

REVISITING MAORI SOVEREIGNTY

DONNA AWATERE-HUATA

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>>RINGA HĀPAI: All right, we've had the go, it's time to go. There's 260 of us sitting around this table today, so kia ora koutou katoa. Ngā mihi ki a koutou, tēnā rā koutou katoa. Firstly I'd like to acknowledge all the First Nations indigenous and people from country who are here today and are looking at our kōrero for Treaty-Based Futures and Anti-racism. If you're not here for that you can go somewhere else. Today we're going to be talking to Donna Awatere-Huata about revisiting Māori sovereignty.

I'd like to acknowledge our partners who are many and varied, and we really appreciate the support from them. Over the coming days you'll see amazing line ups from all over the world. I don't think there's a continent that isn't represented. So kia ora. Ko wai au? Ko Nic Coupe tōku ingoa, Takitimu te waka, Aoraki te waka(sic), Waitaki te awa, ko Kai Tahu rātou ko Te Atiawa, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Rangitane.

I have the absolute pleasure and exciting job of introducing Donna who is from Ngāti Kawe(?), Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Hine and Ngāpuhi. So not afraid to speak up and apparently that started at the age of 14, where she started the gender pay gap negotiations, I believe. A founding member of Ngā Tamatoa who helped us set our way around Te Tiriti o Waitangi and wrote the amazing book Māori Sovereignty in 1981. And I really look forward to our chat today Donna. Kei a koe, kia ora.

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Kia ora tātou everyone. Kia ora Nic. Greetings to everyone and welcome. So just before I start, I just want to say to Heather, who invited me to do this talk, how hard it was for me to get a copy of Māori Sovereignty. I've got one. I mean it's here, we only ever printed 3,000 copies, so they're pretty rare. And this one that I got at the last minute was stolen, someone pinched it from a library, but, you know, there's hardly any copies left. And when I went online to try and find one, there's a rather tatty PDF that someone's put up and I was actually relying on that. So one of the good outcomes of today, Heather, is going to be that I'm actually going to get it done into an e-book so that people can actually read it.

I read it yesterday for the first time in many, many years. I actually -- I don't think I've actually ever read it since I wrote it, which is nearly 40 -- it is 40 years ago. And what struck me was its truth, that it is as real and relevant to today as it was back in 1981 when

I sat down in October 1981 after the Springbok tour had ended and asked myself the question, what on earth were we fighting for?

And as it said in the little introduction to this, this came at the end of a very long, difficult 10 years where we in Ngā Tamatoa were fighting on all fronts all at once. We were doing stuff in education, we were -- we got Legal Aid here, Pauline Kingi and I did the submissions that got Legal Aid here. We had occupations at Raglan, at Bastion Point, at Āwhitu. We had the land march. We had just so many things happening on the reo front, we were struggling to get things going and not really succeeding.

And so by the end of the Springbok tour when I had been accosted by a group of, I thought they were young men but I actually think now they were off-duty red -- the red Police force that were leading out the Police campaign against us protesters in 1981, I actually think it was them. Anyway, they gave me a hell of a hiding outside my home, and I had my glasses smashed into my face and had -- I had a hell of a lot of pain, like I really was in excruciating pain, I thought goddamn there's got to be a better way than this, what are we on about and are we focused enough?

So if you go back to those days before 1900 there was a mass movement of Māoridom, our fight to retain our land was the stuff of legends. We defended our land and were involved in wars. We had raupatu, we had the Māori Land Court, we had -- so many things were happening that we formed our resistance, there was Kotahitanga, there was Kingitanga and other movements, you know, Te Kooti, and it was really our people struggling against the might of the British Empire and the businesses that came here to settle New Zealand and the weight of the settlers that really overwhelmed us. Within 20 years of signing of the Treaty we were already a minority, that's how quick it was. And within 12 years of the Treaty we had the British parliament pass the Act establishing the New Zealand parliament.

So we really were on the back foot. And you put that together with disease and the loss of land and the trauma that our people experienced, and you have a situation where by 1900 there are only 60,000 of us left. And we have been through the mill, you know, we've witnessed death, destruction and we've still got the flu to come, which is going to further savage our numbers.

So that's the backdrop to the work that Ngata and Buck and Pomare reformed us, these young geniuses who thought okay, let's try another tack, let's try accommodation and see how that goes. So they went into parliament and in actual fact did a magnificent job of

saving us and their view was let's just survive, let's get through that, and they were successful, even though they were up against it.

