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A TECHNIQUE FOR GETTING ACADEMICS TO SAY IT:

THE FISHER METHOD, THE ATLAS NETWORK, THE MONT PELERIN SOCIETY, AND THE MAKING OF THE FREE MARKET IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND, 1976 TO 2026

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CARE
center for culture-centred approach
to research and evaluation

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ABOUT CARE

The Center for Culture-Centred Approach to Research and Evaluation (CARE) at Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand, is a global hub for communication research that uses participatory and culture-centred methodologies to develop community-driven communication solutions to health and wellbeing. Through experiments in methods of radical democracy anchored in community ownership and community voice, the Centre collaborates with communities, community organisers, community researchers, advocates and activists to imagine and develop sustainable practices for prevention, health care organising, food and agriculture, worker organising, migrant and refugee rights, indigenous rights, rights of the poor and economic transformation.

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This white paper draws on archival records documenting policies whose effects include mass redundancy, poverty, and the dispossession of tangata whenua. We encourage you to care for your safety and wellbeing while reading this paper.

A TECHNIQUE FOR GETTING ACADEMICS TO SAY IT

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CARE White Paper

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1976, an Australian company chairman named John Bonython wrote to a wealthy American to explain what he had learned from a visiting Englishman. The Englishman was Antony Fisher, a Second World War

fighter pilot whose family fortune came out of a Durham coal mine, [1] who had founded the Institute of Economic Affairs in London two decades earlier and who would go on to found the Atlas Economic Research Foundation. What Bonython described in that letter was not an argument. It was an operating procedure. Fisher, he wrote, had "a technique of getting academics to say and write under their own names what business cannot say for itself." Everything the Aotearoa New Zealand record contains over the next fifty years elaborates that one sentence.

The country this paper documents is one case. The Atlas Network now counts somewhere between five hundred and six hundred institutes in around a hundred countries, coordinated from an office in Arlington, Virginia, and the aims, the methods and the sequence set out in Bonython's letter have been carried into all of them. What makes Aotearoa New Zealand worth fifty pages is that the archive here is unusually complete, so the method can be watched from the first prospecting letter to a sitting Deputy Prime Minister rather than inferred from its results. Atlas described this country to its own donors as a place where a small amount of money could move a whole national conversation. The paper is addressed to New Zealanders, and equally to readers in the other countries where the same operation has run without their knowledge or their agreement.

This paper traces fifty years of the Atlas Network and the Mont Pelerin Society in Aotearoa New Zealand through the correspondence, workshop agendas, grant reports, attendance registers and donor lists held in the Atlas Economic Research Foundation papers, supplemented by the public record of the organisations that the archive brought into being. It follows a single thread from Fisher's first letters prospecting for a New Zealand funder in 1981, through the Sydney workshop of 1985 where the method was formally taught, through the founding of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies and the New Zealand Business Roundtable in 1986, through the Mont Pelerin Society's Christchurch meeting in 1989, through the merger that produced the New Zealand Initiative in 2012, through the Taxpayers' Union and its Free Speech Union spin-off, and into the parliamentary caucus of the ACT Party, whose leader now sits as Deputy Prime Minister of this country.

The free market project in Aotearoa New Zealand was not a domestic intellectual awakening. It was recruited. The archive shows Fisher writing from abroad, hunting for a New Zealand businessman with money and a New Zealand academic with credentials, and saying so in plain language, over and over, for four years before he found them.

The appearance of national independence was itself a designed product. When Greg Lindsay proposed to run the New Zealand operation as a branch of his Australian institute, Fisher objected on strategic grounds, warning that critics "can be that much more effective if they can make any case for the ideas having originated in Australia." The independence of the think tank was not a fact about its funding. It was a communicative achievement, engineered because it worked better.

The relay from foreign donor to local institute to media to legislature was taught explicitly, as curriculum, with costings attached to every step. The agenda of the 1985 Atlas workshop in Sydney lists "Influencing Government: persuading; legislators vs bureaucrats" and "The Public: mass media; picking the issue; spokesperson; op-ed pieces" and "Teachers: study materials; educational videos; school editions" as line items in an afternoon session. Within a year, two of the New Zealanders in that room had launched the institutions that would write the next three decades of this country's economic policy.

Across half a century of private correspondence about New Zealand, there is no mention at all of this country's founding constitutional document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the 1840 Treaty between Māori leaders and the British Crown. Not as a legal fact, not as an obstacle, not as an irritation. Alan Gibbs privatised the Forest Service in the same years that Māori litigation over Crown forest assets was reshaping the constitutional law of this country, and the Atlas record of that privatisation narrates it as a story about fired civil servants and favourable voter reaction. Yet in the same decades, the New Zealand institutions this network built were publishing on Te Tiriti continuously. The New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies did so in 1988, the Business Roundtable in 1998 and again in 2009, and the Mont Pelerin Society programmed a session on indigenous rights at its Christchurch meeting in 1989. What the correspondence

could not see, the publishing programme identified as the problem. The men directing this network from London, Sydney and Washington were not weighing te Tiriti and setting it aside. It was not in their field of view, and the country they were redesigning appeared in their letters as a market with a population in it rather than as two parties to a covenant. The institutions they funded here, staffed by people who knew exactly what te Tiriti was, supplied the local knowledge in the form of an attack. Absence upstream and attack downstream are not a contradiction. They are the same operation at two ranges, and the line running from those publications to the Treaty Principles Bill and to ACT's "one law for all" policy is continuous, documented and short.

What the archive describes is a foreign-funded and foreign-trained infrastructure operating inside this country's public sphere. The money, the training, the curriculum and the strategic priorities came from London, Sydney, San Francisco and Washington, and the case for them was made in New Zealand accents by New Zealand organisations whose formation abroad was not disclosed to the audiences being addressed or to the select committees being lobbied. The current programme against te Tiriti is the most recent output of that arrangement. The paper closes with recommendations on donor transparency, political finance, and the disclosure obligations that ought to attach to organisations that present themselves to the public and to select committees as independent New Zealand research bodies.

A NOTE ON SOURCES AND METHOD

The primary material in this paper comes from the papers of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, cited throughout by box and folder, along with a small number of items from the Institute of Economic Affairs papers. A note on the two names used throughout. The legal entity is the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, incorporated in the United States in 1981 and now based in Arlington, Virginia. Atlas Network is a trade name the Foundation adopted officially in 2013 and uses for itself today. [2] The phrase itself is older and it was coined here, by Alan Gibbs in 1987, as section 9 shows. In this paper Atlas refers to the Foundation, and the Atlas Network refers to the wider structure that the Foundation seeds and services in around a hundred countries, which the New Zealand Taxpayers' Union describes in its own defence as more than five hundred think tanks. The Foundation's papers run to 159 linear feet at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, and the collection is open. [3] A number of the Atlas documents used here have also been published under parliamentary privilege by the Australian Senate, as additional information to Dr Jeremy Walker's submission to its inquiry into information integrity on climate change and energy, which means the originals can be read alongside this paper rather than taken on trust. [4] Where a document has been digitised and made publicly accessible, the link is given with the citation. Membership records of the Mont Pelerin Society are drawn from directories published by DeSmog. Organisational histories, staff listings and public statements are drawn from the organisations' own websites, from archived captures of those sites, and from contemporaneous journalism.

Quotations are reproduced as they appear in the source documents. Many of these are typescripts and carbon copies, and several have been read by optical character recognition. Misspellings, transposed letters and mangled proper nouns have been left intact rather than silently corrected, because the corruption of a scanned line is itself part of the evidentiary texture and because correcting it would move the text further from the record. Where a reading is doubtful we have said so.

The affiliations recorded in the text and consolidated in Appendix A are drawn from a relational dataset compiled for this project covering 982 named individuals, 2,129 affiliation records and 55 organisations across the period 1976 to 2026. Of those 2,129 records, 2,124 carry a source reference, which is 99.8 per cent; the five that do not are marked as unsourced in the dataset and no claim in this paper rests on them. The sources fall into three groups. The largest is archived captures of the organisations' own membership, staff and board pages, held by the Internet Archive, chiefly the New Zealand Institute, the Business Roundtable, the New Zealand Initiative, ACT, the Taxpayers' Union, the Free Speech Union and Hobson's Pledge. The second is the official electoral record: candidate lists and party donation returns published by the Electoral Commission and its predecessors. The third, 66 records, cites a document in the Atlas or Institute of Economic Affairs papers by box and folder, in the same form used in the endnotes here. Where

an affiliation appears in the narrative without a separate endnote, its source is the dataset entry rather than an uncited assertion. The dataset is published alongside the companion network analysis, so that every tie can be checked against the record it came from. [5]

This is an archive-based paper. There are no interviews here and no community fieldwork. That is a deliberate limit, and the cost of it should be stated before anything else. The people whose lives were reorganised by the policies that this network produced do not appear in these boxes. The Atlas files contain the correspondence of the men who designed the reforms and none of the testimony of those who absorbed them. The state house tenant whose rent was moved to market, the freezing worker whose town lost its works, the whānau whose land claim was being litigated while the forests above it were being sold, the beneficiary whose payment was cut in 1991: none of them wrote to Antony Fisher and none of them are in box 216. Reading an archive like this one requires holding both what it contains and what it structurally cannot contain, and treating the second as a finding rather than as a gap to be apologised for.

The analysis is conducted through the culture-centered approach developed at CARE over the past two decades, which reads communication as the site where structures are made, held, and contested, and which attends to voice as something distributed by infrastructure rather than possessed by individuals. The concept that does most of the work in this paper is the communicative inversion, the process by which a practice is presented publicly as its opposite. An institute funded from abroad presents itself as a national voice. A campaign to remove a tax presents itself as a grassroots uprising. A network that trains its members in a shared curriculum presents each member as an independent thinker who happened to arrive at the same conclusions. The archive is useful precisely because it records the inside of the inversion in the participants' own words.

1. THE METHOD BEFORE THE MONEY

In the 1970s, Antony Fisher travelled the world to raise support for what would eventually become the Atlas Network. In 1976, he travelled to Australia at the behest of John Bonython, who chaired Santos until 1981. [6] Bonython had given sworn evidence to an Australian Senate select committee three years earlier, and his statement there is the clearest account of where the money came from. Santos began in 1953, when Robert Bristowe, a school friend who had spent the war as a King's Messenger for the British Foreign Office and had seen oil country from the Black Sea to Persia to the southern United States, told him there was ground in the north of South Australia that looked like it. They registered the company in March 1954 and named it for the initials of South Australia Northern Territory Oil Search. Bonython financed it himself at first, and then with a group of friends. Needing expertise and capital that Australia could not supply, Santos made its first arrangement in May 1958 with the Delhi-Taylor Oil Corporation of Dallas, and Bonython told the committee why that association mattered: the people running Delhi, "particularly Mr. Clint. Murchison, the then Chairman, now deceased", could use their knowledge of the oil industry and their influence in it to help Santos sell what it found. Delhi-Taylor's Australian subsidiary went public in 1964 and was renamed Delhi International in 1970, and on 9 November 1973 Bonython appeared before the committee alongside three of its executives who had flown in from Dallas. [7] The money behind the first Australian institute was petroleum money, and so was the money Bonython wrote to in Texas. Fisher held a number of meetings with industrial executives with the hope of securing donations and supporters. In a letter to another prospective supporter in the United States, John Murchison, chairman of Delhi International Oil Corporation of Dallas, [8] Bonython wrote of Fisher's "method":

> Dear John,
>
> I have not written to you for a long while and this letter is not about Santos and Delhi.
>
> We have had a sad time here of recent years with the very regrettable Labour-Socialist Federal Government. [9]

> I was fortunate enough to get Fisher here (Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney talking to meetings of directors of companies etc.) for a fortnight. I am hopeful that we will be able to proceed along the route he has outlined.
>
> I cannot tell you his method quickly. What you may say, what any business itself may say, is put down by many to "vested interest". He has a technique of getting academics to say and write under their own names what business cannot say for itself. It is now having some good results in the U.K. and in Canada. I have had, over the years, a good bit to do with Chambers of Commerce, of Manufacturers, with politicians - and what they say is regarded sceptically by a public encouraged by leftwing academics.
>
> Fisher's method seems to me to be the best I have come across.
>
> Sporadic attempts to defend private enterprise, private property, freedom of choice must, of course, be made whenever possible. However, Fisher's method is not so sporadic.
>
> It is a continuing process. It provides ideas and books-read by academics, students, journalists and the public. Also the books are reviewed in the press, and go some way to get on to the bookstalls, and into the shops, something vastly different from the socialist nonsense that has proliferated for years. (The method can be backed up in many ways - by a society etc. etc.)
>
> [..]
>
> In my opinion, what I call "the Fisher method" is the most hopeful that I have come across. I am trying to get an "Institute" going here. However, if you can get or help to get the idea going in the U.S.A. that will be excellent If America can keep the flag flying - it should help all the western world. Fisher's ideas as to method should be of real interest and benefit and, incidentally, they should benefit you. [10]

The first line tells us what the correspondence between these two men was usually about. Bonython and Murchison had been writing to each other about Santos and Delhi, the companies that tied an Adelaide gas field to a Dallas oil fortune, and this letter announces itself as a departure from that subject. The Senate volume identifies the correspondent. Delhi International's own statement of its corporate organisation opens its list of directors with "John D. Murchison, Director and Chairman of the Board," principal recent occupation "Investments," and Bonython had already named him in his own evidence, saying that by interesting Delhi he could point out that "the chairman of the company, Mr John Murchison, became interested in Australia," a man whose private affairs he did not know except that he was "an important and influential American" who he believed had made investments here. Three names down the same list sits Edward A. Clark, attorney, "From mid-1965 until mid-1968, U.S. Ambassador to Australia." [11] The chairmanship had passed within the family. Bonython named Clint Murchison to the committee as the chairman now deceased, and the man holding the chair when he gave that evidence carried the same name. The letter proposing the Fisher method went to the chairman of the company, written three years after the two of them had been examined by a Senate committee of a Labor government hostile to foreign ownership of Australian resources, and three months before Fisher arrived in Adelaide. The second line gives the reason for the departure. The Whitlam Labor government, turned out of office nine months before this letter was written, had spent its three years trying to bring Australian petroleum and mineral resources under Australian public ownership, and Walker reports from the papers of its minister for minerals and energy that Delhi's share of the South Australian gas holdings was among the assets its new authority acquired. [7] What follows is a proposal for what to do about governments of that kind, and it is addressed to the oil partner rather than to a political party.

Everything that happened in this country over the following fifty years is contained in that letter.

Bonython begins with a communications problem. Business has things it wants said. Business cannot say them, because when business says them the public discounts them as self-interest. He is precise about the mechanism of the discount: what business says "is put down by many to 'vested interest'." He is describing a functioning public sphere, one in which audiences correctly identify the position from which a claim is made and weigh it accordingly. That capacity is what the Fisher method is designed to defeat.

The defeat works through substitution of the speaker. The content of the message does not change. The mouth it comes out of changes. Academics will "say and write under their own names what business cannot say for itself," and because the academic name carries a different set of assumptions about disinterest, the same proposition arrives with its vested interest stripped off. This is the founding communicative inversion of the entire architecture, stated with a candour no participant would use in public. The academic is not brought in for expertise. The academic is brought in for the credibility that attaches to the appearance of having no stake.

Bonython then names the enemy, and the enemy is neither the union movement nor the Labour Party. It is "leftwing academics," who have encouraged the public to be sceptical of business claims. The university is identified as the source of the problem in 1976, forty years before the current campaigns against critical scholarship in this country began. Everything the Free Speech Union now says about the captured campus was already implicit in the founding correspondence of the network that would eventually fund and staff it. The university is the target because the university is where the sceptical disposition is manufactured, and the strategy is to enter that terrain and produce a competing set of names that carry the same authority.

Then comes the contrast that gives the method its shape. Business already makes "sporadic attempts to defend private enterprise, private property, freedom of choice." Bonython dismisses these. The Fisher method is different because it "is a continuing process." It produces books, and the books are read by academics, students, journalists and the public, and then reviewed in the press, and then placed in bookstalls and shops. Bonython is describing a supply chain. The unit of intervention is the durable institution that produces arguments indefinitely, along with the distribution system that carries them into the places where opinion is formed. Political victory is reconceived as an infrastructural problem, which means it can be solved with money and patience rather than with persuasion.

The last movement of the letter turns a technique into a network. Bonython is writing to an American to say that he is building an institute in Australia and that his correspondent should build one in America, because "if America can keep the flag flying - it should help all the western world." The method replicates. Each node recruits the next, and each new institute is simultaneously a local operation and a piece of a transnational whole. Nine years later the same logic would arrive in Auckland.

The institute Bonython was trying to get going became the Centre for Independent Studies, founded in Sydney in 1976 by Greg Lindsay, then a schoolteacher with an interest in classical liberal ideas. Bonython was not among its founders. He joined afterwards and became the first chairman of its board of trustees, which is the Fisher structure in miniature, because the businessman does not start the thing, he underwrites it and then chairs it. [12] Fisher put the sequence in his own words seven years afterwards, writing to Hugh Morgan of Western Mining Corporation: "I visited Australia in 1976 at the invitation of John Bonython. His hope was that I might stimulate interest in support of the creation of an organization similar to the Institute of Economic Affairs of London." Lindsay, he went on, "having taken off on his own in an effort to emulate the IEA in Australia, has produced what appears to be the very successful Centre for Independent Studies." [13] The initiative and the money came first and the man to run it was found afterwards, which is the pattern this paper traces in New Zealand five years later. Three years later Hugh Morgan of Western Mining Corporation assembled the Centre's founding corporate commitment, five years of annual funding from Western Mining, CRA (the Australian subsidiary of the British company Rio Tinto), BHP, Shell, Santos and the Adelaide Advertiser. [14] Mining, petroleum and a newspaper. Kelly's page names the men as well as the companies. Lindsay had been meeting businessmen who wanted an Australian version of the Institute of Economic Affairs, and Kelly lists them as Hugh Morgan, Maurice Newman, John Bonython, CRA's chief economist John McLeod, BHP's economist John Brunner and Shell's Douglas Hocking. Walker, reading the same page, puts it as a founding tranche whose money came entirely from fossil and mining capital and its mass communications arm, and records that Morgan arranged it in the year he took over his father's executive roles at Western Mining and the Australian Mining Industry Council. [15] The economists of two mining houses and an oil company executive did not merely write cheques. They were in the room while the institute was being assembled, and the man who assembled their money is the man Fisher would recruit to the Atlas Advisory Council four years later. By 1981 the list had grown and Lindsay was sending it to San Francisco. On 28 October that year he wrote to Fisher at 220 Montgomery Street enclosing "a list of our

research work to date and a list of our corporate supporters", promising to keep both up to date "so that you can see what is happening." The enclosure is headed Corporate Supporters, one hundred dollars and over, as at 19 October 1981, and runs to a hundred and five companies. Esso Australia, Shell Company of Australia, Santos, Broken Hill Proprietary, Conzinc Rio-Tinto Australia, Western Mining Corporation, Utah Development Company, The Moonie Oil Company, Comalco, Queensland Alumina, ICI, ANZ Banking Group and Advertiser Newspapers are all on it. [16] The funder of the first Australian institute was not a benefactor or a charitable individual. It was the extractive sector of the Australian economy and the banks that financed it, subscribing together. That is the Centre for Independent Studies whose director would propose nine years later to run a New Zealand institute from the same office with the same staff, and whose New Zealand offshoot the Treasury and the Reserve Bank were reported to be driving.

2. PROSPECTING A SMALL COUNTRY

New Zealand has held a special position within the world of the Atlas Network since Atlas' founding as the Atlas Economic Research Foundation in 1981. It was New Zealand millionaire Alan Gibbs, an early Atlas donor, who coined the name "Atlas Network" in 1987. His daughter Debbi Gibbs chaired the Atlas board and now serves as its vice chair, with Montgomery Brown of the Sarah Scaife Foundation as chair. Atlas has published no announcement of the change, and the record bounds it rather than dates it: Gibbs was described as chair in the Washington Post in July 2024, and Brown was named chair in Atlas' own release of 11 November 2025. [17] [18] The country that Fisher spent four years trying to enter supplied the person who chaired the global organisation and still holds its second chair.

That entry began with arithmetic. As early as 1981, the year Fisher founded Atlas, he was trying to get New Zealand industrialists to fund a local think tank. He was in correspondence with Jeffrey L. Reid, the anti-union manager of the Fijian Vatukoula gold mine, owned by Emperor Gold Mining Co in Fiji. Reid was an "admirer" of Fisher's first think tank in London, the Institute of Economic Affairs, and Fisher was in conversation with him about starting an "IEA type" think tank in Fiji. Fisher's argument to Reid was that small amounts of money can have a large impact in countries with relatively small populations.

In 1981, Fisher wrote to Reid:

> A young student admirer of Hayek's is producing some very impressive books in Icelandic from Reykjavik. As I understand it, the total Icelandic-speaking population of the world numbers some 220,000. If he can make such an impressive effort from so small a base, it should be possible, if you so wish, to create an IEA type institute in Fiji, albeit with part-time people!
>
> This is even more true of New Zealand. I've heard of free market-minded people in Aukland (sic.). New Zealand is a place where an IEA-type institute might have a considerable impact quite quickly. [19]

The Icelandic comparison is the analytical core of the letter. Fisher is calculating cost per unit of national opinion. Iceland is attractive because 220,000 speakers of a language constitute a small enough discourse that one funded young man can saturate it. New Zealand is "even more true," which in the logic of the paragraph means better value still, a slightly larger population but an English-speaking one that can be supplied from the existing London and Sydney output without translation costs. The phrase that follows, "considerable impact quite quickly," is a projection of return.

Being small, in a networked ideological project, means this. Scale, which is usually experienced here as a limitation, becomes an opportunity for external capital. The number of people who need to be reached before a national conversation shifts is low. The number of institutions that need to be captured is low. The number of economists who need to be recruited before the profession in this country tilts is, in the 1980s, perhaps a dozen. Fisher understood this in 1981, and he wrote it down. Nothing in the subsequent forty-five years has made the calculation less favourable to whoever is doing the funding, and the same arithmetic explains why Aotearoa New Zealand continues to receive a volume of transnational political attention out of all proportion to its population.

He also notes that he has "heard of free market-minded people in Aukland." He has heard of them. He does not know them. At this point the entire New Zealand operation exists as a rumour of sympathetic individuals in a city Fisher cannot spell.

Fisher persisted over several years, writing in 1982:

> I would be most grateful to hear from you, especially if you remain as interested as you were when we met in London, in trying to establish some kind of organization, either in Fiji or New Zealand. [20]

Fiji or New Zealand. The two are interchangeable in the sentence, which tells us how the region looked from London. A gold mine manager in Vatukoula and a brewery chairman in Auckland occupy the same slot in the plan, and the plan is indifferent to which one fills it. There is no analysis here of Fijian or New Zealand political conditions, no assessment of what the Treaty relationship in one country or the racialised land politics of the other might mean for a project of this kind. There is a template and a search for someone to host it.

3. FROM FIJI TO AUCKLAND

Reid's reply, written the following February, redirected the whole enterprise.

> Dear Antony,
>
> I am sorry I have taken so long to reply to your letter of 16th December. I am presently involved in finalizing a joint venture mining arrangement with Western Mining of Australia. This has entailed much too-ing and fro-ing hence the excuse of my late answer. No, I am not able to entertain, at present, the idea of starting an IEA in New Zealand since I am too seldom there for it to be practicable. However, perhaps if you wrote to Douglas Myers [...] you might find an able organizer. Douglas recently seized control of Lion Breweries + is I think quite a power in the business world.
>
> If I may suggest it - give him a resume of your own background+ how you later started the IEA London + you may have the right person, for Auckland, anyway.
>
> If you are interested + do write to him please let me know and I'll be in touch with Douglas next time I am in Auckland next month before going to Europe.
>
> I have Henry and Philip, Crawford from Scotland coming to stay with me next week. I think that they are relatives of yours. Anyway I am looking forward to seeing them - some of her relatives are old friends of mine.
>
> All the best meanwhile,
>
> Yours aye Jeffrey [21]

This is the letter in which Douglas Myers enters the history of New Zealand economic policy, and it arrives as a suggestion between a mining joint venture and a note about visiting Scottish relatives. The register matters. A country's economic constitution is being rearranged in the idiom of a gentlemen's correspondence, with shared cousins, an "all the best meanwhile," and a closing that reaches for the naval "yours aye." The criteria Reid applies to Myers are not intellectual. Myers "recently seized control of Lion Breweries" and is "quite a power in the business world." What is being sought is capital and standing.

Reid also tells Fisher how to court him: give him a résumé of your own background and how you started the IEA London. The pitch to a New Zealand businessman is a demonstration that the method has worked elsewhere. Fisher would follow this advice to the letter within eighteen months.

Reid stayed on the project. In 1984 he wrote:

> Did you have any luck in securing Douglas Myers' support for establishing a branch in Auckland?

> If you have, that is excellent and I shall have a little more time available shortly to assist in recruiting there. If Douglas wasn't agreeable, do let me know his objections, I will approach him if you think it practicable.
>
> Watching the results around the world, I think private enterprise has a very great deal to thank you for. [22]

The verb is "recruiting." Reid is offering to help recruit in Auckland, and he wants to know Myers' objections so that they can be worked around. This is the vocabulary of organisational development, applied to the construction of a national policy consensus. The closing line is the frankest statement of purpose in the whole exchange. Reid thanks Fisher on behalf of private enterprise, which is the constituency this apparatus exists to serve, named without embarrassment in private correspondence in the same years that the public-facing institutions would be describing themselves as concerned with the national interest.

Fisher's reply set out his shopping list.

> Auckland or Wellington would be an excellent place to get started. I believe I could collect names of both businessmen and academics, but I have no one there at this moment who I can correspond with. It has to be someone with some knowledge of what this is all about. [23]

Businessmen and academics, in that order, which is the Bonython structure restated as a staffing requirement. The money and the credentialled voice are the two components, and the institute is the machine that couples them. Fisher's difficulty is not that New Zealanders disagree with him. His difficulty is logistical. He has "no one there at this moment who I can correspond with," and he needs "someone with some knowledge of what this is all about," which is to say someone already inside the movement who can be trusted to understand that the institute is an instrument.

By August, the search had produced names.

> Thank you for the introduction to Douglas Myers, Chairman of New Zealand's largest brewery, Lion Breweries Ltd. [...] I have heard of others interested in the possibility of setting up an institute in New Zealand [...]
>
> Arthur Seldon of the IEA in London tells me that he knows at least one businessman who could be interested, and I think that Greg Lindsay of CIS in Australia has other names.
>
> A new friend in Chicago has given me the name of Bill Mace, President of Mace Engineering in Christ Church. We have to find one or two in the academic world, and, although this may be difficult, I am sure it is possible. [24]

Four cities are in this paragraph and only one of them is in New Zealand. London supplies a name through Arthur Seldon. Sydney supplies names through Greg Lindsay. Chicago supplies the name of an engineering company president in Christchurch. The names of the New Zealanders who will build the New Zealand institutions are being circulated between London, Sydney and Chicago before any of those New Zealanders have met each other for this purpose. When people in this country later describe the reforms of the following decade as home grown, this is the correspondence they are talking past.

The last sentence carries the rest. "We have to find one or two in the academic world, and, although this may be difficult, I am sure it is possible." Fisher does not expect academics to be easy to find, which is a measure of how far the economics profession in this country still sat from where he wanted it. One or two will do. That is the whole requirement. In a country this size, one or two academic names are enough to constitute a credentialled position, and once the institute exists it can manufacture more of them through fellowships, publication series and conference travel. Within a decade the New Zealand economics profession would look substantially different, and the archive shows the process beginning with a request for one or two.

4. THE INVITATION AS INSTRUMENT

In October 1984 Fisher wrote to Reid again, and the letter shifts register. It stops being a search and starts being an induction.

