement to the content and public release of New Zealand's first National Security Strategy, Secure Together, Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023-2028 (the Strategy; Appendix A).
- This paper was discussed at the 21 June 2023 ERS (ERS-23-MIN-0031 refers), as part of ^{6(a)}

It has now been updated to reflect Ministers' feedback. As agreed (ERS-23-MIN-0030 refers), I delivered a speech on 7 July to foreshadow the themes and staged release of these documents, including specifically referencing that the Government would soon release our country's first National Security Strategy.

Relation to government priorities

- In my 2023 Statement to the House, I reinforced the Government's commitment to strengthening our national security community, providing strong, stable, leadership in the face of increasing challenges at home and globally, and working with all of society to secure a New Zealand that future generations can be proud of. This includes building an enduring relationship with Māori, one that demonstrates a commitment to the principles of te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi.
- The National Security Strategy will help meet the Government's commitments, including those related to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain.

Executive Summary

- In July 2022, Ministers agreed to progress the development of Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy (the Strategy) (ERS-22-MIN-0028 refers). The Strategy is Government's direction to the national security community. It will better position Government to protect New Zealand as we face a more challenging strategic environment in which threats, from cyber-attacks to foreign interference, are directly impacting New Zealanders.
- The Strategy emphasises the importance of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (our Blue Ocean Continent) to New Zealand's security and the shared challenges we face. The Strategy aligns with the Government's Pacific Resilience approach. It will also meet New Zealand's commitment under the Boe Declaration and its Action Plan for all Pacific Island Forum members to develop their own national security strategies.

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- The Strategy is fundamental to moving the national security community forward to implement a more cohesive and effective approach, embed the broader intent of the Royal Commission, and help guide national security reform implementation.
- By driving and shaping system-wide trade-offs and prioritisation, the Strategy will be a critical tool for supporting more rigorous investment advice to Ministers in a constrained fiscal environment.
- To achieve this, the Strategy puts forward three outcomes with the highest priority identified for each. These priorities are **acting early** to prevent national security threats and build New Zealand's resilience; **working together** across New Zealand society and with international partners to foster collective understanding and approaches; and **leading an integrated system approach**. The Strategy's new national security policy settings also include a whole-of-society vision and an articulation of our national security interests.
- In addition to the new policy settings, the Strategy describes the **12 core issues** that most directly affect our national security interests and that agencies work on every day to protect New Zealanders. It also includes the Government's first acknowledgement of te Tiriti/the Treaty in national security strategic policy.
- Building on a comprehensive, thoroughly consulted review of New Zealand's national security strategic policy settings, the Strategy's development was informed by a range of inputs, including public engagement and consultation with Kāpuia (the Ministerial Advisory Group on the Government's Response to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques), as well as feedback from agencies, an Executive Reference Group, and an Academic Advisory Group.
- In addition to guiding agencies' strategic approaches to core issues, the Strategy includes a **2023-25 Programme of Action**. This describes the system-level initiatives to be undertaken over the next two years as part of an initial establishment phase, within baselines, to deliver on the Strategy's priorities.
- National security reform is one of two major initiatives in the Programme of Action. The refreshed National Security Intelligence Priorities agreed by Cabinet in June 2023 (ERS-23-MIN-0032 refers) are also part of the Programme of Action, helping to give effect to the Strategy.
- I propose the Strategy is reviewed every five years to keep pace with our changing strategic environment in a sustainable way, with the Minister for National Security and Intelligence able to direct any earlier review, should circumstances warrant. A five-year review period will allow time for the national security reforms to be implemented and their effects understood. Following a two-year establishment phase, I intend to update the Programme of Action annually to provide consistency with the Government's investment cycle and accountability to the public.
- The Strategy represents a crucial milestone in developing a more mature public conversation on national security, and building greater social license. By

enhancing transparency (in particular, building public awareness about the security challenges we face and what the national security community does to protect New Zealanders), the Strategy recognises that a more informed society is a more resilient one.

- 16 This paper offers an overview of:
 - 16.1 the key drivers for the Strategy;
 - 16.2 its practical value for ministers, the public, and international audiences;
 - 16.3 the Strategy's defining features; and
 - 16.4 how the Strategy was developed.

Background: In 2022, Ministers commissioned a National Security Strategy

- In July 2022, following a comprehensive review of New Zealand's national security strategic policy settings (the Policy Review), Cabinet agreed to commission Aotearoa New Zealand's first National Security Strategy (ERS-22-MIN-0028 refers).
- In addition to endorsing the development of a Strategy, Cabinet agreed to a new scope of national security based on threats that would do us harm, distinct from hazard-based risks¹ (ERS-22-MIN-0028 refers), which allows for specialisation and focus in both of these important areas, with both facing intensifying challenges. This more focused approach to national security also avoids unnecessarily "securitising" issues (using national security tools as the primary means of responding to issues that can be more appropriately addressed by other sectors).
- Ministers also agreed, in principle, to a set of new **draft national security strategic policy settings** (vision, interests, priorities, and principles), subject to a public engagement process. The completed Strategy is the result of public engagement feedback and further policy work, combined with input from the national security community, Kāpuia, and advice from the Strategy's Academic Advisory and Executive Reference Groups. The key changes resulting from this engagement are detailed further in paragraphs 48-50.
- At the 21 June 2023 ERS, Ministers expressed broad support for the draft Strategy, but requested that the draft be shorter and sharper, ^{6(a)} and enhance the explanation of economic coercion, among other points (ERS-23-MIN-0031 refers). The full range of feedback has now been incorporated.

¹An all-of-government National Risk Approach and strategic crisis management mechanism, based on an "all hazardsall risks" framework, remains in place and will continue to consider elements common to threats and hazards.