Just as an aside, one thing that occurred to me when I was reading Māori Sovereignty yesterday was in 1900 I think I had it in my -- 1900 the Public Health Act completely ignored Maoridom, there was nothing there for us at all. Then you fast-forward to the Covid situation that we have our united health providers and iwi have been working on together and you say goodness me, have things changed.

However, from that period of accommodation, which I think ended with Ngata's price of citizenship where he invoked us to take part in the World War II and, as he said, we must pay the price of citizenship. So that was like the final leg of accommodation was to say let's become part of the New Zealand nation. Let's prove to the white settlers that we are part of them and that we'll fight alongside of them, we will fight for Britain. That's where it was.

Then my generation was part of the generation that moved from that to now beginning to reassert the Treaty, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. And, you know, we weren't alone, there was the Māori Women's Welfare League, for 15 years before Tamatoa did our submission had been falling for Māori language to be taught in all schools, you had the New Zealand Maori Council was fighting on all fronts trying to get a better deal for us. And I guess we were part of a move that was rejecting accommodation and saying no, no, we have to go back to Te Tiriti.

What had happened to Te Tiriti was that, we all know, Prendergast brought out his decision, based on an American finding, which basically said the Treaty is a nullity and up until then they were saying well Māori ceded sovereignty, Treaty of Waitangi, Māori ceded sovereignty, so all is well in the land. And we were saying well no, no, no, we didn't cede sovereignty, and your celebrations are fraudulent.

So that's where Ngā Tamatoa was established at the young Māori leadership conference in I think it was 1970, led by Rangi Walker and Titewhai Harawira in the then Auckland District Maori Council, they had a young leadership conference. And at that conference, as we all know, Ngā Tamatoa formed and it was just serendipitous that I had ended a career where I was going to be on the operatic stage and I was at university at this time. And it was that -- the timeliness sometimes in your life is what matters. And for me the time was that I went to university at that point and was part of Ngā Tamatoa, who was a university-based group, and I would say that nearly all of us, if not all of us, were children of returned servicemen who had come back to find that I'm afraid -- Pākehā said to us no,

no, no, no, no, no, you paid the price of citizenship, you didn't because you're not white. And so they came back to appalling treatment, absolutely appalling in terms of being allocated land when they came back, that Māori land was gifted and then given out to Pākehā, the health services that they needed didn't appear, we struggled to get work for a period there and, you know, the promise was not -- of citizenship wasn't delivered to us.

And so my generation came along and we were inspired by two pieces of legislation which I must remember to tell you about. One was in 1953 Maori Affairs Advancement Act, and the other was the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act, and both of those were aimed at Māori land, and the 67 Amendment Act was really a devastating piece of legislation, because through that Māoridom lost 1.5 million hectares of land that were taken compulsorily from the government and went to the Government and to the Māori trustee.

And I was part of that because my mother lost her lands. Even though she had a toehold, she was devastated by the loss of each of those blocks of land where the Government took her shares and her sister's shares. It impacted her and through her me, and I felt, I felt her pain from that 67 Amendment Act.

So, you know, it's just a hop, skip and a jump forward to 1970 and the young Māori leadership conference, and there we were, we decided to go to Waitangi in 1971 and really object to the Crown taking its big ships up there and all the sailors in white and raising the flag and celebrating Waitangi. And our thing was no, no, no, the Treaty is a fraud, we meant the celebration of the Treaty is a fraud, we are not an egalitarian society. And I'll never forget that first year we went up and very nervous, not knowing -- we hadn't actually been protesting before that, Springbok -- the Vietnam war was happening, but most of us hadn't taken part in that. So it was our first big event.

Anyway, we went up and, as I've said many times, for you who have heard this story before just forgive me, but we were dressed in black and we walked around the perimeter as all the commodores from the boats were out there looking magnificent and the sailors all there and the Police. And then at one point Hana Te Hemara, the great Hana Te Hemara, she bolted. And she ran from the group and she ran towards where they were putting up the flag to stop it. And it was a -- I'll never forget that moment because it changed my life and I just vowed that I would never not bolt again. I would never be the one standing there to watch my comrade take the hit and do it for us.

