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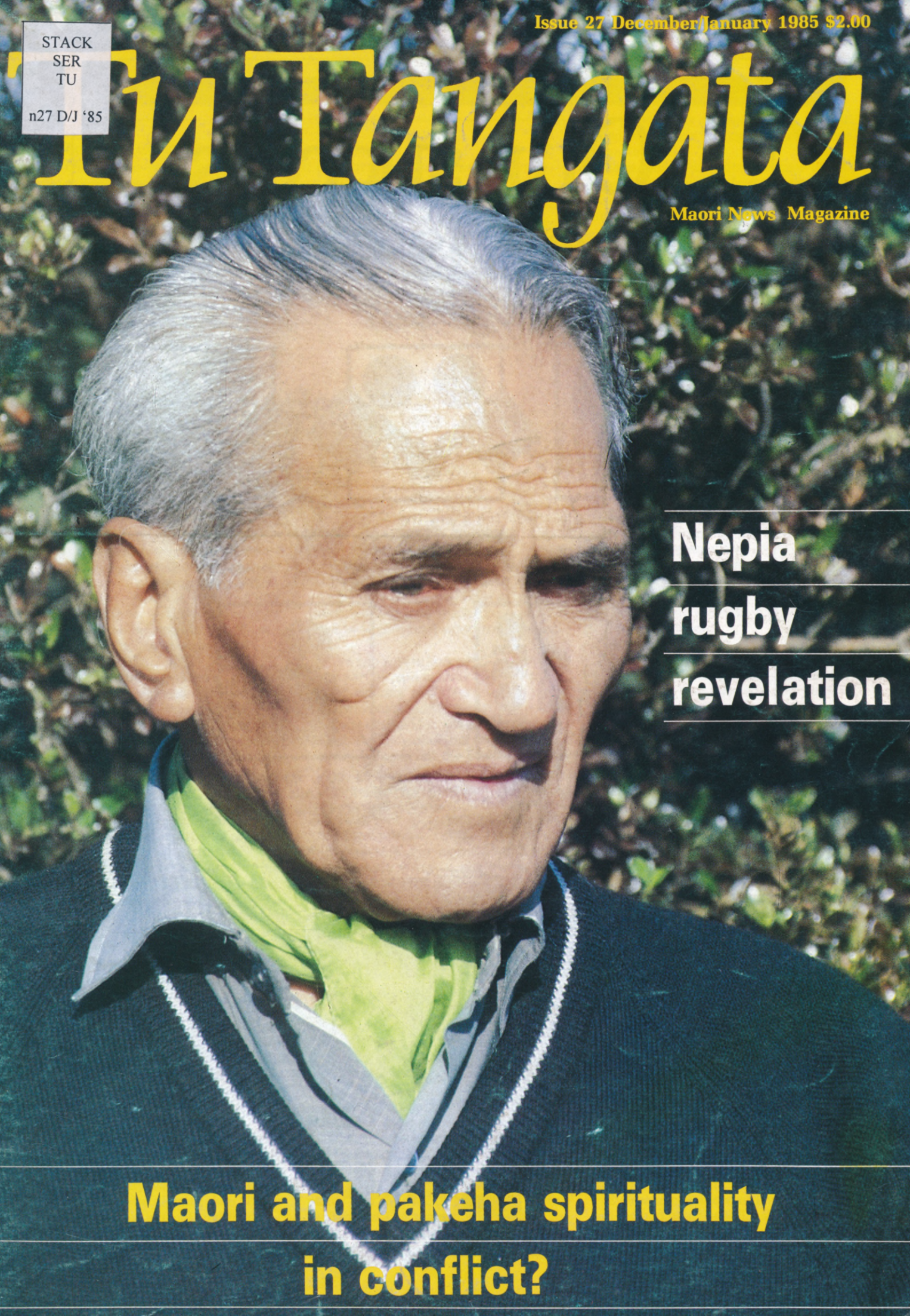
Issue 27 December/January 1985 $2.00

Tu Tangata

Maori News Magazine



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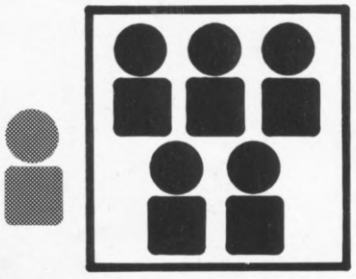

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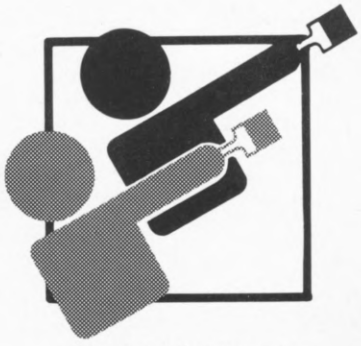

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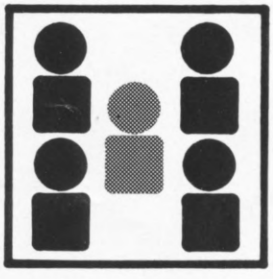

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9306

Tu Tangata

Maori News Magazine

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Omaka Marae opened Labour weekend

Waikato elder Henare Tuwhangi talks to Te Karere's Hone Edwards in the porch of Te Aroha o Te Waipounamu.

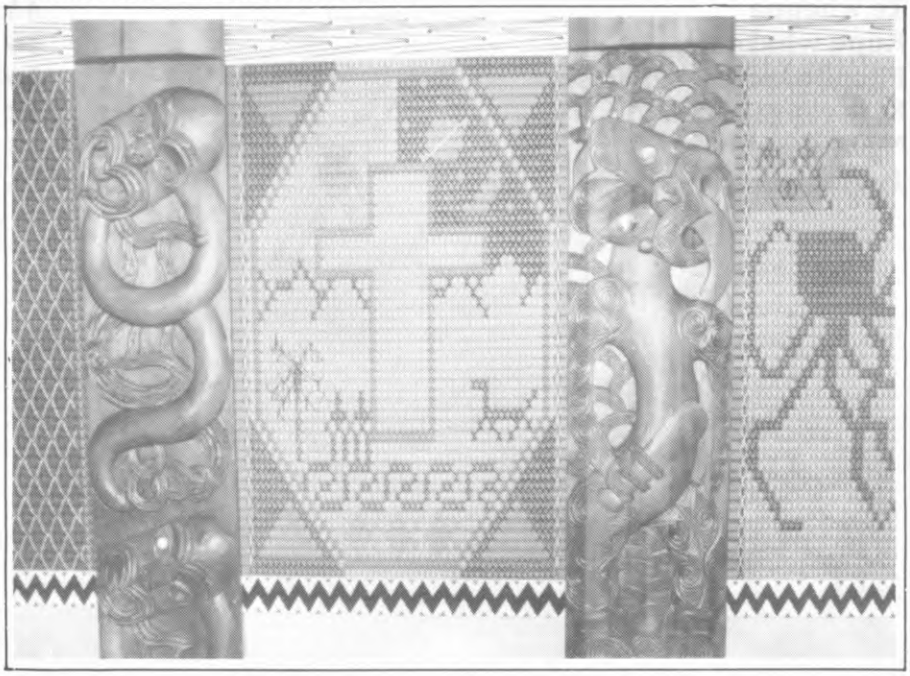
Te whare runanga, Te Aroha O Te Waipounamu at Omaka Marae, Blenheim was opened on Labour weekend. The wharekai, Te Waiora and the gateway, Te Waha Roa were also unveiled.

The iwi of Omaka Marae are a mix of hapu from Kai Tahu of Te Waipounamu to Rangitane of the north. The marae also has a large pakeha mix and this is evidenced in the style of the house and its educational purpose.

One of the mainstays of the marae project, Laurie Duckworth spoke to *Tu Tangata* about the house.

A central feature of the interior is a mural along one wall done by a local artist, Brian Baxter.

The mural by Brian Baxter covers one wall.



Poupou and tukutuku panels, the one on the right depicting the slaying of the whekenui by Kupe.

Laurie says the marae committee carried out the wishes of the people in that regard, despite the controversy it's bound to bring.

"We're in an era of 1985 and the young ones are taking up their maori culture and we feel this is a lead-in to that."

"You can go along this mural and virtually input your own story to this mural."

Laurie sees the mural as depicting the arrival of the Maori in Cloudy Bay and then along the wall up to the arrival of Captain Cook at Ship's Cove.

The house also sports multi-coloured heke in a variety of traditional and modern kowhaiwhai patterns.

Laurie says this was deliberately chosen to reflect the youth of the area who build on traditional design with their own inovations.

The average age of the carvers and artists was eighteen and they previously were unemployed.

The supervisor was older but also had had no previous experience with carving a house. He was a graduate of the Whakarewarewa Carving School.

One heke mounting the Rangitane poupou is yellow depicting the mud of the riverbanks, green depicting the kai it supported, and red representing the blood spilt in safeguarding the treasure.

Another heke is white and black, Laurie seeing it as a South Island design coming from the cave drawings of taniwha. This neo-taniwha design runs along the base of the tukutuku panels. "We call it the embryo of the kiwi."

Another heke design of a whekenui leads to a tukutuku panel of Kupe slaying the whekenui in Cook Strait.

Toro, the albatross is featured in another heke leading to a tukutuku panel showing how the kumara was carried by an albatross from Hawaiki.

The base colours of the tukutuku panels are red, green, fawn and blue, and they've been placed to give a relief of colour, and also to compliment the mural on the opposing wall.

One tukutuku panel depicts Rangitoto, the name for Durville Island. It shows the taniwha, the Pelorus Jack and the tuatara. A further one depicts the moa amongst the Vernon Lagoons area, the area where an important

archeological discovery was made some years ago.

Laurie said a school boy, Jack Isles discovered moa bones which now rest in Te Aroha O Te Waipounamu, in a case on the end wall.

The sacred mountain, Tapuwai O Uenuku, is enshrined on another tukutuku panel, with the rainbow god shrouding the mountain and two rivers coming back from the mountain to the sea.

Having the highest amount of sunshine hours in New Zealand hasn't been forgotten either by the locals of Omaka. One panel called Kia Puta Te Wairau commemorates the fact that the sun always shines on the Wairau.

Laurie said, fundraising took four years from a kitty of $127 under the name of the Marlborough Maori Community Club.

"A feature of the programme has been to bring all aspects together such as landscaping, so that at the opening today, the plants and trees are reasonably established on these four and a half acres. We now have room to build kaumatua housing to give the place the warmth it needs."

"Our elders are a mixture of Rangitane, Ngati Toa, Ngati Rarua and they tipify the people of this area.

On the morning before the opening, Rangitane people arrived with a taonga seldom seen. It was a flag given around 1880 by the British to a rangatira of the Rangitare people, Te Awe Awe.

It had been handed down within that whanau until the present day descendent Wiremu Larkin carried the flag onto the marae.

Rangitane elder, Joe Tukupua explained the significance by saying the flag was named after and represented the mana of the top god in maoridom, Tane-nui-a-rangi, the grandson of Iomatua, who went back to the heavens to bring back the baskets of knowledge.

Joe said the flag had to be flown over the first Rangitane concept marae in Te Waipounamu so that the mana of the Maori people could be seen to be returning under the principal god.

Wiremu Larkin said the flag was last flown in Palmerston North Square in 1971 when the Queen of England came. In Wiremu Te Awe Awe's day the Square was known as the Marae o Hine, a refuge for people threatened by enemies. Wiremu said the flag is kept for safekeeping in the Manawatu Museum.

Professor Titonui Series

The Cowboy Connection

In the early 1840s, the British noted with alarm that Hone Heke was going around the Bay of Islands with the United States flag flying from the prow of his canoe. They needn't have worried (about the United States at any rate, though Hone Heke certainly gave them some anxious moments). The American connection in the north was short-lived.

But what of Tai Rawhiti? As we all know, the men from Ngati Porou who made up C Company of 28 (Maori) Battalion were known as "the Cowboys" during World War II. Does this suggest some strong and significant link with America? I believe it does. After all, the further east one travels, the nearer one is to America, whose shores are also lapped by our ocean. And Ngati Porou lived further east than anyone.

Indeed, it is my belief that Ngati Porou held the key to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941 and their subsequent expansion into the Pacific. Never mind theories of militarism run mad, of greedy imperialism or global strategy: the simple fact is that the Japanese wanted to annex Tai Rawhiti, and for one reason only — they felt that by rights Hikurangi belonged to the Land of the Rising Sun.

American efforts to defeat the Japanese have always been gratefully acknowledged by Ngati Porou. Even today, a nuclear U.S. warship is unlikely to be refused permission to sail up the Waiapu River. President Reagan has only to ask, though with everything else on his mind he probably hasn't got around to it yet.

Which brings me back to cowboys, because the links of friendship between Ngati Porou and the people of America are not merely political, and were forged long before the war in the Pacific — or even the war in Tai Tokerau.

Imagine a territory of gently undulating grassland studded with graceful toetoe nodding in the breeze. Large flightless birds once roamed here, but today the landscape is dominated by cattle tended by hardworking horsemen renowned for their skill on the guitar.

The East Coast? Wrong. I'm talking about the pampas of South America. It is here, even more than on the prairies of North America, that one finds the spiritual mirror image of the East Coast Cowboy. Why this should be is something of mystery. The gauchos of the pampas are largely of Spanish, Portugese, Indian and African descent. The cowboy of Ngati Porou, so far as I know, are Maoris. Cows are not native to either region. So where did the connection spring from?

The answer lies in Gondwanaland. This great southern contintent, which broke up into smaller landmasses millions of years ago, was host to many flora and fauna now found in parts of the world separated by vast expanses of ocean. The New Zealand toetoe is a close relation of the South American pampas grass. New Zealand boasted the moa. South America has the rhea, otherwise known as the South American ostrich. Perhaps too Gondwanaland had humans, simple ranchers who rode the ranges of the southern landmass tending their herds of giant flightless birds. The tradition survived on the pampas of Argentina and Paraguay, though with the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores the local tangata whenua abandoned bird ranches and took up cattle instead.

Meanwhile in New Zealand the days are gone for ever when the early Maori yodelled softly to their moa herds, fattening them up before the big annual drive to Ruatoria.

But the instinct has survived. "A man's gotta do what a man's gotta do," said Gary Copper in *High Noon*, and what a Ngati Porou's gotta do is be a cowboy. It's in his blood.

It continues to distress me that my approach to Maori history, taking as it does an untraditionally broad perspective, is so often criticised by the more narrow-minded readers of this magazine. I have been accused of making things up, or even of simply being silly. So in anticipation the usual hoots of derision or snarls of outrage which greet every edition of *Tu Tangata* to hit the news-stands these days, I want to emphasise that I am not alone in my theory of the Gondwanaland moaboys. The Secretary of Maori Affairs would appear to agree with me.

What other possible reason could he have had for visiting Paraguay, not a country normally noted for its close ethnic ties with us? The likeliest explanation for his recent trip is surely that he wanted, as a good Ngati Porou, to meet his gaucho relations. Perhaps he is planning a reunion rodeo or a hoedown hui, or maybe even a lavish new musical western movie called *Gunfight at the Maori Chorale?*

Doubtless we will soon find out. In the meantime, it is gratifying to know that the pressent Secretary is continuing a long and proud tradition, for it has been said in some quarters for many years that the Department of Maori Affairs is the biggest cowboy outfit since the Ponderosa.

Adios amigos!

Te Waipounamu Maori Arts Festival

Twenty two cultural teams with an average of thirty members each, demonstrated on Labour weekend that waiata-a-ringa is flourishing in Te Waipounamu. The occasion was Te Waipounamu Maori Arts Festival, this year at Marlborough Boys' College in Blenheim.

If it was just a matter of competition and results this year it would be Te Kotahitanga from Otautahi, whose junior, intermediate and senior club teams dominated the placings.

However the hui which this year attracted over a thousand people is much more than that. It's the hours and hours of preparation of items, costume and most of all on the day, getting the mind, soul and body into harmony.

That some teams were old hands at this competition stuff and others were first timers matters little on the day. The occasion with supporters yelling encouragement brought most participants to the edge of their performance.

The six judges had to judge different sections: choral; entrance and exit; whaikorero; ancient waiata; action song; poi; leadership; haka; costume; and aggregate points.

Junior teams were: Te Rongopai; Wairua Whakahau; Te Kotahitanga; Te Huinga Rangatahi; Te Arohanui; Te Roopu O Kawarau; Nga Tuahuriri; Kia Ngawari; Omaka-Honomai.

Intermediate teams were: Te Rongopai; Te Waipounamu College; Te Kaihanga; Wairua Whakahau; Te Kotahitaga.

Senior teams were: Te Atawhai; Te Kotahitanga; Te Roopu O Kawarau; Te Rongopai; E Tipu E Rea; Nga Potiki; Kia Ngawari; Nga Tuahuriri; Nga Hau E Wha.

Results: Intermediate —

Choral — Te Kotahitanga; Entrance and Exit — Te Kotahitanga; Whaikorero — Te Kotahitanga; Ancient Waitata — Te Kotahitanga; Action Song and Poi — Rongopai; Haka — Te Kotahitanga; Leadership and Costume — Te Kotahitanga; Aggregate — First — Te Kotahitanga; Second — Te Rongapai; Third — Te Kaihanga, Whakahau, Te Waipounamu Girls College.

Results: Senior —

Choral — Nga Potiki and Te Kotahitanga; Entrance and Exit — Nga Potiki; Whaikorero — Nga Hau E Wha; Ancient Waiata — Te Kotahitanga; Action Song — Te Kotahitanga, Nga Potiki; Poi — Nga Potiki, Nga Hau E Wha; Haka Taparahi — Te Kotahitanga, Nga Hau E Wha; Haka Taiaha — Nga Potiki; Haka Leader — Te Kotahitanga; Female Leader — Nga Potiki, Te Kotahitanga; Costume — Nga Potiki; Original Item — Nga Potiki; Overall Club Aggregate Points — Te Kotahitanga; Groups Aggregate Points — First Nga Potiki; Second — Te Kotahitanga; Third — Nga Hau E Wha.

Incompatibility between maoritanga and Christianity

Na Ruka Broughton

"Wairua Maori to me is where I can relate my own thinking to something that belongs to me and not to something that's outside of me. A person is born with this Maori spirituality, it's not something by choice, you don't choose it. It's how that thing is nurtured when you are growing up, that is the important part."

Ruka sees an incompatibility between maoritanga and Christianity. "I don't mean any disrespect to other religions but although some ways are compatible, it's not always, you see it's not meant to be. I'll give an example of that. A chap came to see me the other night and said because I believed in the Maori gods, I would have to come back. He thought it was wrong because he was a true Christian. I told him it was good for him to feel that but it was because he never had the Maori side, the opportunity to nuture the wairua Maori.

"I think that's where a lot of people argue against Maori spirituality. You see I sit on two sides of the fence. I've had the opportunity to see both sides pretty deeply. I've been an ordained Anglican clergyman for over twelve years, I've a degree in theology too. But I've also had the Maori side.

"During my ministry there were many times when the two clashed. For example the opening of a house in Kaiiwi. The karakia that I used then, I knew when I was a kid, because I was taught them. But I knew at the house opening I couldn't use them, but I feel free to do so now. I'm fortunate that this wairua was cultivated in me to bring it out."

Ruka says from around the age of eight he used to spend time with this kaumatua who taught him whakapapa and karakia. Ruka says his parents who were Ratana weren't big on encouraging this side. Instead of other childhood pursuits, his time was spent in the company of the old man, it was his recreation.

"We used to sit down and he would waiata, and I would follow him, and then we had some very serious times and I would go over in the night. We'd sit in the meeting house, we'd be there all night, and then he would condition me, it might be one of these karakia, he'd recite over and over again and gradually I would follow."

Ruka says his parents were against him learning the kakakia and blamed his sickness as a child on it.

"But I loved it. The old fellah kept on going with me with whaikorero, there were a lot of the old people alive then. He would cue me to stand up and whaikorero and I would get all mixed up and get hoha sometimes. As time went and he died, I was pretty strong on it. I was twenty three or twenty four and because there was nobody on the marae back home, I gradually took over talking on the marae."

This nurturing resulted in a very knowledgable young lad who was known as 'uncle' at Te Aute College because of his ability to be able to let fellow school friends know who they were descended from and related to. A boyhood desire to be a clergyman was realised when he was asked to study for the Anglican priesthood. However it was here that conflict first showed its head.

"During this time I was pressed down by the doctrines of the church, the tikanga. I remember at one stage one of my fellow Maori clergyman telling my parishoners that he was against me wearing a tiki, where today it's common to see whalebone tiki and all sorts. At that time people were more reserved about it. They saw it as part of the pagan mould. But to me it was ingrained, part of me. It is far more now because I am more free to express it.

TU TANGATA: Is this conflict between Christian tikanga and Maori spirtuality man-made?

"Ae, for a start you have the doctrines of the church and then there's the administration side of it. In the Maori side you haven't that to worry about."

TU TANGATA: How did you resolve this conflict?

"I adopted a pretty general attitude but at the time I don't think people realised it too, that with some of the old people, the learned ones. My old fellow, if he was performing maori ceremonies down at the beach, he was a Maori. He was a staunch Katorika (Catholic). At home we had church first, he would carry the Catholic prayers, then we would carry on talking and getting into the maori realm, there was almost no room for the Catholic side, I mean with karakia maori, whakapapa, the deep side of it, we were in a different world. In fact the old fellah doing his thing outside, there was Tane, there was Maru, Tamaroro and all the rest of them, they were more real to him. He was a Maori and the wairua came out of him. Yet if you discussed things ordinary with him he would say, 'Ae ko te Atua, Ko Ihowa, and all the saints etc'.

"I suppose he was playing a double role like I did in the ministry. When it was a Christian thing I carried it to its fullness, and the maori thing likewise. But there were these hangups I had especially in the open, in hostile. It wasn't so much the karakia I used but the philosophy behind. Some used to say to me, 'No te ao kohatu era korero', meaning from the pagan past."

Ruka thinks this opposition to the wairua maori came from the generation of Maori parents that took on the missionary fervour.

"My parent's generation and a bit of my own were programmed to believe that there is only one hope for the people and that was Christ. And everything was based on that so much so that if you talk about anything maori well it belonged to the devil, the pagan world, 'no te rewera, mahi tipua'. These were common sayings... then and perhaps still now with a lot.

"I came to a time a couple of years ago when I was thinking quite seriously of returning to the ministry and I knew I had to make a choice. My wife Dolly said you either do one or the other. So I finally decided to follow my maori side."

Ruka believes this basic conflict between wairua maori and Christianity is shown in the saying that Maori people don't have that problem with religion.

"You know that Katorika, Anglican can come here and pray together and recognise and acknowledge one another."

Ruka says when this is taken deeper, with say a hard-core Katorika and a

hard-core Anglican, it's more likely that they will tolerate one another rather than accept.

"I really think the old people didn't see the seriousness in it, it was a wairua thing and as far as they were concerned it was ok, until it was later pointed out to them.

"One old dear, she was a prophet, she used to hate me going to see this old fellah. She used to say 'he kehua'. But I told her, 'it's you making those things kehua nanny, you bring the devil out in those things, because you want to believe that it's the devil's works. The Maori's got no devil, no hell, not in the way you preach about.'

"I told her she was using it as a weapon against maoritanga, she had caught onto a lot of Christianity and was using that. I think the problem with a lot of religions is that they say come my way and become a pakeha. There's not only an immediate spiritual change but also a cultural change in the person.

"Maori spirituality is where you can relate yourself. The parents of all things are Rangi and Papa, the heaven and the earth. This tohunga from Te Awara, Te Rangikaheke, says 'kotahi te tupuna o te tangata', there's one set of parents, heaven and earth. I think that's where maori spirituality begins, with something natural. Everything about him, the trees, the stone, the animals, the birds are all connected.

"If I was telling this in maori it would be much easier....

"We all share a common whakapapa or evolution, 'ka moe a Rangi i a Papa, ka puta ko mea ko mea...'. We get down to the birds the trees and ourselves. The thing is not whether it's true or not but that we relate ourselves to the natural environment."

Ruka sees Maori gods or atua as meaning a — tua, something beyond, rather than some ghost running around the place.

"So the trees not only belong to Tane, they are Tane, same as the sea is Tangaroa and the earth is Papa. That's where this Maori spirituality comes in, it doesn't just involve myself a human being. For Maori belief is that everything has life, the stone, the trees, they have a mauri, and this comes out in the karakia."

TU TANGATA: What is your view of Maori sections in the mainstream churches. Can true Maori spirituality grow in that environment?

"I think to have a proper environment operating is what the Anglican Bishop is doing. He has in mind to changing the prayer book and base it more on maori thinking, rather than just translating the english. I reckon once you start that you're getting off the mark."

At a kohanga reo hui Ruka was recently at, he spoke about not just translating 'Humpty Dumpty' because that wasn't getting anywhere, because every language has a philosophy that transmits the thinking that belongs to that language. He made up a waiata that transmitted the thought behind the 'Three Little Pigs' but in a maori way.

However Ruka believes that Maori participating in their Maori section of their church doesn't resolve the incompatibility, it just postpones it. He says Maori people are seeking that freedom of expression in their sections but when they come up against the inability of their church's doctrine to accommodate wairua maori there'll be problems.

"There's only a certain amount of things we can use of our own culture, because, taking Christianity itself for example, it comes from another culture, it's not ours. That's why there must be some taupatupatu there somewhere."

Ruka says with likewise with the other world religions, they cannot take the wairua maori far along the path because the come from another culture. He says the following that the Rastafari religion has amongst Maori young people only leads so far. And he says the largely pakeha upbringing that Maori children have now contributes to this lack of nuturing of the wairua maori.

Ruka enjoys verbal skirmishes with other ministers about the relevance of some of the cultural rituals in New Zealand churches. He says one day he asked a local priest who were the hundred saints he named in the liturgy.

For himself Ruka says it's enough to stand on the marae and say, 'E kui e koro ma i te po,' because he is addressing the ancestors that he knows, or else is related to. He says they all mean a heck of a lot to him, but he doubts the significance of some of the saints remembered.

"I said when you rattle through those saints names don't you feel funny, some belong to Spain, some to Holland. Who the hell are they?

"He laughed and said, 'You know, you've got something there'.

"I say this is where Rome's culture has been imposed on you and you've swallowed it hook, line and sinker."

TU TANGATA: How then does the wairua of Aotoearoa assert itself today?

"I think our people, nga Maori have to first have a solid maori background in order to provide these things for themselves."

But Ruka is doubtful that there is this depth of maoriness today. He says an example of this is Te Maori Exhibition in the States where there was all the ritual, and whaikorero associated with our taonga and they sung "Hoki hoki tonu mai', just an ordinary lovesong. He says the song had nothing to do with nga tikanga maori which really is our maori religion.

"I was ready to start a poi off, something that belonged to the taonga we went to show off, that the country spent thousands and thousands of dollars on, and then they sing 'Hoki hoki tonu mai'."

Ruka says it's because of this sometimes acknowledged conflict that maori 'religion' should be revived for those that want it. He sees it as practise of tikanga maori as an ongoing thing, not one day a week. Waiata and karakia,

people don't realise this is all part of it, and for those who want to go further there are stronger disciplines that have to be observed.

And a crucial part of this has to be stop making comparisons with church, but think maori.

"It's not an organisation, but more an organism.

"Your full awareness of your taha maori is your maori 'religion'. These people are talking about the land, the reo, having a special tv station. I'm talking about the cheapest one of the lot and the one that takes less work, and that's the wairua maori."

Ruka says these Maori people are thinking about the organisation when they should forget about the organisation and think of themselves as people. He says too many chuck off at karakia, forgetting that as soon as you whaikorero, and karanga that is part of your wairua maori. He sees perhaps these have become part of the organisation instead of the practice. Ruka gives an example from his own life.

"When I got sick, some people blamed my taha maori, but I expected that. I told them that the pakeha doctors said this that and the other. When I went to the hospital the doctor said it was strange that I took the chemotherapy very well, never vomitted... and I told him I talked to those medicines just like I'm talking to you.

"My body is the tangata whenua and those are the manuhiri, and I ask my body, my spirit to receive those things because they are going to look after us.

"The doctor laughed at me at first but then he saw the positive side of it.

"This is central to the wairua, te korero ki taku tinana, korero ki nga rongoa. I actually talk. 'Haere mai koutou, tomohia taku tinana, hei oranga mou'. It's looked upon by some as mumbo jumbo but if you look at the working of the karakia, it's just plain common sense.

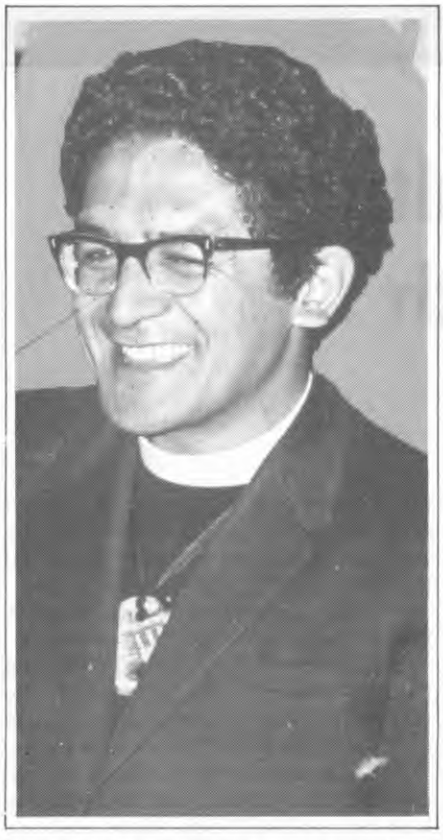
"Most of the karakia are just a running commentary of a practical nature. One is 'Tenei te ara, te ara o Ranginui e tu nei, te ara o Papa e takoto nei, te ara o Rangi raua ko Papa e takoto nei, na rau te tapuwae o Tane ki raro, haere te po tenei te ata'.

"All that one is saying is, 'here's the pathway above, the pathway to Rangi, the pathway to the earth, recite the rituals of Tane, farewell to the night hello to the day'."

But Ruka says because this karakia is usually said in the pre-dawn and it's said in a monotone, 'ah he kehua'.

TU TANGATA: You are suggesting that we should get back to an understanding of what is behind the karakia?

"Ae, admittedly there were plenty of things that did a lot of damage to our people because they didn't understand and even our tohunga didn't, but there were a lot of good things that they did, and along with those bad things a lot of good things went too when they were discarded."



A younger and recently ordained Ruka Broughton.

Ruka says partly the programming of the missionaries and partly Maori misunderstanding resulted in Maori faith-healers and prophets being too ready to brand some tikanga maori as kehua or evil spirits.

"Our people became frightened of themselves, frightened of their culture, frightened of their tikanga, frightened of their spirituality and they pushed them aside, even their reo.

"I think an example is my kids talking to their grandmother. My belief is to talk maori to my kids. But their kuia talks pakeha to them, and tells them to forget their past, 'your future is in the pakeha world', and that's sad, that was the thinking that permeated that generation."

Ruka believes this thinking must be undone, not with the older generation but with the coming generation, to win back something.

He says this is what a lot of Maori people are doing, by their search through other religions for their taha maori. He says Ohakune is a good example, where there is a strong nucleus of Maori young people staunch in their Katorika roots and their taha maori.

But he believes the institution behind the churches will always want to call the shots. And he says he's observed that each race's religion throughout the world is bound up in their society. For the Maori people it was a society with many chiefs each looking after a certain specified area and this was reflected in their many gods for many areas.

But other races, he says, believed in the supremacy of the soverignty or one big boss for the whole empire. That's why they found it easy to believe in one god. Their religion reflected their society.

Ruka sees the effect of this influence of pakeha religion was to make Maori people insensitive to their taha maori. He says this is not through ignorance either because he is speaking about people who know their taha maori. But he says through the environment, something is lost. He gives an example of where the Bishop of Wellington died and those old kuia came dressed in their flash frocks and furs. He asked them to karanga but they said, 'oh no'. They had become embarrassed.

TU TANGATA: Where then can a Maori be in a maori environment, where this wairua can be nurtured?

"That's a good question. People say you go to your marae but marae can only provide so much, but they haven't got things that are on-going. I say again the strong Catholic group at Ohakune which is a good example of the two going along together. However even there it's only compatible on the surface. Where you see the taiaha being taken up to the altar and blessed, you can see which is the stronger of the two, but I accept that for them cause I know them, but I don't think that is the answer for everybody."

TU TANGATA: Where does the Maori ability to have different ministers and church rituals combining at hui fit into all this?

"Well it's whanaungatanga, that is the wairua maori helping us to get along with one another. We share a common geneology and this brings us together."

TU TANGATA: You said earlier on that you have now chosen the maori way. What does that entail for you?

"Well I see that some of the old ways, nga tikanga maori need to be revived. At the moment karakia is seen as a relish adding onto something else. I'd like it to be recognised as an official part of maori religion."

Ruka says now it's seen as just a performance, very nice and really only ok for the stage, that sort of thing. It's not seen in its proper context.

"I'd like it to be used in its own right, where it's appropriate."

Ruka believes there are enough young people to transmit the knowledge to. He sees these young people going through much the same wananga he went through, that is going to certain people, learning over a period of years, so that they are properly prepared.

"I have already started baptising because of requests from people. It isn't a thing I rush into, the people and I have a long talk about it. Wairua maori, it's total commitment."