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The Strategy better positions the Government to protect New Zealanders

- New Zealand faces **growing threats** to our people, our physical and economic security, and our political and social institutions. These threats are changing rapidly, and span terrorism and violent extremism, transnational organised crime, foreign interference, disinformation, and more. In many cases these challenges are directly impacting New Zealanders, with some communities particularly vulnerable to certain threats.
- New Zealand's international partners are also grappling with an increasingly challenging strategic environment. While Strategy development has taken account of their experiences, this Strategy represents a **uniquely New Zealand approach**, built for our own distinctive context and identity.

...and gives effect to the intent of the Report of the Royal Commission

- The Royal Commission concluded that stronger government leadership and direction for national security are required, including a need to strengthen functions such as system stewardship, legislative stewardship, performance monitoring, horizon scanning, and integration between intelligence and policy.
- The Royal Commission also pointed to the need for more engaged and accountable government decision-making, including in the way that the national security community engages with the people it serves.
- The Strategy represents a crucial milestone in developing a more mature public conversation on national security, and building greater social license. By enhancing transparency (in particular, building public awareness about the security challenges we face and what the national security community does to protect New Zealanders), the Strategy recognises that a more informed society is a more resilient one.
- The Strategy, especially its three priorities, together with national security reform work, are critical mechanisms for putting such an approach in place.

The Strategy is Government's direction to the national security community, designed to build a secure and resilient New Zealand

- The Strategy sets out the Government's expectations about how the national security community will better serve New Zealanders by building a more secure and resilient New Zealand in the face of increasing challenges.
- Delivery of the Strategy requires a sharper focus across the **12 core national security issues**, including establishing a strategic coordination agency for each, with corresponding Ministerial responsibilities. Advice on these arrangements will be developed in the context of decisions on national security reform, and will be brought to Cabinet before the end of 2023 as an important early action for Strategy implementation.
- The Strategy will foster a **more integrated approach across agencies**, which will better serve Ministers. Cabinet papers with national security dimensions will

articulate how the work aligns with the Strategy and describe not only any risks associated with a recommended approach, but also the risks of inaction. In addition, as part of their regular update cycles, agencies will consider how to align their core issue strategies (for example, the Cyber Security Strategy) with the high-level system priorities set out in the National Security Strategy, where appropriate and practicable.

The Strategy offers practical value for a range of audiences

Table 1 describes the practical value the Strategy will deliver for Ministers, the public, and our international partners.

Table 1: Practical value of a National Security Strategy

	T =	
Ministers and Government	Creating a framework to support decision- making and track progress	 Places advice on individual national security issues in a system context Provides a basis for government decisions on national security resourcing Offers a tool for talking about national security opportunities and challenges in a way that is appropriate to the New Zealand context Gives greater ability to serve New Zealanders and advance their interests Provides a positive, intergenerational vision for New Zealand's national security
The public	Providing reassurance, and building transparency and participation in national security	 Gives reassurance that the Government understands the threats New Zealand faces and has a roadmap for addressing these Provides information on national security challenges to New Zealanders so that they are more risk aware Outlines practical ways in which all New Zealanders—communities, iwi/Māori, private and academic sector partners—can contribute to our collective security and resilience
International partners	Describing New Zealand's interests and setting a context for cooperation	 Provides partners with a clear understanding of New Zealand's interests, priorities, and the context of our policy positions Shows the value of our international partnerships Assists in identifying areas of mutual agreement and opportunity, as well as points of difference Clearly articulates for partners how New Zealand sees its role in the Pacific region and globally

Defining features of the Strategy

The Strategy features updated national security strategic policy settings (definition, whole-of-society vision, interests, outcomes, priorities, and principles;

see Appendix C). The outcomes and priorities are focused on enabling the national security community to act early to protect New Zealand from threats. This requires having an informed and engaged society, and a more integrated, effective national security community that can overcome siloes to better support Ministers.

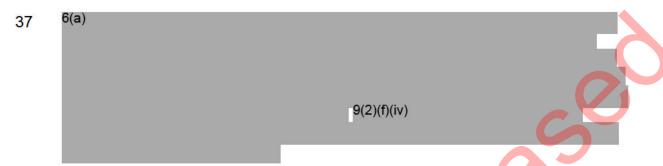
- 32 In addition to the policy settings, the Strategy includes:
 - 32.1 **introductory material**, which includes a foreword from the Prime Minister and an overview of the Strategy;
 - 32.2 **a security outlook**, which aligns with recent assessments and policy documents, including the Defence Policy and Strategy Statement, and the assessments prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service;
 - thematic sections describing the **12 core issues** that most directly affect our national security interests, and the national security community's efforts to act early and work together with New Zealand society and international partners on these issues;
 - 32.4 descriptions of **connected issues**—the broader drivers of insecurity that increase our vulnerability to threats and can drive instability through their scale and magnitude (for example climate change, and biosecurity and human health).
- The positive, intergenerational vision and policy settings in the first part of the Strategy are likely to be of most interest to the New Zealand public. The second half of the Strategy contains more detailed information on specific issues that can be referred to based on reader interest.

The Strategy also includes a Programme of Action, which is critical for implementation

- This first Programme of Action sets out the system-level initiatives, largely led by the Department of the Prime Minster and Cabinet (DPMC), that can demonstrate progress toward the Strategy's outcomes and priorities over a two-year establishment phase.
- These initiatives complement agencies' ongoing work on the core issues of the Strategy and are grounded in the findings of the Royal Commission. The Programme of Action describes:
 - 35.1 the most important initial system-level actions required, including national security reform and efforts to foster a public conversation on national security through enhanced transparency (where appropriate), accessibility, and engagement with the public; and
 - **additional actions** under each of the Strategy's priorities that can move us forward over the next two years.

The Programme of Action is a means of making sustainable progress

The Programme of Action describes how government can begin to implement the Strategy. These initiatives will be scaled and delivered as effectively as possible within existing baselines.



As a result, the introduction to the Programme of Action provides context on recent government investments and major initiatives in national security (for example, in the intelligence agencies). Highlighting this as part of our communications will ensure the public and international partners have a more comprehensive overview of efforts to build national security capacity and capability over time.

