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THE HISTORY OF MAORI ACTIVISM.
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R.J.WALKER. (Centre for Continuing Education, University
of Auckland.)

PLUS-CRITIQUE BY THE MAORI PEOPLES LIBERATION MOVEMENT
OF AOTEAROA.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1982 Maori activists who aligned the cause of Maori rights in New Zealand with the concerns of oppressed indigenous minorities in Australia, Vanuatu, Hawaii and other parts of the Pacific Basin were subjected to strong political condemnation. The castigation in the media of Maori activists by the Prime Minister Mr Muldoon (NZ Herald 9.3.82) and the Minister of Maori Affairs, Mr Couch (NZ Herald 19.8.82) was such that the term Maori activist has taken on negative connotations in the public mind. The activists were condemned as a Cuba trained, vocal and unrepresentative minority who in a sense were an aberration on the New Zealand scene because their tactic of demonstrating in public was "not the Maori way".

This paper will explore the genesis of Maori activism after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, identify its underlying dynamic and its various manifestations down to the present new wave of Maori activists.

Activism is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as "a policy of vigorous action in politics". No value judgment is made in the definition. Activism is undertaken by individuals or groups who have a cause or a sense of grievance arising out of the exercise of power by the legitimate office holders of that power. The strategies of activism include lobbying, making submissions, mounting deputations and circulating petitions. These are the socially acceptable and legitimate means at the disposal of activists for influencing the decisions of politicians. But if these strategies fail, the activists will undertake more vigorous action such as demonstrations, pickets, marches and boycotts. In so much as these tactics are exercised in public places, they draw attention to the cause espoused by the activists. But this is a two-edged weapon as it also generates opposition from sections of the general populace not in sympathy with the cause. It is these vigorous tactics which although legitimate bring down opprobrium on the heads of activists.

Some activists motivated by the pursuit of natural justice or the morality of the cause they espouse, if all else fails, resort to extremely vigorous actions which puts them at risk with the law. These include painting slogans on public places, damaging property, illegal occupation of land or property in contention, passive resistance to the forces of law, and, as a last resort, armed resistance itself.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

Because of semantic traps in the Treaty of Waitangi signed by the Maori chiefs on 6 February 1840, grave doubt exists that they were aware of signing away their mana (sovereignty) to the British Crown. This is because the word mana, the only Maori equivalent to the concept of sovereignty, was not used in the first clause. The word kawanatanga (governance) was substituted for mana, so the chiefs were asked to cede the kawanatanga, the unknown quantity of governance of their lands, to the Crown. The word kawanatanga confuses the issue because it is a missionary transliteration of 'governance' a word which appears in the order of the morning service i.e. "that all our doings be ordered by thy governance". Thus the word kawanatanga used in the missionary language of prayer appeared to be a harmless benign term, when what it stood for was mana. Had the word mana been used then the purpose of the Treaty as an instrument ceding sovereignty would have been absolutely clear.

The second clause of the Treaty compounded the misapprehension of the chiefs by guaranteeing them the rangatiratanga (chieftainship) of their lands, homes and possessions. Thus they were ceding an unknown thing called governance for a guarantee of their own chieftainship. This misapprehension of the purpose of the Treaty is evident in Colenso's account of its signing. At mid-morning on 6 February, Hobson announced he was ready to take signatures. Williams read the Treaty and called on the chiefs to come forward and sign. No one moved. Colenso then asked Hobson if he was of the opinion that the Maoris understood the articles they were about to sign, because they ought to understand it to make it legal. Hobson replied "If the natives do not know the contents of this Treaty it is no fault of mine. I wish them fully to understand it...they have heard the Treaty read by Mr Williams." Busby then quoted the words of Hone Heke who had said in the discussions of the previous day "the native mind could not comprehend these things, they must trust to the advice of the missionaries."

When the chiefs did not respond to Hobson's invitation to sign the Treaty, Busby hit on the idea of calling the names of the chiefs out singly. Hone Heke was first followed by 42 others. Hobson shook hands with the chiefs saying "He iwi tahi tatou" (we are all one people).

The deceptive nature of the Treaty and Maori misapprehension of it was also evident at a subsequent signing by the chief Nopera Panakareao at Kaitaia. Panakareao passed judgment on the Treaty that "The shadow of the land has passed to the Queen, the substance has remained with us". Within a year, Panakareao reversed that statement and the history of Maori activism since that time has been characterised by a restless search to recover and reassert that lost sovereignty. This is the underlying dynamic of Maori activism, the assertion of mana motuhake (distinct or discrete power). Modern protagonists of this dynamic use the phrase self-determination.