Own your culture and your faith

Na Manuka Henare,
Maori Catholic Church Leader

Maori people must today face two crucial decisions. They have to own up to being a Maori, and also to what spiritual beliefs they have inherited. Manuka Henare believes this is the true measure of te wairua maori and what meaning it has for today's Maori.

He says in his own life there came a point where he had to say to himself, and his whanau and hapu, that he saw himself as a Maori.

"You seem to have to do this in the New Zealand we have got today, all I know is that I'm not alone in this, I just find so many other Maori bred in the cities, after some point, this just happens... somewhere in your thirties and forties.

"This is also true for one's faith, however you want to define faith, belief in God or spirituality. At some point you have to say, 'yes I own it', then you go on to make it a living faith. I'm not just talking about a Christian faith, even though that is my tradition."

Manuka says he meets many young Maori who are Mormon, Anglican, Catholic, who when asked where they got it from, say their parents, their tupuna. He says they've inherited something to which they must at some stage of their life, take onboard as their own.

"All Christians are called to own their faith, you can't live on someone else's faith. The Maori Christian who is able to say, yes, that is my faith and I'm thankful to my tupuna for carrying it for me and giving it as part of the taonga, can confidently give a lot more meaning to their life."

Maori people find it easier to see this faith as inheritance because they do that anyway, says Manuka, with waiata, korero, everything, so why not the whakapono, the belief.

Tu Tangata: Why is it that this call comes so late in life for some Maori people?

"I reckon initially it's because we're so busy, going out, getting on with life. In my experience it's when you suddenly find that you've got an uncle who's going to die soon, and you look around and find it may be you who has to be the next spokesman, the one who carries the can with things related to the whanau and the hapu.

"I've known a lot of fellahs who say that's what shook them."

It's this realisation plus maybe not knowing the waiata, the korero, the whakatauki that makes for a decision to own up to being a Maori says Manuka.

"The second reason is when my own children came along, and I looked at my kids and realised I didn't have anything to give them as Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri descendants. Living in Wellington I knew more Ngati Porou songs, a lot of proverbs of Ngati Raukawa, for which I am grateful, but nothing much from my iwi of the North. I wanted to be a good Maori parent."

Tu Tangata: What is the relationship between maoritanga and spirituality?

"A lot of urbanised Maori have been questioning not so much their faith, but the institution of the church. I mean how pro-Maori is it. Is it nothing more than a part of the colonial heritage?

"Some in rejecting the church have found they are chucking out their faith also, their whakapono. They're worried about it because their whakapono came down from their tupuna. They're worried about what else they're chucking out that is related to their contemporary maoritanga that includes Christianity. You can't talk about maoritanga today without acknowledging the Christianity part of it, unless you want to cut it right out and reject it, like some are trying to do."

But Manuka says our view of history is sometimes lacking the full picture.

He says about one hundred years ago in the period between 1863 to 1883, all the mainline churches pretty well walked away from the Maori people, but the faith didn't die. They carried on, some like Matata in Hawkes Bay with no priests for thirty years.

"When the bishop finally put priests back there they found more Catholics than before. That tells me that those people had accepted Christianity as their faith. They did not accept Christianity because it gave them a pathway into the pakeha world."

This "toki" was a taonga given to the first group of Maori people to visit the Kalinga people in the highlands of the Philippines. The Kalinga are one of many different tribal peoples in the Philippines whose customs and whanau system has similarities with those of the Maori.

A "Budong" ceremony was performed between the Kalinga and the Maori group. It is a traditional peace making ceremony which involved, whaikorero, waiata. Each side killed a pig and exchanged them, at the end of the ceremony taonga were exchanged, we received this toki.

A budong is a peace pact between different tribes within the Philippines. This was the first ocasion a budong had been made with an outside people. It is similar to the Tatau Pounamu of the Te Atiawa and Tuhoe (greenstone door).

Under a budong, each side agrees not to do anything to harm each other in any way.

The Maori group agreed to it, as a sign of support for their Filipino land struggle and the retention of their culture.

Tu Tangata: What is different about the Christianity practised today than in days before?

"You must come back to your understanding of what your whakapono is. That leads you on to what kind of spirituality do you need to be a Maori today. It seems to me you cannot revive the old Maori religion which was a religion related to a particular lifestyle. Aspects of it you have like the tangihanga. A lot of Maori spirituality is carried on today but there is also Christian thought and practice which we have incorporated in as part of maoritanga. We must ask ourselves what does it mean to be a Maori Christian.

"I had a favourite uncle fond of asking at hui, 'Am I a Catholic Maori or am I a Maori Catholic?' I used to wonder what the hell he was getting at, because I always saw myself as a Catholic Maori.

"Of course he was just stating a basic

truth... you're born a Maori first and once you were baptised, then you became a Christian. So I'm a Maori Catholic."

Manuka believes Maori today are working through what it means to be a Maori, but there is another question that goes with it... what does it mean to be a Maori Christian?

Therefore there are some answers that only Christians have to seek. That is to know the word of God, and the teachings of your own church.

But Manuka warns, "that when these teachings start turning you into a pakeha, then you've got to question the practice of that church because it's not the role of the church to turn you into another culture."

Tu Tangata: Where does this place Maori people faced with pakeha dominated churches?

"I don't think you can find your own cultural religious history in someone else's church. You've got to find it in your own church which is deeply rooted in your own culture. That's why there are Maori sections of the mainstream churches where this discussion, arguing is going on now, 'how do I be a Maori Methodist, a Maori Anglican etc?' 'How do I make that particular denomination a part of maoritanga?' I don't think they're talking about adapting or modifying anymore, I think they want to make it completely Maori."

Tu Tangata: Is this change for just the Maori sections or the whole of the churches?

"Well both ways....

"In recent years the Runanga Whakawhanaunga i nga Hahi has been exploring this maori theology because we do have an understanding of what God is. For centuries and centuries Maori have been thinking about God as expressed in proverbs, creation stories, even the way we've structured whanau, hapu and iwi life.

"I think Maori had been asked themselves the meaning of life, who are we... we didn't need missionaries to tell us those. Christianity was introduced and Maori took to Jesus Christ. It made sense to them that God, the supreme being sending the beloved son to live with human beings to transform them into better people. I think the Maori saw the logic of that and that's why he took to Christianity. Otherwise how do you explain those families at Matata, North Auckland, Waikato and other parts of the country who carried on this Christianity without the institutional backing for decades."

Manuka says our tupuna took to Christianity because they understood its message. He says today's Maori needs to also make that same commitment to believing in salvation for all people.

In this area he says Maori people have a lot of work to do in their own churches, to make it a Maori faith.

Tu Tangata: Does this have the effect of dividing churches?

"I remember something Archbishop Paul Reeves said five years ago, that the first pastoral priority for any Maori Christian is to their own people. Here was I thinking that I was for everybody, I never thought I must have some priorities.

"If you look at Jesus, he worked only with Jews. It was Peter, Paul and others who went to Rome and Greece and everywhere else, Jesus had priorities.

"Paul was the one who took on the job of going to the Gentiles. Interestingly enough wherever he went, he first checked in with the local synagogue, the local Jewish community. So he knew who he was."

Because of this Manuka says the first priority of a Maori Christian today is to evangelise his own people, then he can go off to evangelise anybody else, but that's the order.

Tu Tangata: Where does that leave Maori people stranded in an urban situation surrounded by fellow pakeha Christians?

"Well it's a problem. In my case my wife is a pakeha and so we juggle going to the local church in Island Bay but I would prefer to go to a Maori Mass, but there ain't too many. What we have to be able to demand from our local church is to say, 'why can't I be catered for?' Having a monthly Maori Mass is hardly a positive response from a church. Becoming a member of a church should not be an alienating experience. The Christian faith has always put its roots down in those cultures it has gone to, it has learnt from those cultures and at the same time has contributed and transformed those cultures. That is what I am asking to happen in Aotearoa."

Manuka Henare says a sign of this is the Maori Catholics now asking for their own Maori Bishop, as have all the other mainstream churches their heads... the Bishop of Aotearoa, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod, the Tumuaki for the Methodists etc.

"Each Christian community has to produce its own leadership, you can't be dependent on another culture providing religious leaders for you."

Tu Tangata: How independent should this section be?

"Christians all belong to an ever-growing family, but you are a particular kind of Christian and that's not in conflict what Jesus spoke about. He was a very particular type of Jew."

Tu Tangata: What does this independence within Maori sections pose for a New Zealand church, a church of the culture of Aotearoa?

"Well the history of Christianity is very brief in New Zealand. The missionaries came here from Europe to evangelise the Maori and set up some kind of church within the Maori culture. What happened was that in a very short space of time just after 1840, there was a great flood of pakeha settlers. The churches got redirected from their original mission, to cater for the pakeha settlers. That's why Maori people can talk of settler churches being here, and also why there aren't too many indigenous churches."

Manuka says the mainstream churches are still settler churches where everything about the way that they think and operate is a settler mentality. He says that's why many of the Maori in all of those churches feel they're on the fringe.

"Every now and then these settler churches turn around and show a lot of interest in them, (the Maori) and then after a short time return to their preoccupation. Maori people don't want this sort of attention when the majority chooses, so that's why they need their own leaderhsip, to produce prayer forms that take note of your cultural values. That's already happening.

"The challenge of a lot of young Maori is to these Maori sections, saying correctly, 'just how Maori are you?' By and large most of the prayer forms and sacramental practices, (I'm not talking about the actual sacraments) are translations of someone else's cultural forms and expressions, so we have to go a lot further here, but it comes back to the question of leadership. Within the Maori kinship tribal systems, leadership is crucial."

Unlike the pakeha more individualistic response, Manuka believes the Maori believer looks for a group response and a kaumatua or leader to emerge. He says they don't feel right unless they have one.

Tu Tangata: What is your assessment of the Catholic Church being rooted in Aotearoa?

"In my job with the Commission for Evangelisation, Justice and Development I'm very aware of many Catholic people who want to see their church become rooted in this country, and become more than an extension of Irish Catholicism, French Catholicism, Italian Catholicism and English Catholicism. That aspiration is expressed not only in the lay people but also in the present hierachy of bishops."

The EJD commission has run a Lenten programme aimed at the pakeha side of the Catholic Church showing that the Treaty of Waitangi belongs to them as part of a bi-cultural partnership that allowed pakeha settlers to come to New Zealand.

Manuka says preparatory work on the programme showed many pakeha only too willing to say they had no culture. He says it shows they're lying first up, and secondly, are of no help to Maori because the Maori look around and see nothing but pakeha culture.

"We see it, feel it, experience it and yet here are some pakehas telling us

they don't have one."

He says after the EJD programme some parishes came out feeling confident that they did have a culture and it wasn't all bad... He says the intention was to show them what Maori people were on about.

"There's no need to get pakehas rushing over to fill up on maoritanga because they don't know their pakehatanga yet."

Tu Tangata: Would you see current moves to spread the Renew programme throughout the Catholic Church in New Zealand as being in line with this New Zealand identity? (Renew is Catholic programme imported from the States to rejuvenate parish life)?

"I see the bishops move to have Catholics look at their faith as being timely and those involved will learn a lot, it's all part of this journey to make this church a New Zealand church." He says from the hui he attends, many Maori see Renew as a pakeha response to a pakeha need.

However he feels the Maori people are already involved in their own renew programme, a questioning of what their maoritanga and faith mean.

"The maori challenge today is a total renewal, because the Maori is looking at the culture, the way of life, the spirituality, the philosophy, everything. And the Maori is responding to it. Our renew programme is called Tu Tangata, Maatua Whangai, Kohanga Reo, the land struggle.

"Otherwise how do you explain this quest by a lot of young Maori who are critical of the Christian churches, but at the same time are wanting to know about their taha wairua. I think they're genuine, they don't want to learn karakia just for the sake of appearance, they want to know what it means."

Manuka says a total view of the material and spiritual as always affecting one another is the Maori way of living. He says this was really demonstrated for him at the Maori Economic Summit where the wairua was acknowledged as interwoven in with the economic management needed. Nowhere at the pakeha Economic Summit did this figure at all says Manuka.

Tu Tangata: Is it a tougher task these days for Maori to practise their spirituality?

"Yes, because of all the outside influences converging and coming in on Maori all the time. It's such a totally pakeha world that in order to escape from it, you have to do some quite extraordinary things.

"You turn on the radio, the tv. If you turn it on at the wrong time you listen to ten minutes in Maori, which is all you get. Yes it is tough, because part of the Maori spirituality is just soaking up an atmosphere that is Maori."

Tu Tangata: These extraordinary things Maori have to do... could this point to an inability of Maori people to cope with urban life?

"Well I believe that all Maori who call themselves Maori have to belong to a marae, in fact you belong to a number of marae. My papakainga is in Whangape, Tai Tokerau. In recent years I've been trying to get my children back there at least once a year.

"I'm also involved in Te Kainga a church centre in Webb Street, so we're fundraising and cleaning that one up. It's hoped to develop into a marae for Maori Catholics in Wellington.

"My children go to Wellington High School so we're also involved in the bilingual programme there and the whanau atmosphere."

Manuka says as he travels the countryside he goes to a number of Maori Catholic marae, Christchurch — Te Rangimarie, Hamilton — Hui Te Rangiora, in Auckland — Tu Nga Waka and Whaiora. He says he finds himself belonging to all these marae because they are the centres of his activities.

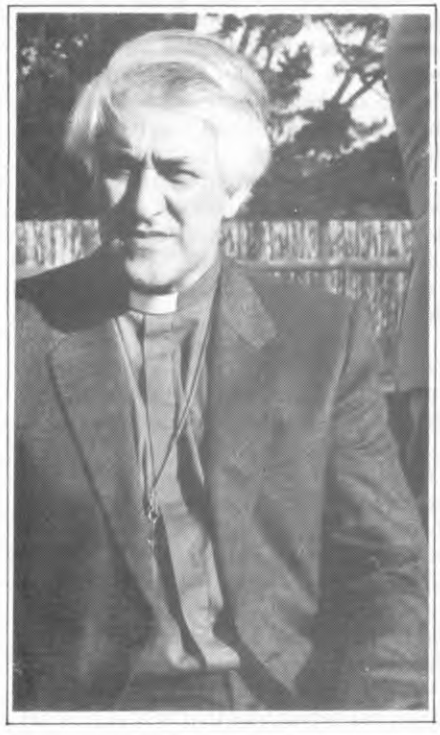
"I now understand why you have to belong to a marae, because that is the centre of Maori activity. If you are living in the city you're talking about a particular kind of marae, church ones, sporting ones, university ones, school ones, and of course your papakainga. I mean thousands of city-living Maori spend hundreds of dollars a year on travelling back to their papakainga just to stand there for a while, to get in tune, in touch.

"Those are the hallmarks of a Maori today, any Maori that cuts himself off from the marae is in a critical situation."

The ability to deal with issues honestly

Na Sir Paul Reeves

"When I come into a Maori situation whether it be a home, a marae or a hui somewhere, I experience the warmth, the friendship, the openness, the ability to deal with issues honestly. Now sometimes Maoris fail, but they fail in the attempt. I think those are very spiritual values, they're not human values. I think St Paul talked about that sort of thing.



I think where many of the early Christian communities fell down was that they were not able to be honest and open with each other.

So there is much in maoridom that I can endorse. I believe also that spiritual values are not the opposite of human values but are values that should help us to become human beings who are fully alive, who are open to each other, who are concerned for each other and are open to the prompting of God. Maoris have some things to work on and they have some things which are given to them because of their social structure, their family situation and the emphasis on relatives and aunties and grannies.

I see the Maori churches as tussling to make the Christian message come through this whole framework of Maori values rather than from a whole platform built out of the values of England or somewhere else.

So there is such a thing as indigenisation of the Gospel and I think Maori people have begun to deal with that, deal

with it better than pakeha people have managed to deal with it so far.

There are questions such as, "Did Jesus come as a stranger to Aotearoa?" "Did He come to offer us some criteria by which we could assess or judge our culture?"

I would say that Christianity belongs inside cultures but speaks beyond cultures. Christianity speaks out of a culture and also speaks to a culture. So when Christianity comes into a culture, it sets up a living dialogue. It's got to dialogue with the history and experience of people and I think some people feel there is no need to dialogue, to look around, to understand our past where we've come from, because that's something they want to get rid of.

I don't think so at all. I think inside that is riches there to be won, there to be assessed and Christianity is concerned with that. So I think maoritanga is vital and important and I say that from the basis of being a Christian.

TU TANGATA: Maori people may have an advantage in knowing they are the people of this land but some pakeha have difficulty accepting that they the pakeha are strugging with that.

"Part of that of course is the economic situation of many Maori people, where they are placed at a disadvantage. There is much emphasis in Christian teaching on a church of the poor, an emphasis on those sayings of Jesus, "Blessed are the poor..." it is the poor that are blessed. But the situation of Jesus was one of being disadvantaged. If you look at the people who listened to Jesus, they were disadvantaged, people who were being pressured and subject to threatening possibilities. It was to them that Jesus spoke.

Many Maori people find themselves in a position like that, of the crowds to which Jesus spoke, so part of the sensitivity of Maori people comes out of their social and economic situation.

What does it mean to be poor and living in this country? It means lack of alternatives and makes for a desparate response. Many Maori people are in that situation and the Gospel of justice really speaks to them."

TU TANGATA: What is the relationship between this Maori concept of spirituality and a pakeha one?

"The dominant European concept is very individualistic, to do with how I feel, how I act, what happens to me. It doesn't readily express itself as part of the way in which a group of people act or behave.

It doesn't easily see the history and the experience of what has happened, and what will happen to us as people living in this country as part of the raw materials. Their thinking tends to come from somewhere else, as if when they think spiritually they are still thinking and talking as if they were visitors to this country rather than as people who have unpacked their bags."

TU TANGATA: What then is the role of church leaders to help bring about the unity of the people of Aotearoa?

"The church has the obligation always to be part of the experience of people who are on the receiving end of things and to help them articulate and speak and understand their own experience.

Sometimes church leaders speak on behalf of people and that may be a very necessary thing. But I discern in our community, the ability of people now to describe and speak for themselves. The role of the church is to provide space, support and encouragement for people to understand their situation. The church is a body that's always looking, impatient with how things are at the moment. The church through its vision is always looking for something that is coming, something that is not quite here. So as the psalmist says, 'How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'

So the church must be aware of the imperfections and the drawbacks of society and seek not to be a body which benefits positively from the inequalities of our society, but rather seeks to remove them. That I think is part of the Gospel."

TU TANGATA: How is that reconciled with separate religions having Maori sections within them now united in Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga o Nga Hahi o Aotearoa, the Maori Council of Churches?

"I think that people are going to be at different places at different times and that what we have got to do is bind and gain strength from each other. And so our strength is that we are all not quite the same.

I think that my role (as Anglican Archbishop of New Zealand) has been as a bridge builder. By that I mean I've provided means for people to get to where they want to get to, and I think there have been one or two gains in that area. The role I've held has been one where I have sought to work and minister in the total community as bishop of a diocese.

So I work on the assumption that what is good for the Maori is good for the pakeha, and what is good for the pakeha is good for the Maori. We are in the business of seeking the good which is common to all of us, but beware as you seek for that, it's going to challenge you and is going to require you to make decisions.

In order for you to get the riches that are in that discovery, you're probably going to have to give up a lot of things. But along that search for the common good lies the salvation of our country."

TU TANGATA: Sometimes the ability Maori people have to accommodate several religions in a service is seem as ambivalence by pakeha. Is this not real ecumenism as now being sought by European churches?

"It is as if their first loyalty is to being a Maori Christian rather than being an Anglican Maori Christian or a Catholic Maori Christian. I think that is the way it should be, that is proper. There are certain basic things which God has given us. He has given us our identity as people. That's God-given. What we must not allow the churches to do is break that up."

TU TANGATA: How then does this work?

"Well we must not let this ecumenism get in the way of the truth. It doesn't mean working on the lowest common denominator and therefore working with the slops and not with the good stuff.

Ecumenical spirit is a spirit of charity, a spirit which recognises that the truth is far bigger and richer than the limits to which our minds can take us. There comes a time when the ecumenical spirit means we must trust each other, and it's in that context of realising the limitations of our own human positions, the realisation that God is not defined by our limitations, that God is over and above that. That God is always calling us to come out and to find that place where we can truely acknowledge each other, whether it be as Christians together, whether that be as Maori and pakeha together, who knows.

I think that part of human experience is to disagree. I've never met two human beings who did not disagree, and if we ever got to a stage where we never had disagreements then it would not be very interesting.

The issue is not to take disagreement away. The issue is how do you work with the things that threaten to separate you. How do you deal with the things about which you seem to disagree? The issue lies with the process of working with those things, as much as with the final answer."

CANTERBURY MAORI STUDIES ASSOCIATION:

An organisation established to ensource research in the field of South Island Maori Studies. We publish a quarterly newsletter, TE KARANGA, hold occasional evenings, and plan a Resource Centre.

Enquiries: Terry Duval, 85 Caledonian Road, Christchurch 1. Phone 65-831

or Piritihana Mikaere, 94 Windermere Road, Christchurch 5. Phone 526-227

A gentlemen's agreement ... not policy

Maui was a famous polynesian fisherman according to one educational text still used in New Zealand schools. That's one of the gripes that the Waitangi Tribunal heard in the second week of hearings of a maori language claim by Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo, the Maori Language Board of Wellington.

This degrading of the maori language as a taonga of such tipuna as Maui, formed the bulk of the many submissions to the tribunal. Most related the effect of mono-cultural and monolingual policies by government agencies such as Broadcasting and Education on the reo rangatira, the maori language.

The Education Department came in for a fair amount of flak from speakers such as Sir James Henare who in response to a question from tribunal Q.C. Mr Paul Temm as to whether there was an official education policy to supress maori language at school replied, "it was a gentleman's agreement if not official policy".

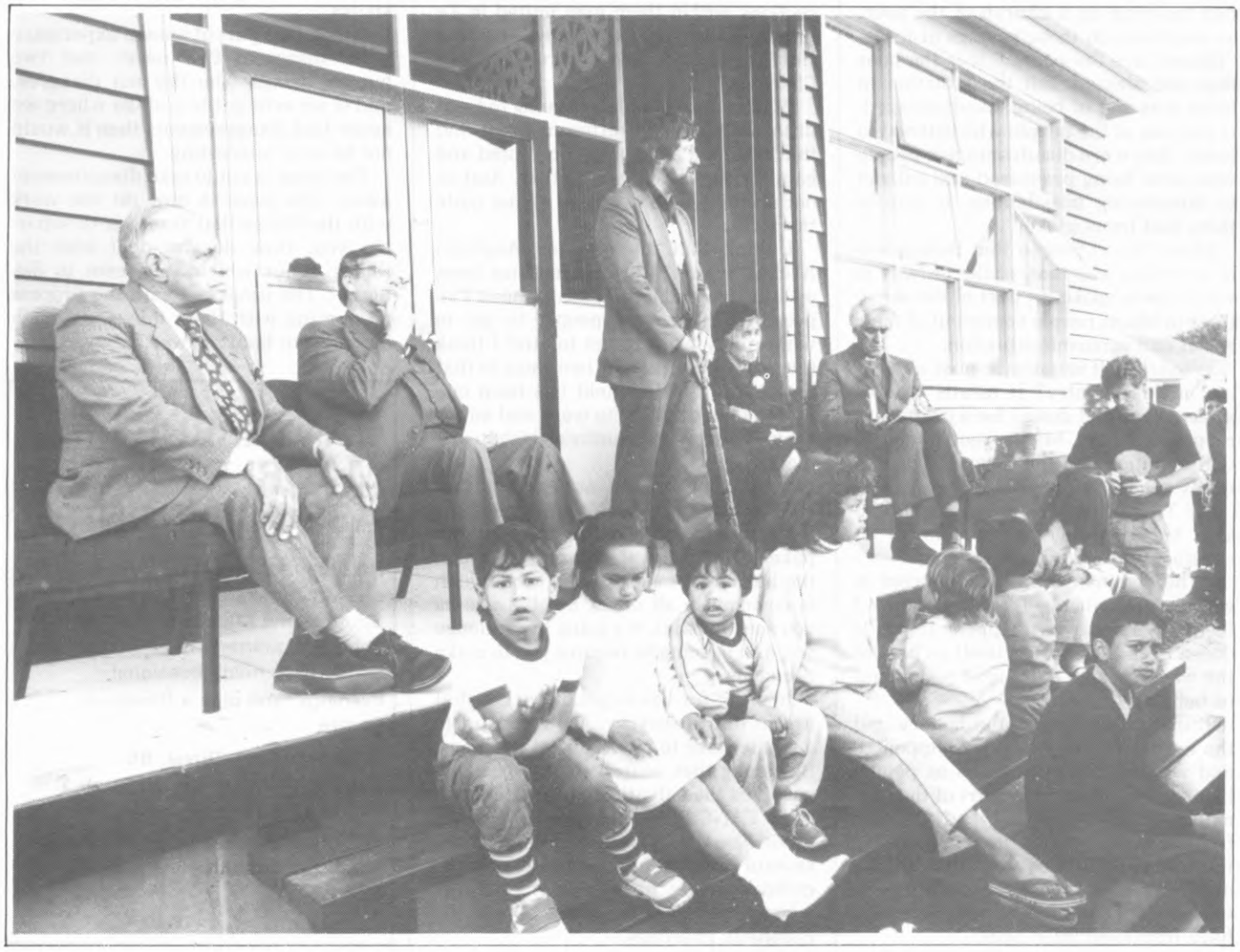
Other speakers such as Haare Williams spoke of leaving their maori behind at the school gate but now it had graduated to stopping at the principal's desk.

And it was stated that school principals still control too much and supress the mana of the reo.

Mike Hollings a teacher himself in the Wairarapa, spoke of the efforts made by Maori parents in his community to get bi-lingual status for some classes at East School, Masterton.

These parents had children coming

Photographs in this feature of the opening of Hone Waititi Maori Primary School by Gil Hanly.



from several kohanga reo in the Wairarapa and going to a school with around 65% maori pupils. He spoke of intransigence by successive principals and Education Department inspectors to even consider and investigate the need of the community to have the maori language acknowledged in the schooling system.

He spoke of a threatened boycott by Maori parents before there was verbal agreement given to bi-lingual status. And even then he said that would only entitle the school to one maori language teacher when there was already need for at least two bi-lingual classes. And he said because of regulations relating to pakeha paper qualifications, a fluent speaker in the community could not be employed immediately at the school.

The downgrading of the maori language by an education system that convinced Maori parents that the learning of english would ensure a full sharing in the benefits of european civilisation, was a recurring theme in submissions before the tribunal.

Tamati Cairns, a teacher at Heretaunga College, spoke of the separation of the maori culture from the wairua, the life-giving force.

The wairua maori and the language were one he said, and when the wairua is not included, decadence creeps in. That is how he saw the emergence of 'taha maori' in schools, a pakeha response that was less threatening if it could be expressed in english.

However he saw it as a compromise any way it was looked at.

He said pakeha teachers had been safe in their monocultural cocoon, leaving the real work to someone else to do. He advised them to take the plunge and get wet. They would have to be prepared for knockbacks as maori things would no longer come cheaply. He said Maori people had had to undergo knockbacks also and they had come through.

He saw the road for pakeha teachers as being a painful one but ones who were already on the journey would attest to learning maori language for greater knowledge opened the door wider to the Maori community where the resources lay.

A painful reminder and an eyeopener for others was a demonstration before the tribunal by Pou Temara, a former school-teacher and now a broadcaster. He quizzed a fifth-form pupil with a School Certificate paper in maori language. To questions such as, 'he aha tenei?' and 'hei aha enei kamuputu?' while holding up a photograph of people on the marae, he received tentative and in some cases negative response.

He then addressed the same questions through a kohanga reo kaiako to a kohanga graduate now at primary school. The confident replies ably demonstrated his point that the education system had made maori language into a written subject along the criteron of pakeha values, when it should be 'korero a waha', a spoken language learnt by speaking it.

The further ills of the education system this time through the eyes of a Correspondence School teacher of maori, June Mead was chronicled. She spoke of the example used at the beginning of this story, that of reducing a treasured Maori tupuna, Maui-tiki-tiki-a Taranga, to that of a fisherman, when in Maori fact Maui fished up the North Island of Aotearoa.

The inadequate setup of the teaching of maori language by correspondence was shown by final power of whether or not a student can study being vested once again in the hands of the principal. Claire Morgan, a former Wellington Girls High School student later attested to four frustrated years at college trying to learn the maori language by correspondence while at the same time fighting a running battle with the headmistress, the college board and educational authorities.

June Mead further went on to point out the unfairness of a S.C. exam pass system that placed maori language on a low priority amongst handcrafts whilst foreign languages were scaled up to produce 70% S.C. pass rates. She said this had been a major bone of conten-

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For restricted numbers courses enrolment ends:	15th January 1986
For unrestricted courses enrolment ends:	31st January 1986

tion amongst maori language teachers as was the low 15% oral content of the S.C. Maori exam.

Broadcasting ignored

Broadcasting policies coming from an arm of the government for over one hundred and forty five years have had the effect of cementing in place a monocultural system that has ignored the only true New Zealand voice, te reo Maori.

The tribunal heard this from four BCNZ employees and a former member of the BCNZ board. Their testimony was vocal, loud and proud.

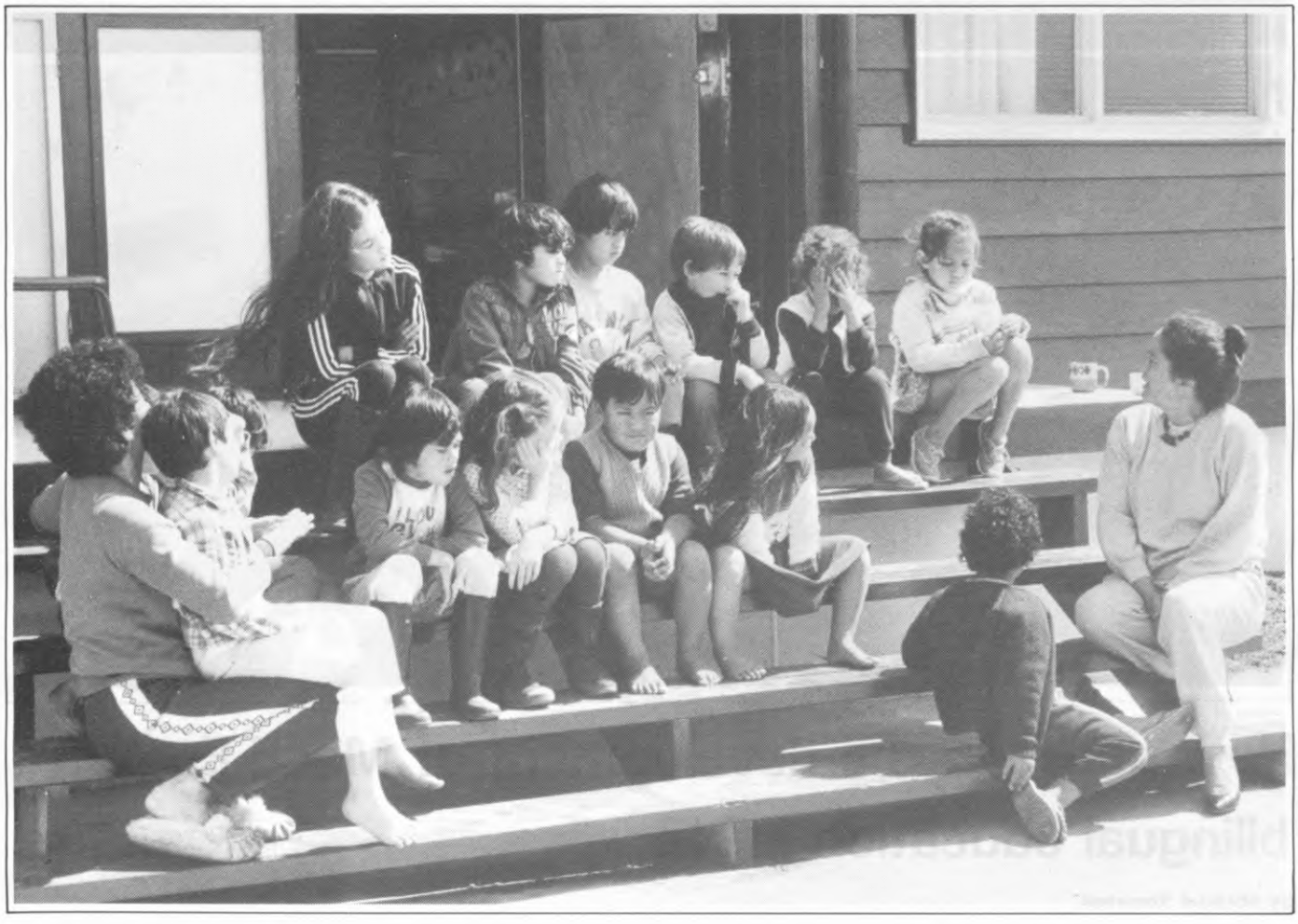
Haare Williams, the station manager of Radio New Zealand's Maori radio unit spoke of single-minded policies that saw a radio transmitter taken away from a proposed Radio Polynesia and since then shared time amounting to no more than twenty minutes a day to maori language on government run airwaves. Morehu McDonald, a television producer of Credo, Country Calender and now Koha, spoke of deliberate decisions by BCNZ policy makers to limit maori language in programme schedules to low viewer slots, and then justifying the low ratings arrived at by pakeha viewpoint. Morehu said the total lack of a Maori viewpoint, right from the allocation of finances for programmes to the commissioning of ratings surveys to justify this pakeha commercial viewpoint, has accounted for a dismal media presence for Maori people both by pakeha and Maori.

