



‘Maori Sovereignty’

Donna Awatere 1982

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*'Theory is capable of gripping the masses as soon as it demonstrates ad hominem, and it demonstrates ad hominem as soon as it becomes radical. To be radical is to grasp the root of the matter.'*¹

¹ Marx, Karl, *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'* (1970), p. 137.

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Acknowledgements..... | 6 |
| Abstract..... | 8 |
| Chapter One - Introduction..... | 9 |
| Chapter Two – Literature Review..... | 16 |
| The Historiography of Maori Sovereignty..... | 16 |
| The Historiography of Tino Rangatiratanga..... | 27 |
| The Historiography of Nation States..... | 36 |
| The Historiography of a Maori Nation State..... | 42 |
| Chapter Three – Maori Political Theory..... | 53 |
| Introduction..... | 53 |
| The Origins of Maori Political Theory..... | 54 |
| Mana Whenua..... | 57 |
| The Treaty of Waitangi 1840..... | 63 |
| Tino Rangatiratanga..... | 68 |
| Conclusion..... | 71 |
| Chapter Four – Decolonisation and <i>Maori Sovereignty</i> | 73 |
| Introduction..... | 73 |
| Mahatma Gandhi..... | 74 |
| Black America..... | 78 |
| ‘Equality’..... | 79 |
| Chapter Five - Feminism and <i>Maori Sovereignty</i> | 94 |
| Introduction..... | 94 |
| Sexism..... | 95 |
| Racism..... | 101 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Capitalism..... | 108 |
| Conclusion..... | 111 |
| Chapter Six - Conclusions | 114 |
| Bibliography | 119 |
| Works by Donna Awatere | 119 |
| Personal Communication..... | 119 |
| Articles..... | 119 |
| Books | 120 |
| Articles in Books | 120 |
| Primary Sources | 120 |
| Articles..... | 120 |
| Secondary Sources | 122 |
| Website Addresses | 124 |
| Appendices..... | 125 |
| Appendix One | 125 |
| Interview with Donna Awatere..... | 125 |
| Appendix Two | 134 |
| Mana Wahine Seminar Series 2010 – Donna Awatere-Huata 30 March 2010..... | 134 |
| Appendix Three | 141 |
| Letter to King William 1831 | 141 |
| Appendix Four | 142 |
| He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni | 142 |
| Declaration of Independence of New Zealand | 143 |
| Appendix Five..... | 144 |
| Te Tiriti o Waitangi..... | 144 |
| The Treaty of Waitangi | 145 |

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Abstract

This thesis explores the ambivalent nature of Maori political theory as expressed through the writings of Donna Awatere in her publication *Maori Sovereignty*. Consequently it traces the intellectual history of Maori political thought with a particular emphasis on how Maori have traditionally perceived and advanced their ‘sovereignty’ and its equivalent term, ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’. The reason for this emphasis is to show how Awatere changed Maori perception of their *tino rangatiratanga* when she coined the phrase ‘Maori Sovereignty’ in 1982.²

This work offers an insider’s account into New Zealand’s ‘movements of unity’ that had occurred during the 1970’s and 1980’s based on Awatere’s personal experiences and involvement in various groups. Further it sets out to capture the influences and events that led Awatere to write *Maori Sovereignty* in order to demonstrate how she had advanced Maori understanding of their *tino rangatiratanga*. In addition, its attempts to broaden Maori understanding of their *tino rangatiratanga* by analysing Awatere’s political theory in juxtaposition with global trends, more specifically, the decolonisation and nationalistic processes that occurred in the decades following World War Two.

This thesis argues that *Maori Sovereignty* differed greatly from any other work previously written by both Maori and Pakeha as it challenged existing interpretations of how Maori had perceived and had advanced their *tino rangatiratanga*. Subsequently, *Maori Sovereignty* has carved its place as one of New Zealand’s most debated and misunderstood publication to ever come out of the 1980’s and because of this, the lack of proper analysis has given cause for this thesis.

² Denoon, D., Mein-Smith, P., and Wyndham, M., *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, (2000), p. 382.

Chapter One - Introduction

Maori Sovereignty and its author Donna Awatere created such an impact in the 1980's that it carved a place, albeit contentious, within New Zealand's literary and political histories. This work has become one of the most influential publications of its time as it forced Maori and Pakeha to confront each other by inviting public debate surrounding the issue of 'tino rangatiratanga' and the Treaty of Waitangi. While there are many misconceptions surrounding *Maori Sovereignty's* political potency and direction, the point that Awatere wanted to make was to conscientiously raise public awareness concerning Maori rights under the terms and conditions of the Treaty; rights that had been continuously ignored since 1840.

This thesis argues that Maori understanding of their tino rangatiratanga has evolved from a 'chiefly right' to exercise authority over separate and distinct tribal lands and its resources to a tribal authority.³ Maori claimed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries that the possession of their tribal lands was essential in exercising this authority.⁴ This is because the land and its resources formed the basis of Maori political, economic and social institutions and that Maori authority to act was deep-rooted in this customary ownership. However chiefly authority and control of these lands and resources had been ignored by New Zealand's nation state who had consistently failed to recognise Maori customary tenure.⁵

Awatere differed from any other publication previously written because she understood that the return of tribal lands and its resources was inconceivable in 1982 and her conceptual development of tino rangatiratanga had accepted it as fact. In *Maori Sovereignty* it stated, 'In

³ Ngata, Apirana, *He Whakamarama*, (1922), p. 6.

⁴ Sharp, Andrew, *Justice and the Maori*, (1990), p. 250, Hill, Richard, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy; Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*, (2004), p. 65.

⁵ Kawharu, I. H, *Maori Land Tenure Studies of a Changing Institution*, (1977), pp. 274-275.

essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land.’⁶ By stipulating that Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land in her opening stanza she had evolved Maori understanding of their tino rangatiratanga from a chiefly and tribal authority over separate and distinct tribal boundaries towards a national authority over all of New Zealand and its resources.⁷ This concept was little understood by many and this is the main reason why Awatere’s political paradigm has endured over thirty years of misinterpretations.⁸

By 1982, 75 percent of the Maori population lived outside of their tribal boundaries and had moved into the cities.⁹ This shift took wind post World War Two and has been more commonly regarded as the ‘urban drift’ and in recent years has been coined with the term urbanisation. Maori scholar and authority, and one of Awatere’s mentors while at the University of Auckland, Emeritus Professor Ranginui Walker said that urbanisation had a profound effect on Maori leadership. He said,

‘Urbanisation increased Maori knowledge of metropolitan society and its techniques of domination and political control...Maori...had created their own platforms, political networks and supporters. They engaged in a counter-hegemonic struggle by deconstructing the historical narrative of the coloniser and mounting protest actions and demonstrations against social injustice.’¹⁰

He argued that groups that had formed as a result of Maori urbanisation such as *Nga Tamatoa* of the early 1970’s, *Te Roopu o te Matakite* of the mid 1970’s, and *Patu!* formed in 1981 had collectively had forced consecutive governments to empower the Waitangi Tribunal¹¹ with

⁶ Awatere, Donna, *Maori Sovereignty*, (2004), p. 10.

⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 32.

⁸ Sharp, *Justice and the Maori*, p. 252.

⁹ Walker, Ranginui, *Nga Pepa a Ranginui*, (1996), p. 83

¹⁰ Walker, *Nga Pepa a Ranginui*, p. 83.

¹¹ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 as a result of the *Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975)*. The Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry in charge with making recommendations on claims brought by Maori

the legal jurisdiction to address historical grievances under the terms and conditions of the Treaty.¹²

Narratives such as *Maori Sovereignty* offered a counter-hegemonic view by analysing Maori colonial experiences and the way in which Maori had been debased by Pakeha cultural imperialism.¹³ Awatere, in analysing these experiences showed an alternative version of New Zealand's history and threatened the state to act in accordance with the principles of the Treaty. At the same time she had questioned the legitimacy of the nation state because the authority to act had been imbedded in the Treaty, a document that the state had refused to acknowledge since the turn of the 20th century.¹⁴

Maori Sovereignty was written in reaction to the mounting protests and demonstrations that surrounded the South African Rugby Springbok Tour of New Zealand in 1981 as well as decades of lobbying, land occupations, land marches, petitions and submissions. The tour had created the largest modern 'civil disturbance' that New Zealand had ever witnessed and had shattered New Zealand's image of harmonious race relations'.¹⁵ An image that had been the discourse of New Zealand's national identity since the turn of the 20th century, an image that New Zealand had been keen to maintain. Commentators and demonstrators involved in this tour thought that the greatest impact that the tour had was to stimulate debate concerning

relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breaches the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi.
<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/>

¹² The *Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act* (1988) extended the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal that had until this point could only make recommendations of the breaches made under the Treaty. This Act enabled the Tribunal to make binding judicial recommendations of any claim over lands belonging to State Owned Enterprises that was inconsistent with the terms and conditions of the Treaty.

¹³ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 15.

¹⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 15, 57, Buick, T., Lindsay, *The Treaty of Waitangi, How New Zealand became a British Colony*, (1933), p. ix.

¹⁵ Awatere, Donna, *Maori Sovereignty*, (1984), p. 15.

racism and the place of Pakeha in New Zealand; a debate that had lain dormant for over fifty years.¹⁶

However in offering this counter-history, a complaint was lodged to the Race Relations Office (RRO) in 1985 under the terms of the Race Relations Act 1971(RRA) section 9A concerning the distribution and publishing of *Maori Sovereignty*. This section states that it is,

‘unlawful for any person to publish or distribute written matter which is threatening, abusive, or insulting... [this] being matter or words likely to excite hostility or ill will against, or into contempt or ridicule, any group of persons in New Zealand on the grounds of the colour, race, or ethnic or national origin of that group of persons.’¹⁷

Hiwi Tauroa, the then Race Relations Conciliator made the determination that the complaint made against the distribution and written matter contained in *Maori Sovereignty* had substance under this section. He concluded that it had ‘matter likely to excite hostility or ill will against or bring into contempt or ridicule Pakeha people.’¹⁸ The matter of *Maori Sovereignty* quickly dissipated soon after this complaint had been laid, however the political potency that it had stimulated could not be stomped out completely.

New Zealand’s sovereignty, its transfer from its British origins and Maori cessation of it has been subjected to much debate over the past two centuries, however more publicly in the past three decades. The reason for this debate was to deliberate over whether Maori knowingly ceded their sovereignty over New Zealand to the British Empire or whether Maori had

¹⁶ Mita, Merata, *Patu! Reality Documentary to The South African Springbok Tour of New Zealand 1981*, (1982). The Treaty of Waitangi had been debated rigorously all throughout the 19th century and had again been readdressed at the conclusion of the First World War. This readdress and debate had soon been stomped out by leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata during his visits to various marae around New Zealand during the 1920’s. This was soon followed by his publication *He Whakamarama*, published in 1922 which had convinced many that Maori had not been accorded any rights; an acceptance that was not welcomed by Donna Awatere and the generation she represented. Cleave, Peter, *The Sovereignty Game, Power, Knowledge and Reading the Treaty*, (1989), pp. 44-45, Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 15, 57,

¹⁷ Joyce, Peta and Rosier, Pat, ‘Maori Sovereignty Racist?’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 137, March 1986, p. 13

¹⁸ Joyce, Peta and Rosier, Pat, ‘Maori Sovereignty Racist?’, p. 12

retained their tino rangatiratanga over Aotearoa. This thesis will not deal with this lengthy debate concerning the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 regarding whether sovereignty from a Maori or Pakeha view was ceded. This has been dealt with by other writers such as Apirana Ngata, Lindsay Buick, Claudia Orange, Ranginui Walker, the contributors of *Waitangi*, Andrew Sharp, Paul Moon and Peter Biggs and quite recently Richard Hill.¹⁹ It is thought that this account could not and it intends not to add to the ever growing literature concerning Maori political aspirations under the terms and conditions of the Treaty. Instead this thesis concentrates on what Awatere meant when she coined the phrase ‘Maori Sovereignty’ and how this differed from Maori understanding and advancement of their sovereignty.

The aim of this thesis therefore is twofold: firstly it sets out to trace Maori development of their sovereignty since its inception in 1835 and secondly to examine and analyse *Maori Sovereignty* and the reasons why it differed from previous Maori political theories.

Underpinning this, it highlights the major influences and events that led Awatere to write *Maori Sovereignty* and how she imagined tino rangatiratanga to fit the contemporary needs of Maori as a result of urbanisation.

In order to achieve these aims, this thesis approached Awatere’s political theory in three ways. The first was to determine how Awatere’s political paradigm differed to other Maori political theories by providing a chronological account of Maori political theory since its inception in 1835. Consequently it traced the political development of Maori understanding of their sovereignty from ‘mana whenua’ a term used in The Declaration of Independence in 1835 and tino rangatiratanga –a concept guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

Chapter three of this thesis outlines these significant changes to Maori understanding of their sovereignty from Maori leaders who had initiated and sign both the Declaration and the

¹⁹ To avoid digressing from the main narrative, these writers and their works are reviewed in chapter two.

Treaty to the establishment of the Kingitanga and the explanation provided by 20th century politician and influential Maori leader Apirana Ngata.

Secondly this thesis looks at 20th century global leadership that came about in the decades following the end of World War Two. Chapter four traces the political tactics of leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Malcolm X, the returned soldiers of the 28th Maori Battalion with a particular emphasis on the leadership demonstrated to Awatere by her father, Colonel Arapeta Awatere and the Maori Women's Welfare League's first National President Whina Cooper. This chapter draws the relevance of their leadership and the development of post-war political theories when the world, and in part New Zealand, was experiencing dramatic social, economic and political upheavals. Also, this chapter intends to show that the political applications of *Maori Sovereignty* was a part of the decolonisation and nationalistic processes that had occurred worldwide beginning with the Independence of India in 1947 and ending in what Awatere imagined as a 'Maori Nation State'.

Lastly, this thesis traces her involvement in the New Zealand's women's liberation movement as a representative and advisor for Maori women, her experiences in *Nga Tamatoa* and as a spokeswoman for *Patu! Squad* during the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand.

Chapter five traces her initial exposure to feminist theories and development of Maori feminist theories until her articulation of *Maori Sovereignty*. This chapter analyses Awatere's childhood, her formal education and pivotal moments that had attributed to her understanding of *Maori Sovereignty* while positioning her in the generation that had moved into the cities with their parents as a part of the urban drift.

Chapter two of this thesis examines the literature that this thesis employed to form its conclusions. These conclusions were impossible to formulate without the assistance of Awatere's personal communications with the author in an interview conducted with her in

her home in 2007 as well as a seminar she presented recently at the University of Canterbury in March 2010. These communications have been abridged and they feature in the appendices. A large portion of this literature stems from various articles written by Donna Awatere in the lead up to writing *Maori Sovereignty* and its eventual publication in 1984. There is only a small amount of literature written by Awatere that had been considered after this time such as her autobiography *My Journey*.

This thesis argues that *Maori Sovereignty* differed greatly from any other work previously written by both Maori and Pakeha as it challenged existing interpretations of how Maori had perceived and had advanced their tino rangatiratanga. Subsequently, *Maori Sovereignty* has carved its place as one of New Zealand's most debated and misunderstood publication to ever come out of the 1980's and because of this, the lack of proper analysis has given cause for this thesis.

Chapter Two – Literature Review

The Historiography of *Maori Sovereignty*

Maori Sovereignty was at first a series of three articles published in New Zealand feminist magazine *Broadsheet*. *Broadsheet* was a feminist periodical established in 1972 by the ‘Broadsheet Collective’ and ceased its publication in 1992. Awatere became the Maori advisor and a contributor to *Broadsheet* circa 1978, a position that she fulfilled until her resignation in 1983 and had regularly contributed articles from July 1979 until her resignation in March 1983.²⁰ Most of Awatere’s articles that are employed in this thesis were published in the pages of *Broadsheet*. The majority of Awatere’s articles that were published from January 1980 until the publication of her first instalment of *Maori Sovereignty* in June 1982 were the results of her preparing or participating in a conference, seminar or demonstration on behalf of the Collective.²¹

The first article that appeared in the pages of *Broadsheet* was, ‘Donna Awatere ON’²² which was published in June 1982, the second article ‘Maori Sovereignty, Part Two’²³ appeared in October of 1982 and the third article, ‘Maori Sovereignty, Beyond the Noble Savage’²⁴ was

²⁰ Coney, Sandra, ‘Broadsheet 10 Years On’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 101, (July/August, 1982), p. 15, Awatere, Donna, ‘Letters to the Editor’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 107, (March, 1983), p. 40.

²¹ Awatere, Donna, ‘Awatere at Copenhagen’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 83, (Oct 1980) ‘Beyond the Noble Savage’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 106, (Jan/Feb, 1983), ‘Donna Awatere ON’ in *Broadsheet*, No.98 (June 1982), ‘Fighting Fit’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 86, (Jan/Feb 1981), ‘Hilda Halkyard’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 101, (July/August 1982), ‘I Want a New Zealand Where it is Safe to be Born a Maori Child’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 76, (Jan/Feb 1980), ‘Korero-tia Wahine Ma!’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 84, (Nov 1980), ‘Letters to the Editor’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 107, (March, 1983) ‘Maori Sovereignty part two’ in *Broadsheet*, No.103, (Oct 1982), ‘Pacific Women Meet’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 86, (Jan/Feb 1981), ‘Rebecca Evans’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 103,(Oct 1982), ‘Rugby, Racism and Riot Gear’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 94,(Nov 1981), ‘Three-Nation Conference’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 86, (Jan/Feb 1981), ‘Wahine Ma Korerotia’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 101, (July/August 1982), ‘Wiki Tawhara’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 75, (Dec 1979), ‘Woman of the Revolution’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 74, (Nov 1979), ‘Women Under Apartheid’, in *Broadsheet*, No. 90, (June 1981).

²² Awatere, Donna, ‘Donna Awatere On’, in *Broadsheet*, (Jun, 1982), no. 98, pp. 38-42.

²³ Awatere, Donna, ‘Maori Sovereignty Part Two’, in *Broadsheet*, (Oct, 1982), no. 102, pp. 24-29.

²⁴ Awatere, Donna, ‘Beyond the Noble Savage’, in *Broadsheet*, (Jan/Feb, 1983), no. 106, pp. 12-19.

produced soon after in January of 1983. The appearance of these articles in *Broadsheet* sent shockwaves amongst New Zealand's feminists and they quickly became a hot topic for public debate. The three articles were later reproduced in *Maori Sovereignty* where Awatere added a 'Preface' and another article, 'Exodus' and renamed the first two articles as 'The Death Machine' and 'Alliances' in 1984.²⁵

Awatere's 'Preface' reviewed the aims of *Maori Sovereignty* and the reasons why she wrote the series of articles. She said,

'The series of articles sought to re-conceptualise colonial experience from a Maori point of view...and attempted also to show the lie of multiculturalism by pointing out how the Pakeha does not culturally co-exist with the tangata whenua.'²⁶

She thought that the aims of *Maori Sovereignty* had been made clear within her series of articles and that they were fairly straight forward. She thought this because of the experiences that she and others had been through such the Maori Land March and the 1981 anti Springbok Tour would make the aims of *Maori Sovereignty* clear. She surmised that the unity of the anti-tour demonstrations had towards addressing racism toward Maori would allow New Zealand to acknowledge the lack of attention in rectifying Maori rights under the terms and conditions of the Treaty. However this was not the case, she suggested that this was because it was 'normal' to ignore Maori rights that had been guaranteed to them under the terms and conditions of the Treaty.

'The Death Machine' articulated the technological advances that Pakeha had over Maori and it discussed the demise of Maori customary control of tribal lands and resources through the colonisation processes. She said,

'In 1840, the chiefs could not have foreseen that within one generation...that their very demise as a race would be expected. Neither could they have imagined that within 20

²⁵ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, (1984).

²⁶ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 8.

years whites would outnumber them. That the land and fisheries would be in white settlers hands and that a new order based on this very fact would systematically take apart what was left of Maori culture...Maori land, replace Maori pride with defeatist attitudes and demean Maori language to its extinction as a living entity.²⁷

Awatere proposed that Maori should be reclaiming New Zealand total culture not just the land and its resources, the language and aspects that are ‘non threatening’ to Pakeha concepts of control. She believed that Maori customary concepts of control had been ignored by Pakeha and Maori assertions of reclaiming this customary control over their tribal lands and resources since 1840 has led to violent confrontation. She claimed Maori were psychologically defeated into believing that the Pakeha way was the right way. She concluded in this article that the lack of understanding of Maori concepts by non Maori was a major obstacle in establishing a New Zealand total culture that reflected both Maori and Pakeha concepts of power and authority.²⁸

In ‘Alliances’ she discussed the possibility of re-establishing a national unity that would consider both Maori and Pakeha concepts of authority and control. She said,

‘These alliances are necessary because changes cannot occur with the Maori on our own. White people have cut across class barriers to unite on the basis of white hegemony; that is, white domination of the Maori. To overcome this requires a restructuring of the white alliance.’²⁹

Awatere understood that an alliance was necessary in establishing a ‘popular theoretical revolution’ rather than violent confrontation. She thought that the friends she made while pressing for equal opportunities for females in a male dominated workplace would be the most obvious place to start. However she noted that by the time the first article appeared in

²⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 11-12.

²⁸ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 32.

²⁹ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 34.

Broadsheet and the venomous reaction she received from the feminist and trade union movements, her motives in securing these alliances had been misunderstood.³⁰ One *Broadsheet* reader believed that she was to be driven into the sea by angry Maori activists tossed out like white trash. This reader even went as far as to withdraw her subscription from *Broadsheet* and became disillusioned with the aims of feminist movement in supporting and publishing Awatere's series of articles.³¹

'Beyond the Noble Savage' discussed the patriarchal nature of Maori leadership with a particular emphasis on the type of leadership provided by the 'Young Maori Party' during the early half of the 20th century and the New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC) in the latter half of this century. She said,

'Men like Ngata, Pomare, Te Rangihiroa and others, were the new Maori leadership. Recognised by white people, highly skilled, immersed in both taha pakeha and taha Maori...Ngata and Pomare concentrated their efforts on the struggle for better physical health for our people but it was done in the face of two big obstacles; the Maori moral code and age-old customs, and the continued refusal to allocate and share the resources developed from the land.'³²

She suggested that Maori leadership since the turn of the 20th century confined taha Maori to action songs, haka, carving meeting houses and any aspect that was 'non-threatening' in Pakeha dominated New Zealand. She asserted that these concessions were made at the expense of Maori political, social and economic independences and that these aspects of taha Maori were seen as 'frivolous entertainment' only to be celebrated when it suited Pakeha needs in promoting New Zealand's unique national identity.³³

³⁰ Joyce, Peta and Rosier, Pat, 'Maori Sovereignty Racist?', p. 12.

³¹ 'Letters to the Editor' in *Broadsheet*, no. 106, (Jan/Feb, 1983), p. 3.

³² Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 56-57.

³³ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 57.

She thought that Maori leadership in the 1970's saw Te Reo Maori as a touchy subject and that at no stage did these leaders support the efforts of Awatere's generation in establishing Te Reo Maori within New Zealand's education curriculum.³⁴ She certainly became disillusioned with the New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC) and their lack of support to preserve Te Reo Maori as a living entity when petitioning for its inclusion within the mechanism of the state.³⁵ She also became devoutly venomous towards Members of Parliament with Maori descent lines during Muldoon's government in particular Manuera 'Ben' Couch and the role he played during the Springbok Tour of New Zealand in 1981.³⁶

'Exodus' recapped on 'Beyond the Noble Savage' and argued that a new leadership within Maoridom was imperative in order to cater for the young Maori population. She also recapped on what she had perceived to be the enemy forces. She said,

'The significance of the new direction has been missed...The new leadership for instance...the basic unit for change is the mother and her child...a tidal wave of self-determination rests basically on the efforts and struggle of thousands of young Maori mothers. It is up to them to heal the breach formed by the wedge white culture has forced through our old and young. Leadership can be simply defined as leading. And it is women in every sphere and in all current phases who are doing it.'³⁷

³⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 84-85.

³⁵ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 54.

³⁶ National Party Member of Parliament Manuera 'Ben' Couch was one of the first Maori who had won a general seat for the Wairapa electorate in 1975, a seat he held until the 'snap election' of 1984, under the leadership of Robert 'Rob' Muldoon. Couch held several portfolios as a Cabinet Minister which included Minister of Maori Affairs, Post Master General and as well as the controversial position of Minister of Police during the highly controversial Springbok Rugby Tour of New Zealand in 1981. After he married his wife Bessie in 1945 he was converted into the Mormon faith and had served as an 'Elder' within the church until his death in 1996. He was a top ranking rugby player during his youth and had been selected for the All Blacks to tour Australia in 1947. He was ruled out however during New Zealand's Rugby Tour of South Africa in 1949 due to being of Maori descent. This experience, although was largely disappointing at the time, did not sway his determination for a racially selected team to tour in New Zealand during the 1981 Springbok Tour. He even went as far as wearing a Springbok jersey during one of the many press conferences held in the governments' support of the tour continuing. Awatere became antagonistic towards Couch during the 1981 tour because he could have at any stage stopped the tour. He, however, as the Minister of Police fuelled the violence by allowing the police to use batons and to give the order to stop the protestors from stopping the matches.

³⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 92.

She thought that because Maori had confined their political aspirations within separate and distinct tribal boundaries Maori were experiencing a withdrawal from the mainstream. She claimed that the direction of Maori political thought was the main cause of this withdrawal. She asserted that due to these processes, Maori must take up all time and all space in New Zealand and that Maori must force non-Maori to accept Maoridom as ‘normal’ and ‘right’ and not be isolated within separate and distinct tribal boundaries. She concluded that it was the right of all peoples to dream dreams of their own and to do so by reclaiming their *turangawaewae*.³⁸ This for Awatere and for *Maori Sovereignty* was for all of New Zealand to embrace their status as people of the land. That is for Maori and Pakeha to occupy the same space ‘harmoniously’. Once this primary identification as people of the land was established the building up of a national identity and ultimately a nation state that truly reflected New Zealand’s total culture could be achieved.

The author conducted an interview with Awatere in her home in the researching stages of this thesis and that it was unstructured where the author had only three basic questions. The transcription taken from the interview has been abridged because the interview was conducted over a period of 8 hours. This transcript appears in appendix one. Because the interview was conducted almost 25 years after the original publication of *Maori Sovereignty*, it has to be said that Awatere has matured her thoughts. However it must be said that the interview and *Maori Sovereignty* are considered as the authority to all other evidences.

This thesis relies also on the recent seminar given by Awatere during a Mana Wahine Lecture Series held by the University of Canterbury, where the author noted that she had tightened and provided a deeper contextual analysis than what the interview had entailed. However much of what she said during the interview was repeated in this seminar. A transcription of

³⁸ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 107.

this seminar appears in appendix two. She said during the seminar that she wrote her autobiography *My Journey* when she entered Parliament as a candidate for the New Zealand Act Party under the leadership of the then Party Leader Roger Douglas. Much of what she wrote for *My Journey* was sanitised by ACT's publishers however in light of this; this publication was used only as a reference guide in order to place Awatere in a chronological sequence. The other publication that this thesis relied on was a collection of Awatere's father Colonel Arapeta Awatere memoirs, *A Soldier's Story*, published by his granddaughter, Awatere's daughter, Hinemoa, Awatere wrote the Preface in this publication.