THE HISTORY OF MAORI ACTIVISM

One of the powerful myth themes of New Zealand society is racial unity and harmony derived from Hobson's statement at Waitangi that Maori and Pakeha (Maori term for White Man or Stranger) were joined as one by the Treaty. But the difficulties of living out that ideal soon became apparent as two races of vastly different cultural traditions competed for the land and its resources.

In June 1843 Captain Arthur Wakefield attempted to assert the claim of the New Zealand Company to Maori land at Wairau by enlisting the aid of the police magistrate at Nelson and fifty armed settlers. He was opposed by Te Rauparaha who responded by at first warning the surveyors off his land, then appealing to the rule of law, namely to wait for settlement of the dispute by Commissioner Spain. Despite Te Rauparaha's expressed desire for a peaceful settlement, fighting broke out and he was forced to respond with the most extreme form of vigorous action which resulted in the deaths of 19 Pakehas. From our present historical perspective it would be fair to accord Te Rauparaha the distinction of being New Zealand's first Maori activist whose strategy ranged from direct action, appeal to law and finally fighting in defense of his rights.

When Hone Heke admitted signing the Treaty of Waitangi in ignorance, that incomprehension soon changed as the transfer of sovereignty from the chiefs to the Governor took effect. The imposition of customs duties brought an end to free trade in the Bay of Islands and the Crown right of pre-emption slowed down land sales. The revenue of chiefs dropped as ships were driven away to other ports where they could conduct free trade with the Maoris. Heke saw the flag-staff which signalled the ships and forbade him on board as the symbol of his

discontent. Knowing no other form of political expression in the new society he embarked on a course of vigorous action. He cut down the flagstaff and confiscated the signal balls. This rather benign political act by Heke was misunderstood by the Governor who waged war on Heke.

The older chiefs put the episode in perspective when they counselled Governor Fitzroy "it was not worthwhile to shed blood about a bit of wood". This sage advice was not accepted as Fitzroy escalated the conflict with Heke in order to assert his mana. He was not equal to the task and was replaced by Governor Grey who brought the conflict to an end at Ruapekapeka in 1845.

Although the clashes of Te Rauparaha and Heke with Pakeha authority were localised affairs they were the portents of the Maori dynamic of self-determination that was to find expression in various movements over the next 140 years. The first of these was the Kotahitanga or unity movement which through a series of inter-tribal meetings sought to prohibit land sales and prevent the eclipse of Maori mana by Pakeha settlers. Kotahitanga was followed by the King Movement which elected Te Wherowhero as the first Maori King in 1858.

The Maori King was established as the symbol of mana whenua (land) mana tangata (people) and to stop inter-tribal blood-letting. The King was also the ultimate expression of the dynamic of mana motuhake (self-determination). But the King was misconstrued as the symbol of Maori nationalism in opposition to the Crown and Grey promised to wage war until he was put down. Grey failed to appreciate the Maori conception of the King as being "essentially in alliance with the Queen and the Governor for a common purpose" (Ward). Tamihana the "kingmaker" constructed a simple model to illustrate his sophisticated conception of a bicultural system. It consisted of two sticks thrust into the ground representing the Governor and the King, with a third across the two of them representing the Queen binding them together under the law of God. Grey had his way as the settler government invaded the Waikato and crushed the King Movement by confiscating a million acres of Waikato land.

The Maori response to defeat in the Land-Wars of the 1860s was to create a series of prophetic movements aimed at unifying the tribes and recovering the land. In 1864 the Pai Marire cult led by Te Ua Haumene promised divine assistance if the Maoris in Taranaki took up arms again to drive the Pakeha into the sea. The Pai Marire soon rivalled the King Movement as a focus for Maori resistance against Pakeha domination.

The Pai Marire otherwise known as the Hauhau cult spread to the East Coast where the mantle of leadership was thrust on a reluctant Te Kooti when he was imprisoned without trial on the Chatham Islands. There his divine mission was revealed to him.

Rise! come forth! you are spared to be made well, to be the founder of a new church and religion, to be the salvation of the faithful of the Maori people and to release them from bondage.

Te Kooti escaped back to the mainland in 1868 and conducted a protracted guerrilla campaign against the Government. But with the might of government forces pursuing him relentlessly for six years in the Urewera he concluded armed resistance was hopeless so he sought peace in 1874.

The prophets turned to pacifism as an alternative means of expressing the Maori dynamic of self-determination. This new approach to a modus vivendi with the Pakeha was expressed by Te Whiti and the new Jerusalem he established at Parihaka.