> Dear Jeffrey:
>
> I was delighted to get your letter telling me that you hoped to be setting up an IEA-type institute in Auckland, New Zealand starting in the near future. You also suggested that I write to Douglas Myers.
>
> I now enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Myers and also wish to tell you that it seems highly probable that the Centre for Independent Studies run by Greg Lindsay in Sydney (P).O. Box 92, St. Leonard's NSW, Australia 2065; 02-438-6377) will be hosting the Mont Pelerin Society meeting August 12-16th next. The MPS, as you may know, has a membership which includes F.A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, George Stigler, and many other leading economists. It has a full rooting every second year, the next to be in Rome in 1986 and intermediary smaller regional meetings in the other years.
>
> In Vancouver in 1983 after that MPS meeting Atlas ran a seminar designed to help newcomers in the setting up of institutes and to provide an occasion for the interchange of ideas for those who are already running institutes. That meeting was such a success that we ran a second meeting in Cambridge before that MPS meeting this September which also was a great success. The Vancouver meeting resulted in the production of the Atlas manual, a copy of which we have already sent you.
>
> It also seems highly probable that Greg Lindsay will allocate a day for the running of another Atlas seminar in Sidney if we find there is sufficient interest. If so I hope that you and others interested to start an institute in New Zealand may find it possible to attend.
>
> I believe that Greg Lindsay and Arthur Seldon in London may know the names of economists and/or businessmen who could be interested in helping with an institute in Auckland. [25]

Fisher names Hayek, Friedman and Stigler, which is not an invitation to a policy discussion. It is an offer of proximity to Nobel laureates, and it works because intellectual authority is the currency the method runs on. The laureateship itself is worth a sentence. Alfred Nobel's will established prizes in physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and peace, awarded since 1901. Economics is not among them. The Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel was created in 1968 by Sweden's central bank and funded by a donation marking the bank's three hundredth anniversary, [26] and Avner Offer and Gabriel Soderberg argue that the purpose was to borrow the Nobel halo for central bank authority and for neoliberal economics. [27] Philip Mirowski reads the prize the same way, as an instrument for popularising neoliberal economics with the public rather than a neutral scientific honour. [28] The currency Fisher was offering Reid had been minted thirteen years earlier, by a bank. The Mont Pelerin Society supplies the theoretical legitimacy, and the businessmen who attend its meetings return home carrying it. Alongside the prestige comes the training. Atlas runs seminars "designed to help newcomers in the setting up of institutes," there is an Atlas manual produced out of the Vancouver meeting, and a copy has already been sent to Reid. Think tanks are not being founded by people who happen to converge on the same ideas. They are being founded from a manual, by people who have been to the course, and the course is scheduled to follow the Mont Pelerin meeting so that the theory and the operations training arrive in the same trip.

What couples the two is the calendar. The Mont Pelerin Society and Atlas are formally separate organisations, and their defenders make much of that separation when the connection is raised in public. The archive shows them scheduled back to back, in the same city, for the same people, deliberately. The Society provides the doctrine and the social standing. Atlas provides the operations. A New Zealand businessman who flew to Sydney in August 1985 received both in a single week, and the separation that looks meaningful on an organisational chart dissolves entirely in a travel itinerary.

On the same day, Fisher wrote to Douglas Myers, following Reid's advice about the résumé exactly.

> Dear Mr. Myers:

> Jeffrey Reid wrote me to tell me that you could be interested in helping to set up an IEA-type institute in Auckland, New Zealand. I write to wish you every success in this endeavor. I know that you will get tremendous satisfaction from it and that you are likely very quickly to achieve a very high profile despite the low key economic research orientation of the publications you will be producing. [...]
>
> With profits from my new business, I created the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) in London in 1955, and invited Ralph Harris (now Lord Harris of High Cross) to run it. With over 500 academic publications from some 550 authors, IEA has a prestigious reputation in academia in many countries, and in business and the media in the U.K. It 13 credited by Mrs. Thatcher and the press for creating the climate of opinion which made her election possible. (Letters from Hrs. Thatcher and Nobel Laureates Friedman and Hayek are attached.) I still chair IEA Board meetings.
>
> Policy consequences have also followed the activities of the Fraser Institute, which I helped set up in Vancouver, B.C. in 1975. Quite independent, it receives massive TV, radio and press coverage across Canada for its educational research and publications; its researches are credited with influencing the British Columbia government policy.[...]
>
> As I have explained in the attached letter to Jeffrey Reid, my wife and I and others from England and other countries may well be in Australia in August of next year. My wife and I will certainly hope to be in New Zealand to visit Roger and Lucy Cileo of 44 Clifford Rood, Christchurch, my daughter and son-in-law. Indeed, I will make efforts if all these plans work out to persuade them to come to Sydney for an Atlas seminar.
>
> Regrettably, all I can help with is advice and experience but insofar as I can be helpful in this way, please don't hesitate to ask questions. [29]

The second sentence of the second paragraph is the sales pitch of the entire global network. The Institute of Economic Affairs "is credited by Mrs. Thatcher and the press for creating the climate of opinion which made her election possible." Fisher is offering Myers a product, and the product is an election result. Not a seat at the table, not a hearing, not influence on the margins of a debate, but a shift in the ambient conditions of political possibility large enough that a government of a particular kind becomes electable. That is what the institute is for. Letters from Thatcher, Friedman and Hayek are attached as proof of delivery. The Institute's own funding bears on what was being offered, and the list of who paid for it survives in Hayek's papers. Institute of Economic Affairs Contributors, July 1978, runs to several hundred names. Among them are British Petroleum, Burmah Oil, Esso Petroleum, Gulf Oil, Texaco, Amoco, Shell International, Shell U.K. and Rio Tinto-Zinc, alongside Imperial Chemical Industries, British American Tobacco and most of the London clearing banks. [30] The IEA has since told Greenpeace's Unearthed that it took donations from BP every year from 1967, [31] and DeSmog's examination of its archived records puts the oil and gas total at close to four hundred and eighty thousand pounds across payments spanning 1957 to 2005. [32] The publications Myers was being invited to imitate, and later to reprint, came from an institute funded out of the same sector as the Sydney centre whose director would shortly propose running the New Zealand operation from his own office.

The first paragraph does the same work in the other direction. Myers is told he will "very quickly achieve a very high profile despite the low key economic research orientation of the publications." "Despite" is doing the labour there, and it is doing it backwards. The low key research orientation is what produces the high profile. Dry monographs on tariff policy are the mechanism by which a brewery chairman becomes a national voice on the economy, because the monograph converts a commercial interest into a scholarly finding. Fisher is telling Myers that the boring publications are the point, and Myers evidently understood.

Then there is the sentence about the Fraser Institute. "Quite independent, it receives massive TV, radio and press coverage across Canada." Fisher, who helped set the institute up and who is at this moment describing it as an asset in his own portfolio, inserts the word independent into the same clause. This is the inversion operating in real time, in a private letter, in a sentence where the author's own agency and the institute's independence sit two words apart without any apparent friction. Independence in this vocabulary is a property of public presentation, not of provenance. The provenance is documented. The Fraser

Institute's board of trustees for 1976 lists, beside each name, the company the trustee came from: Imperial Oil, Shell Canada, Western Decalta Petroleum, MacMillan Bloedel, Canadian Pacific, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. One line reads "Mr. A.G.A. Fisher, International Trustee." [33] Fisher was on the board of the institute he was describing to a New Zealand brewer as quite independent. The contributor list for August 1979 carries Imperial Oil, Shell Canada, BP Canada, Amoco Canada Petroleum, Texaco Canada, Union Oil of Canada, Canadian Superior Oil, Home Oil, the Canadian Petroleum Association, Interprovincial Pipe Line, Rio Algom, Noranda Mines, MacMillan Bloedel, Boise Cascade, the Council of Forest Industries of British Columbia and the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts. [34] Oil, gas, mining, timber and a Pittsburgh oil fortune. That is the institute whose independence was the selling point.

The domestic detail at the end carries more weight than its placement suggests. Fisher's daughter and son-in-law lived in Christchurch. Part of the reason this network came to Aotearoa New Zealand when it did is that the founder had family here and reasons to visit.

5. THE MANUAL

The manual Fisher posted to Auckland survives. Atlas published it as Some Do's and Don'ts for Public Policy Institutes, notes from the foundation's seminar held in Vancouver on 2 and 3 September 1983 together with the text of Atlas' own Guidelines, edited by Dorian Fisher and issued from the foundation's first office at 220 Montgomery Street, San Francisco. [35] Sixty-four pages, arranged by chapter: the purpose of an institute, setting one up, the publications programme, promotion, fundraising, complementary programmes, and the need for more institutes. The people quoted in it are the people who then built the apparatus in this country. Greg Lindsay of the Centre for Independent Studies in Sydney, who would host the 1985 workshop that New Zealanders attended, speaks throughout. Arthur Seldon of the Institute of Economic Affairs, whom Fisher named to Reid as one of two men who could supply the names of New Zealand economists, speaks throughout. John Goodman of the National Center for Policy Analysis in Dallas, who five years later would be flown to New Zealand as a consultant to a government task force on health care, speaks throughout. Hannes Gissurarson is listed as president of his own institute in Reykjavik, which is the young admirer of Hayek whose Icelandic output Fisher had held up to his Fiji correspondent in 1981 as proof that a small country could be saturated cheaply.

The chapter on publications opens with the premise of this paper, written as an instruction to beginners.

> In order to get your idea across, the idea must have a credible source. Its authority is vital to its acceptability. Academics are considered impartial, and thus are most qualified. (John Burton, University of Birmingham and the Institute of Economic Affairs) [35]

Bonython had put the same proposition in a private letter seven years earlier. Here it is the opening line of a training document, and the verbs give the game away. Academics are considered impartial, which is a statement about what an audience assumes rather than about what an academic knows. Authority is vital to acceptability, so the function of the credential is to carry an argument past the defences a reader would otherwise raise. Nothing in the paragraph concerns what an academic might contribute to the substance. The substance is settled before the author is found, and the search that follows is a search for a name.

Finding that name is treated as a procurement problem, and the manual is unembarrassed about what procurement can involve.

> One thing I found useful at an early stage was to write things myself and get other people to put their names to them. People are often sympathetic but haven't any time, and it's important that you have a variety of authors. (Michael Walker, director of the Fraser Institute) [35]

Michael Walker ran the institute Fisher would describe to Douglas Myers two years later as "quite independent," receiving "massive TV, radio and press coverage across Canada." In Vancouver, in front of a room of people preparing to start institutes in other countries, he explains that he wrote the material himself and found names to attach to it, and he gives the reason without flinching, which is that a variety of authors

matters. Variety of authorship is the product being manufactured. Fisher's own description of his technique in 1976 was getting academics to say and write under their own names what business cannot say for itself, and the only thing this adds is that the academic need not write the thing at all.

Greg Lindsay offered the room the cheap version of the same procedure.

> One of the cheapest and quickest ways of getting a book out is to grab some worthy academic on his way through your country and build a seminar around him; get all of your supporters in for dinner, and then publish the findings. (Greg Lindsay, director of the Centre for Independent Studies) [35]

Two years later Lindsay opened a New Zealand office, and three years after that the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies convened a one day conference in Wellington on the role of the state, assembled a room of ministers, officials and financiers around invited papers, and published the proceedings. The day described in section 9 of this paper was run from this instruction.

The content itself travels, and the manual says so in the plainest available language.

> When we started up, we "borrowed" the IEA book, "Verdict on Rent Control." About half our best-selling "Rent Control: Popular Paradox" was ripped off, and the other half we added for local interest. I recommend it as a tactic for smaller, newer institutes. (Michael Walker) [35]

> Institutes can start by buying, for a fee, suitable publications from one another which may require editing, updating, perhaps translation, and an introduction and conclusion by a national or locally known author. Thus they can more rapidly attract local press. (Atlas "Guidelines") [35]

In 1985 Fisher wrote to Lindsay that a New Zealand institute's publications "will probably deal with many of the old chestnuts, but will have to be written as New Zealand publications." That sentence reads as private candour about the thinness of the local content. The manual shows it was policy, with a defined production step and a named role inside it. A national or locally known author supplies an introduction and a conclusion, the body of the argument arrives from somewhere else, and the local press supplies the coverage that makes the institute visible. When this network later turned to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the template was already in hand and the method of pressing it onto local material had been written down and posted to Auckland. The Centre for Independent Studies opened its own list the same way. Its first book, Wage-Price Control: Myth and Reality, edited by Sudha R. Shenoy and published in 1978 as CIS Readings 1, was assembled largely from essays reprinted by permission from the Fraser Institute in Vancouver, the American Enterprise Institute in Washington and a London publisher. [36]

Independence arrives in the manual as a number.

> With 250 supporters averaging $2,000, an institute is viable and will be seen to be independent of influence. (Atlas "Guidelines") [35]

Will be seen to be. The test is what the donor count looks like from outside, and the arithmetic is offered as a way of producing an appearance rather than as a constraint on anybody's behaviour. Lord Harris put the same point in the language of safety in numbers, and Antony Fisher put it as a warning that a single dominant supporter will use the position even without meaning to. Both are prudent. Neither is a claim that the institute is independent of the class of people who fund it, and the manual nowhere suggests that the published conclusions might come out differently if the money came from somewhere else.

> There should be a disclaimer; institutes do not have opinions, only authors have opinions and conclusions. (Atlas "Guidelines") [35]

The disclaimer closes the circuit. The institute selects the subject, commissions the work, edits it, prints it and sends it to the press with a synopsis written so that a reporter can lift it, and then disclaims the conclusion as the author's own. Accountability is placed on the credentialled name at exactly the point where the credentialled name has least control over the process, and the organisation that chose the question keeps the coverage and the funding that follow from the answer.

John Goodman described how the authority is attached.

> It also included the names of our academic advisors, prestigious names, to lend it authority although the work was entirely done in-house. (John Goodman, director of the National Center for Policy Analysis) [35]

The study in question was on social security regulation, produced quickly and cheaply, with a cover made to resemble a university working paper and a text written so a news reporter could use it. Goodman reports total coverage, both national wire services, and the CBS evening news. Five years later an Atlas newsletter announced that executives from the National Center for Policy Analysis in Dallas and the Institute of Economic Affairs in London were flying to New Zealand to advise a government task force on private alternatives to the public health system, chaired by Alan Gibbs. The man who taught a room of institute directors how to borrow academic authority for work no academic had done was brought inside a New Zealand government process to help design the alternatives to its hospitals.

The manual also turns the method into a rule about typesetting, and two instructions sitting a few pages apart in Atlas' Guidelines describe the whole architecture between them. Of the businessmen who serve as trustees, the Guidelines note that they seldom take part in the institute's activities, and that for this reason "their names do not appear on the letterhead except for fund appeals, or in the publications, lest they give the impression of vested interest." [35] Of the academics, the same document says: "Names of the academic advisory board appear on letterheads and in publications to lend the institute academic credibility." [35] One sheet of paper, two rules. The men who pay are kept off it because their presence would be read as interest. The men with degrees are put on it because their presence will be read as disinterest. Bonython's problem and Bonython's solution, issued to beginners as a layout instruction. Fisher ran the same arrangement at Atlas itself, and described it in the same month as the Vancouver seminar. Writing to Hugh Morgan on 7 September 1983, he set out the two tiers side by side: "Our Directors appear on P. 1 with the Academic Council, demonstrating Atlas' close association with education and research. I also attach separately a list of extremely successful businessmen who have agreed to allow me to use their names as Atlas' Advisory Council. No responsibility, legal or otherwise, and no paperwork is attached to this Council." [13] The academics are printed on page one to demonstrate the association with research. The businessmen are on a separate sheet, lending their names and carrying no responsibility for anything. Morgan accepted eight days later, telling Fisher he was "surprised, but honoured, to accept your suggestion to be included in the Atlas Advisory Council list of names," and adding that of all the bodies he dealt with it was a pleasure to find one with an executive "forcefully presenting a philosophical point of view." [37]

The structure of the New Zealand apparatus as it stands today is in the manual as well, taught as a way of dividing labour and absorbing attack.

> Disburse your activities under different foundations or titles. We have created several which can, in their own sphere, get much bolder than we would be in the IEA. By disbursing activities under different leadership, you not only add the advantages of the division of labor, but are better able to ward off the attack when it comes. (Lord Harris of High Cross, general director of the Institute of Economic Affairs) [35]

Sections 14 and 15 of this paper describe a Taxpayers' Union that carries arguments the New Zealand Initiative would not put in a working paper, a Free Speech Union that carries arguments the Taxpayers' Union would not put under its own name, and campaign vehicles that carry arguments the Free Speech Union would not sign. Reading as a plural field of opinion to an unwitting public, that looks like a public debate. Read against this paragraph, it is one single operation with its risks distributed, and the boldness is allocated deliberately to the arms-length spin-off campaign units that can absorb the damage, or be retired from service if necessary, while the permanent Atlas Network institute is preserved. Hugh Morgan had the doctrine by 1983 and put it in a sentence. Writing to Fisher about his work on the Institute of Public Affairs, he explained that he had tried to swing its emphasis towards the Centre for Independent Studies while being "careful not to bring them into too close a competitive position for available funds," and that the effort was paying dividends because "with a multiplicity of voices, the messages are getting through to the press, academia, universities and politicians." [37] A multiplicity of voices, funded from one place, carrying one

message. That is the structure in the words of the man who was then chairman of the board of the Centre for Independent Studies and who would shortly join the Atlas Advisory Council.

Walter Block of the Fraser Institute supplied the reason the distribution matters.

> Our rent control seminar attracted more questions as to our connection with landlords than it did on the substance covered. It was vital to be able to deny all association. (Walter Block, the Fraser Institute) [35]

An audience asked who was paying, and the audience was right to ask. What the manual records is not a truthful answer to that question but a capacity: the capacity to deny the association, which is a property the institute must be built to have. Bonython's 1976 problem was that the public discounts what business says. The capacity to deny all association is the engineering solution, and it has to be designed in from the beginning because it cannot be retrofitted once the question has been asked.

The manual is equally practical about charitable registration, and it reproduces the rules in order to work inside them. Atlas quotes the Charity Commission for England and Wales at length: to promote changes in the law is a political purpose and not charitable; to seek a particular line of political administration or policy is not charitable; political propaganda in the guise of education is not charitable; research, to be charitable, must be directed to increasing the store of communicable knowledge in a public as opposed to a private way. The extracts are set out as a compliance guide, in a document whose opening chapter describes the task as a sales job that must be convincing and prolonged. Pat Boyle of the Fraser Institute gives the test that follows: "In the U.S., U.K. and Canada, our tax status is jeopardized if we are deemed to be 'political.' Let that be your test." [35] Atlas advises that a trustee who becomes politically active be replaced or granted leave of absence. The organisations in this country that descend from these instructions hold charitable status now, and the arrangement by which a campaign to change what a population believes is carried on the public's tax base as education is one of the things the recommendations at the end of this paper are addressed to.

The last chapter states the theory of the whole relay in a sentence.

> Even when the elected official knows the necessary course to follow, he is incapable of legislating the required changes until the public understands and demands those changes. (Atlas "Guidelines") [35]

The legislator is held to be incapable until the demand exists, so the demand is the thing to be produced, and the institute is the plant that produces it. Everything that follows in this paper is the execution of that sentence. The Sydney workshop curriculum with a price beside each step, the petition that preceded a policy, the campaign designated a strategic bet in an election year: all of it is the manufacture of a demand that a legislator can then be described as following. A New Zealand recruit had this document in his hands in 1984, before the first New Zealand institute existed.

6. RECRUITING A YOUNG MAN FROM DUNEDIN

In January 1985 Fisher wrote to Reid with the logistics.

> An international group mainly of economists called the Mont Pelerin Society holds general meetings every second year and regional meetings in the intermediate years.
>
> The next regional meeting is to be held in Sydney, Australia,, during the week of August 19-23 (inclusive) and an Atlas foundation workshop will be held on Saturday, August 24.
>
> By copy of this letter, I am introducing you to Mr. Greg Lindsay, Director General, Centre for Independent Studies, P.O. Box 92, St. Leonard's NSW, Australia 2065, who is organizing both the seminar and the workshop in the hope that he will be able to invite you to both meetings.
>
> These meetings are of special interest to those running or hoping to set up institutes similar to your proposed institute in Auckland.

> I enclose a copy of our new flyer and trust that you will find it possible to accept invitations to these meetings. If so I look forward to meeting you there in Sydney at that time. [38] (emphasis added)

Greg Lindsay is organising both the Mont Pelerin regional meeting and the Atlas workshop. One man, one office in St Leonard's, two organisations. The distinction that matters in public relations does not exist in the administration. The distinction was also invisible from outside. In 1985 there was no public Atlas Network to be aware of, because the phrase had not yet been coined; Alan Gibbs would supply it two years later, as section 9 records. A New Zealander reading about a visiting economist in 1985 had no name for the structure that had sent him, and the absence of a name was itself a condition of the method working.

Reid could not come.

> Sadly I will not be able to attend the meeting In Sydney - annoying really because I travel there about six or seven times a year - but my nephew is coming from London to be married in Auckland on that weekend in August.
>
> I shall be in Auckland for around ten days and they shall cover that period.
>
> One of my reasons for attempting to enlist Douglas Myers was in the hope that he could help set up an Institute in New Zealand. He is Intelligent, witty and able. I can only assist from a distance since I am rarely in New Zealand for more than a total time of a month in a whole year. [39]

Reid names his own limitation with unusual clarity, and in doing so he names the structural problem the whole project faces. He can "only assist from a distance." The institute cannot be built by a gold mine manager in Fiji who visits New Zealand for a month a year. It requires someone with a permanent address, a local reputation and a stake in the outcome. That is the function Myers is being recruited to fill, and the word for it is enlist.

Fisher, meanwhile, had found a young New Zealander with energy and no money. He was in touch with Tony Randle of Dunedin, and he set about buying him a seat at the Sydney meeting.

> I am in touch with a young man, Tony Randle, of 102 Albany Street, Dunedin. He is showing energy, enthusiasm and competence in the hope of getting an Institute of Economic Affairs type institute going in New Zealand.
>
> I would very much like him to attend the Wont Pelerin Society meeting in Sydney, Australia In August. He tells me that he needs $1,500 (NZ) to make the trip, but might find some of that money himself.
>
> Is there any possibility of your finding him that $1,500 (NZ) or part of it?
>
> I am writing similar letters to Philip Borden, M.P., Douglas Myers of Lion Breweries and Roger Giles. [40]

Fifteen hundred New Zealand dollars, solicited from four separate men including a sitting Member of Parliament, to fly one enthusiastic young person from Dunedin to a conference in Sydney. Fisher meant exactly this in 1981 when he wrote that small amounts of money go a long way in a small country. The sum is trivial by the standards of the men being asked. What it buys is a cadre.

The pattern established here has never stopped running. Seventy-one years after the Institute of Economic Affairs was founded and forty-one years after this letter, the same mechanism operates as the Atlas Leadership Academy, the Think Tank MBA, the Smith Fellowship and the travel grant. A promising young person in a peripheral country is identified, flown to the centre, trained, networked, and returned home with a set of relationships and a career path. Jordan Williams and David Seymour both went through versions of this process, and both are discussed later in this paper. Tony Randle in 1985 is the prototype.

Fisher wrote to Randle directly:

> Mr. Jeffrey Reid, The Bure, Elephant Head, Vatekoula, Fiji, is an admirer of the IEA. His company headquarters is in Auckland and has recently put me in touch with Douglas Myers, Chairman, Lion Breweries Ltd., 75 Godden Cres, Auckland 5.
>
> I understand that Jeffrey Reid hopes to help set up an IEA type organization in Auckland. My wife and I will be at the Mont Pelerin Society meeting in Sydney, Australia, organized by Greg Lindsay of the Centre for Independent Studies, P.O. Box 92, St. Leonard's NSW, Australia 2065. I understand they will be running an Atlas seminar on Saturday, August 24 immediately following the MPS meeting, for those running or hoping to set up institutes. [41]

A young man in Dunedin is handed the addresses of a Fijian gold mine manager, the chairman of New Zealand's largest brewery, and the director general of an Australian think tank. He is being wired into a network that already exists, and the letter is the wiring.

Fisher also wrote to the wealthy, breakaway Scientologist cult leader John Dalhoff, who distributed Fisher's book alongside conservative propaganda through his Zenith Applied Sciences.

> Jeffrey Reid runs a gold mine in Fiji (The Bure, Elephant Head, Vatekoula, Fiji). He is a supporter of the IEA in London. Some time ago he told me he hoped to start an IEA-type institute in New Zealand, probably in Auckland. The gold mine he runs is headquartered there.
>
> The purpose of this letter is to let you know that one of the institutes which I am in touch with, the Centre for Independent Studies, P.O. Box 92, St. Leonard's NSW, Australia 2065, run by Greg Lindsay, is organizing a conference on the 19-23 of August next in Sydney, Australia for the Mont Pelerin Society.
>
> The Mont Pelerin Society was started in 1947 by Professor F.A. Hayek, now a Nobel Laureate, with others such as Professor Mil ton Friedman. CIS is organizing a Regional MPS Meeting, August 19-23 in Sydney. They also expect to organize an Atlas Workshop on August 24.
>
> For those interested in policy problems the world over, the MPS meetings can be very informative and also a pleasure. Our Atlas workshop is designed to help those who are already running institutes to get together to discuss their successes and their problems, and to help newcomers. [42]

The scholarly credibility that the method exists to manufacture is being assembled, at the recruitment end, out of whatever material is available. Hayek and Friedman appear in the same correspondence as a breakaway Scientologist who moved books through a company called Zenith Applied Sciences. The distinction between respectable and disreputable funding, which matters enormously to the public presentation of a think tank, does not appear to have been operative in the prospecting phase. Money was money and distribution was distribution.

7. SYDNEY, AUGUST 1985: THE WORKSHOP AS CURRICULUM

The 1985 Atlas workshop was organised and hosted by Greg Lindsay. The attendees of the 1985 Mont Pelerin Society and Atlas meeting in Sydney included Roger Kerr, who worked at the New Zealand Treasury and would become the first executive director of the New Zealand Business Roundtable the following year; Douglas Myers, founding vice chair and later chair of the New Zealand Business Roundtable; National Party Member of Parliament Philip Burdon; and Western Mining Corporation's Ray Evans and Hugh Morgan. [43]

Look at who was in that room. A serving Treasury official. A serving Member of Parliament from the National Party. The chairman of the country's largest brewery. Two executives of an Australian mining corporation. Kerr is at this moment employed by the New Zealand public service, sitting in a workshop in Sydney learning how to run an organisation whose purpose will be to influence the New Zealand public service. Within twelve months he will have left the Treasury to do exactly that, and he will do it for the next twenty-five years.

This is the pattern that recurs at every stage of the fifty-year record and that the network's defenders have never satisfactorily addressed. The traffic between the Treasury and the think tank runs both ways and it

runs constantly. Kerr goes from Treasury to the Business Roundtable. Bryce Wilkinson goes from Treasury to the Business Roundtable and later to the New Zealand Initiative. Norman LaRocque goes from Treasury to the Business Roundtable. Peter Gorringe attends the 1989 Christchurch meeting as Chief Analyst at the Treasury. The institute does not have to capture the state from outside when the same people move between them.

The agenda for that Atlas workshop included the following key sessions:

> 2:15 - 3:30 Second Session: Selective Targetting - How To Reach A Particular Audience Most Effectively and What It Costs
>
> > -Fundraising, corporate; direct mail; government money; promotional materials; special events; special projects; cost of raising money
> >
> > -The Media: press releases; personal contact; credibility; problems; costings
> >
> > -Business Leaders: policy forums; Board members; personal contact; newsletter; pamphlets & books; annual report; videos; costings
>
> 3:30 - 3:50 Afternoon tea
>
> 3:50 - 5:30 Second Session continued
>
> > -Influencing Government: persuading; legislators vs burecucrats; newsletter; educational videos; taking government money; costings
> >
> > -The Public: mass media; picking the issue; spokesperson; op-ed pieces; TV, radio; costings
> >
> > -Teachers: study materials; educational videos; school editions; educational series for students; teacher workshops; costings [44]
>
> (emphasis added)

No document in the New Zealand file carries more weight than this agenda, which sets out a curriculum for the capture of a national public sphere. The session title carries the frame: "Selective Targetting - How To Reach A Particular Audience Most Effectively and What It Costs." The public is disaggregated into segments, each segment is assigned a channel, and each channel is priced. The word "costings" appears after every single audience category. This is a marketing plan, and the product is a policy environment.

Named individually, the segments constitute the entire apparatus through which a democratic society forms its judgements. The media. Business leaders. Government, subdivided into legislators and bureaucrats because they require different techniques. The public, via mass media. And teachers, reached through "study materials; educational videos; school editions; educational series for students; teacher workshops." A think tank founded on this curriculum buys positions in every institution where the debate takes place, and buys them off a spreadsheet.

"Government money" appears under fundraising, and "taking government money" under influencing government. The organisation that will spend the next four decades arguing for the reduction of state expenditure is, in its founding workshop, taught how to take state money. The contradiction is not a hypocrisy to be scored off; it reveals what the ideological content of the project actually is. The objection is not to public funds as such but to public funds flowing to those the network does not consider deserving of them, and the archive shows the boundary being drawn from the beginning.

