Chapter 12

Te Mana me te Rangatiratanga
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.
Gee Nan - we've covered heaps of ground in our kōreko over the past few months, haven't we?

I'll say! It's been neat hearing about our tupuna and the way things used to be. But it's pretty horrible finding out what happened to our people since the Pakeha came.

That's true... but to find a better future we must understand the past.
Eh, Nan? I know you're right about the challenge of the future. Our tupuna kept up the struggle. I suppose now it's our turn... but it's so hard to figure out what to do.

That's right, Ruia. But it's important to see that what's happening to our people now is really no different from what happened in the past.

Last century, it was the British Government and Pakeha settlers who built their wealth and power on our backs...

They stripped us of our taonga and denied our rangatiratanga.

Now it's the Pakeha government and big business doing the same thing.
Yeah, new faces and new names but the same old results.
It's so incredible the way Pakeha kid themselves that our tupuna ceded sovereignty in the Treaty.

And what's really annoying is how few people have ever heard of the Declaration of Independence.

Pretty hard for Pakeha to explain how Rangatiratanga meant independence in the 1835 Declaration — or even in July 1839 when Te Wherowhero signed it.
Yeah - it's the same with the Treaty. As if hundreds of our tupuna would hand over their mana to a couple of hundred rip-off merchants, missionaries and a boatful of navy men in fancy dress.

Hey, have I got a good proposition.

Put it in writing, mate!

It's pretty amazing! For a long time Pakeha people have got away with talking rubbish about the Treaty. They now refer to the principles and not to the Treaty itself!!

We must always insist on the 'text' - that's what Ta Hini said. Don't use the word PRINCIPLES.
For our people there's never been any question—what we were guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence and again in the Treaty was...

... our RANGATIRATANGA our independence—or as Ta Hemi Henare put it, our Maori way of life. If it hadn't acknowledged and preserved their mana, they wouldn't have signed the Treaty.

AND THAT MEANT KEEPING MAORI LAWS AND CUSTOMS AS WELL AS THE BENEFITS WHICH CAME OF BEING BRITISH CITIZENS...

THAT'S A LONG WAY FROM...

One law for all

AND THEY STILL KEEP GOING ON ABOUT IT!!
Lots of people and including some historians seem to infer that these chiefs didn’t know what they were signing. They knew what they were signing, reading the Maori version.

I don’t have a problem with this.

As far that. Forget it!!

But when it came to the English version, what in fact they did sign was giving away all their mana and everything else to the Queen of England. Which they never believed and never intended to do so.

SIR JAMES HENARE

Yes it’s not quite clear—so we’ve released a few guidelines...

STRANGE HOW PAKEHA JUDGES POLITICIANS AND POWER-BROKERS SAY THE TREATY IS CONFUSING, OR THAT IT’S IMPOSSIBLE TO KNOW WHAT WAS IN THE MINDS OF THOSE WHO SIGNED.

If those rangatira of old had been asked to give up their mana—waitangi would have been littered with British corpses!

Oooh! I’m not into THAT!!

What they really mean is that they don’t like the simple message—Maori never ceded sovereignty.
And when it doesn't suit them to talk about the Treaty, they just say the Brits got sovereignty cos...

Hey! cos I said so!
And it's even written down!!

Choice! Pop it in, pull it out.

Or they go and rewrite the Treaty by calling it 'principles'.
And of course the Treaty was between the English Queen, and the rangatira—not some bunch of Pakeha settlers who were allowed to set up a local government.

That was something we never agreed to...

I will protect you, my child.

Thanks, Mum! We'll sign here...

Hey... let's not muck around here—we need a few rules and regs... and acres!!

Politics
CHRISTIANITY
UNJUST
LAW

Ahem... you've got a new mummy now...

Mum?!!

and why our-tupuna kept asking her to stop the settler government tramping on the Treaty...
Whatever the Pakeha did, our people never gave up. We found a way to challenge them and to exercise our rangatiratanga in every part of our lives –

HEALTH,
WAIRUA,
LEARNING,
POLITICS

BRITISH LEGAL SYSTEM
Westminster Style Parliament

BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

AGEISM

SEXISM

Alienation of land.

Christianity

Victorian ideals

RACISM

Creep!!
At first, the Pakeha were obsessed with grabbing land and power. Our people fought back...

It took the Pakeha nearly 30 years to grab land...

...and force their ways on our tupuna.

Even some of the Pakeha historians now admit that they didn’t actually win the wars of the 1860s.