Both of these experienced Broadcasting Corporation employees said there needed to be an autonomous Maori unit in radio and television, as proposed by the third television channel front-runner, Aotearoa Broadcasting System. Haare Williams envisaged a Radio Aotearoa Network embracing the country and using the access radio principle to have local 'breakouts' to handle regional iwi and hapu.

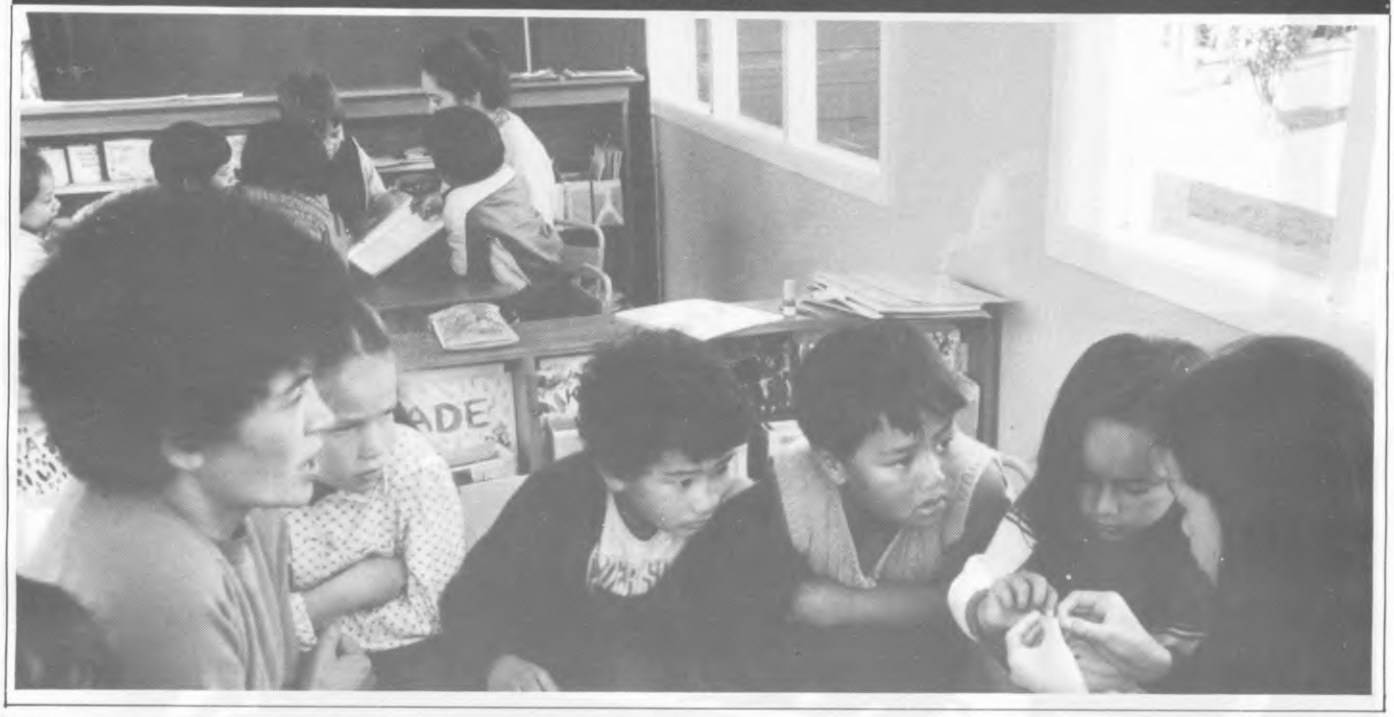
Piripi Walker, a radio producer in Radio New Zealand's Continuing Education Unit, told the Waitangi Tribunal of the success of two Maori initiatives he had been associated with, Te Reo o Poneke and Te Reo o Raukawa. Both radio stations he said, were based on maori kaupapa and came from the maori community because that was where the mana of the reo belonged.

He saw it as inevitable the advent of maori radio in FM and AM as Maori people discovered the thrill of taking off the shackles and letting the reo of Aotearoa heal the injustice suffered by mana maori.

The claim by Huirangi Waikerepuru on behalf of Nga Kaiwhakapumau had its third and final sitting from November 19-29 after this issue went to press. Coverage will be in the Feb/Mar issue of Tu Tangata by which time a decision may have been announced by the tribunal.



Matauranga



New phase in the development of Maori-English bilingual education in NZ

by Michael Romanos

Considered an important breakthrough for schools where bilingual education is seen as appropriate, the Bilingual Training course at Hamilton Teachers Training College for in-service primary school Maori-speaking teachers is being introduced to start next February.

The first of the one-year courses will be for ten teachers holding permanent positions in primary schools and having the ability to speak and teach in Maori, competence in teaching, enthusiasm and commitment to education and willingness to move to Hamilton for the duration of the course.

Preference will be given to teachers in official state bilingual schools and classes. The interviewing panel will include a fluent speaker of Maori and an advisor for Maori education. Interviews may be held at the local marae.

The course will aim to prepare teachers to adapt their organisation and teaching styles to meet the needs of individuals and groups of students in bilingual schools, classes or groups.

The idea evolved from the National Advisory Committee on Bilingual Education (NACBE) in 1983. The "idea" took root and funding became available this year with the new policies of the fourth Labour Government.

The scheme is seen by the Government and the Education Board as a permanent policy that needs to be developed as more funding becomes available. The scheme is expected to expand to have a much larger intake of teachers, the use of multi-venues (instead of Hamilton alone) and opening of the courses to include secondary school teachers.

Hamilton was chosen for 1986 because of its location in an area of high Maori population, its close proximity to a relatively high number of bilingual schools and its closeness to a university which promotes Maori studies.

Those passing the course will be seen as "specialist teachers" and will be accorded a formal certificate from the Waikato College of Teachers Education. The certificate will count towards either a higher diploma or advanced diploma (providing for an increased salary), depending on the teachers qualifications at entry.

Trainees in the bilingual teaching will be fully salaried during the course. Provision has been made for married teachers with expenses provided for fares and shifting costs or alternatively a board allowance with paid monthly return trips home.

After the completion of the course the trainees will be bonded to teach in the state teaching service for one year and indeed, would be expected to return to the school where they taught prior to the course.

The course will be partly school-based in the sense of practical experience and partly based on the campus at Hillcrest School in Hamilton.

The bilingual training course has not been discussed with the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) because for 1986 at least, it is a primary school teachers exercise. But the New Zealand Education Institute (NZEI) has fully endorsed the scheme.

The bilingual training course is considered a steady development at in-service teachers level which will help to complement the pre-service developments which encompass compulsory Maori language and cultural studies at all the New Zealand teachers training colleges for student-teachers.

This total teaching-training package, small though it is at present, is heading for the realisation and the hope of some pakeha and most Maori for a total bilingual education throughout Aotearoa.

Interesting teacher training figures over the past three years point to a massive increase in Maori teachers at primary school level. In 1983, 36 Maori trainee teachers signed up for the three-year primary teachers training course. Last year the Maori intake was 56. This year (1985) it rose to 92 (77 women, 15 men).

This dramatic Maori increase in

teacher training should have a profound influence in the processes of bilingual teaching.

Amster Reedy, the head lecturer in Maori studies at the Wellington Teachers Training College, said the new bilingual training scheme has merit but it does not address the massive funding required for Maori studies within the state system as well as without, like the Kohanga Reo.

As an advocate for alternative Maori teaching schools, Reedy says most of the successful teaching of Maori language comes from outside the system in Kohanga Reo.

"We are still awaiting the recognisation from the Government of the importance of alternative schools such as Kohanga Reo which in taxpayer terms gives a hundred times more value than what is happening in the state system," said Reedy.

"How does one maintain the cultural integrity without recognising the value of alternative schools based on kaupapa Maori? The bilingual training scheme doesn't address this and it is a negligible effort as far as I can see.

"The Government is not helping the Maori to determine their own direction. Those in charge need to be sympathetic to the whole Maori ethos of culture, the traditions, the language... everything. This ethos is available in Kohanga Reo," said Reedy.

Getting it right

Maori school teachers recently met in Auckland with Education Minister, Russell Marshall to register their frustration with the poor recognition mana maori is getting in the schools.

The minister promised to get back to them after considering their suggestions in terms of policy developments.

However in a subsequent radio interview he voiced his concern that many people including Maori teachers can't see the rapid progress the government has made in bicultural education. And they also can't see that this impatience could trigger a backlash in the pakeha community, he said.

He said he was aware of people "deaf to the impassioned anger" of the Maori people at the loss of language and culture.

When questioned about separate Maori schools, particularly the new one at Hone Waititi Marae in West Auckland, he said he was reluctant to see any further development in that area, and that was why he wanted to get as much done within the existing schools so that pressure for others would be lessened.

However the minister seems to be confusing bilingual education, 'taha maori' education and separate Maori education.

The Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed 'te tino rangatiratanga' to the Maori people, that is Maori sovereignty to look after their own needs in their own way.

That is the kaupapa that separate Maori schools are based on.

'Taha maori' education is a pakeha response to a pakeha need, to know and understand more about the tangata whenua of Aotearoa and what it means to be pakeha in the Polynesian Pacific. It is not a substitute for bilingual education.

Bilingual education is the birthright of all New Zealanders to share in the taonga given to and safeguarded by the Maori, that is te reo rangatira, maori language.

Bilingual education, that is maori and english languages both used as the medium of education, was also guaranteed by the Treaty when the Queen of England accorded to the Maori people all the rights and privileges that British subjects have under British law. That is the right to be educated in your mother tongue with the safeguarding provisions.

As much as this holds true for pakeha, it holds true for Maori.

This then is the essence of what Maori teachers, parents and others along with pakeha New Zealanders are growing impatient for.

C.I.T. education given a kick

na S Olsen

The Central Institute of Technology or LIT (above) offers diploma and certificate courses in a range of disciplines at professional and technician level.

There are eight schools: Electronic engineering; Engineering; Health sciences; Hotel and tourism administration; Management; Occupational therapy; Pharmacy; and Science.

Staff from the Central Institute of Technology, Heretaunga, have formed a "core group" to examine ways to relate what they have on offer more closely to the Maori community.

A wananga on this topic was held at Upper Hutt's Orongomai Marae on October 13.

A the outset CIT's principal-to-be, Don Griffin, said students of Maori descent were seriously under-represented at the institute.

Of a daily student body of around 1500 as few as 20 are Maori.

He also said the 25-year-old institute has "little, if any, tangible contact" with the community around it, and needs to change that state of affairs.

(Jim Bateman, who retires as principal this year, expressed concern in July at "the distressing absence of minority cultural groups in the arena of advanced vocational learning".)

Turoa Royal, a resident of Upper Hutt and head of Wellington Community College, was the key speaker.

He challenged the way things are, from top to bottom. The present education system is, he said, a "time bomb" — a ranked society perpetuating a ranked society, a racist reality.

The system is the greatest cause of our social disharmony, because it labels people as failures he said.

Rongo Wirepa, of the Harataunga Kokiri unit, spoke to the CIT staff about the difficulties of vocational guidance, and the importance of keeping Maori peer groups together while at an institute for the mutual support they give each other in a competitive climate.

He said a friendly hand was needed to "push" the young Maori on to higher learning. Equally publicity should be aimed at parents.

Mr Royal said educational qualifications rank a person's chances in life regardless of her or his intellect. "I suspect you people too are in the game of churning out the same thing year after year... but people are not just brains on sticks".

Mr Royal agreed that bridging courses should be available at institutes to lessen the effective barrier of entry requirements.

CIT staff said a quota system was a definite possibility.

Mr Griffin asked why young Maori chose the university route and not technical institutes. Mr Royal's reply was that universities have more mana, they've been in the game longer.

But the CIT obviously has a lot on offer. The areas it should do more to promote itself are in media related studies, tourism, holistic health and management — "which Maori people are poor at".

Mr Royal said the chance of a greater Maori input into television was high and this would call for a range of training courses.

He said a block course could be run for local Maori language tutors at the CIT. The institute's classes and equipment should be used to the maximum, day and night.

A general studies "dimension" which could feature cultural weeks was vital. There are no general studies at the CIT.

Mr Royal suggested that the CIT look to change its apparently culture free campus by means of art, photography, tukutuku... the poutama being a relevant symbol.

To be a part of Orongomai Marae, a first step, simply involves spending a lot of time there the CIT staff were told.

Even in a college such as his own where a wide range of steps have been taken to expose and reflect different cultures Mr Royal said "things are still terribly monocultural".

It can be boasted of as multicultural in terms of composition only he said.

But a start has been made, with taha maori, to have a cultural mainstream in which all students feel at home. Mr Royal said the education system has a role to play in maintaining the elements of each person's past.

In the case of taha maori he said "if it dies here, it dies forever, and we shouldn't use the system to continue to kill it".

He said students were showing some political awareness by opting for Samoan and Japanese rather than French, which is "taking a dive".

Railways share with kohanga

Te Ngaio Kohanga Reo opened last month in Wellington through a unique partnership between the Maori Community and New Zealand Railways.

The majority of the Maori people in Ngaio are employed by Railways and it was this corporation that offered a Railways owned house for use as a kohanga reo.

Railways assistant general manager of Property, Mr Euan McQueen said the corporation was only too pleased to be involved in the life of its employees, especially when it contributed to the overall well-being of the community.

He said Railways had wanted to make sure the best possible house was offered for the kohanga and that the lease arrangement was agreeable to both parties.

Kohanga parents wanted an assurance that they would be able to eventually purchase the house and property, but Mr McQueen said the Railways' owned settlement was all on one title, and until subdivision agreeable to the Wellington City Council took place, it wasn't possible.

Nga whaea me nga tamariki o te Ngaio Kohanga Reo.

However he said that all Railways residents in the community of two or three streets, would be given the first option to purchase their homes, before they were probably offered to the Housing Corporation.

That's been good news to the Maori community of Ngaio because of the close ties the families have through their employment and living together.

The partnership with N.Z. Railways came at a crucial time for the Ngaio Kohanga Reo, as they had wanted to move from their spare classroom at the local Ngaio Primary School. There was little liaison between the kohanga and the school despite many initiatives by the Maori community and support from pakeha parents.

Tu Tangata's Editor, Philip Whaanga has three children at the school and two at the kohanga reo. He says an overnight hui was called in the school hall last year to gather support for a much larger maori content in the curriculum of the school. This was acknowledged as being necessary but the teaching staff felt inadequate in meeting this challenge.

He says a junior school teacher volunteered to work with her fellow teachers in increasing this maori perspective, but received little support.

Even a culture club running outside school hours and organised by some of the Maori community failed to make a dent in the monocultural bias of the school staff.

Unfortunately he says, a maori perspective was not seen as relevant as remedial reading or other subjects and the Maori parents soon got hoha with banging their heads against the school wall. So to did the maori resource teacher who left to join her husband at a school closer to her home taking with her the remnants of a 'taha maori' programme.

"Even the push by the Maori community to establish the kohanga reo in a spare classroom met with much feet-dragging from the school and the Wellington Education Board. Perhaps it's not surprising that the kohanga received little support while it was at the school, apart from a request from the principal that the kohanga reo kaiako, Bobbie Te Whare, also take time out to tutor in the school, with no payment."

With the establishment of the Ngaio Kohanga Reo, the Maori parents are now looking at what happens after their children go the local Ngaio Primary.

They could take courage from one Maori teacher who appeared before the Waitangi Tribunal in October telling of the fight Masterton parents have had to get a bilingual class at their school.

Mike Hollings said it took a threatened boycott by some parents before the Wellington Education Board and some school inspectors took their take seriously.

And then he said the handful of new maori teaching positions and language assistants announced in this year's Labour Government budget are totally inadequate to staff the many bilingual classes necessary to cater for the four hundred kohanga reo around the country.

Mr Royal will be heading the new community college in Porirua soon and said he hopes to put his "own preferences" for affirmative action to work.

His advice to Mr Griffin was to kick regulations in the teeth, plead ignorance, do anything but "play safe" in order to bring about change. Mr Royal added he was not the most popular person in Education Department circles.

He said it is wrong that the nature of a college should be determined by regulations.

At the end of the day the CIT staff agreed they were committed to "carrying on the momentum" — hopefully with the help of a Maori liaison officer, a new position now allocated for institutes.

Their core group consists of about 20 staff, tutorial and non-tutorial, from a total of 150 full-timers.

Mr Griffin, 50, said he regretted the fact it was only the second time he had been on a marae. He thanked Mr Royal for being "in a word, expansive".

Mr Royal: "I hope this is the first hui of many like this. This marae has been waiting for you people for years".

Royal Commission on Broadcasting comes to Te Aute College

Nervous shuffling of feet. Echoes of pukana resounding through the brisk morning. Expectant faces amongst modern new buildings, within a backdrop of much-developed landscaping.

Peter Perring
Te Aute College (Dux 1985)
Pukehou,
Hawke's Bay

And they arrived.

Several speeches and flawless songs of welcome later, the Commission were walking sideways, quite a natural occurrence in the hongi.

Among the other noses being respectfully flattened were lawyers from the BCNZ, the counsel assistant and the secretary for the commission, plus representatives from Kiwi Radio and the Good News Trust both based in Hawke's Bay.

The Commission, in due course, proceeded inside the hall/gymnasium complex, where they were met by an entire gallery of Maori art. The art was produced locally by the boys, and was in a sense greater than even the fabulous Te Maori exhibition — a compliment paid to us by a visitor to that very exhibit. As the four commissioners took root behind tables and sound equipment, they were also obviously taken in by the surroundings.

An event as unusual as this couldn't escape the notice of Eye Witness News, nor could Te Karere news team spurn the interest this would generate.

So atop the Chapel's plateau poised four rather reluctant interviewees, contemplating their profiles in the camera's viewer. Speak English? Korero Maori? Sure — you want it in Japanese too?

Nonetheless we survived the rituals of television, which in an case helped reduce our blood pressure — if you can handle being before a formidable looking camera, then what's a formidable looking Commission panel?

Much to our dawning delight, the afternoon's proceedings seemed to take on an informal and relaxed atmosphere with our presence.

Now facing the ever-so-patient commissioners we sat. Mr Lincoln A. Gribble: English teacher and non-conformist extraordinaire. Mr Poia Rewi; Head-boy and master scrub-cutter from Tuhoe country. Mr Hakopa Tapiata, Mr Karaka Tuhakaraina, and myself: a select group with the common gift of language.

With a burst of intrepidity, our normally bovine Head Prefect had sprung to the fore already commencing stage one of our loose scheme — melting the commissioners with kind words:

"I am privileged this afternoon to welcome you all here. You know from our greetings out on the marae how welcome you are. You have brought yourselves before young people — a symbolic gathering of the youth of New Zealand....

"You have a powerful team to listen to our submissions — we would not have sought better."

Ahh what a crafty race are we the Maori, swamp them with hospitality first.

Now considerably more warmed to our cause, the Commission spent the next half-hour in the enthralling company of Mr Tapiata:

"What makes us Maoris? Why are we not just brown-skinned Europeans? It is something inside us that makes us Maoris. Te Mana, te Wehi, te Ihi. It's the inner strength and cultural depth that sets us apart from the rest.

"We now stand on the ground that was fought for by the pupils of 1973, by the Young Maori party of the early twentieth century, at a college conceived of by Sir George Grey.

"We, the students of Te Aute represent the true New Zealanders. New Zealanders who are able to appreciate the two main cultures in this land."

With a Nikon SLR slung around my neck, and the latest in home video cameras crocked under my arm, I began:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, this is it. The latest, most highly advanced, technological weapon in the world today....

"I mean, you've all heard the saying 'the pen is mightier than the sword'... in similar vein the 'camera is mightier than the gun'.

"... there are only two cameras that I know of available for Maori use; one for Koha, and one for Te Karere — koiana noa iho! Together they provide less than

thirty minutes of teleivsion time a week. That's less than 0.1% of the total viewing time for the people who make up 15% of the whole population and own 12% of TVNZ's shareholdings.

"We are trapped within the case of European television, and whatever major breakthroughs are made, they are in reality negligible.

"But then, what is the point of going it alone in the broadcasting world? Well it all boils down to responsibility, the responsibility of our matua-tipuna to hand down their precious gifts.... But the old people can't reach the young anymore, it's all to do with a barricade called the generation gap.

"To reach them means filtering this knowledge through their own environment ... T.V. and radio."

With my part completed, Mr Tuhakaraina wasted no time with formalities:

"Give us the equipment and resources and we can show not only New Zealand, but the world, true New Zealand culture — the Maori.

"You can see what happens when Maori are shown the ropes don't you? You want a comedian? — just ask a Maori, you want a Governor-General — just ask a Maori. You want a first class rugby player, an opera singer, a bishop — go ask a Maori. Just give us the chance and we'll excel in whatever field we're given.

"All throughout the media, Maori are constantly compacted, overwhelmingly suppressed and unable to expand or grow. Too long have we scraped the bottom of the barrel ... we want the cream of the crop."

Being an editor and journalist in his own right, Mr Tuhakaraina's research had taken him from television studios in Auckland, to the local radio stations in Hastings, and further to Wellington to do an introductory journalism course taught by the very editor of this magazine:

"I met Philip at a journalism course held during the May holidays. He struck me as very Maori and also very European — a living example of biculturalism at its best."

On the inspiration once again of Mr Gribble, an entire sixth form English class had set out for Wellington to increase the current school supply of this unique magazine to thirty.

E te Rangatira o te ropu Tu Tangata, tena koe E nga tangata whakahaere o te pukapuka nei, kia ora ano koutou. He mea motuhake o koutou mahi.

During the course of discussion with Mr Philip Whaanga, the sad fact was uncovered that out of 10,000 copies produced, only around 8000 are sold — very few of the Maori population are reading *Tu Tangata*. Again another factor highlighting the urgent need for support in the Maori journalism sector.

In front of him were stacked folders each full with the accumulated evidence from past years clippings, reports, proposals, and assorted trivia.

Beside him waited a box of video cassettes and video equipment, as visual evidence to suport his claims. Amongst it stood Mr L.A. Gribble.

He was now pushed for time. The commission, God bless them, could have taken his four or five hour submission in their stride, not so with our fellow students in the audience. With a sense of haste and sporadic displays of evidence, he had made his points clear in just under an hour — a credit to a man of language.

His finale was a simple message exemplifying good race relations, for he now had on screen, recording artists of every ethnic origin proclaiming, "We are the World, we are the children, we are the ones who make a brighter day, so let's start giving."

Our efforts it seems now, were merely token. It was not really the clever framing of words or researched proof that made the impression — those had already been made explicit by previous submissions on this matter. It was more the uniqueness of the situation: young Maori people contributing towards what they deemed a worthwhile force for their future — that in itself was the message that day.

So now that the hooplah of the day has ebbed, just where does the situation stand.

A bilingual, bicultural influence in the broadcasting area is a positive solution to our racial discord. As a New Zealand youth, I am constantly aware of it, and I am hoping our small efforts here and the efforts of other concerned people elsewhere, has awakened the older generation to meet the desires of our future.

The next few years shall be interesting and hopefully fulfilling, we can only hope, Na reira,

Nau te rourou
Naku te rourou
Ka ora te manuhiri.

Te Aute vets Tu Tangata

The suspicion that *Tu Tangata* was not being bought, and hence not being sufficiently read around New Zealand, prompted a party of fourteen Form 6 students from Te Aute College to drive to Wellington with their English-language tutor, Lincoln Gribble. They met with magazine editor, Philip Whaanga, to request that a free issue of a class-set of *Tu Tangata* be given to Te Aute College every two months.

Student Tony Collins commented: "Mr Whaanga was a real 'gun' at speaking in both English and in Maori. He was usually at the centre of the talks and he held our attention, as did his supporter, Andrew, who also had a perfect bilingual tongue. Both were fast-talking men and as we followed their speech our only reply was an affirmative, "Yes". So the makings of a trap were laid: Philip getting us to do work for him, and we so dumbfounded by him we couldn't reply."

The outcome of the journey was an agreement reached whereby Te Aute will receive multiple copies of those issues to which it has tendered copy and pictures to the high standard required by *Tu Tangata*.

We face a real challenge; yet have been given the opportunity to be in touch, through *Tu Tangata*, with a nation-wide readership and with an international audience beyond our shores.

Who speaks for mana maori media

Many moves are being made to ensure a Maori voice, face and mana becomes part of the media of Aotearoa.

The third television channel warrant bid by the Aotearoa Broadcasting System has had the effect of encouraging and forcing other contenders to incorporate some maori programming in their submissions currently before the Broadcasting Tribunal.

Bodies like this Royal Commission on Broadcasting cannot set policy for mana maori media.

This Aotearoa Broadcasting System fronted by former Te Karere producer, Derek Fox has already received commitment from BCNZ chairman, Hugh Rennie who obviously sees it as filling in an enormous cultural hole in the Broadcasting Corporation.

Aotearoa's production and training functions are seen as vital if a kaupapa maori is adopted and staff and programmes brought into being.

And Radio New Zealand's hierachy have also finally recognised that Maori people have ears and that a similar commitment to Television New Zealand is needed to honour their holding a warrant for the welfare of all New Zealanders.

RNZ are proposing a Radio Aotearoa Network initially starting from Te Reo o Aotearoa's studios in Papatoetoe, Auckland and then expanding with another studio in the North Island and one other in the South Island. It's planned to have mobile units capable of broadcasting from local hui and marae so that a regional iwi and hapu flavour is transmitted.

In the midst of this the Commission in-

MAORI NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

1842-1863 **TE KARERE O NIU TIRENI (1842-1846)**
THE MAORI MESSENGER KO TE KARERE MAORI (1849-1854)
THE MAORI MESSENGER KO TE KARERE MAORI (1855-1861)
TE MANUHIRI TUARANGI — MAORI INTELLIGENCE (1861)
TE KARERE MAORI (1861-1863)

1849 **KO TE AO MARAMA (THE NEW WORLD)**
Its aim was to foster a spirit of industry amongst the natives and to acquaint them with customs of their white neighbours

1859 **TE WAKA O TE IWI (1859) Davis**
TE WHETU O TE TAU (1859) Davis
TE HAEATA
"Tatou ka haere ki to Ihowa Maramatanga — a religious paper chiefly issued by Wesleyan Methodists

1861 **KO AOTEAROA**
TE HOKIOI O NIU TIRENI E RERE ATU NA
Patara, cousin of King Matotaera Potatau, editor, printed at Ngaruawahia. The organ of the King Movement The far-flying hokioi of New Zealand — the hokioi was a mythological bird of dire omen

1863 **TE PIHOIHOI MOKEMOKE I RUNGA I TE TUANUI**
The sparrow that sitteth alone upon the housetop. The lonely ground-lark perched on the roof. Edited & published by Mr John Eldon — Native Commissioner upper Waikato to counteract the "mischevious" native newspaper Te Hokioi

TE WAKA MAORI O AHURIRI
'Ko te tika, ko te pono, ko te aroha (for justice truth and love); being the motto adopted by Potatau. An angry parliament terminated the paper's existence as a Govt publication (July 17, 1877) on the grounds of political misuse and its place was taken by KAHITI O NIU TIRENI (New Zealand Gazette)

TE WAKA O AHURIRI
This important paper had a chequered career, suffered at least two actions for liable. It is full of native history and transactions, letters from natives, reports of their meetings and other important matters.

1874 **TE WANANGA**
Published by Henare Tomoana
This paper has an interesting character, containing native news of all kinds, numerous letters, reports of native meetings, discussion in parliament on land and other special projects and excellent articles. It opposed the Waka Maori — the Government or Sir Donald McLeans organ

1882 **TE KORIMAKO**
A newspaper giving the news of the whole world, the reasons for belief in all things. A monthly periodical containing interesting little paragraphs, letters, important leaders, essays, poetry and general news. Founded by Mr W P Snow a prosperous and beneficent American. Editor Mr C.O. Davis 1882 March. 16/5/1888 (75 issues?)

1892 **TE PAKI O MATARIKI**
The paper was the official organ of King Tawhiao.

1898 **HE KUPU WHAKAMARAMA**
This monthly publication which reached 134 issues by May 1909 aimed at being a newspaper with religious and other 'improving' articles conducted by Anglicans. Printed by H.W. Williams at Te Rau. Editorship passed to R.T.M. Kohuru under supervision.
TE PIPIWHARAUROA used to be He Kupu Whakamarama.

structed by the Minister of Maori Affairs from last year's Hui Taumata, to look into Maori Broadcasting, has delivered its report. The Maori Economic Development Commission's view is that there should be a basic restructuring in bicultural education within radio and television.

The Commission has also formulated it's own plan for a Maori radio network.

In line with this broadcasting committee member, Graeme Edwin has initiated arrangements with the Nga Hau E Wha marae in Christchurch for a proposed two week broadcast in February next year. One of the requirements is a radio transmitter.

It seems the succesful operation by Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo, of its Te Reo o Poneke for the past three years during Maori Language Week and the successful Te Reo o Raukawa this year have acted as models for Radio New Zealand.

There has been some tacit RNZ support of these operations, especially Te Reo o Raukawa and it's hoped that the case has been proved regarding the tino reka o te reo Maori ki nga taringa Maori.

The Maori Economic Development Commission is also supporting the third television bid by the Aotearoa Broadcasting System, which includes training, and production units for Maori programmes.

In line with this kaupapa, the Commission has an observer status at the warrant application hearings of the Broadcasting Tribunal.

Commission member, Ripeka Evans says it's obvious that the Aotearoa warrant bid is causing other applicants to reassess their lack of maori content in their programming, and also overall control of this content.

She says there is clearly a need to have a statutory body similar to an ombudsman, to monitor all tv programme content.

All these moves within media circles could be great signs of recognition of Maori culture and its place as portrayed by our media, newspaper and magazine, radio and television.

But not all the moves come from the same motives. Some are only moving to further control this Maori expression, while others see the long-term need and neglect of the Maori culture but are apprehensive of sharing the control.

Into this mix comes the work of some Maori and pakeha people who have seen this awakening vision some years ago. Part of the vision was the realisation that Maori people were being left out of the media by default through lack of training structures suited to Maori needs.

That work has borne fruit in the past few years with more Maori journalists emerging from journalism training courses. However the environment of these courses and the kaupapa they were set up on hasn't allowed for maori input.

That changed this year with the first running of a Maori journalism course at Waiariki Community College, Rotorua, and thirteen Maori and Samoan journalists have taken their place in the pakeha media environment.

However the kaiwhakahaere, known as Mana Maori Media see the need to have a maori media environment that has a maori kaupapa and maori control. This they see as the development of their work over the years.

At present Tu Tangata magazine is the sole symbol of this mana maori media, with television's Te Karere and radio's Te Reo o Aotearoa both being dependent on pakeha funding and control. The maturing of both these media initiatives is dependent on autonomy being won by them.

THE JUBILEE — TO TIUPIRI
January 4, 1898 Whanganui. An excellent and loyal paper, with varied information, conducted by Maori Committee in the interests of the native race. Contains some legendary history. Written chiefly in Maori. Ceased publication from non-payment of subscriptions and lack of support.
In a lot of defunct Maori papers the names are given of
Te Hioi
Te Kotahitanga
Te Huia Tangata Kotahi.

TE PUKE KI HIKURANGI
Printed and published by T. Renata, under the authority of H.T. Mahupuku, Greytown, Wairarapa. First half in Maori, second in English. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory:
"Huihui mai o koutou whakaaro ki runga i to tatou maunga tapu te oha a te hunga kua wehe.
Bring your thoughts together on this sacred mountain as a tribute to those who have departed from us."
Its contents were of a philanthropic and high class character, vindicating native rights, and dealing with the history, ethnology etc of the Polynesian race.

1903 **WAIRARAPA MATUHI PRESS**

1905 **THE MAORI RECORD — "TE PUKE KI HIKURANGI"**

1840 **ALMANACS**
He Maramatakahaere
The first almanac printed in N.Z. (yearly) with some variations until 1845. Maramataka — changes of the maori. Amongst these are one of the most undoubted and perhaps unique "KO TE HIKURANGI TAINUI MARAMA WHITI 1891
He mea tango mai no ta te Maori whakahaerenga i nga ra o te tau.
The Hikurangi Tainui (Calendar) of the moon's appearances. Something taken from the Maori observations of the days of the year. Written by an old tohunga, it gives ancient tradition connected with the Tainui migration, the native names of the months and the days of the month, observations on the various changes and appearances of the moon, and the omens drawn there from, minutely specifying the auspicious and inauspicious days for various pursuits.

1913-1921 **TE KOPARA**

1930s **TE WANANGA**

1953-1975 **TE AO HOU**
(Department of Maori Affairs)

1960s **TE KAUNIHERA MAORI**
(NZ Maori Council Newsletter)
TE MAORI
(NZ Maori Council)

1970s **MARAE**
(Magazine)
RONGO
(Newspaper)
MANA
(Newspaper)
TE REO KOMITI

1979-1981 **TE KAEA**
(Department of Maori Affairs)

1979-1980 **TE MAORI II**
(NZ MC)

1981 **TU TANGATA**
(Department of Maori Affairs) — The culmination of Te Kaea and Te Maori II resulted in the birth of Tu Tangata.

