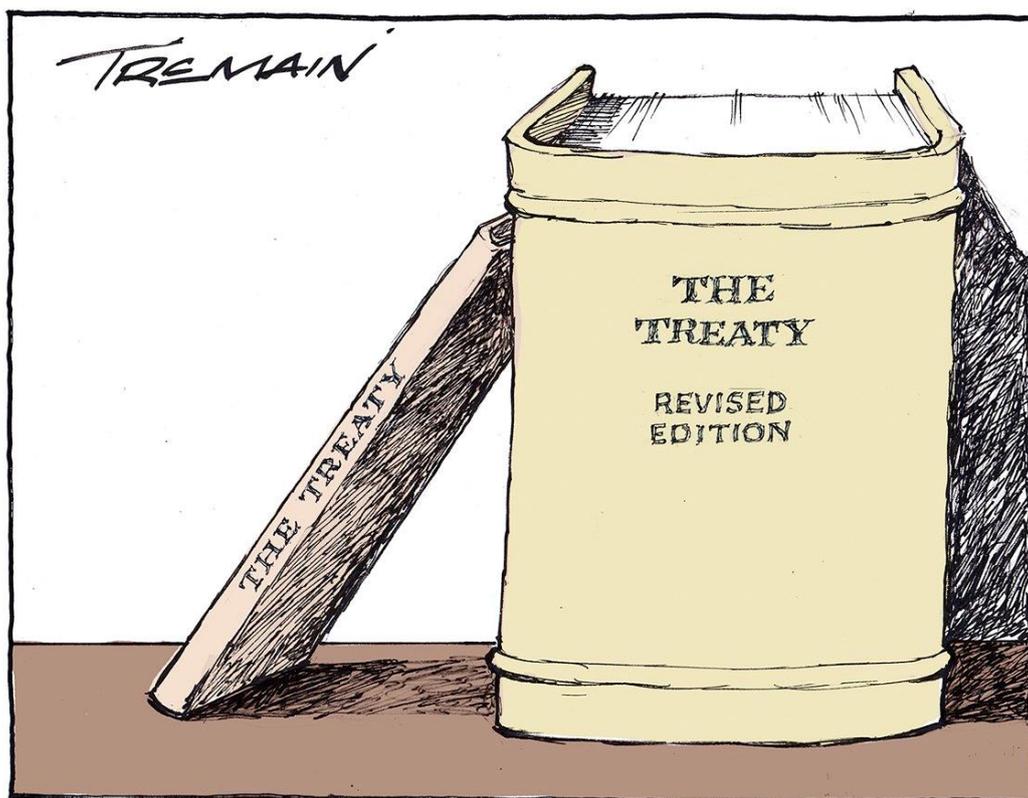


Our choice for the future: Equality or tribal rule



By John Robinson



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ABOUT JOHN ROBINSON

John Robinson is a research scientist with two masters degrees (mathematics, physics) from the University of Auckland and a doctorate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The focus of his work has been the long-term development of human society on a finite planet (futures research) and the late 20th century social situation of Maori in New Zealand.

Familiarity with the lack of honesty in the Treaty process resulted in a deepening concern over the increase of race-based division. A first report on what was happening was in “The corruption of New Zealand democracy, a Treaty industry overview” (2011). This was followed by a series of books on New Zealand history (with Tross Publishing), correcting the false revisionist picture developed by the Waitangi Tribunal and the Treaty industry.

A description of the extent of the apartheid system being developed, as described in “He Puapua: Blueprint for breaking up New Zealand” (2021), led to the recognition that a coup is in progress to destroy our way of life, an insistence on the kotahitanga of 19th century rebellions by a few iwi, with separate government, laws and rights.

New Zealand must turn away from that inherited status, to return to equality and to remove any mention of racial separation in law and social systems. It is time for determined, decisive action. Those ideas are set down in “Regaining a nation: equality and democracy” (2022) and in this document.

We must once again live together as one people: equal in a united and democratic sovereign nation where we all belong, none as second-class citizens. This is our land, for all of us.

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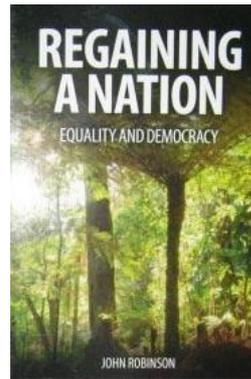
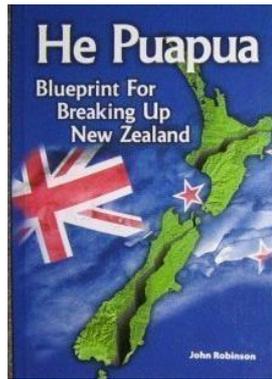
INTRODUCTION

New Zealand is a mess, moving ever deeper into racial division, setting up tribal rule that will result in conflict between rival groups across the country, a move back to the warfare and complete social disruption that only ended with the peace brought by the Treaty of Waitangi.

The current government policy of co-governance would not be possible if we were one people; there would then be simply the one arm of government representing all of us as equal citizens – as was initially intended. Co-governance only occurs when people are split into two – and following that division those two separate groups must sort out a partnership. Inevitably, one group will be dominant, the other subservient.

This co-governance is premised on a division into two races: Maori, who are in legislation any “member of the Maori race”, and all others. The division is absolute. In Nazi Germany any person who was one-quarter or more Jewish was defined to be a Jew. In apartheid South Africa, people were defined as belonging to one of three races: white, black or coloured. It is simpler here; there is no intermediate group, no cut-off point: any person with any bit of inherited ancestry, no matter how small, is deemed a Maori and in any official count is not permitted to refuse that racial categorisation and to decide that they are simply a New Zealander

A lengthy, and growing, list of politicians keep telling us not to worry, that this is no problem, that we just don't understand what co-governance is. But we do. It is explained in a number of documents: the *Matike Mai* report to the *Iwi Chairs' Forum*, the *He Puapua* report to Cabinet, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. We have read them all and watched while Government policy has followed the directives set down there. I have written of that plan in my 2021 Tross Publishing book, “*He Puapua: Blueprint for breaking up New Zealand*”, which, as my worst fears were being realised, was followed in 2022 with “*Regaining a nation: equality and democracy*”. The path to ever-increasing racism and apartheid is evident.



History has been rewritten, the Treaty of Waitangi has been pulled apart and made the opposite of the original (to now mean division and partnership rather than unity), sovereignty of the one government of all the people is gone, fragmented, with the claim that the many Maori *iwi* still **each** retain an independent sovereignty – and much more.

This propaganda war and power grab is an offspring of the 19th century wars of rebellion when some Maori chiefs separated from their fellow tribal members (who, the majority, were pleased with the new-come peace) and took up arms against the government. Today's king movement harks back to the defiance of the defeated Tawhiao with his empty proclamation: "I have the sole right to conduct matters in my land – from the North Cape to the southern end". The call for *kotahitanga*, separate government, which led Matt Rata to insist on the Waitangi Tribunal and to then form his own Mana Motuhake separatist party, has its roots in the claim of the defeated Hone Heke, that "still the management of my island remains with me".

There is no need for any of this. We, as a people living together here and now in New Zealand, should refuse to be ruled from beyond the grave, to be required to follow an ancient, disputed and confused text (as was once the situation in 16th and 17th century Europe when the Pope in Rome could decide the meaning of the Bible and punish heretics). We must declare that we have the freedom to decide for ourselves, for our time. That we are equal and live in a sovereign nation – with one government, one democracy and undivided rights.

This document brings together a set of six articles which commence (Chapter 1) with the call for the self-assurance to recognise and speak that truth. Further articles deal with (Chapter 2) the ongoing plan to introduce a racially divided constitution, (Chapter 3) a refutation of the claim that Maori are fundamentally different, a race apart as 'indigenous' people (as proclaimed in the United Nations Declaration), (Chapter 4) that a number of Maori chiefs broke the Treaty, but not the Government (which understanding tells us that we can escape from never-ending Treaty settlements and the increasingly radical, and absurd, pronouncements of the ageing 48-year-old Waitangi Tribunal), and (Chapter 5) how the country is well down the road to New Zealand apartheid.

That understanding leads to the final article (Chapter 6) which explores what it would be like to be living under tribal rule (including the many disputes, and even civil war, which can be foreseen), as an alien world is being built around us. It is a frightening picture, and much of the apparatus of apartheid is already in place. The future is bleak without a decisive counter-revolution.

Never forget that this is our country, our future to decide. Politicians, and the political system do not serve us well. It will take a considerable effort to turn back from racism as the normal and accepted state of affairs. Getting rid of co-governance and much of the recent legislation (like Three Waters and the foolish school curriculum) would be a good first step, but only a first step on the long road back to equality.

CHAPTER 1: WHERE ARE WE GOING?

This is our country, our future to decide

We, the living, are not ruled from beyond the grave by those who lived before us in different times. It is for us to decide our way of life, our culture, our government, our laws.

Let go the shackles of the past

The Treaty of Waitangi was set down, agreed upon and signed in 1840, now (in 2023) 183 years in the past. In the past half-century, the text has been argued over, translated to and fro between English and Maori multiple times with massive changes in the meaning of many Maori words (such as *taonga* going from property taken at the point of a spear [Hongi Hika: *tao*, a spear] to “treasures” [Kawharu]), and given newly introduced add-ons (such as “partnership” and “principles”) so there are many and contradictory versions of what was meant and what should guide us today.

It is all a muddle, a document that is called upon to justify policies and actions that are the very opposite of the initial intentions. Yet, despite now appearing in so many guises, this treaty is held to be a sacred document, fixed forever, to be followed slavishly in this very different age. The meaning set down by twenty-first century Maori is then required to be the blueprint for the future of the nation. Others are required to follow the instructions given: one requirement for essential government funding to the media is a “**Commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and to Maori as a Te Tiriti partner**”, with a further “**commitment to te reo Maori**”. What this means is determined by the government controllers with their false claims of two distinctly different official versions, who thus block any serious discussion of the Treaty in the captive, funded media.

Once, Europe was governed and directed in a similar manner. The Bible, another sacred document, was the rule-book, not to be questioned, with the interpretation handed down by the Pope in Rome and savagely enforced. Thus, when scholars came to recognise that

the earth goes round the sun, Bruno was burnt at the stake in 1600 for saying so, and Galileo was questioned by the Inquisition and sentenced to house arrest until his death.

It was very different in England, where papal authority had been formally abolished in 1534. The consequence of freedom from Papal suppression was shown by the work of Frances Bacon in the early seventeenth century; his stress on new, unconfined thinking and inductive methods gave a considerable impetus to subsequent scientific investigation such as the work of Isaac Newton later that century (while Galileo was silenced). **There can be no more dramatic example of the practical difference between freedom of thought and control by a powerful central agency.**

The resultant increase in understanding of the world, the new capabilities and technologies, have completely transformed our lives – including advances in life expectancy, travel capabilities, household comfort and business enterprises, the new technologies. The many benefits are now basic features of our civilisation. None were ‘indigenous’.

So too with social policy and government. To get ahead and deal with problems of today we must escape the control of ancient dogma and no longer be held captive by distorted messages from a very different past, but free to think for ourselves. That is the major challenge to New Zealand in 2023. It is time for the country to come of age and seize its own destiny, to open the debate and make the choice of who we are, who we want to be.

The Treaty of Waitangi has been shredded and lost its meaning, to now present a variety of divergent ideas; it must no longer be treated as a sacred document, and it must be set aside, no longer a controversial and contradictory blueprint for the future. Free of that roadblock, we can gather, debate and decide as equals – to determine our own future together.

What sort of a country do we want?

The many critics of this drift into racism come from all parts of the political spectrum. Apart from a call for equality, there are great differences in ideas of what is needed and of which

policies to follow. Those who call for equality then differ; this is healthy and only to be expected in a free democracy. We here set aside our many differences and focus on the basic idea of what it is to be a New Zealander – one people, where everyone gets a fair go. What matters in this critical time is to assert the ground rules within which we debate and decide, so that we can then compromise our differences and live together in peace and prosperity. **On one thing we agree; there can be no compromise on the goal of equal citizenship.**

This is not a proposal for a complete answer to the question of what sort of country we desire, it is a demand to set the basic ground-rules for a rigorous debate. This is a first step, far from a written constitution. **The first need is to assert just one clear over-riding defining principle, equality. The current destruction of equality in law and government has made that a challenge of central, overwhelming, and immediate importance.**

We are one people

The concept of equality has long been accepted as key to human society.

The recognition that we are all kin, members of the human family was voiced by Antiphon, an Athenian orator and thinker, around 2,700 years ago, when Polynesians were moving across the Pacific, to lose contact with the majority of humanity, out of touch with the birth of civilisation – so that these ideas are lacking from Maori *tikanga*. **“For by nature we all equally, both barbarians and Greeks, have an entirely similar origin:** for it is fitting to fulfil the natural satisfactions which are necessary to all men: all have the ability to fulfil these in the same way, and in all this none of us is different either as barbarians or as Greek, for we all breathe into the air with mouth and nostrils.”

Calls for equality have been central to the development of modern society.

“Liberté, égalité, fraternité”, French for **liberty, equality, fraternity**, is the national motto of France, acceptable to many governments since, of both the right and the left; the glue holding the republic together.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness” is the first principle of the American 1776 Declaration of Independence.

Such calls have come from many peoples, including left socialists and right conservatives. This is the common ground, the universal accord, as made clear in Article 1 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that **“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”**

Equality has been widely recognised as the key to the fight against racism. Article 1 of the American Declaration of Independence (noted above) was quoted by Martin Luther King in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, calling for an end to racism. In 1964, Nelson Mandela, speaking at his trial, when accused of sabotage against the apartheid regime, called for equality, not special rights for the subjugated black majority. **“Above all we want equal political rights.** I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites of the country because the majority of the voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy. But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of **the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all.”**

A forceful and comprehensive condemnation of inequality based on race is found in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in a statement by the General Assembly: **“Affirming further that all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust”.**

This admirable statement contradicts the body of that document, which proposes comprehensive separation and special powers and rights to indigenous people who are defined by the very attributes that are here condemned – superior position and special treatment based on ethnic and cultural differences. This contradiction at the heart of the declaration is further emphasised by the very last paragraph, which makes it clear that any claim to indigenous status is secondary to the fundamental principles of equality and

democracy: **“The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, non-discrimination, good governance and good faith.”**

Yet that document is used to support the separation, discrimination and inequality of the current New Zealand policy of co-governance.

The basic belief that we are one people was once common ground here in New Zealand, but the idea of equality has been steadily nibbled away during the 48 years of the Waitangi Tribunal and now has been dumped by both major parties, which have signed up to a policy of racial discrimination – National with the repeal of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 and its replacement by the Marine and Coastal Area Act 2011 to please their Maori Party allies, and by signing on to the divisive United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Labour with a full commitment to racial separation.

Democracy

A democracy is a system of government where all adult citizens choose and elect those who will write laws and run the many collective national enterprises – such as police, education, health services, water and electricity provision, seas and national parks. This system is based on equality of all citizens, with decisions made by a simple majority, and with each vote being of the same value. There can be no inherited aristocracy or any other such privileged class.

New Zealand has a broken, unequal ‘democracy’. There are separate seats in Parliament and in local bodies for Maori. Maori representation, as well as being divisive, has a greater power than would be required if there was a system of “one person, one vote” in which each would have the same value. This has been achieved by a play on numbers. In the 2018 census, 625,600 responded that they were Maori by ticking the Maori descent box (13% of the population). This number was then increased, to provide a “Maori descent electoral population” of 896,600 (18% of the population). Consequently, there are 7 seats for those who have chosen to be on the Maori electoral roll, instead of 5 seats, and Maori Members

of Parliament are elected by fewer voters than those in general seats. The disparity is also found in local government. That could not happen if we were all equal, and all voting on the one roll.

Inequality has been established across much of New Zealand society. Such divided standards of citizenship and separate powers of control are found in many further aspects of community life – such as regarding foreshore and seas, rivers and lakes, conservations lands, science, universities, the education curriculum and within government departments.

Calls have been made to entrench the disparity and to introduce Maori pre-contact cultural norms, *tikanga*, which demand a further destruction of democracy and a return to tribalism with its class differences and power to the tribal elite – *rangatiratanga* ruled by *rangatira*. Elizabeth Rata has pointed out that this is an attack on the very basis of democracy.

“Tribalism and democracy are incompatible – they cannot exist together as political systems in one nation. The condition for democracy is everywhere the end of tribalism with its birth-ascribed inequality and exclusive kin membership.”

We must ask ourselves, is such race-based division acceptable or is it racism, to be abhorred and done away with? A simple definition recognises three key features of racism.

First is a belief in the existence of separate races. This has been written into New Zealand law since 1975 with the explicit racial definition of Maori: **“A Maori is a member of the Maori race”**.

Second is the division of people by race in law: here, into Maori and the rest of us (referred to by a variety of labels, often as “pakeha”, a Maori term for the white inhabitants of New Zealand, which ignores so many New Zealanders).

Third is the provision of different treatment, with unequal rights and powers, to the two identified racial groups.

The policy and actions of the New Zealand government are, according to this straightforward understanding, racist.

That has been the situation up to 2021. Now, through 2022 and into the future, the government system of New Zealand is under far greater threat, with plans for two separate governments, formed by two totally different government systems – one democratic and the other tribal – to co-govern the country. Note that Maori would retain an unequal position in the common government as well as having their separate government, so that this minority would hold significantly more than half the power – the effective oligarchy of the tribal elite (*whakapapa*, loyalty above all to the extended family, which is widely recognised as part of contemporary *tikanga*, provides legitimacy for nepotism in government).