Lay down your weapons. Be wise though the whites exterminate the trunk they can not pull out the roots. Avoid all sale and lease of land. Permit no European to cross the border of this, our last free Maori land. We want no roads or schools from them. Let them do with their land what they will.

But even Te Whiti's movement was perceived as a potential source of insurrection so it was crushed by the Parihaka Expeditionary Force in 1881. A similar fate befell the later movement of Rua Kenana at Maungapohatu in 1916 although he explicitly proclaimed "one law for two people" on his flag.

The ruthless suppression of the Maori King Movement and the prophets failed to kill off the Maori dynamic of self-determination; it was merely transformed into alternative movements seeking a modus vivendi for a dual system of sovereignty or the minimum concession of the devolution of authority in Maori affairs to autonomous Maori districts.

King Tawhiao petitioned the Queen of England in 1884 to grant power to Maoris living on their own lands to make laws pertaining to those lands but he was referred back to the New Zealand Government. Eventually Tawhiao appealed to John Ballance in 1886 for a Maori Council to administer Maori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Government refused to sanction the formation of a council, so Tawhiao claimed the right to establish his own Kauhanganui (Council) under section 71 of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852. Tawhiao proclaimed his mana by publishing Te Paki o Matariki in 1891, the newspaper of the "Independent Maori Power of Aotearoa". The major thrust of Tawhiao's policy was control of Maori land and resources by limiting the term of leases to 22 years and retaining the right to mine minerals or build roads on Maori land. Unfortunately for Tawhiao he lacked the support of other tribes to bargain with Seddon the Prime Minister of that time, and the Government rejected the proposals of the Kauhanganui.

At the same time Tawhiao was establishing his Kauhanganui widespread meetings were held by other tribes to discuss Maori grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi. These included unjust confiscations of land following the Land Wars and the alienation of Maori land under the operations of the Native Land Court established in 1867. These tribal deliberations culminated in a meeting at Waitangi in April 1892 which established Kotahitanga mo te Tiriti o Waitangi (Unity for the Treaty of Waitangi) otherwise known as The Maori Parliament.

The first sitting of Kotahitanga was held at Waipatu in June 1892. This meeting dealt with unification of the Maori people, an examination of the Treaty of Waitangi to discover which part of it deprived Maoris of mana to determine the management of their own land, and an analysis of section 71 of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 to decide whether Maoris had power under that Act to establish their own Council. The fourth part of the agenda was to ensure that "no trouble should arise between the two peoples of New Zealand because of the three matters above. Only goodness and well-being of the Crown should flourish". Clearly, the activism of the tribes was accommodating and aimed at creating a bicultural system of administration within the political and constitutional framework of New Zealand society. Their good intentions deserved better than what they received at the hand of a dominating government determined to acquire what remained of Maori land for Pakeha settlement.

The policy of Kotahitanga was to make laws for Maori land, take up Maori land

grievances after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, including wrongly confiscated lands or lands unfairly purchased, Maori fisheries, oyster beds, shellfish beds, mudflats, tidal estuaries and other food resources of the Maori people controlled by Harbour Boards and other government agencies. Kotahitanga also aimed to abolish the Native Land Court and challenge the right of the Public Trustee to administer, control and lease West Coast Maori reserved lands. It also had a policy for the promotion of Maori land development through pastoral farming.

In 1894 Kotahitanga through its elected member Hone Heke for Northern Maori introduced a Native Rights Bill into Parliament seeking sanction and authority for the Maori Parliament. During the debate on the Bill, Pakeha members walked out of the House and the debate was adjourned for the lack of a quorum. At the fourth meeting of Kotahitanga at Rotorua, March 1895, this stalling of the Bill was discussed and Wi Pere of the Upper House of the Maori Parliament passed judgment.

This Bill seeking mana may not be granted perhaps for as long as 30 years like the Irish seeking home rule for themselves... This Bill seeking mana will not be granted until all the land has been alienated, whereupon there will be no place left for its application.

The words of Wi Pere were indeed prophetic. The power of Parliament to repress the will of a minority was exercised by the rejection of the Native Rights Bill in 1896. It was not until 1979 that the Government-sponsored New Zealand Maori Council was given the power to rewrite the Maori Affairs Bill according to Maori needs, philosophy and cultural aspirations. But by that time Maori land was reduced to only 4% of what they once owned in toto.