I propose refreshing the Strategy every five years

- The Strategy is designed to provide overarching guidance, while still being flexible enough to allow the national security community to respond to new and emerging challenges. While some national security settings (for example, the vision, interests, outcomes, and principles) are designed to be enduring, the system priorities and core issues may need to be updated as the reforms embed, the system matures, and new challenges emerge.
- A **five-yearly update cycle** provides an appropriate balance between agencies' capacity to undertake analysis and drive system change, and the need to stay ahead of strategic challenges. It is generally consistent with other sector strategies, for example the Transnational Organised Crime Strategy and Defence White Paper cycle.
- The Minister for National Security and Intelligence will retain flexibility to consider whether an out-of-cycle Strategy update is appropriate, for example, if there is a major strategic shock.

lintend to refresh the Programme of Action on an annual basis, following a twoyear establishment phase

- An initial two-year establishment phase is necessary in light of current fiscal constraints, and to allow time for the national security reforms to be fully implemented.
- Subsequent annual updates to the Programme of Action will drive the national security community's work, informing annual business planning processes, and demonstrate accountability to the public on Strategy

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implementation. I have directed DPMC officials to provide me with an initial progress report on the 2023-25 Programme of Action before the end of 2023.

The Strategy reflects a diversity of inputs

- The primary governance mechanism for developing the Strategy has been the Security and Intelligence Board (SIB). The Strategy has also drawn on advice from an Executive Reference Group made up of Chief Executives from The Treasury, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Inland Revenue Department, Te Kawa Mataaho Public Service Commission,² the Department of Internal Affairs, and DPMC. Additionally, the Strategy has benefited from the input of an Academic Advisory Group.
- Kāpuia also contributed to the development of the Strategy at key junctures and has noted that it was pleased to see its feedback incorporated.

Officials undertook a public engagement process as part of the Strategy's development, from July-October 2022

- The Strategy has been influenced by a public engagement process that included online and in-person hui at universities across New Zealand, with faith and ethnic group peak bodies, and webinars open to the broader public. It also featured an online submissions process open to all New Zealanders, in which a broad range of private, rural, youth, and local government organisations were invited to participate. Officials sought Māori perspectives on the Strategy, primarily through sessions with Māori academics and students³.
- 47 Feedback from the public engagement process was summarised and publicly released in November 2022. Participants were generally supportive of the policy settings, with many suggestions focused on strengthening key themes. Public engagement reinforced earlier signals, including from the first National Security Public Survey (conducted in 2022), that the public want to know more about national security.
- Public and Kāpuia feedback influenced the content and tone of the Strategy in several ways. The key changes made as a result include work on streamlining and accessibility of language across the settings. The vision statement in particular, with its emphasis on a whole-of-society approach to national security, reflects what we heard from New Zealanders about their roles and contributions. Feedback also resulted in the creation of an outcomes category, to make clear what government aims to accomplish in national security. Appendix B lays out in greater detail the changes made as a result of public feedback, and why.

² Represented at the Deputy Chief Executive level.

³9(2)(ba)(i)

⁴ The report summarising what we heard during public engagement on the National Security Strategy can be found here: https://www.dpmc.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2022-12/korero-on-the-development-of-new-zealands-national-security-strategy.pdf

- The Programme of Action also reflects public feedback, for example in those initiatives that promote further public discussion and understanding of national security, workforce diversity initiatives, and efforts to build relationships with iwi/Māori.
- In some cases, officials chose not to make changes to reflect the engagement feedback. For example, some participants preferred a broader definition of national security, encompassing issues such as mental health. While acknowledging there can be important relationships with such broader issues, these foremost relate to the work of other sectors and overall wellbeing. Retaining the concept of national security focused on threats that would do us harm is consistent with Cabinet's 2022 decisions on the Policy Review, and with the desire to avoid an overly expansive security sector and unnecessary securitisation.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi / Treaty of Waitangi analysis

Analysis informed by targeted engagement to begin understanding Maori interests in national security

- Consistent with the Cabinet Office Circular CO (19) 5: Te Tiriti o Waitangi / Treaty of Waitangi Guidance, officials began by seeking to better understand the interests of iwi/Māori in national security broadly, by engaging Māori academics as part of the Policy Review, then holding a series of hui with tauira Māori (Māori students) during the public engagement process. Officials also sought the views of Māori organisations. These engagements revealed:
 - 51.1 a strong sense that te Tiriti/the Treaty and te ao Māori, particularly the concept of manaakitanga, should be reflected in the Strategy;
 - 51.2 that iwi/Māori will continue to play a role in preventing, responding to, and recovery from, significant national security events, to support their own or other communities, and want to be better resourced to do this work; and
 - 51.3 that early work to build trust between iwi/Māori and the national security community should continue.

The Strategy reflects te ao Māori and te Tiriti/the Treaty

- As part of the Policy Review, officials recognised the Strategy needed to acknowledge te Tiriti/the Treaty, te ao Māori, and the role iwi/Māori have played in national security in protecting their own and other communities. The Strategy provides a start point for addressing these by:
 - 52.1 acknowledging te Tiriti/the Treaty and applying its principles to the national security context, setting overarching expectations for the national security community;
 - 52.2 expressing key aspects of the new policy in te reo Māori, reflecting te ao Māori values (especially manaakitanga) and metaphors in the title and design concept (with appropriate cultural support); and

- 52.3 through the Programme of Action, working towards enduring strategic-level relationships between the national security community and iwi/Māori.
- The following application of principles of te Tiriti/the Treaty to the national security context is set out in the Strategy. It reflects earlier direction from Ministers that part of the Government's kāwanatanga duty is protecting all of its citizens. It is also grounded in the *He Tirohanga ō Kawa ki te Tiriti o Waitangi* guidance published by Te Puni Kōkiri. I am committed to a national security community that promotes:
 - 53.1 a **partnership** where both parties act reasonably, honourably, and in good faith, and where the Crown makes informed decisions in those areas of national security which impact Māori interests; and
 - 53.2 better understanding of, and ability to address, the threats faced by Māori in order to **actively protect** Māori interests, which are broad and nuanced, ranging from property and culture, to Māori themselves, as groups and individuals, and also extend to the integrity of New Zealand's democratic institutions.
- While not formally a "principle", the concept of **participation** referring to Māori in the national security workforce, and the valuing of te ao Māori in national security policy and practice has value in the national security context, and is therefore also reflected in the Strategy.
- This high-level approach enables the Strategy to set broad expectations for the national security community, while still providing agencies the flexibility to determine the detail of what this should look like in a way that is appropriate to their contexts.