So thereby followed for me 10 years of involvement of hands-on involvement of, you know, working as a young psychologist, of having many, many suspensions, but managing to hold on to my job. Because I was the only Māori psychologist in the country

at that time, so I had some value. But it was quite stressful, and at the same time working with my other -- our colleagues in the first wave of Ngā Tamatoa, who was Sys Jackson and Hana and Taura Eruera. I actually -- I'm just leaning over here because I pulled out this photo of my comrades and I in 1971, we were at Kawati's marae and that's Taura Eruera and that's me down there. Anyway, it was a tumultuous time that followed that.

And then by the time we got to -- I did get -- I heard Mereana talking about Bastion Point, and I was sitting in the meeting house the day they came to take us out. And I love Merata's film because I'm sitting there looking terrified. I am the Māori girl looking terrified, that is me. And the memory of that is -- there was just a lot of moments like that where we're at Raglan and things happen. Anyway.

So by the time -- I went to Cuba in 1979 and again events there changed my life, because being with the last surviving members of a Palestinian commando group whose job it was to hijack planes and to be with the last surviving survivor of that team; I mean the most amazing woman. She was just an ordinary mother who took on this job, a suicide mission really, for her people. And Ripeka Evans, Josie Keelan and I went over, and she changed our lives because we saw that what we were doing back here in New Zealand was really kids' stuff, you know, we were marching and demonstrating and writing submissions, but we didn't put ourselves too much at risk, you know what I mean, we were very careful.

Then I think it did change us, because when we came back I remember sitting on Josie Keelan's doorstep, sitting in the sun with my two mates drinking wine and knowing that the Springbok tour was coming and thinking to ourselves we've got to do something to turn the eyes of white New Zealand, of white liberal New Zealand, of the religious groups, those who care about humanity to turn their eyes from South Africa to here in New Zealand. Because as Muldoon said, they are our kith and kin. Too right they're our kith and kin, and we had apartheid here. But because we didn't have the physical separation, because we were allowed to mingle with Pākehās, we were allowed to go to schools with them, it didn't look like apartheid, but in actual fact it was a system in which all the rules were made to privilege white people and to ensure their success and to ensure that Māori were always at the bottom.

So that's what we did. You know I don't have to take you through that, but it was, you know, it was what it was and something, I don't know that we'll ever live through again. But it was a turning point for us, and I came out of it, I can remember someone telling me about Hone Harawira had something like 100 and something years if he was found guilty on all charges it was over 100 years he'd go to prison. I thought holy smoke,

you know, was it that bad, it was, and I had 12 charges of riotous destruction and the penalties were 7 years to 14 years, so that's like over 140 years if I'd been found guilty on them.

So that was the mood, that was the context of me sitting down one day with blinding headaches and pain as bloody glass is working its way out of my eye and wrote the first part of Māori Sovereignty which was what are we on about, what is this? And remember, all of the Treaty struggles had mainly happened before 1900. So we were another era. So what we did was to bring back the Treaty. We got, through Matt Rata, the magnificent one and only Matt Rata who, working with his Prime Minister at the time, managed to get the Waitangi Tribunal established after the Māori land march. With that we at least had, even though it wasn't retrospective and you could only deal with new breaches of the Treaty, nevertheless it was a start and we recognised and we recognised this as such.

And we had some cause for optimism because Eddie Durie had just taken up the leadership of the Waitangi Tribunal and of course was successful in his pressure to make the claims retrospective. But anyway, that's when I sat down. So the book is -- it's written like someone who's blinken annoyed and frustrated and in a lot of pain, and that's exactly how I was feeling.

But I don't know, because you're all a bit young, but at the time it caused a stir, as you can imagine, because people didn't talk about Māori sovereignty or rangatiratanga, they didn't talk about New Zealand is Māori land and Māori land should come back to us, this is our land. And, you know, and that this Government's all wrong, you're in breach of the Treaty, you don't own this land, they're much like Russia coming invading the Ukraine, that's how the British invaded us, waged war on us and then settled us. But it doesn't alter the fundamental fact that Ukraine's land belonged to the Ukraine people, and this land belongs to Māoridom. Back in 1982, I think, when we published the first article, that was strong stuff.