The militancy of the language employed in *Maori Sovereignty* this thesis argues stemmed from a pamphlet entitled *Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine* published in 1969 which discussed the aims of the Palestinian Liberation Front (PLF). Awatere became fully aware of the aims of the PLF and these strategies from a conference that she attended in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the storming of the Monaco Bastion by Cuban revolutionaries, Fidel Castro and Che' Guevara. She was invited to collaborate with the feminist branches of the PLF where she thought it would a great opportunity to develop New Zealand's independent political theories. However she was not prepared to overthrow New Zealand's nation state as the PLF were doing through guerrilla warfare and the hijacking of planes. She instead utilised only the theoretical aims of the PLF. These aims were remoulded by Awatere to fit Maori aims for the re-establishment of their sovereignty over New Zealand and the return of their ancestral lands. This pamphlet is found on the PLF website <http://www.pflp.ps/english/?q=founding-document-popular-front-liberation-palesti> and its major focus was to place emphasis on the importance on the intellectual development of political thought in their devout aims for national independence. It said,

‘The time has come for our masses to understand the true nature of the enemy because, through such understanding, the picture of the battle becomes clearer to them.’³⁹

The point for the PLF was to filter a clear perspective of the enemy to the masses so that they may know the weaknesses and the strengths of their enemy in order for the PLF and the masses that they represent to become stronger. This founding document for the PLF concluded that,

- ‘1. Our enemy in the battle is Israel, Zionism, world imperialism and Arab reaction.
2. This enemy possesses technological superiority and definite superiority in production which naturally develops into military superiority and great fighting power.
3. In addition to all this, the enemy has long experience in facing the masses' movement towards economic and political liberation and has the power to defeat such movement unless the masses possess that high degree of political consciousness which enables them to counteract all methods used by the neo-colonialists in trying to defeat revolutionary movements.
4. The nature of the battle in relation to this enemy's principal military base represented by Israel is a life or death struggle which the political and military leadership inside Israel will endeavour to put up until the last breath.’⁴⁰

The PLF believe that when political theory mobilised the masses, the masses became the theory's most effective weapon instead of warfare. They asserted that with a direct and precise theory, the aim of revolutionaries are clear and that there is a common goal for the masses to work towards. This common goal for Awatere was the establishment of a Maori Nation State which would consolidate tino rangatiratanga forever over New Zealand. Once this thesis cross referenced these aims with *Maori Sovereignty* Awatere's political theory and its militancy, her political aims in *Maori Sovereignty* became clearer. Much of *Maori Sovereignty*'s structure is based upon the structure used in this pamphlet. This is done through Awatere replacing Israel with Pakeha New Zealand, Zionism with Christianity,

³⁹ Second Congress of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, ‘Who are our enemies’ in *A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine*, (1969). <http://www.pflp.ps/english/?q=founding-document-popular-front-liberation-palesti>

⁴⁰ Second Congress of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, ‘Who are our enemies’ in *A Strategy for the Liberation of Palestine*, (1969). <http://www.pflp.ps/english/?q=founding-document-popular-front-liberation-palesti>

world imperialism with Britain and Arab reaction with colonial Maori. By doing this she could effectively argue what forces obstructed the possibility of establishing New Zealand as a Maori Nation State.

Awatere however did not write about her experiences in Cuba nor the PLF in the pages of *Broadsheet* as she did with other conferences. Therefore this thesis relied on only the snippets that she provided in her autobiography *My Journey* and her article 'Walking on Eggshells' as well as the interview and the seminar she presented at the University of Canterbury recently. This is the reason why this thesis relied on the PLF website as a cross-reference of Awatere's political theory.

Other articles that are used in this thesis that appeared in *Broadsheet* are editor of *Broadsheet*, Sandra Coney's articles, 'Broadsheet, 10 Years On', and an extract taken from Dr Nawal el Saadawi a medical doctor and psychiatrist, Egyptian feminist and author of the publication *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World* with the accompanying article, 'Genital Mutilation'. Coney also helped edit *Maori Sovereignty* and had encouraged Awatere to submit these articles to *Broadsheet*.⁴¹ Peta Joyce and Pat Rosier's article 'Maori Sovereignty, Racist?' features as well as an article written originally for a United States of America feminist magazine WIN by its editor Fran Hosken, 'Genital Mutilation, The Hidden Atrocity'. This thesis is heavily reliant on this publication and considers it as one of the key references in understanding Awatere's arguments in *Maori Sovereignty*.

The Republican produced and edited by Awatere's mentor and friend Bruce Jesson is the other periodical that this thesis relied heavily upon.⁴² This publication joined in the *Maori*

⁴¹ Pers. Comm. Interview with Donna Awatere, see appendix one.

⁴² Jesson, Bruce, 'About the Republican' in *The Republican*, No. 37, (October, 1981), p. 2. Group of Auckland Trade Unionist, 'T. U. C. Cops Out!' in *The Republican*, No. 41 (July, 1982), Black Unity, 'A Statement on the Attempt by White Leftists to Divide Pacific Peoples' in *The Republican*, No. 41, (July 1982), Jesson, Bruce,

Sovereignty debate where Jesson penned a number of articles regarding *Maori Sovereignty* and the events that led to Awatere's articulation. When *Maori Sovereignty* appeared in the pages of *Broadsheet*, Jesson relished in the reactions to it and as a result he devoted over 15 issues of *The Republican* to this debate. Awatere however did not contribute any articles to *The Republican* and it would seem that she was comfortable with Jesson replying to these reactions in this periodical.

Jesson gained his law degree at the University of Canterbury; he however never practised as a lawyer as he was more interested in journalistic writing and took an avid interest in New Zealand's history as his subject matter. He has been noted as New Zealand's most independent national thinker who Awatere said made a definitive impact on her political theories that provided the backbone in *Maori Sovereignty*. She said in her interview with the author that,

'motivations outside of the movement that impacted my thinking were thinkers like Bruce Jesson who was a Republican, and I think probably our greatest independent thinker...he said New Zealand was quite unique in that we had no intelligentsia, we had no people that would debate issues...like sovereignty...I think what Bruce's view was is that people didn't think but he did and he had a robust way of thinking about the world...everything about his thinking was about New Zealand, at a very high level and high order and it would be very good to look at his stuff.'⁴³

Jesson was one of Awatere's mentors and friends during her university career and was very influential on her political theory for an independent Maori Nation State. She had met Jesson when she joined the Auckland based feminist group 'Women for Equality' established by

'About the Republican' in *The Republican*, No. 37, (October, 1981), 'Maori Sovereignty and the New Zealand Identity' in *The Republican*, No. 43. (October 1982), 'Maori Radicals and the Pakeha Left: How Much in Common?' in *The Republican*, No. 41, (July 1982), 'Muldoon: Still Going Where Britain Goes' in *The Republican*, No. 40 (May, 1982), 'Too Many Poms: A Republican Appraisal' in *The Republican*, (1973).

⁴³ Pers. Comm. 'Interview with Donna Awatere' Refer to Appendix one.

Jesson's wife Joce in 1969. He also wrote a couple of articles for *Broadsheet* as a result of his affiliation to the group however this thesis did not form any of its conclusions based on these articles. From 'Women for Equality' Awatere became a part of the 'Broadsheet Collective'.

His support of *Maori Sovereignty* did not end with *The Republican* as he devoted his second article when he began working for *Auckland Metro* to address *Maori Sovereignty* to a wider audience. It is because of his support and critical analysis of *Maori Sovereignty* that Jesson's work, in particular *The Republican*, provides pivotal evidence for this thesis. The reason for employing these evidences was to gauge the reaction to *Maori Sovereignty*, during its original publication in the pages of *Broadsheet*.

There are obvious quotes that Jesson writes in *The Republican* that Awatere used in *Maori Sovereignty* such as the quote from Robert Muldoon that appeared in her first instalment 'The Death Machine' and Jesson's article 'Muldoon: Still Going Where Britain Goes'. This quote from Muldoon used in both text stated,

'I suppose around our cabinet table you've got a lot of fellows like me who were brought up to believe that the term 'British' means something.'⁴⁴

Jesson is equally antagonistic if not more in his writings than Awatere towards Pakeha; in his article, 'Maori Sovereignty and the New Zealand Identity', he said,

'Pakeha New Zealanders even radical Pakeha New Zealanders seem reluctant to renounce their British heritage in favour of an unambiguously New Zealand identity.'⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 11, Jesson, Bruce, 'Muldoon: Still Going Where Britain Goes' in *The Republican*, No. 40 (May, 1982), p. 2.

⁴⁵ Jesson, Bruce, 'Maori Sovereignty and the New Zealand Identity' in *The Republican*, No. 43, (October, 1982), p. 3.

He, like Awatere, thought that Pakeha New Zealand had not developed any independent New Zealand theories that could be categorically New Zealand in its nature. This was because he asserted that New Zealanders are too dependent on Britain, politically, economically and culturally for inspiration.

The other evidence that is briefly employed is Historians Donald Denoon, Phillipa Mein-Smith and Marivic Wyndham's, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*. This publication is an interpretation of the histories of settler societies in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific and the effects that the settlers had on marginalising indigenous peoples. The reason this work is utilised was because it was the only publication that had acknowledged that Donna Awatere had coined the phrase 'Maori Sovereignty.'⁴⁶

The Historiography of Tino Rangatiratanga

Maori scholar, politician and prominent 20th century Maori leader Sir Apirana Ngata's *He Whakamarama o Te Tiriti* is the benchmark literature for this thesis in understanding Maori political development of tino rangatiratanga. This is because this publication was the first time that Maori had ever attempted to explain Maori customary concepts that are used to express Maori notions of authority and power in a way that both Maori and Pakeha could understand.⁴⁷

Ngata, born in 1874, was the first Maori to complete a degree at a New Zealand university and his career objective was to ameliorate the condition of Maori by reforming their social and economic situations. He was an accomplished and skilled orator, advocator and

⁴⁶ Denoon, D., Mein-Smith., P. Wyndham, Marivic, p. 382.

⁴⁷ For a full version of the Maori and English Texts refer to Appendix five.

renowned leader for Maori. Ngata became a Member of Parliament in 1905 and served until 1948 holding a number of portfolios that included being the Minister of Native Affairs.⁴⁸

Ngata said that he had been provoked into providing an explanation of Maori rights under the terms and conditions of the Treaty and in particular Article Two. He explained these conditions with reluctance because he admitted that he could not explain sovereignty based on Maori customary forms of authority. He said, ‘How can such an organisation, as a Government, be established under Maori custom?’⁴⁹ He had admitted that the language and translations of Pakeha concepts of authority that were used to equate chiefly authority were unclear and he went into great detail to explain what authority such as sovereignty, Maori had ceded.⁵⁰ However he had asserted throughout his explanation that Maori did not have a customary form of authority that could equate to British understanding of sovereignty.⁵¹

Political scientist Peter Cleave and his publication *The Sovereignty Game* published in 1989 was the first of any writer who actually criticised Ngata’s explanation. In it he argued that Ngata’s interpretation was misleading and that it was a false resolution to who was the ultimate authority in the land based on Ngata’s theory of cession. Cleave argued that as a result, sovereignty, from a Maori point of view resulted in confusion among Maori groupings in the decades that followed.⁵² Cleave’s publication analysed the differences in the language and its translations used in all three versions of the Treaty of Waitangi. He provided for this thesis a counter argument to Ngata’s explanation and gives depth to Ngata’s interpretations of key terms employed in both the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁴⁸ Walker, Ranginui, *He Tipua, The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*, (2002), p. iv.

⁴⁹ Ngata, Apirana, *He Whakamarama*, (1922), p. 4.

⁵⁰ Ngata, *He Whakamarama*, pp. 2, 7-8.

⁵¹ Ngata, pp. 6, 20.

⁵² Cleave, Peter, *The Sovereignty Game, Power, Knowledge and Reading the Treaty*, (1989), pp. 44-45,

Much of Ngata's explanation had obvious parallels to Lindsay Buick's *The Treaty of Waitangi or How New Zealand Became a British Colony* because he had argued no differently from Buick. Buick, born 1866, was a self educated journalist and historian who was a trained carpenter when he became a Member of Parliament serving two consecutive terms from 1890 till 1896. Having left parliament under much duress he became interested in journalism, a career he enjoyed until his death in 1938.⁵³

Buick published in the decade prior to Ngata where he believed that the Treaty should be New Zealand's founding document because as its title suggested this was how New Zealand became a colony of the British Empire. He thought that the lack of recognition of the validity of this document could no longer be overlooked by New Zealand's Parliamentarians as the authority to 'act' stemmed its origins in the Treaty. It was with the release of this book and its subsequent republications that Buick played an important role in establishing the Treaty of Waitangi as New Zealand's foremost historical document.⁵⁴ It is because of this role his publication is utilised in this thesis as much of chapter three's primary documents are referenced from it. Evidences include a letter addressed to King William by Maori in 1831, the Declaration of Independence in 1835 and a petition from the settler community in Kororareka in 1836.

Both Ngata and Buick used the proverb uttered by Te Rarawa chief and signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 Nopera Panakareao as an example of Maori understanding that New Zealand's sovereignty was ceded by Maori to the British Crown. Although they both record the utterance of Panakareao, this thesis cross-referenced their observations with the report given to the British Colonial Office by British Resident to New Zealand William

⁵³ www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/name207530.html

⁵⁴ Traue, J. E. 'Buick, Thomas Lindsay 1865 - 1938'. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 22 June 2007, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Hobson and Political Scientist and Treaty commentator Richard Dawson's unpublished paper, 'Revitalizing Chief Panakareao's Sovereignty Talk with Emily Dickinson's Immortality Talk'. These are only used to give a broader understanding to Panakareao's intentions in signing the Treaty.

Historian and current member of the Waitangi Tribunal⁵⁵ Richard Hill recently remarked that 'Modern scholars, especially Maori writers, have stressed the integral link between land and rangatiratanga.'⁵⁶ He stated that it was clear from these writers that the exercise of rangatiratanga by Maori was rooted in the land and its resources.

Hill has published a multi-volume study of policing and social control in nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand. His book *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy* examined the history of Crown–Maori relations between 1900 and 1950. He has also authored many articles and book chapters. Hill is currently a Professor of New Zealand Studies at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington and the director of its Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit. He worked in the Treaty of Waitangi resolution processes during the pioneering negotiations stage in the late 1980s and the 1990's. He has been a member of the Waitangi Tribunal since his appointment in 2008. Hill is important for this thesis as he provided an in-depth account of Maori-Crown relations in terms of legislations and Maori reaction to it during the first half of the 20th century.

A large part of Hill's academic training was based on the political activities of Ngata and Ngata's concern with the ongoing loss of tribal lands especially during the turn of the 20th

⁵⁵ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 as a result of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry in charge with making recommendations on claims brought by Maori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breaches the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi. <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/>

⁵⁶ Hill, Richard, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy; Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*, (2004), pp. 65.

century. Hill stated many modern scholars centred their political theory on this concern on the ongoing loss of tribal lands and said that, ‘this theme has been a commonplace in scholarship’. Hill argued that in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars concentrated on the ongoing loss of Maori ownership over tribal lands and that they did not even think that the eventual return of these lands was inconceivable. Maori however continued to argue in the latter half of the 20th century that the possession of the land was central to the exercise of tino rangatiratanga.⁵⁷

Hill based his observations on distinguished Maori academic Emeritus Professor I. H. Kawharu publication *Maori Land Tenure*.⁵⁸ Kawharu is important to this thesis as he wrote an extensive amount on Maori customary tenure on land with the above mentioned publication and the changing ideology of Maori political theory and the development of tino rangatiratanga. He also edited the first edition of *Waitangi*. This thesis utilised this publication, which will be discussed later, as well as numerous articles and chapters in books. He was pivotal in the construction of the University of Auckland’s Marae, Waipapa, and was responsible for establishing their Maori Studies department which had been previously under the Department of Anthropology and was its founding Professor.⁵⁹

The other writer that Hill based his observations on was Maori scholar and Historian Danny Keenan and his article ‘Bound to the Land: Maori Retention and Assertion of Land and Identity’. Keenan specialises in Maori, New Zealand and Comparative Indigenous histories.⁶⁰ Both Kawharu and Keenan provided examples of modern Maori scholarship and their understanding of Maori political aspirations during in the latter half of the 20th century.

⁵⁷ Hill, p. 66, Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Kawharu, I. H, *Maori Land Tenure Studies of a Changing Institution*, (1977), pp. 4, 274-275, 6.

⁵⁹ Walker, Ranginui, ‘Emeritus Professor Sir Hugh Kawharu 1927 – 2006’ in *The University of Auckland News*, Vol. 36, Issue 18, October 6 2006, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁰ Keenan, Danny, ‘Bound to the Land: Maori Retention and Assertion of Land and Identity’, in Pawson, Eric and Brooking, Tom (eds), *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, (2002), pp. 250-260.

Waitangi is an important publication for its time because it was the first time in New Zealand's literary history that a varying range of professionals from Maori Leaders such as Tipene O'Regan to New Zealand family and constitutional lawyers Frederika Hacksaw and Paul McHugh had ever published an academic and well argued explanation and analysis to the terms and conditions of the Treaty. This collection of essays that are presented by both Maori and Pakeha scholars and tribal leaders explored a wide range of legal and historical issues raised by Awatere's generation concerning Maori rights under the Treaty. This is discussed in two ways, part one discussed the legal and historical significance of New Zealand's sovereignty as being vested in the Crown where part two discussed Maori reaction to the guarantees made by the Crown to protect their rangatiratanga.

Waitangi looks at themes such as legitimising *tino rangatiratanga* in New Zealand's Constitution, its common law and within international law. It also draws on cases that were before the Waitangi Tribunal at that time such as the Muriwhenua and Ngai Tahu claims as in the case of O'Regan, where each writer builds up their cause for grievance under the terms of the Treaty. However for the purposes of this thesis, writers such as Hackshaw and McHugh are employed as they provided a constitutional framework regarding aboriginal and customary titles to land during the 19th century and question the legitimacy of tino rangatiratanga within New Zealand's judicial institutions.

Frederika Hackshaw, a solicitor who specialised in Family Law at the time when her article 'Nineteenth Century Notions of Aboriginal Title and their Influence on the Interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi' was written for *Waitangi*. Her work is important for this thesis as she backgrounds the nullification of Maori customary rights within New Zealand's judicial system. Paul McHugh a constitutional lawyer has written extensively on common law and aboriginal rights. He asserted throughout his career and in particular with his article

‘Constitutional Theory and Maori Claims’ that Maori customary title was not extinguished with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. McHugh is also employed in understanding the mechanisms of the Waitangi Tribunal and British understanding of sovereignty as it applies in New Zealand’s common law.

Political scientist and Historian Andrew Sharp argued soon after *Waitangi* was published in his book *Justice and the Maori* that the contributors of Kawharu’s *Waitangi* did not advance Maori political theories and thought that they argued rather for separate and autonomous tribal authorities and establishing an unrealistic ‘dual sovereignty’.⁶¹ Sharp argued in his publication *Justice and the Maori* that the common theme that surrounded Maori political theory and writings during the 1970’s and 1980’s was that New Zealand’s sovereignty could be governed by two separate authorities.

Sharps observations are important because he was one of the very few writers to provide a proper critical analysis of Awatere’s *Maori Sovereignty*. The other publication of Sharp’s *Bruce Jesson To Build a Nation* which is a compilation of Jesson’s works that he produced from his time as editor of *The Republican* and his contributions to various publications such as *The Auckland Metro* and *The New Zealand Listener*. This understanding of Jesson’s works could also explain his accurate interpretation and critical analysis of *Maori Sovereignty*.

However this publication was utilised only as a biography of Jesson.

Historian and Massey University academic Lindsay Cox refuted these claims made by Sharp in his publication *Kotahitanga*.⁶² Cox said that movements such as the *Kingitanga* overlooked tribal boundaries and that tribes had unified for the common purpose of asserting their sovereignty. However even Cox had to concede that Maori did not have any concept of

⁶¹ Sharp, p. 250.

⁶² Cox, Lindsay, *Kotahitanga*, (1993), p. 39.

sovereignty within their customary authority and that the Kingitanga had failed as a result.

Kotahitanga was written as a result of a national Maori leadership hui during the late 1980's and provided the framework for Cox's PhD thesis which was published soon after in 1993.

He provided for this thesis a historiography of Maori movements of unity.

In order for this thesis to gauge Maori reaction to the formation of the Kingitanga as an example of Maori unity it relied on the work of Professor of Geography and University of Waikato academic Evelyn Stokes and her publication *Wiremu Tamihana: Rangatira* as well as *The Maori Messenger* a 19th century periodical newspaper published from 1849 until 1860 in particular the article, 'Proceedings of the Kohimarama Conference'. It also employed a number of Ranginui Walker's articles as a summary of the events surrounding the Kingitanga movement. The relevance of Walker's articles and publications will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Kingitanga was set up in 1858 initially by leaders within the Waikato confederate in particular Wiremu Tarapipi Tamihana, who became known later as the 'Kingmaker'.

Stokes's publication followed and traced Tamihana's movements in his quest to establish New Zealand's first sovereign, Maori King Potatau Te Wherowhero. Tamihana had visited many Maori communities across New Zealand and had gathered some momentum for the establishment of a Maori sovereign; however as chapter three notes, the Kingitanga failed to gather the consensus of all Maori who would support the Kingitanga movement absolutely.

This thesis looks at the example of Ngai Tahu chief Taiaroa and his reaction to Tamihana's quest at the Kohimarama Conference in Auckland who did not want to vest his mana whenua in the Kingitanga. This observation is recorded in both Stokes's publication and the article 'Proceedings of the Kohimarama Conference'.

Stokes's publication is a full account of Tamihana's meetings with not only Maori but with Pakeha and the British Colonial Office. It is however not Tamihana's biography but an understanding and interpretation of his movements according to his own personal accounts, memoirs and the numerous political letters and petitions that were penned by him.

The narratives of Historian and senior member for the Waitangi Tribunal Angela Ballara and her publication *Taua*, Historian Claudia Orange and her publication *The Treaty of Waitangi* and Historian Hazel Petrie and her book *Chiefs of Industry* are utilised. These three publications provided a contextual analysis of early 19th century Maori entrepreneurial activities and their development of their customary authority in accommodating trade with Pakeha including the development and establishment of the Kingitanga.

Angela Ballara is recognised as one of the foremost academic authorities on Maori customary history. Ballara has written three books and two theses and has contributed to numerous published works. She has written numerous papers for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and the *New Zealand Journal of History* and has been a member of the Waitangi Tribunal since 2004.

The Treaty of Waitangi was Orange's PhD thesis which had gained popularity amongst her academic peers that as a result was later published in 1987. She has since written extensively on the Treaty of Waitangi and has been recognised as one of New Zealand's leading Historians and Treaty commentator.

Historian Hazel Petrie is currently lecturing with the University of Auckland and specialises in Maori economic history with a particular emphasis on food production and Maori entrepreneurial activities in the early 19th century. She also has a particular interest in Maori and Pakeha relations and British perceptions of Maori concepts on slavery.

A large collection Professor Ranginui Walker's works are employed in this thesis as he spent the majority of his academic career writing numerous papers on Maori education and had organised several Maori leadership conferences including the workshop that Awatere had attended where she said that Maori were inspired to form Nga Tamatoa. He wrote extensively also on the effects of urbanisation on Maori, Maori land issues, Maori fisheries, Maori educational development, and Maori representation in Parliament. Besides his numerous papers and chapters in books, he has published six books: *Nga Tau Tohetohe: The Years of Anger*, *Ka Whaiwhi Tonu Matou: Struggle without End*, *Nga Pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers*, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*, *Opotiki Mai Tawhiti*, and *Paki Harrison: Tohunga Whakairo. The Story of a Master Carver*.

This thesis relies on the first four aforementioned publications as he provided for this thesis a pan tribal and academic view and background histories on the 'genesis' of modern Maori protest. This included also his article that he contributed to *Waitangi* entitled 'The Treaty of Waitangi as the Focus of Maori Protest' which he had originally printed in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1983.

Walker is utilised mainly due to the fact that he was one of the few Maori academics at this time that actually wrote about New Zealand's protest culture and Maori attempts at nationalism during the 1970's and 1980's including the makeup of Nga Tamatoa, many of whom he taught while lecturing at the University of Auckland.

The Historiography of Nation States

This thesis relied on the narrative history of British Historian and Philosopher Charles van Doren and his publication *A History of Knowledge* as a compendium of philosophical change in the human experience. This publication traces over two hundred years of theoretical

change in world history and the key figures who caused these changes in human behaviour such as 17th and 18th century political philosophers John Locke and Immanuel Kant respectively. Van Doren gives this thesis a contextual analysis in the changes of human thought and the way that people interacted with each other by highlighting pivotal moments in world history.

17th century philosopher John Locke wrote *Two Treatises of Government* some fifty years after the Revolution of England 1688⁶³ an event imperative to Lockean thinking as pointed out by van Doren.⁶⁴ Locke articulated his argument neatly upon the reign of King Charles I and the events leading up to the Revolution and believed that Charles whose wars both internal and external cause political instability resulted in revolutionising England's political institutions.

Locke said,

‘it is unreasonable for men to be judges of their own cases, - self love will make men partial to themselves and friends...ill nature, passion and revenge will carry them too far in punishing others...hence nothing but confusion and disorder will follow.’⁶⁵

Although Locke does not specifically mention Charles, Locke argued that the people, among them the monarchy, have a right to a legitimate and stable government and the monarchy must provide a legitimate government or they could be legitimately overthrown; this became evident with the execution of King Charles I in 1649.⁶⁶ He considered that because of Charles's reign and relentless wars that he was orchestrating, the power of sovereignty should

⁶³ The Revolution of England 1688 dramatically shifted how sovereignty was traditionally viewed where the power of sovereignty rested with the monarchy to Parliament. This was because the monarchy had a ‘divine right of absolute power’ prior to this revolution.

⁶⁴ Van Doren, Charles, *A History of Knowledge*, (1991), pp. 220-221.

⁶⁵ Locke, John, *Two Treatises of Government*, (2000), p. 276.

⁶⁶ Van Doren, p. 221.

rest with the united will of the people in the form of elected representatives and within a set of laws not with the monarchy.⁶⁷ The point that Locke posited was sovereignty does not work when the power of it lies with the monarchy, because a King's judgement is never absolute, it changes at will.⁶⁸ This legitimacy was challenged by Britain's colonies such as India and in Africa in the decades following World War Two. These colonies had forced Britain to relinquish its political and economic monopolies over these newly formed countries as noted by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in 1960.⁶⁹

The Revolution of England 1688 as argued by Historian Glenn Burgess dramatically shifted how sovereignty was traditionally viewed. This is where the power of sovereignty that had traditionally rested with the monarchy transferred its power to the Government. This was because prior to the revolution the monarchy had a 'divine right of absolute power', the point that Locke had made. Burgess wrote extensively on the theories of the divine rights of kings more specifically in his article 'The Divine Rights of Kings Reconsidered', in *The English Historical Review*. Burgess began this essay with a speech delivered by King James I who had explained the theory of divine right to the Lords and Commons at Whitehall in 1609. He argued that this speech was the subject of debate between the monarchy and Parliament until the reign of Victoria, which began in 1838, since it had been uttered. James I said,

'The state of Monarchie is the Supremest thing upon earth; for Kings are not onely Gods lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called Gods.'⁷⁰

In essence, Burgess argued that this doctrine ordained the right of Kings to create laws for their subjects and it is the belief that these Kings were only answerable to God. However in

⁶⁷ Locke, pp. 142-143.

⁶⁸ Locke, pp. 276, 330.

⁶⁹ Not to digress, Macmillan's work is reviewed later on in this chapter.

⁷⁰ Burgess, Glenn, 'The Divine Right of Kings Reconsidered', in *The English Historical Review*, no. 107, (October 1992), p. 837.

light of this, Burgess's work is used only as a contextual analysis of the Revolution of England in 1688.

18th century philosopher Immanuel Kant imagined sovereignty in a similar fashion to Locke where he imagined also that all men must be brought into a rightful condition.⁷¹ Kant however is placed in a different time to Locke and must therefore be considered differently. Kant wrote during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Britain was at its peak of building their empire and when trade between countries constructed the idea of a 'global village'.⁷²

Kant wrote during an era where the Monarchy still held their 'states' political power and that the theories of philosophers like Locke in the century previous had just began to filter into public consciousness. While Kant did not specifically use the words nominal sovereignty and absolute sovereignty it can be interpreted that this is what he meant. This is because the intellectual tradition and the current understanding of the way that sovereignty works was being established by thinkers such as Kant, whose theories had not yet permeated in global consciousness.