Implications for Māori

- The Strategy will support government's obligation to fulfil its kāwanatanga duty to protect all its citizens.
- Māori communities, individuals, and institutions already play an important role in New Zealand's national security (for example, Ngāi Tahu's role in responding to the Christchurch terror attack). The Strategy will help government and the national security community work with Māori in preventing and responding to national security threats, including promoting a better understanding of Māori perspectives where rights and interests are or may be affected.

Next steps

- 58 Should Cabinet agree, the next steps are:
 - 58.1 public launch of the Strategy, likely in early August; and
 - 58.2 Strategy implementation, conducted together with implementation of Cabinet decisions on national security reform.

Financial Implications

There are no immediate financial implications associated with the Strategy or Programme of Action initiatives (led by DPMC) for 2023 - 2025, as these are intended to be scaled for delivery within existing budget baselines. However, there may be trade-offs due to agency prioritisation of delivery of their other functions.

Legislative Implications

There are no immediate legislative implications associated with this paper.

Population Implications

- The Strategy will support the national security community's ability to act early to prevent threats and build resilience, and respond where prevention is not possible. This ultimately enhances the security and resilience of all New Zealanders.
- The Strategy sets the overall direction for national security policy. Aside from the implications for iwi/Māori (discussed above) there are no immediate or specific population implications associated with the Strategy.
- Some communities may be more vulnerable to certain national security threats, and in these cases population impacts are considered as part of separate, more detailed work on core issues. For example, officials have undertaken significant consultation with communities on preventing violent extremism and counterterrorism, including with a range of organisations representing minority faith and ethnic communities, women, and rainbow communities. The countering foreign interference work programme includes efforts to enhance understanding of New Zealand's diverse communities' experiences with foreign interference, and work with communities targeted by foreign governments to build their resilience to such practices.

Use of external resources

None of the external resources used provided a material or direct contribution to the policy development process in this case.

Human Rights

There are no human rights implications associated with this proposal, or any inconsistencies with the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 or Human Rights Act 1993.

Consultation

- The following departments were consulted in the development of this paper: New Zealand Police, Ministry of Defence, New Zealand Defence Force, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Government Communications Security Bureau, New Zealand Security Intelligence Service, the New Zealand Customs Service, Te Arawhiti the Office for Māori-Crown Relations, The Treasury, National Emergency Management Agency, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Justice, Ministry for Primary Industries, Ministry for the Environment, Department of Internal Affairs, the Ministry for Ethnic Communities, the Office for Disability Issues, the Ministry for Pacific Peoples, the Ministry for Women, and Fire and Emergency New Zealand. The Policy Advisory Group in DPMC has been informed.
- Groups outside of central government, including Kāpuia and an Academic Advisory Group, were engaged as part of the development of the Strategy. A public engagement process was also undertaken from July to October 2022.

Communications

- On 7 July, I delivered a speech to foreshadow the themes and staged release of a series of foreign policy, defence, and national security strategic policy documents and assessments, as agreed at 21 June ERS (ERS-23-MIN-0030 refers).
 - 68.1 The MFAT Strategic Foreign Policy Assessment was released on 10 July, and I anticipate the Defence Policy and Strategy Statement as well as the Future Force Design Principles to be released tentatively on 4 August.
 - 68.2 I will target the first week of August for release of the Strategy and the National Security Intelligence Priorities (NSIPs). This will be followed by the NZSIS Security Threat Environment Report, to be released before mid-August.
- I, or my delegate, will launch the Strategy at a public event. This will also include announcement of national security reforms, which are part of the Strategy's programme of action.
- Officials from DPMC's National Security Group will provide communications collateral to Ministers' offices in advance of this event. Following the launch, the Strategy and the NSIPs will be published on the DPMC website. To ensure the Strategy is widely accessible, supporting communications material, including brief fact sheets, will also be produced and translated into six languages.

Proactive Release

I intend to proactively release this paper and its associated minute following the public release of the Strategy in 2023.

Recommendations

- 72 I recommend that the Committee:
- 1 **Note** in July 2022, Cabinet agreed
 - to a new definition of national security focused on threats that would do us harm, a key element of a more focused approach to national security, which does not unnecessarily securitise issues;
 - 1.2 that officials progress the development of a National Security Strategy (the Strategy); and
 - 1.3 in-principle, to a set of draft national security policy settings, that, subject to feedback from public engagement, should serve as the basis of the Strategy (ERS-22-MIN-0028 refers);
- Note that on 21 June 2023, the Cabinet External Relations and Security Committee (ERS) considered an earlier draft of this paper and referred the submission to Cabinet or ERS as soon as practicable, revised as appropriate in the light of the discussion at the meeting (ERS-23-MIN-0031);
- 3 **Note** the Strategy will:
 - 3.1 better position Government to protect New Zealanders;
 - 3.2 support the delivery of a number of the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain; and
 - 3.3 fulfil New Zealand's commitment under the Boe Declaration and its Action Plan for all Pacific Island Forum members to develop their own national security strategies.
- Note the Strategy contains new national security strategic policy settings (definition, vision, interests, priorities, and principles) agreed in principle by Cabinet in July 2022, and revised following the public engagement process and feedback from public sector chief executives, Kāpuia (the Ministerial Advisory Group on the Government's Response to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques), and an Academic Advisory Group;