The requirement for separate systems of government (as proposed in the *He Puapua* report to government) has been made clear in the “Three Waters” proposal, which would take the control of drinking water, sewage and waste water from local bodies and hand this to four imaginative regional structures, ‘entities’, to be governed through an absurd, complicated structure. At the base are four regional authorities, where, to quote the proposed Bill, **“Iwi/Maori will have a joint role with councils in the oversight and strategic direction of the proposed new water services entities, with *mana whenua* having equal representation alongside local authorities on a Regional Representative Group for each entity.”**

This suggestion that these fundamental facilities, built up over many decades, should be taken from local communities and handed over to these strange organisations by central government fiat is deplorable. It is made far worse when the control is to be taken from all and placed in Maori hands: not only that oversight but also a water services regulator, *Taumata Arowai*, **which will operate from a *te ao Maori* perspective.**

There is no definition of how this is to be organised, how it will work, of just who hold the special rights. The legislation makes use of three separate words, with their three very different meanings, to identify the new authority. Is this grouping, which stands apart from the democratically elected councils, to be all Maori? Or, will it be all *iwi*? Or will it be the selected *iwi* of *mana whenua*, the dominant *iwi* in each local region? How will the members of the decision-making group be chosen? Will this be done within a democratic framework or following the dictates of *tikanga*? **Those essential questions are simply ignored.**

The proposed (and unclear) breakup of common control of the 'three waters' is different from past divisions of the nation's wealth. Thus, when the deep-sea fisheries were divided, members of the controlling Fisheries Commission were appointed by the Minister of Maori Affairs. Maori were not in direct control, they were recipients of profits, which were divided by the Commission among selected *iwi*. Now Maori, or *iwi*, or *mana whenua* are in control.

In order for this requirement to be met, Maori must form an organisation, separate from local councils and central government, so that they (who?) can direct and choose those people who will sit beside representatives from the many local councils (who must accept this structure, and are forced to sit with unelected members in the Regional Representative Group, to take control of their councils' essential assets). This asks for a major step in the formation of a separate Maori government. Are back-room deals in place, or will there be a power struggle among the many Maori groups and organisations involved? The government of all New Zealand is moving towards the of a new system of governance, away from the public gaze and general awareness. This is a major coup for separatist Maori.

The government is currently passing a bill demanding plain speech, requiring that words in English must have a clear meaning, understood by all – as defined by the government authority. It is made clear there that “only documents in English must use plain language”, while “**nothing prevents or restricts a reporting agency from including *te reo Maori* in any relevant document**” – there is no requirement for plain, clear and understandable language when Maori is used. We are not told what is intended, who and how it will be done. **But this is the heart of the matter.**

What is clear is that whichever Maori are dominant will be required to set up a government structure to take the control handed over by this and other co-government legislation. Some form of Maori government must be formed to satisfy the requirements of the Three Waters proposal, and of co-governance.

Co-governance requires two separate governments based on race; this is apartheid formalised and set into the New Zealand government structure. It is the full implementation of the *He Puapua* recommendations.

A minority in a disorganised tribal system – the tribal elite – will rule the country. How much further from democracy can we get?

Freedom of speech

In order to correct the move to apartheid, there must be an opportunity to describe and criticise what is being done. Those currently in power have placed many restrictions on freedom to think, to speak out and to debate in today's New Zealand. Our thinking is controlled.

- Media are subsidised, with the demand that they stick to government guidelines. Two criteria are for a “Commitment to *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and to Maori as a *Te Tiriti* partner”, and a “commitment to *te reo Maori*.” Government sources, such as that most readily accessed on Google, wrongly report two different versions of the Treaty of Waitangi. Who decides just what version must be followed? The practical consequence is a ban on any knowledgeable discussion of the Treaty.
- Science must be guided by the non-science of a primitive society. The government science policy framework demands that scientists be guided by “*Vision Mataranga*” and the Royal Society of New Zealand “strongly upholds the value of *mataranga*”.
- Government proposals for changes to the school curriculum include the requirement “to ensure parity for *mataranga Maori* with other bodies of knowledge”.
- Such requirements have been accepted and taken up by many organisations. Otago University has a policy for research consultation with Maori: any researcher (in any topic, in a wide range of subjects unknown to *tikanga*) is required to ‘consult’ so as to assure that their work satisfies “the needs and aspirations of Ngai Tahu for Maori development and benefit in Ngai Tahu Vision 2025”. Waikato University places considerable emphasis on *tikanga*: “The world is looking to Indigenous knowledge to solve modern-day issues.” “The University of Canterbury has announced five new professor positions and the introduction of a new treaty partnership office, building on

its commitment to strengthen Maori leadership and relationships. Ka Waimaero (the Ngai Tahu Research Centre) will be the foundation for the new office of treaty partnership, believed to be the first of its kind among *Aotearoa* universities to embed *mana whenua* – Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu – into the structure of Te Whare Wananga o Waitaha University of Canterbury.”

- Government departments, and local government, must pay particular attention to poorly specified Maori demands, with many practical consequences such as the partnership of the Department of Conservation with various groups, so that in many cases *iwi* now control and effectively own public lands.
- The Three Waters proposal not only demands the separate and unequal Maori control of facilities, with no clarity of what is meant (as discussed previously) but sets up a control agent that will operate from a *te ao Maori* perspective.
- A previous effort to control “hate speech” has evolved into a current demand to express policies in “plain speech”. As noted previously, words in English must have a clear meaning, understood by all – as defined by the government authority”, but *te reo* Maori is exempt from any such requirement. This allows open slather, as with the confusion noted in the Three Waters proposal, where half of the group controlling these facilities are to be “Maori”, or *iwi*, or *mana whenua*. These are vague terms and the meaning is nowhere clear. Is New Zealand to be directed by the pre-contact culture of a primitive tribal society (*matauranga Maori* is traditional Maori knowledge, *hauora* is a Maori view of health, *te ao Maori* is the Maori worldview)? New Zealand society is now very different; are these words to be understood in the light of changed circumstances, and who then has the controlling power to tell us what it all means? The lack of clarity allows a small group of Maori to define the meaning of our law, much to their advantage.

Such unclear criteria are used to limit the debate to what is allowed by *iwi* authorities and by parliamentary “Big Brother” control agents. Debate on the current official racism has been restricted, as for many years opponents to separation by race (those fighting racism)

have been labelled racist in a successful propaganda campaign. Many New Zealanders have come to believe that it is racist to question Maori exceptionalism.

Always, the critical issue is the control agent, who decides, who is Big Brother here, defining, judging, punishing proper behaviour and accepted thought. This is a great leap backwards into a distant and unhappy past, akin to the authority of the Pope in seventeenth-century Europe which was used to interpret the ancient Bible and to silence those who dare to disagree.

It is essential that we continue the effort to rip off the gag, to attack this monster for what it is, and to get back the freedom to speak out clearly – to challenge dogma and lies and to assert the truth.

CHAPTER 2: A CONSTITUTION FOR APARTHEID

Separate Maori rights in a constitution

There is a move afoot to rewrite the basic constitution of New Zealand, to set in place racism and apartheid.

One action in this direction has been a meeting organised at The University of Auckland's Business School in November, 2022, to develop a new constitution. This was announced as a 'Constitutional Conference *Korero*', a national *hui* "to provide the technical and legal support for constitutional transformation in *Aotearoa* New Zealand - a 'national *wananga*' to bring together experts from around the world and within *Aotearoa* to present arguments and options for constitutional transformation, to realise Maori rights.

This, along with many other parallel actions, is a minority effort, excluding the majority of New Zealanders. It will cause considerable harm and deepen existing divisions between the two racial groups enshrined in existing law, further overturning the belief in equality and denying any refusal of race-based separation. The country will be torn apart, as the process of writing a constitution is among the most wrenching any nation can go through, even a nation at peace. It brings every tension, rivalry, prejudice and latent grievance to the surface.

New Zealand is already divided, and is moving more deeply into a system of apartheid. This division by race, into Maori and the other, with separate rights and powers, is already firmly established.

The three sources for apartheid

This new constitution is a further step is the formalisation of the triple parliamentary system (the common parliament, the Maori parliament and a deciding joint body) proposed in *He*

Puapua. The November, 2022, Constitutional Conference *Korero*, was intended to “design a constitutional transformation to realise Maori rights in *te Tiriti o Waitangi*, *He Whakaputanga* and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”.

Since those three documents are to form the basis of a “constitutional transformation” which would define the future government system for all New Zealanders, they deserve attention. We must, all, understand the very foundation of the proposed divided government proposed for our country.

The Treaty of Waitangi in Maori, *te Tiriti o Waitangi*, is the translation into Maori (*te reo*) of the final draft which was written in English. It has been reinterpreted to carry meanings that are the very opposite of the original; indeed, there are many versions, with the meaning at any one time being chosen to give rights and rewards to Maori litigants.

- The final draft of the treaty, prepared in the days preceding the acceptance and signing at Waitangi on 6 February, 1840, is clear. By Article 1, sovereignty was handed over to the British Crown. By Article 2, Maori retained all their possessions until they had been legitimately sold. By Article 3, all New Zealanders gained the rights and privileges of British citizenship. This was a clear statement of equality.
- A second draft was prepared by Hobson’s secretary, James Freeman, while Hobson was ill in the days following that signing, and is now referred to by the Government as the “English Treaty”, in a claim that there are two very different treaties. As was recognised by Maori scholar and parliamentarian Apirana Ngata in 1922, this is quite different from the final draft in English. Most importantly, one word, “fisheries”, introduced by Freeman and not in the original, has been used to justify the handing over to Maori of considerable rights to territorial waters.
- There have been various modern translations of the Maori text back into English where the meanings of words differ considerably from the understanding of 1840 and the translations around that time. One, by Maori chief Hugh Kawharu, replaces the initial meaning of *taonga* – as defined by Hongi Hika in 1820, property taken at the point of a spear (*tao*, a spear) – with a vague and all-inclusive “treasures”, which allows Maori to lay claim to anything and everything.

- Concepts of “partnership” and “Treaty principles” have been invented and entered into law. Neither is found in the initial Treaty.
- The Waitangi Tribunal and the courts have further ruled that the words of the Treaty are to be ignored: “the essence of the Treaty transcends the sum total of its written words and puts narrow or literal interpretation out of place. ... It is the principles of the Treaty that are to be applied, not the literal words. ... the principles that underlie the Treaty have become much more important than its precise term.”
- Now a modern, rewritten, version of Maori culture, of *matauranga* Maori and *tikanga*, has also been written into law. This *tikanga* is nothing like the pre-Treaty way of life, with, thankfully, no brutal tribal warfare, cannibalism, slavery or absolute rule of chiefs. Current *tikanga* has a mix of basic Christianity and elements of Maori thinking, chosen to produce a pleasing view of early Maori life and to assist the dominance of tribal elite. It is a newly-minted construct.

All is confusion, which is acceptable to this government – it has been noted above that Maori is exempt from a recent government call for plain language. Indeed, a recent legal decision gives a Maori litigant the right to define key words in whatever way suits their cause. The original Treaty has been shredded, and the variety of modern versions destroy the intended unity and equality, to now become a call for two governments based on race – apartheid.

The second document claimed as a basis of a new constitution, *He Whakaputanga*, was drafted in English in 1835 by the British Resident, James Busby, who gave it the heading, “Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand”. It announced the intention by one group of chiefs, guided and assisted by the British resident, of calling up a Congress of tribes from across the country and setting up a national government of “The United Tribes of New Zealand”. **Neither the northern chiefs who met to sign the letter nor Busby organised such a congress; it did not happen. The proposed united tribes government never existed.**

This letter simply noted the British view at the time, in a letter drafted by the British agent; this was a British initiative clarifying their accepted situation, that sovereignty was held by

the then inhabitants. The action was taken by Busby, not initiated by Maori, and that sovereignty was soon handed over to Britain through the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The third document is the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Clark Labour government voted against and refused to sign this declaration, but the National Key government bowed down to their Maori Party allies and secretly signed it – without any debate in Parliament. This document has been used as a basis of both the proposition for separate governments in the *He Puapua* report, and the current Labour Ardern government policy of co-governance.

The text identifies “indigenous” people as a special group who must be given considerable separate rights, indeed complete control of a country on the basis of previous settlement by their ancestors. Here are a couple of the claims.

“Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.”

Any common ownership and use of beaches and seas is refuted in the Declaration.

“Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.”

“Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions. ... Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. ... Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.”

These are sweeping claims for descendants of selected past immigrants to have complete control over the entire nation and run the country in the old ways. Others then lose those rights and become second-rate citizens.

This document is illogical and contradictory. The introduction to the Declaration sets down a powerful rebuttal of inherent differences between peoples, and of the sweeping claims for descendants of past settlers to have complete control over the entire nation. It demands that the racist divisions proposed in the body of the declaration be set aside. Here it is, with its emphasis on the first principle of the United Nations, that all people are born equal.

“Affirming further that all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust”.

That statement is a powerful rebuttal of the concept of division by race which is the basis of the proposal for co-governance and a constitutional transformation to realise separate and unequal Maori rights.

This proposition of a newly-minted constitution, with special Maori rights, is a mass of contradiction and confusion. The claim that the transformed constitution will benefit all New Zealanders, made in the introduction to the conference, is a downright lie. It is not to our benefit, the majority of non-Maori, to lose our democracy and equality to an extremist group in a nation divided by race.

Key led the way for Ardern

The blame for this destructive mess cannot be placed on any one government, or any one political party. It is not a new plot by the current Ardern government. The ground was laid down by the previous Key government, which replaced the modest Clark government Foreshore and Seabed Bill 2004 and gave extensive separate rights and power to Maori with the Marine and Coastal Area Act 2011, demanded by their ally, the Maori Party. Which gave

power to a biased Minister, Christopher Finlayson, who had spent years fighting for Ngai Tahu against the government, pursuing its treaty claims through a series of high-profile court battles, to rush through a series of absurd and costly Treaty of Waitangi settlements. That government also signed the United Nations Declaration, which demanded immense special rights based on ancestry to undefined “indigenous” people. The Ardern government has followed that lead and broken with former Labour Party policy, to enthusiastically take up the separatist cause. Both these governments secretly broke with past party beliefs and introduced significant policy changes that were never placed before the electorate.

New Zealand has lost its very soul, with political parties that seize hold of power by any means, ready to abandon long-held beliefs and previous policy to gain control of parliament. It will be a long fight before equality again becomes a New Zealand aspiration.

CHAPTER 3: ARE WE TWO PEOPLES, SEPARATE? ARE 'INDIGENOUS' MAORI A RACE APART?

The 2022 government policy of co-governance calls for the racial separation of New Zealanders in an apartheid state with separate, race-based parliaments – when we will all come under Maori tribal rule. Equality and democracy will be gone. This must not be allowed; this is our country, it is our future to decide. However, there are plans for separate parliaments and a constitution enshrining apartheid under the control of 'indigenous' Maori. This must be stopped, and reversed.

Why should Maori be considered a people apart, and given such power.

What defines a Maori, what makes Irish Steven O'Regan metamorphize into Maori Tipene O'Regan and to then argue for separation between those of Irish ancestry and those with some element of Maori ancestry, so that the latter group can effectively govern as the 'indigenous' people? Here, European ancestry means that a person is classified a coloniser, the inheritor of claimed wrong-doing; Maori ancestry means that a person is a victim of colonisation, due to receive reparations and special rights. Just one drop of Maori blood is taken to identify a person as one of these chosen people

This group, claiming to be separate and special, are advancing the establishment of a system by which they will rule over us. What sets such people apart? What extraordinary capabilities could justify their claimed predominant position?

My search for an answer, considering whether there is some essential feature separating Maori from all others, a race apart, to sit in a unique position and to wield power, comes up with a clear response.

Nothing. We are all people, human beings. There is no race with special characteristics, demanding special treatments and rights. Such claims are all a scam.

Once our common humanity is recognised, we can approach the history of New Zealand with an open mind, and learn of the lives and experiences of those who have lived here before us, appreciating the considerable efforts of so many to make adjustments and to come together, for so long forging a nation of equals until the recent claims of separate identity have split us apart and are leading to the destruction of our democracy, to become two peoples with very different rights. The refusal of any such fundamental differentiation is basic to an assertion of equality and the choice of a common future.

The question asked.

During the years 1985-2000, I researched the Maori social situation, with a combination of methodologies including social indicators and holistic futures research. Towards the end of that period it was suggested that I expand my knowledge base to include an understanding of Maori culture. Thus, as part of my work for Te Puni Kokiri, I met with Maori academic Ranganui Walker, Professor and Head of Maori Studies at the University of Auckland (of Maori and Lebanese descent, member of Maori activist group Nga Tamatoa and of the Waitangi Tribunal).

He described how Maori society was tribal, with a completely different philosophy, culture and view of the world than that of Europe, **so that the gulf between them (including him) and us (including me) was too great to bridge.** I would not be able to understand the Maori worldview and how they thought and behaved. This was foreign territory, even in our times.

This was a common misunderstanding, which was believed by many of my colleagues. It remains today. The idea is that scattered amongst us are the very different 'indigenous' people, with – it is claimed – their very different beliefs, experiences and rights, whose

tikanga has been written into law by activist judges, along with the judgement that only an *iwi* concerned can define what is meant.

That guiding culture is an uncertain mix of ancient ways, Christian beliefs and politically-defined prescriptions. It is said that “*tikanga* are the customs and traditions that have been handed down through the passages of time from our *tupuna*”, but the considerable changes are not recognised, and the final system is uncertain. The old tribal warfare, cannibalism, slavery and female infanticide have gone, but other aspects of pre-contact life remain, in an unclear and altered form. The requirement to seek revenge, *utu*, which drove the murderous musket wars before 1840, now supposedly has a benign meaning, reciprocity, “the requirement for balancing culturally-defined obligations”. The major concept of *whakapapa* demands ultimate loyalty to family and tribe, regarding other people as separate, ‘the other’, and justifying nepotism within government. There is no recognition of common humanity and equality. Democracy plays no part, with *rangatiratanga* (dominance of the chiefly class) to replace the British system of law and government that has served us so well until now.