Due to the appropriation of the land that was required for re settlement in these countries where these settlers had no *common possession* Kant believed that the transference of the land must be legally binding, mutually beneficial and not to be taken by force. Kant imagined that the legal acquisition and title to 'property' for settlers in these countries happened in two stages.

⁷¹ Kant, Immanuel, *The Metaphysics of Morals*, (2000), p. 90.

⁷² Kant, p. 89.

The first was for all members who have common possession to the land agree to enter in a social contract and secondly that these members have to agree on what was rightful possession of the land. He said,

‘there is also a rightful *capacity* of the will to bind everyone to recognize the act of taking possession and appropriation is valid, even though it is only unilateral. Therefore provisional acquisition of land, together with all its rightful consequences, is possible.’⁷³

The point Kant stressed was that it was up to those, that is, the original inhabitants, with common possession to the land to decide what provisions to place on this right to ‘own’ land in common. Kant argued that nominal sovereignty should be extended to the original inhabitants until such time that they has agreed to unite and create a common law. He said that a multitude of human beings needed to establish a constitution in their country of origin, which set boundaries in the way that people acted towards each other.⁷⁴

He thought that a civil condition was brought about when individuals united and agreed to enter into a social contract with each other. He said,

‘This condition of the individuals within a people in relation to one another, is called a civil condition, and the whole of the individuals in a rightful condition is called a state.’⁷⁵

He saw this *civil condition* as provisional and argued that once these individuals united, they agreed to establish and be governed by a set of common laws then they have been bought into a *rightful condition*. Once the members of this union agreed and recognised these common laws, these laws are considered the ‘norms’ in the way that members interact with each other. What this means was that every individual within that community could expect to be treated

⁷³ Kant, p. 54.

⁷⁴ Kant, pp. 90-91.

⁷⁵ Kant, p. 90.

in a certain way and if these rights are not respected then the 'state' can act in a manner that was consistent with these common laws.

Kant imagined that sovereignty established 'foreign policy' in that a set of common laws in regarding trade were agreed to by sovereign nations. This set of common laws dictated the way in which trade could be conducted between countries in a safe and peaceful manner. It can be argued that by this stage those countries who agreed to these sets of common laws had been brought into the rightful condition, where the idea of sovereignty was in the possession of the original inhabitants.⁷⁶

Sovereignty vested in a nation state therefore determines how peoples could co-exist politically. It was an agreement between those who come from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and lived in the same geographical region to be governed by a set of common laws. In consenting to be governed in a nation state, sovereignty protects property ownership where no other can take away their rights through violence or force. Kant was adamant that it was up to the original inhabitants to determine their nation's common law. He argued that those who came from states that were governed by sovereignty were to assist, not duplicate, this national authority. Politically and socially, man in a nation state is answerable only to the legislative authority, which punishes and awards man according to crimes or deeds.

These two philosophers are important for this thesis as their political theories give this thesis an intellectual tradition behind the concept of sovereignty and the establishment of the modern nation state. It also backgrounds Awatere's concept of the modern nation state and its relevance to the Maori Nation State that she posited in *Maori Sovereignty*.

⁷⁶ Kant, pp. 90-92.

The Historiography of a Maori Nation State

Donna Awatere believed that by proposing a ‘Maori Nation State’, in *Maori Sovereignty* which gained it authority to ‘act’ from tino rangatiratanga, was following in the decolonisation processes and nationalistic movements that occurred worldwide in the decades following World War Two. She said,

‘In seeking independence, the Maori people are following a worldwide trend towards decolonisation begun when independence was given unwillingly to India... World War Two inspired many colonised people to seek independence’.⁷⁷

The Independence of India in 1947 was seen by other colonies and especially for Awatere as a triumph where the otherwise Imperial powers were unassailable. She said during the interview that,

‘it made a huge impact on me...like India becoming decolonised showed that the colonial powers could be challenged and could be beaten and so the logic for me was if this was the case then there is no question in my mind that Maori too could defeat their aggressor.’⁷⁸

It can be argued then that modern Maori protest such as the Maori Land March of 1975 was modelled from Mahatma Ghandi’s ‘Salt March’⁷⁹ and Martin Luther King’s Black Civil Rights ‘March on Washington’⁸⁰. The Maori Land March of 1975 is a perfect example of Maori looking outwards for demonstrative solutions and following in these traditions as a

⁷⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 79.

⁷⁸ Pers com. Interview with Donna Awatere, refer to appendix one.

⁷⁹ On March 12th 1930, Mahatma Ghandi and his followers initiated a 241-mile coastal journey from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi on what became known as the Salt March. This March and its impact that it had on Maori Sovereignty is discussed further in chapter four.

Ghandi, Mahatma, *The Collected Works of Ghandi*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 3, 6, 69, Fay, Ward, Peter, *The Forgotten Army: India’s Armed Struggle for Independence 1942-1945*, (1996), pp. 114-118.

⁸⁰ The March on Washington occurred in August 1963, was initiated by Black Civil Rights leaders who wanted to show the solidarity in Black America’s in establishing basic civil rights such as voting. This March and its impact is discussed further in chapter four.

means of raising public awareness on the unjust legislations towards Maori owned land.⁸¹

The biography of Dame Whina Cooper, *Whina*, by Historian Michael King provided an insight into the 1975 Maori Land March. It is utilised because it is one of the very few publications that gave an outline to Maori motives in initiating this March.

Due to the similarities in Maori protest that occurred during the 1970's with Ghandi's Salt March and more importantly the impact that it made in influencing Awatere's *Maori Sovereignty* this thesis formed its interpretation of Ghandi's influence on India's independence based on Mahatma Ghandi's publication *Autobiography Story of My Experiments with Truth*, and as well as Volume XLIII of *The Collected Works of Mahatma Ghandi*.

These interpretations were cross-referenced further with the narratives of Psychologist and Psychoanalyst Erik Erikson and his publication *Ghandi's Truth on the Origins of Militant Non-Violence*, Historian and noted authority on India's armed struggle for independence Peter Fay Ward and his publication *The Forgotten Army: India's Armed Struggle for Independence 1942 – 1945* and Lawyer and writer Joel Bakan and his popular publication *The Corporation*.

Erikson's publication discussed how Gandhi succeeded in mobilising the Indian people both spiritually and politically through the discourse of non-violence and how India became the motherland of large-scale civil disobedience through this mantra. Ward's on the other hand looked at the formation of the Indian National Army and the role that they played in the liberation of India. Bakan's publication is utilised to discuss the role of India and the establishment of the East Indian Company. It explores the reasons why England had extended

⁸¹ Refer to David Williams's database that he constructed jointly with the University of Auckland Library – Te Tumu Herenga in 2003 on <http://magic.lbr.auckland.ac.nz/dbtw-wpd/ml/basic.htm> for a full list of legislation and commentary on Laws affecting Maori Land since 1840.

their administrative powers into India to eventually rule parts of the Indian sub continent as colonies of British.

Soon after India gained its independence the political, social and economic fabrics that held the British Empire together quickly unravelled as noted by leading Scottish Historian Niall Ferguson and his publication *Empire How Britain made the Modern World*, and William Jackson and his publication *Britain's Triumph and Decline in the Middle East*.

Ferguson's publication traced 1000 years of England's annexations of their colonies from their Huns origins until the annexation of New Zealand as the last colony to join the British Empire. He offered this thesis a narrative history of Britain's ascent as the largest and most powerful Empire during the 19th century and explained that this was mainly due to England's geographical location and its merchant and navy ships.⁸²

⁸² The Royal British Navy also known as the British Admiralty helped to curb piracy and became the supreme commander of all international waters covering the Atlantic, Indian and in time Pacific Oceans towards the end of the 18th century, shortly prior to the annexation of New Zealand. Provisions were created in that ships were to identify themselves through flags so that piracy could be contained and that the navy knew who was trading on the seas to judge at first sight whether their intentions were legitimate. The Royal British Navy dominated the international waters and was able to swiftly and decidedly attack their enemies who threatened the welfare of the Empire and were able to defend its shores simply because of England's geographical location and weather. However due to the large amounts of cargo being transported by sea, these ships were vulnerable to piracy and cargo was seized by violence and force, likewise it could be said for the cargo when it reached its destination. Cargo, destined to be traded with other countries such as India in exchange for their spices and textiles, Jamaica for their sugar cane and coffee and with other British colonist who began settling the Americas during this time were subjected to new laws, laws that were extended across international waters.

Henry Morgan was one such pirate who made his fortune by plundering Jamaica in search of gold from the Spanish trading outpost, Gran Grenada. Morgan purchased 836 acres of land in Jamaica in the 1660s with the 'booty' and his intention was to grow sugar cane and trade it with England. This transaction proved lucrative for both Morgan and England and as a result, the Crown invested large amounts of resources to protect the Jamaican coastline and to gain the monopoly of the sugar trade. Once England had, a firm control of Jamaica, England, established Jamaica as a colony of Britain, meaning British settlement was legitimised and the laws of Britain governed the people of Jamaica.

The irony here is Morgan once a pirate who made his fortune by plundering others through violence and force, governed a colony for Britain, represented and enforced the ideas of sovereignty and was a member of the British Gentry. Ferguson said that, 'Morgan's career perfectly illustrates the way empire-building process worked.' He surmised that Morgan's career as a pirate to governor is a perfect metaphor on how Britain built the Empire. It is here in Jamaica that Britain began to extend its Empire beyond Britain and to defend these territories against other sovereigns in the interests of protecting the people who belong to Britain. Britain at this stage was England and Wales, the union of Scotland and Ireland emerged in the mid 18th century after the defeat of James II the son of Charles II. Ultimately, loyalty to Britain to benefit the fiscal purse became the guiding

Jackson's publication charts the 20th century in which Britain enjoyed victory in two world wars, but suffered as a result and asserted that the collapse of the Empire was eminent because of Britain's involvement. This publication has been noted as one of the most detailed account of the British military campaigns in the Middle East in the 20th century. These publications are used in this thesis only as a reference guide to the decolonisation processes of the British Empire.

These phenomenon such as Britain's decolonisation processes were obviously pushed by an era of technological advances that the world had never witnessed before such as the television created in the early 1960's that allowed images of 'others' to be pushed into homes worldwide. In effect this technological advance alone created the vehicle in which to orchestrate 'the global village'. This is because now it was possible to 'see' the world and 'know' all about the world without ever having to leave our homes.⁸³

Highly acclaimed Canadian Journalist and writer Mark Kurlansky and his publication *1968 The Year that Rocked the World* mentioned many instances where television was the driving factor in promoting images across the world. He even went as far as to say that many popular leaders were elected into pivotal roles, such as United States President elect John F. Kennedy because of his stage presence and eloquence in front of the camera. He stated, 'John, understanding little of television, was a natural because he was easy, relaxed, and witty, and he smiled handsomely.'⁸⁴ However there are many instances and movements that came from the 1960's that is highlighted by Kurlansky in what he described as 'anti-authoritarian' movements. He said, 'the rebels rejected most institutions, political leaders, and political parties.' He concluded that because these movements rejected organised leadership, quite

principle in establishing these colonies. Ferguson, Niall, *Empire How Britain made the Modern World*, (2008), pp. 4, 13.

⁸³ Kurlansky, Mark, *1968 The Year That Rocked the World*, (2005), pp. xvi-xvii.

⁸⁴ Kurlansky, p. 138.

often the most important and pivotal decisions were made at whim and the ideologies were seldom clear.⁸⁵

Kurlansky's publication is important for this thesis as he provided a full account of the events that occurred in 1968 as a result of decolonisation and the rise of nation states. He also provided an account of the influential natures of Black Civil Rights movement and their leaders such as Martin Luther King Junior and Malcolm X, student demonstrations and feminism. It was these processes he called anti authoritarian movements in the decades following World War Two. However his publication is only employed as a reference guide in order to give a contextual understanding to these worldwide movements that caused a unity that the world had not witnessed previously.

There were also other ideologies and solutions that came about for Maori during this era that stemmed from these outward solutions as some of the tactics of Nga Tamatoa aligns with Stokley Carmichael's "Black Panthers". Awatere's *Maori Sovereignty* however reflected Black Civil Rights Leader Malcolm X's proposal of a 'Black Nation State'. This became apparent when this thesis crossed referenced X's ideologies and terminologies with a statement made by the New Zealand black feminists' group, 'Black Unity', a group established by Awatere and others, in 1981 entitled, 'A Statement on the Attempt by White Leftists to Divide Pacific Peoples'.⁸⁶ One of X's more popular anecdotes was the term 'House Nigger' and 'Field Nigger' was used in this document. Although in X's autobiography he used the term 'house negro' and 'yard negro' he used these anecdotes in many speeches given by X.⁸⁷

This document stated,

⁸⁵ Kurlansky, p. xv.

⁸⁶ Black Unity, 'A Statement on the Attempt by White Leftists to Divide Pacific Peoples' in *The Republican*, No. 41, (July 1982), pp. 5-6.

⁸⁷ X, Malcolm and Halie, Alex (ed), *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, (2007), p. 340.

‘all these big black men who act like house niggers have to be dealt to, Pacific men are showing that just like Maori men, they will sell you out, while at the same time they tell you its for the benefit of the country.’⁸⁸

This document was written in reaction to the Auckland Trade Union’s withdrawal of their support of a Maori nation state that had been initiated during the 1981 Springbok Rugby Tour of New Zealand. They withdrew their support from the issue of Maori sovereignty and asserted that Maori should leave these issues aside and align themselves with the ‘working class struggle’.⁸⁹

Well known Black American author Alex Haley compiled and published X’s autobiography in 1973 where he had interviewed X over a period of three years, either over the telephone or in person. This thesis relies on this publication only as a biographical and geographical reference of X’s movements during the peak of ‘Black Nationalism’ in the 1960’s until his untimely assassination in 1965. This thesis also relies on the speeches given by X in particular ‘Malcolm X Nation State’ in *Two Positions; Compensation or Nation State and Separation* and *Malcolm X: Make It Plain, American Experience* found on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) website.⁹⁰

Institutional economist and writer Frederic O. Sargent is a Professor Emeritus at the University of Vermont. His publication *The Civil Rights Revolution: Events and Leaders, 1955-1968* is an in-depth critical analysis of the Black Civil Rights Movement. This work is used as a historiography of Black Civil Rights leader such as Martin Luther King Junior and Black Nationalist X and the events that surrounded the ‘March on Washington’.⁹¹

The other publication of Bruce Jesson’s that this thesis utilised is *The Revival of the Right* which concurred somewhat with Kurlansky’s argument in that New Zealand experienced a

⁸⁸ Black Unity, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Jesson, Bruce, ‘Conflict in the Anti-Racist Movement’, in *The Republican No. 40* (May, 1982), pp. 4-5,

⁹⁰ <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/malcolmx/timeline/timeline2.html>

⁹¹ Sargent, Frederic, O., *The Civil Rights Revolution; Events and Leaders, 1955-1968*, (2004), back cover.

similar wave in forming ‘anti-authoritarian’ movements. He said, ‘trends and movements that occur in Britain and the United States appear here in time, although there can be quite a long delay.’⁹² However Jesson criticised the radical potential of the anti-racist, anti sexist, and the anti-capitalist conscious raising groups of the 1970’s in New Zealand. He asserted that this was because these groups had not yet produced an independent New Zealand thought because they were too dependent on overseas trends. He asserted that the radical potential of these conscious raising groups were fractured due to unclear ideologies and that these groups were too dependent on what was going on worldwide such as apartheid in South Africa and the Vietnam War rather than in New Zealand.⁹³

There are obvious parallels in Awatere’s manifesto to the television images that she was a witness to during the upsweep of this technological age and the extent of Black Nationalism as well as various student demonstrations. It became obvious soon after the publication of *Maori Sovereignty* just how influential television was in raising public awareness from issues such as the marginalisation of Maori through various government legislations in particular Maori owned land and the demise of Te Reo Maori. This is because soon after the publication of *Maori Sovereignty* in its book form she was invited to attend the first Maori Economic Hui in 1984 now known as Te Hui Taumata where she presented an analysis of Maori participation and Maori perceptions in the media. During the interview with Awatere she remarked that there were at this time no mechanisms in place for Maori Broadcasting and in order for the image of Maori to change in the media, she called for the establishment of Maori Radio and television.⁹⁴

⁹² Jesson, Bruce, *Revival of the Right, New Zealand Politics in the 1980s*, (1988), p. 1.

⁹³ Jesson, *Revival of the Right*, pp. 7-8.

⁹⁴ Awatere, Donna, ‘Maori Broadcasting Hui Taumata 1984’ in *Maori Economic Development Summit Conference*, (October, 1984), speech notes, no. 14. Pers comm. Interview with Donna Awatere, appendix one.

While television and the media became a vehicle for many as pointed out by Kurlansky, this thesis argues that the intellectual stimuli for *Maori Sovereignty* peaked when she attended and participated in as a panellist and chair at a two-week non-governmental organisation (NGO) Women's forum held in Copenhagen in 1980.⁹⁵ Her article, 'Awatere in Copenhagen' published in October 1980 is a report of her experiences whilst attending this conference. This thesis cross-referenced Awatere's experiences at this conference with the works of Carolyn Stephenson, who wrote extensively on global economic development and went to both Mexico City and Copenhagen. Stephenson's 'Feminism, Pacifism, Nationalism and the United Nations Decade for Women', is an analysis of the issues that were presented at both the International Year of the Women conference that launched the United Nations Decade of the Woman in 1975 and the mid decade event.⁹⁶ Stephenson is currently working as a lecturer in Population Studies with the University of Hawai'i specialising in gender, population and the environment. She was also promoted as the Director of Peace Studies from 1984 at Colgate University, New York, who had partially funded the UN conference and the NGO forum in Copenhagen.

The work of Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *The United Nations and the Advancement of Women, 1945-1996*' is used to cross reference this conference as well as the Resolutions that had been declared by the United Nations regarding the 'status of women'. This publication is a complete history of the events that surrounded these Resolutions since 1945 until 1996.

In a speech given by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan to the South African Congress in 1960 he discussed the position of the British Government and their reaction to the shredding of the Empire. His speech 'The Winds of Change' has become one of the most

⁹⁵ This forum was a follow up to the United Nations World Women's conference that launched the international women's decade in Mexico City in 1975.

⁹⁶ Stephenson, Carolyn, 'Feminism, Pacifism, Nationalism and the United Nations Decade for Women', in *Women's Studies International Forum, Vol. 5 Issues, 3-4, (1982)*, pp. 287-300.

canonised speeches of the decolonisation movement in the decades following World War

Two. He said in this speech,

‘The wind of change is blowing through this continent, and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact.’⁹⁷

Macmillan noted that the political, social and economic machinery that held the British Commonwealth together quickly unravelled when colonies began to reassess their positions within the Commonwealth.

He said,

‘We recognise now the strength of the desire for the formation of new independent nations on the continent of Africa. It is a legitimate aspiration... We are glad to see the development of the nations in the world to which we already stand in the relationship of parents. Like all parents, we would like to see our children take after us. We would like to see them follow in our footsteps not only in their independence but in their free institutions. We think a country is only truly free when all the inhabitants of it are secure in their rights and understand their duties.’⁹⁸

He stated that the independence of the colonies was dependent on loosening their official ties with England and to begin depending on the institutions that were created in their respective countries. He thought that although England would not always agree with some of the policies that were established in these colonies, like South Africa’s position on apartheid he understood that England had given these parliaments a solid foundation to control their own countries resources. He said that there would be problems that arise from these independences but the vigour and enterprise in economic development that was bought to these colonies by the European would give their countries fiscal a guarantee of expansion and

⁹⁷ Macmillan, Harold, ‘Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town, 3 February 1960’ in Macmillan, Harold, *Pointing the Way*, (1972), p. 475.

⁹⁸ Macmillan, Harold, ‘Africa’, in *African Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 236, (July, 1960), p. 193.

prosperity. He became an advocate during these decades for self-governance within the colonies as a result of his experiences travelling across the African continent and thought that the colonies were ready to stand on their own. Macmillan's view was that as these colonies had created their own wealth, then they should be able to administer and distribute this wealth.

He noted also the way in which he imagined how the Commonwealth was to operate was for each colony to build up relationships with each other. He thought national independences would cause a tightening of the Commonwealth as each country would interact with each other rather than with England. He asserted in his report to Britain's Parliament that Britain has a responsibility to assist these countries towards a national independence. He believed that the amalgamation of British stock with the original inhabitants created a unique culture where its inhabitants could no longer call England their home and that feeling of belonging was in their respective countries.⁹⁹

By the time that Macmillan had finished his tour of both the Australian and Asian continents and Africa he thought that Africa was following in a tradition that had begun in the century previous. This speech in its entirety is found in Macmillan's article, 'Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, Cape Town, 3 February 1960' in Macmillan's publication, *Pointing the Way*. This thesis relied also on his article 'Africa' that provided a contextual analysis on his tour of Africa and what he experienced whilst there. These articles also noted the position of the British Government in giving their colonies their independences.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Macmillan, 'Africa', p. 193.

¹⁰⁰ Macmillan, 'Address by Harold Macmillan to Members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, p. 475, Macmillan, 'Africa', p. 194.

This speech and his tour of Africa is cross referenced with an article written by Political Scientist Tayo Oke, where he argued that the speech given to the South African Parliament by Macmillan was to push for a demand made by British colonies for political reform in Africa. He asserted that Macmillan noted that there had been a demand for national independences that had been given to the Union Of South Africa by the British Parliament some fifty years prior. Oke noted that although his delivery was specifically for the African Independences, he argued that Macmillan was following international events that had emanated from the disintegration of the British and French Empires in the decades following World War Two.¹⁰¹

Historian and Maori Scholar Monty Soutar and his publication *The Price of Citizenship* is used as reference for the 28th Maori Battalion and their campaign during World War Two. This publication is utilised briefly because it a well research account and complete history of the Battalion's 'C' Company which Awatere's father Colonel Arapeta Awatere had been instrumental in. This thesis used this publication as it was one of the very few literatures that had been centred on Maori experiences in World War Two.

¹⁰¹ Oke, Tayo, 'Winds of (democratic) Change', in *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 74, No. 2, (April, 1998), p. 373.

Chapter Three – Maori Political Theory

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a contextual analysis of Maori political theory. This chapter traces the intellectual development of how Maori have traditionally viewed and have advanced their sovereignty. This chapter argues that the notion of Maori sovereignty as understood originally by Maori was an exercise of their ‘mana whenua’ and that this notion changed in the early 1970’s to ‘tino rangatiratanga’. Therefore this chapter traces Maori political theory since its inception based on the events leading up to the Declaration of Independence in 1835 and The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

Although this chapter outlines significant changes to Maori understanding of their sovereignty, it argues at the same time that Maori had only imagined their its political application within separate and distinct tribal boundaries only. That is as a limited chieftainship. However this chapter does outline examples of ‘pan-tribalism’ such as the *Kingitanga*, Maori were not convinced to formalise their sovereignty within a ‘Maori Nation State’ which is implied in Donna Awatere’s *Maori Sovereignty*. Whilst Awatere did not specifically mention Maori Nation State in *Maori Sovereignty* this is what she meant when she said, ‘for the Maori, without sovereignty, we are dead as a nation’.¹⁰² This expression is repeated throughout this publication where she had continually asserted that Maori must have all political and economic control of New Zealand because as she put simply New Zealand is Maori land.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 32.

¹⁰³ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 10.

The Origins of Maori Political Theory

The political development of Maori understanding of their sovereignty began when letters of a political nature were sent to the British Colonial Office requesting Britain to extend and establish their system of governance to New Zealand. One such letter written to King William in 1831 by thirteen Northern chiefs is an example of this. This letter in essence stated,

‘King William...we are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork and potatoes. We sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans...we pray thee to become our friend and guardian of these islands, lest through the teasing of other tribes should come to war with us, lest strangers should come and take our land...we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient.’¹⁰⁴

This letter shows a request from Maori, a desire to establish a formal alliance with King William to protect their individual rights to their tribal lands and resources, such as flax and timber, from other tribes. The letter petitioned for British trade and was an invitation to King William to protect the transference of these goods. Maori understood that King William possessed the authority to make these requests possible and that he would protect their customary rights to their individual parcels of land and its resources.

Historian Angela Ballara explained in her publication *Taua* that Maori were flexible in their customary authority, accommodating British traders and settlers in New Zealand in order for trade to flourish. She stated, ‘Once Maori realised there was one set of rules for Maori and another set for Europeans, a conceptual door had opened for further change.’¹⁰⁵ Ballara continued to argue that changes in the Maori belief system occurred because they were now

¹⁰⁴ Buick, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Ballara, Angela, *Taua*, (2003), p. 416.

more conscious that they were not the centre of their known world and in acknowledging these differences adapted their customary authority when interacting with Pakeha.

The point Ballara made was that Maori understood there was an authority that allowed peaceful interactions between Maori and Pakeha in terms of trading goods. The other point she made was that Maori had flexibility in their customary authority to accommodate these changes in their belief system. The final point she made was that Maori were unable to apply Maori conventions to Pakeha as it endangered trade relations.

Historian Hazel Petrie agreed with Ballara's assessment of this period and argued in her publication *Chiefs of Industry* that Maori entrepreneurial activities in New Zealand's early colonial history showed how effectively and quickly Maori adapted to accommodate and to develop trade in New Zealand. She said, 'Cross-cultural understanding increased among Maori and Pakeha as each learned to accept or take advantage of each others law.'¹⁰⁶ Petrie asserted that Maori understood that by strengthening their alliance with Britain, trade between Maori and Pakeha would be protected. Maori understood that they had to be more flexible in their customary authority when dealing with traders and settlers.

Maori academic and scholar Ranginui Walker agreed with Ballara and Petrie that some merchants and traders had regulated their behaviour towards Maori because of the profit that could be made; he thought similarly that Maori had complied with Pakeha concepts of law for the same reason. He said,

'By 1839 another thousand Europeans had settled in New Zealand and land speculation in a free market unregulated by law or central administration, was creating new tensions as some tribes realised they had surrendered too much for too little.'¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Petrie, Hazel, *Chiefs of Industry, Maori Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand*, (2006), p. 63.

¹⁰⁷ Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou, Struggle Without End*, (1990), p. 89.

Although Walker did not mention the intricacies of the 1831 letter, he did admit that because of letters and petitions sent to the British Colonial Office, Maori asked for a form of protection from Britain that would regulate trade.

Awatere in *Maori Sovereignty* did acknowledge that Maori encouraged British settlement in exchange for their goods and some of their culture. She said,

‘At Waitangi some chiefs acknowledged the Queen of England as the white leader. The chiefs were willing to pay homage to the white people’s leader in exchange for her culture, especially technology. They were willing too, to give land to her subjects.’¹⁰⁸

She believed that in 1840, Maori were willing to pay for European technology and that as they had encouraged trade, they too were willing to give up their land and its resources, such as flax and timber, in exchange. She believed that when Maori signed the Treaty of Waitangi they were acknowledging the ‘mana’ of the Queen. She thought that in signing the Treaty these chiefs did not expect Pakeha to outnumber Maori within one generation nor that it would reduce their control over tribal lands and its resources.

What the 1831 letter demonstrated and the points that Ballara, Petrie and Walker made were that Maori understood the regulation of trade could not be controlled or maintained by strict customary forms of authority. Maori were tightening their tribal organisation in order to maintain their customary authority over tribal lands and resources so that these resources could be traded whilst strengthening their alliance with Britain so that this trade could be regulated. Even Awatere admitted that Maori invited Britain to settle in their tribal boundaries by exchanging their tribal lands and its resources for European technology.

¹⁰⁸ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 11-12.