"Credibility" sits under the media segment, a media relations technique listed beside press releases and personal contact, with a cost attached. What Bonython described in 1976 as the reason for using academics is here formalised as a budget line. The institute does not earn credibility as a by-product of doing good work. It purchases and manages credibility as an input.

Then there are the teachers. That segment runs from study materials through school editions to teacher workshops, which is a complete pipeline into the compulsory education system. The current campaigns in this country against critical scholarship in schools and universities are not a recent reaction to a recent leftward drift. The education system was identified as a target audience in the founding curriculum of the network in 1985, with costings.

The following year, the New Zealand Business Roundtable and the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies were both launched by members and attendees of this meeting, both using variations of the Fisher method as instructed in the workshop.

8. MANUFACTURING INDEPENDENCE

The New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies was a short-lived spin-off of the Australian Centre for Independent Studies, which the correspondence quoted in section 1 shows Fisher established: Bonython brought him to Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney in 1976 to address meetings of company directors, and the Centre was founded in the wake of that visit. Atlas' involvement is evident from before its launch through its operation.

A year before its founding by CIS director Greg Lindsay and New Zealand millionaire Alan Gibbs, Fisher's correspondence with Lindsay revealed a disagreement about whether to obfuscate the New Zealand Centre's ties to CIS or to institutes in other countries. Fisher's position was that the institute had to appear independent.

> May I wish you also well with any plans you have for New Zealand. I am convinced that the time is right for the setting up of an NZ institute. I think it will have to be seen [as] an NZ institute and not part of CIS. The strength of such an institute comes from its complete independence, its scholarly credibility and that it is national. [45]

Four words carry this sentence: "it will have to be seen." Fisher is saying that the institute must be seen as an institute of this country, which is a claim about appearance rather than about ownership. The strength comes from "its complete independence, its scholarly credibility and that it is national," and those three properties are being described by the man arranging the funding, the staffing and the curriculum from outside the country. Independence is an attribute of reception, a thing the audience must believe. Fisher's expertise, the expertise that made him worth flying to Adelaide and Melbourne and Sydney, was knowing how to produce that belief.

Lindsay disagreed, and his reply gives away more than any other document in the sequence.

> I recently returned from New Zealand and the upshot of my visit is that the CIS will be opening an office in there. The support for our type of activity and the enthusiasm was very high and the overwhelming consensus was that there should not be a new institute in NZ and that the CIS (New Zealand) be a branch of the Australian operation.
>
> I had lunch with Doug Myers at Lion Breweries who mentioned the contacts he had with you and he is one of the enthusiastic supporters, though the main driving force comes from a number of other places including, would you believe, the Treasury and Reserve Bank. I'll be going back there in a few weeks and I shall keep you posted as to what emerges. We have put together a steering committee to try and sort out institutional problems but I imagine we will have things under control before long. [46]

"The main driving force comes from a number of other places including, would you believe, the Treasury and Reserve Bank."

That sentence belongs in every discussion of the New Zealand reforms of the 1980s. The director of an Australian free market think tank, reporting privately to the founder of the global network, identifies the driving force behind the establishment of a New Zealand branch of that think tank as the New Zealand Treasury and the Reserve Bank. His own astonishment is preserved in the phrase "would you believe."

The astonishment is instructive. In every other country Lindsay knew, the state was the terrain to be conquered. In Aotearoa New Zealand in 1985, the central economic agencies of the state were the enthusiasts. Officials paid by the New Zealand public were driving the establishment of a private ideological institute whose purpose was to shape New Zealand public opinion in favour of policies those same officials were designing. The institute and the ministry were not adversaries separated by a boundary that lobbying had to cross. They were the same project, in two costumes, and the costumes are what made it work. When the Treasury advised the Minister of Finance, it spoke with the authority of neutral official advice. When the institute published, it spoke with the authority of independent scholarship. The public had no way of seeing that these were the same people, and the archive shows that this was understood at the time.

Fisher's response returned to the presentational problem and sharpened it.

> My congratulations also on the confidence you have generated in your activities in New Zealand. I am delighted, if a little surprised, that they have agreed to your setting up a CIS (New Zealand). My experience has always been that people who are concerned about the nation's economy are concerned to have a national institute and not one run by someone in another country.
>
> If your new organization is genuinely CIS-New Zealand that could work out. Your problems will always be as I see them that those who might subscribe, and fundraising is always difficult, will be much less inclined to do so if they think they are supporting an institute run from another country.
>
> Another problem could arise. The New Zealand institute will have to produce publications that are strictly of interest to the media and schools in New Zealand. They will probably deal with many of the old chestnuts, but will have to be written as New Zealand publications. As the CIS-N.Z. attracts attention, it will also attract some criticism. The critics can be that much more effective if they can make any case for the ideas having originated in Australia.
>
> Is there any way of creating an N.Z. institute to run from the same office with the same staff to collect the cash? [47]

Nowhere in this archive does the inversion get stated more plainly than in his final sentence. "Is there any way of creating an N.Z. institute to run from the same office with the same staff to collect the cash?"

Same office. Same staff. A different name and a different flag. Fisher is proposing a New Zealand institute as a shell, a presentational layer over an Australian operation, and he is proposing it for two specific reasons that he sets out with complete clarity in the preceding paragraphs. New Zealand subscribers will not fund something that looks foreign, so the money requires a local face. And critics will be effective if they can show the ideas came from Australia, so the defence against criticism also requires a local face.

The paragraph about publications is the operational instruction, and it will matter later in this paper. The output "will probably deal with many of the old chestnuts," which is Fisher acknowledging that the arguments are the same arguments made everywhere, "but will have to be written as New Zealand publications." Localisation is a matter of packaging. The content travels unchanged from London to Sydney to Auckland, and what changes is the letterhead, the examples, and the accent of the person who fronts it. When the network eventually turned its attention to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, this is the procedure it used. Fisher was not improvising for New Zealand. Atlas had printed the procedure two years earlier in the manual quoted in section 5, as the recommended way for a new institute to fill its list: buy a publication from another institute, add an introduction and a conclusion by a national or locally known author, and let the local press do the rest.

Everything the New Zealand Initiative and the Taxpayers' Union now say when they are asked about Atlas funding was anticipated in this letter and answered in advance. The answer is that the local appearance was engineered because the local appearance was necessary, and it was necessary because the ideas were not local and the funders knew that people here would reject them if they knew where they came from.

That year, Atlas provided a $500 grant to the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies. [48]

The New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies was officially incorporated in 1986. That year, it appeared in Antony Fisher's list of institutes that Atlas was providing "Advisory Services" to. [49]

The organisations that Atlas has claimed as members or partner organisations in this country have varied since Atlas' founding. They include the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, the New Zealand Business Roundtable, the New Zealand Initiative, the Education Forum, the Institute for Liberal Values and the Maxim Institute. As recently as 2004, the New Zealand Business Roundtable was listed as a partner.

9. ALAN GIBBS AND THE NAMING OF THE NETWORK

In 1987, Fisher introduced Greg Lindsay to New Zealand millionaire Alan Gibbs, who eventually served as the founding chair of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies board of trustees. In a letter to Atlas' largest donor about a recent Mont Pelerin Society and Atlas meeting, Fisher wrote:

> Alan Gibbs [is] a 52 year old entrepreneur from New Zealand who is making himself a very large fortune. So much so that he found it possible [to] make a donation to Atlas from New Zealand! We met because he has undertaken to be Chairman of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies in Auckland, modeled on the Centre for Independent Studies in Sydney, Australia, which I helped set up many years ago.
>
> It seems that Alan is underwriting a large part of the costs for each of two years for that institute (he brought an executive from the New Zealand institute to Indianapolis). On top of that he was asked by the New Zealand Labour government to reorganize the Forestry Commission.
>
> He impressed us with how quickly he has privatized it and gained favorable voter reaction when they learned of the large number of civil servants that had been fired. A relatively large loss-making government effort has become private and profitable. This is all part of a massive privatization and deregulation program in New Zealand.
>
> Alan has now been asked to look at Social Services and is inviting help from what he calls the "Atlas Network" - executives from the IEA in London and the NCPA in Dallas plan to go to New Zealand to advise him. It is his intention to privatize the Social Services as he did the Forestry Commission. We hope he will be successful. It was therefore of great interest to me to be able to introduce him to John Moore at a dinner. Their discussion was fascinating. [50]

In this one letter the whole structure comes into a single frame, and what it describes is a captured state. Alan Gibbs occupies four positions at once in this paragraph. He is a private businessman making a large fortune. He is a donor to a Washington-based ideological foundation. He is the chair of a New Zealand think tank whose publications will argue for privatisation. And he has been appointed by the New Zealand Labour government to reorganise the Forestry Commission and then to look at Social Services. There is no boundary anywhere in that list. The man writing the policy, the man funding the institute that advocates the policy, and the man executing the policy inside the state are the same man, and the American foundation he donates to is being told about it in a fundraising letter as evidence of momentum.

One sentence in it answers everyone who still describes the reforms of the late 1980s as a technical adjustment. "He impressed us with how quickly he has privatized it and gained favorable voter reaction when they learned of the large number of civil servants that had been fired."

The metric of success is the number of people who lost their jobs. The secondary metric is that other people were pleased about it. Not efficiency, not service quality, not the productivity of the forests. Redundancies, and applause for redundancies. Those were forestry workers in Kaingaroa, in Murupara, in Tokoroa, in Kawerau, in the Bay of Plenty and the central North Island, and a very high proportion of them were Māori. The dismantling of the Forest Service in those years produced sustained unemployment in Māori communities from which some of those towns have never recovered. That history sits in the record of this country as one of the most consequential episodes of structural violence in the post-war period. In this letter it appears as a selling point, in a sentence written to impress a donor. What the Crown sold was the forests and not the land under them. The Crown Forest Assets Act 1989 created Crown forestry

licences, which let a purchaser grow and cut the trees while the Crown held the land so that it could be returned to iwi through Treaty settlements, with the licence rentals paid into the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for successful claimants. [51] That distinction exists because Māori claimants went to court and forced it, and it is the one part of this privatisation that the men in this correspondence did not design. The favourable voter reaction is asserted rather than evidenced. It is Fisher's report of Gibbs' account of how New Zealanders felt about redundancies in towns most of the people in this correspondence had never visited, and nobody in those towns was asked.

Then there is Social Services. "It is his intention to privatize the Social Services as he did the Forestry Commission." A private citizen who chairs an ideologically funded think tank has been asked by a Labour government to review the country's social services, and he is inviting executives from the Institute of Economic Affairs in London and the National Center for Policy Analysis in Dallas to fly out and advise him. The advisors to a New Zealand government review are being sourced from two foreign ideological institutes, through the personal network of the man conducting the review, and the arrangement is being reported to Atlas' largest donor as a demonstration of what the network can achieve.

The name itself is born in this letter. Fisher writes of "what he calls the 'Atlas Network'." Alan Gibbs of Auckland gave the global architecture the name it still carries, and today his daughter chairs it. The person who supplied the vocabulary of the network was a New Zealander who was simultaneously running a New Zealand government privatisation programme.

The official who travelled with Gibbs to the Atlas workshop in the United States was New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies Assistant Director Hanne Hulme, later a member of the Mont Pelerin Society. Her registration showed her intent to travel with Trevor Janes. [52]

The relationship ran in both directions and over years. Gibbs and his wife Jennifer attended the 1986 Atlas meeting in Italy, [53] he donated $5,000 to Atlas in 1987, [54] and by 1990 he sat on Atlas' Business Advisory Council. [55]

In 1988, the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies named former Labour Party advisor Simon Walker its Executive Director. That same year, at Alan Gibbs' request, Atlas paid for Walker to travel to the United States and attend an Atlas workshop in Virginia. [56]

A former Labour Party advisor running a free market institute, with his travel to an American training workshop paid for by an American foundation at the request of a New Zealand millionaire who was at that moment privatising state assets for a Labour government. The permeability of the boundary between the political left of this period and the free market project is the reason the reforms happened here first and went furthest.

By 1988, Gibbs was scheduled to present on their efforts in New Zealand at that year's Atlas workshop in Virginia, though Simon Walker was substituted in at the last minute. [57]

Later that year, an Atlas publication, using Gibbs' "Atlas Network" phrasing, touted the fact that:

> The chairman of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, Alan Gibbs, after successfully leading the movement to privatize the Forest Service in New Zealand, has been appointed to head a new government task force charged with developing private alternatives to the current health-care system, the task force is seeking strategies that foster competition, freedom of choice, and incentives for practitioners and consumers. From the Atlas network, Dr. John Goodman (National Center for Policy Analysis, Dallas, Texas) and Dr. David Green (Institute of Economic Affairs, London) have been appointed as international consultants to the task force. [58]

A New Zealand government task force on health care with two international consultants, one from a Dallas think tank and one from a London think tank, both appointed from the Atlas network, announced in an Atlas newsletter as an organisational achievement. Two decades of health communication research at CARE document what happens to the health of a population when the terms of care are set by people who

conceive of patients as consumers exercising freedom of choice. [59] The Waitangi Tribunal reached the same conclusion from the other direction in its Hauora report, finding that the Crown had breached te Tiriti in the design and administration of the primary health system and that the legislative and policy framework had failed to achieve equity for Māori. [60] The consequences of the health reforms that followed in this country, in waiting lists, in the Māori and Pacific mortality gap, in the erosion of primary care in rural and low income communities, are still being carried by whānau today. The design decision that produced them is documented here as a bullet point in a Spring 1988 newsletter, and the designers were flown in.

On 30 June 1988, the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies convened a one-day conference in Wellington on the role of the state, and published the proceedings the following March. [61] The room was political before it was academic. Jim McLay chaired the day. Roger Douglas, Labour's Minister of Finance, gave the opening paper. Ruth Richardson, National's finance spokesperson, was a commentator. Geoffrey Walker and Sir Kenneth Keith carried the argument into the constitution, by way of referenda, a Bill of Rights and the entrenchment of property. Those were proposals put to a conference rather than enactments, and the distinction matters to what followed: a Bill of Rights arrived in 1990 without the property clause its advocates at this conference wanted, and the attempt to give property a quasi-constitutional standing in New Zealand law has been carried forward by other means ever since. Rob Cameron of Fay Richwhite sat on the panel and on the NZCIS board. Fay Richwhite was the merchant bank built by Michael Fay and David Richwhite, which advised the Crown on the asset sales of the late 1980s and then took equity in the consortia that bought the assets, among them the Bank of New Zealand, Telecom and New Zealand Rail. It was the central subject of the Winebox Inquiry a decade later. [62] David Richwhite joined the Mont Pelerin Society the following year and appears in this paper again as a donor to the ACT Party. Roger Kerr and Alan Gibbs spoke from the floor. The finance spokespeople of both major parties, the Roundtable's executive director and the Centre's chairman, in a single seminar. Richardson would succeed Douglas as Minister of Finance in 1990 and continue the programme he had begun.

The institute invited P. B. Temm QC, a Waitangi Tribunal member, to present a paper on the Treaty, and invited Moana Jackson, then a Wellington solicitor of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou completing the first part of his report on Māori and the criminal justice system, to respond to it. [63] This is the first appearance of Te Tiriti anywhere in the New Zealand output of this network, and what it shows is not what the pattern of the following decades would lead anyone to expect.

The shape of the programme is itself evidence. The Treaty came last, as one paper by a Pākehā barrister, with a Māori lawyer invited to supply commentary on it. Before Temm rose, Māori had already entered the record twice, both times through the vocabulary the day was built to speak. A floor speaker called the draft Bill of Rights racist and offered as proof a fishing case in which, he said, a Māori defendant escaped conviction where a non-Māori did not. And Gibbs, pressing Keith on why property should not be entrenched, claimed the Treaty for his own side of that argument: it pointed up, he said, the importance of property rights, and Māori were right to insist on the significance of property to their tradition, culture and mana. Before any Māori speaker had been heard, the Treaty had been recruited as a witness for entrenched property.

Temm's paper is a defence of the Treaty, and an unsparing one. He describes the Land Wars of the 1860s as a deliberate violation of Article II of a Treaty signed in 1840. He sets out the confiscations of Māori land under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, the Maori Prisoners Act of 1880 and its recital that trial was not deemed necessary before punishment, the imprisonment of the people of Parihaka, the taking of Māori land under the Public Works Act without the notice Europeans were owed, the Native Land Act 1909 provision that no compensation be paid. He calls the resulting record a melancholy catalogue that any fair-minded person could only describe as dishonourable. He quotes Cooke P and Richardson J from the Court of Appeal's decision of the previous year on the State-Owned Enterprises Act, and he ends where the paper began:

> "All the facts of the matter show a need for the honour of the Pakeha to be restored. But if you would restore the honour of the Pakeha, you must first restore the mana of the Maori."

The same text was republished in 1988 by the Trade Union Education Authority, for trade unionists seeking to understand the Māori struggle for self-determination. A paper that could sit inside an NZCIS conference on the role of the state could also sit inside a union education programme, which tells us how open the terrain still was.

What matters most for what follows is his answer to the abolition question:

> Some say that a referendum should be held to decide whether the Treaty is to be ratified or abolished. As to ratification it has already been ratified when the Queen proclaimed sovereignty over New Zealand on the authority of the Treaty, as Lord Stanley made so plain in his instructions to Grey.
>
> As to abolishing the Treaty I observe firstly that to rescind a contract one usually needs the agreement of both parties to that contract, the parties to the Treaty are the Crown on the one hand and the Maori people on the other. There is no possibility whatever that Maoridom would agree to its abolition.
>
> Secondly, if a referendum is intended to be the vehicle to abolish the Treaty by weight of numbers - in a sense the domination of the minority by the majority then, as a solution to the discomfort some people feel because of Maori aspirations, I predict it would be no solution at all. Rather would it be like clamping the lid on a boiling kettle, leaving the pressure to continue building up until the inevitable explosion occurs.
>
> I have mentioned already the great increase in the Maori population throughout this century. Demographers suggest that that increase will continue partly because more than half the Maori population today is under 30 years of age, partly because the Maori birth rate is much higher than that of the non-Maori and partly through inter-marriage of Maori and non-Maori, the children of that union being Maori because they are descended from a Maori. [61]

He is answering a question the conference itself had put on the table. Referenda were already the day's business. Geoffrey de Q. Walker, professor of law and later dean of law at the University of Queensland, whose Initiative and Referendum: The People's Law the Centre for Independent Studies had published in Sydney the year before, [64] and Sir Kenneth Keith had moved the day onto constitutional ground before Temm spoke, putting referenda, a Bill of Rights, electoral reform and the entrenchment of property on the table, and in the discussion of Walker's paper the session chair defended strong government against the referendum. The question of a referendum on the Treaty then came back to Temm from the floor during the discussion of his own paper. His reply is that a contract needs both parties to rescind it, that Māori will not agree, and that majoritarian force would build pressure rather than release it, like a lid clamped on a boiling kettle. Pressed again in discussion, he put it more bluntly: a referendum was a Pākehā solution to a Māori problem. Walker, the room's own advocate of the device, agreed on this one point, saying he could not see how anyone could hold a referendum on the interpretation of a Treaty. [63]

Temm's frame, though, is the room's frame. The Treaty in his paper is a solemn contract in which Māori granted sovereignty and received guarantees of property, quoted from the English text. Cession is settled; what remains is breach. Colonisation appears as destroyed Māori capital, a prosperity of wheatfields, flour mills, coastal vessels and a trading bank, ended by invasion. That is a record the audience could use. It condemns the Crown for violating property, which was the day's thesis before Temm arrived.

Jackson refused the frame, and he began by refusing the programme. Most of the day's papers, he said, had actually ignored the Treaty and the constitutional questions arising from it, and he had listened with concern and considerable hurt. That omission, he went on, implied that Māori hold no particular rights under the Treaty, an attitude no different in kind, if less covert, from the ones that produced the policies Temm had just catalogued. The conference was placed inside the colonial history it had been hearing about, as its present form rather than its audience.

His theory of power was compact: whoever holds the power to define a situation controls it. Read from the Māori text, te tino rangatiratanga is the right to define one's own destiny, which includes the power to define rights, to define a role in the processes of the state, and to define who and what a Māori is. Since 1840 that power had been held by Pākehā culture through courts and legislation. He also declined the property vocabulary directly: Māori, he said, had no concept of owning what they would call a taonga, and a

fishery was a right held by the tribe in perpetuity for its members and their descendants, which is not the same thing as an individual transferable quota.

Gibbs tested the alliance he had offered earlier. Citing Claudia Orange, he suggested that chiefs had signed the Treaty as individuals rather than on their tribes' instruction, and, reasoning from Temm's account of Waikato trade, asked what personal property rights had existed in traditional Māori society, since such industry would have required personal incentives. Jackson answered with whakapapa and tribal record rather than with a historian's book. Te Hāpuku of Ngāti Kahungunu had intended to travel to Waitangi, and the rūnanga at Wairoa told him to wait until the Treaty came to Hawke's Bay so the people could discuss it. The decision to sign was political and taken through consultation, and a whakataukī sets the limit: a chief is a chief only because the people say he is. On trade, rūnanga chose who would be trained, some were sent to Sydney, and the proceeds were dispersed in the traditional way.

The room converted him back each time. Rob Cameron called Temm's paper and Jackson's commentary an explicit case study of what happens when governments abdicate responsibility and expropriate the rights of individuals, and in the same breath ruled out any redress that would transfer political power. The injury is conceded; the remedy that would move anything is barred. Kerr's contribution was that Māori communities had no clear view on what should be done, a unanimity test applied to one party only, and Jackson answered that there was no more diversity in the Māori world than in the Pākehā one, and that the conference itself illustrated the point. A fuller reading of the proceedings, speaker by speaker, is set out in a companion CARE paper. [63]

What the day shows is not indifference to Te Tiriti. It is absorption. Colonial dispossession entered the room as evidence that democratic states violate property and left it as an argument for entrenched property, constrained majorities and judicial limits on redistribution. The same entrenchment that would protect a returned fishery would protect every settler title and every quota holding in the room. Rangatiratanga, jurisdiction and the Māori text stayed outside the frame.

Hold this document beside what the same network published ten years later and the distance is the finding. In 1988 its New Zealand institute printed a defence of the Treaty and gave Moana Jackson a hearing, however constrained. In 1998 its successor organisation commissioned a London professor to call Māori collectivity a legal fiction and recognition of it privilege. Nothing in the historical record changed between those two dates to warrant the shift. What changed is that the network had by then built the institutions, the funding and the publishing programme to take a position, and it took one.

The referendum question Temm answered in 1988 was put to Parliament as a bill in 2024. So far as this archive and the published proceedings show, the Wellington conference of June 1988 is the earliest occasion on which the proposition that the Treaty might be put to a popular vote was raised inside this network in New Zealand, and the person who answered it was a member of the Waitangi Tribunal invited there to speak for the Treaty. The question survived the answer by thirty-six years.

10. CHRISTCHURCH, 1989

In 1989, the Mont Pelerin Society and Atlas joint meeting was held in Christchurch, New Zealand. Four years after Fisher was writing to a gold mine manager in Fiji asking whether anyone in Auckland might be interested, the global society convened on New Zealand soil.

The keynote address of the Atlas meeting was given by Alan Gibbs, chair of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies. [65]

A participant list obtained by activists showed that those in attendance of the MPS meeting included key New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies staff, including Assistant Director Hanne Hulme, Research Committee Chair Alan Woodfield, and new Executive Director S. Hugh High. [66] Other attendees of note included Peter Gorringe, Chief Analyst at the New Zealand Treasury; Kenneth William Baker of Enterprise

NZ Trust; Murray Coppen of United Building Society; and Barrie Leay, Executive Director of the Electricity Supply Association of New Zealand.

The 1989 attendance list functions as a founding register for the next thirty-seven years of New Zealand politics. Ruth Richardson was an invited presenter, and would deliver the 1991 Budget as Minister of Finance less than two years later. Roger Douglas attended. Rodney Hide attended. Donna Awatere Huata attended. Stephen Franks attended. Roger Kerr sat on the steering committee. Alan and Jennifer Gibbs were there, Jennifer on the regional steering committee. Charles Bidwill, Roderick Deane, Michael Friedlander, Bryce Wilkinson and David Richwhite were there. Between them these people would go on to found and lead the ACT Party (the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers, formed in 1993 and first contesting a general election in 1996), chair the Business Roundtable, run the New Zealand Initiative, chair the Taxpayers' Union, sit on the Free Speech Union governing council, deliver the most severe fiscal contraction in this country's modern history, and donate a substantial portion of the private money that has funded the parliamentary right in Aotearoa New Zealand ever since.

Douglas did more than attend. On Tuesday 28 November he delivered a paper called "The Politics of Successful Structural Reform," and the Centre for Independent Studies published a shortened version of it in Policy the following autumn. [67] It is the clearest statement in the archive of what this network thought democratic consent was for, and the audience for it was a closed meeting of think tank officers, funders and ministers.

Douglas opens by inverting the ordinary sequence. "Consensus does not arise before quality decisions are made and implemented. It develops progressively after the decisions are implemented, as they deliver satisfactory outcomes to the public." Agreement is not the condition of reform. It is a product manufactured afterwards, and the institutes in that room were the manufacturers. What governments need in the meantime is not a mandate but nerve: "To win elections, governments need the guts to implement quality decisions, to take the pain up-front instead of postponing it."

The second principle explains why the packages of the 1980s came as packages. "Do not try to advance one step at a time. Define your objectives clearly and move towards them by quantum leaps. Otherwise the interest groups will have time to mobilise and drag you down." Douglas is explicit that the method works by overwhelming the capacity to resist rather than by winning the argument. Reform "ceases to apply" as political suicide "when the privileges of many groups are removed in one package," because then "it is hard to complain about damage to your own group when everyone else is suffering at least as much." The design principle is that the number of people harmed at once should be large enough that none of them can be heard.

The third is speed, and it is stated as an absolute. "Speed is essential: it is impossible to go too fast." Those asking for a slower pace so that communities have time to adjust are reclassified in the next paragraph as "vested interests seeking to preserve their privileges," who want delay because "it gives them more time to mobilise public opinion against the reform." Asking to be consulted is evidence of a vested interest. The fourth principle completes it: "Don't stop until you have completed the program. Opponents' fire is much less accurate if they have to shoot at a rapidly moving target. If you take your next decision while they are still struggling to mobilise against the last one, you will continually capture the high ground."

Pain appears throughout as something the public is expected to absorb. "The public will take short-term pain on the chin if the gains are spelt out convincingly," and in the same breath, "obviously, fairness does not include compensation for those who are losing their past privileges." Privilege here is the word doing the work. It covers the protected sector, the monopoly, the subsidy, and also the job. Set that vocabulary beside Fisher's report to Indianapolis two years earlier, where Gibbs "impressed us with how quickly he has privatized it and gained favorable voter reaction when they learned of the large number of civil servants that had been fired." The letter supplies the result and the paper supplies the doctrine behind it, and the forestry workers of Kaingaroa and Murupara appear in both only as holders of privileges being removed even-handedly across the board.

The paper also had a long afterlife, which is the point of including it here. It went from the Christchurch meeting to the Wall Street Journal in January 1990 and to Policy that autumn, and in January 2023 the Frontier Centre for Public Policy in Canada republished it under the title "Timeless Wisdom," where it was picked up by New Zealand commentary sites within days. [68] Thirty-three years after it was delivered to a closed meeting in Christchurch, an Atlas partner in Winnipeg was circulating it back into New Zealand political debate in the year the Treaty Principles Bill was being drafted, and the man who wrote it sat on that Centre's Board of Research Advisors.

One name on that list belongs to a different history, and it marks the opening the network was working. Donna Awatere had published Māori Sovereignty four years earlier, in Auckland, through the feminist magazine Broadsheet, which had carried its first three parts across 1982 and 1983, a founding text of the sovereignty politics of the 1980s, which argued that the Crown and its institutions were the instrument of Māori dispossession. [69] [70] A year after Jackson told an NZCIS audience that the state's power to define was the thing at issue, she was at the Mont Pelerin Society's Christchurch meeting. Shortly before the 1996 election she joined ACT, and she entered Parliament on its list on 12 October 1996. Her own account of that move, given to Moana Maniapoto in 2019, names the instrument precisely. She joined, she said, because ACT proposed that funding should follow the student, which she expected would make it easier to establish kura kaupapa and kōhanga reo; she was, by her own description, too economically naive at the time to recognise the agenda that policy belonged to. [71] Funding that follows the student is the school-choice mechanism the 1985 Sydney workshop had taught as a line item under teachers, priced alongside study materials and school editions. Offered to a Māori education movement, it reads as a route to self-determination in schooling. Carried into Parliament, it arrives as the voucher. That is recruitment rather than conversion, and it is the recruitment this whole paper documents, arriving at the one door the network most wanted opened.