For those of you who -- because it's really hard to get so I'm going to let Heather let you all know when I've got this in as an e-book so you can go on and get it. But I just want to read you the first paragraph of it, because that sums it all up:

"Māori sovereignty is the Māori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Māori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgment that New Zealand is Māori land, and further, seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative, it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural

society, one in which taha Māori receives an equal consideration with and equally determines the course of this country as Pākehā.

Māori courtesy has allowed white supremacy and cultural imperialism to pass under the name of monoculturalism. In this country monoculturalism is a euphemism for separate development and a cover for white hostility and hatred of things and people Māori. It prettily avoids the issue, which is that for 142 years Māori people have been excluded from all power and all economic decision-making, even when it has concerned us directly. It prettily disguises the fact that the Māori in 1982 is still struggling to survive the devastatingly brutal attacks on our land, our culture, our language and our identity."

Now the reason that I accepted Heather's invitation to take part today, was because I thought it was timely to revisit the ideas in the book and to see how far we've progressed. And, you know, for those of you who haven't read it, read it, because it is the truth and it is the truth of today. And the stuff that I mention in there, talking about our education statistics, our health statistics, our imprisonment statistics, you know, day-to-day racism that we experience, white hostility, the unpicking of every effort we make to uplift our people, to uplift our well-being, all gets unpicked. And I say this in the book, and it has certainly been my experience over the last 50 years.

And, you know, after I wrote Māori sovereignty, the Kōhanga Reo movement was launched, actually in 1982, the same year, at a hui, and it just exploded, it just went like that. A voluntary movement of our families who said yes, we want our children to learn our language and we're going to do it ourselves. And in the first few years with no money, they got a little seeding grant from Department of Maori Affairs, but it was just the will of our people, that we will do it ourselves.

And in actual fact I think if we'd carried on that way without government funding we may have done a lot better. Because we got funding and then it went up, there were about 500 Kōhanga like that, and then the government decided we will move Kōhanga Reo out of Department of Maori Affairs and over to the Ministry of Education, and we will make it subject to all of the strictures of the early childhood education sector. And that's what happened, and within a year we'd dropped by half, within a year the numbers of Kōhanga, half of them had closed and we're only now, you know, 35 years later, rebuilding to the level we were at back when they made that change.

And then, you know, always Kōhanga was under-funded. Then we started the Kura Kaupapa Maori movement. I'm just going to use the one example, education, to illustrate what I say; we make strides forward and then we get pushed back.

Hang on. Nic, I haven't got a clock, but could you stop me when we get to 3 o'clock
 >>RINGA HĀPAI: You've got 3 minutes.

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Holy smoke. I better move on then. Just to say that when we started Kura we went up, again, it just exploded. And then remember Mallard was the Minister of Education at the time, he says "no more kura will be funded, once you hit 60 that's it". And then we had the wānanga movement start and we got, I think, three wānanga through, when Awanuiārangi started in 1992 government said "no more wānanga, stop". And the three minor tribes, small tribes, got wananga, and then the biggest ones, like the north and Ngai Tahu and Kahungunu and Te Arawa it all stopped. So you know, I'm just saying even when we seem to be making progress, we are pulled back.

I do want to leave some time for questions, so what I will say is I just want to reprise the key idea behind the book came to me, I read Hannah Arendt's "The Origins of Totalitarianism" in which she traced the persecution of the Jewish people who were pushed from their lands, as you remember, in the diaspora and ended up having to settle throughout the world, throughout Europe. And then everywhere they went they were subject to heavy oppressions. At times they were kicked out of countries and whatnot.

Anyway, she wrote about it and she said how oppression was maintained and how the sovereignty of the Jewish people was never able to flourish was through three ideas: One was the idea of the superiority of the Europeans, and the idea that they had every right to oppress others, and that you take that forward to the doctrine of discovery and the papal doctrines which say that they have a right to go overseas and if they find a nation like ours where the people there aren't Christian, then they have every right to kill those people, so justifying what they were doing, the economic drive by the idea.

So the ideas are important, and for us the main idea that is really important is that colonisation is just, it was done fairly, and it stands, it should stand. And that part of the reason why it should is because Māoridom when the settlers came here were barbaric, we were savages, and they were civilised.

I wanted to begin the conversation and raise with you the issue that we need to debunk that, because it's just a nonsense. Those ideas are lies. And the first port of call for all of us for the academics, for those who work in the bureaucracy, for teachers, for any thinking Māori, is to really work at debunking the idea of their superiority and actually reach back into the reality of our ancestors and the lives they live.