Mumble, mumble... Maori victory... slur!!.
AND AFTER THE WARS THE PAKEHA DUG THEMSELVES IN... THIS TIME THEY USED PAKEHA LAWS AND THE POWER OF MONEY AGAINST OUR PEOPLE. ONCE THE PARLIAMENT AND COURTS WERE IN PLACE, THEY DIDN'T NEED THE GUNS ANYMORE.

Majority rule democracy—the ultimate in civilisation...

We need to lay a really tough foundation—yeah.

If you're white wealthy and male.
At school we heard so much about Vogel and his railways, and the ships which could carry frozen meat.

But there was nothing about the way our people kept on struggling against the Pakeha takeover...

Heaps was happening...

Kotahitanga and Kingitanga

Patana

The Maori Parliaments

Tons of Petitions

Parihaka

Rua Kenana and Maungapohatu

Funny how they leave all that out. But we get all about the young Maori party telling our people to follow the Pakeha way.
Even though it's never been explained as part of our struggle for survival, they came with the RATANA-LABOUR alliance.

But it still didn't honour the Treaty, did it Nan?

No, although it made lots of promises. Even with Ratana's petition, all they did was put the Treaty - the English version, in all the schools.

The 1930s depression hit us really hard. Without the welfare state, many of our people would have died. We always remained grateful to Labour for that. But of course, it was a very different Labour Party then.

That was the heyday of the myth of 'we are one people'. It was as if social welfare could put us all on a level pegging...and if we didn't succeed it was our own fault.
Meanwhile the Pakeha built up big government businesses using our taonga, forestry, electricity, more railways, mining.

Stuck 'em up high, mate!!

... and trusting the government to protect wahi tapu.

Surely they wouldn't dig up our graveyard!!

We never gave our rights away under the Treaty.

Sometimes Maori people went along with it, knowing there'd be jobs...

At least we might get some work...

Our people are just too trusting.
THAT'S WHAT MANY OF THE RANGATAHI SAID IN THE 1970s - LIKE NGA TAMATOA.

They started challenging Pakeha on the Treaty.

Hey! Your granny made a deal with us - now are you gonna honour it?

Um... where's the culture group.

And waiting action committee started protesting at the annual Treaty celebrations.

Lots of young people protested the Springbok tour.

Honour the Treaty

Stop Apartheid NOW

There was the Land March...

The occupations at Raglan and Bastion Point.

There was the 1984 Hiko...
It was an exciting time. There was a big treaty petition drawn up to present to the Pakeha Queen, but Muldoon wouldn't let Maori do that.

Matiu Rata left the Labour Party and set up Mana Motuhake.

This is a waste of time!!

And first we had big hopes for it.

But then Maori realised the old truth—playing in the Pakeha Parliament is not what Rangatiratanga is all about.

And the first cases came before the tribunal.

Things were really on the move.
Is that when Labour started talking about The Treaty?

Ae. I remember when Palmer announced their policy in 1984, before they became the government. He said they were going to consult us on the Treaty 'celebrations'.

And they were going to put the Treaty in a bill of rights. But Labour really didn't know what they were doing.

The Waitangi Tribunal would get more funds and members, and be able to go back to 1840.

Ceoz, what a muck up...

And once they discovered, they started backtracking.
Why did it all fall apart, Nan?

Well, they didn't really understand the Treaty. Once they discovered what te tino rangatiratanga meant to us, of course they couldn't and wouldn't deliver.

Especially when it was on a direct collision course with Rogernomics.

What do you mean, Nan?
Labour wanted to hand over everything to big business here and overseas.

But that would mean selling off businesses which were built on our taonga and which were ours under the treaty. And if government wasn’t involved any longer, it couldn’t be held responsible for things which breached the treaty.

The same old battle between Pakeha political and economic power and rangatiratanga.
How long did it take them to catch on?

...not PART of a Bill of Rights which Pakeha judges would interpret.

And we wanted REAL dialogue about the place of the Treaty — NOT

Well, for a couple of years Palmer especially kept on about the Treaty. But most of their plans ran into problems...

...our people wanted the Treaty as THE Bill of Rights and...

Even giving the Waitangi Tribunal its' new powers took almost two years and they still weren't acting on its recommendations.

When the Hui Taumata made it clear that Maori wanted Maori economic development by Maori, for Maori, that wasn't what Treasury had in mind...

"Far out! Hey, we ain't into this 'independence kind of stuff!!"
Once government started putting the treaty into a couple of new laws, the real strife began...

Corporate blew up in 1987 and the council went to court.

And then came the fisheries.

That's when the judges kept talking about Maori victories. But...

There was a cession of sovereignty. Now let's talk about the 'spirit' - the principles.

Pakeha governments and courts won't recognise Te Tino Rangatiratanga.