I experienced at that time another example of the consequences of a failure to gain a common understanding across cultural differences when I interviewed the president of an Auckland Maori gang chapter of Black Power. He described how many of them wanted a better life for their children and had attempted to build a set of legitimate businesses. Since much of the money of members was spent on alcohol, they organised their own bar and nightclub, which flourished, showing that they were capable at running a business (since they guaranteed to pay the fare of members, taxi drivers were happy to come late at night to pick up passengers). But other efforts floundered; banks were loth to lend to any gang, and the only available interest rates of around 30% blocked the idea of building houses, which would employ and train members and provide needed accommodation. The struggling young people who gather in gangs were, and are, left with little alternative other than benefits and crime. Here was a problem with an available solution which was left to fester, and which has become much worse today.

The impenetrable differences suggested by Ranginui Walker are even more loudly proclaimed today. **The claim is that Maori are indigenous, have their separate ways, which cannot be appreciated or understood by others – it is said, although we all live together in the same suburbs, with such very similar life styles. They must have their separate government, law and rights.**

Here is the message, the hypothesis which I decided to test by a very basic scientific method – run a test. I decided to study New Zealand history and find whether I could follow the thoughts and reasoning of Maori in previous times. Over more than a decade I based my research on early accounts, from eye-witnesses or written at the time. The resulting books have been published by Tross Publishing, and can be ordered through their website.

I found that I could understand the actors in these human dramas, and the hypothesis was disproved. What I discovered was an old truth – we are all human beings, all one people. We can understand one another, even across the variety of cultures and the differences in individual characters. And what a fascinating cast there was in the story of New Zealand!

Maori, the people

My start is around 1820 with Ngapuhi chief **Hongi Hika**. He was not only a renowned warrior and military leader; he was intelligent, a wily politician who was able to pose as a ‘noble savage’ for the British, who gave him many gifts which he later exchanged for muskets to set off a more deadly round of killing, the ‘musket wars’. In England he both saw the peaceful home life of a developed civilisation and took the opportunity to learn of European military tactics and defences.

Back in New Zealand, Hongi at times stopped on the way to the intense fighting to debate with missionaries; many Ngapuhi warriors had been saddened by the disruption and considerable loss of life, and were beginning to seek a better way of life. Hongi commented on the very different daily life in England: “The gentlemanship of the English is not altogether derived from their forefathers, but from their great learning.” Pakira agreed: “If

we had the same desire to learn the European arts that we have to learn our own nonsense, we should have understood many things before now.”

They recognised the need to change their culture, and move away from the precepts of *tikanga*, if warfare was to stop. Thus Pakira: “Our war and fighting were sown into our hearts by our parents as your learning was sown into your hearts by your parents.” And Hongi: “They must have their bad hearts thrown away before they can see the good of these things. ... My heart is as hard as a piece of wood. I cannot stop. I must go. I must kill that one man, Toko, the principal chief of Kaipara. But I believe that you have spoken to us out of love.” Many chiefs, and commoners as well, were seeking a way out, towards a better life.

Two of the important chiefs fighting with Hongi were the brothers **Patuone** and **Tamati Waka Nene**. Each had an individual character, like all of us complex and showing apparently contradictory traits, as well as evolving over the years of maturity in changing circumstances. Their father saw a difference in their dispositions. To Nene, the younger brother, he said: “Thou wilt be an evil man, an upholder of war;” and to Patuone, the elder brother, he said: “Thou wilt be a good man – a peace-maker.” This was later true of Patuone whose presence among belligerent tribes was almost always looked upon as the harbinger of peace, but not of Nene who changed, showed great wisdom (as exemplified by his key intervention at Waitangi in 1840) and became an upholder of the peace, a friend and partner of the British, who played a major role in the defeat of Hone Heke’s rebellion, and who joined other chiefs at Kohimarama in 1860 to recognise the success of colonisation.

The two brothers were part of a group of northern chiefs who in the 1830s came to organise the felling and trading of timber, making visits to Australia as part of their business venture, and who signed the letters of 1831 and 1835 asking for British help, which foreshadowed the Treaty of Waitangi. They were not hidebound by tradition but adapted and made great use of the opening opportunities.

That was a time of remarkable cultural transformation for Maori, an extraordinary and rapid change of culture, of a way of life, of expectations and behaviour among people. The benefits of British colonisation included an end to tribal war and cannibalism, freeing of

slaves and a steady reduction in female infanticide leading to a population recovery and then population growth. Many Maori attended missionary schools and services as Christianity replaced traditional beliefs. As Apirana Ngata was to say in 1940: "Clause one of the Treaty handed over the mana and the sovereignty of New Zealand to Queen Victoria and her descendants for ever. That is the outstanding fact today, **that but for the seal of the sovereignty handed over to her majesty and her descendants I doubt that there would be a free Maori race in New Zealand today.**"

Much of the peace-making was aided by the efforts of missionaries, as in the Auckland area, which had become depopulated, an empty wasteland, due to the ravages and threats of the many war-parties that had passed through. In 1835, Henry Williams and Rev. Robert Maunsell went by ship with a group of Ngai Tahu led by **Rewa** (cousin of Nene and Patuone), who had been a fearsome warrior but was now a Christian and a peacemaker, to make peace with Ngati Paoa at Thames. The basis of reconciliation was an agreement over the disputed borderland south of Otahuhu. This was to be transferred to the Anglican missionaries, who would then hold it in trust as a buffer zone between the two tribes (the Fairburn purchase). Those efforts were assisted by **Te Wherowhero**, the paramount Waikato chief, who had moved his base to an area south of the Manukau Harbour.

The missionary plan was a way of helping the negotiating chiefs to move away from the dictates of *tikanga*. As Russell Stone has noted: "By making this particular block of land the pretext for reconciliation, the two powerful but war-weary chiefs could make concessions on territory of less than vital interest to themselves, and thereby give way without loss of *mana*."

Anglican missionaries had found that the annual examination *hui* for students offered an occasion for meeting and the burying of differences between members of estranged tribes who attended, and decided to repeat the procedure in Tamaki, on the neutral land of the Fairburn purchase. This succeeded in 1837 and "in a new spirit of amity the tribes went their separate ways". The final peace came with the Treaty of Waitangi, when the capital was moved to Auckland in 1841.

There were disagreements during that time of transition, as different groups of Maori changed beliefs while others stood by the old ways. In the last major conflict, in 1839 at Kapiti, the attempt of a Maori preacher from Te Atiawa to reach a settlement was spurned by Raukawa; fighting continued and more than a hundred lost their lives. In the Waikato, where there were many slaves captured during the wars in Taranaki, in 1841 the Christians prevailed and the slaves were escorted back to their previous homes.

With **Te Rauparaha** the tensions of being caught between two cultures is evident. As a tribal chieftain, he had led Ngati Toa away from the ravages of attacking Waikato to Kapiti where they fought, killed and conquered those *iwi* living there, before continuing to live as a savage, brutal warrior in his many attacks on South Island. He was far from the changing ideas of the north, but by 1839 he was back in Kapiti, where, increasingly influenced by his son, peacemaker and Christian **Tamihana Te Rauparaha**, he sent a letter to the Bay of Islands asking that a missionary come to teach them of the new religion.

The pull of the old ways continued and, with fellow warrior chief **Te Rangihaeata**, he was complicit in the killing of prisoners at Wairau in 1843. In the years following, Te Rauparaha appears to have been indecisive and evidently divided within himself – acting on both sides, as there are reports of both calls for open warfare and efforts towards peace. After his capture at the orders of Governor Grey in 1846, when fighting had broken out in the Hutt Valley and was threatening Porirua and Wellington, he was satisfied to live under house arrest, under the supervision of Tamati Waka Nene and Te Wherowhero, before he returned to live peacefully in his old age with his son and friends at Otaki.

While some of the new generation, like Tamihana Te Rauparaha, chose the road of peace, others enjoyed the thrill and prestige of battle. One such was **Hone Heke Pokai** who, when a young man, lived at the Paihia mission school (in 1824 and 1825), where Rev. Henry Williams was something of a father figure. There, the missionaries found him mischievous, and even troublesome and surly. As a young man he turned to fighting, and distinguished himself in battles at Kororareka in 1830 and in Titore's 1833 expedition to Tauranga. He showed himself to be bold but reckless.

Heke appeared then to settle; he became a Christian. He attended daily at the mission school, and in due course was chosen as a lay-reader in the Church. But in 1835 his wife and two children died. This was a critical turning point in his life; after a short period spent lying submerged in his grief, Heke surfaced without any force to suppress his vigorous fury at an as yet unspecified enemy. According to historian Paul Moon, a chaotic concoction of emotions were unsophisticatedly unleashed during war shortly after.

Heke always sought the limelight, believing himself to be a chief of some importance (with great *mana*) and refusing to bow down to senior chiefs. At Waitangi in 1840 he made a rambling speech, which has been reported as both supporting and opposing the Treaty. On the second day he pushed himself forward and was the first to sign – which was countered by senior chiefs who then signed above his signature.

The economic downturn in the north in the few years following the Treaty distressed many Maori, and Heke was at the forefront calling for action, to take up arms against the government. While his actions are usually presented as romantic drama, they resulted in much loss of life and disruption. Thus, for example, his action of taking a blockhouse during the third cutting down of the flagpole in 1845, when Kororareka was abandoned and burned, was accompanied by the killing of four soldiers and a little half-caste girl. More were to perish in the wars that followed.

Throughout his life Heke showed himself to be seeking a pre-eminent position, as a strutting gang leader. He often showed his disregard for the rights of others, as when, in 1843 and towards the end of his life in 1850, he forcefully insisted that freed slave women should return to their former owners.

After the defeat of his rebellion, Heke was not punished but simply side-lined and of no importance. He continued defiant and wrote a rambling 1859 letter to Queen Victoria in which he claimed decisive power. Governor Grey forwarded the letter to London, with the advice that it should be ignored.

Wiremu Kingi, of Te Atiawa in Kapiti and Taranaki, was another who put his personal *mana* above loyalty. He had been chosen by his *iwi* to sign away ownership of a vast tract of land in the northern South Island and the lower half of the North Island (a land sale which was

later set aside by the British as unreasonable) in 1839, and in 1848 he led a move of many Te Atiawa to their former homelands in and around Waitara (near New Plymouth) – a return made possible by the peace brought by colonisation. They took with them a violent argument over the possible sale of their lands, and for years those feuds resulted in armed bands roaming Taranaki, with around 50 deaths. In 1859 Governor Gore Browne belatedly promised action, to bring law and order to the region. Some, led by another Te Atiawa chief, **Tiera**, immediately demanded that their desire to sell land that they owned should be allowed and their rights protected. Kingi, on the other side of the feud, claimed a right as paramount chief to block that sale.

Browne had no choice but to affirm the promise of the Treaty of Waitangi which included the right of Maori to sell land that was rightfully theirs, and after a government investigation the sale of land at Waitara went ahead.

Kingi had previously been a supporter of the government; he had been prepared to accept previous decisions from which he had profited, including those which annulled the 1839 sale and gave possession of part of Kapiti and northern Taranaki to Te Atiawa. But he would not accept this decision which was not in his favour. He held himself to be an independent all-powerful chief and set up a fort on the disputed land, an action contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi that set off war in Taranaki.

There was a parallel development across in the Waikato. In 1857, Governor Browne had gone to the Waikato and asked what the people there wanted of the government. They asked for *runangas*, a European magistrate, and laws, and Browne agreed; he would send a magistrate to reside on the Waikato, who should visit the native settlements, and, with the assessors, administer justice periodically. The Maori were delighted and the elderly paramount chief, **Te Wherowhero** (formerly a great warrior), declared that he would be guided by the Governor's advice. He was a dying man, and should bequeath his people to the Governor's care.

In those years other Maori across the country had been disappointed by the lack of action of the British in bringing law and order and other elements of western development to Maori areas where people had been left to organise their own societies, and had thought that they

should set up their own form of government under a Maori king. The idea was seized upon by some in the southern Waikato, who presented a proposal for a Maori king at great meetings in 1857 and 1858, only to meet with opposition from other members of the tribe; there was a lack of accord on both occasions. Others in the lower, northern Waikato were profiting from trade with the growing Auckland population, and refused the order of the kingites to cease any land sales; they wished to preserve the individual rights promised in the Treaty and would not bow down to this second monarch.

A leading activist, **Wiremu Tamihana** (William Thompson), had tried to proclaim Te Wherowhero as king at those meetings; after that failed, the kingite group held another separate hui, when the tribe members who had refused a monarchy had gone home, and anointed him as 'King Potatau'. Te Wherowhero had accepted the title of paramount chief, which he was (answering yes when asked "Will you be a father to us?" in 1858), but never publicly agreed to be king.

Te Wherowhero was chosen as a figurehead, taken for his name only, then set aside and kept as a virtual prisoner. He was an old man (he died a few years later, in 1860), "verging on the dotage of a second childhood". Reverend Buddle observed how he "lies on his mat, wrapped in a dirty blanket, in an old Maori whare, smoking his pipe or sleeping, while his ministers make laws and send them abroad without ever consulting their King, though they use his name to give authority to their acts." He would complain: "What can I do, who am but a bundle of bones?" Although he wanted peace, and to work in co-operation with Governor Browne, warriors went in 1860 to join the Taranaki rebellion of Wiremu Kingi.

This was a clear case of elder abuse, of ill treatment of a man who had been the pre-eminent warrior of the *iwi*, which contradicts the claim that *tikanga* demands respectful treatment of valued *kaumatua*. This was a sad end for a great man.

The second 'king', **Tawhiao** (Potatau II), the son of Te Wherowhero, was a weak man, much given to religious flights of fantasy and an insistence on his pre-eminence as a monarch. Conflict became inevitable in 1863 when a war-party of Ngati-Maniapoto, led by **Rewi Maniapoto** and accompanied by Wiremu Kingi from Taranaki, attacked government activity in the Waikato. They threw timber ready for construction of a constabulary station at Te

Kohekohe into the river and invaded a government station at Te Awamutu where the printing press was destroyed.

The local Maori supported the construction at Kohekohe and appreciated the efforts of the civil commissioner, John Gorst, at Te Awamutu, where he had carried on a useful work, schooling Maori boys and acting as a resident magistrate. At both places many Maori attempted to resist the attacks but were overwhelmed.

Rewi was a man of action and a realist. While he had stimulated war and was a prominent warrior in the fighting, after the defeat of the kingite forces in 1864 he accepted the peace and settled down to work with Governor Grey.

Despite the military defeat, Tawhiao proved less reasonable. Many efforts to settle the ongoing differences had failed when, in 1878, Grey met with Tawhiao and made a generous offer to give monies and land to Tawhiao and, most importantly, to return the portions of confiscated land not disposed of by the Government to Europeans on the western sides of the Waikato and Waipa rivers. Most Maori, including Rewi, were delighted and Rewi organised a great celebratory meeting shortly afterwards at Waitara, which was a great success, a time of peace-making attended by diverse Maori chiefs who had both opposed and supported the rebellion, as well as by government officials including Governor Grey. Rewi Maniapoto had once stood apart as a warmonger; now he became prominent as a peacemaker. Grey recognised the value of Rewi's subsequent friendship and valuable co-operation with a monument at Kihikihi which stands there today.

All were stunned when, the next year, Tawhiao announced his decision to turn down the offer that Rewi and so many others had celebrated, and to continue his insistence that he remained a king, the ruler of the whole country. Tainui were to suffer from this refusal to gain ownership of what was to become highly prized farm land and to share in the wealth of the Waikato. That rigidity and stupidity only resulted in foolish feelings of grievance which remain today rather than co-operation and a feeling of belonging in a united nation.

Others, like Wiremu Kingi and Hone Heke, similarly chose after defeat to remain separate, continuing to write confused and rambling letters. The marked difference in behaviour,

driven by their different characters is evident. All were individuals and, just like now, acted in very different ways. That fact is readily understood; Maori were never a mysterious race apart.

Many in a later generation of prominent Maori were able to profit from the benefits brought through the colonial times and the following parliamentary system that replaced it. One group were given a thorough education at Te Aute College around the turn of the century and went on to gain university degrees and to serve Maori and the country, several as doctors. Prominent among these was **Apirana Ngata** who gained a BA and a degree in law before becoming as a Member of Parliament and Minister. He used his position to work for the people: as a Maori leader he helped develop modern agriculture practices while building up cultural awareness, and is well known for championing the *haka*.

Their stories are very different from those of Maori alive in the first half of the nineteenth century. They grew up and thrived in a developed country. They joined in further efforts to develop a modern culture, as with improvements in health and living standards, and as with the united action of all four Maori MPs to argue for and support the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907. They were even joined at that time by **Hone Heke Ngapua** (named after his great-uncle, Hone Heke Pokai), MP from Northland, who had initially come to Parliament to champion a form of Maori self-determination, *kotahitanga*, with an initiative set down in his 1894 Native Rights Bill which failed. Eastern Maori MP James Carroll commented that he “had never been able to arrive at what they [the *Kotahitanga* movement] really required”. Hone Heke Ngapua became a valued member of parliament but died as a young man in 1909.

The message for today

These are the stories of the real people, those who lived through those turbulent times. Here they are, the wise and the foolish, the good and the bad, egotistical or concerned for the good of the community, leading rebellion against the agreement of the Treaty of Waitangi or working together, wanting the security of peace or the thrills of battle – the

range of people found everywhere, at all times, in all cultures. There is nothing mysterious, nothing special, no distinct race and no reason to set their descendants apart with separate laws, powers, rights and the full apparatus of co-governance. Once that claim is debunked, we are set free to gather together as one people, to build the society that we ourselves want, no longer forced into division by an imaginative and false version of history.

In the words of the Barber of Seville in the eighteenth century, scorning the pretensions of the Count: “Nobility, a fortune, a rank, appointments to office: all this makes a man so proud! What did you do to earn all this? **You took the trouble to get born – nothing more.** Moreover, you’re really a pretty ordinary fellow.” **Accident of birth should not separate us, whether by class, or caste, or race. We are born equal. Anything else is sham, false and foolish.** Claims to be ‘indigenous’ by birth (a concept that is nowhere made clear) and therefore to claim a special position must be simply set aside as worthless.