The 1988 proceedings show the approach being tried. A politics that names the state as the agent of confiscation shares a sentence with a politics that names the state as the enemy of liberty, and the network spent that decade testing whether the sentence could be made to carry both. Cameron's reading of Temm is the test in its purest form: colonial dispossession offered back to Māori as proof that governments cannot be trusted with property. The offer was real, and it was limited. It extended to the critique of the Crown and stopped at rangatiratanga, because a second sphere of authority makes a jurisdictional claim rather than an anti-statist one. Jackson had seen the shape of it in 1988 and declined, separating conservation from transferable title and refusing to let taonga be translated as ownership. The network could absorb a Māori critique of the state. It could not absorb Māori authority, and it did not try.

The meeting's title was "Achieving Reform," and its programme included sessions on indigenous rights and on climate change. [72] The morning session on the final day, Thursday 30 November, was titled "The Fraternal Conceit: Liberal versus Collectivist Ideas about the Brotherhood of Man." Three papers were listed on the programme, and the titles carry the argument:

> 'The Fraternal Conceit' — Chandran Kukathas (Dept. of Politics, University of NSW)
>
> 'Racism, Rent-Seeking & Group Relations' — Jennifer Roback (Professor, George Mason University)
>
> 'Thy Brother's Keeper: Indigenous Peoples & Free Societies' — Terry Anderson (Professor, Montana State University)

Kukathas published a paper of the same title with the Centre for Independent Studies, arguing against the use of treaties and against political power being granted to indigenous people as a collective. [73] Anderson has consistently argued that United States federal land trust status, and the regulatory bureaucracy built around it, block tribes from monetising energy and mineral resources on their own land, and that removing those restrictions would let them do so. [74] Roback has argued that racial disparities are best addressed through property rights, competitive markets and constitutional limits on government's ability to sort people by race, rather than through race-targeted government intervention. [75]

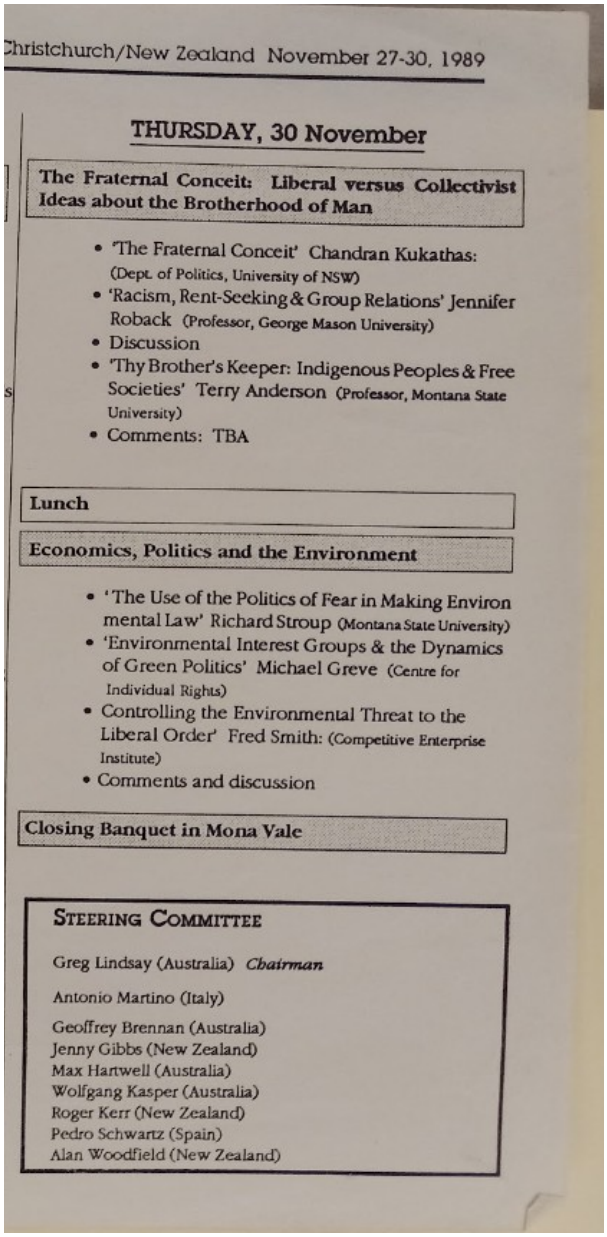
Read that panel as a whole and a single proposition emerges from three directions. Kukathas takes the legal instrument: treaties recognising collective indigenous authority are illegitimate in a liberal order. Anderson takes the economics, and his title does the framing before the paper begins. "Thy Brother's Keeper" is the guardianship of trust title, held up as paternalism, with "Free Societies" set against "Indigenous Peoples" as the alternative. Roback takes the remedy. Between them they cover the constitutional argument, the property argument and the equality argument, and each arrives at the conclusion that indigenous collective rights are a barrier to markets, to development, to equality before the law.

Roback's title carries something further, and it is the phrase to watch. "Racism, Rent-Seeking & Group Relations" applies the economics of rent-seeking to race. Rent-seeking describes a group capturing value through political means rather than producing it, and a group that has been analysed this way is no longer a party with a claim. It is an interest with an incentive. That analytic move, made in Christchurch in 1989 by a visiting American economist speaking about the United States, is the one this network would run on Te Tiriti for the next thirty-five years.

The setting is what makes this consequential. The Mont Pelerin Society had come to Christchurch. It was meeting in a country whose constitutional foundation is a treaty between the Crown and hapū, in the year the Crown Forest Assets Act was passed, two years after the Court of Appeal decided the Lands case. Not one of the three panelists was talking about Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Kukathas was writing from Sydney about community and collectivism in the abstract. Anderson was describing tribal lands in the American west. Roback was arguing about race-conscious law in the United States. The New Zealand constitutional relationship enters the room only as the generic category "indigenous rights," a thing about which the network already held a position developed elsewhere, on other people's land, for other purposes.

That is Fisher's 1985 instruction working exactly as designed. The publications "will probably deal with many of the old chestnuts, but will have to be written as New Zealand publications." The argument against indigenous collective rights was one of the old chestnuts. It travelled here as a template, and the local particulars of Te Tiriti, tino rangatiratanga, the Lands case and the forests were the material into which the template would be pressed. What the Christchurch panel supplied was not analysis of this country. It was permission, and a vocabulary, and the standing of a Society whose members included three Nobel laureates.

The session that followed it is one of the earliest examples of the MPS network's foray into climate change denialism.



Christchurch/New Zealand November 27-30, 1989

THURSDAY, 30 November

The Fraternal Conceit: Liberal versus Collectivist Ideas about the Brotherhood of Man

- 'The Fraternal Conceit' Chandran Kukathas: (Dept. of Politics, University of NSW)
- 'Racism, Rent-Seeking & Group Relations' Jennifer Roback (Professor, George Mason University)
- Discussion
- 'Thy Brother's Keeper: Indigenous Peoples & Free Societies' Terry Anderson (Professor, Montana State University)
- Comments: TBA

Lunch

Economics, Politics and the Environment

- 'The Use of the Politics of Fear in Making Environmental Law' Richard Stroup (Montana State University)
- 'Environmental Interest Groups & the Dynamics of Green Politics' Michael Greve (Centre for Individual Rights)
- Controlling the Environmental Threat to the Liberal Order' Fred Smith: (Competitive Enterprise Institute)
- Comments and discussion

Closing Banquet in Mona Vale

STEERING COMMITTEE

Greg Lindsay (Australia) *Chairman*

Antonio Martino (Italy)

Geoffrey Brennan (Australia)
Jenny Gibbs (New Zealand)
Max Hartwell (Australia)
Wolfgang Kasper (Australia)
Roger Kerr (New Zealand)
Pedro Schwartz (Spain)
Alan Woodfield (New Zealand)

Figure 1. Mont Pelerin Society 1989 Christchurch Meeting final day schedule.

The timing of both themes should be held against the constitutional history of this country. In 1987 the Court of Appeal had decided the Lands case, and Māori litigation over the transfer of Crown assets to state owned enterprises was reshaping the legal architecture of the Treaty relationship. The Crown Forest Assets Act was passed in 1989, the year of the Christchurch meeting, precisely because Māori claimants had forced the Crown to account for what it was selling. The forests that Alan Gibbs had been praised in an Atlas fundraising letter for privatising were, at that same moment, the subject of the most significant Treaty litigation of the era.

None of that appears in the Atlas correspondence. The letters about New Zealand in these boxes run from 1981 to the 2000s, and across all of them the Treaty does not appear as a consideration, an obstacle, a fact, or a complication. Not once. The men who redesigned this country's economy were working from a mental map of New Zealand in which tangata whenua and the Crown's obligations to them were simply not features of the terrain. Te Tiriti is the instrument by which the Crown acquired the standing to govern here at all, and the hapū who signed it are parties to it. A correspondence that plans the transfer of state forests without once mentioning either is describing a country that does not exist. Yet the institutions they built here were publishing on the Treaty from 1988 onward, and the Society they belonged to had programmed a

panel on indigenous rights at its first New Zealand meeting. That gap between the private correspondence and the public output is the subject of section 17, and it is the finding of this paper that matters most.

The relationship with Washington continued to the end. In 1990, New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies Public Affairs Manager Elizabeth Pierce-Durance travelled to the United States and visited the Atlas offices, for what she described as "among the most inspirational and instructive [time] I spent in DC." [76]

A New Zealand institute's public affairs manager describes a visit to a Washington foundation's offices as the most instructive part of her trip. Public affairs is the function that produces the institute's face in this country, and the person performing it is being formed in Washington. Fisher's 1985 question about running a New Zealand institute from the same office with the same staff had been answered in practice, at a distance of twelve thousand kilometres, by sending the staff to the office.

The New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies was dissolved in 1992. [77] At the time of dissolution, its board members were Robert Laurence Cameron, Ian George Douglas, Stephen Leslie Franks, and Greg Lindsay. Of these directors, all were members of the Mont Pelerin Society or attended the 1989 Christchurch Mont Pelerin Society meeting.

The dissolution of the Centre looks like a failure only if the institute is treated as the point. Its executive director had been trained in Virginia at Atlas' expense. Its chairman was privatising the Forest Service and reviewing social services and health care. Its assistant director was a Mont Pelerin member. Its board members would go on to the Free Speech Union governing council and to the boards of the successor organisations. The Centre was a phase. The New Zealand Business Roundtable, founded in the same year with the same people around it, was the durable form.

11. THE BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE: FROM THE TREASURY TO THE BOARDROOM

In 1986, around the same time that the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies was incorporated, the New Zealand Business Roundtable was solidified, with Roger L. Kerr as its first Executive Director. Kerr joined the Mont Pelerin Society that same year, months after attending the 1985 Mont Pelerin and Atlas workshop in Sydney. [78]

Nothing in the record shows the relay working more plainly. A Treasury official flies to Sydney in August 1985. He sits through a workshop on how to reach target audiences and what it costs, with sessions on influencing legislators and bureaucrats, on managing credibility with the media, and on placing materials in schools. He joins the Mont Pelerin Society. He leaves the public service. He becomes the founding executive director of the organisation that will spend the next quarter century setting the terms of economic debate in this country. He holds that position until his death in 2011, and the organisation he built merges into the body that today provides the intellectual apparatus for the governing coalition.

In 1989, Kerr was on the steering committee of the Mont Pelerin Christchurch meeting, where several others in attendance went on to serve on the Business Roundtable board or as corporate members: Douglas Myers, board chair; Alan Gibbs, member and Atlas Business Advisory Board member; Jennifer Gibbs, member and regional steering committee member; Charles Bidwill; Roderick S. Deane; Michael Friedlander; Bryce Derek Wilkinson; and David Richwhite.

In 1990, Douglas Myers became the Business Roundtable board chair. Myers was in close contact with Antony Fisher throughout the 1980s around the creation of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, and attended the 1985 Mont Pelerin and Atlas meeting in Sydney. Myers chaired the Roundtable board from 1990 to 1997, and his company Lion Breweries was a longtime corporate member. Other Business Roundtable members identified as Mont Pelerin members include Roger Partridge, the current chair of the New Zealand Initiative. [79]

Seven years after Jeffrey Reid mentioned in passing, in February 1983, that a man named Douglas Myers had seized control of Lion Breweries and might make an able organiser, Myers was chairing the organisation that set this country's economic agenda. That is how fast the recruitment worked.

Kerr's correspondence with Atlas over the following decade shows an executive director operating comfortably inside a transnational apparatus while running an organisation presented to New Zealanders as a domestic business association. In 1996 he wrote to Atlas President Alex Chafuen regarding a publication project and meeting:

> Regrettably I won't be at the San Francisco meeting, although I have agreed with Michael that the New Zealand Business Roundtable will be the New Zealand "supporter' of the project.
>
> If you could send me a copy of the translation when it is ready that will be fine. (You may get an approach from another (friendly) New Zealand source.) [80]

The parenthesis is the interesting part. Kerr refers to "another (friendly) New Zealand source," and the quotation marks he places around "supporter" acknowledge that the word is doing diplomatic work. He is describing a set of allied New Zealand organisations known to him and legible to Atlas, coordinating quietly on a shared project. Nothing about this is visible from outside.

Kerr was a known fixture at Mont Pelerin and Atlas meetings. In 1998 he wrote to Chafuen:

> I'm sorry I won't be able to make it to the [Atlas] meetings in Argentina and Charlottesville but I look forward to catching up with you at the Washington MPS meeting. [81]

Argentina, Charlottesville and Washington in a single year, listed by a man whose organisation was funded by New Zealand corporate subscriptions to advance what it described as New Zealand's interests.

Kerr's talents were considered exceptional by Atlas affiliates. In 1998, Chafuen wrote to Kerr:

> It was nice seeing you at the MPS meeting. Just a quick inquiry to see if today is my lucky day. I am having trouble finding a keynote speaker from America leaving during election time. [...] We have guests from almost 20 countries and have one more slot for a keynote speech. The elite of Manila and free-market leaders from Asia will attend. Any chance you might join us? You could speak about the "role of business leaders in transforming a country: a personal journey."
>
> Atlas could pay you a fee large enough to cover your travel in business class (which as a policy we do not do). [82]

New Zealand had become an export product. Atlas wanted Kerr in Manila to tell the elite of the Philippines and free market leaders from across Asia about "the role of business leaders in transforming a country: a personal journey," and it was prepared to break its own travel policy to get him there. This is what it means to be a laboratory. The experiment is run at the bottom of the world, on a population small enough to be manageable and distant enough that the results can be reported without much interference, and the findings are then marketed to countries with larger populations and more to lose. Alex Chafuen wanted a demonstration of transformation, and Aotearoa New Zealand was the demonstration.

The offer is also a reminder of how the network compensates. Not a salary, not a grant that appears in an annual report, but an honorarium generous enough to cover business class travel, extended personally and outside standard policy.

The traffic between the Treasury and the Roundtable continued through the same years. In 2004, Business Roundtable Policy Advisor Norman LaRocque wrote to Atlas to nominate the Roundtable's publication for Atlas' Fisher Memorial award. LaRocque previously served as a Senior Analyst in the New Zealand Treasury from 1997 to 2000. [83] Another Treasury analyst, another move to the Roundtable, another approach to Atlas. The award named for Antony Fisher is being sought by a New Zealand organisation for work produced by a former New Zealand Treasury official. The circuit closes on itself.

What the Roundtable published in these years is the other half of the record. In 1998 it brought out a book called "Waitangi, Morality and Reality," by Kenneth Minogue. [84]

Minogue's credentials place him at the centre of the network rather than at its edge. He was a Mont Pelerin Society member and served as its President in 2010. He presented at the 1985 Mont Pelerin meeting in Sydney and attended the 1989 Christchurch meeting. He worked in the United Kingdom for Fisher's Institute of Economic Affairs and sat on the Centre for Independent Studies Council of Academic Advisors for over a decade, from at least 1996 to 2008. [85] When the New Zealand Business Roundtable wanted a book on the Waitangi Tribunal, it commissioned an emeritus professor at the London School of Economics who had spent his career inside Fisher's institutions.

Minogue's argument is that Māori collective identity has no reality outside the law that recognises it:

> Maori as a collective is a legal fiction, remote from real life, whose main use in this context is to sustain the redistribution of wealth ordained by the Waitangi Tribunal. The abstract singular "Maori" (which I use because of its currency) is itself a linguistic token sustaining this fiction. (pg 37)

He predicts that the Waitangi process ends in civil conflict:

> In the Waitangi process, a moral fault, as understood by one of the parties, seems incapable of ever being resolved owing to what is claimed to be the culture of the other. For unless "full and final settlement" means just that, the Waitangi process will continue until it infallibly tumbles over into civil strife. (pg 90)

He argues that the Treaty must be kept out of the constitution:

> Proposals for constitutional change generated by the Waitangi process and recognising New Zealand as culturally heterogeneous (including constitutional entrenchment of the Treaty of Waitangi) should be resisted. They will merely entrench the current mischiefs for the distraction of future generations. (pg 91)

And he concludes that Māori identity should carry no legal recognition at all:

> Social, cultural and economic policy in New Zealand should be subordinate to the basic recognition of a common New Zealand citizenship and allegiance. All else is privilege, and divisive. (pg 91)

Four propositions, published in Wellington in 1998 under a New Zealand business organisation's imprint: collective Māori identity is a fiction; the settlement process leads to civil strife; the Treaty must not enter the constitution; recognition of Māori as Māori is privilege. Hold them beside the three principles that ACT would put before Parliament twenty-six years later and the resemblance is not a matter of interpretation.

One further sentence of Minogue's did more work than any of the four. He warned that "[t]he process in itself lacks a natural conclusion, and vested interests will not cease to find new themes for negotiation."

Vested interests. That is Bonython's phrase from 1976, the term for the discount a sceptical public applies to what business says about itself. The vocabulary built to protect commercial claims from suspicion is here turned on Māori claimants, and it would travel further.

In January 2004, Don Brash, then leader of the National Party and from 2011 leader of ACT, delivered the Orewa speech, later republished by the Canadian Frontier Centre. Brash described what he saw as a:

> dangerous drift towards racial separatism in New Zealand, and the development of the now entrenched Treaty grievance industry. We are one country with many peoples, not simply a society of Pakeha and Maori where the minority has a birthright to the upper hand, as the Labour Government seems to believe.
>
> [...]
>
> A culture of dependence and grievance can only be hugely destructive of the Maori people and, if left unchecked, destructive of our ability to build a prosperous nation of one people, living under one set of laws. [86]

"Grievance industry" is Minogue's "vested interests" with a market metaphor attached. Māori claimants are recast as producers with a commercial incentive to keep producing claims, which converts a constitutional relationship into a rent-seeking problem and puts it inside the only frame this network has ever used.

The connection runs through documents. In August 2005 the Sunday Star-Times published correspondence leaked from inside the National Party, showing Roger Kerr, the Business Roundtable's executive director and a Mont Pelerin member, writing to Brash in the months around the speech, supplying talking points that opened "What would we like you to say about us? Here are some possible lines". Reviewing that correspondence in the New Zealand Herald, Fran O'Sullivan, no opponent of the Roundtable's economics, recorded that Brash had used in the Orewa race relations speech one of the phrases Kerr suggested to him. The reported exchange has Kerr rejecting "one standard of citizenship" and proposing in its place the slogan Keith Holyoake had used, "We are one people". The same leaked archive shows Alan Gibbs' money behind Brash's elevation, and Roger Douglas and other ACT and Roundtable figures advising him on the leadership challenge, on staffing, on strategy and on holding power once he had it. [87]

That is the Fisher method reaching its intended terminus. Business could not say it, so an institute said it; the institute could not legislate it, so a party leader said it; and the institute's executive director edited his lines.

12. THE LONG-TERM AGENDA

The New Zealand Business Roundtable can be seen operating in tandem with the larger Mont Pelerin network's "Long Term Agenda." In 2007, the Roundtable published "Freedom, not climate, at risk" by Vaclav Klaus as part of their "Perspectives" series. [88] Klaus, a Mont Pelerin member and well-known climate denier, was a panelist at the following year's Mont Pelerin meeting alongside CIS' Greg Lindsay. [89] The event's first panel, "Global Warming: Environment and Free Markets," featured Klaus presenting on "Current Global Warming Alarmism and the Mont Pelerin Society's Long Term Agenda." [90]

The title of that presentation is an admission. Climate denial is being framed, at a Mont Pelerin Society meeting, as an element of the Society's long term agenda. This was not a set of individuals arriving independently at scepticism about atmospheric physics. It was a coordinated position, discussed as strategy, in a forum whose members ran think tanks on five continents. And a New Zealand organisation was carrying it, in this country, in its own publication series, in the year before it was presented as agenda.

In that same issue of Perspectives, Kerr authored an article entitled "It's Time to Cool It," which laments "doom-mongers" and "alarmism" concerned with "global warming," mimics tropes about the potential benefits of global warming, and cautions against drastic actions to curb greenhouse gases. [91] Other documents linked in that issue of Perspectives include the Roundtable's "Submission to the Government's Discussion Documents on Climate Change" which similarly cautioned against "costly policies" and "vague concepts" like "carbon neutrality," "renewables" and "energy efficiency." [92]

Carbon neutrality is described as a vague concept in a submission to the New Zealand government by an organisation whose executive director was a Mont Pelerin member and whose publication in the same series carried a Mont Pelerin climate denier's essay. For a country of low-lying Pacific neighbours, of coastal marae, of hapū whose relationship with awa and moana is a matter of whakapapa rather than amenity, this is not an abstract policy disagreement. The delay that the Roundtable was arguing for in 2007 is measurable now in coastal erosion at urupā, in flood events in Tairāwhiti and Hawke's Bay, in the relocation planning that communities in this country and across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa are being forced to undertake. And the ACT Party, whose Atlas connections run through every section of this paper, has just announced its intention to disestablish the New Zealand Climate Change Commission. [93] The long term agenda has been long term.

The delegitimisation of indigenous rights belongs on the same agenda, and the Roundtable carried that too. In 2009 it published "The Treaty of Waitangi: The uses and abuses of a 'living document,'" by Paul

Goldsmith, as part of its Te Oranga o te Iwi Maori series. [94] Goldsmith takes up Brash's term and gives it a genealogy. He describes the courts as having issued an invitation:

> The current prominence of the treaty in every facet of government and the development of an 'industry' to promote it flowed from this invitation from the courts to expand the treaty's significance.

The case he names is New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General, the 1987 Lands case, the litigation triggered by the transfer of Crown land that Alan Gibbs was at that moment executing. Goldsmith then identifies the funding mechanism:

> If those court decisions of the 1980s were the legal green light, the practical encouragement for a more expansive view was facilitated by the creation of a source of funding to enable grievances to be heard. The Crown Forests Assets Act 1989 provided that rentals from Crown forest lands licensed to timber companies would be held by a Crown Forestry Rental Trust. Income from the invested funds was made available for researching treaty claims relating to the forest land. The trust soon had many millions of dollars to spend, and lawyers and historians possessed the resources to find ever-more-creative ways to approach the issue of land alienation from Maori. From there, the treaty 'industry' built a momentum of its own. All of the people involved possessed incentives to extend the process further.

Set that passage beside the 1987 fundraising letter in section 9 and the circuit closes. Gibbs privatised the Forest Service and was praised in Atlas correspondence for the speed of it and the number of civil servants dismissed. Māori claimants went to court because the Crown was selling land whose ownership was in dispute. The Crown Forest Assets Act and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust exist because that litigation succeeded. Twenty-two years later, a publication of the organisation Gibbs helped build identifies that case and that statute as the origin of an "industry", and describes the resources it gave claimants as the problem. The network's own donor set the litigation in motion; the network's own publication programme then attacked the remedy the litigation produced. Neither half of that sequence appears in the correspondence.

Goldsmith is a biographer of ACT figures including Alan Gibbs, John Banks and Don Brash. He would later serve as a Minister of the Crown.

The New Zealand Institute, a short-lived think tank founded in 2004, merged with the Business Roundtable in 2012. The Gibbs family was involved early on, with Jennifer Gibbs serving as a member of the New Zealand Institute from 2005 to 2010. [95]

13. THE MERGER: THE NEW ZEALAND INITIATIVE

In 2012, the New Zealand Business Roundtable and New Zealand Institute merged to form the New Zealand Initiative. This institute is thoroughly operated by Atlas and Mont Pelerin personnel and principles. Atlas listed the Initiative as a "partner" in its last available member directory, from around 2021. [96]

The founding Executive Director of the Initiative is Oliver Marc Hartwich, who became an MPS member in 2010, just before taking the reins. [97] Prior to that, he worked at several other Atlas think tanks, including the Centre for Independent Studies in Australia and Policy Exchange in the United Kingdom, where he was chief economist. [98]

The shape of that career answers Fisher's problem of 1984. Fisher could not find one or two academics in New Zealand and had to write to London, Sydney and Chicago for names. By 2012 the network no longer needed to prospect. It could simply post a person. Hartwich moved from a London think tank to a Sydney think tank to the executive directorship of the successor to the Business Roundtable, joining the Mont Pelerin Society on the way, and he has held the position for fourteen years. The New Zealand Initiative did not recruit a New Zealander. It received a career professional of the international movement, and that is now normal. Jeremy Walker places Hartwich in that movement from the other side of the Tasman. Hartwich had delivered a paper to the Centre for Independent Studies in 2009 declaring neoliberalism a meaningless term, and by the time Walker wrote he was leading the New Zealand Initiative, which Walker describes as

an Atlas Network think tank campaigning against the Zero Carbon Act and against the moratorium on hydrocarbon leasing imposed by Jacinda Ardern's government. [15]

Roger Partridge, the current chair and founding co-chair of the Initiative, is a self-identified MPS member and former chair of the Business Roundtable. He is also an ACT donor.

The Initiative's Chief Economist, Eric Crampton, became an MPS member in 2010 before joining as Head of Research in 2015. Crampton's PhD was funded, in part, by Charles Koch's Mercatus Center in 2003 at George Mason University. [99] Koch's fortune comes from Koch, Inc., the oil refining, pipeline and chemicals conglomerate he has chaired since 1967. Koch sits on the Mercatus Center's board as a member emeritus, listed there with Koch Industries, [100] and the Charles Koch Foundation gave George Mason University close to forty-eight million United States dollars between 2011 and 2014. [101] Fisher's difficulty in finding academics has been solved at the source. The doctorate itself is now a funded position within the network, and the graduate arrives with credentials that are indistinguishable, on a curriculum vitae, from any other economist's.

In 2014, the New Zealand Initiative's Research Fellow, Rose Patterson, was selected for training in the Atlas Network's 2014 Think Tank MBA program. [102]

Bryce Derek Wilkinson, an Initiative Senior Fellow since 2013, became an MPS member in 2000. [103] Prior to that he worked in the New Zealand Treasury and was a board member of First NZ Capital. He was also a member of the Business Roundtable. Wilkinson was recently seen to have exerted undue influence over the search for the Chief Economist of the New Zealand Ministry of Regulation. [104] That Ministry exists to administer a statute whose lineage runs back to him. The principles written into the Regulatory Standards Act 2025 descend from Constraining Government Regulation, a report Wilkinson wrote for the Business Roundtable in 2001, which Jane Kelsey describes as having expanded an earlier ministerial proposal into a draft bill carrying a long list of profoundly ideological regulatory principles. [105] Wilkinson submitted on the Bill for the Initiative as it went through the Finance and Expenditure Committee. The Act was passed on 18 November 2025, came into force on 1 January 2026, and its substantive requirements took effect on 1 July 2026. [106] The property principles that Geoffrey de Q. Walker and others put to a Wellington conference in 1988 arrived thirty-seven years later as a statute against which other legislation is to be tested, by way of a report written by a man who was in the room at the Mont Pelerin Society's Christchurch meeting the following year.

That last item belongs to the present rather than to the history. It is the same mechanism as the 1985 Sydney workshop and Lindsay's "would you believe, the Treasury and Reserve Bank," operating in the present tense, in a ministry created by the ACT Party under the current coalition agreement. The Ministry for Regulation exists because ACT wanted it. A senior fellow at a Mont Pelerin and Atlas connected think tank was "in the room" for the appointment of its chief economist. Forty years of continuity, and the same names.