1984 **TE HAU ORA**
Official journal of the NZ Maori Sports Federation, Auckland. Edited by Henare Broughton.

The second hand deal of Maori parliamentary representation

by Robin Shave

Young Maori radicals are responsible for the rising tide of Maori nationalism, according to Internal Affairs Minister Peter Tapsell. But it is not just the younger generation who are speaking out on injustices they and their forebears have suffered as a result of past european moves to colonise New Zealand and assimilate Maori and pakeha cultures.

Maori radicalism is slowly gaining acceptance by a more conservative, older generation who are now beginning to publicly address the issue of self-determination.

Recently, the Poneke-based Te Takawaenga Trust, a group from within the Ratana Movement, appeared before the Royal Commission on the Electoral System to place the history of Maori representation in a European-dominated political system.

Describing the proverbial "shark-kahawai" relationship which exists between Maori and pakeha, it used the history of the Ratana Party to illustrate how Maori independence has been undermined and swallowed up since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Although Te Takawaenga trustees are adherents of the Ratana Church, they were at pains to emphasise to the commission that the views expressed were theirs, and not the official views of the established Ratana Church.

The importance of the submission within the Ratana Movement was reflected in its representation to the commission.

Appearing on behalf of the trust was Raniera Ratana, son of the Prophet Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, a founder of the Ratana Movement.

In 1931, in a loose alliance with the Labour Party, Ratana won its first seat in Parliament.

Five years later Tahupotiki Ratana and his family formally joined the Labour Party. From 1943 the four Maori seats were held by Ratana and the Ratana-Labour "alliance" has endured as the most powerful, single influence in Maori national politics.

But the rise of Maori nationalism in recent years has undermined that alliance.

There has been increasing concern within maoridom about the submergence and assimilation of Maoris into the European-dominated cultural, economic and political system and a feeling that the Maori people must strive for self-determination.

This concern is reflected in Te Takawaenga Trust's submission, which hinted that it may be timely for the Ratana Movement to review its links with the Labour Party.

Mr Ratana, tracing the history of the alliance, said that many in the Ratana Movement had viewed it as a "spiritual thing — an affinity of causes". But with the benefit of hindsight, this alliance had spelled disaster for Maori self-determination.

The Maori people had suffered oppression as a result of the assimilative nature of the Westminster-type parliamentary system.

This two-party system had done nothing but undermine Maori political independence and reinforce and entrench European dominance. "Never in our history have we ever been able to gain anything on our own terms," Mr Ratana said.

He reminded the commission of the words of his father when the Prophet formally joined the Labour Party: "The licence (alliance) lasts only 12 months."

He said the trust had chosen to make representations through an institutionalised framework out of both frustration and hope.

It wished to emphasise the tapu nature with which the Maori people regarded the Treaty of Waitangi. It also believed that if wrongs of the past were to be redressed then the Treaty must be totally accepted and enshrined in the laws of the land and the policies of successive governments.

For far too long Maori demands and grievances had remained unsettled unless they happened to fall in line with pakeha European policies, that was, unless they served pakeha ends.

"Since the question of Maori representation is primarily a Maori issue it is particularly important to develop an appreciation, from a Maori point of view, of the pressures which the Maori people have had to withstand," Te Takawaenga said.

It was also important to develop an appreciation of the effects these pressures have had on the representation of Maori issues and the position of the Maori community within New Zealand society.

Te Takawaenga Trust recognised that any change in the system would have to be agreed to by the Maori people, Mr Ratana said.

But in the light of Maori history it believed there was a case for putting Maori interests before those of the majority of New Zealand people.

Mr Ratana said the trust's submissions were based on quite simple things — oppression, power and pathos.

"What we are dealing with is assimilation, accountability of the Maori people within a particular system, our hopes and dreams, and maybe a chance to work in tandem towards self-determination."

According to Te Takawaenga Trust, the arrival of European settlers introduced a cultural, economic and political system which resulted in the domination and alienation of the Maori race.

"For the good of the country — Maori and pakeha — the Maori people must be set free of the political domination under which they have laboured for all these years. No Bill of Rights can, of itself, make the Treaty of Waitangi speak. Only when the Maori people are freed to pursue their own destiny can the treaty be said to speak," Te Takawaenga said.

Victoria University's head of Maori Studies Professor Sidney Mead, also told the commission that the pakeha had steadfastly refused to acknowledge that the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 allowed limited autonomy for the Maori people.

In article one of the Treaty, the Maori people were asked to give up to the British Crown the right to govern their own land.

However, article two guaranteed tino rangatiratanga (which he translated as absolute chieftainship) in exchange for this right.

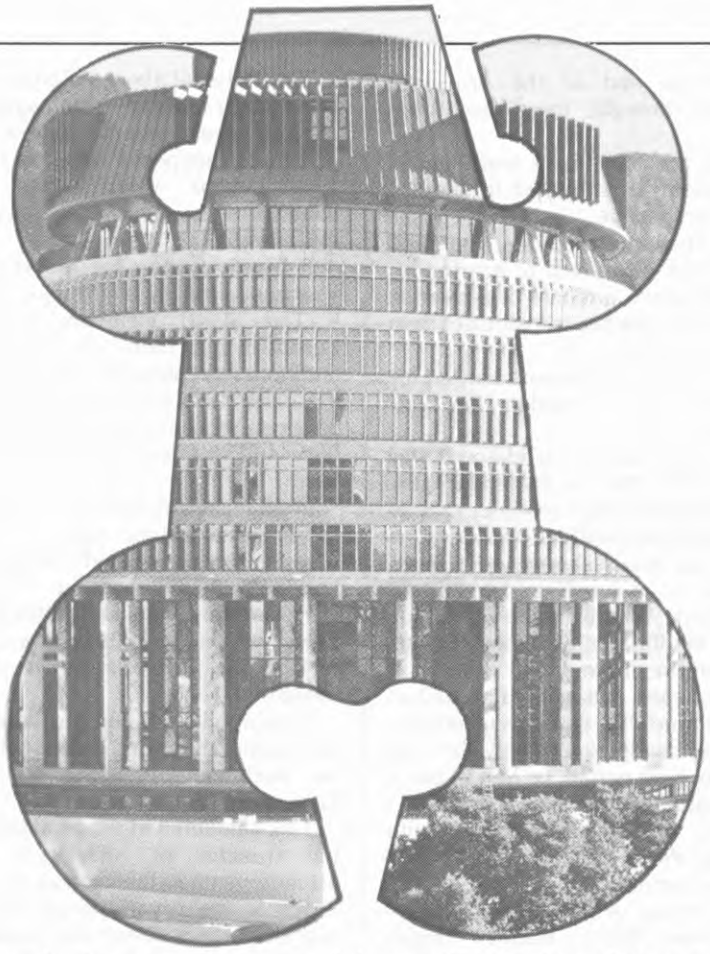
It implied that the mana of a ruling chief over his people was to be maintained and that chieftainship would be exercised in a Maori way according to the rules of Maori society.

Home rule was to be exercised over land, their villages and homes, and all their treasures and their heritage.

For the Maori chiefs, this article clearly implied partnership in government and was probably the main reason they agreed to sign the treaty, according to Professor Mead.

But the implementation of the 1852 Constitutional Act effectively cheated the Maori people of any chance of self government or of shared government.

"They (the settlers) excluded the



Maori from having any real power and in fact took over responsibility of Native Affairs themselves in November 1863 and this Act effectively put the Maori people under the power of the pakeha from that time right up until the present time," Professor Mead said.

It was not until 1868 — a year following the Maori Representation Act, 14 years after national General Assembly met for the first time and 28 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi — that the Maori people were given a political voice.

The Maori Representation Act 1867 gave the Maori people four seats in the General Assembly compared with the 66 general seats, even though the Maori were entitled to 14, or one-third of the seats on a population basis.

Since then the number of Maori seats has remained static while the number of general seats has increased to 91.

Te Takawaenga Trust said that limiting the number of seats to four ensured that the Maori representatives would never be in a position to bargain with the Europeans in the Assembly.

"It became clear... they were never intended to be more than watchdogs. The House was caught off-guard when they sought to speak.

"Kaihau, MP for Western Maori at the turn of the century, could not speak English at all and became a laughing stock and focal point for the perverted sense of humour of his white colleagues."

The trust said the Maori people accrued little benefit from having representatives in Parliament in these early years.

The influence of Maori MPs remained local and Maoris continued to live in rural communities structured along traditional lines and remote from the centre of power.

The commission was told that nothing was gained by the Maori on his own terms, even in the time of the Young Maori Party.

With the possible exception of Apirana Ngata, the leaders of Te Aute Students' Association shared the prevailing opinion of whites.

"They were strong advocates of co-operation with the Government, to the extent that they opposed outright Te Kotahitanga and other separatist movements.

"Their level of education, their sophistication in pakeha ways and their general attitudes were welcomed by the pakeha because it avoided the necessity of having to deal with them as a Maori.

"Maui Pomare's statement in 1906, 'There is no alternative but to become a pakeha', reflects the attitude among this era of Maori representatives."

The experience of the Maori Land Councils Act 1900 illustrated the short-term political expediencies involved in the administration of Maori affairs at the time.

The trust said that in providing district councils to supervise Maori affairs, the Act recognised that Maori organisation took place at the community level.

But the real aims of the Act were to divert support from the Kotahitanga Parliament and to divert attention away from the activities of the land councils created under the Maori Land Administration Act 1900.

These were subsequently transformed into land boards in 1905 and served wholly European interests.

By 1910, they were in decline. Once they had served their purpose, the Government either lost interest in them or came to see them as a potential threat.

"That they could easily have transformed themselves into a positive force for the political socialisation and mobilisation of the Maori people on a broad front is obvious from the very nature of the organisation," said the trust.

"Thus, they could have become a greater threat to pakeha interests than the Te Kotahitanga movement which they destroyed."

Te Takawaenga said that Te Aute Students Association members, including

He Panui Mo Te Iwi

Kua whakatuiria he komiti whakahaere hei titiro ki nga mahi a te Roopu Neehi o te Ora mo te katoa a ki te whakatakoto i tetahi kaupapa i ona mahi katoa ki mua i te Tumuaki O te Tari o te Ora. Ko te wahanga tuatahi hei whiriwhiri ma te komiti ko te whakatau he aha to mahi a te Roopu Neehi nei, inaianei, i nga tau e heke mai nei ranei, a e pehea ana hoki te mahi tahi o te Roopu nei me nga Poari-a-Takiwa o te Ora, me era atu mahi Neehi o te Ora o ia rohe.

I nga ra o mua, ko te Roopu Neehi nei anake te kai whakahaere te kai hautu hoki mo te taha awhina i te tinana, me te awhina hoki i nga tamariki tae atu ki te whanau kei te rapu te komiti whakahaere nei i etahi tikanga, whakaaro ranei, a te iwi o te motu a nga roopu e whai whakaaro ana ki tenei take ranei. Whakarangitia mai o koutou whakaaro me pehea, me aha ranei nga whakahaere a tenei Roopu Neehi o te Ora mo te katoa o Niu Tireni.

Tuhia mai o koutou whakaaro ki:

The Secretary
Nursing Review Committee
Community Health Nursing Division
PO Box 5013
WELLINGTON.

Ngata, Buck and Pomare, were widely credited with salvaging the Maori people.

But what the Maori MPs were able to win for their people were won on European, not Maori terms.

Ngata served most of his parliamentary career as a member of the Liberal Party while Pomare waved the Reform banner.

Peter Buck, however, tried to retain some semblance of independence. While he voted with the Liberals he was also sharply critical of them when the need arose.

Even so, the Maori vote was still not perceived by the main parties as being important enough to woo.

The 1920s and 1930s were marked by the tightening grip of the political parties, the rise of Labour, the development of the independent Ratana Party and the increasing participation of Maoris on the political front.

Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana, prophet and healer, founded the Ratana Church and its movement in the early 1920s.

He began having visions in 1919 and Ratana Te Mangai (or mouthpiece of God as he became known) became the focal point of a new religion which was basically Christian but with its own evolving credo and ritual.

The marae at Ratana, 20km south east of Wanganui, was the Parliament of the iwi (people, tribe) and those who came for physical and spiritual healing could be helped directly by Ratana the Prophet.

But the dispossessed, the unemployed, the poverty stricken and the homeless required a different kind of healing and the way to get it, was through politics.

The Ratana Movement therefore held within it the conditions necessary for the mass mobilisation of the iwi.

Ratana's influence amongst the Maori people increased in spite of strong opposition over many years, but particularly in the late 1920s.

In the area of policy formation, the Ratana Movement had no peers. It had a complete grasp of the conditions of the Maori people and of the processes which had brought these conditions about.

Because the Movement transcended tribal boundaries, it tended to adopt a national perspective.

It had a charismatic leader, a national forum for the discussion of grievances and claims, and a national organisation that could be readily transformed into an election machine.

In 1922 Tahupotiki Ratana backed his son Tokouru, as a candidate for Western Maori.

Tokouru was unsuccessful and it was not until 1935 that he entered Parliament representing that seat.

But, his initial political challenge resulted in the establishment — at electoral level — of auxiliary committees called Komiti Whaiti (made up of followers of the Ratana Movement) to support his bid for office.

By 1928, when Tahupotiki Ratana had concluded that his people's economic and social needs could only be met through political action, he had in place a ready-made electoral machine.

By 1931, with a loose alliance with the Labour Party, Ratana won its first seat in Parliament.

At the urging of its Maori membership, Labour Party leaders began attending the hui of the Ratana Movement and for the 1931 election, a bargain was struck.

Ratana Independents were to vote with Labour and the Labour Party would not put up official candidates for the four Maori seats.

Consequently, the 1932 Southern Maori by-election returned Ratana Party candidate Eureura T. Tirikatene. When he took his seat in the House that year, he was escorted by the Labour Party Whips and from then on, voted with Labour on most issues.

Over the next 11 years the Ratana Movement's organisations developed into a highly effective party machine and by 1943, all four Maori seats had become occupied by morehu, followers of Tahupotiki Ratana's philosophy.

The Ratana-Labour alliance was to become the most powerful, single influence on Maori national politics.

But a lot happened between 1928 and 1943. Labour, which formed a large minority in the House, was keen to win extra seats.

It began wooing the Maori vote but was hampered by two things.

- The Maori members were part-European and therefore outside of the traditional framework of Maori society.
- Labour members generally lacked an understanding of Maori issues and problems and this hampered policy formation.

In 1935, when Tirikatene was joined by Tokouru Ratana (MP for Western Maori), both applied formally for Labour Party membership.

Tirikatene received a letter from the party's secretary stating he would have to sign the parliamentary candidate's pledge.

If his application for membership was successful, then both Ratana MPs would be parliamentary members of the Labour Party.

This amounted to a direct demand for the transfer of allegiance. Having already pledged themselves in spiritual terms to the Maori people the Maori representatives were now being asked to pledge themselves to the Labour Party.

This move sounded the death-knell of an independent political party representing wholly Maori interests. So why was the bargain struck?

The answer is simple. It gave the Ratana Members a vehicle for implementing Ratana policies and the Labour Party gained four safe seats.

Te Takawaenga said that with the knowledge of hindsight, it believed the alliance spelled disaster for Maori self-determination.

"Maori mechanisms were rendered useless and yet another wedge was driven into Maori society — that of party politics."

That year, Labour under Michael Joseph Savage won a landslide victory,

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another huge win in 1938 and remained in power until 1949.

In 1936 the Prophet Ratana met Savage in an attempt to lay down a few ground rules.

He placed before the Prime Minister five objects — huia feathers, a potato, a piece of greenstone, a gold watch and chain in need of repair and the Whetu me te Marama (symbol of the Ratana Movement).

The huia feathers represented the Maori people and their most prized possession, their culture. The bird from which they were taken was now extinct, having been killed off by introduced vermin.

The potato, a pakeha substitute for the Maori staple food of kumara represented the loss of land, the source of food.

The precious greenstone represented Maori sovereignty, now lost.

The broken gold watch and chain represented the poverty among the people.

The tohu (symbol of the Movement) represented the handing over to the Labour Government, responsibility for the protection of Maori culture, land claims, rights and privileges and material well-being.

As the meeting concluded, the Prophet prayed, "May Jehovah, Lord God of Hosts watch over you and your Government so that you do not forget your responsibilities to the Maori people".

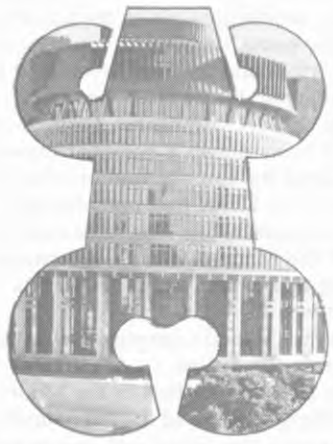
Savage said he realised and understood the problems facing the Maori people.

"I would like you to understand Mr Ratana that only when the shackles are removed from the Maori people will I be able to say that my responsibilities to this country have been fulfilled."

However, these were hollow words when measured against the events which followed Savage's death in 1940.

For sometime after the two Ratana MPs joined the Labour Party, they continued to owe their prior allegiance to Tahupotoki Ratana and the Movement, a fact which did not go unnoticed in Labour circles.

But they sought to take control of the Maori section of the Labour Party in order to strengthen their power base and in 1936, a Maori Organising Committee was formed to increase membership.



The two key positions were held by morehu with Tirikatene appointed chairman and Paikea as secretary.

The Whetu Marama (newsletter of the Movement), as an incentive to morehu to join the Labour Party, published the fact that Tahupotoki Ratana and his family had joined.

However, Ratana noted his membership was valid for only 12 months and would be reviewed subsequently.

Until then, the morehu had involved themselves in politics as followers of the Ratana faith. Now, they were being asked to involve themselves as members of a political party.

This resulted in the tight and effective Ratana parish-based organisation gradually being replaced.

In less than a year, the Ratana Movement was first called to heel by Labour.

The Organising Committee and Labour's national executive committee held a meeting in 1937 in response to growing concern within the party at the dominance of the Movement.

This meeting agreed:

- the Ratana Movement should not be in the majority and that 16 Maori delegates should attend the party's annual conference.
- the Organising Committee would be renamed the Maori Advisory Council.
- the Maori Advisory Council membership be increased by an extra three MPs.
- Paikea's position as secretary was redesignated assistant secretary to the party's general secretary.

Pakeha members of the Maori Advisory Council now outnumbered the Maori members.

Then, while Tirikatene was overseas, council-elections were held and he was replaced as chairman by a non-Ratana. By 1937 the Ratana adherents on the Council were a minority.

During the mid to late 1930's and again between 1952 and 1962 the Maori MPs held considerable power in their hands but failed to use it.

The trust said the reasons why could only be guessed at.

"Perhaps to do so would have been to divide New Zealand on racial grounds and to bring about the abolition of the seats."

By 1938 Labour was already reneging on its earlier commitment to settle long-standing Maori land claims.

Ironically, the grounds for the abrupt change in policy in 1938 were similar to those used by the Joseph Ward, United Party Government in 1929 to justify special assistance to Maori farmers.

These were, to avoid the prospect of the Maori people becoming a burden on the taxpayer.

In 1939 Tahupotiki Ratana died. The bereaved movement felt his loss keenly but the organisation he put in place was still strong enough politically in 1943 to stand a candidate and win an election.

That year Labour's national executive failed to accept either of the two candidates endorsed by the Maori Advisory Council for selection in Eastern Maori.

The Movement decided to contest the election anyway and Tiaki Omana won the seat for the Ratana Party.

After 1943 however, the morehu became less and less active.

The reason for the falling away of involvement were many and varied.

The party machine had displaced the movement's organisation at electorate level. The party had demanded that MPs give their first allegiance to the party. Soon after Prophet Ratana's death, the MPs departed from Ratana Pa to live in their electorates and the Ratana marae was displaced as the forum of Maori political debate.

By the end of the 1940s the marae at Ratana had grown quiet and open debate of Maori grievances and claims had ceased to exist.

Te Takawaenga said much has been made of the first Labour Government's achievements for the Maori people.

"But nothing that occurred during this period would cause us to change our view that throughout our history, the Maori people got only what the European electorate permitted."

The alliance was a calculated gamble that did not pay off, "not for the Ratana Movement nor for the iwi as a whole".

Having lost the power game with the Labour Party, the Maori MPs were in a dilemma.

In order to gain settlement of long standing Maori claims and to promote distinctly Maori interests, they needed a strong Maori foundation. By a series of

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clever manoeuvres this had been denied them.

The alternatives were either to stay in and get what they could, or to withdraw and leave the Maori people with no hand in Government at all.

"Further, having achieved the objective of gaining the four Maori seats, the morehu tended to rest on their laurels and to forget their late leader's desire.

"It was the control of the four seats that he wanted. He had wanted the substance and not just the form," Te Takawaenga said.

According to Te Takawaenga, this was only the beginning of the Labour Party's determined efforts to undermine the Ratana Movement as a political force and to gain total control over the Maori section of the party.

Not long after this debacle, the Maori Advisory Council expressed deep concern at Langstone's handling of the Native Affairs portfolio.

As Acting Minister his attitudes and manner were offensive to many Maoris. Yet the first Labour Government appointed him as Native Affairs Minister in 1940.

In 1945 the Labour Government under Peter Fraser again reneged — this time on the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act.

Had it proceeded in its original form the Act would have given the Maori people the same degrees of autonomy at local, tribal and national levels that they had enjoyed during the war years.

The Maori Advisory Council had sought to establish a national organisation along the lines of that on which the Maori War Effort had been based.

This organisation was to be independent of the Maori Affairs Department by having an all-embracing body of its own at the top.

But the Council's proposals were scuttled from the outset.

The Act was drafted in the Maori Affairs Department and the department incorporated the proposed organisation within its own administrative framework.

Te Takawaenga said that had the Fraser Government taken up the challenge, it could have altered the course of history.

"We believe that they chose not to because they feared the growing confidence and unity of the Maori people."

The trust said while it was true that the Maori probably reaped more from the first Labour Government's humanitarian legislation than any other, they did so without the opportunity to control their future.

"Furthermore, we got what we got because we were underprivileged or deprived or constituted a special case; not necessarily because we were Maoris."

Until 1946, Labour's majority was so high that Independents were unlikely to make any impact.

The Maori MPs chose to stay within the party and to develop other strategies for achieving advantages in the field of housing, land development and education.

These strategies included tacit acceptance of the party line and the cultivation of personal friendships.

But their base was weakened and by 1946 their allegiance had been effectively transferred to the Labour Party.

During the early 1960s the Government denounced assimilation as the guiding principles for its policies relating to the Maori people and instead, substituted the idea of "integration".

But with the introduction of the Maori Affairs Amendment Bill in 1967, Maoris realised that integration was just a fancy name for a very old game.

What the Government failed to account for was the strength of Maori opposition to the Bill.

Maoris began giving notice that they were no longer prepared to suffer legislation which had the primary aim of further dispossessing them of their land.

The controversy surrounding the Maori Affairs Bill marked the beginning

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IN —

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- ACCOMMODATION
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- ACCESS TO PUBLIC PLACES
- EDUCATION
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There are some additions & exceptions to these basic rules

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Tel. (09) 771 060

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First Floor
107 Custom House Quay
PO Box 5045
WELLINGTON
Tel. (04) 739 981

Human Rights Commission
181 Cashel St,
CHRISTCHURCH
Tel: (03) 60-998

of what was to become a sustained campaign for the restoration of Maori identity.

Long-standing grievances erupted into direct confrontation and the language and ideology of nationalism entered the New Zealand political scene.

The tactics and strategies of the Black Nationalists in the United States employed by Maori groups to draw public attention to their grievances and claims, made many New Zealanders uncomfortable.

By the mid 1970s Ratana members of the Maori Policy and Advisory Council were once again in the minority.

The MPs were struggling to keep their electorate organisations operating and the few Maori branches in existence were mainly paper branches.

In spite of the protests of the Maori representative on Labour's National Executive, the electorate levy in 1973 was fixed on the basis of percentage of total vote received by Labour candidates.

No concessions were made to the size of the Maori electorates nor to the fact that the Maori MPs, with their consistently high poll, were actually being penalised for being so popular with their voters.

During the late 1970s these, and many other frustrations suffered by the four Maori MPs put them under severe pressure and signs of disharmony began to emerge.

Te Takawaenga cited some of these as the MPs lack of authority in respect of Maori Affairs policy and the strain of having to weigh the demands of the people against the constraints of the party.

In 1979 these culminated in the resignation of long-time Northern Maori MP and former Maori Affairs Minister in the Kirk Government, Matiu Rata.

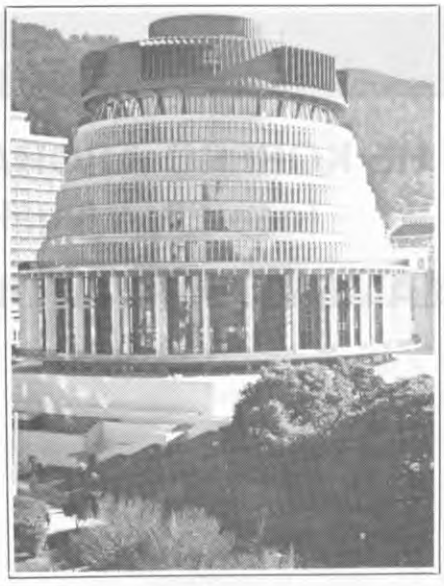
After resigning, Matiu Rata formed a new political party Mana Motuhake (separate mana or sovereignty of the Maori people). In 1981 the party failed to loosen Labour's grip on the four Maori seats but in all of them, finished second with healthy vote totals.

Matiu Rata's resignation and the retirement of Eastern Maori MP Brown Reweti in 1981 left only two Ratana Labour MPs in the House — Koro Wetere and Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan.

Te Takawaenga said much is made of the Ratana dominance in the Labour Party.

But what is not readily understood, even among MPs themselves, is that having lost the initiative, those morehu who continue to participate do so primarily to give spiritual support to those with whom they share an affinity that goes far deeper than party loyalty.

"Sure, until the 1980s the organisation of the Ratana Movement continued to offer Labour a field for the recruitment of Maori Labour leaders, but its political influence has long since been contained by the Labour Party."



The question must then arise as to why Maori people continue to support the Labour Party.

Political scientists will say that party voting in New Zealand is historical. Maoris whose life experience spans the years before and after the first Labour Government see that era as a "golden age".

"And who can blame them? Those who receive the first fruits are not concerned about the weeds.

"In the home and on the marae, the elders with their memories keep tradition alive.

"The trouble with memories of this nature, bound as they are by sentiment, is that one never knows where reality ends and myth begins."

Te Takawaenga said that while the Maori people were receiving the fruits, the Labour Party was busily chipping away at their independence.

"For some younger Maoris, voting for Labour is a case of 'better the devil you know than the devil you don't know'."

During the past two decades the nation's political climate has begun changing.

Maoris have become more and more impatient with the monocultural thinking of successive governments and in response to mounting pressure from Maori groups, the administration is being forced to review the basis of its policies.

Maori demands for recognition of the bicultural nature of New Zealand society and for the incorporation of Maori values and culture, have been growing more intense.

Te Takawaenga believes that Government moves to stimulate Maori self-reliance in the late 1970s have probably come too late for the present generation of young Maoris.

Policies and programmes based on Tu Tangata philosophy served to heighten Maori confidence in their ability to deal with their own problems.

But, the Government failed to equip Maori groups with the resources to meet the commitment.

"Indeed, many Maoris remain deeply suspicious of the motives behind Tu Tangata.

"They suspect that the Government, faced with the need to cut back on its massive welfare spending, is dumping its responsibilities back onto the Maori community."

Maori groups reason that it was the Administration that brought Maoris to their present level of dependency in the first place.

They are now demanding that if they are to bear the State's burden, then they must have a fair share of the State's resources.

The concerns of Te Takawaenga Trust reflect the mounting frustration and anger within maoridom that past injustices continue to be dismissed.

The trust chose to state its case before a Royal Commission. Other Maori groups are making their voice heard through representations to the Royal Commission on Broadcasting, the Broadcasting Tribunal and the Waitangi Tribunal.

This is an indication of the mood within Maoridom. Not only are the younger Maori radicals on the move, so too are many of their elders.

Te Takawaenga sees self-determination as the force behind the revival of ethnicity as a potential factor in today's world.

"It is the force behind the current resurgence of Maori culture and Maori spiritual values. It is a search for identity and uniqueness in a world of drab uniformity," says the trust.

Electoral review underway

The first major review in 30 years of a basic part of New Zealand's constitutional law — the Electoral Act — is now under way.

The five-member Royal Commission on the Electoral System has been given a wide brief in which to examine essential features of the electoral system which have not been reviewed since 1956.

The commission, which was constituted on February 18, has until October 1986 to report its findings and recommendations.

Included in its terms of reference are consideration of law and practice governing elections, proportional representation, use of referenda, length of the parliamentary term, a formula for electoral boundaries, the number of MPs and the nature and basis of Maori representation.

The commission began public hearings of submissions on August 6.

Further hearings are being held in Christchurch and Auckland and on five marae throughout the country before the commission adjourns to complete its

own research and prepare its deliberations.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Wallace, speaking at a preliminary hearing on May 6, said that concern was evident about whether the New Zealand electoral system was producing the best results.

He said it was appropriate to carry out a thorough review of the electoral system because of rapid changes in society and new technology affecting every aspect of New Zealanders' lives.

It was also significant that similar issues were being considered by other democratic countries.

Mr Justice Wallace, also Human Rights Commission chairman, said that in making its recommendations, the commission would try to take into account the best features of other systems as well as the unique nature of New Zealand society.

Te Takawaenga submission

Te Takawaenga Trust wants to see the present electoral system replaced by one that better serves Maori interests.

It believes retention of the Maori seats, coupled with changing over to the proportional representation single transferable vote method, would go some way to achieving Maori political and economic independence.

It told the commission that Maori people had suffered oppression as a result of the assimilative nature of the Westminster-type parliamentary system.

This two-party system had done nothing but undermine Maori political independence and to reinforce and entrench pakeha domination over Maori interests.

Te Takawaenga says it believes the Maori people would benefit greatly from adopting the single transferable vote method of proportional representation.

Separate Maori representation would continue under this system with the whole of New Zealand being designated a multi-member constituency for Maori electoral purposes.

All those on the Maori roll would vote in the one constituency and would vote for however many representatives there might be.

The number of representatives elected from this constituency would be on the basis of one per so many thousand total Maori population.

The trust believes the single transferable vote system encourages consensus and discourages the discord of adversary politics.

"Because it is flexible, the system can accommodate Maori thinking and Maori ways of doing things.

"Because it is pliable, the system can be moulded to become an expression of Maori character."

Poroporaki

HE KORERO AROHA MO ERANA TAREI
(nee Ellen Ngakoti, Waiomio)

LAMENT FOR AN OLD WAIOMIO FRIEND

E Hine,
Kua tae mai matou
To iwi,
I karangatia e koe
Ahakoa tawhiti te haerenga mai
Ki konei ia koe nei
Kua heke mai to tira
Ma runga i te whanautanga,
Ma runga i te pouritanga,
Ma runga i te mokemoketanga,
Ma runga i te maharatanga,
me te aroha,
Ki te rapu ia koe
Ki te whakamahana ia koe
Ki te mihi ki ia koe
Ki te whakamana ia koe
me te tangi.
He tangi ngānga, e Hine,
He auetanga hotuhotu,
He mamaetanga mo te riro
He puawai no Ngati Hine
kia takoto ki runga i
Te marae o Paparamu,
Kia ngaro ki roto i
Te Kainga Oneone o Tirau.
Ahakoa pouri te ngakau, e Hine,
Ahakoa maringi nga roimata,
He rangimarie taku titiro,
He rangimarie taku titiro
Ki to takotoranga ataahua,
Kei waenganui ia Raukawa.
He aroha no te iwi
Mo au mahi atawhai ia tatou.
Kua tutaki ki to whanau,
Kua hari i te mohio
E kore koe e ngaro.
No reira,
Takoto mai e Hine,
Takoto mai i to moenga roa.

HE WAIATA TANGI NA NGATIHINE:

Ore te po nei
He hari wairua mai
Kia hau i tawhiti nei
Ko to tinana, ka kauawhi nei
Tukuroa nei au
I te tira nou nei ra
E hoki whakangaro ana nga tai
Hekenga ki Otaiki
Tuku atu ai taku taumata
I ko te kakawa tai
E rere mai i Otarawa
Te āta kitea atu koe
I te wai kei aku kamo
E maringi nei eei.

I didn't even say goodbye.
When you last passed passed this way,
'Twas just by luck I chanced to hear,
You were here yesterday.
You came to bid me fond adieu,
You waited, but in vain,
Your message didn't reach me
Now, my heart is filled with pain.
Dear old friend of my childhood,
Didn't the people know?
The last we saw of each other,
Was, that day a long time ago
When we said goodbye to our girlhood,
Put aside our childish dreams,
The whispers and the secrets,
The fun, and girlish screams.
The world had beckoned to us both
It's call was loud and strong
We donned our grownup finery
And together, we were swept along.
You entered your own field of work,
I too, entered mine,
Although we were, now world's apart,
Our lives continued, just fine.
Then came the news, a mite too late,
That you were passing through,
I wish, I wish, they'd remembered me,
For I wanted to farewell you too.