With the rejection of the Native Rights Bill, combined with recriminations of financial mismanagement, and the partial implementation of Kotahitanga's policies in the Maori Councils Act 1900, the initiative passed into the hands of a new movement called Kotahitanga o Te Aute. This group was established in January 1897 to harness the education and talents of the old boys of Te Aute College. At the fifth meeting of the new Kotahitanga in January 1900 the loss of confidence of the chiefs in the old Kotahitanga and the transference of their support to the new one was voiced by Te Heuheu the paramount chief of Tuwharetoa.

I was a strong supporter of the old Kotahitanga. I thought there was salvation in it for the Maori people, but it was not found. Should the old Kotahitanga cease may this one flourish.

Ngata saw the old Kotahitanga as the forum of elders and the new one as the opportunity for youth to take the initiative. The concerns of the new Kotahitanga moved away from the issue of sovereignty to mundane matters such as formulating marae regulations for the Maori Councils. These included prohibiting fires inside houses with no chimneys, installing wooden floors in houses, providing through ventilation, limiting tangis (lying in state for corpses) to four days, prohibition of alcohol on maraes and the provision of pure water supplies. However, on the issue of Maori land there was congruence between the two. Kotahitanga o Te Aute became the forum in which Ngata formulated the policies of Maori land development which became the hallmark of his political career.

Ngata saw Maori settlement and development of their own lands as the only way of retaining land in Maori ownership. With the growing strength of the new Kotahitanga Ngata and Carrol felt confident enough to lay the old one to rest by replacing it with the government-sponsored Maori councils. The annual general meetings of the councils were to substitute for the annual meetings of the Maori Parliament.

The dynamic underlying Kotahitanga did not die easily. An editorial in Te Pīpiwharauroa suggested reviving the old Kotahitanga in 1905 as a strong voice to oppose the taking of "idle Maori land for Pakeha settlement" because the Maori councils, being government-sponsored, were not in a position to criticise the Government.

Although Kotahitanga Mo Te Tiriti o Waitangi was not revived, the new Kotahitanga thrust Ngata into a leadership role that launched him into a key position in the Maori Councils and then into a long political career when he entered Parliament in 1905. Ngata, Buck and Pomare as the university-trained elite of Maori society were essentially reformists who were concerned more with the physical and cultural survival of the Maori people than the issue of sovereignty. They used their tenure of Maori seats in Parliament to institute health reforms, a revival of Maori culture and a programme of Maori land development. But because these men operated within the parameters of the Pakeha political system, in time they came to be seen as brokers for metropolitan society. Pomare in particular was seen to be doing the work of the Pakeha in 1918 when he attempted to persuade the Waikato tribes to comply with conscription. The Waikato replied with the ultimate gesture of contempt when they performed a naked haka (war-dance) on the marae to their unwelcome guest.

The initiative then passed to the prophet leader Ratana. His movement was essentially a continuation of the theme of organised group following based on a charismatic leader. But unlike Te Whiti and Rua who pursued separate development, Ratana, as did the intellectuals, sought to advance the Maori cause through the political process by capturing the four Maori seats and delivering them to the government he had prophesied for carpenters, blacksmiths and shoemakers. The liaison with Labour appeared to bear fruit in the form of social security, family benefits and pensions. But the failure of Ratana's petition supported by 30,128 signatures to have the Treaty of Waitangi ratified, indicated that the Pakeha in power was as obdurate as ever in dealing with Maori rights. The petition lay in the House for eight years until it was dealt with by a select committee. The committee recommended that the Treaty be published as a sacred reaffirmation with copies to be hung in all schools of the dominion.

CONTEMPORARY MAORI ACTIVISM

In the last century the dynamic of Maori self-determination centred on the rangatira fighting chiefs and charismatic prophet leaders. Thereafter the intellectuals were tried and found wanting so there was a temporary return to Ratana the prophet leader. As the wellspring of benefits from the Ratana-Labour liaison dried up, pursuit of the prophet theme for temporal salvation came to an end. After World War II the urban migration produced a new generation of leaders more suited to their times.

The potency of contemporary Maori leaders is derived from their better knowledge of the institutional structures of metropolitan society. In the vanguard of the new wave of Maori leadership in the early fifties was the Maori Women's Welfare League. The major thrust of the League was to improve Maori health, child care and pre-school education. But the League also produced a barrage of remits at its annual conferences aimed at influencing government policy.

In 1962 the Maori Council was formed to act as an advisory body to the Government on Maori policy. In the next two decades it developed considerable skill in monitoring Parliament, scrutinising legislation and making submissions to ministers and select committees of the House. The League and the Council were the conservative expressions of Maori activism pursuing Maori rights within the framework of the parliamentary system.