Mana Whenua

Ranginui Walker offered the following explanation on the origins of Maori understanding of their sovereignty and said that the concept began with the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand, signed in Waitangi, on the 28th of October in 1835. He stated,

“Maori sovereignty is rendered in the declaration as ‘Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te whenua’, (the King is sovereign and has complete sovereignty over the land).”¹⁰⁹

The two main propositions that this deed articulated were that Maori were to agree to unite in order to formally recognise New Zealand as a Maori nation state and to meet annually for the purposes of framing laws. He said that the British Resident to New Zealand, James Busby, who had articulated this deed pushed Maori to formally designate New Zealand in their possession by proposing the Declaration. Walker thought that few Maori signed this deed because the notion of ‘nationalism’ that the declaration proposed was an alien concept to Maori.

Section two of the ‘1835 Deed’ declared,

‘Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Niu Tireni ka meatia nei kei nga Rangatira anake.

All sovereignty power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes.’¹¹⁰

Even though Walker was correct in saying that Maori understanding of their sovereignty originated from this deed he is slightly misleading. He translated Kingitanga to mean Maori

¹⁰⁹ Walker, Ranginui, *Nga Tau ToheTohe, Years of Anger*, pp. 67-68.

¹¹⁰ Cox, pp. 194-195.

sovereignty however, this expression is a transliteration of the term King and in 1835, the English concept of King was a benign term for Maori. The translation that Walker used is based on Busby's understanding of the English concept of King whereas this concept had no meaning within Maori customary authority. The understanding of King came much later with the establishment of the Kingitanga movement in 1858.

The most accurate term that Busby used to describe Maori understanding of sovereignty in 1835 in accordance with this deed is 'mana i te wenua' or 'mana whenua'. Maori understanding of their sovereignty in 1835 therefore should be interpreted as,

‘The authority of land, in the land collectively known as New Zealand is possessed by the chiefs gathered here.’¹¹¹

Mana whenua then from a Maori point of view was Maori authority over New Zealand not Kingitanga as Busby had translated and as Walker had previously stipulated because this was a customary authority that Maori understood.

Maori leader Matene Te Whiwhi, who belonged to the Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Koroki and Ngati Whakaue tribes, had originally proposed the idea of the Kingitanga. Te Whiwhi had nominated himself to become King of New Zealand and sought the support of the central north island tribes such as Tuwharetoa, Te Arawa and Waikato. However, his request was not well received by these tribes. The installation of a Maori King then became the life work of Wiremu Tamihana who became known as the ‘Kingmaker’. After a series of eight Hui held by these tribes, the decision was made to crown Waikato leader Potatau Te Wherowhero as New Zealand's first King.¹¹²

Tamihana is reputed to have said,

¹¹¹ This is the author's independent translation and is her emphasis only.

¹¹² Stokes, Evelyn, *Wiremu Tamihana: Rangatira*, (2002), pp. 136-139.

‘The King was to be in close connexion with Governor, to stand in the same relation to the Maori as the Governor to the Pakeha.’¹¹³

Tamihana argued that he did not support the proposals of some tribal leaders to drive the Europeans out of tribal lands that were under the jurisdiction of the King. He asserted that the aim of the Kingitanga was to resist the sale of tribal lands to Pakeha without tribal consent and to resist the establishment of Pakeha law within these tribal boundaries.

Historian Lindsay Cox thought that the point of the Kingitanga when it was established was to resist the sale of tribal lands and its resources by uniting all Maori under a single sovereign. He said, ‘the mana whenua of individual rangatira who supported the King was vested in his person. He, as ultimate title holder, theoretically ensured an end to alienation of land.’¹¹⁴ Cox asserted that these chiefs understood that conceding their mana whenua to the Kingitanga would create a single title to all their tribal lands and their resources. The King would then regulate the transference of these lands for British settlement from tribal members who had no customary rights in trading these lands.

Although, the Kingitanga gathered momentum among the central north island tribes, there were many rangatira in other areas such as, Ngai Tahu chief Taiaroa for example, who refused to support their aims. Taiaroa was one of the signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi and believed that if he conceded his mana whenua to the Kingitanga he would not be able to control the allocation of his tribal lands and its resources. In 1860 over 112 chiefs, Taiaroa included, had gathered in Auckland to discuss the direction of the Kingitanga to see whether Maori would support or suppress its momentum. Taiaroa had opted for the latter and said,

¹¹³ Stokes, pp. 179-180.

¹¹⁴ Cox, p. 56.

‘Kihai au i haere mai ki te Kingi, I haere mai au ki te Kuini...Ma te Kingi, ta te Kingi e mahi... Otira me Kingi Katoa tatou e tu nei. I will not go with the King, I come to the Queen...then again we are all Kings that stand here.’¹¹⁵

He refused to support the aims of the Kingitanga because he thought that the Europeans who resided within their tribal domains would be driven out. He believed that Maori could secure a more adequate means of authority and control of their tribal lands under the auspices of the Queen.

However what Tairaroa and these chiefs who had joined the Kingitanga demonstrate for this thesis was that Maori understood that the land and its resources were their sovereignty and that they could at any stage dispose or retain this land without force of arms.

However not to digress from the main narrative Cox argued that the earliest attempt made by Maori in formalising their sovereignty were the events that surrounded the declaration. He said,

‘the seeds were sown for Maori nationhood. [Busby] had provided a model for concerted action in the international arena and a possible procedure for national administration – a model he was to develop further through the Declaration of Independence.’¹¹⁶

He thought like Ballara, Petrie and Walker that a change had occurred in Maori political authority when Maori started inviting trade with Britain and when ships were being built to carry their cargo. He said that Maori were encouraged by Busby to adopt a degree of uniformity in trading with other countries by registering their ships under the British Admiralty. He said that because of this ratification, these ships were subjected to the adoption of a flag whilst sailing in international waters: an Ensign that could be recognised by the Admiralty as a merchant ship from New Zealand.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ ‘Nga Mahi o te Runanga’ in *Maori Messenger*, No. 13-18, (Manei, 6, Akuhata, 1860), p. 14.

¹¹⁶ Cox, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Cox, p. 41.

Cox argued that Maori did have a degree of uniformity in their customary authority where they had agreed to abide by and implement the will of the coalition. However, this would have required a considerable amount of diplomacy and patience. Yet even he had to conclude as Walker did, that a supra authority did not exist within customary forms of authority. This is because the concept of what Cox termed as a 'superior mana' was new; Maori did not understand that they would be answerable to a mana higher than themselves. He mentioned that the declaration instilled in Maori the belief that mana whenua was the equivalent to Busby's understanding of sovereignty. He thought that this belief was established for Maori with the extension of British protection that the '1831 Letter' requested and this deed was confirmation of this ideology.

Treaty commentator and Historian Claudia Orange agreed with Cox's assessment of this period and thought that the ratification of the Maori ensign was a signal of Maori nationhood. She said, 'the flag...was later gazetted in Sydney, and the Admiralty directed its naval vessels to acknowledge the flag and respect Maori registers.'¹¹⁸ She thought that as a result of King William's acknowledgement of this flag via the Admiralty, Britain had extended their protection to Maori while they were in their political infancy. She said that Maori were given many opportunities to develop a Common Law and that they would be protected until this agreement had been reached.

The '1835 Deed' represented for Walker, Cox and Orange, New Zealand's first attempt in establishing a national body politic whose aim was to create and maintain this superior mana. Cox said that these signatories largely consisted of rangatira from the Hokianga except for two; the future King Te Wherowhero and Te Hapuku a chief of Te Whatiuapiti from the Hawkes Bay. These chiefs however failed to establish this common law as the doctrines of

¹¹⁸ Orange, Claudia, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, (1987), p. 20.

John Locke and Immanuel Kant had dictated because they believed that the protection of King William accorded to them through this Deed enabled them to maintain their customary authority over their tribal lands.

In a petition written to King William by British settlers who had settled in Kororeka requested the King to provide authority to the New Zealand's British Residents with the power to enforce British law in New Zealand. It stated,

‘Your petitioners are aware that it is not the desire of Your Majesty to extend the colonies of Great Britain...there is at present a considerable body of Your Majesty’s subjects established in this island...complaints have been laid to the British Resident...he has expressed deep regret that he has not yet been furnished with authority and power to act.’¹¹⁹

This petition noted the reluctance of Britain to annex New Zealand as a colony but these petitioners persisted in their attempt to establish British laws by providing an account of the commercial gains in New Zealand such as its timber and flax. They had acknowledged that British nationals were not acting appropriately toward Maori and with each other.

Conversely, these petitioners noted that Maori adhered to their customary authority within their tribal domains and were asking only for British law to control British subjects. Towards the end of the petition, there is an acknowledgement of the Declaration of Independence, in that these chiefs ‘were competent to enact laws for the proper government of this land’ but from their observations, these laws could not be accomplished or expected by these chiefs.¹²⁰

What the ‘1831 Letter’ demonstrated was that Maori had requested protection and that this protection was formalised by granting Maori nominal sovereignty with the Declaration of Independence. This however was only a temporary solution until such time that Maori were able to establish a common law acceptable and recognisable to both Maori and settler. Maori thought that this protection would be ongoing and that their mana whenua would suffice

¹¹⁹ Buick, pp. 33-34.

¹²⁰ Buick, pp. 36-37.

within their tribal domains. More to the point as a result of these letters, petitions, the Maori Ensign and the '1835 Deed', Maori equated British understanding of sovereignty with their customary concept of mana whenua was Maori sovereignty. However what this actually means was that sovereignty was not a concept that existed in Maori customary forms of authority.

The letter to King William and this petition are only two examples of innumerable requests made by both Maori and Pakeha for Britain to extend to New Zealand its system of governance, while at the same time, to protect Maori customary authority. Conceptually both Maori and Pakeha imagined separate authorities: one law for Pakeha and a continuation of customary authority within separate and distinct tribal boundaries. In the minds of these early colonialists and clearly in the minds of Maori, Maori believed that King William would protect Maori customary rights to their tribal lands and resources and Pakeha believed that they could establish a common law alongside Maori tribal authorities. This understanding was further cemented for both Maori and Pakeha with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 that in principle promoted the idea of a partnership.

The Treaty of Waitangi 1840

20th century scholar and journalist Lindsay Buick in his publication *The Treaty of Waitangi* wrote extensively on the constitutional history of The Treaty of Waitangi.¹²¹ He argued in this publication that the Treaty should be established as New Zealand's founding document as it clearly stated how New Zealand gained its legitimacy as first a colony and then as a nation state. However before he could discuss the principles of the Treaty, he had to establish

¹²¹ Please refer to appendix four for a full versions of the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

that Maori, who held a nominal sovereignty over New Zealand, freely and willingly ceded New Zealand's sovereignty to the British Empire with the signing of the Treaty.

He argued that the events that surrounded the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty legitimised Britain's claim over New Zealand as a colony. He said,

‘Britain has no reason to be ashamed of the manner in which she obtained the sovereignty of New Zealand.’¹²²

He used the 1831 letter as an example of Maori requesting Britain to establish a formal and political relationship with them in New Zealand. He stressed that this relationship was formally extended to Maori with the Declaration of Independence and that Britain had agreed to protect Maori from foreign aggressors until they could ratify their sovereignty within a common set of laws. He argued that Te Rarawa chief Nopera Panakareao, who was a signatory for both the 1835 deed and the Treaty, understood that he ceded his sovereignty that had been granted with the 1835 deed when he signed the Treaty.

The quote from Panakareao that he employed to support his theory that Maori knowingly and willingly ceded New Zealand's sovereignty to Britain was taken from the report given to the British Colonial Office by British Resident to New Zealand, William Hobson. Panakareao is reputed to have said,

‘Ko te atarangi o te whenua kua hoatu ki te Kuini Wikitoria, ko te oneone i mau. The shadow of the land goes to Queen Victoria of England, whilst the substance of the land remains with me.’¹²³

Buick argued that the shadow was a metaphor for sovereignty and that Panakareao understood that this was to go to the Queen. He claimed Panakareao understood that the shadow or the nominal sovereignty granted to Maori with the 1835 deed was to be yielded to

¹²² Buick, p. ix.

¹²³ Ngata, pp. 10, 24, Dawson, Richard, ‘Revitalizing Chief Panakareao's Sovereignty Talk with Emily Dickinson's Immortality Talk’, in a paper given at The Congress of Te Wahinga Aronui, The Council for the Humanities, in Transformations '07: Composing the Nation: Ideas, Peoples, Histories, Languages, Cultures, Economies, (VUW, Wellington 2007).

the Queen in return for her full military might and administrative protection. He claimed also that the substance was the administrative right to give Maori a title to their land.

Buick however was in two minds regarding whether Maori knowingly ceded their sovereignty. He said, 'Sovereignty was the shadow...even though in its early stages, the rule of Pakeha must have clashed harshly with their ideas of individual authority.'¹²⁴ He thought that because Maori did not have a concept of sovereignty or a direct translation of the term it was difficult to conclude that the free and intelligent consent of Maori had been gained.

However, he used the 1831 Letter to King William and The Declaration of Independence as evidence to support his theory that Maori knowingly ceded New Zealand's sovereignty to Britain with the signing of the Treaty.

While this cession was a possibility, Maori continued to argue throughout the 19th and 20th centuries that their right to control their tribal lands and its resources was not ceded but reconfirmed with Article Two of the Treaty. The shadow then for Panakareao was the acknowledgement of the Queen's protection of his title to the land and that the Queen would protect the transference. This is because, as the previous section showed, mana whenua was the Maori understanding of their sovereignty and Panakareao thought that he had retained his sovereignty over his tribal lands with the signing of the Treaty. If Panakareao truly understood the shadow was a cession of his mana whenua it is doubtful that he would have signed. Moreover, it may suggest that the word shadow intended to show that he only had a vague understanding of the term sovereignty. 20th century Maori leader and scholar Apirana Ngata argued that Maori did not have a customary authority that equated to British understanding of sovereignty. Ngata believed that, 'Maori did not establish a form of government nor laws when they were strong and powerful, then Maori should accept that

¹²⁴ Buick, p. 228.

sovereignty over New Zealand was ceded freely to the British Empire with the signing of the Treaty.¹²⁵ Like Buick, Ngata used the example of Panakareao to support this theory of Maori cession of New Zealand's sovereignty to the British and that Maori should accept this as a fact.

Ngata defined tino rangatiratanga in the Preamble as a 'chiefly authority' but did not elaborate further on this. When it appeared again in Article Two of the Treaty he designated it as meaning 'chiefs and tribes' and the right of Maori to gain individual titles to their land, not Maori claims for New Zealand's sovereignty. This is because his main premise was to dismiss the notion of Maori sovereignty with the view that the Treaty had protected and reconfirmed Maori sovereignty.

Ngata denied absolutely that Maori had any claim to New Zealand's sovereignty and said that there were only two provisions in the Treaty that were guaranteed to Maori. The first was Maori title to the land and property and secondly giving the Crown the first option at purchasing this property by transferring the title. Ngata argued that 'owing to the many problems which arose it was necessary to appoint an administrative authority to enquire and decide the rights of Maori claimants and their lands.'¹²⁶

Ngata believed that Maori were incapable of deciding who owned which areas of the New Zealand landscape and as a result the Native Land Court, later renamed the Maori Land Court, was established to investigate on who received the individual title over large tracts of tribal lands. He believed that it was up to this administrative body to decide which tracts of land belonged to whom and it was they who would give Maori their rights to own land.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Ngata, pp. 6, 20.

¹²⁶ Ngata, p. 10.

¹²⁷ Ngata, pp. 8-9.

Ngata admitted that the language and translations of the Pakeha concept of sovereignty that were used to equate Maori understanding of sovereignty were unclear. He went into great detail to explain what authority Maori had ceded. He said,

‘the word of the chief was law to his tribe. It was he who declared war, and he who sued for peace.’¹²⁸

He argued that Maori had ceded this ‘chiefly authority’ with the signing of the Treaty. He said that the term *mana rangatira* was the more appropriate concept to describe Maori understanding of their sovereignty rather than *Kawanatanga*. *Kawanatanga* is the transliteration of the term governorship and for Maori in 1840; this concept had no meaning, just as the *Kingitanga* had none.

Political scientist Peter Cleave asserted that there are many inadequacies in Ngata’s explanation. Cleave argued that, ‘mana rangatira can not go to one party and tino rangatiratanga to another and Ngata by giving more consideration to *kawanatanga* as meaning mana rangatira resolves the issue from Ngata’s position of who has the ultimate authority over Aotearoa.’¹²⁹

Cleave argued that *mana rangatira* and *tino rangatiratanga* is intimately entwined and that because of this intimacy, sovereignty, from a Maori point of view resulted in confusion (as also pointed out by Buick) among Maori in the decades that followed. He thought that Ngata’s explanation delayed the establishment of a body, like the Waitangi Tribunal¹³⁰,

¹²⁸ Ngata, pp. 6, 20.

¹²⁹ Cleave, Peter, *The Sovereignty Game, Power, Knowledge and Reading the Treaty*, (1989), pp. 44-45.

¹³⁰ The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 as a result of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry in charge with making recommendations on claims brought by Maori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breaches the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi. <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/>

which would eventually hear Maori grievances under the terms and conditions of the Treaty.¹³¹

The points that these writers make are that Maori understood sovereignty equated to their customary concept of mana whenua. However this is a limited understanding of the term sovereignty because Maori saw sovereignty as a limited chieftainship. Mana Whenua was then equated by Maori as their individual authority or their chiefly authority over the land. So mana whenua and sovereignty are nothing like each other. The example of Tairaroa and Panakareao exemplifies Maori understanding of their sovereignty as an individual authority over their customary lands. Maori did not understand that it was this authority that was ceded with the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 as Ngata and Buick argued. This misunderstanding caused conflict among tribes and between Maori and Pakeha throughout the 19th century. By the time Ngata provided his explanation, Maori had accepted that New Zealand's sovereignty was in the possession of Pakeha and that as a result of his explanation, Maori claims to their chieftainship had been nullified.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Political scientist and Historian Andrew Sharp argued in his publication *Justice and the Maori* that the common theme surrounding Maori political theory and writings during the 1970's and 1980's were that two separate authorities could govern New Zealand's sovereignty. He said, 'Maori...argued rather for areas of immunity from Pakeha and Crown

¹³¹ Cleave, pp. 44-45.

control, and for powers to administer in separated parcels their lands and waters, their education, health and social welfare policies for themselves.’¹³²

He argued that these assertions of sovereignty made by Maori both historically and contemporarily were more often strategies of avoidance towards Pakeha and of separate rights rather than the claim for Maori totalitarianism as the doctrines of Donna Awatere in *Maori Sovereignty* had expressed.

Cox refuted these claims made by Sharp as noted in chapter two and said that Maori had a degree of uniformity where they could have organised themselves as the prime and absolute authority over New Zealand in its political aspect. He said,

‘Maori obviously possessed a clear social, political, and spiritual corpus by which affairs were ordered. Even in the absence of a corporate body politic it is clear that a state of chaos did not exist...since there was not a lack of chaos then it was easy to assign sovereignty and nationhood to tribes of Aotearoa.’¹³³

However Cox is slightly misleading as the examples that he used to support his theory, such as the Kingitanga failed because the Kingitanga did not establish a Maori unity that could have challenged for New Zealand’s nation state. The Kingitanga did not at any stage want to dissolve or challenge the Pakeha nation state. Their aim was for Maori land to remain under Maori customary tenure and control. They believed it was possible to establish a dual sovereignty over New Zealand.

Historian and current member of the Waitangi Tribunal Richard Hill remarked that ‘Modern scholars, especially Maori writers, have stressed the integral link between land and

¹³² Sharp, p. 251.

¹³³ Cox, pp. 2, 43.

rangatiratanga.’¹³⁴ He stated that it was clear from these writers that the exercise of tino rangatiratanga by Maori was rooted in the land and its resources. He argued that in the second half of the twentieth century the eventual return of these lands was inconceivable. Maori however continued to argue in the latter half of the 20th century that the possession of the land was central to Maori autonomy.¹³⁵

Maori academic Emeritus Professor I. H. Kawharu in his publication *Maori Land Tenure* stated in 1977 that, ‘Maori desire for a measure of self-determination [was] based largely on the continued ownership of the land.’ He based this observation on a letter written to the editor of the Auckland Star in 1969 by a member of the New Zealand Maori Council, which stated, ‘There is...no subject in living memory that has stirred the Maori people, for the land, its possession and retention is the traditional basis of Maori existence...in its modern concept, land ownership has a significance in the cultural climate of Maori.’¹³⁶ Maori understood their tino rangatiratanga as the exercise of chiefly powers and that the possession of the land, villages and property was essential in exercising this chiefly authority.

Maori scholar and Historian Danny Keenan agreed with Kawharu and argued that the land was essential to Maori autonomy as it formed the social and cultural basis of Maori. Keenan stated that, ‘To Maori, the land was paramount. It was the foundation of social and economic life and it also provided the cultural stability essential to survival.’ He stated further that ‘Maori remain forever bound to the land’ and that ‘great pains have been taken by Maori to assert their rights to retain land and control resources.’¹³⁷ He based these conclusions on the Taranaki tribes and their experiences with taking their claim before the Waitangi Tribunal for

¹³⁴ Hill, Richard, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy; Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*, (2004), pp. 65.

¹³⁵ Hill, p. 66, Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 10.

¹³⁶ Kawharu, I. H, *Maori Land Tenure Studies of a Changing Institution*, (1977), pp. 4, 274-275, 6.

¹³⁷ Keenan, Danny, ‘Bound to the Land: Maori Retention and Assertion of Land and Identity’, in Pawson, Eric and Brooking, Tom (eds), *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, (2002), pp. 250, 260.

the return of their tribal lands and its resources in what they had asserted was their tino rangatiratanga.

Conclusion

The points that these scholars made were that land was essential to Maori political social and cultural assertions of their tino rangatiratanga. Maori argued that possession of land was central to Maori autonomy and have concentrated their efforts in fighting for the return of their tribal lands. By concentrating on the return of the land, Maori neglected to develop a political theory that would challenge the legitimacy of the nation state in governing these tribal lands, as they believed that by the simple possession of the land they could control it. Maori did not at any stage want to deny the legitimacy of the nation state and asserted that Maori authorities could run alongside it as Sharp concluded.

Awatere thought that the history of Maori political theory and Maori assertions of sovereignty did not at any stage want to overthrow the nation state. What this chapter showed was that Maori and Pakeha in signing the Treaty thought that New Zealand could be governed by two separate authorities; further Maori had continued to think along these lines until the 1970's. She argued that leaders such as Tamihana had by 1860 no choice but to accept that Maori would not be apart of the decision making processes although leaders such as Taiaroa thought that it was possible. The main premise for this was Maori have continued to defend their tribal boundaries and its resources against Pakeha as in the case of the Kingitanga and against other tribes.

However what this meant was that Maori had only advanced their understanding of sovereignty within their tribal boundaries and at no stage did Maori imagine a national politick that would protect Maori forms of customary authority without the possession of the

land. Awatere knew that in 1982 return of the land was impossible as mechanisms for the return of it had not been established. She understood that the exercise of Maori forms of authority would be conditional and Maori would always be answerable to a legislative authority. She thought differently to these writers because she believed that the primary aim of Maori sovereignty was for the acknowledgement that New Zealand was Maori land not its possession, which for Awatere was secondary. Awatere, by building up a picture of Maori experiences with colonisation and their ever adapting customary authority to accommodate Pakeha concepts of authority something that Maori had been justifying for over 200 years; she asserted that Maori had no choice but to question the legitimacy of the Pakeha nation state.

Chapter Four – Decolonisation and *Maori Sovereignty*

Introduction

In the decades following World War Two the world experienced a dramatic change in the way that people and communities interacted with each other. The catch cry of ‘oppression’ had caught wind during these decades where many began questioning the political, economic and social mechanisms that had been implanted in their communities by their ‘oppressors’. The political pressure forced by these communities on their oppressors had filtered out into global consciousness and revolutionary global changes occurred.

The colonial systems that once held these communities together began to unravel as the escalating cost of the two World Wars became apparent not only in monetary terms, but in human terms. The human sacrifices made by the colonies during both wars, in particular, the British colonies, was huge, however the political, economic and social status as ‘citizens’ did not change. Many of the black communities who had fought alongside their settler counterparts still experienced cultural repression in their countries of origin where many felt that they were second class citizens.

The aim of this chapter is to show how Donna Awatere had been influenced by the ‘decolonisation’ and ‘nationalistic’ processes that had occurred worldwide in the decades following War World Two in articulating *Maori Sovereignty*. Subsequently this chapter traces the influential natures of ‘black nationalism’ beginning with the Independence of India in 1947 and the Black American civil rights movements during the 1960’s. It also draws parallels between the types of leadership provided by Awatere’s father, Colonel Arapeta Awatere, Indian Nationalist Mahatma Gandhi, Whina Cooper and Donna Awatere.

This chapter argues that there are parallels in the tactics used in gaining India's Independence with the Black American Civil rights movement and with modern Maori protest. Tactics such as Indian Nationalist Mahatma Gandhi's, 'Salt March', Black Civil Rights Leader Dr. Martin Luther King Juniors' 'March on Washington' and Maori Leader Dame Whina Cooper's '1975 Land March'. These events such as the Salt March and the March on Washington are pivotal to the changes in global and in New Zealand's public consciousnesses because it demonstrated that political changes could occur without the use of violence, a measure that Maori had undertaken in the century previous.

Mahatma Gandhi

Indian nationalist Mahatama Gandhi had participated as a citizen of the British Empire during World War One as a part of the medical unit. He thought that participation in this War would cement his citizenship within the Commonwealth; this however was not the case.

He said in his autobiography,

'I knew the difference of status between an Indian and an Englishman, but I did not believe that we had been quite reduced to slavery. I felt then that it was more the fault of individual British officials than of the British system, and that we could convert them by love. If we would improve our status through the help and co-operation of the British, it was out of duty to win their approval by standing by them in their hour of need.'¹³⁸

Gandhi had suffered an enormous amount of racial prejudice before the outbreak of World War One while working in a law firm in Pretoria, South Africa in 1893.¹³⁹ There was a large amount of prejudice and legislative status against non-white people in South Africa specifically towards Indians and the indigenous people. He was subjected to a curfew and had

¹³⁸ Gandhi, Mahatma, *Gandhi Autobiography Story Of My Experiences With Truth*, (1949), p. 289.

¹³⁹ Gandhi, *Gandhi Autobiography Story Of My Experiences With Truth*, p. 98.

been jailed on occasion because he had broken curfew. Not happy with receiving a criminal record Gandhi as a result decided to 'contact every Indian in Pretoria' in order to study their living conditions. His overarching mission was to make Indian people aware of the prejudice amendments made to the *Asiatic Act 1859*.¹⁴⁰

The *Asiatic Act 1859* was an agreement made between the Indian and the Natal Governments in order to meet the large labour shortage in South Africa's sugar industry. The package that the Natal Government offered to these Indian labourers were that they were to be indentured for five years and upon release they could either return to India free of charge or were given a 'gift of Crown Land' and full citizenship.¹⁴¹ Whilst there, these indentured labourers introduced new types of vegetation and were able to supply these products at a cheaper rate than the South African merchants, thereby creating healthy competition for the South African market. Not happy with this competition the Asiatic Act was repealed several times by the Afrikaans, hoping to curb the flow of indentured labourers. However these appeals directly violated the terms of the original indenture.

One such amendment proposed was the Franchise Bill introduced in 1894. Its aim was to disenfranchise Indians, put a cap on their employment prospects and outlaw Indian ownership of land and businesses in Natal. This meant that after the term of indenture, Indians had to either return to India or renew their indenture and that these Indians could not be granted the rights of full citizenship. By 1894 Gandhi had had met every single Indian living in Pretoria and had formed along with others the Natal Indian Congress, who pressured the Transvaal

¹⁴⁰ Gandhi, *Gandhi Autobiography Story Of My Experiences With Truth*, pp. 93, 104, 107.