Agree to the national security strategic policy settings in the Strategy, referred to in paragraphs 5.1 - 5.5 below:

5.1 **Definition**

National security is about protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm;

5.2 Whole-of-Society Vision

A secure and resilient Aotearoa New Zealand – one that is protected as a free, open, and democratic society for future generations;

5.3 National Security Interests

Protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm means safeguarding:

- 5.3.1 Our people, land, and waters;
- 5.3.2 Our independence and freedom of action;
- 5.3.3 Our democracy and social fabric;
- 5.3.4 Our national economic security;
- 5.3.5 Our connections to the world, both physical and digital;
- 5.3.6 A peaceful and resilient Pacific;
- 5.3.7 A strong rules-based international system in the Indo-Pacific and beyond;
- 5.3.8 A strong network of partnerships within and beyond New Zealand;

5.4 Outcomes and priorities

- **5.4.1 Outcome 1**: New Zealand protected from threats
 - 5.4.1.1 **Priority 1**: Acting early to prevent national security threats and build resilience:
- 5.4.2 **Outcome 2**: A resilient society, informed and engaged on national security challenges
 - 5.4.2.1 **Priority 2:** Working together to foster collective understanding and approaches;
- 5.4.3 **Outcome 3**: An effective national security system
 - 5.4.3.1 **Priority 3**: Leading an integrated approach;

5.5 **Principles**

- 5.5.1 Whakapai: fostering improvement;
- 5.5.2 Matatika: being ethical and fair;
- 5.5.3 Māramatanga: acting with insight and understanding;
- Agree to the contents of the Strategy, Secure Together, Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023-2028;
- 7 **Agree** to the public release of the Strategy, Secure Together, Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023-2028;

Strategy implementation

- Agree that the Strategy, as Government's direction to the national security community, will guide agency policy development on core national security issues, as well as Cabinet consideration of national security matters, with immediate effect:
- Agree that as an important early action on Strategy implementation, officials should report back to Cabinet before the end of 2023 with advice on establishing strategic coordination agencies and corresponding Ministerial responsibilities for each of the 12 core issues, and that this advice should be developed in the context of national security reform decisions;

Update cycles for the Strategy and Programme of Action

- Agree the Minister for National Security and Intelligence update the Strategy on a five-yearly basis;
- Note the Minister for National Security and Intelligence may consider refreshing the Strategy out of cycle, should this be required;
- Note that following a two-year establishment phase, the Minister for National Security and Intelligence intends to update the Programme of Action on an annual basis:
- Note I have directed DPMC officials to provide me with an initial progress report on the 2023-25 Programme of Action by the end of 2023;

Financial and other implications

- Note as the 2023-2025 initiatives within the Strategy Programme of Action are intended to be undertaken within existing baselines, there are therefore no immediate financial implications associated with this paper. However, there may be trade-offs due to agency prioritisation of delivery of their other functions;
- **Note** there are no legislative or human rights implications associated with this paper;

Public launch and communications

- Agree that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence or designated delegate will publicly launch the Strategy in early August 2023, and that officials will provide ministers' offices with communications collateral ahead of this event;
- Agree to delegate authority to the Minister for National Security and Intelligence, in consultation with any relevant ministers, to determine the timing of, and approach to, its public release and to make any further changes to the Strategy, and;
- Note that brief fact sheets translated into six languages will be produced to ensure the Strategy is widely accessible.

Authorised for lodgement

Rt Hon Chris Hipkins

Minister for National Security and Intelligence

List of Appendices

Appondix A: Cooure Together To Tateu Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand'e National Security Strategy 2023 – 2020

Appendix B: Updates to national security strategic policy settings since initial Cabinet agreement in July 2022

Appendix C: Key Features of the National Security Strategy

Note that Appendix A: Secure Together Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023 - 2028 – is not being released as part of this proactive release as it is now available online here: https://www.dpmc.govt.nz/our-programmes/national-security/aotearoas-national-security-strategy.

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Appendix B: Updates to national security strategic policy settings since initial Cabinet agreement in July 2022

In July 2022, Cabinet agreed in principle to a set of national security strategic policy settings (definition, vision, interests, priorities, and principles) [ERS-22-MIN-0028 refers]. These were revised following public engagement and feedback from public sector chief executives, agencies, Kāpuia, and the Strategy Academic Advisory Group.

Previously agreed in principle by Cabinet in July 2022	Policy in the draft National Security Strategy	What has changed and why?
What we mean by national security	What we mean by national security	Streamlined language for accessibility.
Actively protecting Actearoa New Zealand from malicious threats to our national security interests, from those who would do us harm.	National security is about protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm.	The term 'malicious threats' didn't account for those events that may be national security threats due to their scale and magnitude or a potential accidental nature, rather than due to intent alone.
Vision Working together to protect and advance the national security of Aotearoa New Zealand and its people, today and into the future.	Vision A secure and resilient Aotearoa New Zealand – one that is protected as a free, open, and democratic society for future generations.	Participants in public engagement told us that an intergenerational vision of security is important to them—'for future generations' was therefore added. The vision statement was also updated to be more ambitious and future-focused, rather than action-focused.
National Security Interests Ensuring Aotearoa New Zealand's national security means actively protecting: New Zealanders at home and abroad Our sovereignty and territorial integrity Our democratic institutions and norms, including universal human rights and te Tiriti o Waitangi Our national economic security Our wider maritime region and connections to the world, both physical and digital A peaceful, stable, prosperous, and resilient Pacific underpinned by strong regionalism and in which New Zealand has the freedom to act in support of shared interests and values A strong international rules-based system in the Indo-Pacific and beyond, centred on multilateralism, liberal democratic values, and the promotion of peace A strong network of partnerships within and beyond New Zealand	Protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm means safeguarding: Our people, land, and waters Our independence and freedom of action Our democracy and social fabric Our national economic security Our connections to the world, both physical and digital A peaceful and resilient Pacific A strong rules-based international system in the Indo-Pacific and beyond A robust network of partnerships within and beyond New Zealand	The articulation of the interest relating to 'our sovereignty and territorial integrity' was amended to reflect feedback from some Māori participants that the concept of sovereignty has specific associations for some groups, and could be misinterpreted. This wording was therefore recrafted to ensure its meaning was clearer and more direct. Sentences have also been shortened for accessibility. Further details on each interest now appear in descriptions that feature underneath each one in the Strategy.