For the Maori, the urban experience has in Friere's terms led to "knowledge of the alienating culture (which) leads to transforming action resulting in a culture which is being freed from alienation". The result of this knowledge is a diversification of Maori activism. Whereas in previous generations the initiative was taken by chiefs, prophets, charismatic leaders and educated elite, in the last fifteen years Maori activism has become the concern of a more diverse group of people with the consequent adoption of a wider range of tactics.

In 1968 a radical Maori group in Wellington published a newsletter called Te Hokioi which characterised itself as "a taiaha of truth for the Maori nation". Its motto was "publish and be damned". A strong trade union element in the newsletter allied the Maori struggle with the ideology of the class struggle. The newsletter functioned as a consciousness raising mechanism on the role of the Maori Trustee in the disposition of Maori resources and the exploitation of natural resources such as greenstone in the Arahura Reserve.

Similar to Te Hokioi was another Maori activist group called the Maori Organisation On Human Rights. It too was based in Wellington, had strong trade union ties and circulated a newsletter as a mechanism for conscientization. (The term conscientization is derived from the Portuguese word conscientizacao and is used by Friere to describe the process of the development of the collective critical consciousness of the oppressed.) The aims of MOOHR were essentially humanist. These included the defense of human rights, attacking legislation inimical to Maori rights and opposition to discrimination in housing, employment, sport and politics. MOOHR also advocated the recovery from government control of Maori resources such as Maori reserved lands under renewable or perpetual leases. In its August 1971 newsletter MOOHR made a clear assertion of the Maori dynamic of self-determination and postulated a continuation of Maori-Pakeha tension because of it. "These movements of Maori rights to run Maori affairs will continue so long as Maoris feel oppressed by Pakeha-dominated governments". This was a prophetic statement which characterised the rising tide of Maori consciousness in the seventies and the consequent increase in activism.

The radical thrust of Te Hokioi and MOOHR was amplified by the new wave of youthful aggressive and dynamic Maori leaders. Out of the 1970 Young Maori Leaders Conference at Auckland University emerged Nga Tamatoa (the young warriors). Initially a radical faction grabbed the headlines with its rhetoric of brown power and Maori liberation, but it was the more level-headed leaders who established a positive programme of Maori self-development. Tamatoa initiated a legal aid programme, opened an employment office in Auckland and launched a nation-wide petition for full recognition of the Maori language in the education system. The members in Tamatoa were young (under 30), urbane and adept at using techniques such as petitions, demonstrations and pickets to bring about transforming social action. The one year teacher training course for native speakers of Maori was inspired by Tamatoa to meet the shortfall of Maori language teachers following the introduction of the "link" system for teaching the language in primary and secondary schools. The transforming effect of Tamatoa on the Department of Maori Affairs is difficult to gauge. Whereas the conservative Maori Council in its submissions on the Race Relations Bill demanded that Maori criteria be written into the job prescription of district officers in the

Department, Tamatoa translated this demand into action by demonstrating at the Auckland office when a non-Maori district officer arrived to take up his appointment. In the last five years the management profile of the Department has changed dramatically with the promotion of Maoris to senior posts.

In retrospect, Tamatoa was merely the conservative portent of Maori activism to come. The erosion of Maori land rights by a century of legislation under the Maori Land Court, the Public Works Act, the Rating Act and the Town and Country Planning Act fuelled Maori anger as these laws continued to alienate what was deemed to be the "last three million acres" of Maori land. Although localised Maori land grievances were common enough, the seventies saw these grievances welded into a cohesive Maori land rights movement under the name of Matakite o Aotearoa. In 1975, Matakite led a Maori land march of 30,000 people to Parliament under the slogan of "not one more acre of land" (to be alienated).

Pakeha bemusement over the Maori Land March had hardly subsided when Bastion Point was occupied by the Orakei Action Committee in January 1977. For 507 days protesters defied the Government and the Supreme Court to dramatise the unconscionable dealings of past governments over the 700 acres of Maori land at Orakei declared "inalienable" by the Native Land Court in 1873. The agony of Bastion Point was brought to an end on 25 May 1978 with the most powerful show of state force (600 police) against Maori people since the dismemberment of Parihaka in 1881.