¹⁴¹ Gandhi, *Gandhi Autobiography Story Of My Experiences With Truth*, p. 129.

government to have this Bill repealed. The Franchise Amendment Act allowed Indians to trade and own franchises. A minor victory in the scale of it all, but at least it was a victory.¹⁴²

Although Gandhi was passionate about the plights of Indians in South Africa and went to seek support from the Indian nation, his loyalty to India however was confronted whilst in Bombay. On this occasion he had returned to Bombay to enlist the aid of his childhood friend and Indian Nationalist Pestonji Padshad who refused to help Gandhi and said, 'It is impossible to help you...I do not like even you going to South Africa...Our people in South Africa are no doubt in difficulty...let us win self-government here.'¹⁴³ Although at the time Gandhi was resentful of his advice, these words rang true to him and it was not long after this exchange of words that Gandhi returned to live in India permanently in service to the 'Motherland'.

Gandhi asserted that the truth would be the driving force in emancipating India from British rule by exposing laws that he thought were unjust, such as the tax on salt, just as he had with the Asiatic Act in South Africa. The law governing this tax stipulated that the use and taking of salt from India's beaches was strictly prohibited and that to break up the lumps of salt that was spat on the foreshore was in direct violation of this law. Gandhi chose this law because it affected every single person in India because of the tax monopoly that England had over it and that it was a mineral that had been given freely from the shores of India.¹⁴⁴

In protest of that law he initiated a 241 mile coastal march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi in what is commonly now known as the 'Salt March' on the 12th of March 1930.¹⁴⁵ At the end of the salt march when Gandhi arrived in Dandi he broke a natural lump of salt and he encouraged the people to follow suit. In the weeks following, people deliberately broke this

¹⁴² Erikson, Erik, *Gandhi's Truth On The Origins of Militant Nonviolence*, (1993), p. 171.

¹⁴³ Gandhi, *Gandhi Autobiography Story Of My Experiences With Truth*, p. 147.

¹⁴⁴ Gandhi, Mahatma, *The Collected Works of Gandhi, Vol. XLIII*, (1969), pp. 3-6.

¹⁴⁵ Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Gandhi, Vol. XLIII*, pp. 3-6.

law which caused India's prisons to become overcrowded and it became an administrative nightmare on India's judicial system.¹⁴⁶

Although this March did not alter the tax on salt it did gain the attention of British authorities and the imagination of the rest of the world. It was this March which set the precedence in achieving India's independence in the decade following. Gandhi, as well as other Indian nationalists were imprisoned in 1942 and were released at the conclusion of World War Two in 1945.¹⁴⁷

Upon release India was in the midst of religious civil war between Hindu and Moslem factions in Calcutta, where Gandhi immediately assumed a role as a mediator and had managed to contain the violence. He proposed a united front and to put aside religious differences in order to achieve India's independence. It was this idea of a united front that in the end led to his assassination in 1949. Gandhi as well as other leaders negotiated with the British government for India's independence, Lord Mountbatten who was the last Viceroy for the British Raj officially transferred the political and economic power of India to the Indian government who were elected in the previous year on August 15th 1947.¹⁴⁸

India's independence became pivotal in Awatere's thinking as it showed that Colonial powers could be challenged and it could be beaten as India had forced their withdrawal. She said.

'Maori are following in a worldwide trend towards decolonisation begun when independence was unwillingly given to India.'¹⁴⁹

She said that it was a natural procession that Maori could too follow in this movement.

However just as Gandhi had rejected religious differences and proposed a united front, Maori

¹⁴⁶ Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Gandhi*, Vol. XLIII, p.6.

¹⁴⁷ Fay, Peter, Ward, *The Forgotten Army: India's Armed Struggle for Independence 1942-1945*, (1996), pp. 130-131.

¹⁴⁸ Fay, p. 486.

¹⁴⁹ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 79.

could not reject their tribal aspirations. This is because the political direction for Maori and their claim to tino rangatiratanga was far from unanimous; Maori believed that New Zealand could be governed by separate and autonomous authorities alongside a Pakeha nation state, whereas Indians had agreed to expel Britain and to reclaim India's sovereignty.

Black America

Black American Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King Junior made no secret that he was following in the footsteps of Gandhi. The 'March on Washington' took place in August 1963 organised by the leaders involved in the Black Civil Rights movement in the United States of America. The major objective of the march was to show a unified black front concerning their lack of civil rights and that they had no political voice for African Americans in America's government.¹⁵⁰ This demonstration is best canonised by King Junior's morale boosting speech, 'I have a Dream' when he met the marchers on the footsteps of Congress because put simply it was the one speech that was televised live worldwide.

Black Nationalist Malcolm X refuted the aims of the Black American Civil Rights Movement as he argued rather for a separate black state instead of integrating Black Americans into the mainstream of American life. He believed that the concessions such as civil rights and equality given to the African American by the White Man were only temporary solutions to the 'Black problem'. During an interview he declared,

'If you give a black man a job it's only a temporary solution...if you give the black man housing its only a temporary solution...if you give the black man equality ten years down the track he has more equality'¹⁵¹

He believed that as long as the white man is giving the 'Black Man' solutions, rather than the black man finding their own, they were always going to be reliant on the white man. He

¹⁵⁰ Sargent, Fredric, O., *The Civil Rights Revolution; Events and Leaders, 1955-1968*, (2004), pp. 84-85.

¹⁵¹ 'Malcolm X Nation State' in, *Two Positions; Compensation or Nation State and Separation*, (PBS).

believed that the real solution for the black man's plight in America was to establish an independent Black Nation where the Black Man would solve their own problems within a separate and distinct state. X believed that once the Black American problem was solved then they would return to their country of origin, Africa. He believed that this was possible because Africa was in the process of decolonising themselves from Colonial Rule that had begun when India had won their Independence.¹⁵² X had opposed the March and thought that it was just another demonstration and did not know why the black people were so excited to be part of it as he thought nothing would come out of it. As it happened nothing did result from this March but what it did do was raise worldwide awareness on the lack of civil rights for America's black population.¹⁵³

However Awatere differed slightly to X when she proposed *Maori Sovereignty*. She did not want the separatism that X imagined instead she imagined that Maori would be the mainstream of New Zealand's life. She said, 'The aim is to redesign this country's institutions from a Maori point of view. The aim is reclaim all land and work it from a Maori point of view... This country belongs to the Maori.'¹⁵⁴ Unlike X she wanted an alliance with Pakeha to make this possible, an alliance that X only realised shortly before his assassination.

'Equality'

While Britain had been at war, the brotherhood formed on the battlefield between Maori and Pakeha did not continue back in New Zealand. Historian Monty Soutar in his publication *Nga Tama Toa, The Price of Citizenship* discussed Pakeha attitudes toward Maori at the end of

¹⁵² Halie, Alex and X, Malcolm, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, (2007), pp. 5-6.

¹⁵³ *Malcolm X: Make It Plain, American Experience*. PBS. May 19, 2005.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/malcolmx/timeline/timeline2.html>

¹⁵⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 32.

World War Two. He said, ‘While the Battalion has fought for the British Empire half the world away, their fight was also about putting Maori on an equal footing with Pakeha in their own country.’¹⁵⁵ Soutar argued that Pakeha attitudes toward Maori changed once these soldiers were homebound. He used the example of a comment made to one of the high ranking soldiers in the Maori Battalion by a Pakeha soldier who said, ‘You look neat in your uniform now, but when we get home, you’ll be working for me.’¹⁵⁶ He argued that while Maori and Pakeha fought together on the battle field and that they had formed an illusion of Maori and Pakeha equality this comment toward Maori permeated throughout the highest levels of government. He said that many years would pass before Maori Veterans would dissolve Pakeha bigotry.¹⁵⁷

Such attitudes toward Maori by Pakeha did not dissolve which is why Awatere’s generation were frustrated with their conservatism and their conviction of gaining ‘equality’ within the Pakeha nation state. She thought that the trauma that Maori had endured generation after generation since 1840 had ‘come home to roost’ in her generation as children of the soldiers who fought for the Pakeha and who had endured the trauma of the rural-urban shift.¹⁵⁸

Awatere’s father, Colonel Arapeta Awatere was Commander of the 28th Maori Battalion during World War Two. He was educated at Te Aute College and thereafter worked as a Maori Welfare Officer. The role of the Maori Welfare Officer was to work as an advocate and mediator for Government social agencies and Maori communities. Their responsibility

¹⁵⁵ Soutar, Monty, *Nga Tama Toa, The Price of Citizenship*, (2008), p. 370.

¹⁵⁶ Soutar, p. 371.

¹⁵⁷ Soutar, p. 372.

¹⁵⁸ Awatere, Donna, ‘Walking on Eggs’, pp. 124-125, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 24-26, 53-54, 83-85, Although during the interview we hedged towards her ‘problem’ that she had in *Maori Sovereignty* towards her parents generation but she said that she admired them because of their amazing feats of memory. This sentiment for her fathers friends only extended so far and within *Maori Sovereignty* she made it quite clear that the generation she meant was only limited to Manuera (Ben) Couch and Graeme Latimer. Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 53-54

was to promote Government social agencies in order to alleviate Maori health, housing and education so that they could be equal to their Pakeha counterparts.¹⁵⁹

He joined the New Zealand Territorial Forces where he studied European war strategies and strategist. In addition to this he studied at *Te Whare Waananga* where he was taught Maori traditional methods of warfare and the use of Maori weaponry. He combined both of these techniques during World War Two and had quickly scaled up the ranks to return to New Zealand as a commanding officer.¹⁶⁰

On his way to Italy from New Zealand his ship had disembarked in South Africa. During an interview taken from film maker Merata Mita's documentary *Patu!*, Awatere commented on her father's experience whilst there. She said,

‘My father and his troops were locked up on that ship for four days. The white New Zealanders went onshore for four days. It wasn't until four days later that the New Zealand government sent 50 pounds to cable my father and his troops around South Africa for one hour.’¹⁶¹

Awatere said that her father along with his troops came back to New Zealand following the end of World War two with the view that the Empire had failed to protect their rights as citizens of the British Commonwealth. He did not blame his white counterparts for disembarking without Maori; he placed the blame on South Africa laws yet these laws did not legally include Maori as a racial group.

Soutar recorded an alternative to Awatere's interpretation of events. He argued that owing to the size of the ship that Arapeta and others were on, it could not dock directly in to the harbour and that there were a limited number of vessels that could take these soldiers on shore. Maori were informed that they would face racial attacks while in Cape Town and as a

¹⁵⁹ Department of Maori and Island Affairs, ‘Maori Welfare Officers Meet The Minister’ in *Te Ao Hou, The New World*, No. 74, November 1973, pp. 14-15.

¹⁶⁰ Awatere, Arapeta and Hinemoa, *Awatere, A Soldiers' Story*, (2003), pp. ix, 4.

¹⁶¹ Mita, Mereana, *Patu!*, <http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/patu-1983> .

result all the Pakeha soldiers were the first to disembark and were granted a four day pass. The soldiers of the Maori Battalion were later granted leave for half a day and were told to tell the South Africans that they were Englishmen. One of the soldiers remarked that the South African people were welcoming and very friendly toward Maori who went onshore and that the colour bar in South Africa was 'all bunk'. This soldier thought that because the locals in Cape Town were so welcoming, many Maori broke curfew and stayed on shore until their ship was ready to leave.¹⁶²

When Arapeta returned to New Zealand from World War Two, he had visited each and every marae of his fallen soldiers before joining his family back in Ohinemutu Pa in Rotorua. His last marae visit was at Te Poho o Rawiri back in his hometown of Gisborne where many Government and Military Officials had attended. The topic of conversation at this hui was to find resolutions for Maori to become economically, educationally and socially equal with Pakeha. At this hui, Arapeta said,

‘We have gained our victories but there is a bigger battle ahead. That is the battle for existence in civilian life. If you provide the guidance, we will do all we can to materialise the beautiful sentiments expressed tonight. We will not shrink. We will work to make this truly the best country in the world.’¹⁶³

Soutar argued that Arapeta was aware of the inequalities between Maori and Pakeha, where he had assured these officials that Maori Veterans with their help would work towards gaining equality for Maori in New Zealand. He thought that the only way that Maori could alleviate these problems was to become more like Pakeha by becoming more educated, move from their villages into the cities where employment prospects were higher. After he returned to his family he resumed his position as a Maori Welfare Officer in order to achieve this equality.

¹⁶² Soutar, pp. 83-84.

¹⁶³ Soutar, p. 372.

Awatere said that his position in the department made life on the home front difficult and he would often be away for months on end. It was during her year on the road when she was eight, recuperating from rheumatic fever with her father that she asserted was the beginning of her education as an advocate for Maori began. She recalled in *Awatere: A Soldiers' Story* that,

‘at the meetings he expected me to sit up and listen then talk to him later about what happened. Somehow the bewilderment and anger of those people underpins how I am today.’¹⁶⁴

As a result of Awatere’s fathers work and belief in Maori participation in Government services he conditioned his daughter with the same work ethic instilled during her year on the road with him.

Arapeta was stationed in Auckland from 1959 and served as Maori Welfare district officer there until his incarceration in 1969. He had enrolled himself at Auckland University where he undertook a number of courses such as anthropology, philosophy and Maori studies while working as a Welfare Officer. He enrolled at University so that he could be an example for the younger generation who he was encouraging to leave their villages. In 1963, he was the first Maori City Councillor to ever serve on Auckland’s City Council.

Soon after her year on the road with her father, Awatere was sent to Tokomaru Bay to live with her father’s eldest brother and his wife. During a recent seminar, that was mentioned in the introductory chapter, she said, “Tokomaru Bay...was the centre of the Kotahitanga movement which said, ‘Not a single acre more’ and ‘hold fast to your language.’¹⁶⁵ She said that the political life in Tokomaru Bay was centred on the fact that colonisation damaged

¹⁶⁴ Awatere, Hinemoa, *A Soldiers' Story*, (2002), p. ix.

¹⁶⁵ Awatere, Donna, ‘Maori Sovereignty’ from *Mana Wahine Lecture Series 30 March 2010* refer to appendix two.

Maori beyond recall and that being proud to be Maori was good, rather than being ashamed of it.

She said the party song at that time was ‘Te Matauranga o te Pakeha’, which is a *whakatauki* or saying that she utilised in *Maori Sovereignty*. This *whakatauki* is as follows,

‘Te Matauranga o te Pakeha, He mea whakato hei tinanatanga, Mo wai ra? Mo Hatana, Kia tupato ki nga whakawai, Kia Kaha ra. The devious cleverness of the white man has been inspired by whom? Why, Satan of course. Therefore beware of the temptations (material and economic) pitfalls of the Pakeha and have the strength to resist.’¹⁶⁶

She surmised that because she was in Tokomaru Bay during this time the politics that she had been immersed in as a result made a huge impression on her and that because this *whakatauki* was the favourite party song she thought that you begin to develop a certain attitude. She asserted that her time in Tokomaru Bay instilled the belief in her that it was good to be Maori and while here within a rural setting she was encouraged to take pride in being Maori.¹⁶⁷

She was introduced to composer and educator Ngoingoi Pewhairangi otherwise known to Awatere as ‘Aunty Ngoi’ while staying in Tokomaru Bay, who had encouraged Awatere to join the Tokomaru Bay Choir where she was the choir mistress. Later during Awatere’s university years, Pewhairangi became a definitive influence on her joining ‘Nga Tamatoa’.

Awatere said,

‘Because the choir was such sissy things the boys wouldn’t join so there weren’t many low singers they soon discovered that I had a very loud low voice so I was the whole bass section.’¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Awatere, Donna, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 34, Awatere, Donna, ‘Maori Sovereignty’ from *Mana Wahine Lecture Series 30 March 2010* refer to appendix two.

¹⁶⁷ *Mana Wahine Lecture Series 30 March 2010* refer to appendix two.

¹⁶⁸ Awatere, Donna, ‘Maori Sovereignty’ from *Mana Wahine Lecture Series 30 March 2010* refer to appendix two.

Her mother, Elsie (nee' Rodgers) went to one of her performances and announced proudly that Awatere was her daughter to the lady sitting next to her. This lady turned out to be the mother of operatic, Kiri Te Kanawa, who was at the time in the seventh form at Saint Mary's College in Auckland under the tutorage of Sister Mary Leo. As a result of this conversation her mother had with Te Kanawa's mother Elsie decided to move to Auckland so that Awatere could attend St Mary's and become an opera singer like her 'cousin' Kiri.¹⁶⁹ By the time Awatere had reached her senior year she was a confident, articulate and proficient speaker and performer and had excelled both academically and musically. She had her sights set firmly on becoming a world leading operatic, a career that looked promising when she was offered a scholarship to attend Vienna's School of Opera in 1968.¹⁷⁰

Sister Leo also encouraged Awatere to embark on a University diploma at the University of Auckland to study Psychology due to the competitive nature of the Operatic society.

Awatere said that Sister Leo asserted that,

'It's [Opera] a very competitive and hostile world in the world of opera and professional music. So she said look, rather than spend your life singing, because I have got such a low voice these women are very horrible they are demonic, crazy women that would kill children and never get the prints.'¹⁷¹

Sister Leo thought that if Awatere could understand human nature then, she would be better equip to handle the pressure of becoming a world leading operatic.

Awatere's scholarship and application to attend the Royal London School of Opera had been pending during which time her father had been accused of murder and was to stand trial at the same time she had hoped to take up residency. After winning the scholarship as well as a place at the school, it was with reluctance that she turned it down so that she could be with

¹⁶⁹ Awatere, Donna, *My Journey*, (1996) p. 29. This is of course New Zealand's most infamous operatic Kiri Te Kanawa.

¹⁷⁰ Awatere, *My Journey*, p. 29.

¹⁷¹ Awatere, Donna, 'Maori Sovereignty', Mana Wahine Lecture Series, refer to appendix two.

her family during her father's trial. Two weeks after his conviction she married her friend, Karl Breiteneder, whom she met in Vienna and who had come to New Zealand to support her during her father's trial. This marriage lasted only two years and by mutual agreement he returned to Vienna when Awatere was pregnant with their second daughter.¹⁷²

In other publications she said that her father would quite often wake her up and would tell her about his experiences as a Welfare Officer regarding the state of Maori health, inadequate housing, and their dependency on the welfare system, their low employment rate and their lack of access to education. He told her more Maori needed to become more educated as this was the key to integrate with Pakeha.¹⁷³

She was heavily influenced by her father's mantra and this became evident when she won a national speech competition in 1965 with her topic being, 'Education is the Key to Integration'.¹⁷⁴ The point of this speech competition was to encourage a greater command and fluency of the English language amongst Maori High School Students. In 1977 the senior Maori section was introduced and in 1980 the junior Maori section began. Both sections were added as a part of the movement to revitalise the language.

Awatere was considered a 'success' story within a Pakeha dominated society as a operatic, a well accomplished public speaker and even a runner up in Miss Teen New Zealand, with her father's incarceration hanging over her and Sister Leo's warning she knew that she would not succeed as an operatic. Awatere said that his incarceration was one of the major events that caused a definitive turning point in her life.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Awatere, Hinemoa, *Awatere, A Soldiers' Story*, p.479, Awatere, Donna, *My Journey*, p. 29.

¹⁷³ Awatere, *My Journey*, p. 32.

¹⁷⁴ Awatere, *My Journey*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁵ Pers. comm. Interview with Donna Awatere, refer to appendix one.

It was not until his incarceration in 1969 that Arapeta had realised that Maori efforts in preserving their traditions had been continually undermined. He then set about recording his *whakapapa*, *karakia*, *moteamotea*, and tribal traditions which had been taught to him while he was a student at Te Whare Waananga. All of which have been recorded in his biography, *A Soldier's Story*, published by his granddaughter, Awatere's daughter, Hinemoa. However this realisation was too late for Arapeta to create real political changes for Maori. He told Awatere that upon release from being incarcerated he wanted to return to Gisborne and rebuild their family marae. This was an unfulfilled dream when he died unexpectedly in prison in 1976.

While in prison he became a mentor for Awatere and her University friends in the hope that they could penetrate this change. Her father encouraged her also to take an active interest in University politics as he noted that the tactics of student demonstrations was influential on pressuring governments to make significant changes and encouraged her to join Auckland University's Maori Student Union. A faction of these members of the Maori Student Union had formed 'Nga Tamatoa' the young warriors, after a Young Maori Leadership conference had taken place at the University in 1970 which Awatere had participated in.

During the interview she said that she attended a Young Maori Leadership conference as a student during her first year at the University of Auckland where her Aunty Ngoi was one of the presenters. She said that 'it was a force...and it influenced the people there to organise the group Nga Tamatoa.'¹⁷⁶ She said that this group turned her attention to the fact that Te Reo Maori was not permitted to be spoken nor taught within New Zealand's Public Sector. She was made aware also that general land was not subjugated to the same restrictions that

¹⁷⁶ Pers. comm. Interview with Donna Awatere, refer to appendix one.

successive governments have superimposed on Maori owned land, through excessive legislation.¹⁷⁷

She recalled this conference as highly motivating and inspiring for all those who attended and the outcome was to form and organise Nga Tamatoa. Nga Tamatoa quickly organised themselves and set up centres in both Auckland and Wellington. The purpose of these centres was to provide advocacy services for Maori and to reintroduce Maori urban youth to the marae to learn Te Reo Maori and Maoritanga. The reason for establishing these services was to revitalise pride and identity in being Maori. Nga Tamatoa successfully lobbied to the Crown for Te Reo Maori to be offered as a subject in schools and to be recognised as New Zealand's official language. The organising body of Nga Tamatoa was to last for five years until 1975 when during the Land March it dismantled and from this Nga Matakite o Aotearoa was formed.¹⁷⁸

The makeup of Nga Tamatoa was mostly the children of the Returned Soldiers from World War Two. Like Awatere they were a group of young, well educated urban Maori ready with the necessary drive and skills to challenge the nation state. Ranginui Walker said, 'While Te Hokioi¹⁷⁹ and MOOHR¹⁸⁰ were the underground expression of rising political consciousness among urban Maori, Nga Tamatoa became its public face.'¹⁸¹ From the onset however 'Nga

¹⁷⁷ Awatere, *My Journey*, p. 33.

¹⁷⁸ Walker, R. J, 'The Genesis of Maori Activism', in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 93, No. 3, September 1984, p. 276.

¹⁷⁹ *Te Hokioi* was the original name of the newspaper produced through the establishment of the Kingitanga in 1862. It was revived later in 1968 and became the title for a paper produced by 'underground urbanites' in 1968 where its function was designed to function as a conscious-raising mechanism to raise awareness regarding the commercial exploitation of paua (abalone) and greenstone and relating these acts to breaches under the Treaty of Waitangi. Walker, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou*, p. 209.

¹⁸⁰ **Maori Organisation On Human Rights** was established in 1968 by a division of the Trade Union where they aligned Maori rights with the class struggle. MOOHR sent out the call for Maori unity to oppose those who had oppressed and exploited Maori, whether this was in lands or its resources. Denoon, Donald, Mein Smith, Philippa, Wyndham, Marivic, p. 376, Walker, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou*, p. 209.

¹⁸¹ Walker, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou*, p. 210.

Tamatoa' split over its political ideologies in its leadership that eventually led to its demise on the footsteps of Parliament in 1975 as mentioned previously.¹⁸²

She recalled her experiences in Auckland as a Maori student and said that joining Nga Tamatoa was a way of recapturing her childhood as well as escaping the condescension that surrounded her father's incarceration. She said,

'For those of us that went to Auckland in the early 60's and to come across the negativity, the hostility and the brutality of the Pakeha world that had such contempt for us it was such a shock and in many ways it was a traumatic experience to go from a such a loving and happy environment where you are so valued.'¹⁸³

There are two historical events that are attributed to Nga Tamatoa, as mentioned briefly: the first event was the Maori Language petition that was presented to Parliament in 1971 which demanded that Te Reo Maori should be preserved by including it within New Zealand's educational curriculum. Awatere said that the reaction to the petition made by both Maori and Pakeha at the suggestion that Te Reo Maori was to be taught in schools was considered to be dangerous. As a result of their involvement, members of Nga Tamatoa, Awatere included, underwent years of harassment and could not gain employment.¹⁸⁴ Regardless, in 1987, Te Reo Maori was legislated within New Zealand's statutes and the right to speak in Te Reo Maori in any governmental institution and legal proceeding was made possible by the *Maori Language Act 1987*.

The other event was the 'Maori Land March' in 1975. The 1975 Maori Land March, like Gandhi's Salt March, and King's 'March on Washington', was initiated in protest of the consecutive legislations that had been made on Maori owned land. The catalyst legislation

¹⁸² Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 99. In other writings she says that she and a few others responded to the call to reform Nga Tamatoa but it was never to be revived to its former glory.

¹⁸³ Awatere, Mana Wahine Lecture Series 2010, refer to appendix two.

¹⁸⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 94.

that led to this March was the *Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967* which introduced the compulsory conversion of Maori owned land into general land. This allowed the government as the 'Maori Trustee' to acquire perceived uneconomic lands and pay a simple fee to the collective Maori owners. This amendment alone resulted in over 1.5 million acres of Maori land being seized and transferred over to the Maori Trustee.¹⁸⁵

Fifty people began the 1000 kilometre March on the 23rd of September in 1975 lead by 80 year old Dame Whina Cooper in protest to this legislation. By the time the Marchers had reached Parliament on the 13th of October the momentum had gathered over 5000 people. Their basic demand was that no more Maori owned land was to be taken through government legislation. A resolution to the demand made by the 1975 Land March was finally achieved with the establishment of *The Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988*.¹⁸⁶

Dame Whina Cooper was a foundation member of the Maori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) established in 1951 and was League's first president from 1951 until 1957. The formation of the MWWL was a result of the Maori rural-urban shift that occurred immediately following World War Two. The major objective of the MWWL was to unite Maori women and teach and equip them with the skills necessary for the general wellbeing of the Maori mother and their child in an urban setting. The other objective was to promote a fellowship and understanding between Maori and Pakeha by co-operating with other

¹⁸⁵ http://magic.lbr.auckland.ac.nz/dbtw-wpd/exec/dbtwpub.dll?AC=GET_RECORD&XC=/dbtw-wpd/exec/dbtwpub.dll&BU=http%3A%2F%2Fmagic.lbr.auckland.ac.nz%2Fdbtw-wpd%2Fmll%2Fbasic.htm&TN=mll&SN=AUTO10980&SE=275&RN=34&MR=20&TR=0&TX=1000&ES=0&CS=1&XP=&RF=BriefWeb&EF=&DF=FullWeb&RL=1&EL=0&DL=1&NP=0&ID=&MF=WPEngMsg.ini&MQ=&TI=0&DT=&ST=0&IR=4343&NR=0&NB=1&SV=0&SS=0&BG=&FG=&QS=&OEX=ISO-8859-1&OEH=ISO-8859-1

King, Michael, *Whina*, (1983), pp. 206-209.

¹⁸⁶ The Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988, extended the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal that had until this point could only make recommendations of the breaches made under the Treaty. This Act enabled the Tribunal to make binding judicial recommendations of any claim over State Owned Enterprises that was inconsistent with the terms and conditions of the Treaty.

women's organisations, departments of state and local authorities bodies across New Zealand. She retained her membership within the League until her death in 1994.¹⁸⁷

Historian and Cooper's biographer Michael King argued in his publication *Whina* that Cooper was reluctant to lead this March as she believed that she was too old. King recorded her reaction to being approached by members of Nga Tamatoa who suggested that she lead them where she said, 'Why don't you young people take it up? They replied that they don't think they can call on all the Maori people together as they are too young...we must unite so that the whole strength of Maori people can fight for the retention of our lands.'¹⁸⁸ King said that leading the March would be the last and most important campaign in her life.