The winds now bewail your passing,
They mourn so dismally,
The valley that once nurtured you,
Pines for your company.
The hills still echo you laughter,
The rocks look down in woe,
Witness to the girlish pranks
We indulged in long ago.
The old oak tree we kept alive,
With our noisy, yells of glee,
Now nods and whispers to itself,
And shares its loneliness with me.
The pear tree that we used to rob,
Now gnarled, and old, and grey,
If it could only talk indeed,
It would have a lot to say.
Just memories now, my dear old friend,
Of life that went before,
Fond memories though, for me to keep,
Of you, forevermore.

Na Kene Martin, Waiomio

Rugby League Club Bridging The Gap

Henry (Henare) to the left, Henry to the right.

by Michael Romanos

Surrounding "the enemy". Eastern Suburbs players converge onto a tackled player. Proving a stumbling block is former Kiwi, Whetu Henry.

There's a hole in our welfare society and race relationships that a number of Henrys of the Eastern Suburbs Rugby League Club in Wellington are trying to fix.

The competitive Eastern Suburbs premier league side contains no fewer than eight members of the Henry family — all brothers or first cousins to each other — within the 17-man squad with another Henry on his way up through the ranks. And the club, formed in 1975, is achieving more in social welfare and race relationship than some spècialist organisations.

Last March, the club made a unique move in New Zealand sport. They appointed a tutor in Maori culture to hold weekly three hourly classes for their membership. The tutor, Amster Reedy, is a senior lecturer in Maori studies at the Wellington Teachers College and the club's public relations officer.

Reedy of the Ngati Porou tribe is from Ruatoria and had no background of rugby league before joining Eastern Suburbs in 1984. A former East Coast rugby union representative, Reedy became disillusioned with rugby union because of the South African tour issues.

Eastern Suburbs has an official membership in excess of 400 and envelopes four senior league teams and four schoolboy sides as well as catering for softball and netball. Reedy says that 88 per cent of the membership are Maori with 10 per cent Samoan.

"It was my idea to start Maori language and culture classes, to put taha maori into the club," said Reedy. "I felt the need. We have a high polynesian component and some of our top players, notably our premier team player-coach Whetu Henry, expressed the desire to learn maori language and culture.

"The whole club is right behind the scheme and we have had regular weekly attendances of upwards of 50 people. Pre-league season, myself and Huirangi Waikerepuru taught language and culture straight out and during the league season we concentrated on whaikorero (speech making).

"One of the good things about the game of league is the high Maori participation and when we host other teams or clubs the emphasis is on tikanga maori — the welcoming procedures. Eastern Suburbs feel we have influenced other league clubs because each team or club are turning up to our functions now with their speakers, enabling them to reply to our formalities."

Reedy said most of the Samoan culture and language has been introduced into classes in an incidental manner and the Samoan aspect was vital for everybody as a means of Maori-polynesian cohesion.

Whetu Henry said he is most impressed with the very close relationship and understanding the Maori and Samoan have reached within the club especially over the last two years.

"We are visiting each other at home and intermarrying. The past divisions the Maori and Samoan had have now turned the other way," said Henry. "The Samoan community are right behind our club and the whole Newtown area seem to be involved as members or supporters of Eastern Surburbs."

It is definite the cultural classes will continue in 1986.

Reedy said the key point of the exercise was getting together in a Maori sense.

"Part of it is to develop the pride of being Maori or polynesian and this is reflective of the players attitude to sport. This season (1985) there was a marked improvement in game temperament and general conduct."

Reedy said one of the club's main objectives is to take in and assist the disadvantaged members of the polynesian and Maori society.

"In this respect everybody is welcomed to Eastern Suburbs despite their background. We have accepted people who haven't got on well in other organisations and clubs. Our membership includes street kids and the unemployed. The club is giving these kind of people some stability which has been lacking in their normal livès. Eastern Suburbs pick up these people, outfit them, feed them and assist them in their hunt for a job and a home.

"We should receive monetary assistance from the Social Welfare Department, Internal Affairs and others. We are going to make representations to these Government departments during this summer. We have received a small cash assistance from the Maori Affairs Department for our language classes."

The club's rooms in a central Wellington building were badly damaged by fire last July after having been vandalised and burgled in a vicious attack on property.

It was a devastating blow to the club with a substantial loss of gear and equipment. The club was down but not out.

Reedy said the club still doesn't know the finer details of the attack but he said those responsible were attempting to discredit the club.

"There is no doubt. The club has enemies. Our premises have been broken into several times prior to the fire. We were going to vacate the premises anyway because of the high rental ($390 per week)."

The club met with Wellington Mayor, Ian Lawrence who offered the Eastern Suburbs club land for building their own clubrooms near their training ground in Happy Valley.

Since July, the club has used an old scouts hall and the St George Rugby League clubrooms for their functions.

"Long term, we want our own building but it is probably near to 10 years off. Up until now we have made no fin-

The bulk of the Henry (Henare) clan pose at an Eastern Suburbs training session. From left (rear): Toko, Whetu, Whare, Danny, Phillip, Raymond. As a gauge of their bulk, Whetu is 6ft 5in and 18 stone.

Pix by Dominion/N.Z. Times.

ancial provisions for a building fund and we have not landed sponsorship."

Next season the club plans to share facilities with the Island Bay Life Surf Saving Club.

An even bigger blow to the club's morale was the Lester Epps killing in 1982.

This involved members of the Eastern Suburbs premier team and senior first team and the Mongrel Mob in Newtown.

The Mob were continuously harrassing young Eastern Suburbs club players and in retaliation, 14 or 15 members of the league club confronted the gang. Epps, the gang leader, died in the conflict. All the Suburbs players involved accepted the blame for Epps' demise and they all received a similar sentence — 18 months at Wi Tako prison.

Reedy said that one player had absolutely nothing to do with any of the incidences but shouldered part of the blame because he wanted to be with his mates. That fellow is a prime example of the loyalties and close-knit feeling of the club which other clubs and organisations would relish.

Reedy said there is still a stigma attached to Eastern Suburbs over the affair.

"As far as we are concerned we have paid more than our debt to society for the mistakes that we have made. Our involvement in the sporting, cultural and economic development of our club and its members is proof of that."

Before the Epps business, Eastern Suburbs was consistently in the top four in the premier grade of the Wellington league competition. Without 15 of their top players the club's premier side still managed to perform creditably and over the last two seasons with most of the players who were imprisoned, back again in Eastern Suburbs colours, the premier side have regained their top four position.

The players kept fit and disciplined in prison because of their resolve to see their club regain its mana.

This season Eastern Suburbs, without a sponsor and without their own clubrooms, were the only local side to defeat Randwick, the national club runners-up in 1983 and 1984 for the Tusk Cup, in the Wellington competition. Another top New Zealand club side, Petone were beaten 36-2 by Suburbs in the second round of the local championship. But just like last season, Suburbs should have gone further.

Whetu Henry thinks the close bond he has as coach with his players is also a weakness.

"I'm not as likely to be tough on my team as I should be,' he said. "Next season I'm giving up coaching — perhaps I won't be playing at premier level either — and bringing in an outside coach to try and motivate the team to its fullest potential. We have come so close to being the best team in Wellington and therefore play for the Tusk Cup. I know we should be the winning side."

Foul play off the field. A dismal view of a section of the burnt-out Eastern Suburbs clubrooms in a down-town Wellington building. Was it part of a vendetta against the Club?

The nine Henrys are all big, strapping, strong men. Each is over six feet and 15 stone. They are: Whetu, Whare, Toko and Tamihana (brothers); Phillip, Ray, Hopa and Danny (brothers) and Hau.

Apart from the 19 year old Tamihana, all the others are premier players and as many as seven have stepped onto the field together in the 13-man team on a number of occasions during the 1985 season.

When Whetu, Whare, Toko, Dan, Phil, Hopa and Ray form the forward lineup, Suburbs is probably the strongest and heaviest club pack in New Zealand. Five of the Henrys have been in the Wellington senior provincial representative side.

The Henrys all originate from Taupo as members of the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe. Their true surname is Henare.

Front row props, Whetu and Whare shifted to Wellington ahead of the others and are legends in Wellington rugby league. They first played for the Marist club and have dominated forward play in the capital for more than 10 years. Both played for New Zealand with Whare a player in the 1977 World Cup.

National selector Ossie Butts said he has never seen footballers with so much natural ability as Whetu and Whare.

"They are big, strong, fast and scared of nothing. But all they lacked was commitment to achieve their full potential at the international level," said Butt.

The Henrys' progress has been stunted somewhat by the current controversy surrounding promising 6ft 2in, 16½ stone middle row forward, Toko.

Whetu considers his younger brother has great potential to make it big in league.

"Toko has an excellent mental attitude on the field," he said.

Toko, 22, was injured over the latter part of the season but he has already established a fine reputation which landed him a possible professional contract in the English league.

But the problem is his 18 month term at Wi Tako prison which may mean resistance by emigration authorities for him to reside overseas.

The club is going to make representation on Toko's behalf. Other people with a prison record have been allowed access to other countries.

"Toko has proven himself as a first class citizen with a steady job and a dedication to his sport," said Reedy. "We are hopeful that his cartilage injury will come right and that he is given the opportunity to play league overseas and join Whetu and Whare as a New Zealand rep."

With rugby league taking on a new lease of popularity in this country following the brilliance of the Kiwi side against Australia during 1985 and the tarnished image of Rugby Union, there is every confidence a club like Eastern Suburbs will flourish. In the way this Wellington sports club has taken up the mantle of caring and sharing away from the field, they deserve to succeed.

Eastern Suburbs Rugby League Club's goals of establishing proper club accommodation, winning the Tusk Cup (national knockout club trophy), developing pride in things Maori and polynesian and to assist the disadvantaged should not fall on deaf ears.

And the chances of a Henry being there to fill gaps are as high as Mt Ruapehu. Incidently, there has not yet been established any links between Wellington's Eastern Suburbs and one of Sydney's top league clubs of the same name.

Nepia was the supreme NZ whizz-kid

Rugby great reveals his true age

by Michael Romanos

George Nepia, the pride of the Ngati Kahungunu is immortalised as the greatest rugby union fullback in history.

The public adulation to this living legend will reach a new dimension with the news, released exclusively by this writer, of the authentic age of George Nepia when he undertook those epic All Black twin-tours of Australia/New Zealand and Great Britain-France-Canada in 1924-25 covering 39 matches in nine months, losing only to New South Wales and Auckland.

As the crash-tackling, spiral punting and fearless fullback, Nepia played in every single match — an amazing, heroic and utterly testing achievement. Almost more incredible is the uncovering of George's secret. He was only a 16 year old at the time!

Imagine that — a 16 year old showing defensive qualities unexcelled, game after game amongst and against fully mature, hardened adults bent on destroying the physical fibre of the opposition.

The revelation by Nepia that he was actually born on 25 April, 1908 not 1905 (or 1904 as some records show) has made a mockery of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union records and rugby history. Nepia is listed as one of sixteen 19-year olds to represent New Zealand at senior rugby and the third youngest behind his close friend and contemporary team-mate, Lui Paewai (aged 17 years 36 days in 1923) and Craig Wickes (aged 18 years, 196 days in 1980.

After keeping his true age secret for 61 years, George could see no reason why he should not reveal the truth to me and Tu Tangata.

He explains: "At 13 I was considered a candidate for the New Zealand Maori team against the South Africans in 1921 and at 14 I represented the Hawkes Bay senior provincial side in two games against Wairarapa before the team took the Ranfurly Shield from Wellington. In 1923 I was again selected to play for Hawkes Bay in their first defence of the Shield in the second five eight position. But my college principal at the Maori Agricultural College (MAC) in Hastings considered I was too young for the 1923 New Zealand Maori team which went on tour to Australia after I had actually gained selection in the team.

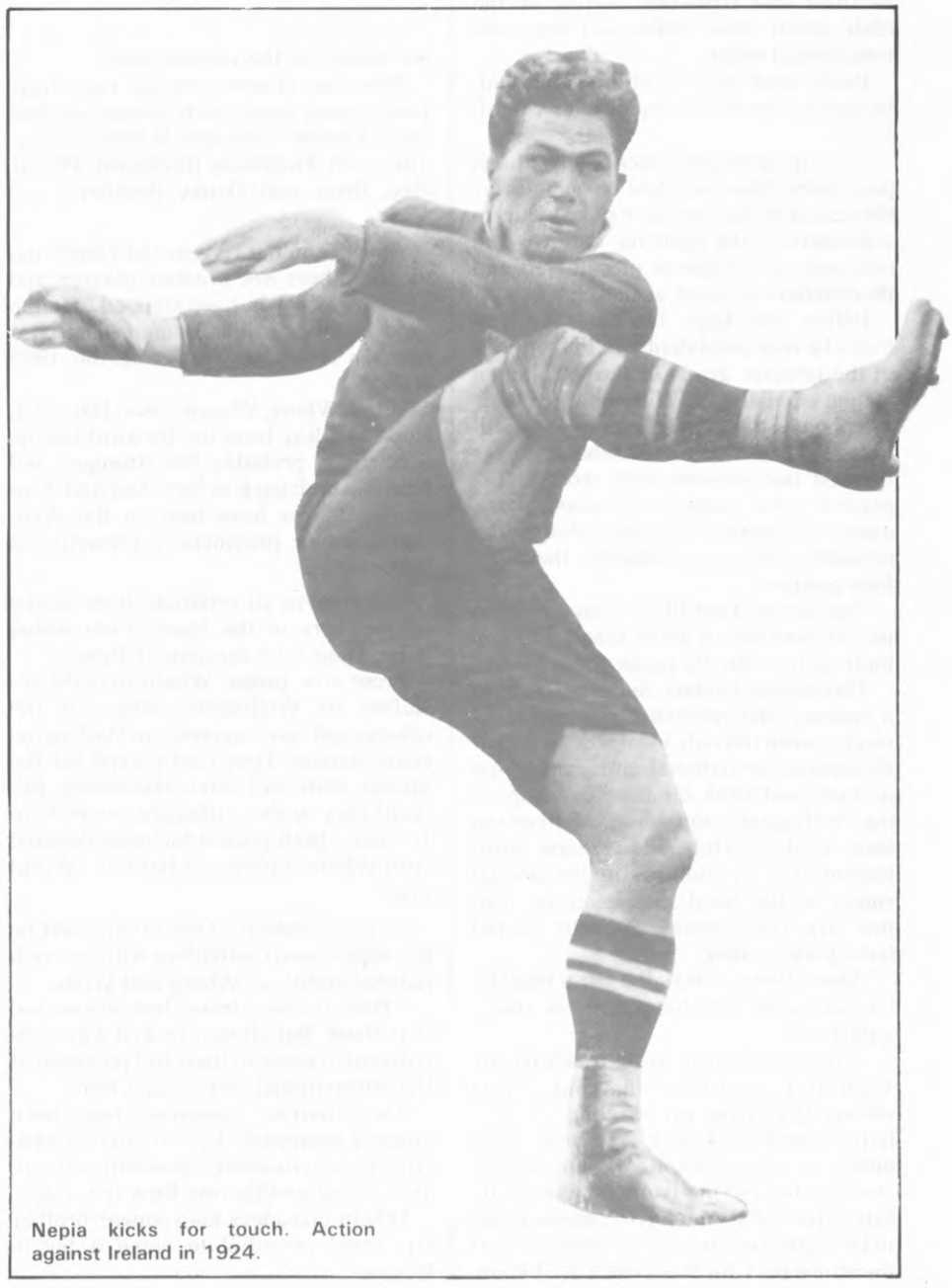
"So I couldn't go with the Maori team and that is why I decided to leave MAC a year prior to graduation and put my age up by three years so I could ensure making the All Black trials in 1924.

"I told the selectors I was 19 and that helped to get me selected. There was no way the national selectors would have chosen a 16 year old.

"Some members of my family know my real age but I never made it public until now. I thought I better keep quiet about it. But it doesn't matter anymore. When I hear talk about players being too young for the All Blacks and representative rugby, I say rubbish. As long as the player has mastered the fundamentals, a player of 17 to 20 could be at his peak of grasping the game.

"But I don't know why I matured so quickly. It might have been my very hard upbringing and discipline. I think the Maori is a little more physically mature over the pakeha in their teens."

Wairoa-born, raised in Wairoa and Nuhaka, for many years a farmer in Rangitukia and a refrigeration assembly worker in Masterton, George these days



Nepia kicks for touch. Action against Ireland in 1924.

lives in Ruatoria, the hub of the East Coast, with his youngest son Arapeta Haenga (Winston) and daughter-in-law.

I spoke to "Uncle" George (as the locals all call him) for over eleven hours at the hotel in Ruatoria.

At 77 years old, green-eyed Uncle George is very alert and sturdy, fit-looking, straight backed and has few wrinkles to show for his years. If he said he was born in 1925 I would have believed him. He is perhaps an inch shorter and a half a stone lighter than the 5ft 9in, 13½ stone of his rugby days. His memory is as sharp as a woodman's axe. I can agree with people who say Uncle George can relive his years with the famous Hawkes Bay Ranfurly Shield side, the All Blacks, Maori All Blacks and English professional rugby league as if they occurred only last week. The only damage a long and hard senior rugby career spanning 30 years has left him with is a dislocated thumb.

But interviews can be tough. The hotel manageress couldn't take the pace, shunting us from the dining room to the lounge to the guest bar. "Phewf," said George, "I never knew sitting down for so long and answering so many questions can be such hard work. Phewf. This is the last plurry interview I'm giving," he said, still able to raise a smile.

Nepia was probably the first New Zealander to receive a sports scholarship. Few Kiwis have ever landed an overseas sports scholarship and fewer still, a New Zealand version.

He was the only non-Mormon among the 80-odd pupils at MAC — a college financed and staffed by American Mormons who were directed from Salt Lake City in the United States. Nepia's father, Peta Nepia, sent fees to the Anglican secondary school, Te Aute College, Hastings for his son to receive his education. But on the way to Te Aute, George felt lost and alone. His travelling companion on the journey from Nuhaka was going to MAC. On the spur of the moment, George opted to follow his mate. He arrived at MAC with only a few shillings. His father rang up to find out where George had got to.

"My father said to me: 'I disown you' and there I was at MAC with no money to pay my school fees. Elder Moses, the school's rugby coach, said if I could prove I was material for the First 15 he would have my fees paid. MAC sent away to Salt Lake City for a bursary to educate me for four years and got it. So rugby paid my way through college.

"They never asked me to become a Mormon. If they did I would have turned especially when my father disowned me. I attended their prayer services, I joined their choir and I took part in exams on the Book of Mormons. I used to argue with their history and I never came to grips with it, but I owe the Mormons a tremendous amount. I think they have very influential missioners who can convince the Maori.

1924 "INVINCIBLES"
JUBILLE PARTICIPANTS — 1974
Back Row: J.H. PARKER, G. NEPIA, R.F. STEWART
Middle Row: B.V. McCLEARY, A.C.C. ROBILLIARD, C.G. PORTER (Captain), H.G. MUNRO, H.E. DAVIS (Selector)
Front Row: W.C. DALLEY, A.E. COOKE Absent: J. RICHARDSON, C. BADELEY

"I don't regret not going to Te Aute College. I got a good education at MAC but in those days their graduation certificate was meaningless in New Zealand — it was only applicable in the United States. However, I went through MAC as a wool classer and I worked many years classing wool."

Nepia's tribal affiliation is Ngati Kahungunu on both sides. His father's parents were Peta Nepia (senior) and Parahi Parata. His mother was Peti Piriha whose parents were Peirihi Piriha and Taraipine Lewis.

He was named 'George' after an uncle who was called Hori (Hori = George).

George's father, a dairy farmer, was a very hard man who did not spare the rod and at one time raced on to the football field to cuff his son for not playing up to standard. He lived to regret his words and actions. George said his relationship with his father was spoiled by his father's second marriage with the new wife not taking kindly to young George with three children of her own.

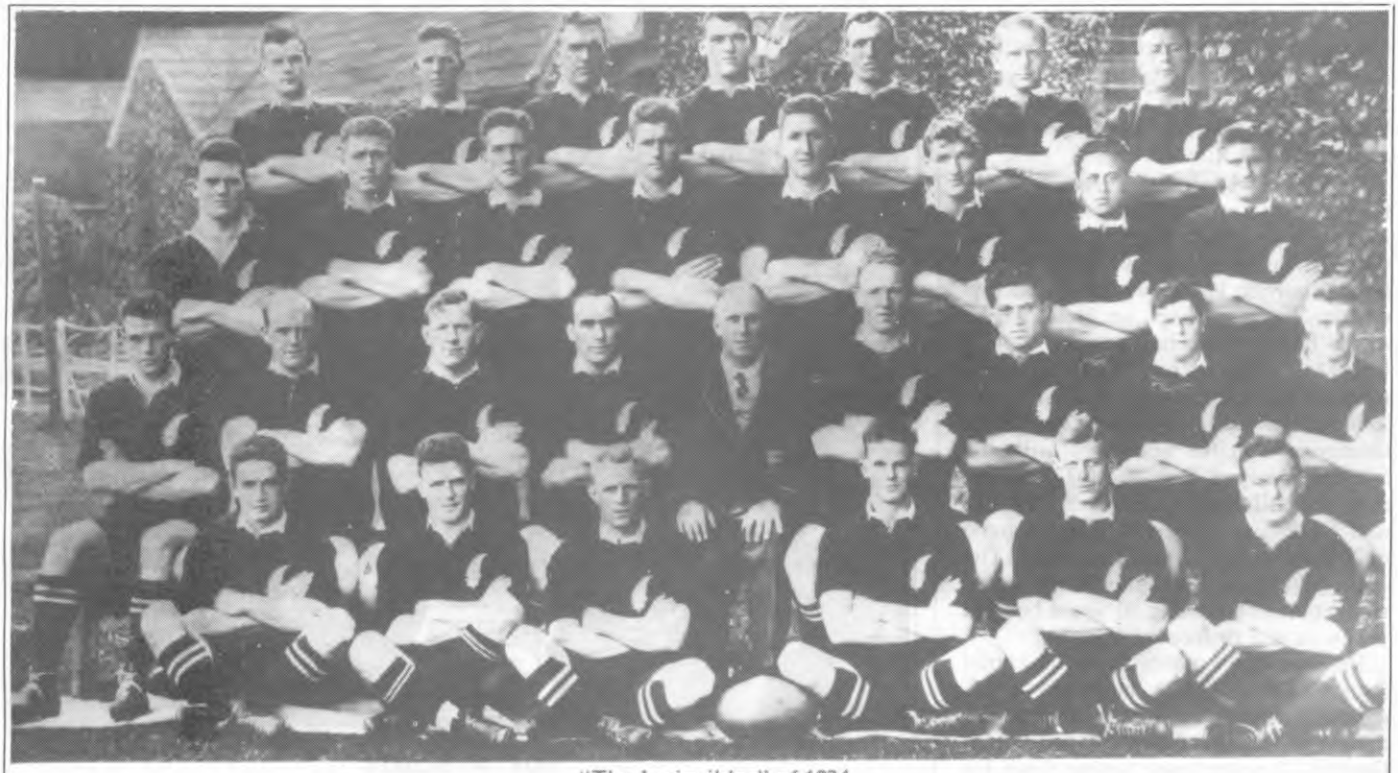
"My mother remarried as well but she shifted to Hastings so my grandmother on my mother's side cared for me very well until I was eight. She was too frail and too poor for me to stay, so I moved over to my father. I can look back now and say he did do me some favours. He taught me discipline."

Just how good was this man Nepia as a rugby player?

Two quotes by leading sports journalists 11 years apart relate something of the Nepia quality.

Englishman Denzil Batchelor said in 1924 after the All Blacks 19-0 drubbing of Wales: "How had the boy Nepia the finely-tempered nerves to stand the strain of appearing as target for the day in match after match, the beating off single-handed of the ravening packs and the three-quarters line in full cry with his own single pair of whipcord arms? He was between short and tall and his thighs were like young tree-trunks. His head was fit for a prow of a Viking ship with its passionless sculpted bronze features and plume of blue-black hair. Behind the game, he slinks from side to side like a black panther behind bars, like a lord of the jungle on the prowl for a kill. This was his concept of his function when the ball came to him: rollicking first this way and then that, a few yards ahead of a bunched pack of bloodthirsty forwards, he rejoiced in the challenge. A lesser man might win applause by a fly kick to touch or even by going down like a boy on the burning deck, but not so George Nepia. He leaped at the ball like an art critic snatching at a fault of technique by his best friend. He went to work backwards, a fury of shoulders, elbows and thighs storming through the massed ranks of the opposition pack. Eight to one were the odds which exactly suited Nepia."

And the Sydney Mail newspaper said in 1935 after the New Zealand Maori side had toured Australia, winning nine of eleven games including two "test" wins in three matches against New South Wales: "Genius is mainly an affair of energy but Nepia showed how



"The Invincibles" of 1924

Back row (from left): H. W. Brown, M. F. Nicholls, R. R. Masters, I. H. Harvey, J. H. Parker, Q. Donald, B. McCleary.
Third row: J. Steel, M. J. Brownlie, R. Stewart, C. J. Brownlie, L. F. Cupples, A. H. West, L. Paewai, A. White.
Second row: A. C. C. Robilliard, H. G. Munro, W. R. Irvine, C. G. Porter (capt.), S. S. Dean (manager), J. Richardson (vice-capt.), G. Nepia, A. H. Hart, A. E. Cooke.
Front row: J. Mill, N. P. McGregor, W. C. Dalley, F. W. Lucas, K. S. Svenson, C. E. O. Badeley.

Maori players include Lui Paewai, Jimmy Mill and Nepia — all from Hawkes Bay. Only player married at the time was Jim Parker of Canterbury.

genius was the conserver, not the consumer, of energy. It was easy, graceful, unflurried polished manner in which he performed all his tasks which impressed and which indicated how long football education and experience have developed the instinctive sense which compels correct action for each separate circumstance. His position play and handling were faultless, his kicking, left or right foot, was prodigious and his tackling and fielding of the ball on the ground remarkably sure. We know how difficult of attainment is perfection but we know also that Nepia has mastered all the difficulties of a fullback's job to the extent his technique and execution have reached perfection. Never before has this thirty-year old (27), shy, unassuming master played so ably in Australia."

One of the most famous of all rugby quotes was targetted at Nepia after the 1924-25 tour. It reads: "No other fullback is fit to loosen the laces of Nepia's cotton Oxford boots." I say that time has not changed that remark one centimetre.

Nepia played for the All Blacks in 1924-25, 1929 (to Australia) and 1930 (at home against Great Britain in four tests). Because of crippling financial hardship he became unavailable for All Black and New Zealand Maori sides after 1930. The 1935 trip to Australia with the Maori side was a journey of nostalgia made possible by Sir Apirana Ngata who gave George clothing and gear.

Nepia was converted from a five eight to fullback on the insistence of a couple of keen bystanders.

"They must have noticed how often as a second five eight I would nip behind my fullback to lend support. Players don't always know which position best suits them."

Nepia learnt the grid-iron way of tackling from his American coach at MAC and his exploits with the flying, crunching tackle became lengendary.

"It was hard but it was fair. It sometimes put players out especially the big men. It knocked the sails clean out of them. Taking them side-on I would aim for where their navel is and always keep my head at their front. If I didn't know how to tackle, New Zealand would have lost quite a few games."

A good example of Nepia's prowess as a tough tackler would be the occasion he was confronted with a ball-carrier and two support players heading for the tryline. Nepia, as usual, propelled himself from two yards to down the ball carrier. In turn the other two support players were skittled. Mission accomplished by the defender.

Nepia was blessed with much natural ability which allowed a 16 year old kid to convert almost instantly into an international fullback superstar, but he only developed the skills required and eventual perfection through sheer hard and persistent effort. His famous spiral punting which ensured lengthy touch finders with the ball landing inside the sideline before neatly bouncing out of play, came from many hours, many days of practice. He constantly analysed his game, mulled over and worried about his play and tactical appreciation. he made a lot of use of the blackboard to work things out.

"Rugby is really a simple game," he says, "but it requires a good knowledge of the fundamentals."

Of the 30 players making up the 1924-25 All Black Invincibles, Nepia was the only non-smoker (incidently, only one player was married). On the six week boat trip to England, the players wondered if they should give smoking away. But incredibly, two New Zealand doctors on board told the players they would suffer adverse reactions if they did. And so except for George, the team virtually smoked their way to victory.

"Some of the team were smoking 10 cigarettes a day. After all these years I know I'm healthier because I never have smoked. I've seen a lot of my teammates die of lung cancer and heart problems. One poor chap had to have his tongue removed."

Though the coolest and rock-like of players on the field, Nepia suffered prematch nerves as much as anyone. Be-

fore he went on the 1924 tour his father begged him not to start drinking alcohol.

"If I hadn't had a drink of beer during the week or after a match, I would have gone stale before very long. It helped me to relax and it was a good pick-me-up. The malt and sugar in beer helps put back what you lose in sweat and energy."

Nepia said no fullback has bettered his 1924-25 performances but he regrets very much not being given the green light to playing an attacking game. He scored only one try on the lengthy tour.

"We had a brilliant backline. I'm sure I could have scored two or three tries in nearly every game. But Mark Nicholls, our tactician, stopped me. He agreed I could score by coming into the backline but he said, 'how will you feel if the opposition score from your coming up into the backline'. So I stayed back, but it was unfair to me. **After that tour I never played an attacking game even when I played for the Maori sides. For them, someone had to be back on defence with some of the players selected not up to standard. In the Maori teams, players were (and still are) picked on their tribe. It is very political. Some brilliant players have missed New Zealand Maori sides."**

Nepia said the pinnacle of the 1924-25 tour was the win over Wales. "It was our fondest wish to avenge the unfair 1905 All Blacks 0-3 loss to Wales. Winning 19-0 was a great victory. The first 20 minutes I thought they would win but we started knocking them back."

Nepia said one of the Welsh players of 1905 admitted to him at the after-match dinner in 1924 that All Black Deans did score that disallowed try in the 1905 clash.

Why was Nepia asked to play in each of the 33 games on the 1924-25 tour?

"Mark Nicholls of Wellington, our first five eight, was picked as the back-up fullback, a kind of utility back, but he refused to play at fullback even when I got an injured thumb. He said I was the fullback selected and that was that. I don't know why I wasn't rested in some of the minor games. Lui Paewai could also have filled in adequately. But the fact remains I was so good on defence as the last line.

Our captain, Cliff Porter didn't want to have anyone else at fullback. When we nearly lost to Newport, the sixth game on tour, our manager Stan Dean said we were going to treat every game as a test match. So there I was in every match — 39 straight games including the Australian trip — not my choice at the time."

Nepia said touring with the All Blacks was a great education, better than anything learnt at school. "It was the real thing — I learnt everything about life. I was a little shy before I left in 1924 but since then I have always held myself back a bit. I like to give the impression I never really changed.

"When Peter Fraser, our Prime Minister, went to a conference at Geneva, a lady Prime Minister said to him: 'do you come from the country of George Nepia'. She knew of me before our own Prime Minister."

Nepia said over the years the greatest people he has ever known were Sir Apirana, Peter Fraser, Stan Deans and Cliff Porter.

"Sir Apirana was a great man for what he achieved for the Maori people. He earned respect for the Maori and put them on their feet in farming. He was very good to me. Fraser: Mahana ki te Maori. Deans: a very fine chap who as manager of the 1924 All Blacks looked after me on tour. Porter: showed a lot of humility and always looked after our interests as a team."

Those were the days. The 1924-25 Invincibles arrived home to be acclaimed in Wellington by 40,000 fans. Shortly after the tour, Nepia celebrated his 17th birthday with a match at Tiki Tiki on Anzac Day and was given a huge reception by the Ngati Porou people. It was there that George met his beautiful wife-to-be, Huinga Raupani Kohere, whose father, Henare Kohere had been a lieutenant in the army and had died in the 1914-18 war.

George and Huinga were married in Tiki Tiki in 1926 in the Memorial Church by Huinga's uncle, the Rev Poihipi Kohere. Mrs Nepia was a school teacher and a very refined and much respected woman.

The couple had four children, George, Kiwi, Oma and Arapeta Haenga (Winston). Tragically, George (junior) died on army service in Malaya at age 22. He was attached to the Fijian battalion as a sergeant at the time.

"George was a very promising rugby fullback. He had all my attributes. He captained the Poverty Bay senior representatives and was in the first 15 at Gisborne High School. He was very intelligent. I wanted him to be a doctor but he always had it in mind to be in the armed services."

On one memorable occasion, George snr and George jnr were the opposing fullbacks and captains in the Poverty Bay versus Olympians match in 1954.

Kiwi, 56, is a school teacher at Masterton. One of her two sons, William Rowland, captained Wairarapa-Bush at rugby as a prop for several seasons and played for the New Zealand Maori side. He was also a First 15 player at Gisborne High.

Oma is a retired army warrant officer living in Palmerston North and has two children. Winston is a forestry contractor in Ruatoria, married with four children.

Nepia was selected to tour New Zealand-Australia-Ceylon-France-England-Wales (40 matches) with the New Zealand Maori side in 1926-27. But though he was selected he missed the tour because of a falsified telegram which stated he had changed his mind and was not available. Who sent the cable and why?