The initial idea, that there is a gulf between Maori and other New Zealanders that is too great to bridge, seems ridiculous in hindsight. So too is the squabble over the meaning of a document pulled together long ago, the Treaty of Waitangi, as if the words chosen then must remain as permanent, immutable directions – instead of dealing with the quite different challenges of today. It is the same with pretensions that the old culture, *tikanga*, should be accepted within New Zealand law. History shows again and again the extent of the cultural transformation, as Maori moved away from the old ways, and so many accepted the very different ideas of the benevolent Christianity of the missionaries – so very different from the aggressive beliefs of former colonists in previous centuries. Now the concept of just what is *tikanga* is as confused as the squabbles among the many Christian sects, or the differences among followers of Islam.

The people of New Zealand have been hoodwinked into a belief that the Treaty of Waitangi is a sacred document to be followed forever (despite having been so frequently re-invented and stripped of its original meaning), that Maori are ‘indigenous’ and forever a special race, that *tikanga* provides a worthwhile guiding light, that Maori grievances are and must take priority over historical wrongs done by Maori to so many, Maori and non-Maori alike, with the result that all others than Maori must suffer and pay for an imagined guilt inherited

from those who lived here before us. That is false; recognition of equality within the human family asks us to set aside all such artificial divisions.

The final absurdity, in a population of people living together, having interbred over many generations, is that those with even a small part Maori are labelled and claimed to stand apart. The only realistic way to determine the Maori population is in the census, where all New Zealanders are asked to tick a box identifying their recognised ancestry. **In the 2018 census 625,600 (13% of the population) responded that they were Maori by ticking that Maori descent box.** Those who decided otherwise had refused that identity. But they are forced to be placed into a category, an identity, that they did not choose.

The system has decided to seek out anyone with any link to Maori and to invent a higher Maori population estimate. With the addition of a considerable adjustments from the higher count in the 2013 census, from birth records, and from an imaginative ‘imputation’ (moving more into the Maori category based on the closest age usual resident in the household, a process hard to imagine in practice), **the number of Maori has been increased by 43% to 896,600 (18% of the population), known as the “Maori descent electoral population”** – which is used to determine the number of Maori seats in parliament and of regional councils, thus guaranteeing a substantially greater representation for Maori, with votes being of considerably different value (undermining a basic tenet of democracy).

In November 2022 there was a ridiculous claim that Maori had been undercounted by a massive 50,000 in the 2013 census. But surely, the number is those who tell the census that they are Maori, and the number of Maori seats (which should never exist, anyway) should be determined simply based on the number who have chosen to be on the Maori roll.

Two arguments were presented by Statistics New Zealand. The first concerns a new method of estimating Maori. Those changes, introduced 2018, increased the estimate and the graph of the estimates had an upward kink in 2018. The divergence from a smooth curve was then interpreted as meaning an undercount in 2013. The second is that from 2013 to 2018 the proportion of Maori electors choosing to be on the Maori rolls fell from 55.7% to 52.8%. Actual behaviour, and the choices made, are then set aside, with the idea that “Had the

2018 proportion stayed at the 2013 level, there would have been eight Maori seats in 2018”.

My personal experience in working on statistics for various government agencies shows that any argument, whether well-founded or spurious, will be greeted with praise and increased status if there is an increased position for Maori, while any suggestion that ethnic differences are exaggerated result in criticism, for a consultant threatening non-payment for the work.

The rapid introduction of apartheid into all aspects of New Zealand government must be stopped.

We must act with self-confidence to decide for ourselves what society we want to live in, together as a nation and not bullied by a group in power.

We must refuse the split into two peoples of co-governance, with a new racist policy giving power to an ‘indigenous’ minority and with two separate houses of parliament.

We must realise that the ‘indigenous’ Maori are not a people apart, a privileged race with a mysterious old culture that we must all bow down to. They are human beings, we are human beings, we are one humanity and should be equal.

Positive and forceful action, a counter-revolution, is needed, to establish equality as the basic principle of the nation. This must reverse and completely overturn the current ongoing revolution that is tearing the country apart – not just fiddle about at the fringes but carry out a thorough house-keeping.

CHAPTER 4: ESCAPE THE GUILT TRAP: WHO REALLY BROKE THE TREATY

All at sea: driven by false beliefs

Collectively, New Zealand is like a group of fishermen hard at work far out at sea, intent on their tasks – baiting the hooks, settling out the lines, pulling them in and gathering fish – without noticing that they have drifted far from shore and that storms are gathering.

Most people think and act with a focus on daily life, on immediate matters, lacking an awareness and appreciation of the way that society is changing, remaining comfortably within the conventional wisdom of the day, far out of sight of the basic principles of our civilisation as they are being whittled away.

The power of the surrounding ideology, the ethos, the accepted paradigm, has come to include the gradual normalisation of racial inequality. The way in which developing apartheid has replaced a belief in equality is uncomfortably akin to boiling a frog, where the poor animal enjoys the growing warmth until it is too late, not noticing what has been done to its environment. The newly emerging picture is hidden behind a screen of propaganda, obscuring the reality; the emperor has no clothes, clearly visible only if eyes are open. In that environment, it is wise for those whose employment and position rely on the good-will of the dominant ruling elite to keep their heads down, as raising questions and providing an alternative narrative will threaten their livelihood.

Some have kept awake and noticed the ongoing revolution and the current coup of a powerful minority. As one example, my colleague and friend Hugh Barr spoke up in his 2100 book, “The gathering storm over the foreshore and seabed: why they must remain in Crown ownership”. The cover tells how he “tells the shocking and unvarnished truth of how John Key’s National Government is betraying the interests and future prospects of the majority of New Zealanders by handing over the control and resources of potentially all the foreshore and seabed to local *iwi*”.

One particularly cogent reference there is to a comment by Chris Trotter concerning the action of the biased court concerning the Ngati Apa claim, when they overturned a previous 1963 Court of Appeal decision and ruled that customary title extended out to the 12 nautical mile limit (over waters owned by all as part of the commons): “The judiciary have thrust a sword into the heart of the New Zealand state’s authority. By recognising a sovereign power antecedent to that of the state, the courts have not only established a mutually antagonistic legal diumvirate of customary and statute law, but have also placed themselves outside and above the New Zealand constitution.”

Certainly, a comprehension of the past is an important guide for the future. A knowledge of history and an ability to build up an understanding based on facts (true facts, corrected for myth and current political dogma) is important. Even more important is an ability and readiness to add all the pieces and see the whole picture, to see the whole pattern emerging – which in the past had been the long struggle for equality within a democratic system, but which has been reversed in the last half-century by the overturn of these fundamentals, to build a divided society.

The search for the whole picture involves a different way of thinking, no longer focussed on immediate problems, but long term and holistic. When following that path, I have studied and written of the need to overcome the pressures of conformity, and to consciously look at the various possible paradigmatic perceptions, of this and other times. “Excess capital” (1990) showed how a dominant paradigm would direct expectations of the future. The chapter on “Work and well-being” described how **belongingness** ranks high on any list of basic human needs, supporting the view that most people would accept conformity to surrounding dominant social ideas as a behavioural guide – preferring to be accepted members of the group rather than questioning and standing apart from the crowd.

Society must allow all to feel that they belong. It must also allow room for those who refuse to conform, those who look more widely and raise awkward questions. As George Bernard Shaw has noted: “The reasonable man adapts himself to the world: the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man.”

Ann Rand has repeated that point, that society needs people who will stand apart from the crowd: “Men have been taught that it is virtue to agree with others. But the creator is the man who disagrees. Men have been taught that it is virtue to swim with the current. But the creator is the man who goes against the current. Men have been taught that it is virtue to stand together. But the creator stands alone.”

It is hard for an ordinary person to have the self-confidence, or the economic security, required to stand up and speak as such a challenging and productive “unreasonable man”. Powerful groups extend their influence by arrogance and bullying tactics, by empowering those to whom they award honours and by rejecting critics. It is doubly hard to speak out when a person is put down and unemployed, all self-confidence shattered. **Progress is then possible only in a free society where thinking is encouraged, where the time and security needed to follow a new path is provided, and where there is space for that imaginative man.** That security has been destroyed in current New Zealand (as witness the savage and ignorant attacks on myself and Tross Publishing by TVNZ; see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2kkumkgvCQM&feature=youtu.be>).

Previous chapters have argued that this is our country, and we are free to choose our own future and have refuted several modern myths that make up the current ‘conventional wisdom’. The process continues here, to demolish the claims that the Crown alone broke the Treaty, that current Maori grievance is well-founded, and that all others are to be condemned and must live with guilt for the supposed wrongs of their ancestors.

Who broke the Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi handed sovereignty of New Zealand to Britain. Land in Maori possession (with no terra nullius) remained in Maori possession, and all living in New Zealand were given British citizenship. The absolute rule of chiefs was gone. The promise was that henceforth disputes would be settled within the law and not by fighting among tribes; this brought peace to a county wracked by deadly tribal wars.

The Treaty gave the right to govern to the British Crown, and British law prevailed thereafter. Should the new authority make a judgement, reach a decision, that someone did not like – or which some now disagree with – was not to break the Treaty, which simply gave the right to govern. The Treaty involved simply setting up a system and a structure by which decisions and judgements would be made by the proper authorities – no longer by chiefly might and tribal warfare.

What is it to break the Treaty? That would be action against the sovereignty of the united nation, and action taken outside of the rule of law. Which, it must be emphasised, does not include properly taken action that some Maori do not like. The point of a system of law is not that it can ever be perfect, or acceptable to everyone in a conflict situation, but that decisions would be no longer reached at the point of a spear, by force of arms, but within an organised and peaceful setting.

To make a decision, a judgement, that someone did not like – or which some do not now agree with – was not to break Treaty of Waitangi, which simply gave the authority to govern, without any promise of perfection, to any one point of view.

A brief scan of events in the early years of the new nation identify many difficult decisions, which can (in the light of today's proclaimed beliefs) be considered wrongs. Many such decisions resulted in considerable hardship for the new settlers. However, the directions to the Waitangi Tribunal are to ignore possible wrongs done to settlers, and to consider only claims of problems for Maori. This calls for a one-sided view of history, with any past wrongs to others ignored while stories are sought out in order to increase modern pay-outs to Maori descendants.

A careful overview tells that a number of Maori broke the Treaty, and that the government did not. This is demonstrated by the following summary of a number of key events.

1. Waitara: land sale recognised, then overturned

An early task of the new government was to determine whether previous land sales (prior to 1840) were reasonable, and should be accepted. A Commissioner, William Spain, was appointed to make recommendations to the Governor, who would be the final arbiter.

This was no easy job; there are many, often conflicting, ways in Maori could traditionally make some claim to land. Faced with such a seemingly impossible task, Spain decided to give priority to the people who were actually living at a place at the time of sale. This worked well for most cases: many somewhat extravagant sales were not allowed, while others in which all parties were in accord were readily accepted. But in one important case difficulties arose, for the most part due to the peace brought with the Treaty.

By 1839, attacks by Waikato had driven almost all Te Atiawa away from their homeland in northern Taranaki, and the remaining few lived in fear of further assaults. They were delighted to welcome the New Zealand Company and to sell land in the expectation that settlers would guarantee their security. The situation around Waitara (near New Plymouth) satisfied his criteria and Spain decided that the sale was valid.

But the peace that came with the Treaty of Waitangi had brought other changes. Many former residents who had been taken as slaves to the Waikato were set free and able to return. A group who had fled and settled in Kapiti wished to take advantage of the peace and to return to Waitara. Those people spoke out in opposition and there were threats of aggressive tribal action. In 1844, Governor Fitzroy reacted to those challenges by overturning Spain's decision.

The incoming settlers, who had begun to work the land, suffered as they were driven out, back to smaller plots near New Plymouth. Their properties were left, to be looted. **For them, this Government action was harmful, a wrong. However, the process was carried out within the rules of the British colony; there was no question of a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, and any claims of wrongs to non-Maori are not considered today, given the limits to any recognition of historic wrongs.** In any case, the idea of revisiting and re-adjudicating decisions from the far past would be foolish – accept that this is what is done when a complainant is Maori.

2. Killings at Wairau

In 1843 at Wairau, there was a dispute between a group of Ngati Toa, led by Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha, and a group led by the Police Magistrate, Mr. Thompson, including 49 special constables. A fight took place, and fifteen Maori and settlers were killed. Some Europeans who survived fled the scene, while eleven surrendered or were apprehended in flight. As a customary act of revenge (*utu*) for the Maori dead, the prisoners were then killed.

This mass murder, the killing of helpless captives, was a terrible crime. **The reversion to the old ways, following the directions of *tikanga* which called for revenge, *utu*, and the refusal to accept the proper application of British justice was a brutal break with the Treaty of Waitangi.**

Governor Fitzroy decided to take no action, and let the killers rove free. His weak ruling was that: "In the first place, the white men were wrong, but you committed a horrible crime in murdering men who had surrendered themselves, in reliance on your honour as chiefs; but, as the Europeans were the first in the wrong, I will not avenge their deaths." Since the "white men" had acted foolishly, their killing would not be punished.

This was wrong. The law was set aside, in fear of the threats against the state by these two powerful chiefs. There was no justice for the friends and families of the dead, or their descendants. **However, Governor Fitzroy had not broken the Treaty, which gave him the authority to make that decision.**

3. Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha incite rebellion at Wellington

Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha continued to strut about and enjoy the limelight, as they spoke of actions against the government. During the growing unrest, with a number of disputes in Wellington and the Hutt, Te Rauparaha threatened a massacre of Wellington settlers: "Now is the time to strike. Come forward and sweep them from the land".

There were a number of deadly attacks; **those who reverted to tribal ways and attacked Boulcott's farm in 1846 were breaking the Treaty, and committing murder, killing six soldiers and two civilians.**

There was evidence that Te Rauparaha had called for reinforcements from Wanganui and that an uprising was imminent. That incipient rebellion was snuffed out and war was averted by Governor Grey when he took Te Rauparaha prisoner. This was a peaceful captivity; he was later freed into the custody of Tamati Waka Nene and Te Wherohero, before returning to live with his son, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, at Otaki. Again, this was a proper action by the Governor, acting under the considerable authority of his position within the British colonial system and averting possible deaths.

4. Hone Heke wages war in the north

Irascible gang leader Hone Heke was emboldened and wanted to emulate the actions of Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha. During an armed raid to take a former slave-girl, who was living in Kororaraka with a European, and to force her to return to her owner (surely a breach of the Treaty) a half-naked warrior wildly brandished his *taiaha* and made a call to arms: "War! War! War with the white people!" In support of this appeal to force, Heke made a speech that was full of fire and ill-concealed rebellion, during the course of which he asked the significant question so often quoted against him: "Is Te Rauparaha to have all the credit for killing the Europeans?"

The attack on Kororaraka in 1845, when the flagstaff and Kororaraka were attacked by a combined force of 600 warriors in three joint actions, was open rebellion, without doubt a breach of the Treaty, as was the war that followed. Many lives were lost there and in the subsequent fighting; Heke's group at the flagpole killed four soldiers and a little half-caste girl. This was far from the romantic figure of current legend – Heke should be seen for what he was, an upstart minor chief waging war against the senior Ngapuhi chiefs (led by Tamati Waka Nene) and the Treaty that he had signed, creating havoc and bringing destruction to the north.

After defeat, Heke, who was left to live out his remaining years further north, remained defiant. In an 1849 letter to Queen Victoria, he blamed the “obstinacy” of Fitzroy as “the cause of the war, and of my transgressing against you”, he called for the expulsion of soldiers, Governor and many Europeans, and he claimed decisive power: “The missionaries, the gentlemen and the common people are all that I am well pleased should live here ... still the management of my island remains with me”. Thus, he passed down the call for rebellion and separate rule to his descendants.

5. Another sale of Waitara, and war

In 1848, many Te Atiawa left Kapiti and returned to their previous lands at Waitara (now possible due to the end of fighting between tribes following British rule). They took with them disagreements over the sale of land, most particularly whether a senior chief could prevent others from selling land they were recognised to own. Through the 1850s those feuds brought roving gangs with the killing of around fifty in Taranaki, a state of anarchy.

In 1859, Governor Browne came and promised to bring security, to apply the law. Since the Treaty promised the right to sell land if the owner wished, the desire of a group of chiefs (led by Tiera) to do so resulted in the appointment of a commissioner to decide whether their ownership should be recognised. Meanwhile a senior chief, Wiremu Kingi, continued to insist that chiefly rule should be recognised – which had gone with the assertion of British sovereignty in the Treaty of Waitangi. As before, different Maori held opposing views, and this was not an easy decision, but it was clear that Tiera did own that land (this was recognised by Kingi) and the sale – which had been requested by Maori – proceeded.

Kingi refused to accept the law and built a fortified pa on that land, as a threat to British rule. Action was called for, and war commenced – **fighting that was forced by the rebellion of a group of Te Atiawa, in direct contravention of the Treaty and against the wishes of other Maori**. The initial dispute was within Te Atiawa, and was not instigated by colonialism, not a wrong brought by colonisation. It concerned the rights of Maori as promised by the Treaty.

6. Again dispute among Maori: a Waikato monarch, rebellion and war

In 1857 and 1858, there were great meetings in the Waikato to consider the proposition that the paramount chief, Te Wherowhero, a former great warrior become peace-maker and friend of the Governor (now an old man), should be chosen as a king, a second monarch for the country.

The idea was firmly rejected by many present, who recognised this as an unfriendly act against the government which they supported. The intention that the new king could forbid land sales also met with loud opposition; this was an attack on their rights, guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi, to act as free men and to do what they wished with their own property, free of control by any other chief. One such speaker was Wiremu Te Awaitaia, who made his position clear: "I promised the first Governor, when he came to see me, and I promised all the rest, that I would stick (*piri*) to him, and be a subject of the Queen. I intend to keep my promise, for they have kept theirs. They have taken no land. Mine was the desire to sell, and they gave me money. Why do you bring that new flag here? There is bother (*raruraru*) in it."