So there's just four examples that I'll touch on, because they really do show the genius of our ancestors. The first concept that they live by and the one that ordered their

life was whakapapa. I always say to people when they say "what's your advice for me, what should I do?" I say honour your whakapapa. You just do that. Because when you think of whakapapa as the past and the future and you, that is your past and that is your future, that's you, and you are the living embodiment of your past, your tīpuna, your ancestors and your future, those who will come after you that come from your ancestral and you were the living embodiment. And wherever you go, you carry your past and your future with you.

And that idea that our people had of the responsibility of those who live in the present to bring the ancestors, from whether it be from the past and from the future into the present, that ability to collapse time into the present and to live it is pure genius. And the fact that we can name our ancestors. You know, they've had writing for 10,000 years, and you wonder in all that time did no-one think of writing down your ancestral line? A few did, but only a few of the conquerors, but most of them didn't. But our ancestors memorised it, they committed to memory their ancestry because they knew it was important and through that ancestry they connected us to the cosmos, to the environment, to the rivers, to the waters, to the lands, to every other person living in Aotearoa.

So the fundamental purpose of whakapapa is to connect us to the past and future, to the environment, to all living things and to the cosmos, and that connection is the Māori genius that we need to bring into contemporary world. And we must never lose sight of that. Because when you compare it to the Pākehā view, which is disconnection, the Cartesian view of the duality between the soul and the spirit and humanity, if you like, and the rest of everything, everything else is just something, a commodity to be used and abused, to be disconnected from, even people they're disconnected from, nationhood is about disconnecting. And I think the power of whakapapa we need to hold it there.

The second concept is rangatiratanga. I want to correct the view that rangatiratanga means chieftainship. You know, I was taught that people become rangatira because you give them the mana and mana isn't something you plonk on someone and they've got it forever; mana can be given and taken away. And as the early commentator said, they never met a person who considered themselves a commoner. As far as our people were concerned they were all rangatira.

So I think the power of the Māori view is the rangatiratanga of us all, about the right for everyone to have our say of consensus of that -- of where the power is shared, ownership is shared. Resources are shared rather than the western way, which started about 5,000 years ago when the pharaohs accumulated the wealth of the people into a handful,

and then from their example if you look at all of the big empires that come down and then go over to Britain, they took on that model after the Romans conquered the Celts, then the Vikings came and the Normans, and then they built their own kingdoms where the wealth was all concentrated into the hands of a few who dominated by power, by military force, everyone else. We didn't have that. Of course we did have wars, but before the muskets and whatnot they were largely symbolic. We did have war but not like the terror that they've had over in Europe for 2,000 years or more.

Then the third one I want to raise is the whole of the family, of the home, of the role of women and of children. And I don't have time to read you, but I will commend to you the article that Anne Salmond wrote in response to Alan Duff's characterisation of us as Once Were Warriors. And her article is entitled "Once Were Gentle Fathers". I think if you read those commentators from 1800, 1812, 1817, 1820, 1830, and they talk about the gentleness of the men and the child-raising that the men did, the staunchness of the women, the role of mana wāhine that we're now hearing in the claim.

I think that is a beautiful thing that we need to recapture, and the fact that we've taken on Victorian models of anti-women hatred doesn't mean to say we've got to stay there. But when the colonialists came here, you know, you could basically beat a woman almost to death. You had to practically gouge her eyes out, like literally you had to gouge her eyes out before you could go to court.

But abuse of women and children, that was the norm over in Britain, and they brought that practice here and I think through the trauma of land loss and a whole lot of other things, we've taken on all of those things that accrue to people who live in poverty and who have come from that model.

And finally, I wanted to just say that one of the things we've got that we must never forget and we must hold on to, is joy. You know, the whare tapa whā, there was a reason we had whare tapa whā, because it was a place where you came together and you sang, you told stories, where everyone participated. It wasn't a performance where you had some people were performance and some were participants; no, no, everyone participated. And it was the ability to find joy in one another that -- when I was a girl being raised in Ohinemutu Pā and I'd go to my sister's parties and the joyfulness, even though they were drinking beer, the joy was actually in being together, of singing these songs together and, you know, that's it, that's it, the joy of being together. And it's why we love kapa haka, because we just love being together. Actually we just love being together. You know,

that's it, that's why we have so many hui, I think, because I think we have a craving for one another's company.