Sadly, a lot of our people thought it was a victory, too. After so long of cases being thrown out of court, they really wanted to believe they could get justice in the Pakeha courts.

Well, we'd be mad wouldn't we - we'd be denying our very right to exist.
But in the end with corporatisation and fisheries we got no land, no rivers, no forests, no fish.

Just promises that government would give it back if the Waitangi Tribunal said so.

And that was no guarantee, eh? The Waitangi Tribunal had really changed. They even did a complete turnaround.

...after the Court of Appeal case (S.O.E.) and said our tupuna ceded sovereignty.

Well, it was part of the Pakeha system after all!!
A cession of sovereignty-laced settlement rights can't be denied.

The cession of sovereignty was implicit from surrounding circumstances.

The chiefs would have believed they were retaining their rights, powers or others retaining all their land.

Inflated material rights and duties as masters for their subjects.

The Maori had control over the land and its resources.

The Maori had ownership of their lands.

The Maori had control over the sovereignty of their lands.
Within the Tribunal—
The majority was taken away, new Pakeha members were appointed who knew almost nothing about the Treaty. The only full-time member was a former Secretary for Justice.

We lawyers ran the cases...

The hearings became all formal and legal.

...and we were left as onlookers.

It was almost impossible to get legal aid...

The Tribunals' whole 1989/90 budget was exhausted after six months.

Progress on hearing the 170+ claims was painfully slow.

And Government still hadn't acted on most of the recommendations.
It was a downward slide in 1988 and 1989.

The Murawhenua Report brought the racism to the surface.

Labour and National knew there were no Pakeha votes in the Treaty, and Maori votes didn't count - the Treaty was a political football.

Yeah, it makes you sick, even when Maori M-Ps dump it to the Treaty. I suppose that's what being a part of Parliament does to you!!
AND THERE WERE MORE COLLISIONS WITH ECONOMIC POLICY AS GOVERNMENT TRIED TO SELL OFF MORE OF OUR TAONGA — THE FORESTS, THE COAL, T.H.C, BROADCASTING.

Might hock this lot off — get a fair price!!

Eh?

THE COURTS WERE REALLY ANNOYED WITH THE GOVERNMENT FOR TRYING TO GET AROUND THEIR EARLIER DECISIONS.

But the outcome still left us with nothing in the hand and still more anti-Treaty principles.

BY 1990, LABOUR HAD SIDELINED THE TREATY.

Local Government Reform — no Treaty or protection.


Bill of Rights — no Treaty.

The Government ignored Waitangi Day 1889. AND OF COURSE, GOVERNMENT CAME OUT WITH ITS PRINCIPLES FOR CROWN ACTION ON THE TREATY.

We talked about the irrelevance of the Treaty!!

PALMER TOOK UP THE ENVIRONMENTAL HOBBYHORSE INSTEAD— SAFER!!
Yeah, I remember them saying that Devolution was just a culturally sensitive way of delivering social services to New Zealand citizens.

Well, that's typical...

But it was really just another piece of Rogernomics - like with health and education.

They hid behind the Treaty for as long as it suited them to sell it to our people.

So much for empowering people and recognising rangatiratanga.
Gee, it makes all those 1990 ads on TV and in the papers look pretty sick! Don't they know what's happening? Or doesn't it matter what we think?

"Maori demands are unrealistic and unfair to Pakeha."

"The Treaty ceded sovereignty to the Crown."

"Who wouldn't want to give up all their land to me and mine?"

"No way! We only want what is ours."

"Mana Maori"

"What we need is a truly multi-cultural society."

"Melt pot"

"Why can't Maori go back to being happy and contented."

"Maori people must accept today's reality."

"Poverty, illness, unemployment, no housing."

"Who says we were once?"
"You radicals don't speak for Maoridom."

"Neither does the Prime Minister speak for ALL Pakeha."

"This government has done so much for the Maori."

"We've upheld Mana Pakeha and made it look like Mana Maori was being strengthened."

"We have the best race relations in the world."

"One land, one law, one people."

"He iwi kotahi tautou!"

"But we Pakeha will control all the goodies."

"Guess who controls the race?"

"Let's all be one - in times of sport and war!"
We've tried going to the Pakeha Courts, the Waitangi Tribunal and negotiating with the government on its' terms. This hasn't taken us ANY FURTHER—

IN FACT, it is starting to do us more damage. We have to look at new ways. Our tupuna never gave up the struggle for rangatiratanga.

Rangatirangta

And we must do the same now.

LET'S CONSIDER OPTIONS
STOP!

WARNING!!

The following ideas could be dangerous to those who are happy with the way things are...