IN CONFIDENCE

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IN CONTIDENCE								
Previously agreed in principle by Cabinet in July 2022	Policy in the draft National Security Strategy	What has changed and why?						
Priorities Deliver a system approach that builds capability, accountability,	Outcomes and priorities Outcome 1: New Zealand protected from threats	Outcomes were added as a new category, to demonstrate what the priority actions would contribute to achieving.						
 and resilience Prevent and mitigate national security threats by acting early Work together to foster collective understanding and approaches Prepare our workforce for the future 	Priority: acting early to prevent national security threats and build New Zealand's resilience Outcome 2: a resilient society, informed and engaged on national security challenges	The fourth priority was removed, as workforce development is part of system capability, which is covered in the priority on leading an integrated approach.						
	Priority: working together to foster collective understanding and approaches Outcome 3: an effective national security system							
	Priority: leading an integrated approach							
Principles	Principles	Whanaungatana was removed because this concept is already reflected in the central theme of						
Whanaungatanga (relationship, kinship, or sense of family connection)	Whakapai (fostering improvement)	the Strategy, working together.						
Commitment to relationships, connectedness, and a shared sense of humanity. It reflects a commitment to respecting and protecting universal human rights, civil liberties, and to carrying forward New Zealand's responsibilities in the Pacific and as a good global citizen.	To better protect New Zealanders, the national security community needs to adapt its approach as the environment changes. The community embraces the concept of whakapai—a reflection of an enduring commitment to listening, learning, and to fostering a culture of continuous improvement.	The set of three principles work together to help carry out the priorities.						
Māramatanga (insight and understanding)	Matatika (being ethical and fair)							
This refers to a commitment to understanding, knowledge, and insight. • Matatika (being ethical and fair)	The national security community is committed to building trust and confidence with New Zealanders. This depends on being ethical and fair, reflected in the concept of matatika. The community's commitment to protect New Zealanders is							
This means a commitment to openness, accessibility, and accountability to all the people of New Zealand.	grounded in respect for universal human rights and civil liberties.							
Whakapai (improvement)	Māramatanga (acting with insight and understanding) The national security community is committed to drawing on							
This reflects a commitment to listening, learning, and fostering a culture of adaptability and continuous improvement.	diverse sources of knowledge and insight to understand our national security challenges, and to enable us to act early to protect all New Zealanders.							

Key Features of the National Security Strategy

Secure Together, Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki (Our Cloak of Protection)

Te Tūruapō | Vision

A secure and resilient Aotearoa New Zealand – one that is protected as a free, open, and democratic society for future generations

Ngā Aronga | Interests

Protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm means safeguarding:

- our people, land, and waters
- · our independence and freedom of action
- · our democracy and social fabric
- · our national economic security
- our connections to the world, both physical and digital
- · a peaceful and resilient Pacific
- a strong rules-based international system in the Indo-Pacific and beyond
- a robust network of partnerships within and beyond New Zealand

Ngā Putanga me ngā Whakaarotau | Outcomes and priorities

To work towards our vision requires efforts focused on three outcomes. The Strategy identifies the highest priority action for each outcome:

Outcome 1: New Zealand protected from threats

→ <u>Priority</u>: Acting early to prevent national security threats and build New Zealand's resilience.

Outcome 2: A resilient society, informed and engaged on national security challenges

→ <u>Priority</u>: Working together to foster collective understanding and approaches.

Outcome 3: An effective national security system

→ Priority: Leading an integrated approach.

Core national security issues

The challenges that most directly impact New Zealand's national security interests, and that people in national security deal with on a daily basis, are core issues:

- strategic competition and challenges to the rules-based international system raise the risk of conflict and impact all of our national security interests.
- emerging, critical, and sensitive technologies are a source of opportunity, but can also be used to enable malign activity.
- disinformation is the spreading of false and misleading information with harmful intent, that can pose threats to our democracy and social fabric.
- foreign interference and espionage, actions that undermine sovereignty and are coercive, covert and/or corrupting, will remain a challenge globally and at home.
- terrorism and violent extremism is an evolving threat, driven by increasingly complex and convoluted ideologies.
- transnational organised crime is crime that operates across national borders, including networks dealing in human trafficking and illicit drugs.
- economic security refers to protecting and building resilience from malicious threats to ensure that New Zealanders can always access critical goods and services.
- Pacific resilience and security involves working with Pacific countries to address shared challenges like the implications of climate change.
- maritime security involves protecting New Zealand's maritime interests from illegal, malicious, unregulated, unreported, or harmful activities at sea.
- border security means safeguarding New Zealand from threats, including transnational criminals, people smugglers, espionage agents, and violent extremists.
- cyber security means protecting our critical services, privacy, intellectual property and data from malicious cyber activities.
- space security underpins key services, from weather observations, banking and financial transactions, to GPS and air travel.

Acting early to address the core issues requires...

Understanding

Being able to effectively address these issues requires policies built on a solid basis of understanding. This involves working together with many parts of society. It is also where national intelligence matters most.

Preventing

Preventing harm to our people, our country, and our interests, is both our highest priority and the most challenging outcome to achieve. Prevention begins with identifying points of intervention and matching tools (diplomatic, economic, defence, communications) with opportunities.

Preparing

Being prepared involves identifying and mitigating vulnerabilities. It requires building collective resilience to ensure that we are able to meet challenges and recover when needed. The national security community must be ready to respond – to act quickly and effectively, when required.