And when you think of the trauma that our people have experienced, when you think of it, the fact that we can still find joy in one another to the extent that we do, that just tells you a lot about our ancestral heritage, the joyful heritage, the whare tapa whā, the mauri that they've given to us that I think we've got to hold on to. Nic.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora Donna, that was awesome and very informing. There's been a lot of questions, there's been a lot of statements, and I think just to resolve the issue of the lack of Māori sovereignty out there at the moment, your book, there's been a suggestion that we turn it into an audio e-book. And you could do the reading.

So the other part of the fact that I get to be facilitator I get to get the first question. When I read the bit about the 14-year-old who went against their summer job's employer and asked why there was a gender pay gap, I wonder what created that 14-year-old.

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Do you know, I had -- people might think I had the misfortune of getting Rheumatic Fever, but it was the best thing that ever happened to me. Because what happened was one, I missed school for many, many years, I didn't go to school. And I was sent because -- I was living in Rotorua with my family and it's very steamy here, and they thought that a dryer climate like Tokomaru Bay would benefit me, so I was sent up there to live with my father's eldest brother and I didn't go to school, because we only had a horse to get to the -- we only had one horse and you had to get miles away, so I didn't go to school.

But I did join Aunty Ngoi Pēwhairangi's kapa haka group, and through her and through just sitting around and listening to the Kotahitanga meetings with Tommy Te Maro, who we know as Tommy Blue, and Aunty Sarney(?), all the stalwarts of the Kotahitanga movement were in Tokomaru Bay and in Ruatoria and this is what I heard. And if you, as I say, I grew up listening to "te matauranga o te Pākehā, he mea whakatano hei tinanatanga, mo wai rā, mo Hatana, kia tūpato i ngā whakawai kia kaha ra", you know, the evil of the Pākehā has been inspired by whom, why by Satan of course. You know, wow.

And they were Tuini Ngawai songs, they were radical stuff, and I grew up, these were the party songs, these were the Ten Guitars of the day, and I think it seeped into me. And those rangatira, Ngoi Pēwhairangi, they influenced me. And my own uncle, who was a member of Kotahitanga and who believed this stuff, they lived it.

So I think when I did come back to school I had an attitude. Some would say I had a bad attitude. I certainly had a bad attitude. And because I hadn't been to school they put

me in the dummies class in the special education class, because I couldn't do maths and I couldn't do a whole lot of things. But what I had done, because I had children's encyclopaedia, I'd learned Greek, I learned Latin, I learned German because I just read everything, I only had 12 volumes so that's what I did. And so I was on the one hand quite kuare and then on the other hand I was quite well read and I could do things.

So I developed a confidence in myself and when I got called names, when I went to white schools they were racist to me, I just had an inner being. And at 13 I went to St Mary's Convent and I was taught singing, because my mother thought I'd be a great opera singer because she'd heard Kiri sing once, so we went to Auckland for me to learn singing. And of course I was, I mean I was, I ended up as one of the six greatest contralto profundos in the world at a very young age. And that's because I actually believed I could do anything.

So all these Pākehās were struggling to be great, and every Māori I knew from Kiri, to Hannah Tatana, to myself, to Lorette Gibb, we just sang and it just came out and we were world class. So I got this attitude I'm superior, so don't you tell me you're inferior. I think that was behind when I went to work at egg distributors and discovered that my mum was being paid almost 50% less than the man next to her, I thought this isn't right. And I thought I had every right to go and bail him up. That's my advice, don't go to school.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kapai. Choice, don't go to school. So there's a couple of questions -- quite a few questions here. I want to try and combine, try and get my clever hat on. Around Māori sovereignty and what you believe the greatest barriers are, but let's flip that also to be what are the aspirations for Māori sovereignty?

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: I'll deal with the barriers because I'm dealing with one of them at the moment. The greatest barrier, see Hannah said it was the idea, it was the power, the power of enforcement, whether it was military or Police, and then it was a power to manage the colonised people through the bureaucracy. And that's what the Chinese developed was that ability. The reason they could keep this incredible empire together as one was because they developed a bureaucracy that centralised could then trickle down all the orders and they could maintain policies and evaluate, monitor, collect taxes and whatnot.