Nepia said he is prepared now to reveal the culprit.

"I think the telegram came from the team's manager, Ted Parata. After the Maori trial, Parata had asked me to stand down and let a player named Tiwi Love (Love died in the second world war when a colonel in the Maori battalion) tour instead. I don't know his reasons at all but Parata didn't like me from the start. He pushed me out to full-

The leadership relaxes after the excellent NZ Maori team tour of Australia in 1935. From left: Kingi Tahiwi (manager), Jack McDonald (vice-captain), George Nepia (captain), Billy Wallace (coach and co-manager).

back in the All Black trial match in 1924 thinking I would make a mess of the position. Perhaps he was bitterly surprised how good I became."

Nepia had kowhai bark treatment to his upper leg to relieve a serious congealed blood clot. The surgeon wanted to operate but Nepia was needed for the Ranfurly Shield holders, Hawkes Bay and a Maori cure was sought. The treatment consisted of collecting two sacks full of kowahi bark taken from trees facing the rays of the sun. The bark was cut into strips and hammered, before being boiled and then ladled into a bath. Nepia bathed in the dark stained water for two hours after having little nicks made in his leg and upper thigh to draw out the bad blood.

Told by the pakeha he might never play rugby again, within days of the treatment, Nepia was back on the playing fields. Nepia said the same type of treatment has been used successfully on horses and humans with broken and damaged limbs.

"People should take more heed of Maori herbal treatment. It is amazing how people refuse to recognise quick and proven treatment."

The great Canterbury Ranfurly Shield side of 1983-1985 cannot emulate the performances of Hawkes Bay and Nepia and company in their great Shield era. For instance, in 1926 the Bay trounced Wellington 58-8, Wairarapa 77-14, Wanganui 36-3 and Auckland 41-11.

"They talk about Canterbury as the greatest provincial team ever. They are a well drilled side but Hawkes Bay took the Shield on tour and we had only one forward not an All Black, the entire backline were All Blacks with two more in the reserves."

Nepia never did make the armed forces during the second world war though he applied three times. He was told his farming was more important to the country. However, during the war the New Zealand Rugby Football Union allowed rugby league players who had enlisted into the armed forces to reinstate to union and Nepia returned to his real sporting love.

Very near the poverty line in the 1930's depression (Winston told me his father went hungry to feed his family) drove Nepia to spend two years between 1935 and 1937 away from his wife and family to play professional rugby league in England for the princely sum of one thousand pounds.

Contracted to Streatham then to Halifax, Nepia was favourably compared with the very best fullbacks of the league world.

He actually co-coached the club teams he played for. The aggresssive Nepia was one player who needed no support when tackling in league. For him it was always one-on-one. In 1938 he played for New Zealand in their 16-15 win over Australia.

Nepia says professional rugby union including advertising and sponsorship deals should be allowed.

"I'm all for it. Why shouldn't players get paid to entertain? I agree with Andy Haden. Those old days are gone. A player has to be looked after with wages and fair compensation. Up until now it's the clubs who have helped players the most in giving them cash. It should be the job of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union."

Nepia is very annoyed with Lion Breweries. The company recently used a Nepia photograph and citation of his feats in order to advertise their brand of beer in the Rugby News without seeking permission or giving Nepia ample and properly negotiated payment. Nepia received a miserly three dozen beer and only had some idea why it was sent.

"It is poor compensation for the advertisement. From now on I'm going to be very wary of this sort of thing. When I think what some people receive for endorsements, it makes me cringe."

Before he retired from playing rugby in 1948, Nepia was already a qualified referee. He became president of the East Coast Referees Association and refereed representative games involving the East Coast, Poverty Bay and the New Zealand Maori side. He was instrumental in bringing a higher standard of refereeing to the Coast. Nepia coached the Red Star seniors and the Wairarapa senior representative side. At one stage he had 13 Red Star players in the Wairarapa team. He coached Tiki Tiki and Rangitukia to East Coast championship titles and also was an East Coast selector-coach. He had three Rangitukia players in the New Zealand Maori team.

He was captain-coach for Rangitukia Rangers from 1926 and subsequently was selector-coach-captain of the Waiapu sub-union with several of his players in the New Zealand Maori side. He was one of four East Coasters in the All Blacks of the 1920's-1930's. The others were Everad Jackson, Torium Reid and William Collins.

But today, he says, the East Coast is in a serious rugby depression. "We have always been thinly populated but there are just as many good players around. It's the coaching which is at fault. The coaches have not studied coaching and have not gone through big football so their contribution is limited."

Nepia said rugby these days is too slow and not as entertaining as it once was. He said players are too big in size and weight and would not last out a game played in the 1920's and 1930's.

"Play is more defensive today, more binding by the forwards. The biggest trouble now is the predictability of the ball from the scrum. After the scrapping of the 2-3-2 scrum formation the whole game changed. Play has slowed and the backs standing up these days don't give players much show.

"I see and hear a lot about ligament injuries these days. The cause of pulled ligaments is in the modern boot design. The cut-away style is a failure whereas the old built-up boot gave good ankle support. The rugby union should promote proper footwear."

Nepia was critical of the International Rugby Board (IRB) with its closed-shop attitude and constant rule-changes. He was also critical of the NZRFU for their old-boy network.

"All the rugby playing countries in the world should have a say in the progress of rugby. The IRB should leave the

George signs on for transfer to rugby league club Halifax in North England for the 1936-37 season.

Return in 1937 from two years of English Rugby League. From left: Lou Parore (League Official), George, Mrs Nepia, Ernie Asher (League Official) and Mr Campbell (President of the NZ Rugby League).

rules alone. There must be some clever chaps around but the more they chop and change these rules the worse it gets. They should have left the 2-3-2 scrum alone. There were no major injuries from that type of scrum.

"Some of the NZRFU council members should retire and let the younger people in. Colin Meads and Alex Wyllie should be on the council. I'm very pleased Brian Lochore has been recognised at last. You would think Ces Blazey would retire and let a younger guy like Tom Johnston step in. But the NZRFU have been fair to me over the years, especially when Tom Morrison was chairman.

"The NZRFU are going about their coaching programme the wrong way. They send Bob Stuart, Bill Freeman and Ivan Vodanovich around the country and overseas. I don't think they have the ability of people like Meads. What the hell are they trying to keep Meads down to just selecting a North Island team for?

"The rugby union have Lochore as coach of the All Blacks but only because he is on the council. They should bring in coaches from outside the council so as the brightest coaches always get to coach New Zealand sides. Vodanovich as coach ruined the All Blacks in South Africa in 1976. His training methods were too tough and created a lot of unnecessary injuries."

In 1975, Nepia's beloved wife, Huinga died and George suffered a heart attack.

"My heart attack came out of the blue. There was no warning. If I was a smoker I would have died. I think it had its beginnings from farming in Wairoa when in my 50's. I used to overdo climbing steep hills.

"I feel great now. I don't suffer from anything. I sleep eight hours a day, I walk up to two miles daily and I chop wood and do gardening. I'm not bored. Television is good and now and again I drive to Tiki Tiki or Te Aroha to see friends. The secret is to keep your mind exercised. I read a lot — it's wonderful to learn what the rest of the world is doing. I still enjoy football and go and watch games in Gisborne and elsewhere."

Nepia leases 100 acres of farmland in Rangitukia. He profited by $20,000 for the "I, George Nepia" book which took him two years to write and was published in 1963 under the editorship of Terry McLean. Nepia was in the process of updating the book for a third edition in the 1970's but his material was mistakenly destroyed and he has since lost the urge to start again.

Nepia was a guest of the South African Rugby Board on the All Blacks 1976 tour of South Africa and also a tourist with the 1982 New Zealand Maori side to Wales.

Nepia shared his thoughts with me on the sports contact and apartheid questions with South Africa.

He was forced to miss the 1928 All Black tour of South Africa because of the South African racial policies but he supported the Springboks coming to New Zealand in 1981 and the All Blacks touring South Africa in 1985.

"In 1928 there was no protest against the All Blacks touring South Africa without Maori players because it was well known what the rules were. It was an issue but we accepted it. I was upset that I couldn't go with the All Blacks. Our 1924 manager, Stan Deans had promised he would change the criteria which would allow the Maori to go.

"In 1976 Dannie Craven told me it wasn't the South African Rugby Board which stopped me and Jimmy Mill from coming in 1928. He said it was the NZRFU. The New Zealand union must have thought it better for us to stay behind than be subject to insult. In 1960 I marched in protest of the All Blacks tour because I decided it was time to take a stand: No Maori — no tour. We made our point and I wasn't disappointed the team went to South Africa but it gave the cue for later tours.

"In 1976 the South African blacks were treated a lot better than what the publicity said in New Zealand. They were allowed freedom of movement that I thought didn't exist. I saw some lovely homes fully furnished which were given to the blacks in place of shacks. I think the South African Government is doing their best. If the Africans get control they will start tribal domination which will result in much bloodshed. The whites fear the Zulu. I agree Zulus were the owners of the land but it is a big problem and it can't be solved by just letting them take ownership. It has got to be a gradual thing.

"I saw a lot of unrest in 1976 and dissatisfied black people who were not happy with their existence. I could tell something was wrong.

"We have got what we wanted — the Maori in All Black teams that play in South Africa. I can't make out why other national teams can visit South Africa without all this fuss. I was treated very well in South Africa and never once did I feel uncomfortable during my 10 week stay. I wandered around where I pleased and nobody accosted me. Dannie Craven is doing his best to integrate rugby."

After the 1921 Springbok tour of New Zealand, a South African journalist said: "Bad enough we have to play New Zealand natives but thousands of Europeans cheered on the band of coloured men to defeat members of my own race. It was too much for the Springboks who were clearly disgusted."

Nepia says that by mixing with South Africans this kind of attitude will change and has changed among some white Africaners.

Nepia was not at all impressed with the rugby the New Zealand Maori side played in their seven-match tour of Wales in 1982.

"They didn't win one important match. They didn't have the players to finish it off because they took the wrong players with them. Some of the team couldn't make a provincial side yet they were in the Maori team. Captain Paul Quinn (Wellington) was not a good choice as captain. He was too slow as a flanker and used bad tactics. It was just favouritism which got some of the players into the team.

"It wasn't a happy tour for anyone. Fancy coming 12,000 miles to see a team like that. But my greatest thrill on

the tour was to be introduced to the 60,000 people at Cardiff Arms Park before the Maori team versus Wales game. I stood out in the centre of the field and all the crowd stood up and clapped and cheered for about 10 minutes. I had to walk around the field in a lap of honour. It was wonderful and it proved the 1924-25 team will never be forgotten."

Nepia named his All Black team from players chosen between 1920 and 1985.

He makes no excuses for picking six players from the Invincibles whose backline he rates the greatest ever.

Nepia's all-time All Black side (exclusive to Tu Tangata) is:

Bob Scott (Auckland, Jack Steel (West Coast), Bryan Williams (Auckland), John Smith (North Auckland), Bert Cooke (Hawkes Bay), Mark Nicholls (Wellington), Jimmy Mill (Hawkes Bay), Brian Lochore (Wairarapa) captain, Maurie Brownlie (Hawkes Bay), Kel Tremaine (Hawkes Bay), Colin Meads (King Country), Reid Masters (Canterbury), Kevin Skinner (Otago), Bill Irvine (Hawkes Bay), Ken Gray (Wellington).

In commenting, Nepia said: "Scott was the greatest fullback I ever saw play with wonderful footwork and beautiful balance. Steel was a great attacking winger who could run through tackles and was good on defence: Steel's his name and steel he was. That's why I put him ahead of Ron Jarden. Grant Batty was explosive but he wasn't consistent. JB Smith was simply brilliant — he made his wings look good. Cooke weighed under 10 stone but he could stop a mule-train and his power of acceleration was phenomenal. Nicholls played rugby like people play chess. Sid Going was a great half-back but no one could touch Mill — he scored tries without a hand being laid on him. Lochore had fine leadership, Ian Kirkpatrick was another great flanker but he didn't have leadership qualities. Masters was a big, strong lock like Meads. Skinner and Gray were tough props who wouldn't give way and also fast around the field. Irvine was a quick striker and strong and fast in general play. He played 26 of the first 28 games on the 1924-25 tour. It's hard for me to pick the forwards because of the difference in scrum style from 1940 onwards."

Nepia comments on controversial All Black fullback Allan Hewson of Wellington are interesting.

"I admire his play. Of all the goal kickers I have seen he is the best. It seems so natural to him. He has got beautiful balance like Bob Scott. He may be fragile but he wins games."

Nepia said he never saw famous 1905 All Black fullback and centre, Billy Wallace of Wellington. But he regards Wallace as a very fine gentleman and a great tactician as coach of the 1935 New Zealand Maori side (of which Nepia captained) to Australia. "I believed Billy played some magnificent football."

Strangely, Nepia has never received a Queens honour — not even an MBE — for his services to sport, his people and his country. Hundreds of far lesser sports people have been recognised with an award.

Nepia said his greatest moment in his rugby life came when he was walking off the field at Cardiff Arms Park in 1924 in front of 55,000 spectactors. As he walked off after New Zealand's great victory, he unwrapped the bandage around his thumb and threw it on the ground. A horde of adult souvenir hunters converged on the roll of bandage and fought and tugged over it. That, he said, was his greatest moment.

George Nepia and Tu Tangata writer, Michael Romanos.

Uncle George may have been devoted to his rugby but his greatest devotion was reserved for his wife, Huinga and family.

Each day since his wife was prematurely taken from this world in 1975, George Nepia, the tough rugby fullback extraordinaire at 16, travels 12 miles from his home in Ruatoria to her graveside in Rangitukia and places flowers where she is buried.

When I had arranged for George to appear in Wellington as the guest of the Wellington Rugby Union last September, he arrived wearing a black tie, worded: "1924-25 Invincibles". George said some 10 years after the famous tour, a Canadian chap presented each member of the 1924 team with an Invincibles tie. George told me he was very proud of the tie and wouldn't part with it. Not even when a Japanese rugby enthusiast and car company executive a few years ago offered George a brand new Mitsubishi car in exchange for the tie.

During the Wellington trip, George spent a few hours at the private rugby museum owned by Errol and Ann Quinn in Maungaraki. When I went to collect George from the museum, I looked up at one of the display shelves and there sat Nepia's treasured tie.

I looked at George. He was wearing a Marist Hutt Valley tie (the club of All Black winger Bernie Fraser).

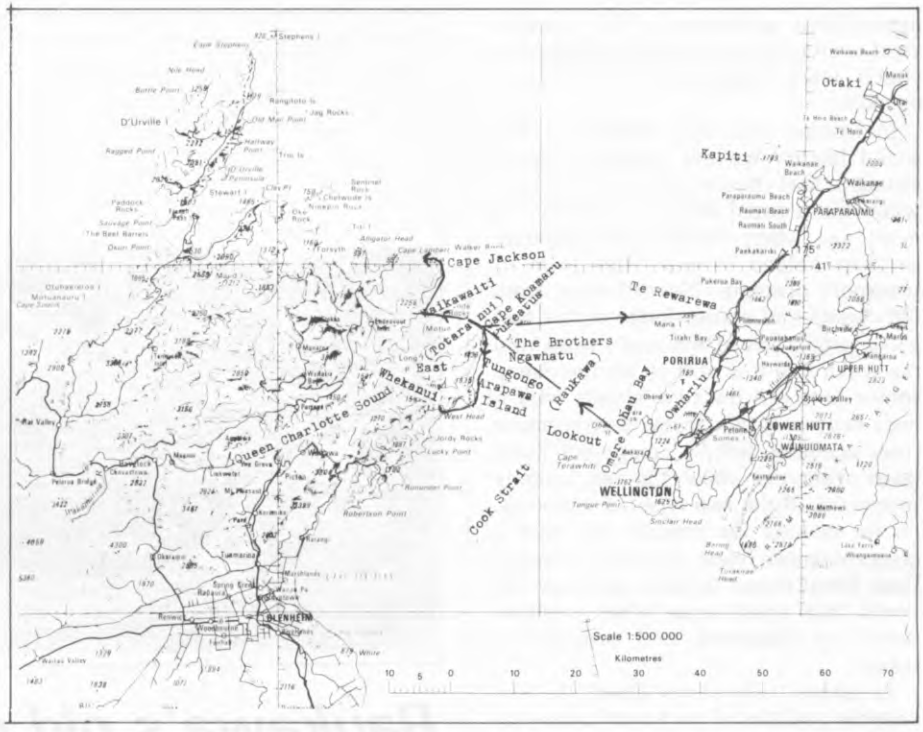
"This is such a splendid place, but they didn't have a material memento of the 1924 side," said George. "I couldn't leave without giving them something."

So instead of selling his tie for around $16,000 to the Japanese, soft-hearted Nepia exchanged it for Fraser's Marist tie. Well at least the green tie matched George's green suit!

Footnote:

At the time of writing this article (September 1985) four of Nepia's 1924-25 Invincible team-mates are still living. They are: vice-captain and flanker Jock Richardson (now residing in Australia), five-eights Ces Badeley, threequarter Alan Robilliard and halfback William Dalley. All four hailed from the South Island.

Crossing Cook Strait



When looking across to the South Island from a vantage point on the opposite side of Cook Strait it would be an insensitive person who would not be aware of the age old impression created by this landmass on the horizon that it possesses the atmosphere and aura of another country. To the Maori of yesteryear this impression would be even more pronounced than it is today because of the limitations his means of communication imposed on him and that to cap it all, Raukawa (Cook Strait) was a tapu sea which at all times regarded the greatest respect when voyaging across it.

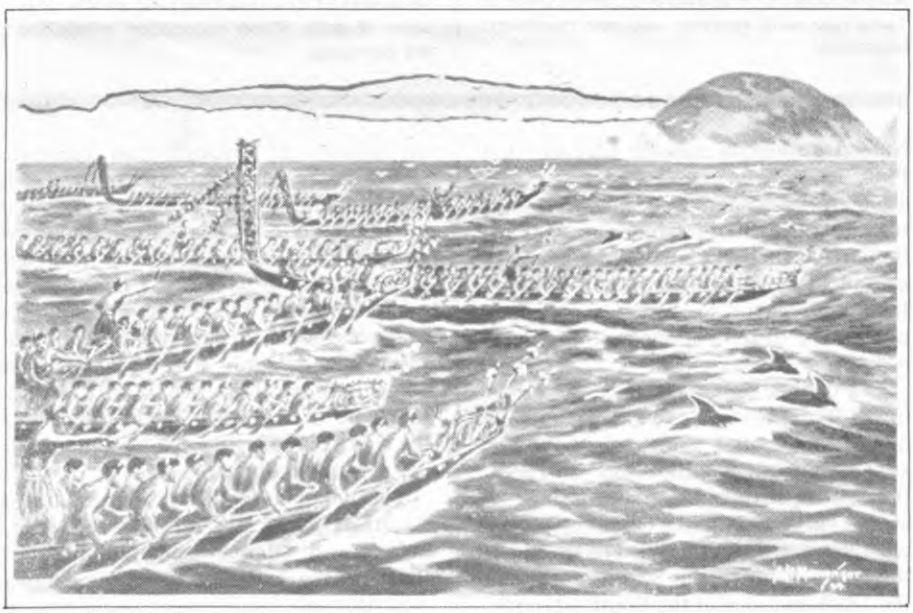
Although Cook Strait at its narrowest part can by no means be regarded as a widish stretch of water, it nevertheless presented an obstacle to the movement of people and articles of trade in prehistoric times because of the wind and tides that flowed through the gap between the two main islands of New Zealand.

From recorded South Island traditions we have been left a rather blurred record of settlement patterns and exploratory feats that go back to the earliest times. To these legends as we move forward in time can be added the accounts of later migrations across the strait as burgeoning populations in the warmer northern districts resulted in every so often a re-shuffling of tribal domains. However the early history of Cook Strait is not solely confined to migrations for in days gone by there was also a two way flow of goods across the waters. For although the South Island's climate did not lend itself to large scale

The crossing of Raukawa

The crossing of Cook Strait from the western extremity of the North Island to Cape Koamaru the northern tip of Arapawa Island is well recorded in this artist's impression of the armarda of February 1828 which consisted of an alliance of Waikato and Taranaki tribes.

Ahead lies the Brothers which were rightly regarded as the father of all navigational hazards. The Brothers — Ngawhatu were in legend the eyeballs of the octopus which Kupe had cast into the sea after his tustle with it in the Strait. The fierce currents that swirl around the Brothers showed that the marine dinizen was not quite dead and in order to guard against mishap those engaged in their first crossing of Raukawa were obliged to shield their eyes with karaka leaves when approaching the tapu area. The exception to the rule being the steersman. That the waters around the Brothers could not be taken lightly was proven to Cook when his command the Endeavour was nearly wrecked on Ngawhatu. It was only by launching the ship's boats that Cook was able to save his command in these then unchartered waters.



Parkinson the artist recorded the entry into the tapu sea, by writing in his journal — "it made a great rippling, especially near the islands, where the water running in heaps, bears and whirpools made a great noise in its passage". The recorded speed of the current was 5 knots and though the anchors were dropped in 75 fathoms this extra safeguard barely held the "Endeavour".

The high hill in the background is Pukeatua on Arapawa Island. It was from this vantage point that the tohungas judged whether conditions were favourable for the crossing of the strait to the North Island. Like its counterpart on the Omere ridge across the water Pukeatua gave an uninterrupted view of Cook Strait well into the South Taranaki Bight when looking northwards and far to the south of Cape Campbell when viewing the opposite quarter. Considering the historical associations of this ancient place-name of Pukeatua one can well ask what is the reason for having a geographic board when on Land and Survey maps they condone its substitution for "Ref. Coast 429"?

In recreating the crossing of Cook Strait in olden times the artist is not guilty of a piece of licence by including a school of dolphins. For in the tribal lore of the Ngati Kuia whose connection with Pelorus Sound goes back into the distant past, tribal legend holds that their forebears were in fact guided across the strait by these intriguing mammals.

agricultural activities it did possess good sources of stone and food supplies which were important in the Maori economy.

In looking into this chapter of our social history we are somewhat hamstrung in that coastal voyaging by canoe went into a rapid decline a century or more ago when roading and shipping services helped to make this form of transport obsolete. Nevertheless from old chants and a knowledge of the seagoing properties of the waka tawa and the waka tete it is able to ply the canoe routes between the two islands with a high degree of accuracy. Furthermore from accounts left by competent European observers about the sea keeping properties of the two types of canoe used for making the voyages we gain a comprehensive view of what crossing Cook Strait meant in those days and the perils that could arise when customs were not observed and precautions taken.

In airing their views about the sea keeping qualities of the Maori canoe the commentators were understandably seeing things through European eyes and in no way were their writings intended to be derogatory of what was a fine technical achievement.

J.A. Wilson who was the first judge of the then "Native Land Court" wrote "speaking generally they are rather crank in build and disproportionately long for sea-going purposes". Polack an early trader and Pakeha Maori recorded these pertinent comments — "that when heavy seas are encountered the craft must not be steered to face them directly otherwise she will dive headlong into the wave and be swamped but by keeping the bow a little off (about 7 degrees) the canoe rides over the wave". Polack then concludes by stating — "great care must be exercised for if brought about too far she broaches too and disaster follows. Under these conditions great skill is demanded from the steersman." Wilson also commented on the fact that due to the light draught they needed to be seven points off the wind if they were to move through the water properly.

From these critical but well meant comments regarding the sea keeping qualities of the larger types of canoe which were once part of the coastal scene it can be seen today when standing at the departure points of the Cook Strait crossings how the sea lanes between the North and South Islands had been determined to a high degree of perfection back in the unrecorded past.

Of the two sea routes it is the crossing to the South Island which is best known today. This is understandable to a degree because of past migrations and the trade generated by the larger population in the North Island. Unfortunately for the record, two historians who have done stirling work in recording the Maori history of Marlborough and Nelson provinces namely Elvy in "Kei Puta te Wairau" and Peart in "Old Tasman Bay" name the place of departure for the South Island as Makara Beach (formerly Owhariu Bay). This geographical mistake has arisen through taking Owhariu to being a localised placename instead of one that applies to a district.

Old chants connected with the crossing of Raukawa refer to Omere a prominent coastal ridge where a lookout was kept to judge if weather and sea conditions were favourable for crossing the strait. This would make Ohau Bay at the western extremity of the North Island the location for setting sail. However in the 1828 invasion of the South Island by an alliance of Waikato and Taranaki tribes because of the numbers involved, not all could camp at Ohau Bay for the month that had to pass before conditions were calm enough to set forth. As a consequence some tribes and hapus were camped along the coast including Makara Beach. It would still be necessary though to ply the route between Ohau Bay and Cape Koamaru the northern tip of Arapawa Island. This was the route that provided the optimum sailing conditions for canoes.

The importance of not venturing into the strait unless all factors were favourable is well summed up by Polack the Pakeha Maori. Polack knew his canoes well through having purchased one in

Raukawa's old canoe routes — heading south

For the South Island, crossing the point of departure was Ohau Bay at the western extremity of the North Island.

The course was set for Cape Koamaru, the northern headland of Arapawa Island, which was in line of sight.

Off Cape Koamaru canoes destined for the eastern seaboard of the South Island would here turn southward till Tory Channel was reached. At Whekenui, a sandy bay just within the entrance to the channel, they would come ashore for a welcome rest.

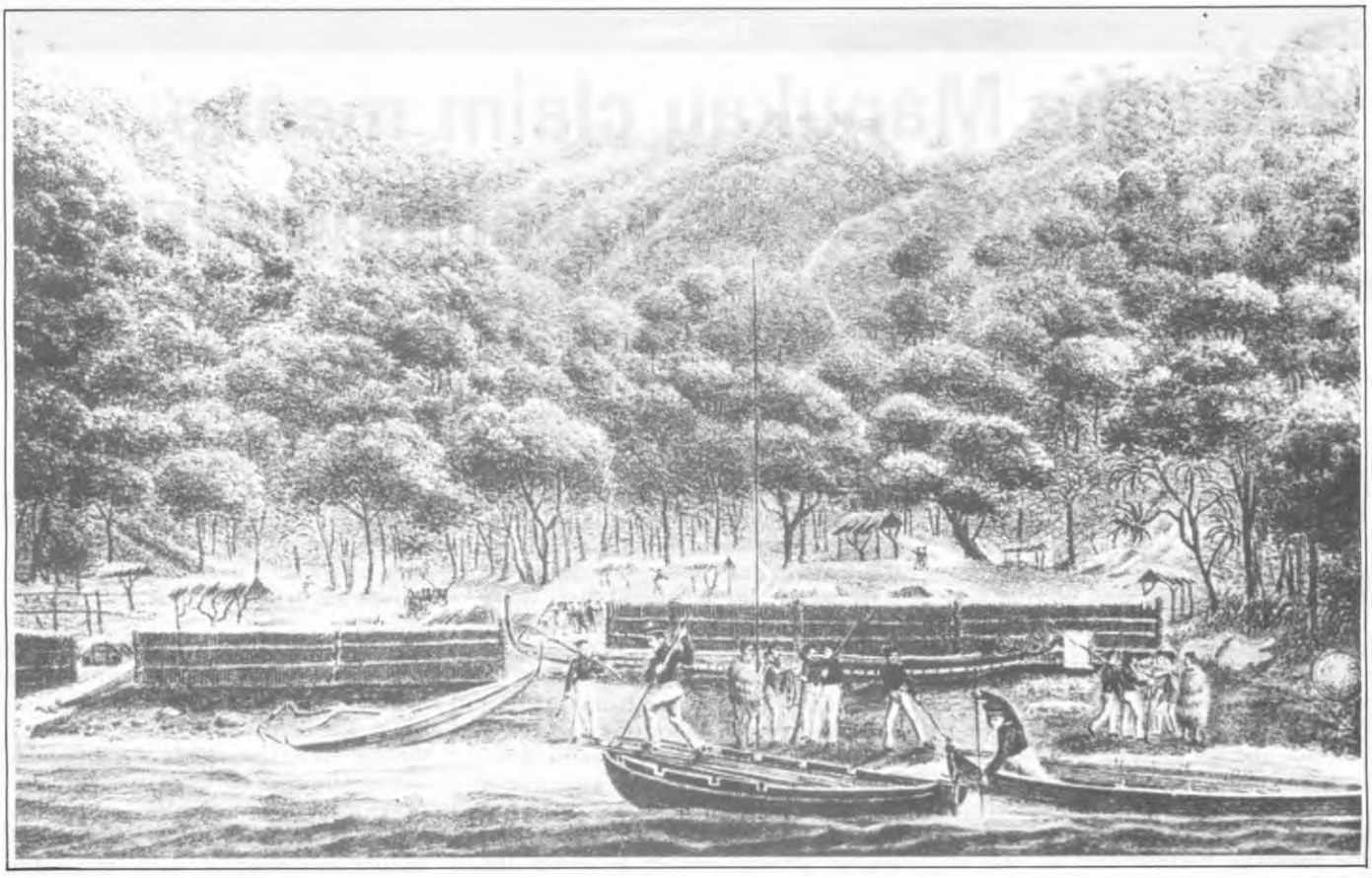
Parties proceeding to Tasman or Golden Bay and Durville Island would round Koamaru and head for Waikawaiti near Cape Jackson on the South Island.

Parties setting forth from Waikawaiti and bound for the North Island could encounter deteriorating sea conditions when abreast of Cape Koamaru. Under these circumstances the policy was to alter course and hug the eastern coast of Arapawa and come ashore at Tungongo until weather and sea conditions improved.

There is however some confusion over this present day placename as in old traditional chants the place of departure is referred to as Omere. This is the range of coastal hills in the background and is a prominent geographical feature of the landscape from the Horowhenua coast to the north. However when viewed from the South Island Omere is anything but a prominent landmark for coastal navigators of old to steer for.

In olden times the tohungas judged if short term weather and sea conditions were favourable from a vantage point on the Omere ridge. This site gave an uninterrupted view of Cook Strait to Otaki 68 kilometres to the North and to Cape Campbell approximately the same distance to the south. The pit which records the observation post is roughly where the background coastal range begins to rise behind the head of the bay.

Today Ohau Bay is uninhabited and the only reminders of its interesting past are the ample signs of early Maori occupation which span the centuries.



order that he could conduct his business to best advantage. Amongst his comments of New Zealand life in the 1830s was the information that "a canoe can roll very much and often the gunwales are under water!" Their speed he estimated as six miles an hour. Judge Wilson elaborates further in his writings by remarking that for a few miles they could make good speed and then there would be a slackening of pace in order to conserve energy.

If tides and rips did not upset things unduly this speed would enable the crossing from Ohau Bay to Cape Koamaru occupy three hours. To this time needed to be added a further hour and a half to reach Whekenui in Tory Channel or Waikawaiti in Queen Charlotte Sound depending on whether the party was bound for the east coast of the South Island or Tasman Bay or Durville Island.

The Cook Strait voyagers of old possessed one great advantage over the modern boat owner. The Rev. William Yate of the Church Missionary Society summed this quality up well when he wrote — "the New Zealanders are close observers of the appearance of heavens and are seldom deceived in their prognostications". This remark made in 1834 is understandable for a society living close to nature would be able to judge through their knowledge of weather lore when a change in sea and weather conditions were pending.

Waikawaiti — heading north

(Old South Island terminal)

Waikawaiti in outer Queen Charlotte Sound was a convenient landing place for parties headed for Tasman or Golden Bays and D'urville Island. It was also a cove where parties headed for the North Island waited till such time as all the signs of nature indicated to the officiating tohunga that conditions were favourable for the crossing of Cook Strait. In November 1839 Edward Jerningham Wakefield reported a party Kapiti bound waiting their time until things were right for setting forth.

From a vantage point a commanding view is obtained of the open sea to the north and receding western coastline of the North Island disappearing into the haze. Although sea and weather conditions could be studied out into the South Taranaki Bight, what lay to the south of Cape Koamaru around the corner was an unknown factor. From Waikawaiti it is 11 kilometres to Cape Koamaru and then a further 24 to Te Rewarewa Point a prominent prominitory which marks the eastern approaches to Porirua Harbour. In this case however Kapiti and not the Brothers, was the island that first voyagers must not gaze on. It was also all important that the steersman did not deviate from the sea lane which according to belief marked a submerged tapu ridge. For parties heading to Wellington Harbour or the Wairarapa a land fall could be made at either Karehana, Porirua, Ti Tahi or Te Korohiwa some of which are places mentioned in the Kupe sagas.

Due to not being able to obtain a view to the south Waikawaiti did have certain deficiencies as a port of departure. When studying the area today the observer is left with the question as to why two sandy beaches exposed to the open sea on the western side of the northern tip of Arapawa were not the favoured departure points providing tribal considerations permitted. From Oamaru and Te Hurahura it would have been possible for a lookout on Pukeatua which had a commanding view of the strait, to signal by means of pahu (gong) to the voyagers once conditions were deemed favourable. Allowing for different vegetative cover in those times those whose task it was to give the go ahead would be able to rendeavouz with the travellers within 30 to 45 minutes. This would be approximately the same time as the lookout at Omere across the strait would take to reach Ohau Bay.