Cooper had attended a series of meetings in Auckland with Nga Tamatoa and by April of 1975 it was suggested that these young Maori urbanites who were later named 'Te Roopu o te Matakite', (TROM) initiate the March. Once the decision was made to make the journey to Parliament an organising committee was set up which comprised of Cooper as the chair, New Zealand Maori Council (NZMC) President Graeme Latimer, MWWL President, Mira Sazy, Ranginui Walker, and Syd Jackson and Titiwhai Harawira who represented Nga Tamatoa. The next four months was spent on fundraising, planning routes and recruiting support from all over the North Island particularly in the centres that the March would pass through.¹⁸⁹

The establishment of the NZMC was made possible by the *Maori Welfare Act 1962*. The NZMC when it was established was made of mostly Returned Servicemen from the Maori Battalion or descendents of Maori politicians such as Sir James Carroll. Sir Turi Carroll, a nephew of James Carroll, as its first president in a press release believed that the rights of Maori that were afforded in the Treaty needed to be recognised and maintained by the Crown.

¹⁸⁷ King, pp. 168, 170, 186.

¹⁸⁸ King, p. 206.

¹⁸⁹ King, pp. 208-209.

He said that the purpose of the NZMC was not to press the government into writing the Treaty into statutes and he believed that existing statutes could act as a function in protecting Maori rights.¹⁹⁰

However Latimer and the NZMC as well as Cooper had other ideas which clashed harshly with the ideologies of the breakaway group from TROM that had formed during the March. King noted that there was a widespread feeling that the MWWL and the NZMC were not addressing these issues with sufficient urgency. He said, 'As Ti [Titiwhai] Harawira noted subsequently, 'We had already made the decision. If we didn't get our demands for Maori lands, we'd camp at Parliament. They weren't met so we stayed.'¹⁹¹ He said that around fifty people stayed and had refused to move which angered Cooper. She thought that for the march to have any effect it had to be supported by Maori as a whole and that it should be dealt in a proper way, through submissions to Parliament.¹⁹²

As a result Maori unity that had gathered over the duration of the March had disintegrated at the footsteps of Parliament. Soon after the March, these young urbanites began to deliberately break the law by occupying otherwise 'Crown Lands' that had been confiscated in the century previous and claiming these areas as Maori Land.

Awatere was a part of this breakaway group and thought that when the Land March ended, New Zealand would allow a determined well organised minority to seize New Zealand's political power. She said, 'I thought that minority would be Maori, it turned out to be Roger Douglas.'¹⁹³ The then Minister of Finance Roger Douglas by nationalising and selling off

¹⁹⁰ *New Zealand Maori Council Vs The Attorney-General 1987* Deenoon, Donald, Mein-Smith, Philippa with Wyndham, Marivic, p. 380, Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou* pp. 204-208, Cox, Lindsay, *Kotahitanga*, (1993), pp. 147, 187-188, Hackshaw, Frederika, 'Nineteenth Century Notions of Aboriginal Title', in *Kawharu, I. H. (ed), Waitangi*, pp. 110-113.

¹⁹¹ King, p. 206.

¹⁹² King, p. 203.

¹⁹³ Awatere, *My Journey*, p. 79.

‘State Owned Enterprises’ the government had to acknowledge this Maori property right in accordance with Part One section nine of the ‘*State Owned Enterprises Act 1986*’.

This section stated, ‘Nothing in this act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of The Treaty of Waitangi.’¹⁹⁴

The (NZMC) forced section 9 of the *State Owned Enterprises Act 1986* into the Court of Appeal in a landmark case, known as, *The New Zealand Maori Vs The Attorney General*, where they thought that the transference of Crown land to a State Owned Enterprise was inconsistent with this section. The Court made the determination and had agreed with the NZMC that the transference of Crown land was inconsistent with this section. As a direct result of the NZMC litigation *The Treaty of Waitangi (State Enterprises) Act 1988*, was legitimised. This statute extended the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal to make a binding recommendation for the return to Maori ownership of land belonging to State Owned Enterprises or interests in land. Consequently the government had to acknowledge Maori customary title to land, that had been nullified¹⁹⁵ in the previous century.

¹⁹⁴ Hackshaw, ‘Nineteenth Century Notions of Aboriginal Title’, pp. 110-113, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1988/0105/latest/DLM132561.html>

¹⁹⁵ This nullification came about in 1877 in a decision made by Chief Justice James Prendergast in a claim made by the then Minister of Parliament Wi Parata who claimed that the land he claimed was given to the Christian Mission Society (CMS) in 1850 to establish a College for the people of Ngati Toa. The land was not used for this purpose and was awarded a Crown Grant so that it could be on sold to the highest bidder. Parata believed that it was in breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and that the land should have been returned to the original owners. Prendergast in his determination treated the Treaty as a ‘simple nullity’ and as a result denied the legal validity of tino rangatiratanga as a legal title to land. He based this judgement on the fact that Maori had no law that was recognisable in a British court of law. Frederika, ‘Nineteenth Century Notions of Aboriginal Title’, in Kawharu, I. H. (ed), Waitangi, pp. 110-113, Cox, Lindsay, *Kotahitanga*, (1993), pp. 147, 187-188.

Chapter Five - Feminism and *Maori Sovereignty*

Introduction

In the 'Preface' of *Maori Sovereignty*, author Donna Awatere said that the aim of *Maori Sovereignty* was to break the tripod of thinking that had been created by New Zealand's protest movements. This tripod concerned 'sexism', 'racism' and 'capitalism' where she argued that these divisions had caused a fragmentation amongst New Zealand's feminists, anti-racism groups and the New Zealand Trade Labour Movements. She asserted that when she proposed *Maori Sovereignty*, these groups could merge their protest under a common cause and that by doing so *Maori Sovereignty* would challenge the institutions that had created and supported sexist, racist and capitalist attitudes.¹⁹⁶

Whilst Awatere had been deep-rooted in feminist theories and the rights of women since 1969, the political potential and the intellectual development of New Zealand's feminist movement had lost its footing and purpose for Awatere towards the end of the 1970's. She argued that the feminist movement concentrated too much on their oppression as women within a male dominated workplace and society, where she said that this oppression was only a symptom of an otherwise outdated colonial system of governance.¹⁹⁷ Subsequently, she argued that the feminists had ignored the cause of this oppression and for Awatere it was the political and economic institutions that had supported this tripod.¹⁹⁸

Therefore the aim of this chapter is to show how Donna Awatere was influenced by what has been defined as second wave feminism that took wind post World War Two and how these

¹⁹⁶ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁹⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 50.

¹⁹⁸ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 44.

movements contributed to articulating *Maori Sovereignty*. Consequently it will look at the reasons why she had evolved her position as a New Zealand feminist in order to cater to the contemporary needs of Maori women.

This chapter intends to show how these ideas have permeated through *Maori Sovereignty* by focusing on the position of Maori women during the late 1970's. This chapter traces her involvement with the New Zealand's feminist movement when she joined Auckland based group, 'Women for Equality' in 1969 and the establishment of New Zealand's Black Women's movement as a member of 'Black Unity' in the early 1980's. Also it intends to show how she was influenced by black feminist theories when she had attended numerous conferences in countries such as Copenhagen and Cuba.

Sexism

The term 'second wave feminism' emerged in the decades following World War Two. This emergence stemmed from a report commissioned by the United Nations (UN) who had sought an enquiry regarding the 'Status of Women' in 1945. This commission of enquiry made the determination that women had 'equal rights' with their husbands in marriage, and in its dissolution within their homes.¹⁹⁹ By 1970, the issue of women rights had expanded into the workplaces championed in New Zealand by legislation such as the *Equal Pay Act 1972*. This Act was passed with the aim to make provisions for the removal and prevention of discrimination, based on the sex of the employees and in the rates of remuneration of males and females in paid employment.²⁰⁰ By the end of 1971, the number of feminist groups that were meeting weekly in New Zealand had grown from five in 1969 to well over 30.

¹⁹⁹ Denoon, Donald, Mein Smith, Philippa, Wyndham, Marivic, pp. 383-384, .Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 'The United Nations and the Advancement of Women, 1945-1996', (1995), pp. 101,514.

²⁰⁰ *Equal Pay Act [1972]*.

Auckland based group 'Women For Equality', established itself as a result of the *Equal Rights and Opportunities Bill* which was the forerunner to the *Equal Pay Act 1972*, a group that Awatere was a founding member of.²⁰¹ Awatere joined Women for Equality when she had returned from Vienna Opera School and was working in an egg factory where her mother, Elsie Awatere, was employed. She said in her autobiography,

'My mother was an outstanding egg packer. She was the egg packer's egg packer. No-one could pack eggs as fast or as efficiently as my mother...I couldn't help but notice that the fellow next to her was constantly breaking eggs, and worked at roughly two-thirds of the speed.'²⁰²

Awatere became angry when she found out that her mother was receiving a remarkably lower wage for the same job than the man standing next to her on the line. After hearing this, she went and sought the manager of the egg plant and told him how unfair it was that her mother was not paid the same wage. She said that she was asked to leave the plant and told not to come back to work. This situation made her aware of the gender inequalities within New Zealand's labour market and soon after this she was attracted to a flyer that was promoting a discussion group regarding the unequal distribution of wages between men and women.

She attended the first meeting and from there she became a member of Women for Equality. During its initial stages, Women for Equality was focused on women's issues, such as equal pay for equal employment, its membership was not restricted to women, much to the disdain of other Women's focus groups. It was through this membership that Awatere became apart of the 'Broadsheet Collective'.²⁰³ Awatere attended numerous conferences as a result of her involvement with the Collective such as the International Decade of the Women mid decade

²⁰¹ Awatere, *My Journey*, p. 34.

²⁰² Awatere, *My Journey*, pp. 33-34.

²⁰³ Women for Equality, 'Letters to the Editor' in *Broadsheet*, No. 1, (1972), p.3.

conference in Copenhagen in 1980. 'Awatere in Copenhagen' published in *Broadsheet* was a report of the events that she participated in during this two-week forum.²⁰⁴

Between 1975 and 1985, the UN launched the International Decade of the Woman that were centred on women's issues and had organised three international conferences, in Mexico City, Copenhagen and Nairobi. Gender, Population and the Environment lecturer Carolyn Stephenson had attended the Mexico City and Copenhagen Conferences and had written an article that focussed on the main outcomes of these conferences. In Stephenson's 'Feminism, Pacifism, Nationalism and the United Nations Decade for Women', she argued that the issue of gender equality had dominated feminist theory during the first half this decade. This issue of gender equality, although still important to western feminist theory, had changed by the time the Copenhagen conference was held. She said,

'In both forums...equality was a main focus of discussion. The change from 1975 to 1980 was the realisation that equality was a broader concept than just the Western feminist conception of women's rights. There was a realisation that there was a relationship between national liberation (or national development) and women's liberation.'²⁰⁵

The main issue discussed at both conferences was the lack of economic development in third world countries and how the economic situations in their countries was a barrier to raising the status of women instead of gender inequalities.²⁰⁶

The Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) forum in Copenhagen was organised in parallel with the United Nations Mid decade Conference for Woman (UNCW) that was held five kilometres away. The composition of those who spoke and the panellist at the NGO forum was made up of mostly 'black' women who politically theories differed vastly from UNCW composite. This is because the UNCW were concerned with their oppression as

²⁰⁴ Awatere, Donna, 'Awatere in Copenhagen' in *Broadsheet*, No. 83 (October, 1980), p. 19.

²⁰⁵ Stephenson, Carolyn, 'Feminism, Pacifism, Nationalism and the United Nations Decade for Women', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 5 Issues, 3-4,(1982), p. 297.

²⁰⁶ Stephenson, pp. 287-300.

women against the patriarchal nature of their social order whereas at the NGO forum their oppression was centred around the fact that black nations had no rights to control their country and its resources.

Awatere had attended the NGO forum and argued that the rights of Maori women had been overlooked by New Zealand's feminist movement. She had drawn the relevance of the third world situation with Maori and said,

‘For Maori women, all our concerns as women centre around the fact that we as a people have no say in shaping our own destiny as a people. That the rules in this country were made by immigrant races and nations, and were not made for the Maori by the Maori. We are forced to live apart from the resources of the land and apart from the cultural and spiritual values which make us what we are.’²⁰⁷

She believed that as a result of Maori being forced off their lands and its resources taken Maori had lost their economic base. She believed that the aim of Maori women was not to overthrow the patriarchy, which was the position that New Zealand's feminists had taken, but to change the political and economic institutions that allowed women more specifically Maori women to be oppressed.²⁰⁸

Awatere had shared accommodation with Dr Nawal el Saadawi a medical doctor and psychiatrist, feminist and author who had written extensively on women in the Arab world.²⁰⁹

In conversation with el Saadawi, Awatere mentioned to her that *Broadsheet* had published extracts of her then latest book *The Hidden Face of Eve – Women in the Arab World*.

Awatere said that el Saadawi angrily replied saying, ‘no doubt, they [*Broadsheet*], had ignored the political and economic aspects of the lives of Arab women... western feminists are obsessed with genital mutilation and use this issue to make anti-Arab, anti-African and

²⁰⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 43.

²⁰⁸ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 42.

²⁰⁹ Awatere, ‘Awatere in Copenhagen’, p. 19.

anti-Moslem attacks.²¹⁰ el Saadawi believed that genital mutilation is a symptom of the patriarchal class system and that the power bases of it are the economic and political systems, systems that affected women worldwide. She said, '[Western feminist] know nothing about Sudan except that Sudanese women are circumcised. They know nothing about the economic and political systems...I am tired of its being considered chic to sneer at Arab customs.'²¹¹ It was this conversation with el Saadawi that dominated Awatere's thoughts during and after this forum as well as the random workshops and events that she participated in.

Awatere attended el Saadawi's workshop and thought that the scope of her presentation was to reinforce to feminists that 'to talk feminism without looking at the political and economic conditions which keep the women without food, water and home is nonsense.'²¹² Awatere said that New Zealand's delegate at the UNCW Member of Parliament Marilyn Waring²¹³ had misinterpreted el Saadawi's presentation which angered many women who were at the NGO conference. Waring had appeared on the front page of the UNCW Forum newspaper with the quote, 'To talk feminism to a woman who has no water, no food and no home is to talk nonsense.'²¹⁴ Awatere said that this statement did not address the political and economic conditions that kept women without these basic necessities. For Awatere, this was el Saadawi's case and point when el Saadawi had criticised western feminists who looked only at the oppression of women in terms of gender inequality to their male counterparts.

Journalist Bruce Jesson noted that Waring was regarded as the voice of women in Parliament and that this gave her considerable standing in the New Zealand's women's movement. He

²¹⁰ Awatere, 'Awatere in Copenhagen', p. 19.

²¹¹ Awatere, 'Awatere in Copenhagen', p. 19.

²¹² Awatere, 'Awatere in Copenhagen', p. 12.

²¹³ Marilyn Waring was a Member of Parliament under the National government for the Waipa electorate from 1978 until the Labour Party seized power in 1984. She was not only one of first women to enter politics but was the youngest ever at age 22 to enter Parliament. She is currently working at The University of Auckland as a Professor of Public Policy and specialises in economic and political theory.

²¹⁴ Awatere, 'Awatere in Copenhagen', p. 12.

said, ‘sections of the news media tried to label her as the ‘leader’ of the women’s movement...the feminist movement has ended up with a leader not of its own choosing.’²¹⁵ Jesson thought that the scope of the feminist movement and feminist political theory was only concerned with the question of male domination. He argued that the role that Waring played could be interpreted as a response to the expansion of women in the workplace and that it was a natural following that Waring had concentrated her efforts on the ‘patriarchal’ nature of New Zealand society. He stated further that this conveyed the belief that New Zealand’s social system is fundamentally authoritarian and oppressive toward women.

Awatere asserted that Waring was not known as a supporter of Maori issues and yet at this conference she had projected this image by grasping at el Sadaawi’s political directives. She criticised Waring further by providing an outline of the political party that she represented whose policies had continually initiated and maintained legislation that was destructive toward Maori and toward women.²¹⁶

Awatere differed from the mainstream of New Zealand’s feminist movement and was clearly influenced by el Sadaawi’s political perspective. Awatere when challenged by New Zealand’s feminist groups to ignore Maori men she reacted vehemently. She said,

‘White women sought to set Maori women against Maori men. Some white women are still into this. The first loyalty of white women is to White Culture and the White Way...This loyalty is seen in the rejection of the sovereignty of Maori people and in their acceptance of the imposition of British culture on Maori.’²¹⁷

She thought that it should not be up white women to dictate the direction of Maori women.

Maori women would align their issues with their men for the purposes of establishing Maori sovereignty over New Zealand.

²¹⁵ Jesson, Bruce, ‘Marilyn Waring – Conflicting Interests?’ in Sharp, Andrew (ed), *Bruce Jesson, To Build a Nation*, p. 77.

²¹⁶ Awatere, ‘Awatere in Copenhagen’, p. 13.

²¹⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 42.

She thought that the common theme at the NGO amongst third world countries was for women to play an effective and decisive role alongside their male counterparts in national liberation struggles, a theme she had readdressed in *Maori Sovereignty*. She said,

‘the oppression of women does not exist in a vacuum: economic and racial privileges cannot be separated from sexual power. Try telling a black Azania woman today that she should unite with white women to overthrow the patriarchy, and the stupidity of treating sex oppression on its own can be seen.’²¹⁸

For the women who had attended the NGO forum they believed that the aim of feminism should first confront the social and economic order that had oppressed their political aims and then to address their gender roles once their political objectives such as sovereignty for ‘black’ nations had been achieved.

Racism

Following Awatere’s return from Copenhagen she had attended a follow up conference in Fiji where she became disheartened at the lack of alliance that her Pacific Sisters had for the aims of *Maori Sovereignty*. Awatere thought that the Pacific Nation often left Maori women out because they are seen as a part of New Zealand’s colonising activities that had occurred during Apirana Ngata’s time when Samoa, the Cook Island and Nuie were administered from New Zealand.

She said,

‘New Zealand’s neo colonial role in the Pacific is not one which has endeared it to Pacific people. Maori women need to be included along with Pacific women living in New Zealand in these organising activities.’²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 42.

²¹⁹ Awatere, Donna, ‘Pacific Women Meet’ in *Broadsheet*, No. 86, (Jan/Feb, 1981), p. 9.

The understanding she came away from that conference with was that the Pacific sisters thought that Maori aims were not as important as theirs. These Pacific sisters thought that economically Maori were able to support their families and were unlike themselves were reduced to making up the shortfall in New Zealand's labour market as factory workers and then quickly deported when there was no work.

The Pacific community in New Zealand established the 'Polynesian Panthers', immediately after what has become known as New Zealand's 'Dawn Raids'. They were targeted because of the lack of employment in New Zealand during this time; they were deported back to their respective countries as remembered vividly by these Pacific sisters. In an article written recently, it stated,

'Tongans were key targets during the period of the dawn raids against illegal overstayers. They did not hold any of the citizenship privileges other Pacific Islanders could claim. The 'dawn raids' inflicted considerable trauma on the Tongan communities of New Zealand.'²²⁰

From 1974 until the end of 1977, many Pacific families were awoken to and were shattered by the Governments accusations that they were 'overstayers' and as a result the accused were deported back to their islands.²²¹

Awatere said that only a scattering of Tongans actually joined the Panthers and that its make up was largely from the Samoan community and a few Maori. The Panthers had challenged Awatere and others to give up their primary identity of being Maori in favour of being Polynesians. She said that this was because the Panthers thought that basic civil rights and equality in New Zealand could be achieved without Maori achieving their sovereignty.

However she thought that what it really represented was that these New Zealand born Pacific

²²⁰ Teresia, Teaiwa, and Mallon, Sean, 'Ambivalent Kinships? Pacific People in New Zealand' in Liu, James, H., McGreanor, Tim, McIntosh, Tracey and Teaiwa, Teresia, (eds), *New Zealand Identities; Departures and Destinations*, (2005), p. 209.

²²¹ Teresia, Teaiwa, and Mallon, Sean, 'Ambivalent Kinships? Pacific People in New Zealand', p. 208.

Islanders were faced with an identity crisis because their roots and culture lay outside of New Zealand.²²²

Just as the feminists had tried to dictate to Awatere she said that the ‘Polynesian Panthers’ suggested that she too should reject her claim in establishing Maori sovereignty over New Zealand. In *Maori Sovereignty* she said, ‘those Polynesians whose sovereignty is secure look with pity and occasionally contempt on the Maori whose sovereignty had been taken.’²²³ The Panthers argued that Maori should align their issues with establishing basic civil rights for Polynesians that resided in New Zealand. She thought that the Panthers would become natural allies of *Maori Sovereignty* because they too had suffered by New Zealand’s neo-colonial role in the Pacific.²²⁴

This however was not the case; Awatere believed that Maori women were more oppressed than their Pacific sisters. This is because she believed that much of New Zealand’s resources were invested in satisfying the demand made by the Pacific communities for their anguish suffered during the dawn raids. She said,

‘One instance has been the setting up of Pacific Islanders Educational Resource Centres in Auckland and Wellington. The Pakeha has long been aware of the chronic crisis our children have in coping with a hostile education system, yet in the 142 years since Waitangi the Maori has never had one educational resource centre to cater for our special communal needs...Naturally there was a good deal of resentment within the Maori community when it was seen that Pacific people had been singled out for special status that was never accorded the Maori.’²²⁵

She argued that the setting up of these centres was a trick played by the New Zealand state because Pacific Islanders like Maori were not offered an opportunity to chart their own

²²² Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 37.

²²³ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 35.

²²⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 36.

²²⁵ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 37.

destiny in terms of real political decision making. She believed that Maori sovereignty would give the Pacific community a real chance of being able to chart their own destiny in New Zealand alongside Maori. However she thought that they were reluctant in aligning their aims because alliance with *Maori Sovereignty* would be at the expense of losing their privileges such as these centres privileges that had yet to be offered to Maori. Whatever Awatere's reaction was towards these centres given to the Pacific communities she herself utilised them such as the Polynesian Education Centre (PRC), where her friend Rebecca Evans become its co coordinator in Auckland.²²⁶

When she returned from Fiji she had decided to hold New Zealand's first national black women's hui where she along with her friends Rebecca Evans and Josie Keelan had organised the group 'Black Unity'. Black Unity established itself shortly after Awatere returned from Copenhagen and Fiji and she soon set out to gather the opinion of Maori women and their needs by organising New Zealand's first national black women's hui.²²⁷

In Bruce Jessons' article 'Conflict in the Anti-Racist Movement', he said that basically Trade Union Leader Bill Andersen objected to Evans use of the centre as a means to promote 'separate and distinct' organisations such as Black Unity that he regarded as anti-union. The PRC was given a room in the Trade Union Building where Jesson said that administrative difficulties resulted from the public denouncement of the Trade Union in the 'Black Unity' document. He stated further that Andersen refused to accept any reports from the Resource Centre by rendering them invalid..²²⁸

²²⁶ Jesson, Bruce, 'Conflict in the Anti-Racist Movement', in *The Republican No. 40 (May, 1982)*, pp. 4-5, Awatere, 'Korero-tia Wahine Ma!' pp. 10-13.

²²⁷ Awatere, Donna, 'Korero-tia Wahine Ma!' in *Broadsheet*, No. 84, (Nov 1980), p. 10.

²²⁸ Jesson, Bruce, 'Conflict in the Anti-Racist Movement', in *The Republican No. 40 (May, 1982)*, pp. 4-5.

Black Unity devoutly rejected the suggestion made by the Trade Union soon after the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand that they should align their issues with the ‘working class struggle’ and stated that,

‘The Maori people were fighting bloody revolutionary wars which were aimed at overthrowing the power of the British State and then the New Zealand state. The Maori people fought these wars alone. The white working class did not lift a finger to help.’²²⁹

Black Unity believed that the aims of Maori revolutionaries did not align with the aims of the Trade Union and that their struggle was for Maori sovereignty not just alleviating Maori financial situations within a working class environment.²³⁰

Jesson said that Andersen sent him copies of the Black Unity paper as mentioned previously and also Andersen’s reply ‘Facts RE Eviction of Polynesian Resource Centre’. Andersen’s response was then published following the Black Unity document and he also sent various Trade Council and Trade Union documents. Andersen claimed that the agreement made in utilising the Trade Union building by the PRC was that the Trade Council must support and cooperate with the aims of the Centre. He claimed that the document put out by Black Unity who utilised the Centre conflicted with the aims of the Trade Union and because of the attack made on Trade Unionist, the Trade Union would not support the aims of Black Unity. A façade had occurred between the PRC and the Trade Unionists during a Trade Union meeting and as a result of this façade, the Trade Union forced the closure and eviction of the PRC and had removed the members of the PRC through use of Police.²³¹

This sentiment of the Trade Union’s use of the police is repeated by a subcommittee of the Auckland Trade Union Movement that followed Andersen’s reply in the following issue of

²²⁹ Black Unity, ‘A Statement on the Attempt by White Leftists to Divide Pacific Peoples’ in *The Republican*, No. 41, July 1982, p. 4.

²³⁰ Jesson, Bruce, ‘Maori Radicals and the Pakeha Left: How Much in Common?’ in *The Republican*, No. 41, July 1982, p. 14.

²³¹ Jesson, ‘Maori Radicals and the Pakeha Left: How Much in Common?’, pp. 4-16.

The Republican. 'T. U. C. Cops Out' was a leaflet printed by a Group of Auckland Trade Unionists. It says that the real reason that the centre was evicted stemmed from an 'unprincipled attack on HART and the PRC, leading to the indefeasible use of Police'. Although they said that while the Black Unity document has some issues that needed to be discussed, the major thrust of the PRC was akin to the workers struggle which was against monopoly control. This pamphlet concluded that, 'it is significant that while these fraternal groups are fighting to realise their aims, some trade unionists choose to try and justify the use of police and in so doing expose their real loyalties.'²³² These unionists believed that the actions of the 16 members who belonged to the PRC were provoked by racist comments made by some members of the Trade Council and that the Trade Union use of Police was not justified.

To further disassociate themselves from Awatere and the aforementioned document put out by Black Unity in what he along with 70 other Trade Union delegates saw as a personal attack on the Trade Union, the PRC whose space was in the Trade Union building was 'reorganised' and Evans and Black Unity were evicted.²³³ It would seem that Awatere reacted strongly to this eviction as the first instalment of *Maori Sovereignty* appeared in *Broadsheet* during the intervening month from Jesson's article to Andersen's reply. Jesson said that he reprinted these documents in *The Republican* because of the anguish that the eviction caused in the 'radical circles in Auckland'. Little did he know at that time, the frenzy that the first instalment of *Maori Sovereignty* would cause and his thoughts surrounding this dominated *The Republican* over the next 15 issues as mentioned earlier.

The primary aim of the PRC when it was established in 1980 was to get together resources on Maori and Pacific Island organisations and their relevance in strengthening alliances within

²³² Group of Auckland Trade Unionist, 'T. U. C. Cops Out!' in *The Republican*, No. 41 (July, 1982), p. 11.

²³³ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 49.

these communities. What developed from this was the establishment of seven Maori organisations all of which Awatere was part of. Awatere said, ‘all these Maori groups... [had an] underlying philosophy of Maori sovereignty.’²³⁴ As a result of this reorganisation, these groups were evicted from the building and the Auckland Trade Union nominated Maori and Pacific Island delegates to represent the interest of Maori and Pacific Island workers rather than deal with these seven organisations.

Soon after this eviction, members of Black Unity had been invited to a conference held in Cuba as mentioned in chapter two, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the storming of the Monaco Bastion by Cuban revolutionaries, Fidel Castro and Che’ Guevara. She was invited to collaborate with the feminist branches of the PLF where she thought it would a great opportunity to develop New Zealand’s independent theories. Awatere thought that direct action was needed in New Zealand after witnessing the sacrifice made by these women she met whilst in Cuba and the aims of the Palestinian Liberation Front.²³⁵ She knew that the Tour was coming up where she challenged the anti-tour demonstrators to look in their own backyard. She said,

‘we came back [from Cuba] and we thought we got to be more active, no more marches, direct action,...and it came to me, the Springbok Tour was coming up we’ll take charge of it we’ll become the leaders of it and turn the attitude of the Pakeha leading it to our issues.’²³⁶

One such demonstrator who was clearly influenced by Awatere said almost 20 years later that, ‘I regret not having made the connection between a determination to stop racist tours from South Africa, and the status of Maori.’²³⁷

²³⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 49.