Initiative members with ties to Atlas include Alan and Jenny Gibbs, Douglas Myers, and Trevor Janes. Members who are Mont Pelerin affiliates include Alan and Jenny Gibbs, Douglas Myers, Charles Bidwill, Roderick S. Deane and David Richwhite, the last three all former Business Roundtable members.

14. PROFESSIONALISING THE RELAY: THE TAXPAYERS' UNION

The continued success of the New Zealand Taxpayers' Union can be attributed in no small part to the Atlas Network. Atlas listed it as a "partner" in its last available member directory, from around 2021. [107]

Co-founder and Executive Director Jordan Williams has clear ties to Atlas, as have many of the Union's staff. In 2015, Williams was a participant in Atlas's Leadership Academy, including their Think Tank MBA program, where Atlas staff help participants "draft a strategic plan for their organization" that is "ready to be presented to your staff and board." [108][109] Williams now chairs the international federation as well. He is listed as Chairman and President of the World Taxpayers Associations, the global body of which the

New Zealand organisation is a member, on a board that includes the heads of the American, British, Canadian, German and Australian taxpayer groups. [110] The relay runs in both directions. A New Zealander trained in Washington in 2015 to draft his own organisation's strategic plan now presides over the federation that convenes the national bodies.

That description sits badly against the claim of independence. Atlas staff help a New Zealand organisation draft the strategic plan that will then be presented to that organisation's own board as its own strategy. The board receives a document produced in Washington and adopts it as a New Zealand plan. This is Fisher's 1985 proposition, the New Zealand institute running from the same office with the same staff, updated for an era in which the office is a training programme and the staff are a curriculum.

Williams was also a recipient of the Smith Fellowship as part of Atlas' Leadership Academy, which provides "varied training in marketing, fundraising, management, and other relevant skills needed for getting nascent think tanks off the ground." He credited the programme with revamping the Union's fundraising:

> Fundraising is of course a huge challenge. Until now, that's relied all on me. We're now though developing the systems to share that workload and are bringing the board into more of a development – rather than just oversight – role.

Williams credited the programme with helping the Union's efforts to undermine the proposed work of Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern:

> Our big challenge for 2018 is stepping up to oppose the big government initiatives of the new Prime Minister. That means we need to, effectively, double our research capacity. The Smith Fellowship has really helped me, as a leader, understand what changes we need to make to turn our organisation from a start-up into an organisation with the resources and capacity in place to successful in the long term. [111]

Louis Houlbrooke of the Union went through the Think Tank MBA in the same year. [112] This is a New Zealand organisation telling an American foundation that its objective for the coming year is to oppose the programme of a democratically elected New Zealand government, and thanking that foundation for building the capacity to do it. The word "research" in that passage means something specific. Research capacity is being doubled in order to oppose a government, which places the conclusion before the inquiry. The output will nonetheless enter New Zealand public debate as research, will be reported as research, and will be cited in select committee submissions as research. That is the Fisher method operating at full maturity: business, or in this case a transnational ideological foundation, cannot say what it wants said, so it funds an organisation that says it under the sign of research.

In 2019, Atlas celebrated the Union's defeat of one of Prime Minister Ardern's efforts to impose a capital gains tax. [113] A Washington foundation publicly claiming credit for the defeat of a New Zealand tax policy is a fact that ought to have generated a constitutional conversation in this country, and did not.

By 2022, Williams was helping to train other think tank officials from around the world at Atlas' 2022 Asia Liberty Forum with a session entitled "Getting stakeholder buy-in using the 'architect, translator, doer' model." [114] The trainee has become the trainer, which is the same trajectory Fisher followed and the same one he designed the workshops to produce.

In 2023, the Union's Oliver Bryan won a $10,000 "Think Tank Shark Tank" award at Atlas' 2023 Asia Liberty Forum. [115] Bryan won for a pitch to "ensure a generation of New Zealanders committed to reigning in government excess." A generation of New Zealanders, as a deliverable, pitched in a competition, judged in Asia, funded from Washington.

Also in 2023, Atlas awarded the Union as one of its Smart Bet partners. [116] Atlas' description of their award-worthy work included their efforts to "take advantage of the upcoming general election and subsequent new government in New Zealand and formulate policy platforms that focus on improving New Zealand's overall economic freedom." [117]

That sentence was written before the 2023 New Zealand general election. A foreign foundation was describing a New Zealand election as an opportunity to be taken advantage of, and was funding a New Zealand organisation to formulate the policy platforms of the government that would follow. The government that followed has since delivered a substantial portion of those platforms.

Atlas set out the programme at greater length in a Smart Bets weekly highlight published on atlasnetwork.org in October 2022, a year before the election it anticipates.

> An upcoming election is expected to deliver a government more favorable to market-based thinking in New Zealand, and the Taxpayers' Union intends to work alongside the government to be at the forefront of policy development. They plan to work toward their mission by drafting parliamentary bills; shifting the Overton Window by utilizing popular support; campaigning against high taxes, government waste, and inflation; and publicizing high profile government employees or contractors who have had misleading or deceptive trade interactions. [118]
>
> The Taxpayers' Union aims, in the long run, to become the most popularly supported taxpayer and fiscally conservative pressure group in the world, and to establish New Zealand as a pro-freedom policy laboratory. In their words, they will "lead the world from the bottom of the world." [118]

Four methods are listed and none of them is research. Drafting parliamentary bills comes first, which is a privately funded organisation naming legislative drafting as its own function, a year before the election that would produce the Parliament those bills were for. Jordan Williams put the same thing in his own words in the Atlas article quoted below.

The second method names, in the network's house jargon, the mechanism the 1983 manual had described without it. Shifting the Overton Window by utilizing popular support is the working form of the Atlas Guidelines' statement that a legislator "is incapable of legislating the required changes until the public understands and demands those changes." The public appears in both sentences as the instrument through which a legislator is moved, and in neither as the author of anything. Thirty-nine years separate the two formulations and the theory of democracy inside them is the same theory.

The fourth method deserves its own sentence. Publicising high profile government employees or contractors is a campaign against named individuals who work for the public, waged by a body they cannot answer on equal terms, and it is listed beside tax policy as though the two were the same kind of work. Bonython's enemy in 1976 was the academic who made the public sceptical of business claims. The Union's targets in 2022 are the officials who administer what the public owns. The function is constant, which is to raise the cost of occupying any position from which this project can be contradicted.

Then there is the ambition. New Zealand is to be established as a pro-freedom policy laboratory, and the Union will "lead the world from the bottom of the world." The laboratory is not a figure of speech in this archive. Fisher's calculation in 1981 was that a small English-speaking population could be saturated cheaply and would show results quickly, which is why he wanted in. The Frontier Centre in Winnipeg was built with a special focus on implementing New Zealand style reforms, which is how the results got out. The 1980s programme was exported from here as a finished product, and the Union is proposing to run the experiment a second time with the findings again intended for use somewhere else. A country is being offered to a Washington foundation as a test site, in a document published for that foundation's audience rather than put to the people who live in the laboratory.

One 2023 Atlas article heralds the Union, explaining that:

> an opportunity has recently emerged for Jordan's team that can help their battle tank lead the charge towards reduced inflation and increased freedom. Forthcoming elections stand to change the balance of power in the country and open the door to more pro-taxpayer policies.
>
> "We've literally got draft legislation ready to go, but also the campaigns that support it. We're taking the public with us so the politicians will inevitably join," Jordan said. [119]

No participant has ever described the machine more completely in public. Draft legislation, ready to go, held by a private organisation with foreign funding before an election. Campaigns built to support that legislation. And then the sequence: "We're taking the public with us so the politicians will inevitably join."

The public is not the author of the policy. The public is the vehicle. The campaign moves the public, the moved public produces a political incentive, and the politicians follow because the incentive has been manufactured. The word "inevitably" describes a system the speaker believes he has engineered to the point of determinism. This is not lobbying, which at least admits to being an interested party petitioning a decision maker. This is the fabrication of a public will and the presentation of that fabrication to legislators as a mandate. Bonython's 1976 letter said the problem was that the public, encouraged by leftwing academics, discounted what business said. The solution, forty-seven years later, is a battle tank that takes the public with it.

The governance of the Union also has older ties to the Atlas and Mont Pelerin network. Ruth Richardson, the current board chair, was an invited presenter at the 1989 Mont Pelerin Christchurch meeting. Richardson has been a longtime member, including during her time as Minister of Finance from 1990 to 1993. She is listed as having become a full member in 1996. [120] She was Mont Pelerin Vice President in 2008, the year that Vaclav Klaus presented on "Current Global Warming Alarmism and the Mont Pelerin Society's Long Term Agenda."

The woman who delivered the 1991 Budget, the budget that cut benefit rates in this country by amounts from which the poorest households have never recovered, and whose effects are visible today in the housing, health and food insecurity statistics of Māori and Pacific communities, presented to the Mont Pelerin Society in Christchurch in 1989, served as its Vice President in 2008, and chairs the Taxpayers' Union in 2026. [121] The through line is a single career.

When the Union was criticised for its connections to Atlas, it updated their website to explain:

> we are proud to be members of the Atlas Network of more than 500 think tanks around the world [...] The Chair of the Atlas Network's Board of Directors is a New Zealander. On occasion, the Atlas Network has provided support to the Taxpayers' Union, its board/volunteers and staff, particularly with travel grants for professional development, scholarships, and fellowships. [122]

Williams told journalists that "The prize money, and other Atlas funding, is small in terms of our overall budget. It has never constituted more than 1 or 2 percent of our annual income, and it is our only funding from overseas." [123]

Both defences rest on the same move, which is to convert a question about formation into a question about proportion of revenue. Nobody has alleged that Atlas pays the Union's rent. The archive shows something more consequential than a subsidy. It shows a training programme that produced the executive director's strategic plan, a fellowship that restructured the organisation's fundraising and governance, a second fellowship for another staff member, a prize that funded a campaign to produce a generation of committed New Zealanders, and a Smart Bet designation attached explicitly to shaping the platform of an incoming New Zealand government. Formation is not a line item. One or two percent of annual income buys the strategy, and the strategy directs the other ninety-eight. The figure is also the Union's own. No audited account of its revenue by source is published, and the only basis for the one to two percent is the statement of the person being asked about it.

The pointer to Debbi Gibbs is offered as reassurance. It works the other way. The New Zealander on the Atlas board sits there because her father funded the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, chaired it, donated to Atlas, sat on its Business Advisory Council, coined the name "Atlas Network," privatised the Forest Service and reviewed the social services and health system of this country. The New Zealander near the top of the global organisation is evidence of the depth of the relationship rather than proof of its innocence.

Several other connections can be seen in the overlap of staff between the Initiative and the Union. Ben Craven was the Union's Campaigns Coordinator from 2014 to 2016 and then the Initiative's Project Coordinator and External Relations Manager from 2017 to 2021. Max Salmon was a Union Researcher in 2021 and an Initiative Research Fellow in 2024. The two organisations present as distinct voices in public debate. Their staff move between them.

15. THE SPIN-OFF: THE FREE SPEECH UNION

The New Zealand Free Speech Union is a spin-off of the Taxpayers' Union, founded by Jordan Williams. Stephanie Martin is its Stakeholder Relationship Manager and an adjunct fellow at the New Zealand Initiative, [124][125] and Stephen Franks sits on its Governing Council, having attended the 1989 Christchurch meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society and served on the board of the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies.

We have written at length elsewhere about the Free Speech Union and its role in the communicative inversions of academic freedom in this country, and will not repeat that analysis here. [126] What the archive adds is provenance. The organisation that presents itself as the defender of free expression against a captured academy shares a founder with the Taxpayers' Union, shares a fellow with the New Zealand Initiative, and seats on its governing council a man who was in the room at the Mont Pelerin Society's Christchurch meeting in 1989 and on the board of the institute that Antony Fisher designed to look independent.

The line runs directly from Bonython's complaint in 1976 about "a public encouraged by leftwing academics" to a body that now files complaints against academics in this country. The target has been consistent for half a century. What changed is that the network acquired the institutional capacity to act on the grievance, and it acquired that capacity through the relay described in every preceding section of this paper.

16. THE PARTY AT THE END OF THE RELAY

ACT New Zealand is a political party that emerged from the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers, founded by Roger Douglas and Derek Quigley in 1993. Alan Gibbs, a Mont Pelerin and Atlas affiliate, is credited as a founding funder and member of the party. Like Gibbs, successive generations of ACT leadership, from Roger Douglas through Richard Prebble and Rodney Hide to David Seymour, have had ties to Atlas, the Mont Pelerin Society and their allied institutions.

This is the terminal node of the relay. The recruitment, the workshop, the manufactured independence, the training programmes, the fellowships and the draft legislation held ready before an election all arrive here, in a parliamentary caucus that at the time of writing holds the Deputy Prime Ministership of this country and a portfolio of legislation reshaping the constitutional relationship between the Crown and tangata whenua.

Roger Douglas was a member of the Mont Pelerin Society and attended the 1989 Christchurch meeting. [127] He was ACT Party Leader from 1994 to 1996 and Party President from 1996 to 2001. Mont Pelerin records show that he became a full lifetime member in 1998, while ACT President. [128]

The man who as Labour's Minister of Finance from 1984 delivered the programme of deregulation, corporatisation and asset sales that reorganised this country attended the Mont Pelerin Society's meeting in Christchurch in 1989 and took lifetime membership of the Society while presiding over the political party that carried his programme forward. The reforms known in this country by his surname were not a New Zealand invention that the world later noticed. They were a national implementation of a transnational programme whose author sat in its meetings.

Rodney Hide was the founding President of the ACT party from 1994 to 1996 and an attendee of the 1989 Christchurch Mont Pelerin meeting, which left him connected to the world of Atlas.

In 1993, Hide began work as an economist for Alan Gibbs' firm, Gibbs Securities. In that capacity he attended the 1993 International Atlas Workshop in Stockholm as an invited presenter, listed as an official of Gibbs Securities and speaking on a panel entitled "Open Markets or Trade Wars? The Ugly Face of Protectionism." [129]

Hide served as an ACT Member of Parliament from 1996 to 2011, rising to Party Leader from 2004 to 2011. While serving as an ACT MP he attended the 2002 Mont Pelerin meeting, through the invitation of Alan Gibbs. [130]

The employment history runs in a straight line. Hide attends the Mont Pelerin meeting in Christchurch in 1989. He goes to work for Alan Gibbs. Gibbs' firm sends him to Stockholm as an Atlas presenter. He founds a political party with Gibbs' money. He enters Parliament. Gibbs invites him to a Mont Pelerin meeting while he is a sitting Member of Parliament. One funder, one network, and a career that runs from a conference room in Christchurch to the New Zealand Parliament with the same hand on it throughout.

Richard Prebble, along with Roger Douglas, was invited to Canada to speak as a Fraser Institute Roundtable Speaker. [131]

Prebble has been hosted by Atlas think tanks like the Frontier Centre, where Roger Douglas served as a founding member of Frontier's Board of Research Advisors. [68] At a Frontier lunch event, Prebble was asked "Are we going to see more think tanks in New Zealand?" He responded:

> I hope so. We already have a very good think tank called the Roundtable, but the same idea that I mentioned earlier applies. You actually need more of them, you need them of different sorts. It's the competition of ideas, producing different thoughts. New Zealand would be a better country if we had a Frontier Centre for Public Policy. You need some think tanks that "mix it," take the ideas that other think tanks have got and translate them into more popular language. It is like getting a report on the local media on the radio stations and on TV. There are certain principles about think tanks. Why think tanks work better than politicians is because political parties have less credibility. A political party wants something. It wants your vote and tends to say what you want to hear. The think tank is not looking for your vote, so think tanks can raise issues that political parties tend to run away from. [132]

A former party leader, speaking at a Canadian think tank funded through the same network as the New Zealand institutions, explains the division of labour in the machine he helped build.

He begins by describing an ecology of think tanks and calls it "the competition of ideas, producing different thoughts." Then he specifies what the additional organisations would actually do: "take the ideas that other think tanks have got and translate them into more popular language." The second sentence dissolves the first. Multiple organisations produce the same thought at different registers, one for the select committee and one for talkback radio, and the appearance of a plural field of independent institutes is a distribution strategy rather than a marketplace of ideas.

Then Prebble states the theory of credibility with a candour no one else in this archive matches. "Why think tanks work better than politicians is because political parties have less credibility. A political party wants something. It wants your vote and tends to say what you want to hear. The think tank is not looking for your vote."

That is the Fisher method in the mouth of a New Zealand politician in 2003. Bonython's version in 1976 was that business could not speak because the public would discount it as vested interest, so academics would speak instead. Prebble's version is that parties cannot speak because the public discounts them as vote-seeking, so think tanks will speak instead. Same structure, same substitution, same purpose. And Prebble is describing an organisation that is looking for something, because the New Zealand Business Roundtable was funded by corporations whose commercial interests its publications advanced, and because the network these institutes belong to was assembled specifically to change election outcomes. The claim that "the think tank is not looking for your vote" is true only in the narrow sense that the think tank is looking for the conditions under which your vote produces the required result.

David Seymour, New Zealand's current Deputy Prime Minister and ACT Party leader, owes much of his career to the Atlas and Mont Pelerin network. He first appeared on ACT's party list in 2005.

In a State of the Nation speech delivered at Waitangi, he made special mention of Atlas:

> ...the Global Index of Economic Mentality was released in November by my old friends at the Atlas Network. Atlas is an umbrella organisation for free-market think tanks all over the world. It is based in Washington, DC, and chaired by a New Zealander, Debbi Gibbs. (emphasis added) [133]

A New Zealand party leader, speaking at Waitangi, of all the places in this country he could have chosen to say it, refers to a Washington-based network of free market think tanks as "my old friends" and cites its index of national economic mentality approvingly. The location matters. Waitangi is where the Crown's relationship with hapū was constituted. To stand there and align oneself with an American ideological foundation is a statement about which relationship the speaker considers foundational.

After leaving university, where he studied engineering and philosophy, Seymour moved to Canada, where he was a Senior Policy Analyst at an Atlas member think tank, the Frontier Centre for Public Policy. The Frontier Centre had a special focus on implementing New Zealand style reforms, and ACT founder Roger Douglas was a founding member of Frontier's Board of Research Advisors. Founded in 1999 and run from Winnipeg, with offices that have also operated in Regina and Calgary, the Frontier Centre has published and promoted climate denial for most of its existence, including a 2008 climate change quiz prepared by Tim Ball and Tom Harris and co-sponsorship of Heartland Institute climate conferences in 2010 and 2012. In 2019 it retracted and apologised for letters it had published in 2011 and 2012 containing untrue and disparaging accusations about the climate scientist Michael Mann. [134]

The circularity here is almost too neat to state. A young New Zealander goes to Canada to work at a think tank whose speciality is exporting New Zealand's reforms, on whose research advisory board sits the New Zealand politician who designed those reforms, and then returns to New Zealand to lead the party that politician founded. The laboratory result travelled to Winnipeg and came home in a person.

Shortly after arriving at Frontier, Seymour began his training in Atlas' methods. He was part of the first cohort to go through Atlas's Think Tank MBA program in 2008, "an intensive two-week program that provided in-depth training on management essentials to think tank leaders." [135] Seymour spent five years at Frontier, where shortly after his Think Tank MBA he was promoted to running a regional spin-off, the Frontier Centre Saskatchewan.

A 2009 Atlas grant document shows that Seymour was the point of contact for a multi-year grant to the new regional Frontier Centre, where the assessment of his work was positive:

> Report Summary: This branch organization, under the umbrella of the more established Frontier Centre for Public Policy, is run by David Seymour and now one other temporary staff member. In the last 6 months this organization has continued to produce a large quantity of output for such a small establishment. They have released several policy studies, organized a handful of well attended events, and have been published in their local media numerous times. They are gaining credibility in their region; and the public, as well as legislators, are beginning to take notice of their efforts.

The recommendation Atlas staff determined was to "Disburse [the] Second Installment" of Seymour's grant. [136]

The evaluation criteria in that report are the 1985 Sydney agenda, twenty-four years later, with the boxes ticked. Volume of output. Policy studies. Events. Local media placements. Credibility gained in the region. Legislators beginning to take notice. Every audience segment from the workshop appears, and the assessment concludes with a funding disbursement. Performance management inside the network looks like this, and the man now serving as Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand was once a line item in it, assessed and found to be delivering.

Also in 2008, Seymour submitted an essay to the Mont Pelerin Society's Hayek Essay Contest. He won first prize, which was a $2,500 cash award plus a travel grant to the meeting. [137] In the essay, Seymour cites eugenicist Charles Murray's book The Bell Curve. [138] This was the same Mont Pelerin meeting where Ruth Richardson served as Vice President, and where Vaclav Klaus laid out the Society's Long Term Agenda for climate change denial and obstruction.

That citation is not a youthful slip to be waved away. The Bell Curve is the central text of contemporary hereditarian race science, a book whose function is to explain measured racial inequality as a matter of distributed genetic endowment rather than of structural violence. A prize-winning essay for the Hayek contest that reaches for Murray tells us something about the intellectual permissions available inside that milieu in 2008, and about what a young writer understood would be rewarded there. Other CARE papers have traced the pipeline that runs from hereditarian argument through free market institutions to the contemporary far right. This is the same pipeline appearing in the formative writing of a man who now holds the second highest office in this country and who has spent his political career arguing that Māori receive advantages they have not earned.

For several subsequent years Seymour submitted essays to the Hayek Essay Contest, winning honourable mentions in 2010 and 2012. [139] In 2013, Seymour took on a role at another Atlas think tank, the Manning Foundation for Democratic Education, where he served as a Senior Fellow in Municipal Governance and editor of the Manning Foundation's journal until 2014. [140] Meanwhile, Seymour was running as an ACT List MP in 2008 and 2011. In 2014 he was nominated to stand as ACT's candidate for Epsom, and won the seat.

The criticism had a source, and it is worth naming because of what it was. On 22 December 2023, two months after Australians voted down the Voice and a month after the coalition agreement that committed this government to a Treaty Principles Bill, Mata Reports broadcast an episode called "Trick or Treaty? Indigenous rights, referendums and the Treaty of Waitangi." Mihingarangi Forbes set the referendum in Australia beside the campaign for a referendum on te Tiriti here, and interviewed Jeremy Walker about the part the Atlas Network had played in both. [141] Walker put the link in one sentence: "one of the things that's consistent across all of these Atlas Network think tanks is they will oppose anything that gets in the way of the fossil fuel industry whether it's climate policy or indigenous land rights."

Walker had spoken briefly about the network on ABC Radio National and on SBS and NITV in the days around the Voice referendum, so this was not the first time it had been named on air. What had not been done before was the programme itself. "Trick or Treaty?" was a full length investigation by a national broadcaster into the Atlas Network as its subject, it joined fossil fuel money to the attack on indigenous rights, and it was made by Māori journalists in a country whose constitutional arrangements rest on a treaty. It went to air while the campaign to narrow those arrangements was still being assembled, rather than after it had succeeded, which is the opposite of what happened across the Tasman. Forty-seven years after Bonython wrote to Texas, the method was described to the country it was operating in while it was operating.

Six weeks later Forbes put it to the minister directly. At Waitangi on 6 February 2024 she said that the campaign in Australia had links to the Atlas Network, and asked whether the ACT Party had "any links or connections to the Atlas group." Seymour answered: "No." [142] The preceding sections of this paper set out what the record holds. Seymour worked for the Frontier Centre for Public Policy and the Manning Foundation in Canada, both Atlas members, before entering Parliament. ACT grew out of the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers, founded by a Mont Pelerin member who sat on the Frontier Centre's Board of Research Advisors. The party's founding funder coined the name "Atlas Network." Readers can weigh the answer against the documents.

What happened next is part of the record and belongs with it. Atlas Network's chief executive, Brad Lips, complained to the New Zealand Media Council about the programme. The Council declined to uphold the accuracy complaint, finding that TVNZ had convincingly defended the factual statements it had broadcast about Atlas, including those concerning its funding and its campaigning against climate policy and

indigenous land rights. It upheld the complaint on fairness alone, by a narrow margin, because Atlas had not been approached for comment before broadcast. [143] A separate complaint about the programme's treatment of race and of the Australian referendum was not upheld. [144] The substance of what was said about the network survived the scrutiny of a body whose business is press standards. The network's presence in this country had sat in its own archives for four decades without becoming news, and the people who made it news were Māori journalists.

When Seymour was criticised for his connection to the Atlas Network, the Frontier Centre issued a rebuttal that confirms more than it denies:

> Growing alongside the Business Roundtable for most of the 1990s was what began as the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT). Founded in 1993 by Roger Douglas, the former National cabinet minister, Derek Quigley, and multi-millionaire, Craig Heatley, ACT was to serve as a vehicle for those classical liberal ideas no longer deemed acceptable by either Labour or National. [...]
>
> The question being asked by left-wing journalists in 2024 is whether or not the Act Party has always been associated with right-wing organisations like the Atlas Network. Or, is the Network's sole link with Act its present leader, David Seymour, who, prior to entering Parliament, was employed by two conservative Canadian think tanks, the Frontier Centre for Public Policy and the Manning Foundation, both of which were, at one time or another, members of the Atlas Network.
>
> Neither of these questions make much sense. [145]
>
> (emphasis added)

Knowing the close relationship between Atlas, the Mont Pelerin Society, Alan Gibbs, Roger Douglas, Frontier, the Business Roundtable and the entities discussed above, Frontier's rebuttal appears considerably thinner than intended.

It also contains an error that tells us something about the carelessness of the defence. Roger Douglas was Labour's Minister of Finance, not a National cabinet minister. The organisation defending its association with the ACT Party could not correctly identify the party of the man who founded it.

The rebuttal also answers a question nobody asked. It sets up a binary: either ACT has always been associated with Atlas, or Seymour's Canadian employment is the sole link. The archive shows that both propositions in that binary understate the position. The party's founding funder, Alan Gibbs, sat on Atlas' Business Advisory Council, donated to Atlas, chaired an Atlas advisory-services institute and coined the name of the network. Its founder Roger Douglas was a lifetime Mont Pelerin member who sat on the research advisory board of the Atlas think tank that employed Seymour. Its second leader was hosted by Atlas think tanks. Its third leader worked for Gibbs and presented at an Atlas workshop in Stockholm. Its current leader was trained in Atlas' first Think Tank MBA cohort, ran an Atlas-funded regional operation assessed in Atlas' own grant reports, and won the Mont Pelerin Society's essay prize. Its current policy analyst won the same prize in 2022. Its vice president was a longtime member of the Business Roundtable and the New Zealand Institute. Its donors include Mont Pelerin members and Business Roundtable and New Zealand Initiative figures. The connection is the party's spine.

Knowing that Seymour attended the 2008 Mont Pelerin meeting that laid out the Long Term Agenda, it is unsurprising that his writings at the Frontier Centre, a climate denial think tank, include his 2008 treatise "Why the Eco-Doomsters are Wrong," and his 2008 "Rethinking Environmental Education," which concludes that the "claim that man-made climate change through increased CO2 emissions is a fact is clearly not justified by the evidence." [146][147][148]

And the ACT Party has now announced its intention to disestablish the New Zealand Climate Change Commission. The position a young man wrote for a Canadian think tank in 2008 is the policy of the New Zealand government's coalition partner in 2026.

The connections run wider than the leadership. Jenny Gibbs, Mont Pelerin member, former Business Roundtable and New Zealand Initiative member, and Alan Gibbs' wife, is a major donor to the ACT party. ACT MP Donna Awatere Huata attended the 1989 Christchurch meeting. ACT candidate Stephen Franks, in addition to attending the 1989 Christchurch meeting, was on the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies board and sits on the Governing Council of the Free Speech Union. Mitchell Palmer, ACT Policy Analyst, won the Mont Pelerin Society's Hayek Essay Contest in 2022, following in Seymour's footsteps. [149] ACT candidate and current Vice President Catherine Isaac was a longtime member of the New Zealand Institute and the Business Roundtable.

ACT donors with ties to New Zealand think tanks include David Richwhite, a 1989 Mont Pelerin member and Business Roundtable and New Zealand Initiative member; Roger Partridge, current chair and founding co-chair of the New Zealand Initiative, former chair of the Business Roundtable and executive chairman of the law firm Bell Gully from 2007 to 2014, [150] and self-identified Mont Pelerin member; Chris Mace, Business Roundtable and New Zealand Institute member; Ross George, New Zealand Initiative member; Simon Hull, former New Zealand Initiative board member and former Business Roundtable member; and Stephen Jennings, former New Zealand Initiative board member and former Business Roundtable member.