And it is this bureaucracy, and it has made sure that in health our health statistics are the same. So the idea is racism, the idea of racism is that we are inferior and that only Pakehas know better, and we are too stupid to actually look after ourselves. That's the idea that we've tried to debunk and we've still failed to debunk. Because even when we get the lawyer Maori Health Authority going, another government will come in and they will do

what they did to Kōhanga and Kura, a great idea and they would smash it down to this big, so that -- Whanau Ora, brilliant idea, that should have gone like this to there, in fact has gone from that to here, and the Maori Health Authority will do the same.

So it is the bureaucracy. And we need to unpick it. We do have some levers that Labour passed the Public Service Act 2020 and section 14 says that they must have regard to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and that's the first time Te Tiriti o Waitangi, that means our rangatiratanga must be taken advantage of. Education and Training Act has section 4, it's stronger, Te Tiriti o Waitangi must be given effect to.

So they're there in bits and drabs, and I think the courts will decide, not the bureaucrats, how far they need to take that. But what we are saying is it means in the least co-design, in the least co-governance. And I think if we move to co-design and co-governance we're actually going to get somewhere. But the constitutional review; constitutional change works, it certainly worked in Germany after World War II. It changed German society and we can get constitutional change that changed New Zealand society and, you know, but when the hell it will ever come I have no idea. But we can actually get it by stealth, just by enacting these little sections that they've now got in so many of these Acts.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kapai. So there's another --

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: I forgot to say about the, you know, what's on our side, what have we got going for us. Because in sovereignty I talk about one of the hardest things that happened is that so many Māori have become so Pākehā-ised that you can put a slither of paper that they are, to all intents and purposes, and I call it -- you know that movie Aliens where she's lying on the bench and then this little alien pops out and turns its head around, it's that. That's what happens, the coloniser indoctrinates you so that you grow your own little alien within, and our job has to be to grab hold of the alien and rip it out.

But some people are walking aliens. The whole body is an alien. You can't tell, there's no difference between them and a Pākehā. In fact some Pākehās are more like Māori and have actually tamed the alien better than some Māori, and that's another big disadvantage we've got. But there are enough Māori who are walking around who have got no alien at all, like they have ripped that alien out, and they are our answer. A lot of them come out of kura and wānanga, or they have taken on the reo early, or they've just cleansed themselves, and they are everywhere. I meet them all over the place, they're a joy to behold. And that's the answer moving forward.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kapai, I totally agree. Trying to get rid of that little alien myself. There's a question here, "just wondering if you think the change to the teaching of the New Zealand history in schools goes far enough or will it be a sanitised version of history?"

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: I tell you what, it's a start. At my age I look for progress not perfection. And you have to just say let's get going on this. And there is going to be a huge backlash, there will be. Boards of trustees will -- they will take a brilliant idea as sanitised a version as they're going to get, they will desanitise it and resanitise it, because their sovereignty, their power, their -- the idea that a white parliamentarian society is the only one and that they should run it and that power must remain in the hands of Pākehā depends on the lie of our colonisation. It depends on them maintaining amnesia, forgetting all about what they have done to us, the savagery that they enacted on our people, and they don't want to be reminded of it. Well, too bad. Because I see this as a way in, just as I see the goal of having, you know, 300 kura as a way in, the goal of having every teacher -- every child must learn Māori, we're going to get there, it's a way in. And we're going to transform this country.

The great news, oh my God this is one good thing I've found, reading Māori Sovereignty it was. I talked about the British jingoism, the chauvinism of New Zealanders, how Muldoon said around my table, you know, being British means something and how New Zealand was the first one off the ranks to go over the Falklands, can you believe, we went to fight in the Falklands for Britain to own the Falklands rather than Argentina. This is how brainwashed we are that Britain's the be all and end all.

And the colonisation of economy, we're still into blinken farming for heaven's sake, have we got no brains? So all of that British jingoism, I think the British jingoism is far less. Radio New Zealand and some elements of Pākehā world are moving towards creating an identity that isn't in opposition to Māori. That's a very good move.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Yeah, absolutely. I've got probably -- there's a couple more questions here.

"What role do tauiwi have in bring about this transformation?"