The arguments of the king movement failed to convince those meetings and there was no consensus. After the second rebuttal, they withdrew and unilaterally anointed the confused Te Wherowhero. **This, the setting up of a rival monarch, was treason, a serious breach of the Treaty.**

There were ongoing disagreements, over building roads and, most importantly, whether to join the 1860 rebellion of Kingi in Taranaki, which had been over the right of any Maori to sell his own land, free from the dictates of another chief. One who wanted to stand aside from the fighting in Taranaki, Te Raihi spoke out: "Leave it all alone. Why should we take it up? Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind, and do what he likes with his own land. If he choose to sell let him sell. If he wish to hold let him hold his own." Te Wherowhero, who wanted friendship with the government, said that warriors from the Waikato should not go but his wishes (of an unwell old man who would die later that year) were ignored; this was a puppet king.

Despite the considerable actions of the government to preserve peace (including replacing Governor Brown with George Grey, a former governor and a friend to Maori), a number of aggressive actions were taken by the Maori king's supporters: preventing road-building inland from Raglan, throwing timber into the Waikato River that was stacked up ready to build a Government outpost, forcing Government Agent, John Gorst, out of Te Awamutu where he had been teaching young Maori basic skills and crafts, attacking some settler farms and soldier communities south of Auckland, fighting in the Taranaki conflict, and declaring a boundary between two separate territories forbidding other New Zealanders, including the government, to cross into that Waikato monarchy. This was the division of New Zealand, under two opposing regimes.

This was rebellion, the breaking the Treaty. War was inevitable. Firm government action to oppose treason and rebellion was not to break the Treaty; it was to uphold the Treaty.

The rebels were driven from the Waikato into Ngati Maniapoto territory south of the Puniu River, which became known as the king country. There were many efforts by the British and New Zealand authorities to bring them back into the national community, including an extraordinary generous offer by Governor Grey to the second king, Tawhiao, in 1875: "the Government will assist you with the chiefs of your own districts, so that matters may be conducted in order that peace and good will between the two races of the Island may exist. ... The Government will give you an allowance and the chiefs who are to be your assistants in conducting the affairs within your district" – and more. Most importantly: "The portions of land not disposed of by the Government to Europeans on the western sides of the Waikato and Waipa will be returned to Tawhiao."

That offer was met with acclaim, and former rebel chief Rewi Maniapoto organised a celebratory peace-making meeting at Waitara shortly after. Yet, the following year, Tawhiao rejected the offer and made arrogant claims for his continuing rule: "Sir George Grey has no right to conduct matters on this Island, but **I have the sole right to conduct matters in my land – from the North Cape to the southern end.** No one else has any right. He (Sir George Grey) has no right to conduct matters in this Island. That is why I say all things must be returned, and sent away from here [meaning all English customs]." That

rebuttal met with forthright condemnation by the chiefs present, who had come expecting to witness a friendly and straightforward agreement between Grey and Tawhiao. Yet here was Tawhiao insisting that he was ruler of them all.

This, the continuing refusal to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Crown, was treason, yet again breaking the Treaty

The belief of the king movement that they belonged to a different nation remained intact, and many Maori in the Waikato continued to consider themselves a separate people, owing no loyalty to the Crown or to the nation.

With their actions in 1863 and 1864 the supporters of a Maori king threw down a gauntlet at the feet of government and forced a war to determine the future of the young nation. We have returned to that very same situation today with separation, co-governance, and two parliaments waiting in the wings – and the Maori king remains, a monarch-in-waiting. The significant difference is that formerly the government wanted to hold the country together, while now the government is actively breaking us apart. There has even been an official apology to the major leaders of rebellion, Ngati Maniapoto, with the Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, saying: “The Crown delivers this long overdue apology. The Crown takes responsibility for the pain and hurt it has caused.” This is madness – responsibility for the pain and hurt of the war lies at the feet of those instigated the rebellion, most prominently Ngati Maniapoto.

7. Land confiscations

There were no punishments, and no land confiscations, following the rebellions of Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and Hone Heke. Nor initially with the rebellion of Wiremu Kingi. An 1863 Government proclamation that further actions against the peace would result in the loss of land was largely a warning, a part of the considerable effort to prevent war from breaking out in the Waikato and an incentive to reach agreement.

When aggressive actions continued and war broke out, that intention was acted upon, and a considerable area of land was confiscated from rebel tribes. Many were dismayed at the excessive extent of the confiscations, which also took land from peaceful tribes, and as a result a commission was set up to revisit the decisions and much of the land taken was returned: the proportion returned or purchased was 64% in Taranaki, 83% in Tauranga, 72% in the Bay of Plenty. The decision by Tawhiao to reject the generous government offer referred to above, and his continuing refusal to accept the sovereignty of the British Crown, blocked any such return in the Waikato, where only 26% of the original confiscated area was returned or purchased. Waikato *iwi* paid dearly for that intransigence.

Later, in 1922, the great Maori leader Apirana Ngata recognized that the confiscations were justified: **“Some sections of the Maori people violated that authority (the sovereign authority of the Queen and her government). War arose and blood was spilt. The law came into operation and land was taken in payment.”**

Those confiscations were an accepted behaviour in all cultures, were within the power of the government and were in no way a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Conclusion concerning Treaty breaches

The Crown, the several Governors, and the government never broke the Treaty of Waitangi. All actions taken were in accord with the accession of sovereignty and the assertion of British law.

A number of Maori chiefs, and their *iwi*, committed acts of treason and rebellion, in contradiction of the Treaty of Waitangi. There were initially none, or limited, punishments for those actions; the confiscations were forewarned and were clearly within the legal framework of the colonial government.

We can easily understand the very different responses of the various chiefs to the challenges faced when people came from across the world with their challenging ideas. In the same way we can see what Nanaia Mahuta, Willie Jackson, Pita Sharples and their ilk are doing to the country now, what drives them and what are their intentions. They are the inheritors of Hone Heke, Wiremu Kingi, Wiremu Tamehana and Tawhiao – not following the path of friendship and progress of Patuone, Tamati Waka Nene, Te Wherowhero and Apirana Ngata. They follow the rebel Rewi Maniapoto of 1863, and not the older and wiser Rewi Maniapoto of 1878, peace-maker and friend of Governor Grey.

Free our thinking from the shackles of the past

The conclusion reached here is that British and New Zealand authorities did not break the Treaty of Waitangi, whereas Maori did so on a number of occasions. This refutes the calls of Maori grievance based on past wrongs, actions contrary to the Treaty, and removes the requirement for feelings of guilt among others, based on the supposed wrongs committed by their ancestors. There should be an end to compensation for breaches of the Treaty that did not happen, while dismissing the wrongs – so often by Maori – to settlers, and the harm to the young nation. All suffered; we should, as Rewi Maniapoto did in 1875, celebrate the end to war and live together in peace and harmony, putting an end to the building up of stories of harm to one group alone.

Why should we consider Maori to be a separate race, an indigenous people who must have a special place, special rights? What sets such people apart? The answer is: Nothing. We are all people, human beings.

The information of the preceding chapters together refute the major tales being told, of a sacred text that must be obeyed, of a special people who must be given supreme power, and that the Crown alone is responsible for breaking the Treaty – and must forever pay for the supposed wrongs of the past. All too many New Zealanders are fools, believing such nonsense, these ridiculous claims, giving away their birth-right and so much of their wealth to a greedy few.

Let us now recognise the limits of the past in ruling the future. Whatever happened many years ago must not confine us to follow directions from the past, which are now based on politically-motivated claims of what was said, what was intended. We should set aside the contentious versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, of claims of a privileged indigenous people, of claims of one-sided colonial wrongs in contradiction with the Treaty.

CHAPTER 5: THE ROAD TO NEW ZEALAND APARTHEID

Second class citizens, subservient to a tribal elite

When one chosen few, one group, are dominant and take control and power, others are reduced, to become lesser citizens. New Zealand is that place, steaming down a road of division, divided by law into Maori (the ‘indigenous’) and the others. The great majority, lacking some drop of Maori blood, are second-class, subservient. That assumption of superiority is accompanied by the arrogance and bullying behaviour often found in upper classes.

There is no respect, no aroha, no belonging together; we are not one people. The sense of belonging to a united, decent country is gone. There is nothing more precious to a people, and a nation, than the common belief of all that we are equal, that we each and everyone belong here, that this land is our land – along with all the commons, the lakes, rivers and beaches, the bush, the mountains and the sea. But that sense of belonging, which is essential to the good life – for us all, for every individual no matter what their background – has been stolen by an arrogant and greedy tribal minority.

The beliefs in a chosen people are wide-spread. The resulting actions are being felt by every person who dares stick his head up, dares think for himself, dares ask questions and raise these issues. None of us are exempt, as shown by the savage, and ignorant, Television One attack where Tross books were incorrectly described as “untrue, false, hateful, disgusting, and anti-Maori.” **The call has been to ban whatever I write, to destroy my humanity, my right to think and speak freely; you should not be reading this article, by order of the self-appointed gatekeepers of New Zealand thought.**

This is a common experience; we hear of examples across the country each day, as witness the angry mob, with flags and loudspeaker, proclaiming special rights, in fury that the Dargaville Mayor had dared to act properly to chair a meeting, to keep order and to refuse a rude councillor who loudly insisted on chanting a prayer, a *karakia*, which is out of place in

today's multi-cultural secular society. A spokesman for "The Aotearoa Liberation League" claimed angrily that "the mayor is a racist person" and attacked any effort to limit supposed indigenous rights, which now must include calling out a prayer, a feature of the religion that replaced traditional *tikanga*.

That anger and aggression, which has become a familiar and frequent expression of the current Maori view of others, is in marked contrast with calls from others. In his Christmas 2022 message, King Charles hoped for better, in agreement with his late mother: "It is a belief in the extraordinary ability of each person to touch, with goodness and compassion, the lives of others, and to shine a light in the world around them. This is the essence of our community and the very foundation of our society." If only that were true here.

That insistence on the superiority of one culture and the subservience of others, stripped of their rights and dignity, is the greatest wrong done to our society. When it is proclaimed that indigenous peoples have inherent rights to insist on "their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources", it all belongs to them and all others are told that they do not belong here. Many Maori believe that, and act accordingly – and the authorities support those claims.

The history of division

The meeting and coming together of two very different cultures in the nineteenth century led to a transformation of Maori society, much for the better, a cultural revolution away from tribal *tikanga* towards a peaceful lifestyle in a united nation. This was a revolution within Maori society; those changes were carried out by Maori, for Maori, with great peace-making and freeing of slaves.

However, not all Maori were happy with the changes, as some wanted to hold on to their rule as chiefs, lords of the manor within their tribes. Others delighted in battle; they had been raised as warriors and wished to enjoy the thrill of combat and show their prowess, to become important in the eyes of their tribe.

There was then widespread support for the new government and way of life, as well as dissatisfaction among others who did not accept the move from the old ways. A few rose up in opposition to the Crown, largely for the right to rule and to demand that others obey their orders – rebellion which was resisted by many who wanted to hold on to their new rights as British citizens, in particular to sell their land if they wished. Those rebellions were defeated by a combination of Maori and Crown forces.

The aim of the government was to bring peace, and there were no executions of rebels, which had been the custom among both British and Maori cultures. Thus, many rebels, such as Hone Heke, Te Rauparaha and Te Kooti, were left to live their remaining days in peace.

Unfortunately, some chose to hold on to their refusal to accept the new ways, and to keep alive their calls for rebellion, to fan the flames of future uprising.

The defeated king, Tawhiao, was even welcomed back into the growing society and offered generous terms to live on as an important chief, but he turned his back on the welcome and chose defiance and separation. When turning down Governor Grey's settlement offer (in 1876), he insisted that he remained as ruler of the nation.

That king remains today, having become part of a wider movement for separation of government, within a way of life split between two race-defined groups, Maori and the other – with Maori the dominating 'partner'.

The actions of Hone Heke had been similar. In an 1849 letter to Queen Victoria, he made the empty claim that “**still the management of my island remains with me**”. That claim remains in the call for separate Maori self-development, *kotahitanga*.

The proposal for *kotahitanga* was taken to parliament by Heke's great-nephew, Hone Heke Ngapua MP, who was in sympathy with the emerging Maori unity movement in Northland: an 1892 assembly of 1,342 Maori leaders and representatives had produced a mandate calling for the formation of an alternative Maori parliament and were “ready to engage in a constitutional battle for the resuscitation of Maori self-determination”. His 1894 Native Rights Bill sought a constitution for Maori and a separate Maori Parliament. Exactly what was intended was not clear; Carroll commented that he “had never been able to arrive at

what they really required". Even though it emphasised Maori unity (surely an impossible dream), that *kotahitanga* was in competition with the rival Waikato King movement, which in turn withheld support for the Bill.

The idea never went away. In 1979, Matiu Rata (also from Northland), Minister of Maori Affairs and of Lands in the third Labour government and progenitor of the Waitangi Tribunal (set up in 1975), became dissatisfied with the Labour Party and left to form a rival political party, Mana Motuhake. Rata had been frustrated by his inability to gain acceptance of all his ideas in Cabinet. When a party reshuffle demoted Rata to a backbencher, he abruptly resigned from his seat, believing that both major parties had sidelined Maori issues, and that his demotion was a trampling of his *mana*.

Mana Motuhake essentially refers to Maori self-rule and self-determination – *mana*, in this context, can be understood as authority or power, while *motuhake* can be understood as independent or separate. This is seen in the Mana Motuhake Policy of today's Maori Party, which is: to commit all Maori to the Maori electoral roll by 2023 (removing the freedom of any part-Maori make his or her own decision), to entrench all Maori electorates, to establish a Maori Parliament and to implement all the extreme *Matike Mai* recommendations for constitutional transformation (which were repeated in the *He Puapua* report to Government).

Mana Motuhake was unsuccessful in the elections of 1981 to 1990, and in 1991 joined forces with three other political parties (New Labour, Greens, and the Democratic Party) to form a single group, known as the Alliance. I had joined the Green Party in order to help form a complete Alliance group in the Wairarapa, and was the Green Party representative on an economics working group. There were many issues to deal with (I recall a dispute between the Democratic Party and Jim Anderton that threatened to break up the Alliance) and Maori policy was left in the hands of Rata and his Mana Motuhake party. **There was no awareness among the general Alliance party membership of the policies of Mana Motuhake and the proposed transformation of government.**

Maori activists, on the other hand, were well aware of what was going on. The decision to join the Alliance was controversial, as a number of prominent figures in Mana Motuhake

believed that by joining with non-Maori parties, even sympathetic ones, the party would no longer be free to “speak up for Maori”. Those who supported the continuation of an independent Maori party founded the new Mana Maori party, led by Eva Rickard.

Such foolish ignorance among non-Maori has been a constant feature of political discourse in New Zealand. For these many years, a section of Maori has been developing, and spreading the idea of complete separation by race within their communities. The readiness to take this on trust, and the inability to keep eyes open in order to see what is happening, was shown yet again by Prime Minister John Key: when Peter Sharples flew secretly to New York to sign the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, that was described at the time as merely a non-binding “aspirational and symbolic” declaration, which (they claimed) cannot be applied in a New Zealand court of law. John Key was either deceitful or a fool who did not know what he was doing.

“Those who fail to learn the lessons of history are doomed to repeat it.” (George Santayana, repeated by Winston Churchill). New Zealand is a ship of fools, sailing blindly towards another civil war. That failure to notice what is happening, and to take remedial action, brings to mind an old Islamic saying: “If the dogs bark at night, it is foolish to look to the sheep the next morning.” It is rapidly becoming too late to return to equality without conflict.

The Waitangi Tribunal builds New Zealand myths

The Waitangi Tribunal was born in 1975 out of the *kotahitanga* of Mat Rata, with a mandate to measure prejudice arising from past Crown actions, and has expanded that goal throughout the past 47 years. The Tribunal was initially set up to hear and recommend claims after 1975 as previous claims had been fully and finally settled in the 1930s and 1940s, then in 1985 was extended to hear claims dating back to 1840 (both actions taken by Labour governments of the day).

The Waitangi Tribunal has shown no interest in conciliation, rather has insisted on seeking out and encouraging dissention. It has been very effective in leading the country down

the path of grievances, separating us and moving ever further away from any idea of equality.

Part of the process has been to break with unity and insist on 'partnership', to overturn the concept that we are one people. With power divided between the race-based Maori minority and the majority, there has been steady erosion of the belief and practice of equality in government and before the law. There is even support for a refusal to accept the sovereignty of the Crown, and thus the legitimacy of the current government. The whole fabric of the nation is being destroyed.

The process has been aided by many other organisations. The courts have introduced *tikanga* into law, effectively seizing the role of government in legislation. Universities require compliance with the dictates of *matauranga Maori*, co-ordination with *iwi*, and adherence to a twisted version of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Royal Society of New Zealand insists on similar directions to scientists. The media has been compliant, reporting imaginative stories of past wrongs and refusing to report alternative views, and is now required to adhere to an invented version of the Treaty. Reports to the Waitangi Tribunal, many funded by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, must stick to the prescribed ideology, thus (as described by historian Bill Oliver) **creating an imaginative new version of history, which has been described by critics as "revisionist history" and "presentism", "counterfactual history clouded with retrospective recrimination" which is "remarkable evidence free" and "shaped by a current political agenda".**

In 2004, historian Giselle Byrnes described the focus, and evolution, of Tribunal reports. **"The idea of dual sovereignty ... is part of the process of the Tribunal's visions of nation making. ... In the early Tribunal reports (those immediately following the constitution of the 'new' Tribunal in 1985), ideas of unity and accommodation were repeatedly emphasised."** However: **Tribunal narratives "have shifted between emphasising visions of biculturalism and mutual accommodation between Maori and non-Maori, to advancing ideas of dual sovereignty. ... the published reports of the Tribunal have become increasingly politicised, moving from a discourse based on principles of reparation, and on the idea of the Treaty as a binding contract, to one that challenges ideas of national unity.** In its later reports

especially, the Tribunal has advanced a vision of Aotearoa New Zealand that is highly pluralistic, where sovereignty is held and exercised by autonomous political entities who exert their own sovereignty, yet can still participate in the sovereignty of 'the nation' as a whole."