The donor list and the think tank membership list are substantially the same list. The organisations that produce the research, the organisations that run the campaigns, and the people who write the cheques to the party that legislates the result are not three constituencies in a pluralist democracy. They are one constituency wearing three hats, and the hats are what make it look like a debate.

What that constituency has done with Te Tiriti o Waitangi runs from publication to statute as a single sequence, and the drafting is close enough to trace.

In 2005, Rodney Hide, ACT leader, Atlas presenter, Gibbs employee and Christchurch 1989 attendee, introduced a member's bill called the Treaty of Waitangi (Principles) Bill. Its background cited New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General, the 1987 Lands case, as the legal root of the problem it sought to fix. The bill defined the principles as three:

> Principle of Article the First: "The principle of the first article is that there is just one New Zealand, one sovereign nation and the Crown exercises sovereignty on behalf of Maori and non-Maori alike" (Clause 6).
>
> Principle of Article the Second: "The principle of the second article is that the Crown has a duty to uphold citizens' property rights. No property may be taken by the State without good cause and full market consideration paid" (Clause 7).
>
> Principle of Article the Third: "The principle of the third article is that everyone in New Zealand who is a citizen has the same rights and obligations as every other citizen — the right to the rule of law, to a fair trial, free speech, to vote, and the principle that all citizens are equal before the law" (Clause 8). [151]

The bill was defeated at its first reading in February 2006. Set it beside Minogue's four propositions of 1998 and there is little left to explain. The first principle rejects any constitutional partnership and erases legal recognition of Māori collective identity, which is Minogue's "legal fiction" and his warning against entrenchment. The second reduces Treaty protection to property rights, with "full market consideration" standing in for the return of land, which is the Christchurch panel's economics converted into a clause. The third is Minogue's closing sentence almost verbatim: common citizenship, and "all else is privilege."

The sequence then runs through the party rather than the private member. In March 2022 ACT announced that it would legislate a definition of the Treaty principles and put it to a binding referendum, with Seymour arguing that "[c]o-governance is actually exclusive, it creates resentment, and we need to have an open debate about it that is healthy for society." [152] The commitment entered the National and ACT coalition agreement in November 2023. The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill was introduced on 14 November 2024. [153] Its principles read:

> Principle 1: The Executive Government of New Zealand has full power to govern, and the Parliament of New Zealand has full power to make laws, — (a) in the best interests of everyone; and (b) in accordance with the rule of law and the maintenance of a free and democratic society.
>
> Principle 2: (1) The Crown recognises, and will respect and protect, the rights that hapū and iwi Māori had under the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi at the time they signed it. (2) However, if those rights differ from the rights of everyone, subclause (1) applies only if those rights are agreed in the settlement of a historical treaty claim under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.
>
> Principle 3: (1) Everyone is equal before the law. (2) Everyone is entitled, without discrimination, to — (a) the equal protection and equal benefit of the law; and (b) the equal enjoyment of the same fundamental human rights.

The first principle rules out shared authority, as the 2005 first principle did. The third is the 2005 third principle restated: everyone equal before the law. Nineteen years, two bills, one text. The 2024 bill drew one of the largest protest movements in this country's history and was defeated at its second reading on 10 April 2025 by 112 votes to 11, having been introduced 147 days earlier. [154]

Sixteen months later, on 23 August 2026, ACT released "One Law for All. One Future Together," an election policy that carries the same content into different statutes. It would add three principles to the Constitution Act 1986, that Parliament is sovereign, that the rule of law is fundamental and that all New Zealanders are equal before the law. It would insert property rights into the Bill of Rights Act, restrict when courts may draw on tikanga, and require Cabinet to specify what Treaty interests a bill engages before drafting begins. ACT says the policy will "[s]top courts using broad Treaty interpretations to impose obligations Parliament never actually legislated." [155]

Parliamentary sovereignty, property rights, formal equality. Those are the three principles the Christchurch panel argued for in 1989 in the abstract, that Minogue argued for in 1998 in the particular, that Hide drafted in 2005, that Seymour introduced in 2024, and that ACT now proposes to write into the constitution in 2026. Whatever else it is, this is not a national conversation that arose spontaneously from New Zealand conditions.

A campaign layer runs alongside the parliamentary one, and the two share a supplier. In 2016, five years after serving as ACT leader, Don Brash launched Hobson's Pledge to oppose measures for Māori representation and affirmative action. Others involved include Casey Costello, former ACT candidate and former New Zealand Taxpayers' Union chair; Peter Shirtcliffe, a Business Roundtable and New Zealand Institute member; and Kevin Moratti, a former ACT candidate. [156]

In August 2023, RNZ reported that a website called "We Belong Aotearoa," which presented itself in warm multicultural terms and asked visitors to sign up for a message of unity, had been created by Hobson's Pledge. The site and its social media accounts were run by The Campaign Company, whose directors include Jordan Williams of the Taxpayers' Union; the same company was the administrative contact for several other Hobson's Pledge domains, and the hobsonspledge.nz domain itself listed the Taxpayers' Union as its administrative contact. [157]

An organisation trained by an American foundation to oppose an elected government was, through a company run by its co-founder, operating a website designed to look like an immigrant welcome page and functioning as an anti-co-governance campaign. Fisher's 1985 question was whether a New Zealand institute could be created to run from the same office with the same staff. Thirty-eight years later the answer is a set of registered domains sharing an administrative contact.

17. ABSENT FROM THE DESIGN, PRESENT AS THE TARGET

Fifty years of correspondence about this country sits in these boxes. Letters from London to Fiji, from Fiji to Auckland, from Sydney to Virginia, from Wellington to Washington. Attendance lists, workshop agendas,

grant assessments, donor registers, fundraising newsletters, honorarium offers. Men arranging the reorganisation of a nation's economy across three continents, in detail, over decades.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi does not appear in any of it.

The claim needs its boundaries drawn, because the network's New Zealand publications are full of the Treaty, and the difference between the two bodies of material is where the finding lies.

The absence is in the correspondence. It is in Fisher's 1981 letter weighing New Zealand against Iceland as a market for opinion. It is in the 1982 letter in which Fiji and New Zealand are interchangeable hosts for the same template. It is in the 1984 shopping list of businessmen and academics, and in the four cities across which the names of New Zealanders were circulated before any of them met. It is in the 1985 Sydney agenda, which segments this country's public into media, business leaders, legislators, bureaucrats, the public and teachers, and prices each segment, and does not contain a category for the Crown's Treaty partner. It is in Lindsay's report that the driving force was the Treasury and the Reserve Bank. It is in Fisher's instruction that the publications must be written as New Zealand publications, where localisation means examples and letterhead. It is in the 1987 fundraising letter about the Forest Service. It is in the 1988 Atlas Highlights item on the health task force. It is in the 1989 Christchurch programme. It is in Pierce-Durance's letter from Washington in 1990, in Kerr's letters of 1996 and 1998, in the Manila honorarium offer, in the 2004 award nomination.

In none of them is Te Tiriti an obstacle, a legal fact, a complication to be managed, an irritation. Neither is the word Māori. Neither are iwi or hapū. The Crown appears only as a set of assets to be sold and a set of employees to be dismissed. Across half a century of private planning about the constitutional and economic future of Aotearoa New Zealand, the parties to its founding agreement are not participants, not stakeholders, not even a difficulty.

The absence is loudest at the exact point where it should have been impossible. Alan Gibbs led the privatisation of the Forest Service. The Atlas correspondence celebrates the speed of it and the number of civil servants fired. Those same forests were the subject of the most consequential Treaty litigation of the era. Māori claimants went to court precisely because the Crown was proposing to sell land whose ownership was in dispute, and the Crown Forest Assets Act 1989 and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust exist because that litigation succeeded in forcing the Crown to acknowledge what it was doing. The men who designed and executed the sale wrote about it to their funders as a management triumph, with the claimants entirely outside the frame.

Now set that beside what the same network was publishing in this country. The New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies put the Treaty on the programme of its 1988 conference on the role of the state, where a defence of it was absorbed into the case for entrenched property and Moana Jackson's refusal of that frame was converted back into it each time he spoke. The Mont Pelerin Society's Christchurch meeting in 1989 programmed a panel in which the legal, economic and equality cases against indigenous collective rights were each argued by a different speaker. The Business Roundtable published Minogue in 1998, calling Māori collectivity a legal fiction and recognition of it privilege. Its executive director helped draft the Orewa speech in 2004 that gave the country the phrase "Treaty grievance industry." The Roundtable published Goldsmith in 2009, naming the 1987 Lands case and the Crown Forest Assets Act as the origin of that industry.

Put the two bodies of material side by side and the shape appears. In the correspondence, Te Tiriti is not argued against. It is unthinkable. In the publications, it is the problem to be solved. Those are not opposite findings. They are the same epistemology at two ranges, and the second follows from the first.

The free market project as it was imported into Aotearoa New Zealand was built on a model of the world containing individuals, firms, prices and a state, in which the state is a container of inefficiency to be drained. There is no place in that model for a relationship between two parties constituted by a founding agreement, no place for collective title, no place for obligations that run through whakapapa and across generations, no place for a form of authority that predates the Crown and was never ceded. A model like

that does not encounter Te Tiriti and reject it. The model has no slot into which Te Tiriti could be entered, which is why the correspondence is silent. But a project working from that model still has to operate in a country where the Treaty is law, and where courts and claimants keep insisting on it. What it cannot represent it must translate, and it can only translate into the categories it holds.

So collective identity becomes a fiction, because the model has only individuals. Restitution becomes redistribution, because the model has only transfers. Claimants become an industry with incentives, because the model has only markets and rent-seeking. Recognition becomes privilege, because the model has only formal equality between identical units. Every one of those moves is visible in the published record, in order, over twenty years. None of them is a rebuttal of Te Tiriti. Each is a translation of Te Tiriti into a vocabulary in which it cannot survive.

That is why the absence upstream is not innocence. It is the enabling condition. You cannot negotiate with what your framework has no way of representing. You can only describe it in other terms and then act on the description.

The vocabulary the network used against Māori claimants is the vocabulary it built to defend itself, and the record shows it being assembled.

In 1976 Bonython explained that business could not speak for itself because what business says "is put down by many to 'vested interest'." That was the founding problem, and the Fisher method was the solution. In 1989, on the programme of the Society's Christchurch meeting, an American economist presented "Racism, Rent-Seeking & Group Relations." In 1998 Minogue warned that "vested interests will not cease to find new themes for negotiation," and the vested interests were Māori. In 2003 Prebble explained that parties lack credibility because "a political party wants something." In 2004 Brash, with the Roundtable's executive director on the drafting, named a grievance industry. In 2009 Goldsmith described an industry with momentum whose participants "possessed incentives to extend the process further."

Rent-seeking, vested interests, grievance industry, incentives. One vocabulary, four moments, thirty-three years, and it does the same work each time: it converts a claim of right into a claim of appetite. The charge of self-interest that the network was assembled to deflect from business was turned around and aimed at people seeking the return of confiscated land. The organisation whose executive director helped write the Orewa speech was funded by corporate subscriptions and existed to advance the commercial interests of its members.

The line from those publications to the current legislative programme is set out in section 16, and it is short. Minogue's four propositions in 1998; Hide's three principles in 2005; Seymour's three principles in 2024; ACT's three principles for the Constitution Act in 2026. Parliamentary sovereignty, property rights, formal equality. The Treaty Principles Bill was not a novelty and it was not a response to anything that happened recently in this country. It was the constitutional expression of a mental map drawn in Sydney and Auckland and Washington in the 1980s, in which tangata whenua were not present, and then filled in locally with a vocabulary borrowed from commerce.

The archive cannot show the other side of the ledger either, and that silence should not be mistaken for neutrality. There are no letters here from the forestry workers of Kaingaroa and Murupara whose jobs were the metric of Alan Gibbs' success. There is nothing from the beneficiaries whose payments Ruth Richardson cut in 1991. There is nothing from the whānau in state houses whose rents were moved to market, nothing from the patients on the waiting lists that followed the health reforms designed with consultants flown in from Dallas and London, nothing from the towns whose works closed, nothing from the hapū whose claims were being litigated while the assets were being sold out from under them. The men in these boxes generated an enormous documentary record of their intentions and almost none of their effects, because the effects landed on people who were not in correspondence with anyone.

The methodological point matters for anyone who works with archives of power. An archive of this kind is a deposit left by a particular class of actors who had secretaries, letterhead, travel budgets and the confidence that their correspondence would be worth preserving. Read it for what it says about them and

you learn a great deal. Read it as a history of the period and you reproduce their erasures. The task is to read the archive against itself, to hold the celebration of the firings alongside what the firings did to the Bay of Plenty, and to treat the missing testimony as evidence of how power distributes the capacity to leave a record.

Te Tiriti was never defeated in these boxes. It was never entered into them. That is the more efficient operation, and it is the one still running. A relationship that was never part of the model does not have to be argued with when it turns up in a courtroom. It can be renamed an industry, priced as a cost, and legislated into three sentences about equality.

18. THE RELAY AS INFRASTRUCTURE

Read through structure, culture and agency, the Atlas architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand resolves into a particular kind of object.

At the level of structure, the network functions as a voice infrastructure. It does not persuade a public that was previously undecided. It builds and maintains the channels through which some claims reach decision makers with the force of expertise while others do not reach them at all. The 1985 workshop agenda is an explicit design document for such an infrastructure, listing the media, business leaders, legislators, bureaucrats, the public and teachers as points of access, with a cost attached to each. A submission from the New Zealand Initiative arrives at a select committee with a research apparatus behind it, a communications staff, a set of relationships built over decades and an executive director who has held his post for fourteen years. A submission from a community organisation in Highbury or Cannons Creek arrives with none of that. Both are formally equal inputs to a democratic process. The infrastructure decides which one is heard, and the infrastructure was built deliberately, with foreign capital, over half a century.

At the level of culture, the network operates through a sustained communicative inversion. Its outputs are presented as the opposite of what the archive shows them to be. The institute funded and staffed from outside is presented as a national voice. The organisation trained by an American foundation to oppose an elected government is presented as a taxpayers' movement. The campaign designed to move the public so that politicians will inevitably join is presented as the public's own demand. The body founded by the executive director of the Taxpayers' Union to advance the interests of a specific political tendency is presented as a union for free speech. A website run by a lobbying company is presented as a welcome to new migrants. The essay citing The Bell Curve becomes a career in a party that presents itself as the party of colour-blind equality. In every case the inversion works because the public has no access to the correspondence in which the participants describe their own operation, and it stops working the moment that correspondence is read.

At the level of agency, the network's achievement is to have narrowed the range of policy options that a New Zealander can imagine as realistic. Fifty years of the Fisher method has produced a common sense in which market solutions are the neutral baseline and everything else must argue for itself against the presumption. That common sense is what an economist means when she says a proposal is not credible, what a journalist means when she calls a policy fringe, and what a public servant means when she says an option is not on the table. Agency has not been removed. It has been redistributed, so that the effort required to advance a collective, Tiriti-centred, or redistributive position is many times greater than the effort required to advance a market position, and that differential is precisely what the infrastructure was built to produce.

The thread that connects Bonython's 1976 letter to Jordan Williams' battle tank in 2023 is a single insight, held consistently by everyone in this archive: that the public sphere is a manufacturable environment, and that whoever funds the manufacturing sets the terms on which everybody else must argue. Antony Fisher understood in 1981 that a country of three million people could be reached cheaply. He was right. What he could not have anticipated is that the archive of his own certainty would survive, and that it would be readable.

19. TE TIRITI AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL STAKES

Everything documented in this paper bears on a question larger than think tank funding. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the constitutional foundation of this country, and the project traced through these boxes is a direct threat to it. That claim is not rhetorical, and it does not rest on the culture-centered approach alone. It follows from what the Waitangi Tribunal has found, from what constitutional scholars have argued for four decades, and from the archive set out above.

Begin with the foundation. In 2014 the Waitangi Tribunal, reporting on stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry, concluded that the rangatira who signed te Tiriti in February 1840 did not cede sovereignty. Britain intended to acquire it and did not explain that intention; rangatira were told they would retain their tino rangatiratanga while the Crown gained the power to control British subjects. The Tribunal found the Crown did not acquire sovereignty through informed cession by those who signed at Waitangi, Waimate and Mangungu. [158] Stage 2 found that the Crown then overstepped the bounds of its kāwanatanga in Te Raki between 1840 and 1900, eroding the rangatiratanga the agreement had guaranteed, and rejected the proposals for Māori self-government that hapū put forward through the Kotahitanga movement. [159]

The constitutional consequence is precise. What was agreed in 1840 was not the transfer of authority from one party to another but its division into spheres, kāwanatanga alongside tino rangatiratanga, each with its own domain and a shared space between them. Matike Mai Aotearoa, the Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation chaired by Margaret Mutu and convened by Moana Jackson, worked from exactly that reading. Across 252 hui held between 2012 and 2015, with a further 70 wānanga convened by rangatahi, the working group developed models built on a rangatiratanga sphere in which Māori decide for Māori, a kāwanatanga sphere in which the Crown governs, and a relational sphere in which decisions are made jointly. Its report used the term constitutional transformation rather than constitutional change, because its brief was never to ask how te Tiriti might be fitted inside Westminster. [160] Mutu has put the object plainly: reinstating the balance between mana Māori motuhake and British kāwanatanga that was agreed in 1840. [161]

Read this way, the constitution of Aotearoa New Zealand is a relationship rather than a document, and the authority of Parliament is bounded by an agreement Parliament did not make and cannot unilaterally amend. That is the proposition the network documented in this paper cannot accommodate, and has never been able to accommodate.

Jane Kelsey identified the collision as it was happening. Her doctoral work examined the contradiction between the economic and Treaty policies of the fourth Labour government from 1984 to 1990, and the role of law in mediating that contradiction in the interests of the colonial capitalist state. [162] A Question of Honour? traced Labour's Treaty policy through the same years in which the restructuring documented in these boxes was being executed. [163] Rolling Back the State and The New Zealand Experiment set out what the restructuring did to public power and how it was marketed abroad as a model. [164][165] Kelsey's account has always had one gap, and it is the gap this archive fills. She could describe the contradiction and its effects. The Atlas papers show the other side of it: who was designing the structural adjustment, from where, on what curriculum, at whose expense, and that Te Tiriti was not a consideration they weighed and rejected. It was never in the frame at all.

The two programmes met in a single statute. The State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 created the corporatised entities that made the asset sales possible, and section 9 of that Act provided that nothing in it permits the Crown to act inconsistently with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. When the Crown moved to transfer land to those entities, the New Zealand Māori Council went to the Court of Appeal, and in 1987 the court gave section 9 real content. [166] The Crown Forest Assets Act 1989 and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust followed, and the Trust's income funded the research that made claims hearable. [167] Alan Gibbs was privatising the Forest Service inside that machinery in exactly those years. Twenty years after that Act, a Business Roundtable publication named both the case and the Act as the origin of a treaty industry. The network's own donor generated the litigation; the network's publications then attacked the remedy and the funding that made the remedy possible.

The threat is constitutional rather than merely political, and it works on three things at once: where the authority to say what te Tiriti means resides, what legislative machinery carries the change, and whether the parties to the relationship retain the means to contest it.

Authority comes first. The Treaty Principles Bill and its successors relocate the meaning of te Tiriti from the relationship, and from the courts and the Tribunal that have developed its principles over four decades, to a parliamentary majority and a referendum. The Waitangi Tribunal, sitting as the Tomokia Ngā Tatau o Matangireia constitutional kaupapa inquiry panel, found the Bill and the Crown's agreement to support it in breach of the principles of partnership and reciprocity, active protection, good government, equity and redress, and of the article 2 guarantee of rangatiratanga, and recommended that the Bill be abandoned. It described the country as facing a constitutional moment bordering on a crisis, and warned that the words and spirit of te Tiriti would be stated in law to be something they are not. [168] The Tribunal later found the Crown's policy development had purposefully excluded consultation with Māori. [169] In Part III, released in October 2025, it found that the Treaty clause review as planned would itself breach the principles. [170]

Defeating the Bill in April 2025 did not end the programme; it moved it into other machinery. ACT's "One Law for All" policy of August 2026 would write parliamentary sovereignty, the rule of law and formal equality into the Constitution Act 1986, insert property rights into the Bill of Rights Act, restrict the circumstances in which courts may draw on tikanga, and require Cabinet to specify in advance what Treaty interests a bill engages. Each element removes a place where the Treaty relationship currently has purchase: the courts, the interpretation of statutes, the drafting of Treaty clauses. The Bill sought one large amendment. The policy seeks many small ones, distributed across the statutes where the relationship actually lives.

Note what sits at the centre of that policy. "Parliament is sovereign" is offered as a restatement of settled constitutional principle. Against the Tribunal's finding that sovereignty was never ceded, it is nothing of the kind. It is the legislative enactment of the very claim the historical record does not support, inserted into a constitutional statute so that the question can no longer be asked. Jackson put the order of operations in a sentence Margaret Mutu took for the title of a paper: to honour the treaty, we must first settle colonisation. [171] The settlement process cannot do that work, because settlements compensate for breaches inside an arrangement whose legitimacy is the thing in question; Mutu's account of that process concludes that justice requires constitutional change rather than more redress. [172] Jackson had put that case to this network inside its own proceedings. At the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies conference of 30 June 1988, invited to comment on a Pākehā barrister's paper, Jackson told the architects of the reform programme that te tino rangatiratanga is the power to define rights, process and identity, and that most of the day's papers had ignored the Treaty altogether. The argument was put to them, in their own proceedings, at the outset, by the person this paper cites for it. They heard it, converted it into questions about quota and incentives, and went the other way. A clause declaring Parliament sovereign is that constitutional act performed a second time, in a Bill, in an election year.

A constitutional relationship survives only if the parties to it can be heard, and that capacity is the third thing under attack. Section 18 of this paper set out how this network built a voice infrastructure with foreign capital over half a century, and how unevenly that infrastructure distributes the ability to reach a select committee, a newsroom or a minister. The same logic runs through the attack on the funding of claims. When Goldsmith wrote that the Crown Forestry Rental Trust gave lawyers and historians the resources to approach land alienation in ever more creative ways, the complaint was that claimants had been resourced at all. The Free Speech Union, founded by the executive director of the Taxpayers' Union, now files complaints against academics in a country where the scholarship that documents Treaty breach is produced in universities. Ruth Richardson chairs the Taxpayers' Union. The FCRA-style logic of defunding, documented in a companion CARE paper on India, has its analogue here in the campaign to strip resources from those who bring claims. [173]

Put the three together and the shape is familiar from every earlier section. The network does not argue that te Tiriti is wrong. It never has. It builds the conditions in which te Tiriti cannot be argued at all: a constitutional statute that forecloses the question, a court system barred from tikanga, a research base

defunded, a public sphere in which the relationship reaches people already translated into the vocabulary of industry, privilege and rent.

The same network ran the same campaign in Australia the year before the Treaty Principles Bill reached this Parliament. Walker's study of the 2023 referendum on an Indigenous Voice to Parliament traces the No campaign to the Australian branches of the Atlas Network, the Centre for Independent Studies, the Institute of Public Affairs and LibertyWorks, with the campaign vehicle Advance Australia at the front of it and Maurice Newman, who sat on the first board of the Centre for Independent Studies, on Advance's board. Support for recognition stood above sixty per cent in April 2023 and had fallen to forty per cent or less by September, after Advance began its media offensive. [8] Walker reads that campaign as the work of fossil-fuel interests and their allies, on the same analysis that locates the Atlas institutes inside a long relationship between neoliberal organisation and extractive capital. [15]

What makes the study useful here is the comparison Walker himself drew. Writing in September 2023, he set Aotearoa New Zealand beside Australia as the country that had already achieved far more in constitutional justice for indigenous peoples than the minimalist Australian referendum for a merely advisory First Nations Voice to Parliament proposed: a plurinational, proportional democracy in which the Treaty is integral to the constitutional settlement, Māori seats in parliament are guaranteed, te reo Māori has been an official language of state since 1987, and the Whanganui River has been recognised as a legal person. His conclusion ran to eight words. The sky has not fallen on the Pākehā. [8] Australians voted on 14 October 2023, and New Zealanders voted in a general election on the same day. The government formed here that November took office on a coalition agreement committing it to a Treaty Principles Bill, and fourteen months after Walker wrote, that Bill was before this Parliament. The arrangement held up to Australian voters as proof that recognition is survivable was, on the day they voted, already being prepared for dismantling.

The reason Te Tiriti is the target is structural, and it can be stated in one sentence. The free market project requires a legislature that is unencumbered, able to sell what it holds, price what it provides and remove what obstructs, and te Tiriti is the only arrangement in this country's law that makes that legislature answerable to an authority it did not create and cannot revoke. Antony Fisher was not thinking about any of this when he wrote to a gold mine manager in Fiji in 1981. That is the point. The model he exported had no room for a second sphere of authority, and forty-five years later the party at the end of his relay is proposing to write that absence into the constitution.

20. RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this paper point to a set of disclosure failures in New Zealand law and practice. The organisations described here operate lawfully. That is the problem. The legal framework of this country permits a foreign-funded, foreign-trained ideological infrastructure to present itself to the public, to journalists and to select committees as independent domestic research, and it permits the money that funds the party at the end of that relay to be substantially shielded from view. The following recommendations address that.

One. Disclosure of foreign funding and training for organisations that make submissions to Parliament. Any organisation lodging a submission with a select committee, or appearing before one, should be required to disclose foreign funding received in the preceding five years, including grants, prizes, fellowships, travel grants and paid participation in training programmes, along with the identity of the funder. Disclosure should attach to the organisation and to named staff who appear. The current position, in which a select committee hears from an organisation without knowing that its strategic plan was drafted in a foreign training programme, degrades the quality of parliamentary deliberation.

Two. Beneficial ownership and funding transparency for charities and incorporated societies engaged in policy advocacy. New Zealand's disclosure regime for non-profit entities does not require the identification of major donors. An organisation that seeks to shape public policy should be required to disclose donations above a modest threshold, with donor identity, in its annual return. The privacy interest of a donor to a

foodbank and the privacy interest of a donor to a policy advocacy organisation are not the same interest, and the law should stop treating them as though they were. Charitable registration deserves the same scrutiny. The 1983 Atlas manual quoted in section 5 reproduces the Charity Commission's rules at length, among them that political propaganda in the guise of education is not charitable, and sets them out as a compliance guide for institutes whose declared purpose is to change what a population believes about the market. The organisations described in this paper are registered charities in New Zealand and carry the tax advantages that go with it. Charities Services should be asked to test registration against conduct rather than against stated objects, and the test should include whether an entity's output is commissioned, trained or funded from abroad.

Three. Abolition of the "donations protected from disclosure" mechanism in political finance. The Electoral Act permits donors to route contributions to political parties through the Electoral Commission in a manner that shields the donor's identity from the party and the public. Whatever the original rationale, the effect is a legal channel for anonymous money into New Zealand politics. It should be closed. Every donation above the disclosure threshold should be attributable to a named person or entity, with beneficial ownership disclosed where the donor is a company or trust.

Four. Lower and enforce the political donation disclosure threshold, and require aggregation. Disclosure thresholds should be low enough that the pattern of funding is visible, and donations from related parties, including companies under common control and members of a household, should be aggregated for threshold purposes. The archival record in this paper shows a small number of families funding multiple organisations across decades. Aggregation rules are what make such patterns legible.

Five. Disclosure obligations for third-party campaign vehicles and their service providers. Where a lobbying, campaign or communications company operates websites, social media accounts or advertising on behalf of an advocacy organisation, the relationship should be disclosed on the face of the campaign material. The case of the "We Belong Aotearoa" site shows what the current position permits: a campaign presenting itself as a community of welcome, operated by a company whose directors run a separate national advocacy organisation. Registrant and administrative contact details for campaign domains should be public and current.

Six. A standing register of interests for policy advisers and appointments. Where an individual sits on a government advisory body, a ministerial review, an appointment panel or a task force, their affiliations with policy advocacy organisations, transnational networks and their funders should be recorded in a public register. The case of the Ministry for Regulation chief economist appointment shows why. So does the 1988 health care task force with two consultants sourced from foreign ideological institutes.

Seven. A cooling-off period between senior public service positions and policy advocacy employment, in both directions. The traffic between the Treasury and the think tanks, running from Roger Kerr in 1986 to the present, is the single most important mechanism in this archive. A defined stand-down period, with disclosure obligations on both sides of the move, would introduce friction where there is currently none.

