KIA MATAARA
CHAPTER 10
TE TIROHANGA RANGAPU
The Treaty of Waitangi was first signed on the afternoon of the 6th of February 1840, in the Bay of Islands at Waitangi.
It did not arise from warfare, as a Treaty of surrender, but was signed in a spirit of goodwill under the reigning conditions of Peace.
The Treaty was a Declaration of the traditional Maori rights of absolute authority over Aotearoa. Within this authority the signing Chiefs generously permitted the Crown a role.
The Treaty document is a statement of this concession and forms the fundamental constitutional basis of the Nation.
The Treaty was signed by the representative Chiefs, in the belief that it documented the natural and inalienable Maori rights of land and resource ownership, self determination and the Maori way of life. Simultaneously the Treaty assured Maori of continuing authority and unrestricted access, over all natural resources of Land, Sky and Sea, including Forests, Lakes and Waterways.
Additionally, the Treaty guaranteed to Maori the same protection and rights as British citizens. It permitted the Crown to act as the sole agent in land dealings. It also required the Crown to establish a lawful and just system of shared Governance, in compliance with the Treaty conditions.
The Treaty of Waitangi re-stated and re-inforced the position and authority of the Chiefs. It confirmed their right to exercise shared control over the powers of Governorship granted to the Crown.
That's a bit of a con, isn't it Nan? Devolution isn't really going to benefit our people?

It's sad... but you're right... It's just going to be another big money scramble.
Māori people won't be given any more real control. Pakeha government will still make the policies, but there will be lots of scraps about who gets called an iwi authority and ... collects the cash!

You know... the usual story — a good solid dose of the old divide and rule!!

And Te Tino Rangatiratanga is hidden... buried under the Pakeha agenda.

What are those Māori looking for? Tino Rangatiratanga — needle in a haystack!!
Gee, I remember hearing Koro Wetersay that devolution was giving back our rangatiratanga—what a cheek!

Well. Well... we're pretty good at rewriting history, you know!

Ae. He even said it's what our people asked for at the Huitaumata.

Your Auntie Mere and Uncle Jim went to that hui at Parliament in 1984. They came back really excited, talking about Maori control of a Maori economy.

Koro talked about a Maori development decade.

I didn't have any faith. All Pakeha governments are the same!!
MAORI CALLED FOR...

Self sufficiency through co-operative and whanau development

A Maori Development Bank

Return of control of resources

Funding positive not negative outcomes

Meanwhile....

Maori control of Maori economy
The government was working on its own secret agenda - Rogernomics - and handing the country's economy over to international big business.

In the end, not much at all Ruia. But it kept our people off the government's back while they put their Rogernomics into action.

And what a plan....!!

So what came out of the Hui Taumata, Nan?
1984...

"The Government is setting up a Maori Economic Development Commission to work on the Hui Taumata proposals."

1985...

$1 million dollars was used to set up a Mana Enterprises scheme. The goal is Maori control of Maori Economic Development.

1986...

$12.5 million dollars was spent on Mana ($60 million dollars in applications).

Any talk of economic control went out the window.

We only found the $12.5 million dollars by cutting our trade training schemes.
1986...

Police spent six months investigating gang work trusts and...

...fail to find fraud in any of the work contract schemes. Man, we've been looking for it hard enough!!!

When Pakeha succeed in business...

They're called whiz kids.

When Maori succeed they must be... crims!!

Those incompetents! Who do those officials think they're working for? They're responsible to the Government like any other department!!

Lange:
The department must be broken up before it breaks itself up!

Government fails to fund Maori economic development. Maori affairs and others plan to raise $600 million off-shore. Scandal!!!

We can't have Maori finding other sources of money and lose Pakeha control. Economic power is political power.
Winston Peters constantly attacked Mana schemes as being incompetent and corrupt...

Managed to discredit all Mana schemes

Strange how Pakeha business failures or frauds involving mega-bucks never discredit all Pakeha operations...

Oh goodness! I've lost three million dollars belonging to the shareholders!

Don't worry about it... isolated incident!
1987...

The Government set up the Maori development corporation to support Pakeha-style big business operations, capital... $26 million.

The major shareholders were the Maori Trustee, Fletchers, the Government, Brierleys and D.F.C.

Examples of government expenditure and income shows where Maori fit into the picture, eh!!!

Maori control of a Maori economy? Get real!!
We've got a bit in the bank so let's pick up a few things for the house.

- POSTBANK: $665.4 mill
- AIR NZ: $660 mill
- SHIPING CORPORATION: $35-40 mill
- PETROCORP: $801 mill
- RAILWAYS PROPERTY CORP.: $150 mill
- DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CORPORATION: $111.2 mill

SHOPPING LIST:
- Two Frigates
- Rural Bank Loans: $1.1 billion
- Writeoff of NZ Steel: $8.2 billion
- Writeoff to Meat Board: $2 billion
- B挽 Writeoff of BNZ: $600 million
- Underwriting of BNZ: $41 million
- Treasury's budget fees: $99.89
- Cabinet ministers' support services: $22 million
1987

LANGE AND WETERE...

"GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO
HAND OVER RESPONSIBILITY
FOR MAORI PROGRAMMES TO
THE IWI."

Lange on T.V...

And will the Government hand
over the purse string to the iwi?

THE DEPARTMENT WILL BE
RESHAPED INTO A MINISTRY AND THIS WILL FULFIL
THE PROMISE OF RANGATIRATANGA IN THE
TREATY...
You Maori have to be accountable. It is taxpayers' money after all.

You mean accountable to Pakeha government and taxpayers. Just give us all the Maori taxes and we'll look after ourselves.

That's separation! That's apartheid!!

That's selfdetermination!

But Kawanatanga gave us the right to govern and collect taxes.

We're sick of you people in government trying to rewrite The Treaty. Any powers our tupuna gave to the English Queen were subject to our two almighty rights: the right to control our own lives and resources.
What Maori people say about devolution is irrelevant, isn't it.

We know what's best for you people...

Our opinion made no difference. David Lange made it clear right from the start.
IN APRIL 1988, THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED ON SEVEN 'OBJECTIVES FOR MAORI AFFAIRS...'

Yes... these are the objectives we decided upon!!

Yeah, and remember in the green paper, they rewrote the Treaty in five lines!!

Signed, sealed and delivered, eh?

WHAT GUT WANTS @THING!!
Te Tirotanga Rangapu...

Article One
The responsibility to govern...

Heyyy!!
If you'd move, I wouldn't trample all over you!

There you go love! I love the Maori culture!!

Article Two
The responsibility to protect Maori interests and where necessary to redress grievances.

Article Three
The responsibility to ensure that Maori people enjoy all the rights & privileges of citizenship.

You get to enjoy our legal system, jury of peers and all that stuff.

Peers??
What did they say was going to happen under devolution?

We were going to abolish the Department of Maori Affairs.

Some of us would get to run some of the Department programmes.

Better run fast too!

OTHER GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS WOULD RUN THE REST.

Te Tirohanga Rangapu left it pretty vague.

SOMEHOW THESE DEPARTMENTS WERE GOING TO BECOME BICULTURAL OVERNITE...

Te Tirohanga Rangapu left it pretty vague.

Then there was going to be a Ministry to advise Government about Maori Policy.

Yeah, Mr and Mis Spearhead- your job is to 'colour up' the department.
I remember seeing Koro Wetere on TV getting heaps from an old kuia about devolution.

Maori people opposed the green and yellow papers on marae all through the country.

...Insult to the people

It belongs in a toilet!!

But the government was cunning. It made a big show of consultation and put up Koro to take the flack from Maori people who were saying......

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...DEAL WITH THE TREATY FIRST!!!

We're still dependent on government goodwill and funding!

After 150 years destroying the IWI, you expect us to be ready tomorrow. Rangatiratanga? Who are you trying to kid?

We don't trust RACIST PAKEHA DEPARTMENTS!!

Don't take away our Department!!

Sounds like using the IWI to save the government money!

THAT'S NOT MAORI ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT!
Why do our people want to keep the Department of Maori Affairs?

They're scared that they'll be left without any voice at all, Hema.

I'm not the answer! I've always been a part of the Pakeha government. Usually a Pakeha has run it.

When it was the Native Affairs Dept., it was in charge of taking the land and destroying the Maori way of life. Later in the 1960s it pushed assimilation.

Some people tried to change it in the 1980s by starting up kohanga. But once they started pushing - I don't know.
Devolution was a real mess. Government said it would phase out the department over five years under the name "Iwi Transition Agency."

The ITA was another government department. It was meant to dissolve when "Iwi Empowerment" was complete in 1994.

There wasn't any real plan. The new chief executive got all the heavyhanded powers of the old Maori Affairs Board, which Maori had objected to for years.
Government was working on a law to say what an Iwi Authority was and what it could do.

Once the Iwi Authority was approved it would become the Government's agent for running programmes and maybe for other things.

That's right! JUMP! If you don't jump high enough, you won't get a kai.
What does the Ministry of Maori Affairs do?

They have to advise on Maori policy—within the Pakeha government's guidelines, and without upsetting the Pakeha.

They're calling it a "control ministry"—just like the Treasury and State Services commission—Come on!!!

Its mission statement was even worded so Pakeha would find it acceptable.

Phew! Glad that's acceptable! I knew Pakeha don't like the Treaty.

My—this is fine—I notice that the Treaty isn't in it. It's just too divisive!
And they call this ‘empowerment’??
How come Maori say devolution is handing over power to the INI.

They forget the lessons of history and believe what they’ve been told...

Yeah...why DID we sell all our land?? That’s where we went wrong.

Some of our people are just...

Many are happy to get something after having nothing for so many years...

And others give up, objecting because the government didn’t take any notice of them.

It had its own plans!!

Ahakaa he iti...!!!
So what was government really up to with devolution, Nan?