In outer Queen Charlotte Sound, sound can travel long distances and it would have been possible to pass the prepare to embark order by means of the pahu situated on Pukeatua. Surgeon Major Thompson of the 58 Regiment recorded how the melancholy sound of the pahu could, under favourable circumstances, be heard up to 20 miles. In this case the party departing from Waikawaiti could break their journey at Oamaru if others were crossing the strait.

On occasions travellers from the south found when abreast of the Brothers that sea conditions were deteriorating. Here a landing was made at Tungongo on the rugged eastern coastline of Arapawa. This was not the location to spend any length of time and what in those days was a short climb, would enable the voyagers after beaching their canoe, to descend into the head of East Bay at Ruapara. Today it is not possible to follow this ancient trail because the presence of goats has induced accelerated erosion of the cliff.

What the Manukau claim means in town and country planning terms

na George Asher, Planner advisor

The recent Manukau claim to the Waitangi Tribunal again shows the failure of current legislation, policy and process, to take notice of maori values, interests and perspectives.

This claim, more than any other so far, revealed wide-ranging inconsistencies and inadequacies in approaches adopted to administer and manage resources. These have been of vital and long standing importance to Maori tribal groups and continue to be of central importance to their existence and status as tangata whenua.

Town planning legislation and policies, and the manner in which this process is administered, has attracted similar criticism even though this claim relates primarily to the despoliation of the Manukau harbour and the loss of tribal lands in and around the harbour and the northern Waikato. Town planning cannot escape attention in this context simply because it is the principle means by which certain detrimental uses with specific and cumulative consequences on the Manukau and surrounding lands have been permitted to be established.

Conversely, town planning has been incapable of affording any effective status to established maori traditional uses and interests in lands affected under the claim. These distortions reflect the fundamental monocultural bias of the current system which continues to have a destructive and negative impact on Maori communities.

A reading of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1977 reveals that it contains significant provisions for establishing maori interests within the formal processes of town planning. But the difficulties encountered by many Maori landowners and tribal communities with town planning, highlight the unresponsive nature of the administration, particularly at many local levels, to make a commitment to or even recognise the relevance of Maori interests.

The tribunal findings go some distance toward clarifying this anomaly. For example, counsel for the Ministry of Works and Development argued the potential for positive promotion of maori values within local, regional and maritime planning schemes. It also conceded that the will must first exist to use the available statutory tools to realise these ends.

It is worth considering further the implications of those responses from agencies and authorities which alluded to the need in the Manukau claim to balance the interests of other sections of the community. It is clear that other members of the public and of various groups are also affected detrimentally by town planning, but it must also be recognised that the cumulative impact of legislative and policy change in New Zealand has been of far greater detriment to Maori tribal communities than any other identifiable group.

Under these circumstances it would appear grossly unfair to avoid the accordance of any priority to Maori tribal interests.

In the same light those authorities which tend to avoid or, for various reasons, maintain an aversion to according a greater priority to maori interests, are merely perpetrating a situation created by historical processes. It was the belief of one local council which appeared before the Tribunal that the Treaty 'perpetrates a privilege based soley on race'.

Under the claim presented to the Tribunal it would be extremely difficult to determine the nature and extent of any such privileges forthcoming to the affected parties.

The injustices illustrated before the Tribunal make it extremely difficult to comprehend and substantiate the perception of that council.

The extent to which legislation and policy should affirm certain interests and values becomes a critical factor in situations where these interests diverge. Normally differences in interests are resolved through democratic processes of decision-making. Where a divergence of interests and values occurs however, such processes will usually mitigate against the interests of minorities unless a prior commitment or redirection has been established to ensure that such interests are accorded a measure of real priority.

The efforts of some planning authorities to ensure that maori interests are notified to them have been highly commendable. This has been achieved through formal processes of representation and through informal consultations. Indications are that further improvement is required in these processes if greater awareness of maori interests is to be achieved and signified.

In acknowledging the efforts of various authorities (including those outside the town planning process) the Tribunal also drew specific reference to the need for a greater commitment to research and the development of options to enable effective strategies to be put in place to protect maori interests.

This consideration raises a fundamental question as to who actually plans for Maori people or more precisely, Maori tribal interests.

The imprecise and discretionary nature of many provisions pertaining to maori interests in the Town Planning Act enables authorities to opt out of a real commitment to plan for maori issues if they so desire.

Where maori values are spelt out as matters which must be taken into consideration, they are often only one of many matters to be considered by the administering bodies.

It would appear also that many authorities do not have the capacity to properly assess the many maori matters that are presented to them. This could contribute further to maori values being relegated to a lesser status even where extensive consultations have been carried out with Maori communities in the area.

This incapacity is caused not merely by a deficiency in awareness and understanding but more importantly by a reliance on precedence and on obtaining advice from sources other than the Maori communities concerned.

For example the Tribunal cited the unsatisfactory situation of legislative

authorities narrowly construing maori interests. The Town and Country Planning Tribunal has consistently indicated that ancestral land as stated in the Town and Country Planning Act 1977, refers only to land owned by Maori people, but does not include other lands of significance to them.

The Auckland Regional Authority has taken heed of maori values in its planning decisions but said it has difficulty with the term 'ancestral land'. It has legal advice that the word ancestral land effectively means maori land. But it feels bound by legal opinion based on decisions of the Planning Tribunal.

These interpretations have been used by subsequent authorities in such a way that they in turn, unduly limited the application of statutory provisions in ways which may not have been intended by the Legislature.

While the Town Planning Act itself has been subject to severe and in most instances, justifiable criticism, it remains one of a small number of statutes which enable maori values to be considered outside of the Maori Affairs Act and its subequent ammendments.

The dearth of important legislation providing for maori values and interests however, rules out the possibility of establishing a consistent and comprehensive approach.

This is necessary to integrate maori considerations in using any resources such as land and water.

Recent administrative proposals from a working report released by the Minister of the Environment hold some promise that a degree of integration may be achieved and that greater consideration is taken of all relevant values.

Another important concern raised by the Waitangi Tribunal relates to the binding of the Crown.

Past experiences indicate the flexibility that the Crown has on this matter and its relative freedom under certain related legislation to be exempt from certain obligations.

Where the Crown is itself a property owner there would appear to be very little reason why it should not be bound by approved planning schemes. As well the findings before the Tribunal in this instance clearly establish a case for maori values to be consistently and adequately recognised as matters of national interest regardless of whether Crown property is affected or not.

Overall the Tribunal has succeeded in giving higher visibility and credibility to maori grievances simply by providing the public forum for their hearing. It has also pointed to the inherent dangers of fragmented approaches to resolve fundamental differences of values and perceptions.

Planning authorities must accept that the findings and recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal provide guidelines for future planning for Maori people.

Forty years of marriage for John and Lena

They both remember the days of bread and dripping and warming their feet in fresh cow pats, but it's something that Councillor John Williams and his wife, Lena, keep out of Council boardrooms.

And it was only a month ago that 200 people were invited to Terenga Paraoa Marae in Whangarei to remind John and Lena that they're been married for 40 years.

And among those people was their daughter Marilyn, who came over from Australia, and some of John's nephews from Australia. Lena's family arrived from Taumarunui.

And it was the kids who suffered — all nine of them. They had planned for this surprise party for quite some time, but it seemed nothing would go smoothly for them.

Because three of them are still living at home with their parents, it was hard to explain their absences during the weekends. And it was doubly hard to hold meetings anywhere in the north, just in case their parents saw any of them. They had an old friend who helped them out with some of the preparations, and so they often told their parents they were going up to see her. Lena thought was a great idea, until Adrienne (one of the nine) told her no — but couldn't offer a proper reason why Lena couldn't go.

Then there was the time the printer's sent a bill to John and Lena for "200 Surprise party invitations". And how do you explain getting presents in the post? Or someone ringing from down the line to wish you a happy surprise anniversary?

They both met while they were in the Air Force. John was a pilot instructor and Lena worked in Communications. And it's been a busy life for both since then. They're both very active members in church happenings. John is a member of te Runanga Hahi o Aotearoa, the Whangarei Parish Council, and while their children attended the St Joseph's Primary School, he was on the board.

His father was the founder of the Whangarei Maori Community Centre, so it was no surprise to see that John's photo lining the wall with all the other past Chairmen.

Lena had her life dictated by nine hyperactive children. But she still manages to look 40 and act 20. She too is involved in different community activities.

Like John, she is a trustee of the Maori Community Centre and also a member of the Whangrei Youth Skills Trust. She is also a life member of the Maori Women's Welfare League. But now she's being kept busy with Kohanga Reo. She is the North Auckland Consultant for Te Kohanga Reo, which adds alot more interest. She is also involved with the Ataarangi Maori language group.

As an old girl of St Joseph's College in Greenmeadows (nee Anderson) and an old boy of Whangarei Boy's High School, they have turned out one of the greatest families to reside in Whangarei, 19 years as a Councillor for the Whangarei City Council must provide some evidence of that fact.

He turanga hou

I te wiki tuatahi o akuhata ka whakahokiamai ā Pita Paraone ki tana turanga hou i roto i te Tai Tokerau.

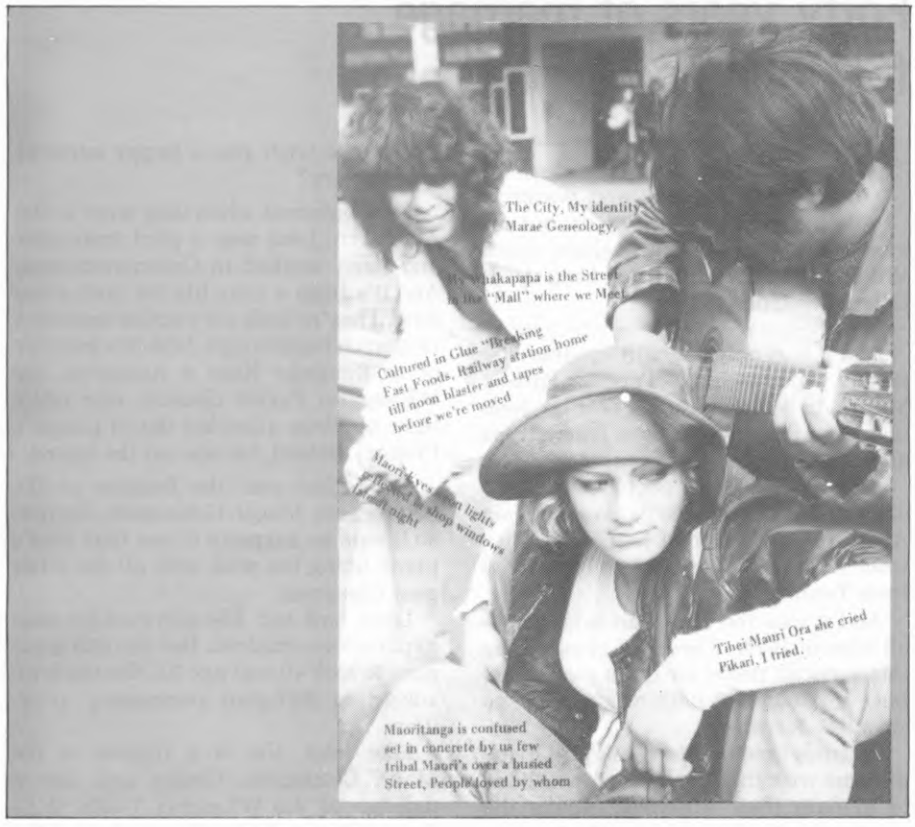
Na tetahi ropu no Tainui waka ia i whakahoki mai te take i te mahi tahi ia kia ratou i roto o Otara me ona karangatanga.

Na Meke Teira tetahi korero mona "hokimai hei kai mahi mo to iwi — hei tukino ma ratou."

Ko te miharo i konei ano i Whangarei ka timata ā Pita ki te mahi mo te Tari Maori muri mai i te Kuranga i Motatau.

Ko tena matua ko Tāmati Paraone tetahi o nga Rangatira o Ngati Hine ki Otiria.

Kua riro mai ia Pita tetahi o nga turanga nui i roto i te Tari mo te Tai Tokerau.



He Whakaaro Ke, Barney Pikari, Harry Walker, Vern Winitana, Angela McGregor, Robyn Kahukiwa.

A group of four Maori writers and an artist have put together a book He Whakaaro Ke. They have had their work published in the Porirua Community Newspaper, Te Awa-iti over several years and this book is a gathering together of various articles that have appeared in this time.

The writers have sought to gather their own funding to publish the book and hope to have it out in the new year.

"As a group we believe that when we agreed upon this collective project to collate our work into this book our ideals were based solely on the chance to write and paint in part about the Maori experience.

"This is not to be interpreted to voice or speak for all Maoris but illustrate the Maori perspective from another point of view, by using this forum and platform to do so we are on two points highlighting a written point well over due and a written defense against white writers who have merely interpreted Maori expression, our writing is at least in total and raw.

We are independently minded in our writings, each coming from four different aspects of lifes' experiences but sharing a common goal with Maori related issues of social and topical interest. The biggest plus of our work is that our writings are not murdered through ignorant editing therefore keeping our own individual Maori compassion in content.

To have four Maoris writing in the same community as against none speaks for itself in saying that we know we must help ourselves to help others reach for that, though we appreciate of course having a regular column, to express a Maori point of view and grow from. We point out though that our community newspaper needed us also to grow from.

The need for more Maori recognition of this type of assertive literature is a must, our over all oppressed state of mind has badly ham-strung the Maori written expression. Our social conditioning state of mind shows we do not use the written word to any advantage or comprehend and appreciate that power, instead relying on the oral tradition (or is it that we are simply subjected out of this system).

The lack of written criticism on Maori issues for example in support or otherwise is quite obvious, letters to the editor in main stream newspapers shows up that Maori unwillingness to express a written point of view. At the moment we don't even encourage that, preferring to leave this undermining weakness where it is, perhaps this work may correct that, we hope so because we have nothing to lose but those chains."

The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse

Editors: Ian Wedde and Harvey McQueen
Price: $24.95

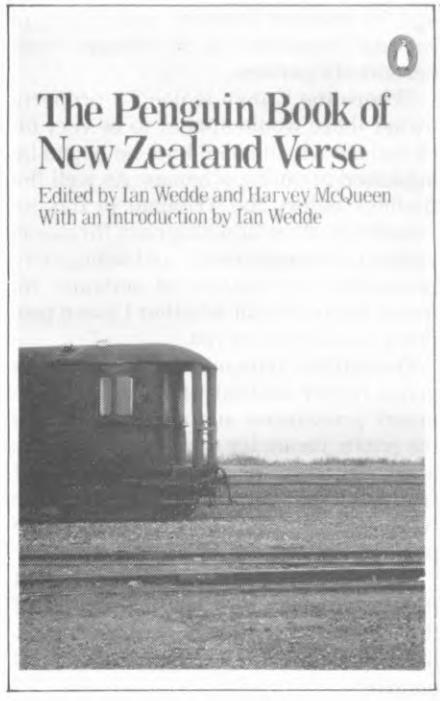
It's worth paying that much money on such a book. It's one of the best anthologies I've read. I think what made it better was the combination of Maori and English verse. Side by side, the different languages complemented each other rather than one drowning out the other.

It featured great artists like and indeed leaders such as Te Puea Herangi, Tuini Ngawai, Hone Tuwhare. And it also featured younger artists, Pita Sharples, Keri Hulme and Hirini Melbourne. The wairua right throughout the book was deep. Those people had definite messages they had to get out to the public — and they've done it through their work.

"Inaianei kua
Kite ahau
ki te minamina
Koe
Ki te pirangi
Koe
Ahakoa wawata noa
Me kai kia ki
Engari kia tika te
Haere!"

na, Arapera Hineira Blank

For the poems and waiata that couldn't be translated by the original author, the editors have used what professional advice they could muster from Margaret Orbell. They have



acknowledged that translating these verses were difficult when out of context. For example:

MATAI RORE AU
Matai rore au ki te taumata,
Te ngakau whakapuke tonu
Me aha iho ka mauru ai,
Whiuwhiu kei te muri, kei te tonga?
(tribe unknown)

In her introduction, Margaret Orbell writes: "Maori poetry was generally inspired not by success and happiness but by sorrow and loss; great men, for example, were praised in song only after they had died. But these songs were composed as a positive response to unhappy circumstances, a way of dealing with them."

This is illustrated in waiata throughout the book. "He tangi mo Tawhiao", "Tangi a taku ihu", and other laments and waiata aroha.

Even for those who are not poetry-buffs, I'd recommend this book.

The Birth of Maui
Te Whanaunga Mai o Maui

Glenda Kauta. Reed Methuen. $7.95

He aha te mea nui/Ma wai/
Ko au tenei/Ahakoa he iti

Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa. Longman Paul.

Nga Tupuna –
Life in Maori Communities
1200-1769

Kathryn Rountree. Longman Paul. $5.95.

The first book reviewed is by a Maori woman in Christchurch, Glenda Kauta who has taken the Maui story and retold it with some changes. In this version Maui's mother is Taronga not Taranga and baby Maui is raised by the sea god Tangaroa himself rather than an old tohunga.

The maori language translation is by Maraa Te Tai from Te Rawhiti.

This book, along with many now pouring from the publishing houses is aimed at providing bi-lingual books for young readers. Unfortunately the level of the maori language is too advanced for children whose first language is english.

The story will appeal to young readers but the placing of english and maori on each page will most times mean the maori gets overlooked in the attempt of explaining what is happening in the pictures. Only a reader confortable with expressing themselves in maori language and thought will get the most from such a book.

With my own children, I found it hard to resist persistent calls in english to read the english. At least with other books with maori language only, the reader and the listeners both have to make an attempt to understand and enjoy the story on the basis of maori thought as expressed in the reo.

A completely different series of maori language books are the four ones by Pat Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa. The thought pattern expressed gets across well a Maori view of life.

For example Ko au tenei starts with a picture of a mountain and the words, 'Ko taku maunga tenei'. It moves through the river, the town, the marae, the wharenui, the whanau and then finally with 'Ko au tenei' rightly places the individual in the order of things. Similarly He aha te mea nui points to the importance of people over things, while at the same time covering in word and picture some things like lollies and icecream that children may think they can't do without.

Following on from an obvious market in maori language books to the increasing market for Maori topics is Nga Tupuna. It's aim is to fill the large gap in the New Zealand education curriculum where taha maori now officially sits.

In keeping with this the author has prepared background notes for teachers and suggested further studies.

As a further book explaining New Zealand's past, Nga Tupuna helps fill in this gap and will be welcomed by teachers who've been told to teach taha maori but who don't have the resources to do it.

Unfortunately for Nga Tupuna the knowledge contained will probably not move on to understanding, without the addition of people, the human and spiritual resource.

As the books introduction says, 'the most important things of maoritanga today have come from nga tupuna.' But then it goes on to say, 'one way to find out about the past is to ask archaeologists. They can tell us about the food, tools and houses of Maori communities hundreds of years ago...'

'This book is about what they tell us of life in Aotoearoa'.

So you see the pakeha way of seeing the past as a science to be interpreted and the Maori way of facing the past as the foundation for today and tomorrow is once again unreconciled.

Nga Tupuna is not actually about our ancestors of which we are the living embodiment, but about archeologists' views and guesses of how they lived.

For $5.95 our children may receive more knowledge about their country's roots but it will do little to still the increasing backlash that says "why do we have to be always preoccupied with the past". That can only come with seeing today's Maori as being the tangata whenua as well as Nga Tupuna.

Syd Melbourne songs on cassette through Replay Radio, Box 2092, Wellington.

Hirini or Syd Melbourne must be one of the most under-rated Maori contemporary composers, at least to the majority of New Zealanders. His importance as a song-writer is confined when Maori radio stations take to the air, as they are increasingly doing now. Syd Melbourne songs like Te Kopere and Tihore Mai are well-known along with his children's songs as on the Trees Birds and Insects cassette.

This latter cassette along with Hinepukohurangi, a cassette with 18 songs dealing with contemporary issues concerning maoridom, has been joined by two more.

One is an interview from an on-air radio programme about how Hirini composes his songs. This is a delightful way to understand the insights of Maori thoughts about Aotearoa. Hirini, helped by patient questioning, explains how he interprets the sounds and movements of everything from insects to steel-wheeled animals like a train.

His song about a glow-worm, titiwai, took a long time. The tune was longest, as most often it's the words that come first, says Hirini.

It's these words that show the genius of the writer, the sound of the song's subject being emphasised in the caressing of vowel sounds and the stressing of pauses. Indeed, Titiwai Kowhitiwhiti sounds as though it was composed in a glow-worm cave like Waitomo.

The second cassette, Ruatoki Children Sing Songs by Syd Melbourne, is a welcome treat, with renditions of earlier songs like Whiti Te Marama. Newer songs like Te Whare Whakahirahira stand out with the simplicity and power of the lines: Ko rangi nui e tu ake nei hei tuanui, Ko Papatuanuku e takoto nei hei whariki, Ko te reo me nga tikanga hei tahuhu, Ko te iwi hei poutokomanawa.

Let the sky be as a roof over us, the earth as a mat on which we stand, the language and tradition shall be a ridge pole, and the people the heart supporting the house.

FROM THE CLAY

The last few days had been a new experience for her —
this working with the clay.
Strange yet satisfying
this kneading, dividing, joining, rolling, squeezing,
moulding of forms from her mind.
But sometimes the shapes that emerged
had little to do with those she had envisaged,
and she was content to allow them to grow
within the palms of her hands
until they felt complete.
Then the careful smoothing with the fingers,
with the small knife blade,
and the setting aside in a safe place
to dry a little.
The polishing then
in small, gentle, overlapping strokes
until a soft satin sheen
replaced the dullness of the raw clay.
The unbidden surfacing
of memories of the same soft feel
of a tiny, firm body now forever still...
Push the memories away.
Bury them with talk and laughter and preparation of food.
Back to the clay pot
now dry to the touch
for the final, long, painstaking burnish.
Take the beautifully polished, fine-grained pebble.
Use it over and over
to stroke every portion of the surface of the pot.
Again and again.
The rhythm of the stroking so soothing,
pushing way back
the grief lurking in her mind.
The left hand
ever-so-slowly revolving the clay
as the right hand firmly and evenly stroked
until the gleam was just right
Such satisfaction in the making,
the holding,
the looking.

It was some time during the third day that another idea came. This was to be quite large. The size of a dinner plate. It would be round, and as thick as her little finger. In the middle she would scratch the outline of a fish.

She began the work.

Later, as a final touch, very carefully she wrote round the edge TE IKA O WAIPOUA, and leant back to smile at it, pleased with her effort.

Her cousin moved to stand beside her.

"Why don't you carve your fish? It would look beautiful hanging on your wall."

"Me? I can't carve! You. You do it for me?"

"If that's what you want."

"Oh, yes."

And so, under the chisel and the skilled fingers, the fish became a shape of great beauty — a feast for the eyes.

Now it was the fourth day.

The kiln had been built of loose bricks. The objects she had made laid with those of the others on alternate layers of sawdust. On top of all a fire was kindled, watched until the sawdust was well alight, and a sheet of corrugated iron placed on top and weighted down with bricks. It would be many hours before the first layer of pottery would emerge from the sawdust ash.

"Party time!" came the call. "Come on. Clean up. Grab the food. Grab the drink. Come out to my place!"

What a great night that was.

Much talk, many stories, and the laugher! Ripples that ran into each other growing into great waves overwhelming all round that crowded table in the old friendly kitchen, rising ceiling high and finally rolling out door and window into the cool night air. So for a few more hours her grief was submerged, pushed away from conscious thought.

Midnight — time for the first opening of the kiln, to retrieve the work from the upper layers of charred sawdust.

Two carloads of her companions left the gathering to attend to the kiln. She stayed on, comforted by the warmth of friendship round the solid old table. Besides there was still a little wine — good for burying unwanted memories. She, together with the rest of the stragglers, returned after the second opening and careful sifting amongst the ashes. All but she, slept through 'til dawn and beyond. The wine wasn't working anymore, and the pain of her memories rose, threatening to suffocate her in thickening clouds of misery. Sleep was impossible. Quietly she searched for more wine. None. Just beer. It would have to do. She drank — was still drinking when the others awoke — but oblivion remained distant. Today was THAT day — the anniversary of that moment of incomprehension, of utter disbelief, when she found her baby lifeless. The anguish rose within her, but she fought back; helping with the food, with the cleaning, trying to keep her pain under control.

Through a fog of misery and alcohol she heard her name. They were calling her to the kiln.

"Look! Look at your fish!"

They crowded around where it sat cooling. Oh, it was beautiful! The chiselled detail flowing so cleanly, so decisively. There were cries of admiration surrounding her — then one voice alone, "There's something else!"

It was true.

Above the carving, oxygen pentrating the sawdust had left a curved smear of beige and soft apricot orange duplicating clearly the head of her fish. Parts of the K and A added details of the mouth, and perfectly positioned for the eye was her O. Barely discernible apricot spots gave form of the upper back.

It was like her fish and yet it was not.

Her fish was so clearly defined; this other so elusive, so shadowy, almost as if it were the spirit of the first.

Suddenly she wanted very much to keep this plate, but tradition said she musn't.

Thoughtfully she went inside, to an older woman who knew nothing of the reason for her misery nor of the fish and its shadow.

"You know that some people say you must give away the first of anything you make?"

"Yes?"

"Tell me. What do you think?"

And the other said (surprising herself), "I don't think that what you are to give can be held in the hand. Instead you are to take back to your people the knowledge and skills you have gained in these few days. The fish you must keep. It is for you."

Only then did the young woman show the other her fish and ask "What do you see?"

Some time later, her cousin, knowing everything, went quietly to the older woman. He explained all that it was necessary to explain, asked gently, "Would you say prayers for us? To help my whanaunga?"

And so the group gathered in the workroom until all who should be were there, and those who should not, had discerned so and left.

All sat quietly, and as the older bowed her head in a silent mind-message to Him for the right words, a lovely feeling of serenity began to prevade the room.

She stood, moved so all could see and hear her, opened her mouth and the words flowed forth.

First came the reason for the gathering, for only a few knew it.

Then came the direct message:
"You must forgive yourself.
You must not blame yourself for the loss
of your babe.
Let the guilt go.
Let the child go too.
You had him for four months.
Treasure the memory and let him go..."

The sharing:
"I know the pain of a little one gone.
And there must be others here too
with the same knowledge.
I know the longing for the touch of the
small arms
clinging, the warmth, the feel, the smell
of a tiny body..."

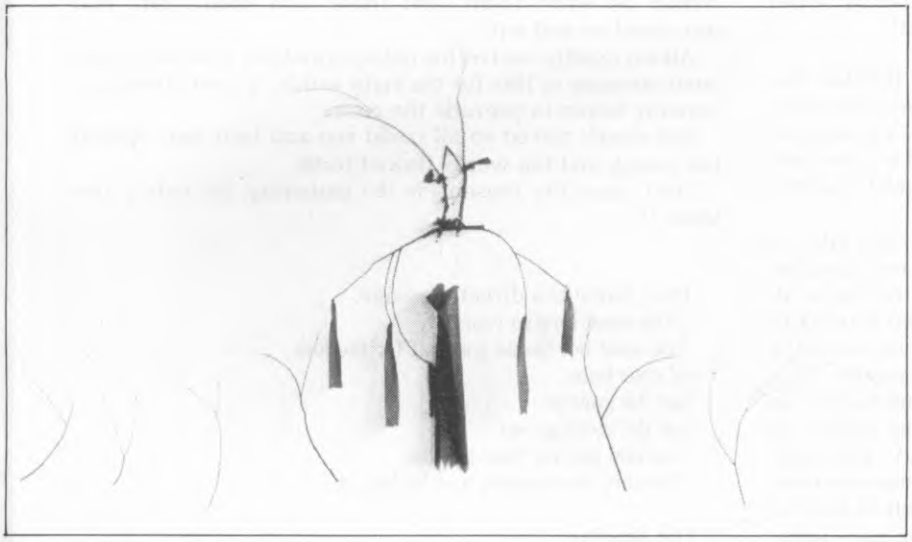
Directly again:
"But, you have life.
It is the greatest gift of all.
Do not waste it.
Let go the guilt.
Love your child and let him go.
Keep the memories and he will be part
of you.
Live your life."

Finally came the voicing of the words to comfort the mother, the plea that the child should be surrounded, protected by the Light of His Love and handed into His care.

For a timeless moment of pure love all those present shared the burden of grief, harmony so apparent it could almoset be touched seemed to flow around each. Nor did it matter that not all understood that if the mother could release her child to His care, her sense of guilt must go too — at last she would be able to forgive herself. The sharing was what mattered. The women, wet-eyed, surrounded her and sang; then one by one gave her a great comforting hug. The men followed, many wet-eyed also, enveloping her in their strong arms.

Awareness of the physical world
returned,
coffee was made and drunk,
talk and laughter resumed
with the knowledge that sharing gave
the strength to endure
until the grief diminished.

And so it was
that the fish stayed with the one who
had formed it from clay,
it's shadowy counterpart swirling above
it
almost like a glowing memory....



'Willow' by Jacqueline Fraser.

Clayton's Art

Selecting for a survey exhibition, especially one in which the restrictions on numbers of artists mean that the 'broad panorama' sought for, will necessarily be compressed and impossible to achieve, nevertheless sets useful challenges.

The selection was one of artists rather than works. Artists do not carry the burden of representation: the selector/curator must take that on. This group of artists are individuals; they displayed remarkably little interest in the work being done by other selected artists. They saw themselves as representing themselves, not New Zealand, as participating on an individual basis in a survey of directions being taken by contemporary artists.

That does not mean that some of the strands of art practice shown here do not derive from a concern with place: living in New Zealand and making art of it. A concern which surfaces here, is the long overdue assessment of colonialism in New Zealand. Not overdue in the general sense, perhaps: the reappraisals which have occurred in this century have not been ignored by this community, despite its isolation. But overdue perhaps in the arena of interpretation, in the connections and appropriations, the ommissions and denials which have been made by pakeha artists in this country.

Use of Maori/Polynesian content is not uncommon in New Zealand art, progress of a sort has been made from psuedo-anthropological recording, the romanticised portrayals of the dying race, and comic-book caricatures of earlier New Zealand art. But while it was relatively easy to shed the embarrassingly obvious prejudices of such representation, it is proving much more difficult to skirt around current attitudes about appropriation of the Maori/Polynesian culture. Ian McMillan's painted planks and Jacki Fahey's oil paintings attempt to confront the issues — McMillan's grounds are the weatherboards of European colonial villas, now demolished: they come from the inner city suburb in which he lives, a city which contains the largest Polynesian population in the world. In those inner suburbs, crammed into the colonial villas and cottages which remain, that population can be found: McMillan's work reflects on the connectikons thereby set up, physically and intellectually. He has covered these boards with layers of paint, in luminous skins, thick ridges, patterns which reflect a variety of origins, but do not exclude those of the Polynesian cultures among which he lives. Jacki Fahey's stance is less easy to analyse: the racing Maoris on horseback her work *Departure — Leaving — Going Away* derive from an image made by a colonial artist who demonstrated in his work in general if not the arrogance at least the patronising attitudes of other artists of his time and circumstances.

Jacqueline Fraser's aims as an artist are simple: to decorate the environments she works in, to make things that are beautiful and a pleasure to behold:

> I'm trying to make things look nice — I'll be quite open about that. The main object of my sculptures is that they look lovely. I don't want them to be ugly or threatening.
> I'm trying to please people. I'm not challenging them and making them think serious thoughts or anything... my work is just arranging beautiful things.

Fraser sees beauty in unexpected things. The most commonplace objects and materials give colour and texture to her work — brightly coloured string and plastic-coated electrical wire; rainbow strips of cloth; odds and ends from junk shops and Army Surplus stores — hairnets, plastic napkin rings, coloured stockings. She takes a childlike delight in cheap glittery treasures — shiny parcel ribbon, scraps of metal foil, tiny glass jewels and beads.

And often there are natural materials — shells, driftwood, ferns, twigs. Sometimes nature is what she starts with — a tree to decorate, a park in which to weave a little magic.

There's also a spiritual aspect to her way of working, derived from her Maori heritage — a reverence for process and materials and a tranquility which the artist hopes shines through the work.

> I saw a picture once in a travel magazine of the gardens of a Buddhist monastery — that's the nearest thing to my own work that I've seen.

Is McMillan's art cultural appropriation? Kowhaiwhai pou pou panels, tuku tuku and especially, taonga of the contact period; — all these have clearly been integrated into the style and format of the plank paintings. Just as the artist has changed the object nature of the ceiling boards so too has he altered the original context of the art motifs used on them. The diamond, spade and clubs shapes which appear in many of his works are connected with those seen in the early twentieth-century settlement at Maungapohatu of the Tuhoe prophet Rua Kenana. The walls of

Rua's meeting house *Hiona* featured these playing card emblems as religious symbols.

McMillian reappropriates these signs — which have themselves been taken from pakeha culture by the Maori — and redefines their usage.

The paintings are ideally seen collectively resting on the floor inside an architectural space. Their vertical freestanding format relates more to the way pou pou panels interact with the interior space of whare nui than to the pakeha concept of a painting series hung on gallery walls. These works are designed to interact more with their immediate physical environment, there being an intentional dichotomy between what is seen as sculpture and what is seen as painting.