²³⁵ Pers. comm. *Interview with Donna Awatere*, refer to appendix One,

²³⁶ Pers. comm. *Interview with Donna Awatere*, refer to appendix One,

²³⁷ The Southland Times, 19 April 2008, p. 9.

In backgrounding New Zealand's reason for demonstrating against the tour she discussed in her article, 'Women Under Apartheid' the brutality of the apartheid regime on Black African women. It is a well written article that described the political, economic and social dependency of Black women and that they were dependent on their men who in 1981 had no rights under apartheid.²³⁸

She said,

'As an African in a racially differentiated society, as a worker in a system dependent upon, and therefore structured to provide, cheap labour, and as a women in a society controlled and dominated by men, the African women stands on the lowest rung of the ladder of oppression.'²³⁹

However the scope of this article forced Awatere to centre her thoughts on the political, social and economic implications on Maori women, although they were not as visibly oppressed as these black African women, she asserted that Maori dependency on male leadership caused Maori women to be triply oppressed.

Capitalism

Donna Awatere thought that for Maori sovereignty to be established in New Zealand the real change had to occur in the systems that supported racism, sexism and capitalism. This for Awatere was New Zealand colonial systems that had caused New Zealand's economic and social stagnation. The colonial system that New Zealand clung to had become too expensive for the Empire to maintain and by 1981, when Britain had joined the Common Market; New Zealand was left with large stockpiles of commodities and nowhere to sell it.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Awatere, Donna, 'Women Under Apartheid' in *Broadsheet*, No. 90, (June, 1981), p. 19

²³⁹ Awatere, 'Women Under Apartheid', p. 19.

²⁴⁰ Pers. comm. *Interview with Donna Awatere*, refer to appendix One, Awatere, *My Journey*, p. Jesson, Bruce, 'Too Many Poms: A Republican Appraisal' (1973), p. 2.

Awatere, as a result of attending various conferences such and the NGO forum in Copenhagen was intrigued with the way that transnational corporations could hold governments at ransom because of the wealth they created. Based on 'Awatere in Copenhagen' she was intrigued with the 'Women's Exploitation by Transnational Corporations' seminar presented by The World Peace Council. She said that the aim of its panellists was to demonstrate the lengths that governments took to accommodate transnational corporations by offering economic incentives such as investment allowances, tax holidays, cheap land, water and power and most importantly cheap labour. These panellists had all agreed this competition and accommodation made by governments resulted in dramatic changes to way that their people lived. That is by controlling the amount they earned and by keeping the cost of their labour to a minimum attracted and maintained transnational corporations to remain in their nation state.²⁴¹

In another article she wrote entitled, 'Three-Nation Conference' followed up the ideas that were raised in 'Awatere in Copenhagen' concerning the political power of transnational corporations. She said that the paper 'Australia, the Client State; A Study in Dependent Development' presented at this conference was a case study of the growth and the power of transnational corporations in Australia. The crucial point for Awatere from this presentation was that international capital is out of the control of any national government and that no international political power has been created to challenge its power.²⁴²

It was Jesson that introduced and coached Awatere in the school of 'commanding heights' and pointed out that because New Zealand was too dependent on the British Market to buy their products they had closed their doors on 'free trade'. This was because Britain had joined the 'Common Market', and that it was cheaper for them to source goods and services that

²⁴¹ Awatere, Donna, 'Awatere in Copenhagen' p. 11.

²⁴² Awatere, Donna, 'Three-Nation Conference', in *Broadsheet*, No. 86 (Jan/Feb 1981), p. 21.

were geographically closer. New Zealand as a result had large stockpiles of commodities, enormous debts, a rising unemployment rate and businesses were failing. Awatere thought that it was clear because of these stockpiles that there was a lack of real independent leadership in Government because New Zealand was continually pleading to Britain's 'good will'.

The point for Awatere was that corporations hold the real political power in the way that governments accommodate corporate aims and that no international political power has been developed at this stage to challenge its power. The aim of any transnational corporation is profit and that the corporation is answerable only to its shareholders not the country that they choose to monopolise. That is, capital goes where it can make money for its shareholders without any loyalty to any country, workers and governments.²⁴³ Put simply corporations have neither alliances nor allegiances to any system of governance nor country whether it be democratic, socialist or communist.

Because there is no political framework that challenged the political power of corporations, Awatere thought that Maori could develop and mobilise their political power from a corporate base as Maori could develop their tino rangatiratanga without government intervention. In *Maori Sovereignty* she said,

‘In spite of our tipuna’s efforts to retain our sovereignty and then to achieve biculturalism...it became clearer to me that for us to survive as a Nation, we can no longer tolerate this. Nor can we change their society. That has been tried by others wiser and braver than us. To survive we will have to strike out on our own. Without economic resources. They will not change.’²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Awatere, ‘Awatere in Copenhagen’, p. 11.

²⁴⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 8.

While many of the conscious raising groups of the 1960's and 1970's believed that capitalism was the enemy, for Awatere and for mobilising Maori sovereignty it became the solution.²⁴⁵ However it has to be noted that Awatere did not develop this idea further, instead Awatere set about building up her own company 'Ihi Communications and Consultancy' although she did not think of this as a business but rather a mission.²⁴⁶

Ihi was established in 1984 with Awatere as its Director with an overarching aim of developing New Zealand's bi-cultural race relations. She targeted over 56 government agencies and designed programmes to help these organisations service their Maori clients more effectively. In this she created and provided appropriate policy advice to government through the development of a bicultural information base and bicultural communication skills.²⁴⁷

Conclusion

The consistent point that this chapter showed was that Awatere believed that Maori unity was vital in challenging and legitimately overthrowing New Zealand's nation state and reclaim New Zealand as a Maori nation state. She also realised that an alliance with non-Maori was vital for Maori sovereignty to be a viable option. She thought that she would have allies in the feminist and Polynesian quarters however this was not the support she got from the groups who should have naturally aligned their issues with the aims of Maori sovereignty. She asserted that the reaction to *Maori Sovereignty* in *Broadsheet* showed that white feminisms were not at all ready to align with Maori issues and that Polynesians were more interested in fighting for 'civil rights' within the existing institutions.

²⁴⁵ Pers. comm. *Interview with Donna Awatere*, refer to appendix one.

²⁴⁶ Pers. comm. *Interview with Donna Awatere*, refer to appendix one.

²⁴⁷ Pers. comm. *Interview with Donna Awatere*, refer to appendix one.

She had been more influenced by the decolonisation and nationalistic processes that had occurred in the decades following World War Two than previous Maori political theories. However this was only to a certain extent as she used India's independence as an example of indigenous peoples forcing an imperial power their country. She took aspects of this movement such as Indian unity and the way that Mahatma Gandhi had orchestrated India's Independence and used his example in *Maori Sovereignty*. She was also clearly influenced by Malcolm X's political theory of a Black Nation State; however unlike X she wasn't to forge an alliance with Pakeha as a means of achieving a Maori Nation State over the whole of New Zealand. Awatere thought, like X, that equality had been a farce and that her father's generation had been brainwashed in thinking that equality could be achieved to put an end to Maori bigotry. They at no stage wanted to challenge the political, economic and social institutions that had allowed this bigotry to continue.

When she had returned from Cuba she did not want to continue with the occupation and demonstrative tactics that was popular amongst the university student protest scene, nor did she want the guerrilla warfare of Fidel Castro and Che' Guevara. She believed that these guerrilla tactics had been tried by Maori who she considered were wiser and braver than her. She thought that because Maori had already fought the bloody, revolutionary wars, initially against the British state, then against New Zealand's state, had already justified for Maori their deep-rooted claim for Maori sovereignty as being New Zealand's absolute authority.²⁴⁸

It became clear to her that instead of continuing the revolution of New Zealand's nation state by violence that began in 1840, it was still possible to advance Maori interests by proposing a theoretical revolution as noted by the Palestinian Liberation Front in 1967. That is, a social, economic and political revolution would be caused through the intellectual development of a

²⁴⁸ Black Unity, 'A statement on the Attempt by White Leftist to Divide Pacific Peoples' in *The Republican*, No, 41, p. 6.

Maori nation state for the benefit of all New Zealanders. She was influenced in proposing this theoretical revolution by highlighting pivotal events and the people that helped shape her understanding of the Maori nation state.

Judging from the accumulation of her thoughts, actions and publications that led her to write *Maori Sovereignty* the other point that she is consistent with was that the political power of ‘transnational corporations exceeded nation states’ and that they hold the balance in determining a nation states’ political, economic and social realities. However she did not develop this idea further. She does mention this point in *Maori Sovereignty* that the world was changing and that a new economic order was making national change possible.²⁴⁹

The calibre of intellectual thinking at conferences such as Copenhagen and Cuba stunned Awatere. The main point she got from it was that by consciously raising issues that concerned racism, sexism and capitalism or what she termed as the tripod, was only a result of an colonial system that was now outdated. She thought that the real change had to occur in the systems that supported this tripod was New Zealand’s colonial systems that had had caused New Zealand’s economic and social stagnation. This change for Awatere was for Maori sovereignty to seize control over New Zealand because as she put simply New Zealand is Maori land and to build up a nation that truly reflected New Zealand’s bi-culturalism.

²⁴⁹ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 80-83.

Chapter Six - Conclusions

There were differences in the literature employed in this thesis in order to gauge Maori understanding of their sovereignty and that their explanations only differed in degree within the boundaries of custom. The point that they all agreed upon was that Maori understanding, development and assertions of sovereignty, such as the Kingitanga, was based only on the retention and the return of separate and distinct tribal lands and resources that had been confiscated in the century previous. Maori believed, as these writers showed, that the right to exercise their sovereignty was deep-rooted in the land and its resources.

This meant that Maori had only advanced their sovereignty within their tribal boundaries and that no other imagined Maori sovereignty as extensively as Donna Awatere had argued in *Maori Sovereignty*. The primary aim of *Maori Sovereignty* was for the acknowledgement that the whole of New Zealand was Maori land and that sovereignty did not rest solely on the actual possession of the land. Possession of the land was for Awatere was secondary, instead she argued that acknowledgement should come first and then with Maori unity the return of the land would be conceivable.²⁵⁰

As a result of Apirana Ngata's explanation in 1922, where he cemented for Maori that Maori had no rights under the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori claims and development to their sovereignty lay dormant for the next 50 years.²⁵¹ This acceptance however was not welcomed by Donna Awatere and the generation she represented. This is where Awatere and her generation re interpreted his definition to mean tribal authority over tribal lands and its resources rather than a chiefly authority. These resources included for Maori the right to establish Te Reo Maori within New Zealand's educational systems. As a result, of this non-

²⁵⁰ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 10, 34, 97-98.

²⁵¹ Ngata, pp. 6, 20.

acceptance by Awatere and her generation, a fundamental shift occurred in Maori notions of ‘nationalism’ that had been smouldering in the decades following World War Two, which had suddenly burst into flames in the 1970’s.

The emphasis that Awatere and her generation pushed for during these decades was for ‘Crown’ recognition of Maori rights under the terms and conditions of the Treaty. This included establishing Te Reo Maori, within New Zealand’s education system,²⁵² Maori land rights, the end to anti-Maori antagonism and for the revival in Maori performing arts.²⁵³ This feat was not without opposition and Maoridom experienced a split in ideologies where her father’s generation still had faith in the mechanisms of New Zealand’s state and Awatere’s generation who had a dogged determination in denying the legitimacy of it.

Awatere asserted that,

“The nature of ‘leadership’ in the Maori world is a considerable problem...they attack the rest of Maoridom particularly the urban youth from a white cultural perspective. As lazy troublemakers. As stupid. Nuisances.”²⁵⁴

There were points that these two generations agreed on such as the reinstatement of Te Reo Maori in schools which was successfully achieved in 1971 and the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo, the first of which opened their doors in 1981.²⁵⁵ Despite this in common,

²⁵² By the 1920’s the Maori language had been fully suppressed in schools either formally and informally where the use of it was a punishable offence. Although there was no specific legislation to say that the use of Te Reo Maori was illegal within the Education curriculum, it was illegal not to teach in English see *Education Act 1964*. Large portions of this Act have since been repealed and that in the end was replaced by the *Education Act 1989*.

²⁵³ The revival of Maori performing arts was a groundswell movement initiated by Apirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea Herangi. Since 1940 there have been nation wide gatherings for Maori to display their prowess on stage and that this bi annual festival now known as ‘Te Matatini’ continues to attract and promote the use of Maori performing arts.

Awatere, Donna, ‘Walking on Eggs’ in Kedgley, Sue, Varnham, Mary, (eds), *Heading Nowhere in a Blue Suit and other Tales from the Feminist Revolution*, (1993), pp. 124-125, Walker, Ranginui, ‘History of Maori Activism’, 15th Pacific Science Congress Lecture Series, unpublished, (1983), pp. 7-9, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou*, pp. 209-215.

²⁵⁴ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 94.

²⁵⁵ Walker, Ranginui, *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou*, p. 210.

Awatere's generation were frustrated with their conservatism and their conviction of gaining 'equality' within the Pakeha nation state. She believed that the role of her generation was to reclaim their *tinu rangatiratanga* as abruptly as it was stamped out by her parents' generation in the belief that the only way to succeed was on Pakeha terms.²⁵⁶

She thought differently to her Nga Tamatoa peers who believed that tribal authorities could operate alongside a Pakeha nation state, however she asserted that Pakeha had continuously ignored them. The concept of Maori national unity in order to establish a nation-state without resources such as land was never imagined by Maori until Awatere had proposed the idea in 1982. The point that Awatere made that gives her manifesto the point of difference was that she was not claiming mana whenua or a limited chieftainship over separate and distinct boundaries but totalitarianism over New Zealand.²⁵⁷ She asserted that Maori should cut across tribal and class barriers and unite on a common purpose. This common purpose for Awatere was Maori sovereignty over New Zealand because as she put simply New Zealand is Maori land.

The more she thought about Maori grievances against the Crown and the bloody wars of the 19th and 20th centuries between Maori and the Crown the more convinced she became that the point of Maori protest during the 1970's and 1980's was not only for the retention and return of that land, but the right to administer it. This, she quite rightly claimed that it was not up to Pakeha to make deals with one another in appropriating land from Tangata Whenua who were the group who had this common possession according to the philosophies driven since John Locke and Immanuel Kant.

²⁵⁶ Awatere, Donna, 'Walking on Eggs', pp. 124-125, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 24-26, 53-54, 83-85. Although during the interview we hedged towards her 'problem' that she had in *Maori Sovereignty* towards her parents generation but she said that she admired them because of their amazing feats of memory. This sentiment for her fathers friends only extended so far and within *Maori Sovereignty* she made it quite clear that the generation she meant was only limited to Manuera (Ben) Couch and Graeme Latimer. Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 53-54.

²⁵⁷ Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, pp. 32, 107.

She believed that Maori never surrendered this right to determine what was right and normal in New Zealand as Ngata led Maori to believe. She said that this right was taken by trickery, force and by the consolidation of Pakeha and the sheer enormity of their numbers in their united opposition towards Maori customary concepts regarding Maori customary tenure. She thought as Lindsay Buick and Ngata argued that the Treaty of Waitangi allayed any possible fear for Pakeha that their concept of law and land ownership over New Zealand was just. She believed that in asserting Maori sovereignty as the absolute sovereignty over New Zealand's nation state would for Maori guarantee this legislative power and authority to administer tribal lands and resources.

Because Pakeha had consolidated their cultural differences in the 19th century in the common interest of settling onto Maori lands she thought that feminist and anti racism and trade labour groups could too put aside their differences and unite under a common banner. This for Awatere was for Maori sovereignty to be established in New Zealand so that the nation state could honestly reflect and project the concept of 'He Iwi Tahi Tatou' a phrase that had been uttered with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. However, these groups only took offence to the idea of Maori sovereignty and saw it as a personal attack and as a result did not want to align themselves with Awatere and the issue of Maori sovereignty.

There has been much advancement made by Maori and Pakeha in the past thirty years in terms of the state acknowledging Maori rights under the terms and conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi. With the settlement process well underway, some tribal authorities, not all, who represent Maori now have a capitalist base to work from. Nonetheless more Maori are dispossessed from their tribes where the majority are urbanised beyond recall as they do not know which tribes they belong to. While these tribal authorities can achieve tribal autonomy, *Maori Sovereignty* is still a distance dream.

These rights have been long fought for and that there is still a long battle ahead for Maori. Maori are still experiencing bigotry where they are seen to have more rights than Pakeha, worse still, Maori are inclined to agree. Maybe then the lesson that can be learnt from 200 years of fighting for tribal lands and its resources is Maori unity is imperative to restoring pride in being Maori first and that tribal identity is secondary. Awatera had the foresight to acknowledge this and because of this her political theory is more relevant for New Zealanders today as it was thirty years ago.

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Appendices

Appendix One

Interview with Donna Awatere

This is an abridged version of the interview conducted with Donna Awatere-Huata (D. A.) and Wi Huata by Laura Kamau (L. K.) and Te Maire Tau (T. T.) in Awatere-Huata's home in Bridge Pa, Hastings dated the 26th November 2007.

Tape 2

Side B

1. L. K. What we are looking at is your book *Maori Sovereignty* and why you said what you said at the time and what influenced you to say what you said at the time?
D. A. Why I wrote it?
5. L. K. Yes
D. A. I still remember why I wrote it, I know exactly why I wrote it.
L. K. Why?
D. A. Why? In brief, we been to the Springbok Tour, and it was quite bloody for me, as one of the leaders...
10. When we were in Cuba, there was Josie Keelan, Rebecca Evans and myself...we had intimate contact with the Palestinian Liberation Front, the women were the remnants of the hijacking, we met a woman Mariana who had been involved in the hijackings had lost all her family to hijackers and then we met the Liberation...I guess we came back with the view that we were pretty pathetic...we were like babies
15. compared with this lot, so when we came back we thought we got to be more active, no more marches, direct action, so the Springbok Tour was coming up and I remember it, we were sitting at Josie Keelans flat...and it came to me, the Springbok Tour was coming up we'll take charge of it we'll become the leaders of it and turn the attitude of the Pakeha leading it to our issues, well at that time they had CARE and
20. HART and Citizens Association and Racial Equality, they were the two, big organisations. We thought oh well we will take them on. So what we did, is just make a decision, I was on the national organisation and Rebecca on the regional organisation and Josie Keelan would organize the troops the people that would actually protest.
25. L. K. Okay, so that was for the Springbok tour?

D. A. This was for the Springbok, so we went on the Springbok Tour and you know to say it was difficult would be an understatement, it was horrendously stressful, it was a personal toll it was huge and so. It was all this was in August 1981, I had been through, so many demonstrations and protests and I was thinking what was the point

30. of what we were doing? Why are we doing this is there a better way? And it occurred to me that one of the key things that we didn't even know what we were fighting for, what was it? It was Land Language but what? And that's when I sat down and wrote that I wrote it for myself on just a notepad and what I wanted to know was what were we on about what was the point of the Land March and of the

35. occupations and the petitions of the Maori language what was the point I couldn't see how it all tied together, and then it occurred to me the point was really about Maori sovereignty and then once I got that thought about Maori sovereignty, I was then able to pull it all together and I was asking the question of alliances.

Cause at that time we were having a hell of a struggle with the Feminists who told us

40. that, we had no right to bond with Maori men because our primary bond on being was that of a gender line, of being women. They had all the figures to show that Maori women were beaten and Maori women were less, well educated, and that Maori men, well they were the enemy.

Then we had a fight with the workers the unions and later said nah you fullas should

45. give up your national struggle and come and join with us because the real fight is the one between the workers and the bosses. Then at the same time we had Nga Tamatoa and the Pacific Islanders, the Polynesian Panthers and others saying...that it was a Polynesian struggle. The conclusion I came to was, actually, no, we have our own struggle and we can't

50. rely on anybody other than ourselves because we are fighting for our own sovereignty not theirs, that's it. That's basically everything in a nut shell. Not much of a thesis but that's it. There was a lot of analysis about *Maori Sovereignty* after it came out and I could never quite understand it because I thought that it was pretty straight forward what I

55. was saying, and yet it wasn't a mystery. But they were saying that I was trying to say this or that and all I was saying was that Maori must look to ourselves first because we are our own, we are it we are the reference crew, its our sovereignty that matters not that of women, not workers, not Polynesians, but our own.

L. K. As individuals or?

60. D. A. At that time it was as Maori as a culture as a people who had been through a similar experience.

L. K. Just in your writing, who was actually influencing you at the time, who was driving you Donna? What was driving your thoughts? Like decolonization since world war two Malcolm X, civil rights movement...

65. D. A. Just having a father that went to prison for murder was pretty motivating, that was one individual thing the timing I was just a part of, the timing was I was there.
- L. K. What, you were just there?
- D. A. You know, during the period when Nga Tamatoa formed, I was there in 71,
70. They had the young Maori Leadership Conference, I think, it was a force, and Moe Pewhairangi and Tom Te Maro both spoke of that and they influenced the people there to organise the group Nga Tamatoa. The timing was that I was a student at the time, had it not happened, had I been a student in 1961 instead of 71 I might of missed it, the timing was right for me to be
75. there.
- L. K. Where? In Auckland?
- D. A. Yeah.
- T. T. So...that period all the decolonization that was going on around the rest of the world, the end of the British Empire.
80. D. A. Yes that's right.
- T. T. The civil rights movement was that the timing?
- D. A. Yes it was the timing, it was the zeitgeist, it was the movement of we were Maori peoples it happened in the context of India of you as I say I think I talk about in the book I think I talk about the fall of when the French were defeated by the
85. indigenous peoples, I can't remember it made a huge impact of because before that the conquerors were unassailable you couldn't defeat them what these things like India becoming decolonised, what it showed that the colonial powers could be challenged and beaten and so the logic for me was if this is the case then there is no question in my mind at the time that Maori too could defeat their aggressor.
90. T. T. Donna used the phrase 'zeitgeist' so remember it.
- L. K. Zeitgeist?
- T. T. 'The spirit of the age'
- D. A. Zeitgeist, perfectly is the perfect word to explain why people do things, what are the motivation there is the individual motivations is the zeitgeist and when you
95. have the coming together of those things then you have a movement. Another motivation that was outside of the movement; was the Feminist movement there was a Black American movement there was Indigenous liberalisation movement. But then there were other thinkers like Bruce Jesson who was a Republican, and I think probably our greatest independent thinker. What Bruce used to cry was a lack of
100. intelligentsia, he said NZ is quite unique in that we had no intelligentsia we had no people that would debate issues...like sovereignty. I think what Bruce's view was is that people didn't think but he did and he had a robust way of thinking about the

world...Rebecca Evans and I took him to Australia and I think it was the first time he had ever been out of New Zealand we went to the Communist party conference in

105. Sydney we took him along and it was like a mind boggling for him because it everything about his whole thinking was about New Zealand and yea at a very level and high order and it would be very good to look at his stuff. He was a republican he was also when I first joined the feminist movement in 1969 the first meeting of women feminist was at his home...and he very much believed in the feminist

110. movement and he started a group women for equality...Now Laura do you have a copy of it?

L. K. Yeah I have, its in pieces and its Te Maire's.

D. A. I don't have any and yet I get asked all the time for it, so many enquiries about it, I'm sure there is a new audience, I want to get it out there to a new generation.

115. *Maori Sovereignty* does not deal with human nature, about thoughts and daily behaviour...I think that most Maori have this view of traditional Maori society as being a communal people which in almost a sense we thought as one where it was always about the greater good and I think that that there was that but what they forget is about it is the individual will that I think that that is an amazing concept that's why

120. I think we are so unique and that our culture is one that should be the main culture of New Zealand, you know Pakeha should be more like us traditional Maori what I was saying was a way this is what the value was and this is how you achieve it.

L. K. Is that how you envision Maori Sovereignty?

D. A. It is no when I was writing it I didn't actually think about it, it wasn't until later

125. that I...when I was running Ihi Communications my consultancy company and I was running all these courses for Pakeha bureaucrats and I was up front, you know really close to Pakehas in a way so you know they were all up in your face and you got all the racism and the anti Maori attitude on a day to day basis, day after day for years and so it then I could see them as they were you know empty vessels like you

130. know I had absolutely no interest in them because to me there was nothing to them

T. T. When did you set up Ihi?

D. A. Um in 1984.

T. T. Now this is important Laura I am trying to give Laura some context, what you

135. got here is a Muldoon regulated economy the world starts to change and we get this deregulated economy comes in and that's when you start getting more of these entrepreneurs like Donna and they start to set up these companies.

L. K. So basically after you wrote the book you just went out and started building up your business?

140. D. A. What is was I was working in South Auckland and I could just see the policies being made in Wellington and regional people were so dumb and stupid and I figured that they don't understand their client. They don't understand the people the nature of the people they are dealing with. So I thought I would go to Wellington and work at head office and try and inform them about their clients so that they could

145. make better decisions that was the purpose of the business. So that at the end of the day to get a better deal for Maori in South Auckland. I could see that to do that I couldn't do it at a regional level because the regional didn't make any decision they were just like puppets. All the decisions were made

150. from head office between Parliament and head office the decision was made and it just got fed out so that's what I did I targeted 56 government agencies the chief executive the senior staff and then a few S. O. E when they came about the board the chief executive so I only ever dealt with senior management and then but what I did I created an industry because I'd do senior management so they want their regional

155. done and they want the locals done and I didn't have the resources or the inclination to do it so a lot of businesses came behind me if you like I sort of created it and then the other thing I created was Maori advisory units this whole consultation thing you know I thought it was a great idea but it wasn't.

T. T It wasn't?

160. D. A. No it wasn't but I thought at the time, why don't you ask the clients why don't you talk to Maori leaders at the local level, and find out what they think they might be able to give you a better steer, why don't you form collaborations at a local level and just ask them so they called it consultation.

T. T. Okay that was a dumb idea! It was an idea at least.

165. D. A. Say, hey, History is a process to improve on ideas, others are supposed to come after with better ones...

T. T. Donna is talking about is the Rangatira who acts collectively with the community but they got their own will.

170. D. A. The will is not subjected in the way they think the will is given providing the logic and I think that is why Maori put such great store on oratory, the art of persuasion the illusion the calling of all the things from the past and the present in nature to push your argument forward and I think that that is a marvellous critical thinking ability the kind of critical thinking that I saw in my fathers generation of the

175. leaders that were around him.

T. T. Right can you talk about that generation because I think that is important to Laura's thesis that type of leadership their individual 'ness', their uniqueness

D. A. They are like Titans each of them because of their thinking I mean I suppose this why I find them so fascinating and I find thinkers so fascinating is because what

180. they are is a humongous powerhouse you got this huge head on a normal body and you meet with other people who aren't thinkers and its like they are shrunken heads. There's nothing there and what I noticed about my dads generation was their the fact that they were thinkers and that there thinking was based on huge feats of memory you know they didn't think in a vacuum. What they did what that they had
185. ideas and whakapapa that they were able to pull together to the present so their level of analysis was of and I think of it mightn't always be accurate by today's society but the level of analysis was amazing.
- T. T. There is something about that generation that I am trying to pull out...
- D. A. Well the thing about the generation strikes me of them is how they were all
190. whakapapa buffs they were competitive hugely competitive so one would say something about their whakapapa and then they'd fight till dawn about it but as they fought they would be exchanging knowledge banks and it would all be in their memory.
- T. T. Where do you see Maori Sovereignty today?
195. D. A. Certainly not where I thought it would be, I thought when I wrote the book that it would be the beginning of just in, the reaction I got from other Maori activist was that it helped conceptualize their own thinking so it became a focal point and I thought that bringing together we might be you have that AHA moment and then you might go and do something in whatever it would give a structure a form a
200. direction and I haven't seen that happening because the counterpoint has been that Pakeha society international society culture has been much stronger and we've just gone on the tidal wave of the international which Pakeha culture is just apart.
- T. T. Which is, do you see that as a positive or just what's happened?
- D. A. Its just what happened, I mean in a way you can see it as a negative I do see it
205. as a negative I would love to see is if they could retain that fundament of what it means to be Maori the giving the idea of it is always better to give them the seed, the idea of equivalence, the idea of your rangatira you are a rangaitra your will and mind are as important as anyone else's, the concern for the people that my father's generation had. So for all Maori if you like the guardians of whatever it is that's
210. Maori I would love if that happened and that's happening sort of in pockets but on the other hand we are losing far too much we have actually lose huge amounts already and I have been thinking about that lately why it is and I figure I actually think its because of what happened by 1940 and all the rigors of 1880's, 90's 1900, by the time the 40 000 began to rebuild they were rebuilding from a position where
215. they are no longer the people who were there in the 1800 their emotion their psyche is completely different it is a shattered psyche that's got that strength to get through but at the end of the day its still a defeated people and so those 40 000 defeated people gave birth to the half million people we are today and that level of defeatism and an nihilism and depression that was there is somehow is right here

220. today.