All contributors to the Tribunal come under pressure to conform to that narrative. When, in 2000, I prepared a report on the possible link between falling land ownership and the northern South Island Maori population towards the end of the nineteenth century, the evidence was simple and clear: while land was being sold and Maori had less land, the previous population decline (inherited from the pre-1840 tribal wars) had ended and a long period of population increase had begun. The obvious conclusion was that "There was no clear, direct correlation between land holdings and demography." The report was rejected as: **"Dr Robinson's report ... will obscure the true nature of the cataclysm which afflicted Te Tau *iwi* between 1850-1900."** I was forced to rewrite before I was paid, to produce an unclear, muddled report that pleased the referees and left their "cataclysm" unchallenged. **Thus, a consistent narrative of colonial wrongs and harm to Maori is constructed.**

A mindset has been created which holds that Maori have been terribly wronged by colonisation, by Crown breaking the Treaty, and by subsequent loss of land and poor social conditions. All of that false narrative can be challenged, but questioning is forbidden. The range of settlements has widened over the years. At first the concept was to settle definite Treaty breaches. Then settlements were reached without any specific breach, indeed without any history justifying payments. And then, it was claimed that all Maori had suffered and payments should be made, and frequently updated, to every claimant *iwi*. Finally, the Tribunal has ruled that many *iwi* did not sign the Treaty (even, remarkably, Ngapuhi who were foremost in calling for British action), so that the way is open for many sovereign tribal nations both *hapu* and *iwi*) within New Zealand.

Since the many considerable Treaty settlements have been to tribes, *iwi*, there is profit to be made in a revival of tribalism, driving Maori away from the mainstream and into tribal groups where they meet to build a belief in grievance, sharing stories of past wrongs, many of which run counter to recorded facts. There have been a considerable number of such meetings over the years, many financed by government (including the rest of us)

where plans for separation and independent governments have been developed, and spread among so many Maori who have been taught to be dissatisfied. There has been no balance, no counter voice, either within the tribes or in the official channels, while the reporting of the mainstream media has supported the growing Maori anger, that steady progression, creating ever more division.

In her book, 'The uses and abuses of history', Margaret MacMillan illustrates **how dangerous history can be in the hands of nationalistic or religious or ethnic leaders who use it to foster a sense of grievance**. This has certainly been the case here in New Zealand. She describes how **within three generations oral history will become myth** – not just stories told within the group, but accepted as prescriptions for beliefs and a way of life.

That has again been the case here as imaginative stories have become national myths which are held to direct today's policies and actions. Such oral accounts are accepted by the Tribunal and play a significant part in their reports and in accounts in the public media. The rewards of settlements for complaints have stimulated a search for tribal memories, in meetings over many decades apart from other sections of the community, ignoring the faults of Maori either before 1840 or against the nation, sharing and coming to believe whatever supports a growing feeling of grievance. That separation and exaggeration of wrongs has led to a belief that Maori are different, 'indigenous' peoples with special rights living not in unity but in partnership with others. **This rebirth of *kotahitanga* has destroying loyalty to the nation (which is then through *whakapapa*, to the *hapu* or *iwi*), leading to refusal of Crown sovereignty and replacement of democracy with tribal rule by chiefs.**

This increasing tribalism, fed by the calls of the Waitangi Tribunal and the powerful grievance industry, has been accompanied by a spread of facets of the old culture, *tikanga*. **Many of the powerful tribes are asserting an independent policy, regaining their tribal *mana* and claiming *utu* for eighteenth century defeat in the wars of rebellion. The ideas that full sovereignty was not handed over to the British, and that the Treaty of Waitangi was nothing more than a partnership, would legitimise the Maori king and rebellion.**

Once that false narrative is accepted, Crown action to preserve unity becomes the breaking of the Treaty.

By following *whakapapa*, plum jobs are given to relatives, no matter what the qualifications (as we observe in central government). That atmosphere is no way conducive to *aroha*; one person who works within the Waitangi Tribunal has told me that, firstly, Maori hate one another (with antagonism among *iwi*) and, secondly, Maori hate pakeha.

The belief system that has developed over the past decades, becoming the basis of many national decisions and actions, includes a set of directions that destroy any capability to think freely and to make a decision now for today's world and the future. Those decrees – which have been developed to break any national unity and to divide New Zealanders by race into two groups with very different powers and rights – are founded on invented history and twisted logic; they are modern myths. **A first step towards putting an end to the current evolving apartheid is to set aside those directives and to insist that we will no longer be ruled from beyond the grave.**

The importance of a self-confident assertion in equality, that this is our country and we are free to determine the direction of our own society, is a theme of this set of articles, which include a firm rebuttal of several myths that have built up to direct the nation towards tribal rule.

We must see this ideology for what it is, propaganda generated for political purposes. It has become a great red herring, misdirecting attention to the study and refutation of those stories instead of putting the focus on where we find ourselves in a turbulent modern world, where we want to go, and how best to get there. **Primitive tribalism is no way forward.**

Towards co-governance; the failure of both major parties

The drift towards the overthrow of a way of life has accelerated this century. The revolution sought by the Maori leadership has remained consistent, steadily spreading and advancing step by step, until their recent great advance.

Majority opinion has been as firmly fixed in the opposite direction. The success of the 2004 speech by Don Brash at Orewa calling for equality, the one time that racial division was an issue in politics, provided a great boost to the National Party. Votes have been consistently opposed to Maori wards in local bodies, mostly in the range of 68% to 82% against. A 2012 Colmar Brunton poll found that 70% want Maori wards abolished, 68% want the Waitangi Tribunal abolished. A considerable majority of submitters to the 2013 Constitutional Advisory Panel wanted Maori seats in Parliament to be abolished.

Meanwhile politicians have been inconsistent. Recent changes have been remarkable, complete flip-flops, as both major parties have switched previously firm policies – National to form an alliance with the Maori Party and follow the policies of Maori exceptionalism, Labour to reflect the very different views of the current leadership (the opposite to those held in the previous Labour government) and the power of the Labour Party Maori caucus that has become increasingly radical.

The 1999-2008 Labour-led government (all other than the current government have been coalitions) was middle-of-the-road. The Waitangi Tribunal and Treaty settlements continued but they resisted pressure to further increase separate Maori rights. The Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 asserted public ownership and access, and that government refused to sign the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

On 27 January 2004, at a time when the National Party was low in the polls, the Party leader Don Brash gave a speech to the Orewa Rotary Club in which he called for an end to racial separation. That speech led to a surge in support for National, which almost made Brash prime minister in 2005. Thus both parties, in their different ways, refused the radical Maori Party agenda.

There was a complete reversal of policy during the term of the John Key National government in 2008. In order to gain power National entered into a coalition with the Maori Party, which insisted on radical changes. Former lawyer for Maori Treaty claims, Christopher Finlayson, became Attorney-General and Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, and settled many claims by simply giving Maori practically whatever they wanted, handing over vast sums of money and many special rights without any firm basis

for grievance. In 2010 the Minister of Maori Affairs, Pita Sharples, flew secretly to New York to sign the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In 2011 the National-led government replaced the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 with the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011 which was guided by Maori Party policy. Crown ownership of the foreshore and seabed was replaced with a 'no ownership' regime and Maori were given extensive special rights.

That policy reversal by the largely right-of-centre National Party points to the absurdity of claims that Maori exceptionalism is a socialist, Marxist ideology imposed by a supposedly far-left Jacinda Ardern government. Current New Zealand racism is in fact following a radical path first taken by the National Party, and racial separation is the very opposite of the socialist call for "Liberté, égalité, fraternité" (liberty, equality, fraternity).

The following Labour Government of New Zealand was in coalition with New Zealand First and the Green Party from 2017 to 2020. The influence of Winston Peters was sufficient to hold to a relatively moderate stance on race issues, although there was no effort to return to the policy of the previous Labour government, no intention to reassert the previous foreshore and seabed legislation or to withdraw from the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

From 2020 on the Labour Party has been able to govern in coalition with only the Green Party. There were no longer any checks on the full reversal of previous Labour Party policy. This was a changed Labour Party, the very opposite of its predecessor, unannounced in the election campaign. The blueprint was set down in the 2019 *He Puapua* report, which was kept secret throughout the 2020 campaign and subsequently, until it was revealed by the New Zealand Centre for Political Research in 2021. The ACT Party revealed a submission made by the government to the UN in August, 2020 – **before the October election** – that stated the government **"is committed to creating a declaration plan to implement the Declaration's objectives and goals."**

Both of these governments this century, National and Labour, have rejected long-term ideological positions that have widespread popular support and have made a complete

reversal of policy to become supporters of the radical Maori Party agenda that has taken New Zealand far into apartheid.

The trap closes

Once set free from the constraints imposed by coalition with the centrist New Zealand First Party led by Winston Peters, the Labour government led by Jacinda Ardern showed its true colours; following the build-up of 2021, **2022 proved to be a momentous year, the year that apartheid was embedded in New Zealand.** Any uncertainty over the practical meaning of ‘partnership’ was swept away as co-governance became the government call. Two separate governments are not far off – many steps have been taken to set up that divided structure.

The comprehensive takeover by the elite of tribal Maori, described in the 2019 blueprint *He Puapua* (a “breaking wave” to destroy democracy, based on the extreme *Matike Mai* report, which was initiated by the *Iwi Chairs’* Forum and developed in 252 Maori-only *hui* between 2012 and 2015), has been acted upon. The warning of that impending revolution with its proposal for two race-based parliaments (raised in my 2021 “He Puapua: Blueprint for breaking up New Zealand”) soon became reality, leading to my 2022 call for a counter-revolution, in “Regaining a nation: equality and democracy”.

That revolutionary overturn of a way of life, a veritable coup by descendants of former rebels, has gained considerable traction throughout 2022. The full significance of the Three Waters legislation was pointed out in a previous chapter, which identified “the elephant in the room, apartheid, the setting up of a system that divides New Zealanders further into Maori and the other, and **which asks Maori to organise a separate government system** to choose and appoint representatives who will have effective control over all of New Zealand’s ‘three waters’.”

The questioning of the sovereignty of the current New Zealand government has been mentioned above. A notable step in that direction has been the December 2022 opinion of

the Waitangi Tribunal that the Crown overstepped its authority to govern for Northern Maori throughout the 19th century, which led to an erosion of *rangatiratanga* that is “widely felt today”. The Tribunal has recommended the Crown **enter discussions with Maori on the constitutional makeup of the country, to give effect to “Treaty rights” in the country's constitutional processes and institutions.**

The words of the rebel junior chief Hone Heke are remembered, while the wisdom of senior Ngapuhi chiefs who worked with and learned from the newcomers, who asked for and welcomed British intervention, who supported the Treaty and the government, who fought against Heke’s rebellion, are forgotten. The descendants of nineteenth century rebels have taken up the banner of separation, and find support in the Waitangi Tribunal and the current government.

Propaganda forcing a belief in separate identity and rights

An extensive range of propaganda, coupled with ways to enforce compliance, has developed, to spread the belief that New Zealanders belong to two separate races, and that the story of the past demands that they have very different rights and powers.

The insistence that one point of view, determined by an appointed authority, must be adhered to, was explicit in the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act. The aim was “to provide for the observance of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi”, and the Tribunal was given the power to decide what this meant, with “exclusive authority to determine the meaning and effect of the Treaty as embodied in the two texts”. This is nonsense for a number of reasons: there were no such ‘principles’ in the Treaty and a number of differing efforts to develop a set of such principles produce rather different versions, and the ‘English Treaty’ chosen was the false version written by Hobson’s secretary, James Freeman, in the days after the Treaty had been translated into Maori and signed.

However, that false (or at least questionable) Treaty is the official version, written into law; this is what we all are asked to conform to, and what is reported. Government funding to the media requires that they follow instructions based on that definition. The first is a

“Commitment to *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and to Maori as a *Te Tiriti* partner”, with a further “commitment to *te reo Maori*.”

While that funding has been recent, support for the introduced ideology, including the reversal of the understanding of what is racism, has been long standing. For example, when (in 2013) Hugh Barr and I met with the Race Relations Office of the Human Rights Commission to raise our concern that many speaking for equality were being labelled as racist, the meeting was confrontational and adversarial. **To call for equality and to refuse division by race is called racism, while true racism is accepted. This has been a normalisation of racism.**

That topsy-turvy way of thinking has received support from the reports to the Waitangi Tribunal, which have created an imaginative new version of history, shaped by a current political agenda, which is spread and amplified by the very many *iwi* meetings associated with Treaty settlements. The multiplicity of Maori-only meetings over several decades has built up a belief in past wrongs, demanding compensation and special rights. That process is strengthened by the government, which frequently calls on tribal gatherings, held separate from the general population, to consider key issues. For example, following on from the release of *He Puapua*, the government called a series of 70 workshops “to find out what Maori aspirations are for realising the application of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”. It is no surprise that the overwhelming message was for self-determination and *tino rangatiratanga*.

The call for separation has received official support from universities, with meetings led by Maori academics. One such, at the Business School of the University of Auckland (November, 2022), was a “Constitutional Conference *Korero*”, a national *hui* “to provide the technical and legal support for constitutional transformation in *Aotearoa* New Zealand – a ‘national *wananga*’ to bring together experts from around the world and within *Aotearoa* to present arguments and options for constitutional transformation”. The long list of keynote speakers included several New Zealand professors, Justice Joe Williams (who has led the introduction of *tikanga* into law) and others from overseas, such as the President of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and Professor James Anaya from the

University of Colorado Law School (who, as a United Nations Special Rapporteur, had meddled in New Zealand's internal affairs by suggesting that the government should guarantee Maori electoral seats in the Auckland 'Supercity' Council and hand land within the Te Urewera National Park to Ngati Tuhoe, and repeated the call of the previous rapporteur to change the Foreshore and Seabed Act). These are among the 'experts' who will advise politicians, few of whom (if any) have the knowledge and self-confidence to stand up to that pressure.

There is similar pressure on elected local body councillors to conform to the separationist agenda, with reports of two full days of 'compulsory' history lessons, lectures by local Maori teaching one view of the Treaty and stories of historical grievance.

Distorted stories of colonial wrongdoing, become believed myths, are spread while other views are shut down. The relentless pressure for conformity is joined by many groups which have become accustomed to toe the line, afraid to speak out. Nothing considered controversial is accepted, in letters to the editor or in public talks. All this, I – and many others – have experienced. Thus, alternative views disappear from public discourse.

Similar compliance is demanded in much of the job market, where employment or advancements depend on not offending the gatekeepers of proclaimed (not as measured) public opinion.

Propaganda for the ideology of past wrongs, colonial guilt and special indigenous status is widespread. This is coupled with acceptance of increasingly radical claims, many challenging or contrary to the law. Claims of alternative governments are met with official inaction, while unilateral decisions by judges to write tribalism into law by introducing *tikanga*, and a call for a divisive constitution, have been sanctioned. These are in addition to the several well-funded local and national organisations working towards transformation, such as *iwi* groups, the Maori Council, the *Iwi* Leaders Forum, the king movement and the Maori Party.

Several examples of alternative governments have been noted in "Regaining a nation".

The 'Maori Government of *Aotearoa Nu Tireni*' is claimed to be the "de jure Government of the Chiefs of the Confederation of the Maori Tribes", "the lawful government of the sovereign nation of *Aotearoa nu tireni*". Its active 'Wakaminenga Health Council' issues Annual Practising Certificates to health practitioners. It offers a "Protected individual Vaccine exception" card, exempting a person "from receiving any vaccine or medical tests which breach *hapu tikanga* customary laws". It provides a trespass order, proclaiming: "WARNING TRESPASS NOTICE! TO ALL NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT OR LOCAL COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES, POLICE, MILITARY OR OFFICERS OF Her Majesty the Queen in Right of New Zealand or Corporate representatives. YOU MAY NOT ENTER WITHOUT CONSENT".

A separate organisation, the 'Maori Ranger Security Division' (which includes a policing unit), similarly proclaims that "Maori Sovereignty was NEVER ceded" and that: "The power is with *hapu* authority not *iwi*". They advertise "*Te-moana-nui-a-kiwa* Diplomatic Immunity Sea Pass Identity Cards".

Parallel actions include the declaration of Tuhoë (who have been handed the control of the Urewera National Park), with their prominent sign: "You are now within the boundaries of TUHOE NATION".

Alternative government structures, destroying the unity of the nation, have been set up, and are unchallenged. Such actions sit comfortably with the government policy of racial separation and co-governance.

The most important propaganda activity (conditioning a belief in separate race and special identity) is the active brainwashing of young people, the next generation. This has been under way for several decades with the stories told in *kohanga reo* childcare centres and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools (there are two very different school curricula for Maori and general schools).

The importance of education in forming beliefs is well established. The expression by Aristotle, "Give me a child until he is seven and I will show you the man", has been repeated many times since by major political thinkers. **The current education review is a key factor in spreading ideas of colonial wrongs and Maori 'indigenous' demands for special status, a**

major platform for the assertion of one version of the story of New Zealand to support the racist ideology which insists that we are two peoples.

There is much to consider there; a comprehensive and critical examination by Roger Childs, “New Zealand’s History Curriculum; Education or Indoctrination?”, has been published by Tross Publishing in February, 2023. An opening comment is that: “In education there has been an intensive *Maorification* of school curricula in recent years, with a heavy emphasis on Maori content and *matauranga*. A key curriculum affected in this process is the new history prescription for Years 1-10 students which is being taught from 2023. The developers have put together a programme which heavily favours the 16.5% of students who are part-Maori, and they have included a lot of material featuring Maori achievement and culture; alleging the poor treatment of their people over the last 180 years and how their culture has been persistently undermined by ‘colonialism’.”