Don't read any further unless you believe in

TE TINO RANGATIRATANGA
Let's remind ourselves of what has happened and is still happening with the Treaty of Waitangi.

This was supposed to result in two autonomous yet interdependent tīkanga which would develop according to equity, needs and justice.

Instead, only the so-called "Crown" side was resourced, resulting in the unjust imbalance which robbed Māori of the right to rule our own nation.

Look at the Crown Whakapapa. They've sure developed!

And so, only the Crown side had "offspring".

Thats right—and look at ours!!
Nothing has changed.

Well... what can we do about it now?

It's a bit like the athletes in the Commonwealth Games...

Heavy!

Crackle

Mmm, nice

thud!!

The point is STICK TO THE POINT!! Te Tino Rangatiratanga

All of these struggles and results come about through Maori Protest ACTION.

AUCKLAND: POLE VAULT

STICK TO WHAT YOU'RE GOOD AT!!

NGATI PAOA OCCUPY WAIHEKE ISLAND LANDS IN PROTEST.

EVA TAKES CLUB COURSE!!

"GIVE US OUR LAND BACK" says Eva Richard.

"Balls, says Club Pres."

The New Zealand Hysteria Ltd!

Occupation of Bastion Point now in its 500th day.

"We're here to stay" says Joe Hawke.
Remember

1. Te tino rangatiratanga was not granted by Kawanatanga. It will only be acknowledged when genuinely acted upon by ourselves.

2. Te tino rangatiratanga is a natural and inalienable Maori right which existed before Te Tiriti was signed.

3. Kawanatanga is supposed to serve Te tino rangatiratanga (article II)

4. Te Tiriti o Waitangi requires negotiation and agreement between Nga Rangatira and the Crown before any Crown action is taken.

Don't forget, Kawanatanga as we know it now was imposed upon us. It has never been negotiated nor agreed to by Nga Rangatira. That's why we must not give it mana.
1. Maori willingness to tolerate injustice must stop. We should become absolutely intolerant of injustice and act accordingly.

2. Pakeha will have to reclaim the values of obligation and duty towards Te Tiriti o Waitangi and give their politicians the message 'Honour Te Tiriti.'

3. New systems of relationships founded upon Te Tiriti o Waitangi need to be developed between Te Tino Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga.

Hmm – that means some pretty serious planning, detail and some action.

Whoo! That's when we were talking Te Tino Rangatiratanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Yeah, we gotta think about political and economic relationships, educational autonomy, legal system, social and international relationships...
If you want to be treated like Rangatira—act like Rangatira.

Look what Ngapuhi did in 1939—and they didn't even ask for permission.

This action was a reflection of mana maori and a refusal to tolerate the racist policies of the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler. We could learn from this example.
Checklist for Te Waka Mana Maori

1. Whose mana is being reflected?
2. Will we gain independence from this?
3. How many crew members know the treaty?
4. What will change?
5. Will we get self-control?
6. Why are we doing this?
7. Who thought this up?
8. Do the captains of the sailing ships acknowledge Te Tino Rangatiratanga?
9. Do we believe in Te Tino Rangatiratanga?
10. Do our waka taua reflect the Maori struggle for justice?

Perhaps we should have some checklists like those by boat ramps for people who are going boating.

Have you checked:
- Weather
- Life jackets
- Petrol
- Flares

HMZS Kawanatanga
To gain future independence we need...

Economic development

Maori Savings Bank

Maori Co-op Businesses

Return of Maori resources (land, fisheries, forestry, etc.)

Major international exposure

Political Autonomy

A national Maori Assembly

A rejection of Pakeha politics

Boycott booth
CULTURAL and SOCIAL AUTONOMY

MAORI SOCIAL SERVICES
Nau Mai, Haere Mai.

KURA KAUPAPA MAORI
No education is neutral
Get Maori kids out of brainwashing schools.

Korero Maori
E...

Mana Maori
Te Tino Rainga
Books being published...

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Wow! I can't wait to get out there and do something!!

I'll say. Let's go!! I'm all hyped up!

Great!!
The next few years will be an exciting time.
Introduction — Nga Ra o Mua
Chapter (1) Papatuanuku
(2) Te Tiriti o Waitangi me te taame o te Pakeha
(3) Te Ao Wairua
(4) Te Mauri o te Maori
(5) Nga oranga a te iwi
(6) Te Matauranga
(7) Nga Whiriwhiri me nga Whitiwhiti
(8) Nga murere Pakeha
(9) Nga Ture
(10) Te Tirohanga Rangapu
(11) Te Ihi o te Wahine
(12) Te Mana me te tino rangatiratanga

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