Eight. Media disclosure conventions. Newsrooms in this country routinely describe the New Zealand Initiative and the Taxpayers' Union as think tanks or as independent research organisations without noting their network affiliations, their funders, or their staff's training pathways. A standing convention that such affiliations be noted on first mention would cost a clause and would materially change how audiences weigh what they are hearing. This is a matter for editors rather than legislators, and it is overdue.

Nine. Resourcing for the other side of the relay. Disclosure alone leaves the asymmetry intact. Communities that carry the effects of these policies have no equivalent infrastructure through which to reach a select committee, a newsroom or a minister. Public investment in community-owned research and advocacy capacity, controlled by communities rather than administered on their behalf, is the substantive counterpart to the transparency measures above. At CARE we have spent two decades building such infrastructures with communities in this country and elsewhere, and the evidence is that they work when they are owned at the margins and fail when they are designed at the centre.

Ten. A Tiriti-anchored test for policy advice. The finding of this paper that ought to travel furthest is that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was absent from the design of this country's economic settlement and became a target of the institutions that settlement created. Advice to ministers, regulatory impact statements and select committee analysis should be required to state explicitly how a proposal engages the Crown's obligations under Te Tiriti, with that analysis conducted by people mandated by hapū and iwi rather than produced internally. A framework that could not see the Treaty for fifty years will not begin to see it voluntarily.

APPENDIX A: REGISTER OF MONT PELERIN SOCIETY MEMBERS AND THEIR AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND AFFILIATIONS

The following register consolidates the affiliations documented in this paper, each drawn from the project dataset described in the note on sources and method. [174][5] Dates in parentheses indicate the year of Mont Pelerin Society membership or award where recorded. Where a directory records a membership year but the underlying affiliation is likely to predate it, the register gives the recorded year and the text says so.

Oliver Marc Hartwich (MPS 2010). New Zealand Initiative, Executive Director 2012 to 2026. Centre for Independent Studies (Australia), research fellow. Policy Exchange (UK), chief economist.

Alan Timothy Gibbs (MPS 1989, possibly earlier). New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, Founding Chair, 1988. Atlas Business Advisory Council, member, 1990. New Zealand Business Roundtable, member. New Zealand Initiative, member. ACT New Zealand, founding member 1994 and major donor. Atlas donor 1987.

Jennifer "Jenny" Gibbs (MPS 1989). New Zealand Institute, member. New Zealand Business Roundtable, member. New Zealand Initiative, member. ACT New Zealand donor.

Alan Woodfield (MPS 1989). New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, Research Committee Chair.

Charles Bidwill (MPS 1989). New Zealand Business Roundtable, member. New Zealand Initiative, member.

Eric Crampton (MPS 2010). New Zealand Initiative, Head of Research and Chief Economist, 2015 to 2026. Mercatus Center PhD fellowship, 2003.

Roderick S. Deane (MPS 1989). New Zealand Business Roundtable, member. New Zealand Initiative, member.

Roger Douglas (MPS 1989 attendance; full lifetime member 1998). ACT MP, Association of Consumers and Taxpayers founder. Frontier Centre Board of Research Advisors, founding member.

Peter Elworthy (MPS 1989). Possible New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies affiliation, unconfirmed.

Stephen Franks (MPS 1989). New Zealand Free Speech Union, Governing Council. New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, board member. Franks Ogilvie. ACT candidate.

Michael Friedlander (MPS 1989). ACT New Zealand donor. New Zealand Business Roundtable, member.

S. Hugh High (MPS 1989). New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, Executive Director. Tobacco Institute.

Hanne Hulme (MPS 1989). New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, Assistant Director, 1987 to 1989.

Roger L. Kerr (MPS 1986). New Zealand Business Roundtable, founding Executive Director. New Zealand Treasury.

Greg Lindsay (MPS 1979). Centre for Independent Studies (Australia), Director General. New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, co-founder and board member.

Kenneth Minogue (MPS member; MPS President 2010; presenter, Sydney 1985; attendee, Christchurch 1989). Author, Waitangi, Morality and Reality, New Zealand Business Roundtable, 1998. Institute of Economic Affairs. Centre for Independent Studies, Council of Academic Advisors, c.1996 to 2008. London School of Economics.

Arthur Douglas Myers. New Zealand Business Roundtable, board chair and member. New Zealand Initiative, member. Lion Breweries, chairman.

Roger Partridge (MPS member). New Zealand Initiative, co-founder and board chair. New Zealand Business Roundtable, former chair. ACT donor.

Ruth Richardson (MPS full member 1996, presenter 1989, Vice President 2008). New Zealand Taxpayers' Union, board chair. Minister of Finance, 1990 to 1993.

Bryce Derek Wilkinson (MPS 2000). New Zealand Business Roundtable, member and speaker. New Zealand Initiative, Senior Fellow 2013 to 2026. New Zealand Treasury. First NZ Capital, board member.

David Seymour (MPS Hayek Essay Contest first prize 2008, honourable mentions 2010 and 2012). ACT leader, Deputy Prime Minister. Frontier Centre for Public Policy. Frontier Centre Saskatchewan. Manning Foundation for Democratic Education. Atlas Think Tank MBA, first cohort 2008.

Donna Awatere Huata (MPS 1989). ACT New Zealand MP.

Rodney Hide (MPS 1989). ACT MP and leader. Gibbs Securities. Atlas Stockholm workshop presenter, 1993. Sponsor, Treaty of Waitangi (Principles) Bill 2005.

Mitchell Palmer (MPS Hayek Essay Contest winner 2022). ACT Policy Analyst.

David Richwhite (MPS 1989). ACT donor. New Zealand Business Roundtable, member. New Zealand Initiative, member.

APPENDIX B: ACT NEW ZEALAND CONNECTIONS TO THE MONT PELERIN SOCIETY AND ATLAS

Alan Timothy Gibbs, Mont Pelerin 1989, ACT founding member 1994 and major donor.

Jennifer "Jenny" Gibbs, Mont Pelerin 1989, ACT major donor.

David Seymour, Mont Pelerin Hayek Essay Contest 2008, 2010, 2012, ACT leader and Deputy Prime Minister.

Donna Awatere Huata, Mont Pelerin 1989, ACT MP.

Stephen Franks, Mont Pelerin 1989, ACT candidate.

Rodney Hide, Mont Pelerin 1989, ACT MP and leader.

Mitchell Palmer, Mont Pelerin Hayek Essay Contest 2022, ACT Policy Analyst.

Roger Partridge, Mont Pelerin member, ACT donor.

David Richwhite, Mont Pelerin 1989, ACT donor.

Catherine Isaac, ACT candidate and Vice President, longtime New Zealand Institute and New Zealand Business Roundtable member.

Additional ACT donors with think tank affiliations: Chris Mace (Business Roundtable, New Zealand Institute), Ross George (New Zealand Initiative), Simon Hull (former New Zealand Initiative board, former Business Roundtable), Stephen Jennings (former New Zealand Initiative board, former Business Roundtable).

APPENDIX C: ARCHIVAL SOURCES

All archival citations are to the papers of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation unless marked [IEA], indicating the papers of the Institute of Economic Affairs. Box and folder references are given as they appear in the finding aid.

Box 01, folder 4, Business Advisory Council 1990. Box 02, folder 1-4, Contact lists 1977-1988. Box 04, folder 10, Reports. Box 07, folder 10-12, Presentation charts and transparencies. Box 14, folder 9, Free market meeting, Sydney, Australia 1985 August 24. Box 14, folder 11, Seminar Saint Vincent Italy 1986. Box 15, folder 2, Workshop, Herndon, Virginia 1988. Box 15, folder 17, International workshop, Stockholm Sweden 1993 August 22-24. Box 18, folder 1-2, Budget 1982-2000. Box 20, folder 1, Expenses 1987. Box 22, folder 10-11, Fisher Correspondence 1976. Box 58, folder 2, Randle, Tony 1985-1987. Box 58, folder 7, Reid, Jeffrey L. 1984-1985. Box 86, folder 2, L 1981-2002. Box 103, folder 04, Z 1984-1987. Box 139, folder 05, Center for Int Dev-UTDallas 2010. Box 142, folder 10, CIS 1985-1991. Box 198, folder 09, MPS 1989. Box 207, folder 1-4, MPS 2002. Box 209, folder 3, MPS 2008. Box 216, folder 10, New Zealand Business Roundtable [New Zealand] 1996-2004. Box 216, folder 11, NZ Centre for Ind Studies 1986-1992. [IEA] Box 291, folder 14, Atlas Memoranda 1980-1987.

Mont Pelerin Society membership directories for 2010 and 2013 are drawn from copies published by DeSmog. Organisational histories, staff listings, awards, programme descriptions and public statements are drawn from the organisations' own websites and from archived captures held by the Internet Archive, cited in the text at the point of use.

Claude, an AI assistant made by Anthropic, was used to support the editing of this paper. Its role was editorial: checking the internal consistency of the references, confirming that the cited links resolve to the sources named, and improving the clarity and accessibility of the prose. The research, the archival interpretation and the arguments are the authors' own, and the authors are responsible for the content.

APPENDIX D: REFERENCES

1. Montague, Brendan. "Quite a Chain of Consequences for a Chicken Farmer!" DeSmog, 19 September 2014, tracing the Fisher family fortune to a Durham deep mine sunk in 1846 by Thomas Charles Thompson, a director of the Wearmouth Coal Company, and recording the nationalisation of that pit in 1947. (link)
2. Atlas Network, "FAQ: How can we help you?", stating that Atlas Network is "the trade name we adopted officially in 2013 for the Atlas Economic Research Foundation" and that the Foundation name "remains our corporate legal name," and giving Arlington, Virginia as its headquarters. (link)
3. Atlas Network records, 1946-2014, collection 2015C50, 323 manuscript boxes, 159.3 linear feet. Hoover Institution Library and Archives, Stanford University. (link)
4. Walker, Jeremy. Submission 243 to the Senate Select Committee on Information Integrity on Climate Change and Energy, "How fossil capital built the global disinformation machinery of the Atlas Network to defeat climate policy and disable democracy," 21 January 2026, 75 pp., with primary Atlas archive documents published as additional information. Parliament of Australia. (link)
5. Wilson, Ralph and Mohan J. Dutta. "The Relay: Structure, Strength, and Movement in Fifty Years of the Atlas Architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand." CARE White Paper Series, 2026.
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9. Letter from John Bonython to John Murchison, August 19, 1976, [Atlas] box 22, folder 10-11 Fisher Correspondence 1976. Hoover Institution Archives. The document was published under parliamentary privilege by the Australian Senate as additional information to submission 243 of Dr Jeremy Walker to the Select Committee on Information Integrity on Climate Change and Energy. (link)

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12. "From humble beginnings." Centre for Independent Studies, organisational history. The Centre's own account names Greg Lindsay as its 1976 founder, records that John Bonython joined later and became the first chairman of the board of trustees, and names Neville Kennard, Maurice Newman and Ross Graham-Taylor as the first board. (link)

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148. Seymour, David. "Rethinking Environmental Education," Frontier Centre for Public Policy, March 10, 2008. (link)

149. Palmer, Mitchell. "The Integration Trilemma and Its Implications for International Liberalism," Mont Pelerin Society Hayek Essay Contest, May 31, 2022. (link)

150. The New Zealand Initiative, "Roger Partridge," which states that he led Bell Gully as executive chairman from 2007 to 2014 after sixteen years as a commercial litigation partner, and records his Mont Pelerin Society membership. (link)

151. Treaty of Waitangi (Principles) Bill 2005, member's bill in the name of Rodney Hide; first reading, New Zealand Parliament, February 22, 2006, Hansard. (link)

152. "ACT Party wants referendum on co-governance with Māori," 1News, March 24, 2022. (link)

153. Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill 2024 (94-1), introduced by David Seymour, New Zealand Parliament; first reading 14 November 2024. The departmental disclosure statement for the bill, finalised by the Ministry of Justice on 24 October 2024, is on the legislation disclosure register. (link)

154. Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill, second reading, New Zealand Parliament, 10 April 2025; defeated 112 votes to 11.

155. "One Law for All. One Future Together." ACT New Zealand policy document, August 23, 2026. (link) See also "ACT Party takes aim at 'activist judges', Treaty of Waitangi clauses," Radio New Zealand, August 23, 2026.

156. Hobson's Pledge, founded 2016. Casey Costello's chairship of the New Zealand Taxpayers' Union and involvement in Hobson's Pledge are discussed in "Jordan Williams on what the Taxpayers' Union really is and who funds it," RNZ, 30 with Guyon Espiner, May 2024. (link)

157. "'Astroturf' accusations over 'We Belong' website run by anti co-governance group," Radio New Zealand, August 2023. (link)

158. Waitangi Tribunal, He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty — Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040, 2014). (link)

159. Waitangi Tribunal, Tino Rangatiratanga me te Kāwanatanga: The Report on Stage 2 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040). (link)

160. The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa — The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation, 2016, chaired by Margaret Mutu and convened by Moana Jackson. (link)

161. Mutu, Margaret. "Behind the smoke and mirrors of the Treaty of Waitangi claims settlement process in New Zealand: no prospect for justice and reconciliation for Maori without constitutional transformation." Journal of Global Ethics 14, no. 2 (2018): 208-221. DOI 10.1080/17449626.2018.1507003.

162. Kelsey, Jane. "Rogernomics and the Treaty of Waitangi: the contradiction between the economic and Treaty policies of the fourth Labour government, 1984–1990, and the role of law in mediating that contradiction in the interests of the colonial capitalist state." PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1991.

163. Kelsey, Jane. A Question of Honour? Labour and the Treaty 1984–1989. Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990.

164. Kelsey, Jane. Rolling Back the State: Privatisation of Power in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993.

165. Kelsey, Jane. The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment? Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995.

166. State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986, s 9. (link) New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General [1987] 1 NZLR 641 (CA).

167. Crown Forest Assets Act 1989. (link) The Crown Forestry Rental Trust was constituted under that Act to hold rentals from Crown forest land pending the resolution of claims.

168. Waitangi Tribunal, Ngā Mātāpono / The Principles: The Interim Report of the Tomokia Ngā Tatau o Matangireia — the Constitutional Kaupapa Inquiry Panel on the Crown's Treaty Principles Bill and Treaty Clause Review Policies (Wai 3300, 15 August 2024). (link)

169. Waitangi Tribunal, Ngā Mātāpono / The Principles: Part II of the Interim Report (Wai 3300, 5 November 2024). (link)

170. Waitangi Tribunal, Ngā Mātāpono / The Principles: Part III of the Report (Wai 3300, 22 October 2025). (link)

171. Jackson, Moana, quoted in the title of Mutu, Margaret. "'To honour the treaty, we must first settle colonisation' (Moana Jackson 2015): the long road from colonial devastation to balance, peace and harmony." Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand 49, supplement 1 (2019): 4-18. DOI 10.1080/03036758.2019.1669670. Jackson develops the argument at length in "Where to next? Decolonisation and the stories in the land," in Rebecca Kiddle et al., Imagining Decolonisation (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020), and it organises the terms of reference of Matike Mai Aotearoa.

172. Mutu, "Behind the smoke and mirrors of the Treaty of Waitangi claims settlement process in New Zealand," 208-221.

173. Dutta, Mohan J. "Erasing the Cross: Hindutva, the Assault on Christians, and the Policy Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism in India." CARE White Paper Series, Issue 33, September 2026.

174. Wilson, Ralph. New Zealand Network dataset, 1976-2026: 982 named individuals, 2,129 affiliation records, 55 organisations, of which 2,124 records (99.8 per cent) carry a source reference and 66 cite an archival box and folder. Compiled for this project and published with it.

APPENDIX E: HYPERLINK VERIFICATION REGISTER

Every web address linked in Appendix D is set out here in full, with what was found when it was tested. A reader can see where each citation points without opening it, and a link that breaks later can be repaired

against a record rather than guessed at. Of this paper's 169 references, 103 carry a link, pointing at 98 distinct addresses. The links were tested on 20 October 2026, and the addresses added since were tested on 27 and 28 October 2026. Some of the archival documents cited here also carry a web address, because the Australian Senate has published them under parliamentary privilege, and those addresses are listed with the rest. The entries highlighted below are the ones added in that revision.

Three methods were used, because no single one reaches everything. Pages that load to an automated reader were opened and read, and the entry says what was there. Archived captures were tested against the Internet Archive's own availability record, which reports whether a capture of that page exists at that moment, what status it returned and whether it is being served; a capture confirmed at status 200 is a working link. Sites that refuse automated readers altogether, among them Radio New Zealand, Parliament's Hansard and LinkedIn, were checked through search results that return the address with its title, and those entries say so rather than claiming the page was loaded. Four addresses lay outside the reach of all three methods, two because the availability lookup rejects addresses beyond a certain length, one because it strips the query string that identifies a video, and one because the nearest capture it reports falls outside the period the citation relies on. The authors checked those four by hand.

Twenty-one addresses were repaired in the October round. Seventeen archived links carried a timestamp for which the Internet Archive holds no capture, so each now carries the confirmed capture of the same page and the entry records the timestamp that was there before. One reference pointed at a summary page rather than the report it named, one at a Radio New Zealand path the site no longer uses, one at a LinkedIn subpage that only signed-in readers can open, and the reference to the ACT State of the Nation speech now points at the article on the publisher's own site. The revisions since added thirty-two further addresses and repointed one more, each opened and checked, with the exceptions noted in their entries.

1. **Montague, Brendan. "Quite a Chain of Consequences for a Chicken Farmer!" DeSmog, 19 September 2014, tracing the Fisher family fortune to a Durham deep mine sunk in 1846 by Thomas Charles Thompson, a director of the Wearmouth Coal Company, and recording the nationalisation of that pit in 1947**
https://www.desmog.com/2014/09/19/quite-chain-consequences-chicken-farmer/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. Brendan Montague, DeSmog, 19 September 2014, tracing the Fisher family money to a Durham deep mine and its nationalisation in 1947.

2. **Atlas Network, "FAQ: How can we help you?", stating that Atlas Network is "the trade name we adopted officially in 2013 for the Atlas Economic Research Foundation" and that the Foundation name "remains our corporate legal name," and giving Arlington, Virginia as its headquarters**
https://www.atlasnetwork.org/faq
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The page carries the trade name, corporate legal name and Arlington wording quoted in the note on sources. It is undated.

3. **Atlas Network records, 1946-2014, collection 2015C50, 323 manuscript boxes, 159.3 linear feet. Hoover Institution Library and Archives, Stanford University**
https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c80k2f0h/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. Online Archive of California finding aid for the Atlas Network records, 1946 to 2014, collection 2015C50, 159.3 linear feet, Hoover Institution.

4. **Walker, Jeremy. Submission 243 to the Senate Select Committee on Information Integrity on Climate Change and Energy, "How fossil capital built the global disinformation machinery of the Atlas Network to defeat climate policy and disable democracy," 21 January 2026, 75 pp., with primary Atlas archive documents published as additional information. Parliament of Australia**
https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Information_Integrity_on_Climate_Change_and_Energy/ClimateIntegrity/Submissions
Added in this revision. The submissions page for the Senate inquiry, where submission 243 and the Atlas archive documents published with it can be found, alongside the submissions responding to it.

6. **Shanahan, Martin. "Bonython, John Langdon (1905-1992)." Australian Dictionary of Biography, volume 19. Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University**
https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bonython-john-langdon-18069
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. Martin Shanahan's entry on John Langdon Bonython, published online in 2016 and in volume 19 in hardcopy.

7. **Minutes of evidence, Friday 9 November 1973, Canberra, Select Committee on Foreign Ownership and Control of Australian Enterprises, as the uncorrected proof heads itself; the Senate's own record of the committee gives its name as the Select Committee on Foreign Ownership and Control of Australian Resources, which sat from 10 December 1971 to 4 March 1975. John Langdon Bonython, chairman of Santos Limited, appeared with John Oscar Zehnder of Santos and Norman Clark Miller, Charles T. Easley and Robert Rush Blair of Delhi International Oil Corporation, Dallas. Witness corrections to the Hansard were returned on 5 December 1973. Item FOC 17, transcripts**

of evidence and witness corrections. The volume was supplied to the authors by Dr Jeremy Walker, who obtained its release from the Senate
https://navigatesenatecommittees.senate.gov.au/committees/c146--foreign-ownership-and-control-of-australian-resources
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. The Senate's own record of the committee, giving its membership, its term from 10 December 1971 to 4 March 1975 and its three reports. The page does not itself hold transcripts of evidence; the volume cited here was supplied to the authors.

9. **Letter from John Bonython to John Murchison, August 19, 1976, [Atlas] box 22, folder 10-11 Fisher Correspondence 1976. Hoover Institution Archives. The document was published under parliamentary privilege by the Australian Senate as additional information to submission 243 of Dr Jeremy Walker to the Select Committee on Information Integrity on Climate Change and Energy**
https://www.aph.gov.au/DocumentStore.ashx?id=c14d9800-593e-433b-bc26-2b1ea52f7157&subId=784523
Added in this revision. The Bonython to Murchison letter of 19 August 1976, published by the Australian Senate under parliamentary privilege as additional information to submission 243. The authors hold the document; the Senate address is given so a reader can open the original rather than take the transcription on trust.

12. **"From humble beginnings." Centre for Independent Studies, organisational history. The Centre's own account names Greg Lindsay as its 1976 founder, records that John Bonython joined later and became the first chairman of the board of trustees, and names Neville Kennard, Maurice Newman and Ross Graham-Taylor as the first board**
https://www.cis.org.au/?p=100398
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The Centre's own history, naming Greg Lindsay as its 1976 founder and John Bonython as the first chairman of its board of trustees. It is undated.

16. **Letter from Greg Lindsay to Antony Fisher, 28 October 1981, with enclosure "Centre for Independent Studies, Corporate Supporters ($100 and over), at 19/10/81," listing 105 companies. Atlas Network records, box 142, folder 9, Hoover Institution Library and Archives, Stanford University. Published under parliamentary privilege by the Australian Senate as additional information to submission 243 of Dr Jeremy Walker**
https://www.aph.gov.au/DocumentStore.ashx?id=de90a067-b724-403c-9691-258d91f2e202&subId=784523
Added in this revision. The 1981 Centre for Independent Studies corporate supporters list and the covering letter from Greg Lindsay, published by the Australian Senate on the same basis.

17. **"Board Members," Atlas Network, accessed 29 October 2026, listing Montgomery Brown as Chair and Debbi Gibbs as Vice Chair of the Board of Directors**
https://www.atlasnetwork.org/our-people/group/board-members
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 29 October 2026. The live page lists Montgomery Brown as Chair of Atlas Network's Board of Directors and Debbi Gibbs as Vice Chair.

18. **Atlas Network, "Longtime Atlas Network leaders take on new roles in the freedom movement," 11 November 2025**
https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/longtime-atlas-network-leaders-take-on-new-roles-in-the-freedom-movement
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 29 October 2026. The release is dated 11 November 2025 and names Montgomery Brown as "Chair of Atlas Network's Board of Directors," which places the change of chair on or before that date.

26. **"The Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel." The Nobel Prize. The prize was established in 1968 by Sveriges Riksbank and funded by a donation to the Nobel Foundation marking the bank's three hundredth anniversary; the categories named in Alfred Nobel's will are physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature and peace**
https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/economic-sciences/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The page confirms the 1968 Riksbank establishment. Its own heading is The Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel, and the reference now uses that title.

28. **Mirowski, Philip. "The Neoliberal Ersatz Nobel Prize." In Nine Lives of Neoliberalism, edited by Dieter Plehwe, Quinn Slobodian and Philip Mirowski. London: Verso, 2020. The volume is open access**
https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/215796
Added in this revision. The landing page for the open access edition of the volume was reached on 28 October 2026, but the full text would not open to an automated reader, so the chapter's page range is not given in the reference and no page-level claim is made from it.

31. **Carter, Lawrence, and Alice Ross. "Revealed: BP and gambling interests fund secretive free market think tank." Unearthed (Greenpeace), 30 July 2018, reporting the Institute of Economic Affairs' statement that it has received donations from BP every year since 1967. Republished with credit by The Ecologist, 31 July 2018**
https://theecologist.org/2018/jul/31/revealed-bp-and-gambling-interests-fund-secretive-free-market-think-tank
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. This is The Ecologist's republication of 31 July 2018, credited to Carter and Ross at Unearthed, whose original is dated the day before.

32. **Bright, Sam. "The Institute of Economic Affairs Banked 640,000 Pounds from Oil Giants and Murdoch." DeSmog, 10 December 2025, reporting archive records of payments spanning 1957 to 2005 and 479,992 pounds from oil and gas firms, including more than 150,000 pounds from BP, 124,000 from Esso and 106,000 from Shell**
https://www.desmog.com/2025/12/10/the-institute-of-economic-affairs-donations-funding-oil-giants-shell-bp-exxon-rupert-murdoch
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. Sam Bright, DeSmog, 10 December 2025, carrying both the 640,000 and the 479,992 pound figures.

36. **Shenoy, Sudha R., ed. Wage-Price Control: Myth and Reality. CIS Readings 1. Centre for Independent Studies, 1978. ISBN 0-9596485-0-X. The acknowledgements thank the Fraser Institute of Vancouver, the American Enterprise Institute of Washington and Maurice Temple Smith of London for permission to reprint. The foreword by Professor C. G. F. Simkin describes it as the first book published by the Centre**
https://www.cis.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/CR1-Wage-Price-Control-Myth-and-Reality-compressed.pdf
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. The full text of the Centre's first book, carrying the editor attribution, the foreword and the acknowledgement of the institutes whose essays were reprinted.

51. **Te Tari Whakatau, "Central North Island Forests," on the Crown Forest Assets Act 1989, the Crown forestry licences it created, the retention of the underlying land for Treaty settlements, and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust. The Act gave effect to the 1989 Crown Forests Agreement between the Crown, the New Zealand Maori Council and the Federation of Maori Authorities**
https://whakatau.govt.nz/te-tira-kurapounamu-treaty-settlements/find-a-treaty-settlement/central-north-island-forests
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The page covers the Crown forestry licences and the Crown Forestry Rental Trust. It is published by Te Tari Whakatau and is undated.

60. **Waitangi Tribunal, Hauora: Report on Stage One of the Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2575, 2019; revised edition 2023). The link goes to the Tribunal's inquiry page for Wai 2575, from which the report is distributed**
https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/health-services-and-outcomes
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The address reaches the Tribunal's inquiry page for Wai 2575 rather than the Hauora report itself, and the reference now says so. A direct link to the report would be steadier.

61. **Temm, P. B. "The Treaty of Waitangi and Maori Rights in New Zealand," with a commentary by Moana Jackson, in Role of the State: The Proceedings of a Conference Held in Wellington on 30 June 1988. Auckland: New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, 1989, pp. 94-121. National Library of New Zealand record 31216833. The text was also republished by the Trade Union Education Authority, 1988; that edition is available via the Internet Archive**
https://archive.org/details/the-treaty-of-waitangi-and-maori-rights-in-new-zealand
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Internet Archive scan of the NZCIS 1989 volume. The item's metadata credits P. B. Temm and Jim McLay with a commentary by Moana Jackson, while this entry names Temm alone, and the page range could not be checked from the item page.

62. **Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Matters Relating to Taxation, Commissioner Sir Ronald Keith Davison, 14 August 1997, [1997] NZBCPubInq 1**
https://www.nzlii.org/nz/other/NZBCPubInq/1997/1.html
Added in this revision. Checked 27 October 2026. The report was confirmed through an alternate NZLII host as volume one of the Winebox Inquiry report, Commissioner Davison, 14 August 1997. The cited address itself was not loaded.

64. **Walker, Geoffrey de Q. Initiative and Referendum: The People's Law. Sydney: Centre for Independent Studies, 1987. The Centre's own catalogue page dates the title to 1986; the Queensland Parliamentary Library bibliography gives 1987**
https://www.cis.org.au/publication/initiative-and-referendum-the-peoples-law/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The Centre's publication page for Walker's Initiative and Referendum: The People's Law, which dates the title to 1 July 1986 against the 1987 given in library bibliographies.

66. **"Participants at Pacific regional Meeting of Mont Pelerin Society," Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa, Watchdog, No 63, April 1990**
https://archive.org/details/nz-watchdog-april-1990-ocr
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Internet Archive copy of Watchdog No 63, April 1990, uploaded September 2026. The uploader's own description calls the gathering the Mont Pelerin Society Conference 1989 Christchurch rather than a Pacific regional meeting, which is worth reconciling with the wording here.