Many misleading statements are identified. “The opening paragraph in the Year 8-9 teaching resources states that School Journal articles can help students understand the various ways that Maori tried to resist colonialism, retain land and assert *mana* ... As is the case throughout the curriculum, Maori are often seen as a homogeneous group, with shared values and objectives. However, the reality during the New Zealand Wars was that most supported the government; many fought alongside colonial troops; most wanted to get on with their lives in peace, and only a minority aggressively opposed the government and colonial troops.”

Childs considers several such articles and notes both inaccuracies and omissions. “Calman’s statement ‘forced to defend their lands’ does not take into account that the Waikato War followed aggressive actions by the Maori king’s supporters. ... Other resources make statements that cannot be justified, referring to: ‘The brutal attack of Rangiaowhia by the British’, ‘Crown hostility’, ‘Aggressive land acquisition’, ‘Grey’s invasion of the Waikato’.” Each of these can be countered with reference to the facts.

It is suggested that oral accounts must be considered. But it is far more important that accounts written at the time must have priority. **The directions towards one point of view**

and the selection of claims to support that bias, without discussion of other ideas, is propaganda and not education.

Apartheid and tribal rule

An alien world is being built around us. The majority of New Zealanders no longer belong to our country. **The insistence on the superiority of one culture and the subservience of others, stripped of their rights and dignity, is the greatest wrong done to our society. There is no respect, no *aroha*, no belonging together; we are not one people.**

Throughout this series of articles my main argument is that we must be free to decide for ourselves now and for our future, based on our desire for a decent society of equals, working together rather than aggressively pitted against one another. The final chapter gives a glimpse of the reality of living under tribal rule – what exists now, and the further revolutionary transformations proposed for the future, presenting a disturbing picture of autocratic rule by a powerful minority. The probable future if New Zealand continues down the path to tribal rule will be an end of a united sovereignty, replaced by co-governance complete with two parliaments organised under very different systems and cultures. It is an unpleasant picture.

There can be a better future. Equality must be the one overarching principle, directing and defining the debate; we must be one.

CHAPTER 6: LIVING UNDER TRIBAL RULE

No longer our country

Sadly, New Zealand is racist. A belief in race is recognised in law; whenever information is collected this includes race; the two identified racial groups are treated separately, with vastly different rights. The last few years have seen a considerable increase in special powers to the Maori minority, as an apartheid system is being constructed.

A language that the great majority do not understand is being spoken on radio and television, written in the media and in government documents. A tribal culture has been introduced into law without consideration by parliament or the people. The name of the country is being changed, without the consent of the people. We have no control over this, no say, and the meaning of the language and the imposed culture is, explicitly, defined differently across the country, by tribes.

An alien world is being built around us. The majority of New Zealanders no longer belong to our country. The insistence on the superiority of one culture and the subservience of others, stripped of their rights and dignity, is the greatest wrong done to our society. There is no respect, no *aroha*, no belonging together; we are not one people.

An insistence on tribal rule is made clear in the guiding document for co-governance, the *He Puapua* report. Thus: “*Iwi* and *hapu* will have agreed and established their governance structures, with their authority recognised.”

What is being taken from us – the sense of that each of us belongs in our country, on our lands and seas – is precious, yet elected governments, local and national, allow that theft to happen. Here is a brief overview of where we are today and where we are heading as tribal rule is strengthened and bedded in.

The situation today

There are many aspects of division in New Zealand that are merely taken for granted, not questioned by most people, as if these were satisfactory features of a modern society. Despite running counter to the generally accepted idea of an equal, democratic nation, aspects of racial separation have become normalised, now a familiar part of the country's fabric. It has even been a matter for criticism and condemnation should any question be raised: we must accept the status quo and to be controversial is unacceptable. This is an ill-informed people, lacking depth and refusing a close perusal of the new ideology, largely asleep to the takeover of the country.

One claim is that the Treaty of Waitangi is accepted myth, a sacred text, a spiritual authority over us all, for ever. Yet just what is the Treaty and what it means is highly disputed; the official version is now that in English it is a rewrite by Hobson's secretary James Freeman, and that Maori words have newly minted meanings. What must now be obeyed is that twisted interpretation of an old document, which was initially translated from a clear English text into Maori with a careful wording doing the best possible to express concepts that had been absent from tribal Maori culture. Words have changed meaning and government has evolved in an extensively changed world but the resulting mess is written into law. **A fundamentally distorted vision of history is leading to disaster.**

The consequences are considerable. A brief overview uncovers a considerable array of laws and organisations that now divide us by race, most of which have been introduced by stealth, free from public input.

- Unfamiliar, and often unclear language, for the most part newly invented (*te aka* is a dictionary, *te kete* a library, even though Maori were illiterate), has been introduced in legislation, law and by media (most markedly by Radio New Zealand and Television New Zealand which must "reflect Maori perspectives").

- A report commissioned by New Zealand on Air, “*Te Tiriti* framework for news media” asks for biased and incorrect reporting, with the insistence that “**Maori never ceded sovereignty**”, and the requirement that: “**Reporting on Maori and Maori issues reflects the ongoing colonial constitution of society.**” Thus, the public is brainwashed.
- The country name is being changed, even in official documents: the New Zealand passport cover has an identification as “*Uruwhenua Aotearoa*”; a current \$10 note has “Reserve Bank of New Zealand *Te Putea Matua*” on one side and “New Zealand *Aotearoa* on the other”. A change of the national flag requires a referendum (which was carried out, and failed); so, too, any change of the name of the country only has validity if the majority of citizens agree. We are never asked.
- Changes have been made in the names for towns, and of streets and parks (such as Von Tempsky St to Putikiti St, Dawson Park to Te Wehenga Park in Hamilton) so that key figures are being written out of history.

These are the features most evident to members of the public who are angered as such significant changes are made without any reference to public opinion and wishes. They are, however, just the tip of a very large iceberg, of developments that are altering the makeup and ethos of New Zealand. Separation is a fundamental feature of New Zealand democracy, of the legal and social framework.

- There is separate, and unequal, representation in government, both local or national, giving Maori an extra power in setting laws and governing, including directing public services.
- Tribal law, *tikanga*, has been introduced by the courts as a fundamental element of the legal system.
- The ancient tribal culture, *matauranga Maori*, guides universities and science.

- History has been rewritten (revisionist history, counter-factual history, clouded by retrospective recrimination), and the newly minted version is insisted upon and must be taught in schools.
- The Treaty of Waitangi has been comprehensively rewritten and brought into legislation, as a directive to thought and actions.
- An extensive Treaty industry has built up over 48 years, seeking grievance and providing considerable settlements to tribes (money, lands, special rights and powers).
- Quotas have been introduced for many courses, so that a less capable Maori will obtain a place ahead of a hard-working non-Maori (the Auckland University Medical School sets apart 30% of entries for Maori and Pacifica students). Criteria have been introduced in many job specifications which favour Maori (including familiarity with *tikanga*, and the mantra of “by Maori for Maori”).
- There is a separate education curriculum for Maori (including to be “proud to be Maori”, while pride in our country is absent in either curriculum), and the revised history is to be taught to all children.
- There is a separate health system.
- Sovereignty over New Zealand has been claimed by organisations (which is treason), without any action by authorities. The Waitangi Tribunal has advanced ideas of dual sovereignty, so that *hapu* and *iwi* can exert their own separate sovereignty, and has falsely ruled that many Maori never accepted the sovereignty of the government.
- Maori have become active in international affairs, including calling for a United Nations rapporteur to demand a rewrite of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004, a Maori body, *Nga Toki Whakarururanga* to enable effective Maori influence on trade negotiations

(2020), and a national conference on Maori perspectives on the great international issues of our time (“Navigating a stormy world; *Te ao Maori* perspectives; Anchoring Maori values in foreign policy”, 2022).

- After *iwi* consultation on changes needed to bring the Department of Conservation’s policies in line with the Treaty of Waitangi, much of the conservation estate is managed by *iwi*.

There is a deep-seated belief among those who make decisions on our behalf that New Zealanders are two people. Multiple actions, far too many to continue to list here, follow that imperative, so that any person following the stripping apart of the society soon becomes overwhelmed by the continual process providing rule over our lives to Maori and becomes reduced to despair that this should happen without public outcry.

During apartheid, South Africans were defined as belonging to one of three races: White, Black or Coloured. A white person was one whose parents were both white and possessed the “habits, speech, education, deportment and demeanour” of a white person. Blacks belonged to an African race or tribe. The apartheid bureaucracy devised complex (and often arbitrary) criteria to determine who was coloured. It is simpler here: a bit of ancestry and a person is Maori.

Once in Nazi Germany any person who was one-quarter Jewish was defined a Jew. Now here in New Zealand any person who is one-eighth Maori, or one-sixteenth, or has any past Maori ancestor, is defined a Maori and in the count is not permitted to decide that they are simply a New Zealander – they must be Maori, and plans are that any such person must be on the Maori roll for voting.

Nothing is exactly the same in differing times and places. However, **one key characteristic defining these systems, shared by New Zealand, is domination by a race, of a race, and marginalisation by race. Racism is embedded and tribes are gaining control of the country – that is nothing other than a fact.**

Many Maori have followed the aggressive old ways, as witnessed several times at Waitangi, by outbursts at public meetings, by noisy marches and by occupation of land that they claim and wish to take. These actions are labelled non-violent, which they are so long as the demonstrators are left to achieve their unlawful purposes; whenever there is action to protect the rights of others, there is pushing and shoving, resulting in loud claims of anti-Maori behaviour, usually supported by the media. Since police have been instructed to hold back, such tactics succeed. This destroys many legitimate business activities including land sales; no-one wants to buy into a conflict and it is wise to sell at a reduced price and get out of it, to leave the district or the country, and many people draw back from open debate, fearing that meetings will be disrupted by shouting demonstrators.

There have been many particular cases of individual harm. The most shocking of the human tragedies resulting from these divisive decrees and attitudes has been the total destruction of Northland farmer Alan Titford following his purchase of a property at Maunganui Bluff in 1986, where he intended to sell a number of half-acre beachfront sections, on land that was rezoned for rural residential development by the Hobson County Council, with no objection. (Described in "24 years: the trials of Alan Titford" by Mike Butler.)

The "for sale signs" disappeared and were replaced by other signs claiming that this was "Maori land". Disruption then continued for years: protestors moved on to the land (and police did nothing to remove the squatters), a vacant cottage burned down, bulldozers were sabotaged several times, in two months Titford lost 300 lambs and sheep (missing or dead), a fence was pulled down and (in 1992) he returned from a restaurant meal to find the family home burning. From the time of the first disruptions, potential buyers of beachfront properties turned away and Titford's financial problems mushroomed.

Titford's solicitor had checked the titles of the land and confirmed that they could be traced back to the 1876 sale of the Maunganui block. Confirmation came from the Minister of Maori Affairs, Koro Wetere (quoting a 1942 recommendation by the Maori Land Court chief judge), and from Prime Minister David Lange, who wrote that the Minister of Justice,

Geoffrey Palmer, had done a search through the Lands and Deeds office and confirmed that the land in dispute was indisputably owned by Titford in fee simple title. Lange had made it clear that “not one single inch of private land is under threat from the Waitangi Tribunal”. Yet in 1992 the Waitangi Tribunal recommended the return of land, including Maunganui Bluff, to the Te Roroa *iwi*. Alan Titford was forced to sell to the government, who thus gave the tribe all that they wanted; the campaign of intimidation was a success.

After being hounded for years, trying to hold on to property that he had properly purchased and to develop a small farming business, Titford was struggling with family and mental health issues as well as financial woes (most of us would have been knocked sideways by the attacks and the lack of protection from the police). The final act was a court case in which he was sentenced to 24 years in prison for a range of claimed acts within the family, including alleged rapes against his wife. The conviction was cumulative, giving an extraordinary time in prison; the sentence for murder is less, life imprisonment with a non-parole period of at least 10 years. Titford is a broken man.

No one wants to buy a property subject to a Treaty claim; several Kauri Coast farmers wanted to get out (one farm put up for tender received no offers and its value sank by two-thirds) and wrote to their MP and the Minister of Justice asking that they be bought out at fair market value), and a 1992 newspaper report referred to 292 claims affecting farms in Northland at the time. Others are listed by Mike Butler (page 66), and claims of *wahi tapu* now threaten farm development across the country.

Each of us may ask: but does that affect me, should I take note, be concerned? It could if there is a dispute over property or a business arrangement*, other legal issues, a question of employment*, limits on writing* or public speaking*, limits on access to parks and beaches, concern with our place in society and the organisation of government and democracy (an asterisk denotes a situation that I have experienced). It is well to keep in mind the 1946 confessional of German Lutheran pastor Martin Niemoller, reflecting on his passivity during the Nazi regime.

First they came for the Communists and I did not speak out because I was not a Communist,

Then they came for the Socialists and I did not speak out because I was not a Socialist,

Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist,

Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew,

Then they came for me and there was no one left to speak out for me.

The future is bleak for us all unless positive action is taken.

Features of tribal life

Before the coming of Europeans, Maori lived in tribes. As members of a related unit, they were largely isolated from all others by territorial animosity, and welded together by territorial defence. All too often the stranger was hated, the fellow tribesman protected. In that system, for the foreigner there must exist no measure of tolerance or charity or peace; for the countryman one must feel at least rudimentary loyalty and devotion. The individual must protect the group; the group, the individual.

That lifestyle, with a multiplicity of tribes scattered across the country, provided conditions that readily give rise to war: the separation of men into groups, the alliance of men and territory, and the latent capacity for the enmity code to dominate man in his relation to a hostile neighbour.

The resultant insecurity and the readiness to go to war was once evident in New Zealand, where the first Europeans observed the prevalence of existing tribal warfare – to be followed by a considerable upsurge in fighting during the first four decades of the nineteenth century when the increase in the killings, in battle and after, together with cannibalism, slavery and social disruption, resulted in the halving of the population in just 40 years.

That was primitive society. Over the preceding several millennia other peoples had developed better ways to live together, no longer in many tribes but under the shield of the nation state. Conflict was moved to beyond the extended territorial borders, and citizens within each sovereign country could live together in peace, security and prosperity, under a rule of law. That civilisation came to New Zealand.

Now that whole edifice is being pulled down. Sovereignty is denied the nation and claimed for tribal units, as is loyalty and feelings of fellowship. A fragmented society is being constructed, destroying democracy and re-introducing the conditions for inequality and conflict. It is as if the government is itself initiating civil war, by setting down the conditions for tribal conflict, among Maori tribes and against the remainder of New Zealanders, in a repeat of the many nineteenth century wars.

Gangs: reversion to tribal culture

Many features of tribalism are evident in the situation and organisation of gangs. They have strong bonds to other members of the gang, which is their community or tribe, and consider the surrounding society as a world apart, so do not respect or follow the laws of the nation. They are not accepted by that surrounding society, being considered and treated as unacceptable, living 'beyond the pale'.

Elder gang members who wish for a better way of life for their children are caught in the same trap as were early tribal elders. **Those chiefs of the early nineteenth century found a way out, when they called upon Britain for help and then escaped the incessant wars of tribalism by welcoming British colonisation with a national governments and laws. Gang**

leaders, including one who described to me in the 1990s his difficulties in raising finance to set up gang enterprises in order to provide meaningful employment to young members, find no such support. Too many young people are thus left to gain a feeling of belonging by adhering to the practices, often lawless, of their outlaw peer group, a gang.

The prophets of tribal development must take note of the results of such division and face the probable consequences of the disintegration of society, with the destruction of a common culture and a lack of acceptance of a common set of laws.

The future: further extension of division

What the future will bring if we continue down the path of separation toward tribal dominance is described in the *He Puapua* report, buttressed by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples with its insistence that 'indigenous' people must hold effective sovereignty over all lands that their forefathers once held. That path is no longer a secret, being now openly spoken of by leaders of the ongoing insurrection (often inheritors of nineteenth century rebellion) against the sovereign nation.

The UN Declaration demands that indigenous people have control over all aspects of the nation; as well as sovereignty, their list includes "control over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources", "control over their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning", "the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts" (an impressively comprehensive prescription, including science and literature that were absent in the old Maori culture). They must have "their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any

project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.”

He Puapua is explicit in demanding separate representative institutions with three chambers of parliament, with overall guidance from *tikanga*, a form of culture that is heavily reliant on pre-contact Maori life. The general parliamentary institution (the one space for all New Zealanders) is called the “*Kawangatanga Sphere*” which too has Maori dominance: the discussion of *kawangatanga* includes the requirement that: “The nation will know and appreciate *iwi* tribal boundaries”. Thus, Maori play a full, indeed dominant, part in the general parliament as well as having their own separate and powerful institution.

The make-up of the Maori chamber (called the “*Rangatiratanga Sphere*”) and how members will be chosen is unspecified; it will certainly be organised by tribes. *He Puapua* makes that clear. A major aspect of *rangatiratanga* is that: “*Iwi* and *hapu* will have agreed and established their governance structures, with their authority recognised” and “*Tikanga Maori* will be functioning and applicable across Aotearoa under Maori (national, *iwi*, *hapu*, *whanau*) authority”.

Once that step is taken, there will be no easy way back; the rebels will own the government.

- The Westminster system will be gone. There will be no referendum; as with so many changes now, this will just happen, by stealth.
- Government by the people (all the people), for the people, will be a thing of the past.
- Law will be no longer be set down by the people’s representatives, comprehensible to all.
- The concept of equality will be (indeed, has been) replaced by a belief in past wrongs of colonisation that must be put right by giving power to ‘indigenous’ people while (supposed) inheritors of past sins accept submission and an inferior position.

Citizenship for other than Maori will be stripped of any meaning. Any sense of belonging to our land, which is now seriously undermined, will be gone completely. Non-Maori will be ‘the other’ in a land that was once ours.

Full accomplishment of the project is nothing less than the takeover of the country, a rebellion against our one universal government, following the pattern of previous calls for tribal control, as set up by the king movement and as proposed by supporters of *kotahitanga*. Actions once recognised as treason are now assisted by a compliant government in a dwindling, and soon to disappear, democracy.