Connected Issues

In addition to the core national security issues, there are connected issues - broader drivers of insecurity that can increase vulnerabilities to threats and exacerbate instability through their scale and magnitude. Key connected issues

- climate change
- biosecurity and human health
- social instability

include:

 inequality, debt, and corruption

Working together

Cutting across understanding, preventing, and preparing is the importance of working together with New Zealand society and international partners.



Te Tautuhi | Definition

National security is about protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm

Ngā Mātāpono | Principles

These principles help guide the national security community in protecting New Zealanders, our country, and our interests.

Whakapai | fostering improvement

To better protect New Zealanders, the national security community needs to adapt its approach as the environment changes. The community embraces the concept of whakapi—a reflection of an enduring commitment to listening, learning, and to fostering a culture of continuous improvement.

Matatika | being ethical and fair

The national security community is committed to building trust and confidence with New Zealanders. This depends on being ethical and fair, reflected in the concept of matatika. The community's commitment to protect New Zealanders is grounded in respect for universal human rights and civil liberties.

Māramatanga | acting with insight and understanding

The national security community is committed to drawing on diverse sources of knowledge and insight to understand our national security challenges, and to enable us to act early to protect all New Zealanders.



Cabinet

Minute of Decision

This document contains information for the New Zealand Cabinet. It must be treated in confidence and handled in accordance with any security classification, or other endorsement. The information can only be released, including under the Official Information Act 1982, by persons with the appropriate authority.

Aotearoa New Zealand's First National Security Strategy

Portfolio National Security and Intelligence

On 31 July 2023, Cabinet:

Background

- *noted* that on 19 July 2022, the Cabinet External Relations and Security Committee (ERS):
 - 1.1 agreed to a new definition of national security focused on threats that would do the country harm, a key element of a more focused approach to national security, which does not unnecessarily securitise issues;
 - agreed that officials progress the development of a National Security Strategy (the Strategy);
 - 1.3 agreed in principle to a set of draft national security policy settings that, subject to feedback from public engagement, should serve as the basis of the Strategy;

[ERS-22-MIN-0028]

2 **noted** that on 21 June 2023, ERS considered an earlier version of the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343, and referred the submission to Cabinet or ERS as soon as practicable, revised as appropriate in the light of the discussion at the meeting [ERS-23-MIN-0031];

National Security Strategy

- *noted* that the Strategy will:
 - 3.1 better position the government to protect New Zealanders;
 - 3.2 support the delivery of a number of the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain;
 - 3.3 fulfil New Zealand's commitment under the Boe Declaration and its Action Plan for all Pacific Island Forum members to develop their own national security strategies;

4 **noted** that:

- 4.1 the Strategy contains new national security strategic policy settings (definition, vision, interests, priorities, and principles) agreed in principle by Cabinet in July 2022 (paragraph 1.3 above);
- the policy settings have been revised following the public engagement process and feedback from public sector chief executives, Kāpuia (the Ministerial Advisory Group on the Government's Response to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques), and an Academic Advisory Group;
- agreed to the national security strategic policy settings in the Strategy, referred to in paragraphs 5.1 5.5 below:
 - 5.1 Definition

National security is about protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm;

5.2 Whole-of-society vision

A secure and resilient Aotearoa New Zealand – one that is protected as a free, open, and democratic society for future generations;

5.3 National security interests

Protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm means safeguarding:

- 5.3.1 our people, land, and waters;
- 5.3.2 our independence and freedom of action;
- 5.3.3 our democracy and social fabric;
- 5.3.4 our national economic security;
- 5.3.5 our connections to the world, both physical and digital;
- 5.3.6 a peaceful and resilient Pacific;
- 5.3.7 a strong rules-based international system in the Indo-Pacific and beyond;
- 5.3.8 a strong network of partnerships within and beyond New Zealand;
- 5.4 Outcomes and priorities
 - 5.4.1 Outcome 1: New Zealand protected from threats
 - 5.4.1.1 Priority 1: Acting early to prevent national security threats and build resilience;
 - 5.4.2 Outcome 2: A resilient society, informed and engaged on national security challenges
 - 5.4.2.1 Priority 2: Working together to foster collective understanding and approaches;

- 5.4.3 Outcome 3: An effective national security system
 - 5.4.3.1 Priority 3: Leading an integrated approach;
- 5.5 Principles
 - 5.5.1 Whakapai: fostering improvement;
 - 5.5.2 Matatika: being ethical and fair;
 - 5.5.3 Māramatanga: acting with insight and understanding;
- agreed to the contents of the Strategy, Secure Together, Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023-2028, attached to the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343;
- agreed to the public release of the Strategy, subject to paragraph 17 below;

Strategy implementation

- agreed that the Strategy, as the government's direction to the national security community, will guide agency policy development on core national security issues, as well as Cabinet consideration of national security matters, with immediate effect;
- agreed that as an important early action on Strategy implementation, officials should report back to Cabinet before the end of 2023 with advice on establishing strategic coordination agencies and corresponding Ministerial responsibilities for each of the 12 core issues, and that this advice should be developed in the context of national security reform decisions;

Update cycles for the Strategy and Programme of Action

- agreed that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence update the Strategy on a five-yearly basis;
- 11 **noted** that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence may consider refreshing the Strategy out of cycle, should this be required;
- noted that following a two-year establishment phase, the Minister for National Security and Intelligence intends to update the Programme of Action on an annual basis;
- noted that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence has directed DPMC officials to provide him with an initial progress report on the 2023-25 Programme of Action by the end of 2023;

Financial and other implications

- **noted** that as the 2023-2025 initiatives within the Strategy's Programme of Action are intended to be undertaken within existing baselines, there are therefore no immediate financial implications associated with the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343, but that there may be trade-offs due to agency prioritisation of delivery of their other functions;
- **noted** that there are no legislative or human rights implications associated with the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343;

Public launch and communications

- agreed that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence, or designated delegate, will publicly launch the Strategy in early August 2023, and that officials will provide Ministers' offices with communications collateral ahead of this event;
- authorised the Minister for National Security and Intelligence, in consultation with any relevant Ministers, to determine the timing of, and approach to, the Strategy's public release, and to make any further changes to the Strategy;
- **noted** that brief fact sheets translated into six languages will be produced to ensure the Strategy is widely accessible.