68. **"Timeless Wisdom – The Politics of Successful Structural Reform," Frontier Centre for Public Policy, January 6, 2023**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260925072622/https://frontiercentre.org/2023/01/06/timeless-wisdom-the-politics-of-successful-structural-reform/
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20260605105307, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260925072622, status 200, checked 20 October 2026. The Frontier Centre refuses automated fetchers, so only the capture confirms this one.

70. **Awatere, Donna. Maori Sovereignty. Auckland: Broadsheet, 1984. ISBN 0-9597736-0-6. The first three parts appeared in Broadsheet: "The death machine" (June 1982), "Alliances" (October 1982) and "Beyond the noble savage" (January/February 1983)**
https://librarysearch.aut.ac.nz/vufind/Record/1120516
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. Catalogue record for Awatere, Maori Sovereignty, Broadsheet, Auckland, 1984, ISBN 0959773606, with the note on prior publication in the magazine.

71. **Maniapoto, Moana. Interview with Donna Awatere Huata, Te Ao with Moana, Māori Television, 26 October 2019; recording archived 14 August 2021. Her account of joining ACT is paraphrased here from that interview rather than quoted, the recording being the only form in which it is available**
https://web.archive.org/web/20210814131214/https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tiNbwO9XGrw
Confirmed by the authors. The availability lookup strips the query string that identifies a video, so it cannot test this address; the capture was checked by hand.

73. **Kukathas, Chandran. "The Fraternal Conceit: Individualist versus Collectivist Ideas of Community." Centre for Independent Studies, Occasional Papers 33, 1991**
https://web.archive.org/web/20240630204349/https://www.cis.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/op33.pdf
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20221117112952, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20240630204349, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

74. **Anderson, Terry and Shawn Regan. "The Energy Wealth of Indian Nations." George W. Bush Institute, c.2016**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250206203434/https://www.perc.org/wp-content/uploads/old/GWBI-EnergyWealthIndianNations.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture. The document at this address carries the title page Shawn Regan and Terry L. Anderson under PERC, with internal dates to mid-2013, which does not match the author order and Bush Institute attribution in this entry.

75. **Roback, Jennifer. "Separation of Race and State." Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy, Volume 14, Number 1, Winter 1991**

https://web.archive.org/web/20260826071734/https://journals.law.harvard.edu/jlpp/wp-content/uploads/sites/90/2026/03/14_14HarvJLPubPoly581991.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

77. **THE NEW ZEALAND CENTRE FOR INDEPENDENT STUDIES LIMITED, New Zealand Company Directory, Accessed September 5, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260905124814/https://www.nzwao.com/companies/the-new-zealand-centre-for-independent-studies-limited/
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

78. **"Mont Pelerin Society Directory 2010," DeSmog**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250818025651/https://www.desmog.com/wp-content/uploads/files/Mont%20Pelerin%20Society%20Directory%202010.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

79. **"About Us." New Zealand Initiative, Accessed September 5, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20261005233548/https://www.nzinitiative.org.nz/about-us/board
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20260828172028, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20261005233548, status 200, checked 20 October 2026. The live board page was also opened and still lists the directors cited.

84. **Minogue, Kenneth. Waitangi, Morality and Reality. Wellington: New Zealand Business Roundtable, 1998. ISBN 1-877148-36-9. Currently hosted by the New Zealand Initiative**
https://www.nzinitiative.org.nz/reports-and-media/reports/waitangi-morality-and-reality/document/206
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. The New Zealand Initiative page carries the full Minogue text, author, publisher and 1998 date. The ISBN does not appear on the page and remains unconfirmed.

85. **"Mont Pelerin Society Directory 2010," DeSmog. Minogue's presidency of the Mont Pelerin Society, his presentation at the 1985 Sydney regional meeting and his attendance at the 1989 Christchurch meeting are recorded in the Society's meeting records; his Institute of Economic Affairs and Centre for Independent Studies Council of Academic Advisors roles appear in those organisations' published listings**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250818025651/https://www.desmog.com/wp-content/uploads/files/Mont%20Pelerin%20Society%20Directory%202010.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

86. **Brash, Don. "Nationhood." Address to the Orewa Rotary Club, January 27, 2004**
https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0401/S00220/nationhood-don-brash-speech-orewa-rotary-club.htm
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Scoop's full text of the Orewa speech, 27 January 2004.

87. **Sunday Star-Times, August 2005, publishing correspondence leaked from within the National Party; the stuff.co.nz pages carrying those reports are no longer live. For contemporaneous quotation of the material, including Kerr's talking-points memorandum, see Brown, Russell. "Hard News: What would we like you to say about us?" Public Address, 29 August 2005 , and "A Week Of It: Brash's Leaking Office Special Ed.," Scoop, 2 September 2005. For the confirmation that Brash used a phrase Kerr had suggested to him in the Orewa speech, see O'Sullivan, Fran. "Tarnishing the knight's armour," New Zealand Herald, 2005. The fullest published treatment of the same leaked archive is Hager, Nicky. The Hollow Men: A Study in the Politics of Deception (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2006), ISBN 1-877333-62-X. The wording of the Kerr-Holyoake exchange is given as reported in that coverage; we have not examined the underlying document**
https://publicaddress.net/hardnews/what-would-we-like-you-to-say-about-us/
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Russell Brown, Hard News, Public Address, quoting the Kerr talking-points memorandum. The byline shows the day and month without a year, so the 2005 date rests on the content rather than the page.

88. **Klaus, Vaclav. "Freedom, not climate, is at risk." New Zealand Business Roundtable, Perspectives No. 108, June 2007**
https://web.archive.org/web/20081016065643/http://www.nzbr.org.nz/documents/perspectives/issue108.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

89. **"Vaclav Klaus," DeSmog. Accessed September 5, 2026**
https://www.desmog.com/vaclav-klaus/
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. DeSmog's Vaclav Klaus profile, last modified January 2024.

91. **Kerr, Roger. "It's Time to Cool It." New Zealand Business Roundtable, Perspectives No. 108, April 20, 2007**
https://web.archive.org/web/20100602114040/http://www.nzbr.org.nz/documents/articles/070402coolit.htm
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

92. **"Overview Submission on the Government's Discussion Documents on Climate Change." New Zealand Business Roundtable, March 2007**
https://web.archive.org/web/20100524053736/http://www.nzbr.org.nz/documents/submissions/070330_sub_climate_change.pdf
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20081015073100, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20100524053736, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

93. **"ACT Party revives policy to disestablish Climate Change Commission," Radio New Zealand, August 26, 2026**
https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/politics/1131127/act-party-revives-policy-to-disestablish-climate-change-commission
Checked 20 October 2026. Radio New Zealand refuses automated fetchers, so the page could not be loaded; search results return this exact address with the cited headline. ACT's own release on the same policy is dated 26 August 2026, which matches the date given here.

94. **Goldsmith, Paul. "Te Oranga o te Iwi Maori Working Paper 6: The Treaty of Waitangi: The uses and abuses of a 'living document'." New Zealand Business Roundtable, January 2009. Currently hosted by the New Zealand Initiative**
https://www.nzinitiative.org.nz/reports-and-media/reports/the-treaty-of-waitangi-the-uses-and-abuses-of-a-living-document/
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. The New Zealand Initiative's page for Goldsmith, Working Paper 6, dated 1 January 2009. The document file itself carries July 2009, so one of the two dates should be preferred and stated consistently.

95. **"Institute Members," New Zealand Institute, April 3, 2005**
https://web.archive.org/web/20050403200334/http://www.nzinstitute.org/index.php/about/institute_members/
Confirmed by the authors. The Internet Archive's nearest capture to the cited date is later than the date given here, so the capture was checked against the authors' own record of the page rather than through the availability lookup.

96. **"Global Directory - Australia & New Zealand," Atlas Network, March 3, 2021**
https://web.archive.org/web/20210825001729/http://www.atlasnetwork.org/partners/global-directory/australia-and-new-zealand
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20210303120357, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20210825001729, status 200, checked 20 October 2026. The live Atlas path now redirects away from the directory, so the capture is the only route to this evidence.

97. **"Mont Pelerin Society Directory - 2013," DeSmog**
https://www.desmog.com/wp-content/uploads/files/MPS-2013-membership-listing_Redacted.pdf#page=33
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Mont Pelerin Society Directory 2013 hosted by DeSmog, members listed by country. The page anchor is a viewer instruction only, so the content of page 33 could not be confirmed from the fetch.

98. **Hartwich, Oliver Marc, biography, Centre for Independent Studies, recording his position as chief economist at Policy Exchange in London before joining the Centre**
https://www.cis.org.au/person/oliver-marc-hartwich/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. The Centre's own biography, which records the Policy Exchange post.

99. **"PhD Fellowship Alumni," Mercatus Center, Accessed September 5, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260412064815/https://www.mercatus.org/students/phd-fellowship-alumni
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

100. **Mercatus Center, George Mason University, leadership page, listing Charles G. Koch, Koch Industries, Inc., as board member emeritus**
https://www.mercatus.org/leadership
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The page lists Charles G. Koch, Koch Industries, Inc., as board member emeritus. It carries no Koch Industries affiliation for the founding faculty director, and the paper no longer states one.

101. **Gluckman, Nell. "George Mason's President Says Some Donor Agreements Fell Short of Academic Standards." Chronicle of Higher Education, 30 April 2018, reporting the Associated Press analysis of Charles Koch Foundation giving to George Mason University of close to 48 million US dollars between 2011 and 2014**
https://www.chronicle.com/article/george-masons-president-says-some-donor-agreements-fell-short-of-academic-standards/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. Nell Gluckman, Chronicle of Higher Education, 30 April 2018, carrying the Associated Press figure of close to 48 million US dollars.

102. **"42 free market leaders complete think tank leadership training," Atlas Network, November 18, 2014**
https://web.archive.org/web/20241006075404/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/42-free-market-leaders-complete-think-tank-leadership-training
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20220705005639, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20241006075404, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

103. **"Mont Pelerin Society Directory 2010," DeSmog**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250818025651/https://www.desmog.com/wp-content/uploads/files/Mont%20Pelerin%20Society%20Directory%202010.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

104. **Ward, Ryan. "In the room where it happened," Free Market Moralism, Substack, September 5, 2025**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260120152309/https://weareunderused.substack.com/p/in-the-room-where-it-happened
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

105. **Kelsey, Jane. "Regulatory Responsibility: Embedded Neoliberalism and its Contradictions." Policy Quarterly 6, no. 2 (May 2010): 36-41, at 37. The report discussed is Wilkinson, Bryce, Constraining Government Regulation (New Zealand Business Roundtable, 1 November 2001)**
https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/pq/article/download/4332/3834/5716
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The PDF of Kelsey's article in Policy Quarterly 6, no. 2, May 2010, pages 36 to 41.

106. **Ministry for Regulation, "The Regulatory Standards Act," recording enactment on 18 November 2025, commencement on 1 January 2026 and the Part 2 requirements taking effect on 1 July 2026**
https://www.regulation.govt.nz/our-work/the-regulatory-standards-act/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The Ministry's page confirms enactment on 18 November 2025, commencement on 1 January 2026 and the Part 2 requirements from 1 July 2026. Last updated 15 May 2026.

107. **"Global Directory - Australia & New Zealand," Atlas Network, March 3, 2021**
https://web.archive.org/web/20210825001729/http://www.atlasnetwork.org/partners/global-directory/australia-and-new-zealand
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20210303120357, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20210825001729, status 200, checked 20 October 2026. The live Atlas path now redirects away from the directory, so the capture is the only route to this evidence.

108. **"Think Tank MBA training brings together worldwide free-market leaders." Atlas Network, November 11, 2015**

https://web.archive.org/web/20260205083345/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/think-tank-mba-training-brings-together-worldwide-free-market-leaders
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20250809130152, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260205083345, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

109. **"Think Tank MBA," Atlas Network, September 11, 2015**
https://web.archive.org/web/20150911222816/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/page/think-tank-mba
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

110. **"About Us," World Taxpayers Associations, accessed 29 October 2026**
https://taxpayers.online/about-us/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 29 October 2026. The page lists Jordan Williams (New Zealand) as Chairman and President, with Pete Sepp and Michael Jaeger as Vice-Chairs, Mark Dodds as Treasurer, Scott Hennig as Secretary and John O'Connell as Past President.

111. **"Smith Fellow Spotlight: Jordan Williams," Atlas Network, March 1, 2018**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260205083352/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/smith-fellow-spotlight-jordan-williams
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20210920174522, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260205083352, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

112. **"Think Tank MBA 2018 brings together 21 think tank leaders from 18 countries," Atlas Network, November 5, 2018**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250809130152/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/think-tank-mba-2018-brings-together-21-think-tank-leaders-from-18-countries
Confirmed by the authors. The availability lookup rejects addresses longer than about 140 characters, so the capture was checked by hand. The live Atlas article was also opened and carries the cited title and its 5 November 2018 date.

113. **"NZTU campaign successfully fights punitive capital gains tax," Atlas Network, April 23, 2019**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260205083358/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/nztu-campaign-successfully-fights-punitive-capital-gains-tax
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20210921073919, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260205083358, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

114. **"Top Moments From The 2022 Asia Liberty Forum," Atlas Network, October 11, 2022**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260111003936/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/top-moments-from-the-2022-asia-liberty-forum
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

115. **"Oliver Bryan wins Think Tank Shark Tank in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia," Atlas Network, September 8, 2023**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260302152501/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/oliver-bryan-wins-ttst
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20240718032203, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260302152501, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

116. **"2023 Smart Bets," Atlas Network, September 26, 2022**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260611094650/https://connect.atlasnetwork.org/smart-bets/2023
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

117. **"Announcing Atlas Network's 2023 Smart Bets," Atlas Network, September 26, 2022**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260112221303/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/announcing-atlas-networks-2023-smart-bets
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20220926235754, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260112221303, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

118. **"2023 Smart Bets Weekly Highlight: Atlas Network Partners in Lithuania and New Zealand," Atlas Network, October 24, 2022**
https://www.atlasnetwork.org/articles/2023-smart-bets-weekly-highlight-atlas-network-partners-in-lithuania-and-new-zealand
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The article carries the passage quoted in section 14. Its title says 2023 and the page is dated 24 October 2022, which is the date the paper uses.

119. **"Waging War on Waste," Atlas Network, c.2023**
https://web.archive.org/web/20251221231925/https://www.atlasnetwork.org/stories/waging-war-on-waste
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20230803213646, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20251221231925, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

120. **"Mont Pelerin Society Directory 2010," DeSmog**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250818025651/https://www.desmog.com/wp-content/uploads/files/Mont%20Pelerin%20Society%20Directory%202010.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

121. **"Our Team," New Zealand Taxpayers' Union, Accessed August 30, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260830202631/https://www.taxpayers.org.nz/our_team
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the floating /web/2/ form, which resolves to whichever capture is nearest at the moment of clicking, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260830202631, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

122. **"Our Mission," New Zealand Taxpayers' Union, Accessed August 30, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260831193608/https://www.taxpayers.org.nz/our_mission
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20260830202631, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260831193608, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

123. **Williams, David. "Chiding in plain sight," Newsroom NZ, October 31, 2023**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260925015435/https://newsroom.co.nz/2023/10/31/chiding-in-plain-sight/

Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20240118220627, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260925015435, status 200, checked 20 October 2026. The live page is headed Chiding in plain sight, Part II, so the title in this entry may need that addition or a check against the Part I address.

124. **"Meet our team," Free Speech Union, Accessed June 6, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20261008072954/https://www.fsu.nz/about
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20260606110001, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20261008072954, status 200, checked 20 October 2026. The live page heads its staff section The team behind the work rather than the wording cited, which reflects the later capture.

125. **"Stephanie Martin," New Zealand Initiative, Accessed June 13, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260613121300/https://www.nzinitiative.org.nz/about-us/our-people/stephanie-martin/
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture. No independent trace of this staff page was found beyond the capture itself.

126. **Dutta, Mohan. "The University is the Target: Eugenic Pseudoscience, Technofascism, and the Far Right War on Democracy in the Yarvin-Cofnas Linkage." CARE White Paper Series, Issue 32A, August 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260905134708/https://carecca.nz/wp-content/uploads/sites/68/2026/08/Issue-32A-August-2026.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

128. **"Mont Pelerin Society Directory 2010," DeSmog**
https://web.archive.org/web/20250818025651/https://www.desmog.com/wp-content/uploads/files/Mont%20Pelerin%20Society%20Directory%202010.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

132. **"The Honourable Sir Richard Prebble," Frontier Centre for Public Policy, February 13, 2004**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260901014233/https://frontiercentre.org/2004/02/13/the-honourable-sir-richard-prebble/
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

133. **Palmer, Scott. "ACT leader David Seymour's full State of the Nation speech," Stuff, February 5, 2021**
https://www.stuff.co.nz/politics/350506440/act-leader-david-seymour-s-full-state-of-the-nation-speech
Repointed in this version to the live article at Stuff, confirmed by the authors. The archived capture of the same page was confirmed at status 200 on 20 October 2026.

134. **DeSmog, "Frontier Centre for Public Policy (FCPP)," recording the Centre's founding in 1999, its Winnipeg headquarters and Regina and Calgary offices, the 2008 climate change quiz prepared by Tim Ball and Tom Harris, co-sponsorship of Heartland Institute conferences in 2010 and 2012, and the 2019 retraction and apology to Michael Mann**
https://www.desmog.com/frontier-centre-public-policy
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. DeSmog's profile of the Frontier Centre, last modified 25 March 2024.

135. **"Think Tank MBA Program." Atlas Network, Year in Review, Fall 2008**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260905151506/https://bright-colobus.files.svdcdn.com/production/assets/documents/financials/22209874-Atlas-Year-in-Review-2008_1.pdf#page=6
Confirmed by the authors. The availability lookup rejects addresses longer than about 140 characters, so the capture was checked by hand. The live document was also opened and is the Atlas Year in Review for 2008.

137. **"Friedrich A. Hayek Fellowships," Mont Pelerin Society, 2008**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260209224931/https://montpelerin.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/mps_2008_hayek_essay_contest_call_for_submissions.pdf
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

138. **Seymour, David. "2008 Hayek Essay Contest Entry," Mont Pelerin Society, pg 10**
https://app.box.com/s/u8wo9ecf3d2j1lzjkxxyqhdfnevrr5yw
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. The shared folder is live and holds a file named 2008_1st_Seymour.pdf, and the Mont Pelerin Society's own contest page links this address for Seymour. Box renders through scripting, so the essay's text was not visible to the fetcher. A Box link can be withdrawn by its owner, so a copy should be deposited with the dataset.

139. **"Hayek Essay Contest," Mont Pelerin Society, Accessed August 8, 2026**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260901215836/https://montpelerin.org/hayek-essay-contest/
Repointed in this version. The Internet Archive holds no capture at the timestamp previously cited, 20260808214735, and the link now carries the confirmed capture of the same page at 20260901215836, status 200, checked 20 October 2026.

140. **"David Seymour," LinkedIn, Accessed September 5, 2026**
https://www.linkedin.com/in/davidseymouract/
Changed in this version. The address previously cited was the experience subpage, which LinkedIn serves only to signed-in readers. The entry now points at the public profile. LinkedIn refuses automated fetchers, so the handle was confirmed from search results rather than by loading the page, and no reader without an account should be expected to reach the detail behind it.

141. **Forbes, Mihingarangi. "Trick or Treaty? Indigenous rights, referendums and the Treaty of Waitangi." Mata Reports, 1News, 22 December 2023. Also carried as Mata Reports episode 5 by Radio New Zealand, produced for RNZ and TVNZ by Aotearoa Media Collective**
https://www.1news.co.nz/2023/12/22/trick-or-treaty-indigenous-rights-referendums-and-the-treaty-of-waitangi/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. The same item is also served under a 2024 path on the same site; the December 2023 publication date is the one used here.

142. **Mata with Mihingarangi Forbes, season 2, episode 1, "David Seymour at Waitangi," Radio New Zealand and Aotearoa Media Collective, 6 February 2024, exchange at 13:14**

https://www.rnz.co.nz/programmes/mata-with-mihingarangi-forbes/story/2018924930/mata-season-2-episode-1-david-seymour-at-waitangi
Updated in this revision with the timecode supplied by Dr Walker. Opened and checked 29 October 2026. The RNZ programme page carries the episode and the interview at Waitangi.

143. **Brad Lips against TVNZ, New Zealand Media Council case 3527, considered 21 June 2024. The accuracy complaint was not upheld; the complaint was upheld on fairness alone, by a narrow margin, on the ground that Atlas Network was not approached for comment before broadcast**
https://www.mediacouncil.org.nz/rulings/brad-lips-against-tvnz/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. The Media Council's ruling on the complaint by Atlas Network's chief executive, not upheld on accuracy and upheld on fairness.

144. **Robin Grieve against TVNZ, New Zealand Media Council case 3508, considered April 2024. Not upheld**
https://www.mediacouncil.org.nz/rulings/robin-grieve-against-tvnz/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 28 October 2026. The second complaint about the same programme, not upheld.

145. **"Shrugging-Off The Atlas Network," Frontier Centre for Public Policy, March 3, 2024**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260316163951/https://frontiercentre.org/2024/03/03/shrugging-off-the-atlas-network/
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

146. **"Frontier Centre for Public Policy," DeSmog, Accessed September 5, 2026**
https://www.desmog.com/frontier-centre-public-policy/
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. DeSmog's profile of the Frontier Centre for Public Policy, last modified March 2024.

147. **Seymour, David. "Why the Eco-Doomsters are Wrong," Frontier Centre for Public Policy, March 6, 2008**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260901021419/https://frontiercentre.org/2008/03/06/why-the-eco-doomsters-are-wrong/
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

148. **Seymour, David. "Rethinking Environmental Education," Frontier Centre for Public Policy, March 10, 2008**
https://web.archive.org/web/20260905153127/https://frontiercentre.org/2008/03/10/rethinking-environmental-education/
Checked 20 October 2026. The Internet Archive's availability record confirms a capture of this page at this exact timestamp, status 200, so the link resolves to the cited capture.

149. **Palmer, Mitchell. "The Integration Trilemma and Its Implications for International Liberalism," Mont Pelerin Society Hayek Essay Contest, May 31, 2022**
https://app.box.com/s/onqhz10qpec7a8cgtr67krbyu6308z1b
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. The shared folder is live and holds a file named 2022_1st_Palmer.pdf, linked from the Mont Pelerin Society's contest page. The essay title and the 31 May 2022 date are not shown on the Box page and remain unconfirmed. A copy should be deposited with the dataset.

150. **The New Zealand Initiative, "Roger Partridge," which states that he led Bell Gully as executive chairman from 2007 to 2014 after sixteen years as a commercial litigation partner, and records his Mont Pelerin Society membership**
https://www.nzinitiative.org.nz/about-us/our-people/roger-partridge-2/
Added in this revision. Opened and checked 27 October 2026. The Initiative's own profile, carrying the Bell Gully dates and the Mont Pelerin Society membership. It is undated.

151. **Treaty of Waitangi (Principles) Bill 2005, member's bill in the name of Rodney Hide; first reading, New Zealand Parliament, February 22, 2006, Hansard**
https://www.parliament.nz/mi/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansS_20060222_00001422/hide-rodney-treaty-of-waitangi-principles-bill-first
Checked 20 October 2026. Parliament's site refuses automated fetchers, so the page could not be loaded; search results return the Hansard record for Rodney Hide on the Treaty of Waitangi Principles Bill first reading, 22 February 2006, at this address.

152. **"ACT Party wants referendum on co-governance with Māori," 1News, March 24, 2022**
https://www.1news.co.nz/2022/03/24/act-party-wants-referendum-on-co-governance-with-maori/
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. 1News report on ACT's call for a referendum on co-governance, 24 March 2022.

153. **Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill 2024 (94-1), introduced by David Seymour, New Zealand Parliament; first reading 14 November 2024. The departmental disclosure statement for the bill, finalised by the Ministry of Justice on 24 October 2024, is on the legislation disclosure register**
https://disclosure.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2024/94
Repointed in this revision. The address previously cited reached a non-canonical build host. This one was opened and checked 27 October 2026: it is the Ministry of Justice departmental disclosure statement for the bill, finalised 24 October 2024.

155. **"One Law for All. One Future Together." ACT New Zealand policy document, August 23, 2026. See also "ACT Party takes aim at 'activist judges', Treaty of Waitangi clauses," Radio New Zealand, August 23, 2026**
https://assets.nationbuilder.com/actnz/pages/36437/attachments/original/1787277161/One_Law_for_All_policy_06.pdf
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. ACT policy document One Law for All. One Future Together., dated 23 August 2026.

156. **Hobson's Pledge, founded 2016. Casey Costello's chairship of the New Zealand Taxpayers' Union and involvement in Hobson's Pledge are discussed in "Jordan Williams on what the Taxpayers' Union really is and who funds it," RNZ, 30 with Guyon Espiner, May 2024**
https://www.rnz.co.nz/programmes/30-with-guyon-espiner/story/2018938627/jordan-williams-on-what-the-taxpayers-union-really-is-and-who-funds-it
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. RNZ, 30 with Guyon Espiner, the Jordan Williams interview.

157. **"'Astroturf' accusations over 'We Belong' website run by anti co-governance group," Radio New Zealand, August 2023**
https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/in-depth/496933/astroturf-accusations-over-we-belong-website-run-by-anti-co-governance-group

Repointed in this version. RNZ serves this article under its in-depth path rather than the politics path previously cited, and the politics path returns nothing in a site search. RNZ refuses automated fetchers, so the corrected address was confirmed from search results, which return it with the cited headline.

158. **Waitangi Tribunal, He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty — Report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040, 2014)**
https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/news/report-on-stage-1-of-the-te-paparahi-o-te-raki-inquiry-released
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Tribunal news release of 14 November 2014 announcing the stage one report. The page is the release and not the report, and it carries neither the report's title nor the Wai 1040 number, so a reader following this link does not land on the document the entry describes.

159. **Waitangi Tribunal, Tino Rangatiratanga me te Kāwanatanga: The Report on Stage 2 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040)**
https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/news/tribunal-releases-report-on-te-paparahi-o-te-raki-inquiry
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Tribunal news release of 23 December 2022. The release states that the pre-publication version has been withdrawn and replaced by the final volumes, so a link to those volumes would hold up better.

160. **The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa — The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation, 2016, chaired by Margaret Mutu and convened by Moana Jackson**
https://matikemai.maori.nz/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/MatikeMaiAotearoa25Jan16-1.pdf
Repointed in this version. The address previously cited reached the project's summary page rather than the report. The report PDF was opened and checked 20 October 2026: the title page names Margaret Mutu as chair and Moana Jackson as convenor.

166. **State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986, s 9. New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General [1987] 1 NZLR 641 (CA)**
https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1986/0124/1.0/DLM98028.html
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986 on legislation.govt.nz, with section 9 present.

167. **Crown Forest Assets Act 1989. The Crown Forestry Rental Trust was constituted under that Act to hold rentals from Crown forest land pending the resolution of claims**
https://legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1989/99/en/latest/
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Crown Forest Assets Act 1989 on legislation.govt.nz, consolidated text.

168. **Waitangi Tribunal, Ngā Mātāpono / The Principles: The Interim Report of the Tomokia Ngā Tatau o Matangireia — the Constitutional Kaupapa Inquiry Panel on the Crown's Treaty Principles Bill and Treaty Clause Review Policies (Wai 3300, 15 August 2024)**
https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/news/tribunal-releases-report-on-treaty-principles-bill
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Tribunal news release of 16 August 2024 announcing Nga Matapono, Wai 3300.

169. **Waitangi Tribunal, Ngā Mātāpono / The Principles: Part II of the Interim Report (Wai 3300, 5 November 2024)**
https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/news/tribunal-releases-chapter-6
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Tribunal release for chapter six of Nga Matapono, Wai 3300, released 5 November 2024.

170. **Waitangi Tribunal, Ngā Mātāpono / The Principles: Part III of the Report (Wai 3300, 22 October 2025)**
https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/news/tribunal-releases-part-3-of-nga-matapono-report
Opened and checked 20 October 2026. Tribunal release for part three of Nga Matapono, Wai 3300, published 23 October 2025 for a release dated the day before.

This paper is published in the CARE White Paper Series by the Center for Culture-Centered Approach to Research and Evaluation, Massey University, Palmerston North, Aotearoa New Zealand. The archival research on the Atlas Economic Research Foundation papers underpinning this paper is being developed further, with Ralph Wilson, in the forthcoming book A Laboratory at the Bottom of the World: How the Free Market Was Made in Aotearoa New Zealand, and Who Made It.