T. T. So do you trace that back to the turn of the century when they were defeated people?

D. A. Yeah I do yes, I don't think we've recovered and I don't think that we wear enough wool gosh our people struggle just to try and stay alive you know our health

225. issues are just so big. But no we haven't and I think when you have trauma you get depressed and I think our rangatira gets hit in a way that a person that doesn't have a strong rangatira inside of them doesn't. They get hit its just sort of knocks them for dead basically they are just like walking dead get over it and then their depression goes into the next generation and their obsession with what happened in

230. the past in the recent past or five years ago whenever whatever happened they actually don't recover the adults don't recover and they become the grandparents. Well that's my theory anyway.

T. T. Does Maori sovereignty still lay with the right [wing] in the open market in the open economy?

335. D. A. Economically, yes, absolutely.

T. T. Economically yes, how?

D. A. But culturally, not.

D. A. But where the right would rather have it, is you earn your own money to exercise choice.

340. T. T. that's where they would rather have it.

D. A. Yes that's where they would rather have instead of using government money so they were like that for everything they couldn't actually see the treaty obligations, they couldn't actually see the private ownership that Maori had that was extinguished unfairly.

345. T. T. They never saw that?

D. A. They hummed and haad about it they were like we won you lost move on, very pragmatic.

T. T. at least that's an honest statement.

D. A. I don't think they said it quite like that, but that was what they meant, you lost

350. we won, move on. It's a land of opportunity you got every opportunity same as my kids my grandkids, take the opportunity and get on with it but the thing is...I actually have a view about racism, my view about racism is that its survival instinct, its genetic, and that it comes from the early days when it was important to identify stranger from friend and so its like snakes you have a instinct about snakes in our

355. country so how come Maori children have an automatic reaction about snakes or spiders because it all sort of goes back to the that period, that period and I think

racism is just a part of it and I think what is important to do is to recognize it to overcome it I think that's what social psychologist show us that you can overcome that instincts towards snakes spiders and other people if you can learn how to manage

360. that reaction, its like judges we know they are racist but we don't test them we don't assess but we can assess racism and attitudes and alike...and then manage it but unless you assess for it and identify it as a problem in a way you give differential sentences in court to one group and not another you can't do anything about it unless you identify whether there is a issue, because we don't assess them we don't know.
365. We should assess every police man for their level of anti Maori hatred is probably a better word than racism ...I think the whole economy side of it is incredibly important the one I think as Maori have given the least thought to. Because in the book I can remember talking about the colonial economy our links to Britain which have not are the same as I have said in the book, however we still got a colonial
370. economy look if you look at Maori farmers, they are still stuck in the rut, they are not thinking entrepreneurial economy.
- T. T. Actually you don't really attack businessman and farmers in that book do you?
- D. A. No.
- T. T. See because that's one group, you know I've argued, Donna that you actually
375. went to ACT because the one group you don't attack are businessmen and farmers what I have reasoned at least in my experience is that most of the leaders at home were small farmers, fishermen or small businessmen. Now is that the same experience up here? Most leaders would have been small farmers up here? Is there a reason why you don't attack that group Donna?
380. D. A. I just didn't think about it, well no because they are the producers and I think I had an admiration for producers that they create the wealth.
- T. T. And that's one group that are not attacked in the book business people they aren't attacked at all, now was that consciously made or an unconsciously?
- D. A. No unconsciously in fact I thought that I was defending the farmers I thought
385. that what they needed to do was decolonize get away from Britain as their main market.
- T. T. Oh did you think that?
- D. A. Yeah I say it, don't I say that? In one of the chapters I talk about what we need to do what is needed for the decolonisation in the economy.
390. T. T. Because?
- D. A. Because we were locked into a single market and you cant do that I mean this is the post war period and we still got Britain as our main market, how dumb is that why loyalty what? Obviously it was already clear to me that Britain wouldn't carry on that it just couldn't afford to and we need to diversify.

395. T. T. So, it made us shrunken heads?

D. A. We were shrunken heads?

T. T. New Zealanders were a shrunken head.

D. A. New Zealand as a whole was shrunken heads. Because so much of that was controlled from the source from the centre from government heads and policies it was

400. about in my mind anyway this was dumb why don't we export to I don't where anywhere, I never thought of it, well I thought there is a big whole out there more than just bloody Great Britain.

T. T. So, imply that thinking...Ok I get it, Pakeha need to adopt Maori values which is their wilfulness, so Pakeha farmers should have had the wilfulness to escape from

405. being a shrunken head to a wider market.

D. A. I never thought about Ihi as a business I thought of Ihi as a mission it was my goal to get these white bureaucrats understanding that they belong to a miserable soulless society that had crushed the Maori spirit

T. T. and that is part of Bruce Jesson isn't it?

410. D. A. I don't know might be he was a very independent Republican.

T. T. What I think is that *Maori Sovereignty* is the canon of Maori literature, I think that is one of the main books because all the other books that came out about Maori Sovereignty was really quite academic and I don't think that it interest a lot of people, I think you need to push the issue. Maori students read it, what I teach the students

415. that this book articulates Maori Sovereignty better than the other academic text because it is a guttural response more than a, you read it you get a gut instinct.

D. A. Yeah there's no research in it basically what I did was just write it in three days just handwrite it, I was recovery from an eye operation, I had a piece of glass in my eye and they removed it and it cut me...it was so sore and I wrote it in great pain

420. that's probably why its so aggressive but it just sort of flowed out of me I didn't have to pick up a book or anything, you it just what I thought and then it wasn't until I showed it to Sandra Coney the editor of Broadsheet it was shorter and she just asked me questions and I just filled in the questions and she just put it together it was three articles. I just think our people had something you know very special in their

425. intellectual ability that we just don't have we just lost it the way we bring up our children the way we don't put effort into their thinking or their talking or their minds the way that those old people did you know their memories were just phenomenal their ability to argue, debate all those things and you know the thing about those men that I mentioned like Mahara Winiata, Pei Te Hurinui and you know

430. my Dad, Rangihau and them you know you felt their presence walk you the room they took up a lot of space those people. **Interview concluded.**

Appendix Two

Mana Wahine Seminar Series 2010 – Donna Awatere-Huata 30 March 2010

1. In Ohinemutu Pa I was brought up with my 41 first cousins on my mothers' side, she has ten brothers and sisters and we lived in the pa. It was an amazing life and they say that we romanticise it, you know like going to Maketu to go and get mussels with all your cousins and then climbing up Ngongotaha to go and get your fernroots all of the family gathering we used to have and we lived down the pa at Ngati Whakaue Marae you know Ohinemutu Pa.
2. For those of us that went to Auckland in the early 60's and come across the negativity, the hostility and the brutality of the Pakeha world that had such contempt for us it was such a shock and in many ways it was a traumatic experience to go from a such a loving and happy environment where you are so valued and while they say about Te Arawa the women in Te Arawa cause we don't speak out means that we don't have a say, we have a say alright, my grandmother, Moana Rodgers was the matriarch of the famiy and ruled absolutely her word was it. All through that Te Arawa women are so strong we allow the men to go up front and support them.
3. When I was eight I got rheumatic fever, I mentioned it because being on that plane that I was going to talk to you about today and if we look at the things that I have been involved in there are two words that come into mind, the first is zeitgeist, the spirit of the times and whats happening and the second word is serendipity, accidental things that just come your way and set you on a set path.
4. Rheumatic fever was serendipitous for me because I was sent to Tokomaru Bay and I was sent to live with my fathers eldest brother and him and his wife lived up the back so far that we couldn't get to school and the best part about that is that I missed school for several years and I was introduced to women like Ngoingoi Pewhairangi and all her sisters and cousins and I became very much apart of the musical world and the political life around Tokomaru Bay at a time when I was very young and things put a big impression on me.
5. Tokomaru Bay when I was eight was the centre of the Kotahitanga movement which said 'Not a single acre more' and 'hold fast to your language' and they really were a stalwart against the whole colonial experience and they were standing up saying that being Maori was good we are right to hold on to our land, our language and to be in Tokomaru Bay at that time and the favourite party song was (*singing*) 'Te Matauranga o te Pakeha, he mea whakato hei tinanatanga, Mo wai ra? Mo Hatana you know what drives the Pakeha, why its Satan of course that underpins that evilness and be aware of their slippery ways. So now if you were a kid and this was the party song and get a certain attitude.

6. Now the next serendipitous event I was in the Toko (maru) choir and because the choir was such sissy things the boys wouldn't join and so there weren't any low singers, they soon discovered that I had a very loud low voice so I was the bass section and the rest of them done soprano and alto and I was the whole of the bass section.
7. So we were preparing for a concert and we went down to Gisborne to sing in the Schools concert and anyhow we got up and we sang and I done a really loud cause you know I could hold my own and my mother was sitting next to this big lady and turned to her very proudly and said that's my daughter, cause mum was living in Rotorua and come over to see me perform, so she said to this Pakeha lady that's my daughter anyway the programme ends with Kiri Te Kaniwa and Kiri even then was just glorious, she had a magnificent voice absolutely clear singer beautiful so at the end of that, the big fat lady turns around and said, that's my daughter. Anyway she suggested to my mother that she might like to send me to learn from her daughters' teacher, Sister Mary Leo in Auckland.
8. We were not a wealthy family but my mother got it in her mind that I was very sickly and ill and I hadn't been to school in many years so I was considered dumb and so she thought she can sing. So when I was 12 my mother shifted me out of Tokomaru to Auckland and we got a little place on Ponsonby Road and one day she got me a uniform from a second hand shop and it was green and she sent me off to the school with an envelope with a note that said this is Donna teach her to sing and a five pound note.
9. At the school then, it was quite prestigious, Saint Mary's and you got to be enrolled for years to get in so Sister Leo saw me and heard me sing and decided to take me on. The only problem I had through the years was that the school uniform was blue and we couldn't afford another uniform and my mother tried to dye it but it didn't quite work out. I was the only Maori at the school apart from Kiri but I also had this crappy uniform and years later I remember going to a school reunion and all the girls were very friendly and what not and by then I had become not famous but infamous and I reminded them that over all those years, nobody had lunch with me, I always ate alone.
10. No one spoke to me, not that I was in Coventry I was just not acceptable and being a Maori in those days where things, now where it's so open and I guess so friendly it's hard to think back when it was at times when Pakeha were simply not interested. It wasn't until I started winning some competitions that I passed over into acceptability and when I got a new uniform I started to look a bit better. But I was a bit rough I guess when I look back in Auckland.
11. My pathway into the activist world was unexpected, my parents invested in me to become a singer, a opera singer a lot for a poor family from Ohinemutu Pa to go up to Auckland and really back me because I was twelve, carrying the hopes of my mother and my four sisters. But through their belief I worked hard and I did become very good at what I did. What I discovered and where I was unique was that I had the ability to soar above an orchestra which wasn't easy when you had a very low voice,

like how high ones can do it. I think that it's just that Maori thing that there is no way that those violins are going beat you.

12. Sister Leo sent me to University to study Psychology there was a good reason for this which was because that Mina Folly her great choristers' soprano went to Italy and it had gone mad. It's a very competitive and hostile world in the world of opera and professional music. So she said look rather than spend your life singing, because I have got such a low voice these women are very horrible they are demonic, crazy women that would kill children and never get the prints.
13. So it wasn't a happy life that I was going to live to really understand the characters and to understand human nature, so that's why I was at University during a time when it was the second annual Young Maori Leadership conference was called in 1971 and I went along to that, not knowing anyone out there because in the Music school there were no Maori there I was the only one.
14. But when I got to this lecture there was so many Maori there from all over the University, and the speakers were Tom Te Maro and Aunty Moe Pewhairangi. Tom Te Maro was pushing the message of Kotahitanga and how it was important to hold on to all our land, 'Not a single acre more' that was the mantra of Kotahitanga. The second message that came from Aunty Moe was 'you must hold fast to your Maoritanga that was it. That really was the hui and from those two speakers a fire was lit inside of us so strong we formed a group called Nga Tamatoa.
15. We were named after the soldiers of the Maori Battalion and Aunty Moe gave us that name and it was a very strong name to take, we so honoured our soldiers that went away. To take on that name was so tapu and it meant that you had to live up to what they had achieved during the war.
16. Our first *take* that we pushed for was led by Hana Te Hemara, Hana Jackson back in the day one of the most amazing women that I have ever known, one of the most, strongest and courageous women I had ever known. Hana single handily pulled our language from where it was, laying in the dust bin, and where the Maori Women's Welfare League had for 15 years had remixed a government and saying that we wanted our language available in schools and but failed.
17. But Hana led us on a six month petition gathering signatories and visiting marae and talking to our old people and really badgering a government and the Ministry of Education in a way that had never happened before and it truly was Hana's strength and commitment to this cause that keep us all going. She was a little bit older than us but things we did, if you read my book, they we all decided to go to the Ministry of Education on Gilles Ave in Auckland and we would *whakapohane*, you know mimi on the floor and really give this guy a shock.
18. What he said was in the paper that over my dead body would that barbaric language ever be heard in New Zealand. It was like hello, so we were going to go there and give it to him. So what we done was that we drunk a lot of water and I was carrying my daughter and we went up there and we had no knickers on and that was the plan.

Anyway I could not hold it a minute longer so I just lifted my skirts up and did my business while everyone watched me, it was a very long *mimi* and I was so humiliated but however it did the trick because they started to take us seriously.

19. Things like that we had petitions, sit ins in offices we held the first Maori language *wananga* for teachers who spoke the reo learnt the reo that was run by Tamati Reedy in Tokomaru, you know we done a whole lot of things that just made them think about our language. At that stage it was only available in twenty schools in Maori schools, like Hato Paora. But it's not available in mainstream schools, so that was the first thing that we were involved in.
20. There were also a lot of other things. The police were bringing in battens and were arresting young Maori and Pacifica people in South Auckland, so we pulled task forces together and we used to go out and watch them and take notes and get lawyers to go in and help them, it was quite a savage world back then.
21. The idea for the Maori Land March came not from Whina Cooper as you might take it from Michael King's Whina but from John Rangihau who was a Maori Welfare officer in Rotorua. He came to see us and suggested that we mount a March from the top of the north island to Parliament to protest at the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act, which was kind of the last big strip off of Maori land and what it was if your shares were worth under ten dollars then the government would then take it from you and they would tell you what your share was worth. Thousands of our people lost their interest in their ancestral lands and government through the Maori Trustee become the biggest owner of Maori land and the terrible thing was happening.
22. The other thing that was happening was when the government called for submissions from New Zealanders, they wanted to kick start our fishing industry. Now you have to remember that we were forbidden to fish commercially in the 1860's, we were very good fisher people and if you read the Muriwhenua Report it shows you just how good, very good commercial fisher people. We were banned, we could take fish to eat but not to sell, and so Maori with that one piece of legislation were removed from a huge economic source. Now when they decided to revitalise the industry with millions of dollars in investment in the 1960's, Maori really got behind it and the NZ Maori Council working with Maori committees they put in submissions which were two metres high, that's how many submissions they got from Maori.
23. How many were successful?!! Not a single one. That was the motivation for Rangihau to come and see us and we got to do this we got to lead a demonstration. The reason that Whina led it was because every other Maori leader we approached said no, all these Sir's and Dame's and the rangatira of that time and sometimes when I hear their names I feel quite not as respectful as I can because for a long time a lot of our leadership was so terrified of Pakeha's that they bent over backwards to please them and didn't stand up for us at us and Whina did, to her credit.
24. That was the Land March and out of that came a number of occupations, one day I got a call from Eva Rickard asking in Nga Tamatoa could you down, cause their Marae had been bulldozed down during the war when their land had been take for a landing strip

at Raglan there. It hadn't been used for a landing strip and it hadn't been returned to the people either.

25. Over night the homes were bulldozed and were torched and at the end of the war it was given to the Raglan Golf course and where their meeting house used to stand was the eighteenth green. Eva went and built a replica of Ngutu kaka and were going to put it up, but the old people she did not want them to be arrested so because we were quite good at being arrested it wasn't such a big deal, we weren't afraid of it. She asked us to come down, they would have a *karakia* at twelve, she had arranged it with the police and then the old people would be led off and then we the twelve of us would go on and we would get arrested and by going to court would highlight the court case.
26. As it happens sometimes the *karakia* went on and on and twelve o'clock soon became one o'clock and they had two busloads of police bused in for the arrest part and instead of waiting for the old people to finish, they actually went in with the batons and started bludgeoning the old people. It was just terrible, there was blood everywhere and we were there and of course we got bludgeoned as well, but it really was a terrible thing.
27. What a terrible thing to witness and it certainly steeled my resolve that I would work incessantly and that I would stop this kind of thing from happening again. I remember in the middle of in you know when all this was happening, I said to Eva you know there's got to be a better way, we should not let our old people go through this. She said oh no this is the best day ever because this day will live in my people's memories they will fight on until the land is returned it will give them strength. She said without a vision people perish and this is a vision and it resulted that she got the land back simply because she would not stop until it was returned.
28. I was at home in Hastings where I live with my husband and kids, my husband an orchardist and Eddie Durie rang me one and said that he had a Christmas present for me. So I was like what could it be? Him and Donna, Donna Durie, who was my cousin from Te Arawa, they come and what it was it was the Orakei Report. If you read only one report, then you should read that one because it is the most eloquent description of what happened to Ngati Whatua people and it really is a really sad read.
29. But he has done a bit of justice and you feel that, what we went through at Bastion Point was that they used to come in and set the dogs on us, it was cold in winter and you were living in tents and it wasn't glamorous one little bit. It was very hard because the leaders of even Ngati Whatua weren't staunch enough. These days when the old and the young are much closer it wasn't quite like that back then. Older Maori were always in the newspaper ridiculing us and saying how terrible we were, we did not have that emotional support they did not come up and support us.
30. Did it have a happy ending? Well sort of because the treaty settlement process had been captured by bureaucrats and I mean that tribal bureaucrats and government bureaucrats, I think its time for a new generation to put their foot down and draw some lines in the sand. You know that's all it takes when you want to do something

you just no I don't think so and you will find that is that if you hold on to your thought, it takes awhile but they would come around.

31. Rebecca Evans, Josie Keelan and I were invited to go to Cuba to the 20th anniversary of the storming of the Monaco Bastion which is where Fidel Castro and Che Guavara over ran the government troops and then liberated Cuba. So we thought yip we will go, so we got some big doorways carved and got some korowai woven and quite a big shipload of taonga and we thought we could go and give them to Fidel to show him our support of the Maori Nation. So we went over, we thought that we had this private invitation because nobody told us that 24000 other people were invited. We were asleep in this school, miles and miles away where all the action was happening and all the English speaking nations were put in the one place.
32. This wasn't quite what we wanted but where things changed for us in a very Maori way was when some of their people had been killed when they were fighting alongside the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and they bought them back to Cuba. They bought them from the airport to Fidel's palace so we thought what we would do was that we would take all our *taonga* in the truck and take them to the castle and when the *mate* came through we would do a *karanga* and then give them our taonga, so that's what we'll do.
33. So when the hearses came through, Rebecca did the *haka* on her own and stopped them so they couldn't get through, so Josie and I did the *karanga* and it was quite a powerful statement you know with all our greenery all over our hair we took over so anyway that's how we ended up inside Fidel's castle and we were put live with Mariana who became very close with Rebecca and she was the last remaining survivor of her division and they were hijackers and all her family, a division of women hijackers and they started out forty and she was the only one left alive. You know being with Mariana and hearing the story of the we had no idea and it just made us feel that our struggle in New Zealand was quite minor in the big scheme of things and that we were very fortunate.
34. You know actually as activist we were spoilt rotten, you know we were like what Marae are we going to sleep in and who was going to put the kai on nothing about killing anybody. So we came back with a sense of purpose it just gave us a different perspective and gave us a new resolve. This was in 1979.
35. Now in 1980 all the talk was the Springbok Tour we decided it was on Sunday afternoon and we were sitting in the sun on Josie porch and we said that's what we will do, we will take over the anti springbok tour movement and we will force them to look at our what's happening here in this country, that racism in this country must be dealt with first before they deal with racism in South Africa. That we would show our solidarity as Maori people in support of South African people we would motivate and mobilise our people to come out in force and that's what we did through 1980. Most of 1980.
36. The tour took place in 1981 and I recall the first game in Gisborne, Hone Ngata was just the most magnificent leader of our group there weren't many of us but Hone had

went to Poho O Rawiri and challenged his aunties and uncles. Just the acts of courage that I've been privilege to seen not just from wahine but from our men as well. We invaded the pitch and really we had no strategy and we went in we should of done a bit of loitering we should have gone and had a look because where we decided to come in from was a bank and so instead had we gone around the other side we could of gone in on a flat.

37. It was just drama and we were trying to get up a steep cliff they were pelting down cans at us and police would just go and boot us in the head it was just you know, but we learnt a lot just basic things about are you serious or not, but we decided that we would go on the national anti tour committee and we informed that committee that I would be representing Tangata whenua but they weren't that interested.
38. So when they had their first press conference in Gisborne we went along to the press conference and there was no chair for me up the front so they got a chair for me and I carried my own chair and plonked it in and I forced them to move along to shift for me and then anyway that's how Maoridom got a seat at the first conference. So then we attacked our fellow Pakehas for their racism and not acknowledging our struggle and I said that very loudly and it was all over the papers and then we did a big haka, a little bit of bravado.
39. That night after that conference the Maori contingent there were about eight of us what can be do to stop this game and Rebecca had this great thought. Why don't we smash up glass and put it on the pitch so they wouldn't be able to play. It was a great idea but at one o'clock in the morning where would we find that glass. But it was a good attempt so I think we got about three sacks of glass we broke it up and Rebecca and Mereana Pitman were delegated to put it out but they only had enough for one little bit so they dug up that patch. But you know, good on them for having a go. But you know the rest is history.

Appendix Three

Letter to King William 1831

TO KING WILLIAM, THE GRACIOUS CHIEF OF ENGLAND

KING WILLIAM – We, the chiefs of New Zealand assembled at this place, called Kerikeri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great Chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee.

We are a people with possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork and potatoes, we sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans. It is only thy land which land which is liberal towards us. From thee also come the Missionaries who teach us to believe on Jehovah God, and on Jesus Christ His Son.

We have heard that the tribe of Marian is at hand coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and guardian of these Islands, lest through the teasing of other tribes should come war to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our. And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us (for some persons are living here who have run away from ships), we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people this land fall upon them.

This letter is from us the chiefs of the native of New Zealand:

Appendix Four

This version of the Declaration of Independence 1835 was a transcription of the original document held by Archives New Zealand. This can be found on the New Zealand History Online website on <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/interactive/the-declaration-of-independence>

He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni

1. KO MATOU, ko nga Tino Rangatira o nga iwi o Nu Tireni iraro mai o Hauraki kua oti nei te huihui i Waitangi i Tokeraui te ra 28 o Oketopa 1835, ka wakuputa i te Rangatiratanga o to matou wenua a ka meatia ka wakuputaia e matou he WenuaRangatira, kia huaina, Ko te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o NuTireni.

2. Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni ka meatia nei kei nga Tino Rangatira anake i to matou huihuinga, a ka mea hoki e kore e tukua e matou te wakarite ture ki te tahi hunga ke atu, me te tahi Kawanatanga hoki kia meatia i te wenua o te wakawakarite ana ki te ritenga o o matou ture e meatia nei matou i to matou huihuinga.

3. Ko matou ko nga tino Rangatira ka mea nei kia kia huihui ki te runanga ki Waitangi a te Ngahuru i tenei tau i tenei tau ki te wakarite ture kia tika te hokohoko, a ka mea ki nga tauwiwi o runga, kia wakarerea te wawai, kia mahara ai ki te wakaoranga o to matou wenua, a kia uru ratou ki te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni.

4. Ka mea matou kia tuhituhia he pukapuka ki te ritenga o tenei o to matou wakuputanga nei ki te Kingi o Ingarani hei kawe atu i to matou aroha nana hoki i wakaae ki te Kara mo matou. A no te mea ka atawai matou, ka tiaki i nga pakeha e noho nei i uta, e rere mai ana i te hokohoko, koia ka mea ai matou ki te Kingi kia waiho hei matua ki a matou i to matou Tamarikitanga kei wakakahoretia to matou Rangatiratanga.

KUA WHAKAAETIA katoatia e matou i tenei ra i te 28 Oketopa, 1835, ki te aroaro o te Reireneti o te Kingi o Ingarani.

Declaration of Independence of New Zealand

1) We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the Northern parts of New Zealand, being assembled at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands on this 28th day of October, 1835, declare the Independence of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an Independent State, under the designation of The United Tribes of New Zealand.

2) All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity, who also declare that they will not permit any legislative authority separate from themselves in their collective capacity to exist, nor any function of government to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them in Congress assembled.

3) The hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes agree to meet in Congress at Waitangi in the autumn of each year, for the purpose of framing laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade; and they cordially invite the Southern tribes to lay aside their private animosities and to consult the safety and welfare of our common country, by joining the Confederation of the United Tribes.

4) They also agree to send a copy of this Declaration to His Majesty, the King of England, to thank him for his acknowledgement of their flag, and in return for the friendship and protection they have shown, are prepared to show, to such of his subjects as have settled in their country, or resorted to its shores for the purposes of trade, they entreat that he will continue to be the parent of their infant State, and that he will become its Protector from all attempts upon its independence.

Agreed to unanimously on this 28 day of October, 1835, in the presence of His Britannic Majesty's Resident.

Appendix Five

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

KO WIKITORIA, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me Nga Hapu o Nu Tirani, i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te ata noho hoki, kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga tangata maori o Nu Tirani. Kia wakaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini, ki nga wahi katoa o te wenua nei me nga motu. Na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona iwi kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei. Na, ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga, kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata maori ki te pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau, a WIREMU HOPIHONA, he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawa, hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani, e tukua aiane amua atu ki te Kuini; e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tirani, me era Rangatira atu, enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi.

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga, me nga Rangatira katoa hoki, kihai i uru ki taua Wakaminenga, ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua.

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira, ki nga Hapu, ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino Rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga, me nga Rangatira katoa atu, ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua, ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini. Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani. Ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani

Na, ko matou, ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nu Tirani, ka huihui nei ki Waitangi. Ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani, ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia, ka wakaetia katoatia e matou. Koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu. Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi, i te ono o nga ra o Pepuere, i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau, e wa tekau, o to tatou Ariki

The Treaty of Waitangi

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order, has deemed it necessary, in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress, to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the Native population and to Her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and authorise me, WILLIAM HOBSON, a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul, and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First.

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second.

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Pre-emption over such lands as the Proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third.

In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her Royal Protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subjects

Now, therefore, We, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in Congress at Victoria, in Waitangi, and we, the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand, claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which, we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi, this sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.