Rachel Hayward Secretary of the Cabinet



Cabinet

Summary

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Aotearoa New Zealand's First National Security Strategy

Portfolio National Security and Intelligence

This paper seeks agreement to the content and public release of New Zealand's first National Security Strategy.

An earlier version of this submission was considered by the Cabinet External Relations and Security Committee (ERS) on 21 June 2023 [ERS-23-MIN-0031]. ERS referred the submission to Cabinet as soon as practicable, revised as appropriate following further Ministerial discussions.

The revised paper and Strategy are attached.

Appendix B outlines the updates made to the draft national security policy settings since July 2022. The key features of the Strategy are in **Appendix C**.

The Minister for National Security and Intelligence recommends that Cabinet:

Background

- note that on 19 July 2022, the Cabinet External Relations and Security Committee:
 - 1.1 agreed to a new definition of national security focused on threats that would do the country harm, a key element of a more focused approach to national security, which does not unnecessarily securitise issues;
 - 1.2 agreed that officials progress the development of a National Security Strategy (the Strategy);
 - agreed in principle to a set of draft national security policy settings that, subject to feedback from public engagement, should serve as the basis of the Strategy;

[ERS-22-MIN-0028]

2 note that on 21 June 2023, ERS considered an earlier version of the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343, and referred the submission to Cabinet or ERS as soon as practicable, revised as appropriate in the light of the discussion at the meeting [ERS-23-MIN-0031];

National Security Strategy

- 3 note that the Strategy will:
 - 3.1 better position the government to protect New Zealanders;
 - 3.2 support the delivery of a number of the recommendations of the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain;
 - 3.3 fulfil New Zealand's commitment under the Boe Declaration and its Action Plan for all Pacific Island Forum members to develop their own national security strategies;
- 4 note that:
 - 4.1 the Strategy contains new national security strategic policy settings (definition, vision, interests, priorities, and principles) agreed in principle by Cabinet in July 2022 (paragraph 1.3 above);
 - 4.2 the policy settings have been revised following the public engagement process and feedback from public sector chief executives, Kāpuia (the Ministerial Advisory Group on the Government's Response to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques), and an Academic Advisory Group;
- agree to the national security strategic policy settings in the Strategy, referred to in paragraphs 5.1 5.5 below:
 - 5.1 *Definition*

National security is about protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm;

5.2 Whole-of-society vision

A secure and resilient Aotearoa New Zealand – one that is protected as a free, open, and democratic society for future generations;

5.3 National security interests

Protecting New Zealand from threats that would do us harm means safeguarding:

- 5.3.1 our people, land, and waters;
- 5.3.2 our independence and freedom of action;
- 5.3.3 our democracy and social fabric;
- 5.3.4 our national economic security;
- 5.3.5 our connections to the world, both physical and digital;
- 5.3.6 a peaceful and resilient Pacific;
- 5.3.7 a strong rules-based international system in the Indo-Pacific and beyond;
- 5.3.8 a strong network of partnerships within and beyond New Zealand;

- 5.4 *Outcomes and priorities*
 - 5.4.1 Outcome 1: New Zealand protected from threats
 - 5.4.1.1 Priority 1: Acting early to prevent national security threats and build resilience:
 - 5.4.2 Outcome 2: A resilient society, informed and engaged on national security challenges
 - 5.4.2.1 Priority 2: Working together to foster collective understanding and approaches;
 - 5.4.3 Outcome 3: An effective national security system
 - 5.4.3.1 Priority 3: Leading an integrated approach;
- 5.5 Principles
 - 5.5.1 Whakapai: fostering improvement;
 - 5.5.2 Matatika: being ethical and fair;
 - 5.5.3 Māramatanga: acting with insight and understanding;
- agree to the contents of the Strategy, Secure Together, Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki: New Zealand's National Security Strategy 2023-2028, attached to the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343;
- agree to the public release of the Strategy, subject to paragraph 17 below;

Strategy implementation

- agree that the Strategy, as the government's direction to the national security community, will guide agency policy development on core national security issues, as well as Cabinet consideration of national security matters, with immediate effect;
- agree that as an important early action on Strategy implementation, officials should report back to Cabinet before the end of 2023 with advice on establishing strategic coordination agencies and corresponding Ministerial responsibilities for each of the 12 core issues, and that this advice should be developed in the context of national security reform decisions;

Update cycles for the Strategy and Programme of Action

- agree that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence update the Strategy on a five-yearly basis;
- note that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence may consider refreshing the Strategy out of cycle, should this be required;
- note that following a two-year establishment phase, the Minister for National Security and Intelligence intends to update the Programme of Action on an annual basis;
- note that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence has directed DPMC officials to provide him with an initial progress report on the 2023-25 Programme of Action by the end of 2023;

Financial and other implications

- note that as the 2023-2025 initiatives within the Strategy's Programme of Action are intended to be undertaken within existing baselines, there are therefore no immediate financial implications associated with the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343, but that there may be trade-offs due to agency prioritisation of delivery of their other functions;
- note that there are no legislative or human rights implications associated with the paper under CAB-23-SUB-0343

Public launch and communications

- agree that the Minister for National Security and Intelligence, or designated delegate, will publicly launch the Strategy in early August 2023, and that officials will provide Ministers' offices with communications collateral ahead of this event;
- authorise the Minister for National Security and Intelligence, in consultation with any relevant Ministers, to determine the timing of, and approach to, the Strategy's public release, and to make any further changes to the Strategy;
- note that brief fact sheets translated into six languages will be produced to ensure the Strategy is widely accessible.

Janine Harvey for Secretary of the Cabinet

Hard-copy distribution:

The Cabinet