A year later the uneasy peace in Maori-Pakeha relations was disturbed by a new wave of Maori activists known under various guises as the Waitangi Action Committee, He Taua, Maori People's Liberation Movement of Aotearoa, and Black Women. These groups domiciled in Auckland claim to be discrete entities but have a considerable overlap in membership. Their political ethos is based on a liberation struggle against racism, sexism, capitalism and government oppression. While the rhetoric of these groups in their newsletters is couched in revolutionary terms, their activism embraces all tactics in the repertoire of activists the world over but stops short of armed revolution. Their conception of revolution is social change now as against the slow process of evolutionary change. In pursuit of their programme of struggle and liberation these activists circulate newsletters to conscientize people and elicit support. They also engage in demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience which often lead to arrest, in order to dramatise their struggle. In court they go on the offensive by defending themselves, justifying their acts by making political points in their submissions and generally challenging the veracity and fairness of the judicial system.

The Waitangi Action Committee continued the protests at the annual Waitangi celebrations started by Tamatoa earlier in the decade. In May 1979 some members of this group formed an ad-hoc group subsequently known as He Taua which attacked the engineers haka party at Auckland University. Five minutes of direct action stopped this gross cultural insult where 25 years of patient negotiation had failed. But the trouble with this form of activism is that its proponents are put at risk with the law. Fourteen people were charged with rioting and the defendants could have landed heavy prison sentences had not the conservative leaders of the Maori Council and Maori Women's Welfare League stood by them in court. Other dramatic events which drew attention to mounting Maori anger were riots against the police by disco-kids in Te Atatu and Whangarei and a violent confrontation between the Stormtrooper gang and police at Moerewa.

Maori activism took a new turn in May 1980 when a group called Maranga Mai toured the country with a play dramatising Maori grievances. There were hostile Pakeha reactions. In South Auckland the Manukau City Council threatened to

dismiss its detached youth worker for arranging the show at Mangere College. The Minister of Education without having seen the play threatened to ban it from schools. In September when it was performed at Parliament Buildings, one member lodged a complaint with the Race Relations Conciliator. The complaint was not upheld.

Associated with all the events of Maori activism in the decade of the seventies was the resignation of the Hon Matiu Rata from the Labour Party late in 1979. His subsequent resignation from Parliament to found the Mana Motuhake Movement is the ultimate political expression of contemporary Maori activism. It signals the divorce of the Ratana church from the Labour Party and the determination of the activists to capture and control the four Maori seats. It would be the ultimate in political achievement for a minority to capture those four seats to express a "balance of responsibility" in the event of a divided House. Such a possibility was beyond the foresight of the prophet Ratana, otherwise he would not have aligned the four seats in an arid 40 year partnership with Labour. The name Mana Motuhake revives in limited form the concept of Maori sovereignty. The essence of its policy is Maori control over Maori resources and the cultural future of the Maori within a dual or bicultural society. Mana Motuhake is essentially conservative, reformist and collaborative as evidenced by this statement of its President Hon Matiu Rata in his introduction to the movement's manifesto:

Mana Motuhake is dedicated to a philosophy of self-help. We vow to advance our people from the present state of dependence to one of self-reliance. We believe what good we do for our people will be good for the country as a whole. That will be our contribution to the joint enterprise of Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. We will be guided by the values and philosophy of our ancestors in formulating policies that are co-operative, inclusive and sharing.

It is 90 years since Kotahitanga mo Te Tiriti o Waitangi sought limited sovereignty to control Maori affairs in Maori districts. Now the concept has been revived by Mana Motuhake and redefined, it has been taken up by the new wave of Maori activists. Its most articulate advocate, Donna Awatere, defines Maori sovereignty as:

the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society, one in which taha Maori receives an equal consideration with, and equally determines the course of this country as taha Pakeha. It certainly demands an end to monoculturalism.

Awatere's definition of Maori sovereignty is clearly rooted in the long tradition of Maori activism in the 142 years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Whereas the original proponents of Maori sovereignty sought its establishment by coexistence, Awatere's advocacy takes on a hard and even desperate edge:

For the Maori, without sovereignty we are dead as a nation. It is not sovereignty or no sovereignty. It is sovereignty or nothing. We have no choice.

CONCLUSION

Maori activism as this paper demonstrates is not an aberration of our times. Its genesis goes back to the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 when the tribal chiefs of New Zealand were gulled into signing away their sovereignty in a document that has never been ratified or recognised as a treaty of international law. The dynamic of Maori activism is mana motuhake, the sovereignty of the Maori nation proclaimed by the election of a Maori King in 1858. Although Maoris envisaged their King as having co-equal status with the Governor under the British Crown, the Governor sought to extend British sovereignty into Maori areas by waging the Land Wars of the 1860s. Thereafter the history of Maori activism was characterised by the creation of ad-hoc movements in a restless search by Maori leaders to recover and reassert their lost sovereignty.

