

DRAFT TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

- The Why: Purpose and Context of this report:
 - * Terms of Reference/remit.
 - * Public concerns that surfaced post TPP - and earlier.
 - * Values underpinning our report: trust, balance, fairness.
 - * Methodology.

- Trade serving NZ Values and Prosperity - building trust.
 - * Understanding why we trade (exports as well as imports; services as well as goods) and invest across borders.
 - * Ensuring the compatibility of trade agreements with Te Tiriti.
 - * Coherence with other Government policies and objectives (climate change, Provincial Growth Fund, Living Standards Framework/Wellbeing Budget).
 - * Risks of disruption to export sectors where NZ has enjoyed comparative advantage.

- History and key concepts of international trade and trade agreements.
 - * Brief history of NZ trade.
 - * Brief history of GATT/WTO and NZ engagement in trade agreements:
 - > basic trade law concepts.
 - > value of a rules-based international system for small states.
 - > north/south divides.
 - > relationship between trade agreements and other international agreements.
 - > the broadening scope of trade agreements.
 - > NZ negotiating objectives (offensive and defensive).
 - > limits of NZ bargaining power.

- Challenges to the current system and future proofing trade policy.
 - * Global mega-trends (population changes, climate change and other environmental pressures, changing global balance of economic power).
 - * Rising concerns over the impact of globalisation and hyper-globalisation in many countries.
 - * WTO under threat. (US/China tariffs. Risk to the Appellate Body. Rise of NTMs)
 - * How can New Zealand best support an effective rules-based system for trade?
Are the current "Plan B"s fit for purpose?

CHAPTER 2: ENGAGEMENT AND INCLUSION - "*Beyond Consultation*"

- Trade is relevant to all NZers. Is the way the Government engages on trade policy keeping up with growing public expectations of democratic participation in policy design?

- Is the role of Parliament in Treaty-making processes adequate in a 21st century democracy?

- What is a reasonable expectation of how transparent our negotiators should be with our NZ stakeholders? How are comparator countries performing?

- What needs to be done differently to engage more effectively with Māori as the Crown's Treaty partner?
- What is needed to engage diverse groups e.g. Women, Youth, Migrants?
- Do we have an accurate picture of public attitudes to trade? What tools are needed to obtain this?
- What is the role of education?

CHAPTER 3: MEASUREMENT, ASSURANCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

- Are current models accurately measuring the costs and benefits of trade agreements?
- Is GDP growth the only, or even the main, measure of the success of a trade agreement? How does being more open internationally contribute to other important values?
- Is trade policy correctly aligned with the Government's other objectives and methodologies, including the Government's Living Standards Framework and its four capitals approach to sustainable, intergenerational wellbeing?"
- What are our knowledge gaps? What new sources of information and tools will the Government need in future, e.g. independent impact reporting.
- What measures are needed for assurance and holding our systems to account?
- How do we track how well we are pursuing other values (protecting knowledge, taonga etc)?
- Should there be assessment prior to entering negotiations?

CHAPTER 4: NEGOTIATING TRADE RULES TO SERVE OUR VALUES AND TRANSFORM OUR ECONOMY?

- How effectively are the Crown's obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi carved out of trade agreements?
- How can trade agreements meet the Government's objective to maximise the opportunities and minimise the risks associated with such issues as:
 - * meeting environmental challenges, including climate change;
 - * labour rights;
 - * gender equity;
 - * rights of indigenous peoples;
 - * SME participation in international markets;
 - * protecting traditional knowledge;
 - * preserving the right of Governments to regulate in the public interest, including for national land markets, taxation of multinational businesses and public services.
- Addressing public concerns about trade agreements, such as whether they:
 - * exacerbate inequality;
 - * cover too broad a range of subject matter;

- * unnecessarily restrict governments' regulatory and procurement decision-making space;
 - * create a "race to the bottom" for environmental and labour standards;
 - * prioritise corporate interests over those of ordinary citizens.
- How should disputes under trade agreements be resolved?
 - What are the trade-offs and limits on NZ bargaining power? Where are the red lines?

CHAPTER 5: CAPABILITY AND RESILIENCE

- Is the Government doing enough to make the opportunities in trade agreements accessible to all NZ businesses?
 - * Are tariff preferences being fully utilised? Is more education on this needed?
 - * Are SMEs being well enough supported? What could be done differently?
 - * Are we too focussed on goods?
- Could the taonga of the Government's offshore network be made more accessible to all New Zealanders?
- Do we have the mechanisms in place that would allow the Crown and Māori to explore positive partnership opportunities offshore?
- How could NZ Inc make more creative use of the country's diversity?
- E-commerce is revolutionising the way goods and services are traded with risks as well as opportunities. Is New Zealand ready?
- Is the infrastructure that supports NZ's trade - ports, airports, air and shipping services - as good as it could be for a world class trading nation?