Much will change in this overthrow of a civilisation. Recent actions give a clear idea of what it will be like. Consider what has followed the handing over of control of the Urewera National Park to Tuhoe (who were paid \$2 million yearly to manage this once famous area renowned for fishing, tramping and family holidays). While access roads and boat ramps were blocked with tractors, trucks and broken-down cars, to bar all others from the area, that *iwi* burned down all the tramping, hunting and rescue huts across the Ureweras. Those welcome, essential huts, built in the wilderness, largely with considerable hard work by volunteers over decades, are dear to the hearts of many who have come to appreciate shelter after a hard day in the forest. These were the people's huts. Visitors to that area are now greeted by a prominent sign: "You are now within the boundaries of TUHOE NATION". There is infighting among tribal members, many of whom disapprove of that wanton destruction of property.

A glimpse of the future under complete tribal rule, can be found in a list of some of the highly likely outcomes – additional to the fundamental changes noted above – if this (an effective coup by descendants of former rebels, remaining loyal to that separatist cause) is not stopped.

- New Zealand is no longer a unified sovereign state. *Aotearoa* is a collection of sovereign, tribal mini-states.
- The proposed multiple government structure will be set up, first by de facto steps such as 'co-governance' and then by decree. Who knows how that will work in practice? The key will lie in the resulting power struggle, and which tribal groups will dominate. The certainly is for subservience of the majority and quarrelling among the many *iwi*. Widespread corruption is certain.

- Local councils, like central government will be organised in 'partnership' with power shared between the dominant local *iwi* (*mana whenua*, not all Maori) and others. Ratepayers will have no say in these changes.
- All European town, city, street and land-mark names will be replaced by Maori names chosen by *iwi*, without allowing any other expression of opinion. The country will be *Aotearoa*, again without any referendum.
- National sovereignty will disappear as the country moves to multiple forms of government, each claiming sovereignty.
- Racial categorisation will be enforced; all Maori must be on the Maori roll, no matter what the proportion of Maori ancestry. Those who establish an appropriate *iwi* connection will gain position and power, depending on the strength and locality of their tribe.
- Laws recognising *tikanga* and tribal rights will be firmly established. There will be a dual system of justice, as with governance, with two sets of laws and Maori judges whose appointment will be influenced by tribal authorities. Just where the boundary will be set in cases involving both race-defined groups in anybody's guess.
- *Iwi* will police local decisions to place tribal tolls on or ban swimming, boating and fishing along the foreshore on beaches, as well as rivers and lakes. Some places will be off limits for a variety of reasons, with signs of foreign sovereign territories. There will be tribal tolls to use national parks.
- *Iwi* will declare and police a multiplicity of sacred sites, *wahi tapu* preventing land owners from any development and often forcing a sale at less than market value. Since Maori fought and killed one another across so much of the country, there will be no shortage of such claims, and more can readily be invented: proof of authentic historical value or sacredness is not required. Such claims helped to destroy Alan Titford, including a story that his pohutukawa trees had bodies buried under each, which was disproved ten years later when it was shown that the bodies had been previously removed to a cemetery.

- Certainly the freedom to write and publish this article, or anything similar (including books exploring the reality of New Zealand history, particularly with reference to the Treaty of Waitangi), will be banned. There will be tighter restrictions on free speech and publications. This will be backed by legislation banning 'hate speech' (a concept introduced by the current government) and anything deemed to be anti-Maori.

We pause this list here to note that this is today's reality, with the call to ban Tross books (including my own) and government requirements which threaten a loss of funding to organisations which permit criticism of official policy. One recent refusal of hire of a hall to speak against co-governance was clear on this point. "As mentioned yesterday, Sport Northland have recently adjusted their trust deed to recognise *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* and have changed their board structure to that of co-governance. Due to these factors and after viewing your website and the information you sent, we have unfortunately have made the decision to decline your facility booking. I hope this is understandable." We do indeed understand: government decree prevents freedom of gathering, breaking with a universal belief that: "Freedom of association is one of the most basic rights enjoyed by humans. It ensures that every individual is free to organise and to form and participate in groups, either formally or informally." There would be all hell to play if there were similar restrictions on Maori gatherings.

- Health, like education is divided into two race-based systems. The emphasis on special assistance to Maori will reduce the finances available to others. There will be further decline due to inefficiency and the extra layer of bureaucracy to control compliance with requirements for *tikanga*, and the corruption when key positions are given by *iwi* appointments (across all social services) and not competence will raise costs and reduce service delivery.
- Inequalities will increase, and many Maori will be among those who suffer.
- Tribal administration charges and tolls will be introduced on water going in and out of houses and businesses, and for use of Waikato River flow (including for electricity generation).

- Development costs will skyrocket, since tribal involvement will add another layer of bureaucracy, and tribes will have to be bought off to remove the restrictions of *wahi tapu*. Developers will pass these costs on to home owners and house prices will rise.
- The military and the police will be more loyal to tribal *tikanga* than to the country.
- With Maori control of foreign affairs, New Zealand will form strong ties with 'indigenous' people elsewhere and will be aligned with anti-colonial forces, largely in former colonies, across the world rather than the current western group.
- Foreign investors will be required to co-ordinate with, and support, *iwi* authorities while following *kotahitanga* directives.
- Education in separate school systems provides the condition for brainwashing. This has been happening for many years now (with *kohanga reo* since 1982 and *kura kaupapa* since 1985), so that a generation has been raised in a culture of exceptionalism, expecting – and getting – special treatment, and resulting in the arrogance typical of any class system.
- Bullying behaviour typical of Maori claims, land occupations, noisy marches and rude interruptions to meetings will increase.

Tribalism and a lack of unity will lead to conflict

There is danger here, in addition to the destruction of democracy and the end of free speech and equality. Maori society has always been fractious, traditionally with savage warfare among the tribes – which was murderous in the early decades of the nineteenth century when one-third of Maori perished directly in the tribal wars and the full impact was a population decline of half. The arguments and disruption that are evident now may soon spread throughout all of New Zealand.

One possible scenario for the future is civil war among tribes, a return to pre-colonisation Maori society in a failing state. As well as conflict between tribes, there will also be

differences within each tribe, keeping in mind that most disagreement will be settled under the dictates of *tikanga* and only appealing to national law in extreme cases.

Tribal loyalty is based on *whanau*, on family. This leads to a lack of fair play in tribal affairs. A colleague has provided the following note, which paints a picture that has long been evident.

“I was talking to a forensic accountant, a Maori in his 50’s, and he told me he was inundated with requests from Maori who wanted him to investigate their tribe’s financial affairs. He said the basic problem was that their tribes were receiving pay-outs from the government, settlements, but that families at the top of the tribal tree were hoarding the cash and that misappropriation of funds was running at epidemic levels.”

Not only can tribalism provide a situation where corruption and conflict are likely, also the division from the rest of society evident with separate Maori schooling leads to a reduction in feelings of common humanity among young and in the coming generation. The resultant lack of empathy in any such isolated community has long been recognised, as in the following from a mystery novel, “The inside darkness” by Jorn Lier Horst, where the author is considering the origins of evil.

“It was a matter of apportioning responsibility. It was easier to take part in something when you did not have to take the punishment on your own. Then your sense of responsibility disintegrated, since you did not have to bear the burden of responsibility alone. Moral objections were eroded. A psychological experiment was shown in which a group of students was asked to play the roles of prisoners and prison guards in a jail. The experiment had to be aborted before the end of the first week, when it was found that the ‘guards’ were so blinded by their power and the punitive regime that they humiliated the ‘prisoners’ to such an extent that several of them broke down completely. It was a case of ‘us and them’. ‘The others’ were regarded as untrustworthy, dangerous and bad people who threatened our way of life.

The abuse of authority, subjugation and control, and domination of the will of others provided evil with fertile soil in which to flourish, and at the same time both blind

obedience and uncritical loyalty to absolute rules were what could transform peaceful democracies into fascist dictatorships.”

Here is the darkest part of possible scenarios of what the future may bring; the nightmare that apartheid lite will morph into a full-scale version of apartheid and authoritarian racial dictatorship – and no-one can pretend that *tikanga* was a peaceful culture. Many aspects of fascism exist today (such as controls over speech and meetings) and (as noted above) tribal societies provide ready conditions for conflict. The moral compass of tradition and professionalism within a secure national cultural framework is being disassembled, to be replaced by tribalism where loyalty and empathy are within the tribe and refused to ‘the others’. That path has been followed before by other countries, with disastrous consequences.

Then we will be strangers in our own country, ruled over by a strange, alien culture, all arguing amongst themselves. Others will be held captive as tribal authorities will have control of the police and army, largely Maori with loyalty to *kotahitanga* and the Maori king. To accept that is to accept the demanded subservience, to hand over power and to live as second-class citizens. This cannot be allowed to happen.

Tribal rule or freedom – that is the choice we face today.

The way forward is equality

Tribal rule is intolerable, unacceptable. **A key recognition expounded throughout these chapters is that we can step free from the binds of the past, set aside the re-invented stories of the past and the complete overturn of the Treaty of Waitangi, to instead ask what we want now. We can then make the choice to follow a path of equality and not that of divisive tribal *tikanga*.**

There is no need to be ruled by the past, if we assert our freedom, to decide now for ourselves, our generation in our time. History retains its interest and may provide a guide but is no longer a cage within we are trapped. The stories of the past must no longer be

accepted as mythical, magic, the ultimate guide for all policies (as the Bible once was). Once all that is set aside, **we become free** to think and decide for ourselves. **We, the living, are not ruled from beyond the grave by those who lived before us in different times.** It is for us to decide our way of life, our culture, our government, our laws.

The Treaty of Waitangi has been shredded and lost its meaning, to now present a variety of divergent ideas; it must no longer be treated as a sacred document, and it must be set aside, no longer a controversial and contradictory blueprint for the future. Free of that roadblock, we can gather, debate and decide as equals – to determine our own future together.

This is not true of today. The proclaimed culture, *tikanga*, is tribal, inward-looking, harking back to a time of savagery, warfare and social collapse.

The culture of most New Zealanders, including me, is global, recognising that we are all part of a common humanity, building on the best of guidance from centuries, indeed millennia, of searching for a better way to live together in fellowship and peace.

They want all power in a few hands, theirs. I want to regain my belonging in my country, as a free and equal citizen – not superior and not subservient, neither master nor slave, just one of the whole team, all proud to belong here.

They reach out to the angry defiance of nineteenth century rebels, following some of their forefathers. I listen to, and learn from, wisdom from across the globe – including those chiefs who saw the destruction of tribal wars and sought help from the British. The recognition of common humanity is the very opposite of the tribalism of ancient peoples, as the peaceful life within a system of law differs from the love of warfare and cannibalism that it has replaced.

Deep in that culture which we have inherited, which has been steadily becoming universal, the first guiding principle and goal to strive for is equality among all citizens. Major advances have continued in that direction, including equality of votes, no longer dependant on wealth or gender. Only a fool would go back.

That desire for togetherness has been expressed many times in poetry and song, philosophy and science. All belong in our lands; in the words of Woody Guthrie, “this land belongs to you and me” – each and every one of us. The links that bind us together have been expressed by English poet and cleric John Donne: “No man is an island, Entire of itself; Every man is a piece of the continent, A part of the main.” The call for equality comes from fighters against racism, including Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.

The message, that no man is alone, as all belong to humanity, is echoed in many great pronouncements. It was chosen as the first principle of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights,

and has been further emphasised in the contradictory and otherwise divisive United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples where the Introduction makes an unmistakable call for equality:

“All doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust.”

This is indeed universal, as in Islam, where Muhammad is quoted as saying:

Every infant is born in the natural state. It is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian or a heathen.

Here we are, each of us having been born, all with ancestors and most with descendants. What can we make of this world, how can we live together in harmony so each of us can have a good life? We can choose to be guided by the best from the past, or to follow paths into division and inequality in rights. Now rebellions of the past have reappeared, to drive New Zealand towards racial division and apartheid.

A different path was set down when Christianity and British civilisation first came to these shores, with the message of Rev. Marsden when he preached the first sermon in the country at the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day, 1814, starting with: “Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy” – talking of a better way of life than the warfare and cannibalism that he saw all around him. When Samuel Marsden proclaimed these words at the first Christmas service in New Zealand 209 years ago, he felt his “soul melt” as he looked out at his congregation on the green hillside overlooking the sea. Maori and European stood together for the Christian ceremony, and no doubt this was how Marsden envisaged the future for the two races in New Zealand.

I, as an atheist, would happily march behind that banner raised by Marsden, for the message is for all people of all faiths and beliefs. **Based on philosophy, culture, past experience and an understanding of what works, my choice of basic principles underpinning a preferred society are of equality (of every one of us, undivided by race) and democracy. This is the very opposite to tribalism, which demands priority to tribes above all others, and chiefly rule, providing the condition for future conflict.**

With equality there would be no Maori roll, no Maori seats in parliament, no Maori wards in local government, no Waitangi Tribunal, no Treaty settlements, no separate schools and hospitals, no co-governance, no Three Waters. We could simply settle down and live together.

Two straightforward principles then form the basis for a future unified, peaceful society.

1. **The sovereignty of New Zealand is in the hands of the people of New Zealand. In the hands of ALL the people of New Zealand.**

2. **All New Zealanders are born equal and must live as equals. Equal in rights and duties. Equal in selecting every level of government. Equal in all legislation. Equal before the law.**

That is my culture. It requires a steadfast counter-revolution to remove the many divisive laws of today that have embedded racial difference in all aspects of the New Zealand way of life.

The motto of my old school, Avondale College, is *Kohia Nga Taikaka*, to “collect the heartwood”, to strive after the best things in life, and to work, play and act in a manner that will bring credit to each individual and to the College. The decision for New Zealand depends on a judgement, the choice of what amongst us is the heartwood, of most value. For this, we must demand the freedom to think for ourselves.

Reaction to putting it right

The tribal forces for *kotahitanga*, along with their national organisations, are determined to achieve their full goals, and 2022 has showed how far the agenda can advance under a compliant government. The few checks have been insignificant compared to their gains.

Should there be a return to a nation of one people, with equal rights, they would be extremely unhappy, and angry, given their conviction of the rightness of their cause. After so much of the tribal revolution and the coup against democratic government has been achieved, the tribal leadership (‘tribal elite’) will not be prepared to back down and take their place as equals in a country that they claim for themselves.

There will be immediate and forceful action by people used to getting their own way, often by bullying tactics. Action to bring back a rule of law will be resisted. **Then, all bets are off.**

It is all too easy to review recent aggressive actions and see the possibility of violence, take-over by tribal militia, and racial civil war.

While the aim must be to join together as one people in a united nation, that possibility must not be ignored. A proper resolution requires that the newly empowered majority should be resolute in a united determination to bring equality and a decent society. Any such rebellion must be met with firm resolve, with a prompt reaction.

Those attacking an equal democracy with racial separation and co-government have shown determination; what is now needed is an equal resolve to bring back respect and empathy among us all, for us all.

Let's imagine it's all going away

In early 2023 the government has decided to put co-governance on the back burner, perhaps to go slow on Three Waters. National Party policy is two-faced, vacuous: National is “committed to repealing and replacing Three Waters”, not getting rid of the whole idea. Who knows what they would do?

The expectation is that most people will think that the challenge of Maori exceptionalism has gone away. Nothing could be further from the truth. The great brainwashing campaign will remain, along with the education of the present and future generations of Maori in a belief of past wrongs and indigenous rights, as well as the many steps taken, across the years and more particularly through 2022, to strengthen racial division.

The drive to tribalism is deep-rooted and firmly established. It can only be overcome with firm and comprehensive action, which is not on the cards from either major party in this election year, 2023. Co-governance, whether it is spoken of or not, is firmly established now as a feature of New Zealand life.

The country risks a retreat into wishy-washy ignorance while the forces of *kotahitanga* ready themselves for their next major push towards their goals. **Inaction now, together with the continuing festering of exceptionalism, makes civil war highly probable in around ten years' time.**

SUMMING UP

The one central theme here has been: where are we going? – guided by a desire to face the reality of what is happening to New Zealand, to explore the best way to deal with the challenges that we face, and to recognise that we are losing a fight for the soul of the nation as a coup is heading steadily closer to tribal take-over.

It is recognised here that we must not just argue against what we do not want. We must, from the very first, make it clear that we are fighting for something that we treasure, something essential – equality and democracy. A struggle is won by attacking, and we have a very good point here, the equality that is being destroyed. Otherwise we end up fighting defensive battles as they throw nonsense at us, and they continue to win the war – which has been going on for decades.

All too much of the extensive scholarship has been focussed on dealing with their claims, of the rewritten history and Treaty, of the stealth and deception (the battles). And to date, the fight (the war) has been lost. It is important to move the focus to what we want, on what is precious in modern civilisation, which is being torn apart and which we will fight for. We should choose the ground we fight on and the aim we fight for, not just carry on the struggle where they have chosen the field of battle.

The following is a summary of the thinking guiding the articles on which this document is based.

New Zealand is in big trouble, a divided country.

Many arguments have been put forward to divide us, based on documents from the past, with the meaning of each hotly debated. We need not be directed by any of that. Rather we should be guided by basic principles that we can all agree on when we meet to debate our choice for our society, no longer held hostage to the shackles of the past. The question for today, as always, is what sort of society and what sort of country do we want? In answering that question, we must be free to think for ourselves, and consider what is best

for us, now, in today's world. What guides us in a search for a decent and prosperous nation?

This core principle is for equality. We must be one, with government by us all, working together as equal citizens – equal before the law, with equal rights, each with an equal vote in a true democracy.

That basic condition is not met today. Co-governance, shared rule by two separate peoples, is only possible when we are divided into two race-based groups, Maori and the other, where one's position in society is defined by ancestry, determined by accident of birth.

When the choice is for equality, co-governance and all the considerable apparatus of separation must be decisively rejected.