The Maori Parliament sought mana motuhake (separate sovereignty) in Maori districts from the colonial Government under the Treaty of Waitangi and Section 71 of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852. When that was denied, the concept of mana motuhake lapsed into the limbo of Maori consciousness as educated leaders collaborated with the leaders of metropolitan society to promote a revival of Maori culture and participation in the social mainstream.

The post-war urban migration of the 1960s threw up a new generation of Maori leaders who created a series of movements for the expression of the dynamic of Maori sovereignty. The verbal symbols for that sovereignty changed to Maori self-determination to control Maori land, Maori assets and cultural destiny. The political expression of that dynamic is the Mana Motuhake Movement whose avowed intention is to capture and control the four Maori seats in Parliament. Mana Motuhake is essentially conservative and like its predecessor Kotahitanga mo te Tiriti o Waitangi aims to cooperate within the framework of the existing political system. Now the new wave of Maori activists has unequivocally reopened the issue of Maori sovereignty.

Maori activism has been characteristically ad hoc and episodic in nature, so that Pakeha New Zealanders have perhaps been beguiled into assuming the problem will go away or die a natural death. It is now abundantly evident that this is not the case, so some accommodation from the rulers of metropolitan society to the dynamic of Maori self-determination is needed to arrive peacefully at a modus vivendi. The alternative is to have the peace of the land disturbed by on-going episodic protest activity and escalating repression by the use of state force.

CRITIQUE BY MAORI PEOPLES LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF AOTEAROA

- reprinted from MPLMA Newsletter.

We have reprinted this paper at the request of Dr Rangi Walker but also because it presents a history of "Maori Activism" that we consider merits discussion. We do not, however, subscribe to its conclusions nor to its introduction. It is a detailed history that Pakehas could accept but lacks the fire and the anger that is the basis of all Maori struggle. On the following page we set out our own basic disagreements, and invite all our readers to make their own evaluation of what has been presented and write back with them

The detachment with which this paper has been presented highlights the ability of Maori people to put their case in terms which Pakehas can handle - cold, clinical, and easy to deal with intellectually. It is also obvious that a lot of detailed study has gone into putting it all together.

But there are points with which we are clearly at odds, and in particular in the explanation of "contemporary Maori activism". We openly challenge the statement that Mat Rata's "resignation from Parliament to found the Mana Motuhake Movement is the ultimate political expression of contemporary Maori activism". As stated later on in the paper, "Mana Motuhake is essentially conservative, reformist and collaborative".

If we accept the definition of Maori Sovereignty that Donna Awatere advocates (and the majority of young Maori activists are taking it up as a basic thrust) then ultimate political expression must go further than conservatism, reformism and collaboration. As a continuation of this we further challenge the seeming lack of space given to the emerging groups of young Maori activists which are building a theory and action that is contemporary, pertinent and definitively Maori.

Far from resorting to acts of civil disobedience etc "if all else fails", Maori activism preaches the development of theory and action as a 2 pronged attack - to raise the awareness of Maori people, and to expose the inevitably racist reactions of the State.

As well, the paper denies the WAIRUA which is strong among young Maori activists. There is an underlying strength and determination that sustains Maori activism and it is a strength that flows from the past. That comes from knowing that our TUPUNA have tried everything to survive the ravages of white racism, and died by the thousands in the attempt. If anything, "contemporary Maori activism" is an expression of the re-emergence of Maori pride and anger that Pakehas had thought was dead.

As importantly, young Maoris have come to terms with the lessons of the past, and know that conservatism, reformism and collaboration with the system will only see us continue down the road to destruction.

New Zealand history has been one of domination by the white man, his gun, his bible and his greed. We have come past the days of overt massacre, disease and cultural malaise - and there is a determination never to suffer that again. That is the commitment that keeps the Maori struggle going.

Contemporary Maori activism is also a struggle against the inroads being made by liberalism and the White Left. Sometimes we wonder at the arrogance, the ignorance and the bloody shamelessness of Pakeha people, who after a century and a half of naked hatred still try to tell us what the Maori struggle should be all about.

They tell us to fight for a change in our material conditions - that our spirituality is wrong - that our struggle is the struggle of the working class. Without meaning to belabour the point, we reiterate what has always been true - that Pakehas are racist, regardless of class, and really don't give a damn about the aspirations of the Maori people except where their own privileges are threatened.

At the turn of the century it seemed as though Maori people had lost even the will to live (Pakehas were so confident of the fact that they actually erected monuments to the dying Maori race) but somehow we survived. And what was it that brought us through? Our spirituality, our WAIRUA. And we will not give that up for anyone.