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Actually I didn't used to like Pākehās running Treaty training and whatnot, but I'd rather them than us, do you know what I mean? I've done anti-racism training for 10 years, it's exhausting and it's soul-destroying. So I think their role is actually to lead out the partnership debate, that's their role, is actually to normalise Te Tiriti o Waitangi among the Pākehā community in whatever way they can. And I think they need to mount a campaign. Don't just leave it to us. We're a minority in this country and we are brutalised if a Māori stands up, and for those who don't believe me, that's because you

haven't stood up enough. But you do it often enough and strong enough and you will get treated just the same as all the rest of us do, smashed down and slammed down, and your families, they go after your families and it is hard. You lose your jobs, you know, all of that that we've been through.

Now Pākehās have got so much privileges and it's about time they started organising better to use them. And as groups, we've had Auckland Council on Racial Discrimination, they did a brilliant job back then, but there wasn't another generation to come and pick that up. And I think, just like the Springbok tour, we were able to beat that drum and to collect the people together, and that's what Pākehās need to do. They have got to get behind Te Tiriti of Waitangi, behind the need for constitutional change, behind the drive, get money and start taking cases to the court, judicial reviews on how these CEOs are trampling all over the Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations.

And just to say that in the climate arena, where I've been working intensely for the last four years, there is in the climate legislation, it says that they must give regard to Māori, to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. And of course we then get the Climate Commission puts something out, one token Māori sits there and they get something that completely ignores all the submissions that Māori have made. It's though we never said a word, as though we never existed. It's taken us back to 1900 and the Public Health Act where Maori are missing. And when they pass the ETS, again, Māori are missing from it.

And they've got stuff coming down from Stuart Nash at the moment that is going to devastate the Māori economy. It is another land grab, it gives the power of decision-making over our land to Pākehā farmers and Pākehā-dominated councils; in 2022 and under a Labour Government. This is where -- and we Māori are trying to fight this, and we're up against a wall of the Pākehā farmers that have just got mega millions to spend. And then there's us, our little Māori groups just struggling away on behalf of 27,000 Māori land blocks to bring their concerns to government. So Pākehās, please, it's time to stand up, maranga mai.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kapai, I think we've got time for one little last question which is almost a subset of what we've just talked about, that says "I'm a recent citizen tangata Tiriti from Pakistan. What role can people like us play to be useful allies for tino rangatiratanga for tangata whenua?"

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Well, firstly welcome and I'd say jump in boots and all, that's what I say. You just take that space. No-one's going to give it to you and we're all busy carving out our own space. So you simply have to make that space, but we are your allies and, you

know, I remember when the Polynesian Panthers, what they always forget to mention in the celebrations that they've held of their 10th anniversary -- of their 50th anniversary is initially they attached Ngā Tamatoa and they said that we should see ourselves as Polynesians and join the Polynesian struggle, that that was the primary struggle, not to be Māori.

Anyway they've forgotten all of that because they went after the Stokely Carmichael and the Black Power movement. Whereas what we were following was our ancestral path that had been carved out for us, so we were on a different sort of thing.

I did want to just have one thing, because I've got seven children who are in their own ways engaged in deconstructing the bureaucracy and in deconstructing colonisation and in standing out against racist microaggressions, which wears you down after a while.

And the thing I want to say to my children and to all our young people is, go easy on yourself, you know, I got to where I am now because I love life and I enjoy life and I am a hedonist and I love good food, and all my adult life I've loved good wine to the point now where husband and I have a fabulous wine company. So be with people who uplift you. If someone's giving you -- if your husband or partner's giving you a bad time or if your wife's nagging you, get out of there, you're better off alone and go back to your whānau. Go easy on yourself, enjoy your life, you can do both. It doesn't have to be all looking all grim and sad and always being dressed in black and thumping the table. You've just got to get a life, enjoy, enjoy, you know, and make it a purpose, be purposeful about it. Go find a partner who will support you. Go find great food, learn how to cook and cook brilliant meals. You know, anyway, lighten up people.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Kia ora. I want to tell you we had 343 participants today listening to your kōrero, it's been an absolute pleasure to catch up again and keep doing the good thing and we look forward to Māori Sovereignty Revisited, part 2, whatever that is, and how whakapapa, rangatiratanga, whānau and joy come into that. So kia ora, thank you Donna.

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Thank you, thank you all, much love.

>>RINGA HĀPAI: Much love, Te aroha ki a koe, kia ora.

>>MS AWATERE-HUATA: Kia ora.