I'm no expert, Hema. Auntie Mere says it's just the same as they've done with the SOEs, hospitals and the schools...

First, find anything which can be run for a profit...

Reckon I could flog this off!! Oooh!

Set up a business...

It's just the familiar Rogernomics formula of 'restructuring' government departments...

Moving and grooving...!!

And flog it off to the highest bidder...
Then hand over the department's services to Government, approved boards and authorities to run them within government's guidelines...

...and keep a small group of government employees to advise the politicians about policy and keep the machinery ticking over with...
Maori Affairs...

1. Maori Development Corporation, plus money-making roles of the Maori Trustee, Mana schemes, and anything else which might make money.

2. Programmes run by approved Iwi authorities and 'mainstream' departments (e.g. housing).

3. Minimal Ministry of Maori Policy

Eh?

Sorry love - these two are what I'm after!!

Yum! Yum!
AND GOVERNMENT IS LEFT WITH ALL THE POWER AND NONE OF THE ACCOUNTABILITY.

Private Business Gets the Profits...

IT STILL CONTROLS THE MONEY AND THE POLICY—AND SAVES THE COST OF RUNNING A DEPARTMENT.

Goddam! I'm Private Business!!

Sort of like God, eh!!
Go now, you are sent forth!

Ok kiddo—here're the responsibilities and here's the dosh...

...and make sure you don't go behind your brief!

Big deal!!

THE 'COMMUNITY' GETS TO RUN THE SOCIAL SERVICES ON GOVERNMENT'S TERMS.

AND THE MAORI GET LEFT DEPENDENT ON THEM ALL.
How come all of this is happening to us Now, Nan?

It's got its roots in the past... as always.

But now it's tied up with moves all around the world to destroy big government and

... hand over anything profitable to big business.

Check this out, mate!!
Be worth a bit!!
And it's got some powerful backers like the World Bank, IMF, OECD.

Bust through us if you can!!

What does it mean for us, Nan?

It's very serious for everybody, Ruia. But especially bad for us.

When the government was in charge, at least we could demand that it honour its duties as a treaty partner.

But if it hands over its powers to a private company or to a local council, they're not bound by the treaty.

Yes... well... um!

No way, sista!!
Can’t the Pakeha see it’s no good for them or for us?

“Together we can fight the beast!”

“Yeah, mate. I reckon it’s every man for himself!”

“That’s the tragedy of it. We are the Pakeha allies in the fight against Rogernomics.”

“…But they’ve made us into scapegoats. Pakeha seem to believe governments line that Maori have never been better off.”

“To hear them talk you’d think we’d taken over the entire country and all its resources. They couldn’t be more wrong!”

Mental health

Educational failures

Prisons full of Maori

Health – a disaster

Socially dependent
WE CALL IT BLAMING THE VICTIM...

It's your fault for being poor, unhealthy, mentally unstable, imprisoned etc...

Say whaaaat??

You're kinda criminally inclined!!

Ah. It's a time-honoured recipe! Worked for us for years too!!

POLITICIANS LOVE IT...

Come on! What would we do without white racism?

Guaranteed to stop people thinking and get them back to knee-jerk reactions.

It's your fault that you fail the education system.
Nan, would it have been any different if National had been the government in 1984?

"Yippee yay yay!"

"Kao! This country is built on colonial power and serves Pakeha political and economic needs - whichever party is in power."
That means it's built on denying our rangatiratanga.

This is the house that Jack built...

choice, eh!?

Tangata whenua interests have never been served by any Pakeha government.

You can't seriously think I'd serve you, eh?

And they never can be.
But lots of our people work for government departments

... and belong to political parties

Huff! Puff!
It's tough—
but someone's gotta do it...

... or take cases to court to fight for our rights...

While he's raving, let's organise that Maori policy!

Huh! Great!
I'm pretty comfy in THAT arena.
-After all—
I invented it... the legal system!!
Many believe in working for change from within.

Lots of others reject that way.

Cotta be in to win!

Burnout!!

But what we've learnt in recent times is that even when all the words are there, Pakeha governments will not deliver the goods.

What a mess! Just as well we'd already worked out what to do...

Perhaps we need to ask whose interests are really being served by having our people as advisors, consultants and party members in a system which oppresses us.

Devolution means handing over power and resources to the community!!

No, dear! You don't quite get it. Devolution is all about coughing over administrative responsibilities and burdens. Zilch power involved!

... would hate to wade through all this!!

Maori Education Consultancy
So where do we go from here?

"Yeah. Both Labour and National have made it clear they won't honour the Treaty. Pakeha majority rule is no better for us now than Pakeha minority rule was in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s."

Well, now let's think clearly about what we've got and what we want.
NOW...

Pakeha government

Powerlessness

Dependence

Poverty

Dispossession

Oppression

FUTURE
Rangatiratanga

Independence

Economic Well-being

Self-determination

Mana Maori

Control of resources
Gee how do we get there?
That's the challenge for the future,
mokopuna. Others have done it.
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