Contemporary Maori Activism is a product of generations of Maori struggle, fuelled by the continued injustice against Maori people and sustained by the WAIRUA of our TUPUNA. Our fight is against "conservatism", against "reformism", and against "collaboration". And that will always be the "ultimate expression of contemporary Maori activism".

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PROJECT WAITANGI RESOURCE LIST

PHAMPLETS/LEAAFLETS AVAILABLE

- * The Meaning of Biculturalism by Ranginui Walker
Available PW Tamaki
- * Declaration of Independence.
- * Treaty of Waitangi 40 cents
-A4 doubled sided printed copy. or 30 cents
Maori text, literal translation of Maori per 1000
text and English version. Available PW Wellington
- * The Maori and the Criminal Justice System \$7.70
- A Summary of this report Available PW Wellington
- * Te Aro Pa Its Significance \$3.30
- (A Backgrounder from Whanganui-a- Tara)

RESOURCE KITS

- * Resource Kits: Part 1. 2 & 3 \$ 6.60
- Study Kits on the Treaty of Waitangi, Pakeha each
culture racism and current issues. Available PW Tamaki & PW Wellington
- * Pakeha Culture Kit \$5.50
Available PW Tamaki & PW Wellington
- * Treaty of Waitangi Clipping File \$5.50
Available PW Wellington
- * Folders: "Its putting it right that counts" \$5.50
- History of Wellington Available PW Wellington
- * The Waitangi Tribunal Questions & Answers \$7.70
- A Resource Kit for Pakeha Available PW Tamaki\PW Wellington
- * The Treaty of Waitangi. Questions and Answers \$9.90
Available PW Tamaki\PW Wellington
- * Submissions on Legislation \$4.40
-Treaty of Waitangi(SOE) bill
-Ports Reform Bill
-Electoral Reform Bill
-Town & Country Planning Act Review
-Court of Appeal decison - precis
-Project Waitangi, A Pakeha Perspective
Submission to Royal Commission
-Resource Management Law Reform
-Maori Fisheries Bill
each

- * Mental Health Foundation on the Treaty of Waitangi \$4.00
Available Mental Health Foundation

BOOKS

- * Te Riri Pakeha by Tony Simpson
- * Ask That Mountain by Dick Scott
- * The Treaty of Waitangi by Claudia Orange
- * The New Zealand Wars by James Belich
- * Conversations around the Treaty of Waitangi by W. Colenso
- * Rapuora by the Maori Womens Welfare League & E. Murchie
- * Care and Control- The Role of Institutions in New Zealand(1987)
by the NZ Planning Council. P.O. Box 5066 Wlgn.
- * Maori Sovereignty by Donna Awatere
- * Talking Past Each Other by Joan Metge & P. Kinloch
- * A Show of Justice by Alan Ward
- * Auretanga - The Groans of the Maori by S. Rusden
- * The Maori and the Criminal Justice System by Moana Jackson
Available Government Bookshop
- * Te Hikoi ki Waitangi 1985 \$18.80
Available from WAC P. O. Box 61140 Otago
- * Te Hui Oranga o te Moana Nui a Kiwa
(Articles on Maori & other indigenous struggles in Pacific)
From PPANAC P.O. Box 61086 Otago
- * Waitangi Tribunal Findings(Available at the Government Bookshop)
 - * Muriwhenua
 - * Manukau
 - * Orakei
 - * Te Reo
 - * Motonui
- * Te Taki o te Hauora Maori ki te Carrington. \$ 20.00
A backgrounder to the Maori Health Units & a critique of the
Tauroa Report. Available from PW Tamaki
- * Carrington by Karena Way \$ 4.00
A Backgrounder

NEWSPAPERS & NEWSLETTERS

- * Te Iwi o Aotearoa \$2.50
P.O.Box 14463 Panmure
- * Treaty Times
P.O. Box 1905 Christchurch
- * Project Waitangi Newsletter \$20.00
Available PW Wellington annually

OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- * Government Bookshop
- * Auckland Public Library N.Z. Section
- * Conference of Churches Aotearoa(NZ) Programme on Racism
P.O. Box 9573 Newmarket ph. 5205499
- * Race Relations Office
- * Waitangi Action Committee(WAC)
P.O. Box 61140 Otara
- * Project Waitangi Wellington
P.O.Box 825 Wellington ph(04)829300
- * Project Waitangi Tamaki Makaurau
P.O. Box 5510 Tamaki Makaurau
Contacts Joan McDonald 789 816
Karena Way 784 744(home)
or 797 440 ext 6478(work)