McMillan is one of a number of New Zealand painters involved in this process of cultural feedback — a reprocessing of that which the Maori has taken and assimilated from European artforms. Gordon Walters, Colin McCahon and Tony Fomison all recognise that New Zealand like Australia is a land with tangata-whenua (people of the land) and they seek to reflect something of the rich cultural diversity of this land. Instead of simply looking to Europe and America to keep up with paintings latest, these artists like McMillan recognise the wealth of cultural resources available on their own back doorstep.

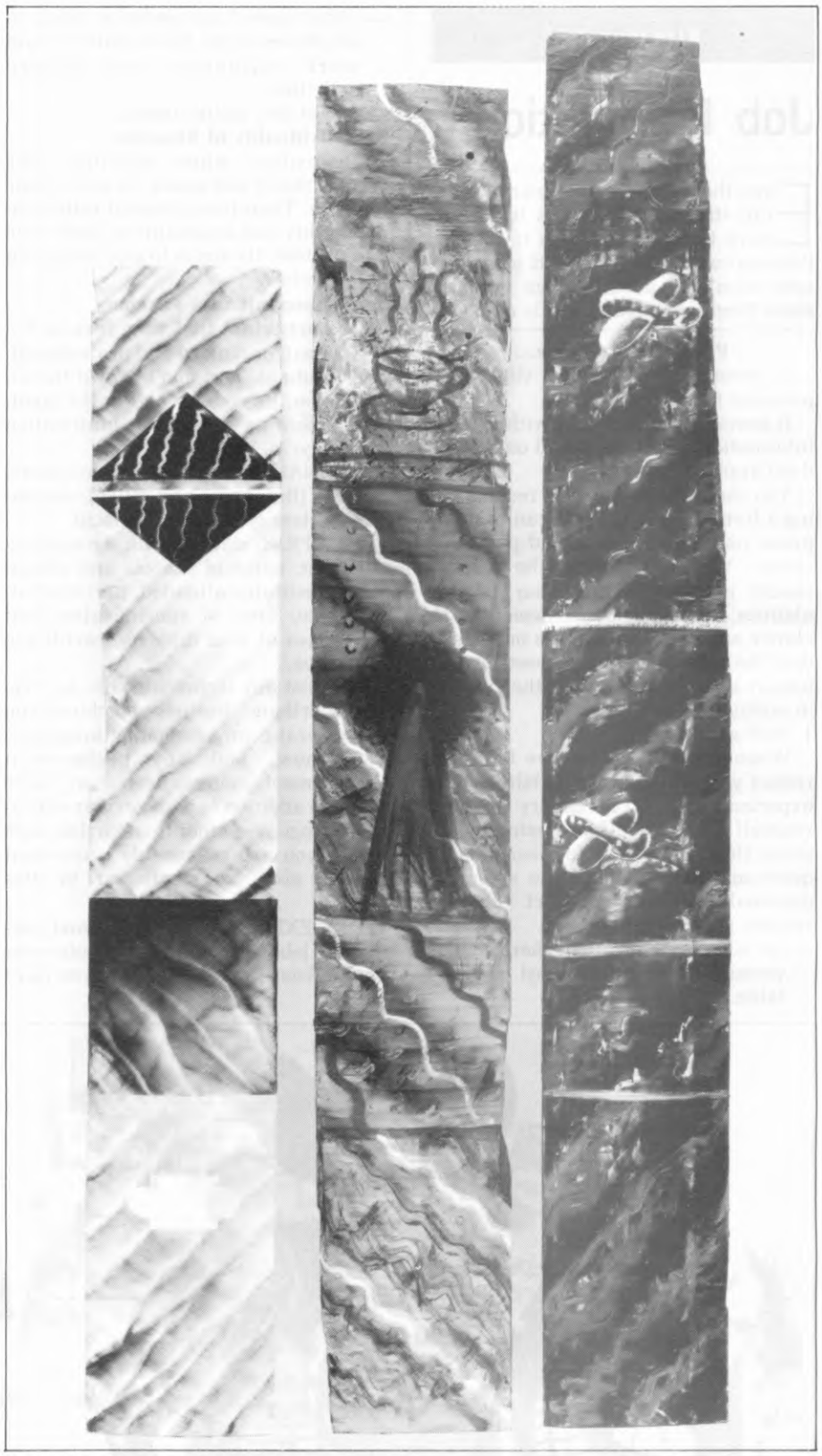
Ian McMillan

On not apologizing for being white

1981, and the Springbok Tour shattered forever the myth of New Zealand, the spotless racially integrated tolerant paradise. I was amazed at the depth of disconnection between imagination and reality in the minds of our people, and shocked by the confused battle lines which this dissociation produced, snaking across all racial and social boundaries.

Living in the Pacific, on Polynesian soil, in a transplanted European culture, where traditions have been strangled and societies disrupted beyond recognition, one may be prey to a strange sense of rootlessness and disadvantage, which sours people to their cores. Unless, however, one is able to keep alive a sense of a relationship to the past, and recognises the part one has played in relation to the past: we, the manuhiri have by sheer force of numbers dispossessed the tangata whenua of Aotearoa who once welcomed us to their land.

My present work is the result of a task undertaken in 1981 — to create an identity which would enable me to never have to apologize for being white. To do this I had to establish a connection, however tenuous, between what I did and the traditional art of the Maori.



'Painted Planks' by Ian McMillan.

Otherwise why be here at all?

After a study tour of the East Coast meeting houses and marae, I began to find a positive vein running through New Zealand history: co-operation and sharing of technology and culture, to balance the long depressing history of destruction and mutual disregard.

I found this in the 1880s meeting house, Rongopai, and in so-called 'folk art' where traditions and forms mix freely, far from the chilling eye of the critical aesthetic. It is to the coat-tails of this tradition of mixture and integration that I attach myself, and my work.

Currently, I'm continuing my researches into the Pacific, with a trip to the Cook Islands to look at the traditional and contemporary culture of the islanders, whose presence in Auckland has been a source of inspiration to many New Zealand artists.

We are all manuhiri — visitors to Aotearoa.

Ki te rangatahi

Job Preparation

Even though the school year is over, life still carries on. But it doesn't have to be as scary as it sounds. Preparation for the dreaded job interview won't go amiss. So go out and show them what you're really made of.

Preparing a resume...

A resume, or curriculum vitae, is a personal history of you.

It provides the employer with similar information that's requested on a standard application form.

You should organise your resume using a format and style that can best express your effectiveness and past successes. When completed, the resume should not only reveal your proven abilities, but it should also demonstrate clarity and organisation. It's important that the employer is impressed by the format and appearance of the resume in addition to its content.

1. Self-assessment

When you write a resume that will reflect your strengths, capabilities and experience, it is necessary to ask yourself several self assessing questions. Here are just a few samples of questions that can help you set up a personal inventory as part of your resume preparation.

— In what type of atmosphere or environment do I feel most comfortable.
— What have I succeeded in doing in all phases of my life to date — paid work, volunteer and leisure activities.
— What do I dislike doing.

2. Individuality of Resumes

Remember when writing your resume that it will speak for you in your absence. Therefore it should reflect individuality and originality in both sytle and content. Its aim is to guarantee you an interview.

3. Components of a Resume

It is important that your resume appears neat, organised and professional. Use headings, and don't crowd the information. Be concise and to the point. The following areas of information should be included:

PERSONAL: name, address, telephone number (flat, home and office), marital status, date of birth, citizenship.

EDUCATION: starting with the most recent, list: name of schools and educational institutes attended, period of attendance, area of specialisation and the names of your diploma, certificate or degree.

Also list any technical skills, eg. typing, shorthand, business machines you can operate, any computer languages you know, and any professional development courses you may have taken in addition to your regular education. Languages other than English with which you are reasonably conversant should also be mentioned in this section.

WORK EXPERIENCE: holiday and permanent jobs — note any particular responsibilities or achievements you have gained.

INTERESTS: you may wish to divide this section in to two parts. (a) Clubs/Societies — including positions of responsibility held and (b) Leisure activities. Your interests, especially leisure activities, round out the picture of you as a person. Employers are interested in applicants with a variety of interests. And remember, interests are not necessarily abilities, you don't have to be good at them.

PERSONAL ABILITIES/SKILLS: It would be unrealistic to assume that personal attributes are not taken into account when final selections are made. Communication skills (both verbal and written), the ability to relate well to a range of people, initiative, confidence, willingness to accept and try new and old ideas, can all be considered as personal skills.

REFEREES: Usually when asked to supply referees, one should supply a professional and a personal referee. They should be people that you have recently been involved with. Check with them first that they are willing for you to use their name. (Some employers prefer to approach a referee rather than rely on written references which tend to highlight only your positive points.)

Your resume can be photocopied and the copy sent to the employer. With every resume, send a covering letter. This must be original, handwritten or typed. Check spelling and grammar and keep a copy of the letter. Remember to date the letter. The content will vary according to whether you are responding to an advertisement or initiating an approach. Remember to keep it neat, organised and professional.

Ten year old Kawata Teepa had his dream answered when he was selected to represent Aotearoa at Disneyland's 30th anniversary.

Letters

Dear Sir,
Tena ra koe, e hoa.

A short while ago, I had a letter from an old and warm friend, Florence Harsant, of Hahei. I first met Florence more than ten years ago, after Alison Drummond sent me a MSS which contained an account of a journey Florence made to the north during the smallpox epidemic of 1913. Subsequently I recorded two "Spectrum" documentaries with her — "Te Wa O te Parekura", about the epidemic; and "Ko Oku Kainga Waewae", when we travelled to Waitahanui to re-live her girlhood days in the settlement. Subsequently I helped her to publish her recollections, and this was issued by Whitcoulls under the title "They Called Me Te Maari".

Florence's letter contained the enclosed account of an incident in 1916, which I have slightly edited.

Incidentally, Florence received the Q.S.M. from the Queen for her work during the 1913 smallpox epidemic — not sure of the year of her award... about three years ago, when the Queen was last here. Florence had her 94th birthday recently; she still carries on a voluminous correspondence in spite of failing eyesight, and still remembers the Maori she learnt as a girl at Waitahanui. A fine person, and a remarkable one.

Heoi ano,

Alwyn Owen,
Executive Producer
"Spectrum".

IT was in the summer of 1916. I was to visit a pa called Oruawharo on a branch of the Kaipara Harbour. At that time I was a field worker for the Women's Christian Temperance Union, organising branches of the movement among the Maori population. On this particular visit, a young man and his sister Ngaro were to accompany me.

We swam our horses across the wide river at full tide, and then rode across country to the pa about nine miles away. The customary warm hospitality greeted us, and after a meal and an informal discussion, we decided to hold a meeting that evening. The people here were almost all relatives of the Otamatea hapu, and staunch members of the W.C.T.U.

It was a beautiful summer's day, and some of the girls took me for a walk along the beach. It was bounded at one end by a high promontary, and on the rocks below this was a bed of the delicious rock oysters of the north. I had gone on ahead of the girls, who had messages to deliver, so I was alone when I reached the oyster bed. The temptation was irresistable, and I had opened and eaten several of the oysters before the girls caught up with me.

When they saw what I was doing, there was utter consternation. The oysters were tapu, I was told, and it was completely forbidden to touch them. Above us, the hilltop was scarped with the terraced remains of what must have been a formidable pa. This had become an urupa, where generations of the hapu had been buried. Because of this, anything that grew at the base of the cliff was tapu — and I had been eating oysters that in spirtual terms had been nourished by the bodies of their ancestors.

I was worried by the whole incident, because living in close contact with Maori people all my girlhood, I knew how serious it was to infringe tapu in any way. The girls, too, were subdued as we returned to the pa. However, nothing was said to the elders; I think we all hoped that as a pakeha, I might be forgiven this breach of tapu. And certainly we did not wish to upset the elders through my actions.

The meeting that night was held in a small iron building, and the heat was terrible; I felt faint, but carried on. Eventually, the discussion ended; a fire was lit outside, and we all sat around and were given mugs of tea and slices of rewena bread. In the meantime, the customary entertainment was being planned, and supper was followed by songs and speeches. However, I was steadily feeling more and more ill, until finally I had to ask leave to go to bed.

Ngaro and I were shown to a small house where our beds had been prepared and she very anxiously watched me.

Presently I felt myself becoming lightheaded, and called out to her. Like a flash she was at the door, telling the women about the oysters.

They immediately called the tohunga. The strange thing about it was a feeling of detachment, a complete disassociation, so that although I had no control over my body, my pakeha mind seemed to be watching from above, aware of the writhing body being firmly held by gentle hands, while at the foot of the bed stood the figure of the aged man. Several of the women were kneeling in prayer, while the tohunga in a loud voice was chanting karakia, commanding the spirit which had entered by body to leave.

Suddenly I called out a Maori man's name, and abruptly the convulsions ceased. The tohunga continued his karakia for a few more minutes, and then seeing me calm once more, asked me if I knew anyone of the name that I had called out. I did not. He then said that a man of that name had been buried in the urupa many years past, and that it was his spirit which had caused my illness. I thanked the tohunga for coming and at last two exhausted girls slept.

The women told me next day that the tohunga was emphatic that upon my calling out the dead man's name, his spirit came out of my body and left me in peace — but that had I been Maori I might well have died.

Do I hear sceptics say "A touch of food poisoning from the oysters" or "probably too much sun".

Well.... possibly.

But a friend of mine — a field librarian — recently visited Oruawharo with the Library Van. The people of the settlement, he tells me, know the pa site well. Below it, oysters still encrust the lip of a rock pool. It is the only oyster bed in the locality still intact, and it is still tapu, untouched by Maori or pakeha.

There are probably none alive to confirm this story. The elders I knew have long since journeyed to Reinga, and indeed many of the hapu made the same long journey during the tragic flu epidemic of 1918. But after nearly seventy years, the incident is still fresh in my mind, one of the memories that are the pleasure — and with it the pain — of age.

Manaakitanga Tourist Hui 1985

Dear Sir,

At the close of any hui one has to sit down and evaluate the net worth of the occasion and what it was the conference set out to achieve. Historically, this hui was the first Maori visitor industry conference dedicated to the Maori private sector. From this point of view the opportunity to meet with other industry sector people from the Maori and pakeha sectors was a success.

As one of the hui delegates I would like to pass comment on the three proposals that came out of the final plenary session.

The first proposal was submitted by the conference organiser, Howard Morrison, and called on the hui to:

"Approve the formation of a Maori Visitor Industry Federation to cater for the needs of the Maori private

sector individuals and organisations currently involved in tourism."

Such a trade association could encompass the following areas of responsibilities:

(1) Member services (financial, operations & promotion).
(2) Government and industry affairs.
(3) Training and standards.
(4) Client services and marketing.

In his proposal, Mr Morrison also mentioned the need for members to have access to a computerised information base and international reservations service to assist customers and sales.

From the delegate list it was refreshing to note that the trust boards, the newly formed Variety Artists Association as well as the Maori artists and writers consider themselves (rightly so), to be a part of the Maori visitor industry sector. Membership from these groups will provide a sophisticated industry contribution at present (possibly) not available anywhere else in the world, and be able to provide what is known as component parts to the special interest tour market to New Zealand.

The second proposal was presented by Dr Robert Mahuta on behalf of the Maori Economic Development Commission.

The MEDC proposed the formation of a task force led by Bishop Manu Bennett, Mr Burt Mackie and Mr Ted Butt and charged with:

— immediate formation of the association as proposed by Mr Morrison.
— exploring the need for a Maori Visitor Industry Board.
— to reconvene the conference in 12 months and report on:
  — A national Maori industry structure.
  — Avenues for possible pakeha tourist industry assistance.
  — Employment opportunities.
  — Training needs.
  — The development of the various product information and reservation systems.
  — A five year strategic plan which will provide the opportunity for Maori involvement in "coming events" (eg. the 1990 Commonwealth Games).

A feature of involvement by the Maori Economic Development Commission is to ensure that the wider issues of Maori development and self-determination are also included inside the development of this industry.

The third proposal called for a "fast track" facility to be included in the development plans.

Mr Morrison's proposal would mean that all of the people currently involved in private sector businesses would have a voice and access to all of the co-ordinated industry assistance.

The role of the task force would be to set up the trade association, explore the need for a board and place qualified Maori industry persons onto the appropriate policy and planning authorities (eg. the Government appointed Tourism Council).

Rotorua.

Dear Mr Whaanga

As a first generation pakeha New Zealander who is only just becoming aware of Maori issues, I am amazed at the glowing report on the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii, in issue 26 of *Tu Tangata*.

Though unable to visit the villages, when I visited the Centre with a friend for the first time this year, we both walked out in disgust before the "Evening Spectacular" was half-way through. I was expecting to be entertained and educated about the many polynesians at the Centre, but I was sickened at the slickness and Hollywood trappings of the show.

I understand and respect the philosophy of deliberately mixing the backgrounds at the University, and even in the concert presentation, though I would have preferred to see only Maoris performing their part of the show.

However, the audience viewed the haka and warriors' challenge as if they were comic acts, which made us deeply saddened about the attitudes that hundreds of thousands of international visitors may take home with them about the culture of our indigenous people.

I would be interested to hear if any other of your readers came away with the same reactions.

Yours sincerely,

Graham Edwards

Dear Friends,

The Dominion newspaper September 5th has a feature article on the ski fields at Mt Ruapehu.

In this article there is a declaration made that Heuheu Tukino IV offered this sacred mountain as a gift to ALL people of NZ, fearing European settlement he sought to have the land declared tapu. Then the article goes on to state that it should be used for more noise, money and rape.

Would it be possible for a Maori to reply to the article giving the idea of the sacred parts of the mountains and the meaning of tapu, as I feel that many of these materialists are not aware of their significance.

Another idea very strong in the mind — Could the Maori people "open up a little more" and create a sub-strata. I am sure there are quite a few Europeans who realise the spiritual value of Maori society, and the need for these to be continued in this land and would love to attend lectures on these subjects for after all it is one earth, and most of these values — such as land, sea and air are of universal knowledge that should be shared.

Kathleen A. Janes

ONE MAN'S RUBBISH IS ANOTHER MAN'S GOLD

Rummaging at rubbish dumps has long been a country-wide problem. The obvious health hazards, and the array of signs, don't seem to make a difference. Even owners of late model cars don't appear immune to that "lucky" find.

With more people out of work and a lot of time on their hands, what better than scratching around the local 'tip' after those 'choice' articles. It seems to appeal to one's nosey nature, or simply getting things free.

Interestingly some people will go to great lengths to be in 'first'. Up our way they will travel great distances — trailer in tow; and others are known to arrive at dawn. My neighbour is often waiting at the gate. Dusk appears to be the preferred time being at the end of the industrial working day.

While many roll out of bed Saturday morning to netball, footie or golf, some head off to the 'local'.

Waipu has a very good reputation but Whangarei Central is considered thrashed.

So next time you're at the tip, don't let that Commodore car fool you — look at how he's eyeing up your load of rubbish.

This article was prompted by an experience the other day — having opened my car boot to dump the household garbage I was assailed by someone who got to it before I did!

Nursing student

In Maori nursing circles, Robert Taylor is a trailblazer.

He's the only Maori male student nurse in this year's intake at Manakau Technical Institute in Auckland. Just, five of the 96 students are men.

At the first hui of the National Council of Maori Nurses in Rotorua on April 19-21, Robert was the only delegate from Manakau Technical Institute.

He is also at 19 years the youngest member and the only student representative on the N.C.M.N. executive.

"It'll be my job to represent Maori student nurses if they have any problems," Robert said.

He hopes to have a hui for nurse trainees in the Auckland region before the next executive meeting.

Robert says he chose nursing as he has a great desire to help people and there aren't enough Maori nurses.

When he joined the National Council of Maori Nurses he saw it as a chance to get help from his own people who understand nursing and its training.

Robert is Tuhoe, and his sustaining philosophy is: "What you put into anything — is what you get out of it."

Northland study

A change in government regulation on the fishing industry has big implications for Maori communities in Northland.

A new quota system for catching fish has been announced by the government and is designed to allocate the right to harvest specific resources within New Zealand fisheries waters to individuals or companies.

This means the quotas are allocated forever and can be bought and sold as an asset. Northland has been chosen as a region in which to study the effect of the new regulations, and the 23 thousand dollars is to be completed by 15 November 1985.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries feels the new quota scheme will reduce the fishing effort in Northland and so have a big effect on the high percentage of Maori communities reliant on fishing incomes.

The Ministry is currently studying the economic and cultural implications of the new quota scheme and wants to identify the communities dependent on fishing. It's hoped the study will find out about the fishing operations and methods and fish processing associated with these communities.

Te ringawera

Aunty Huia

Marvellous Mussels

Mussels used to be the poor little sister, an ugly sister at that, to oysters and scallops. No longer.

There's been a revolution in mussel quality and, consequently, in mussels as a gourmet food.

Thanks to commercial farming, young and tender cultivated mussels are readily available.

Picking your own mussels from the rocks at low tide is an old New Zealand pastime; there's nothing like the flavour of seafood straight from the sea. But these blue-shell mussels (the Mytilus genus) have to be eaten fresh. Too often they have turned up days later in a bath of heavy malt vinegar, big and tough, sharp and chewy.

The cultivated mussels are another species, the green-lipped mussel (Perna canaliculus), the same that is attracting worldwide attention for its medically important by-product. These are harvested when only 14 or 15 months old and 60 to 70mm long. Unlike mussel-lovers in such mussel-loving countries as Belgium and France, New Zealanders don't like them any smaller. At this size they are still sweet and tender.

In the comparatively unpolluted waters of the Marlborough Sounds, the cultivated mussels are grown on vertical ropes. When ready for harvesting, the ropes are run through a ring that gently tears off the mussels. They are then washed, steamed open, beards and shells removed and within 48 hours are potted up ready for sale.

The marinated mussels now available are packed in a light acidic solution that allows them to be kept under refrigeration for up to 12 weeks without spoiling. They can be eaten as they are (great with drinks), served in their marinade as a salad or they can be rinsed for use in a variety of ways. The marinade leaves a slightly sharp flavour so bear this in mind when using them in recipes that require fresh mussels.

Whether fresh or marinated, mussels suit simple dishes. Elaborate recipes are unnecessary; excess heat toughens the flesh. An essential part of paella, mussels add interest to all fish soups and stews. They can be fried in a light batter or minched for fritters. And, darn it, children (of all ages) will eat them straight from the fridge as though they were cookies.

As well as being more-ish, they're very nutritious. High in protein, they also contain considerable quantities of calcium, phosphorous and iron. Through their complex feeding process they have the ability to absorb and pass on many beneficial nutrients from the sea.

What's more, they are extremely low in carbohydrate and pack only about 10 calories per mussel.

Mussels are lazy feeders. They like to nestle where there is great water movement to bring large quantities of food (in the form of phylo-planton) to them. They're ideal for lazy chefs, too, since once shelled they are ready for use, need little cooking and there's no wastage. Bring on the mussels.

Pasta with Roman Sauce

1kg mussels in shell or 300g shelled mussels
2-3 cloves garlice, minced
1 large onion, chopped
2 tablespoons olive oil
750g tomatoes, skinned and chopped, or 450g tin whole tomatoes
300g ribbon noodles
Fresh parsley, chopped
Salt and pepper

Clean shellfish, open them in a little water over high heat, remove from shells. Cook pasta in plenty of boiling salted water until tender but not soft, about 7 minutes. Turn into a buttered ovenproof dish and keep warm.

In a medium-sized saucepan heat olive oil, add garlic and onion and saute gently for a few minutes till golden. Add tomatoes and allow liquid to reduce a little. When sauce looks thick, add mussels, chopped into 2 or 3 if large. Pour sauce over cooked pasta, sprinkle generously with chopped parsley and serve.

Serves 4.

Mussel Chowder

2 rashers bacon
2 medium potatoes, cubed
2 carrots, chopped
2 onions, chopped
2 tablespoons butter
2 tablepoons flour
300ml milk
400g prepared mussels
Salt and pepper
Chopped parsley

Chop the bacon and fry lightly in a large pot. Add chopped potatoes, carrots and onions, stir well with bacon and then cover with water (about 2 cups). Salt to taste and simmer gently until tender.

In another pot, melt butter, stir in flour and cook about 2 minutes. Stir the milk in slowly, season with salt and pepper. Add the chopped mussels, simmer for a few minutes.

When vegetables are ready, slowly combine the pot of vegetables with the fish sauce, thining the sauce with the cooking liquid. Check seasoning, bring all back to the boil. Serve in large bowls, garnish with chopped parsley. Serves 6.

Moules A La Mariniere

The classic mussel dish.

2 litres small mussels in their shells
225ml white wine
1 large onion, chopped
Bunch of parsley, chopped
Pepper, freshly ground
50g butter

Clean mussels and rinse thoroughly under running water. Put them into a deep frying pan with the wine, onion, parsley and pepper, cover and cook over good heat until they open, about 6 minutes. Remove from heat, take out mussels and debeard them but keep in shells. Put into warmed soup bowls, strain liquid in which they were cooked and reheat. Add the butter, and a little chopped parsley, pour over the mussels. Serve immediately, with a large table napkin, a fork and a soup spoon for each guest and a bowl for the empty shells. Serves 4-6.

Mussel Kebabs

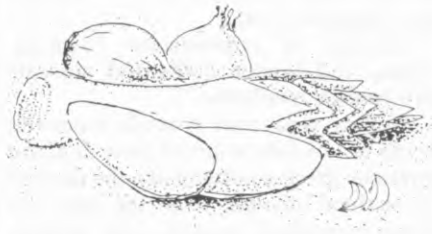
500g prepared mussels
Salt, pepper, fresh thyme
Juice of a lemon
125g lean bacon
1 green pepper
1 onion
5 tablespoons barbecue sauce

Cut the green pepper and bacon into chunks and the onion into eighths. Arrange mussels sprinkled with seasonings, green pepper, bacon and onion pieces on to skewers, brush with barbecue sauce and place under the grill for 3 minutes, turn and allow other side to grill for 1-2 minutes. Enough for 4.

Mussel Salad Bowl

1 buttercrunch or tom thumb lettuce
1 clove garlic
500 g marinated mussels
1 cup chopped celery
4 spring onions, chopped
2 tomatoes, sliced
2 tablespoons black olives
1 cup mayonnaise
2 tablespoons lemon juice
Few sprigs of dill

Rub garlic clove generously round salad bowl. Prepare lettuce, break into large pieces and line bowl. Toss together drained mussels, celery and spring onions. Mix mayonnaise and lemon juice together and turn the mussel mixture in this. Tip into salad bowl and strew tomatoes, black olives and chopped dill across the top. Serve with crisp French bread, a good lunch dish for 4.



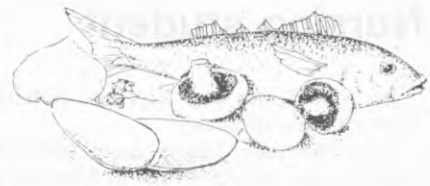
Mussels St George

40 medium-sized mussels
100g butter
1 onion, chopped
3 cloves garlic, crushed
2 small leeks, chopped
1 bay leaf
200ml dry white wine
30g flour
120ml cream
2 egg yolks
Salt and pepper

First find your mussels, preferably at a West Coast beach or else whole mussels from a good fish shop. Debeard them and scrub shells clean.

In a deep pot melt 60g of the butter and gently saute onion and garlic for a minute or so. Add leeks and bay leaf, then continue to saute for 2 more minutes. Add the mussels, salt and pepper to taste and pour over the wine. Cover the pot and simmer gently for 10-15 minutes until mussel shell starts to open. As each opens transfer to a serving dish, remove the top half of the shell, leaving the mussel sitting in the lower shell.

When all the mussels have opened, strain the liquid in the pot into a small saucepan, bring to boil. Cream the remaining butter and flour together, use to thicken liquid to make a sauce. When sauce is smooth, remove pan from heat and add cream and lightly beaten egg yolks. Reheat sauce, pour over mussels, decorate with parsley, serve immediately. Serves 4.



Ragout of Shellfish

500g mussels
500g terakihi or other white fish
100g scallops
100g cooked king prawns in shell (about 6-8)
125g mushrooms, sliced
1 onion, sliced
3 cloves garlic, crushed
25g butter
1 tablespoon tomato puree
Salt and pepper
Fresh herbs (basil, parsley, chervil)
1 desertspoon sugar
1 tablespoon flour
1 glass white wine
Chopped parsley

Melt butter in a deep heavy pan and saute sliced onion and garlic. When golden, add tomato puree, salt, pepper, sugar and chopped herbs. Mix together, then stir in flour and allow to cook for 2 minutes over low heat. Pour in the wine and cook for 5 minutes, adding more wine or water if necessary to obtain a smooth sauce.

Cut terakihi into large cubes and add with mushrooms to the sauce. Stir occasionally over heat until fish and mushrooms are cooked (about 5 minutes), then add mussels and scallops sliced into 2 or 3 pieces. Just before serving add the prawns and allow to heat through. Turn into a tureen or deep dish, sprinkle with chopped parsley, serve on rice. Enough for 6 as an entree.

Mussels Au Gratin

250g mussels, with shells
1 cup water
½ cup dry white wine
125g browned breadcrumbs
½ cup finely grated Parmesan cheese
Chopped parsley

Small mussels are best for this dish.

If mussels are still in their shells, clean them and put into pan with the water and wine, bring to boil and leave until they open. Remove from heat, drain of the liquor and reserve. Remove the beards.

Arrange mussels in their shells in a heatproof dish. If ready-prepared mussels are used, heat the water and wine together. Cover the mussels with breadcrumbs, sprinkle generously with Parmeasan cheese. Pour enough warmed liquor to cover the bottom of the dish but not swamp the mussel shells. Bake in a moderate oven for 10-15 minutes until cheese in melted. Sprinkle with parsley. Serves 4 as an entree.

Bare feet are alright because it's more healthy.

Our tipuna surely knew that, but it appears pakeha experts are only just coming to that conclusion.

In this issue's health look, feet come in for some eyeballing.

We may take our feet for a ride sometimes, but we should also give them a break.

Working out on a telephone book may seem strange, as suggested in this article. Perhaps the Maori exercise could be feeling for pipi in the sand with your toes.

Feet are forgotten — till they give trouble

by Michael Romanos

Throw away those shoes whenever you can — barefoot is beautiful and necessary for the sake of healthy and sound feet. Afterall, it is feet first when it comes to walking and playing sport. Feet are the foundation of good walking, running and movement.

Without a sturdy foundation, a structure is basically worthless but most people at all levels, do little or nothing to strengthen our foundation: the feet. We might supplement walking and running with weight-training and other exercises but to devote specific time to our feet. No way.

The crux of the problem is that weak foot muscles are common simply because they are not exercised enough. Walking and normal activity do strengthen the 40-odd foot muscles but not sufficient enough for the competitor.

American podiatrist (tohunga) John Pagliano said the muscles of the leg interact with the muscles within the foot to cause the feet to function. The muscles are the activating units that are attached to the bones by tendons, and to get the foot to move, the muscles have to contract.

If the muscles are weak, they will not move the foot into the position they are supposed to and as a result the foot will "flop" around (instead of being pointed straight ahead) or if the muscles are not in proper balance, one will overpower the other causing overpronation.

Dr Gabriel Vorobiev, the Russian athletics team physician has always advocated strength training for the feet. He says a functionally weak or poorly trained foot is the cause of more than 50 per cent of all injuries in track and field. He said a weak foot hinders development of speed skills and makes it impossible for people to completely utilise their capabilities.

Wellington podiatrist, Alison Childs said a lot of New Zealanders are not aware that feet can receive proper treatment and how much can really be done by a podiatrist other than cut toenails.

"We can assess how people who have some sort of pain in their foot are walking or running and then we can treat them with such aids as orthotics (special foot supports) which are specially made to suit the individual and their needs to try and balance out the problem," said Miss Childs.

"In some cases, knee and back problems are caused through a foot problem like incorrect alignment of the heel, toes, forefoot and ankles. Most of the foot problems are aggravated by the shoes people wear — narrow pointed shoes, built-up shoes and very high heels are not for every day wear. People should wear proper footwear to accommodate toes comfortably.

"The worse thing a person can do is to ignore pain that reoccurs more than two weeks."

Miss Childs said very few Maori and polynesian people attend her clinic.

"It could be they don't take advantage of podiatrists but they generally have wider feet than the pakeha which could present problems for obtaining suitable shoes.

"Often the foot gets cramped in a shoe. It is a very natural and recommended thing to give the foot the freedom to function by going barefoot.

"In todays' society it is difficult not to wear shoes because of concrete pavements and the risk of picking up an infection, but I recommend that people go barefoot more often where appropriate like in their homes, in the country areas and particularly on beaches. The sand is good for muscle toning and acts as an abrasivè."

Miss Childs said 10 per cent of all Maori people suffer from a congenital foot deformity such as club-foot and pes chavis (high arched foot).

"If these things are not picked up and treated at birth the only suitable treatment in latter years are special soles for shoes, modified shoes and regular treatment for calouses and corns."

Strong foot muscles mean less vulnerability to injuries and will allow people to walk and run faster and further. A splayed or floppy foot is a wasted motion with every step.

The trouble is foot exercises are pretty boring and the effects of exercising and strengthening are not immediately apparent.

One of the primary reasons feet are weak is the shoes we wear. Generally they are like repressive casts and tend to weaken our feet.

Pagliano says the great African athletes have all strong foot muscles. He said this is because they grew up barefooted and their toes are constantly grabbing the ground which consequently gave them great toe action and developed foot strength and excellent running efficiency.

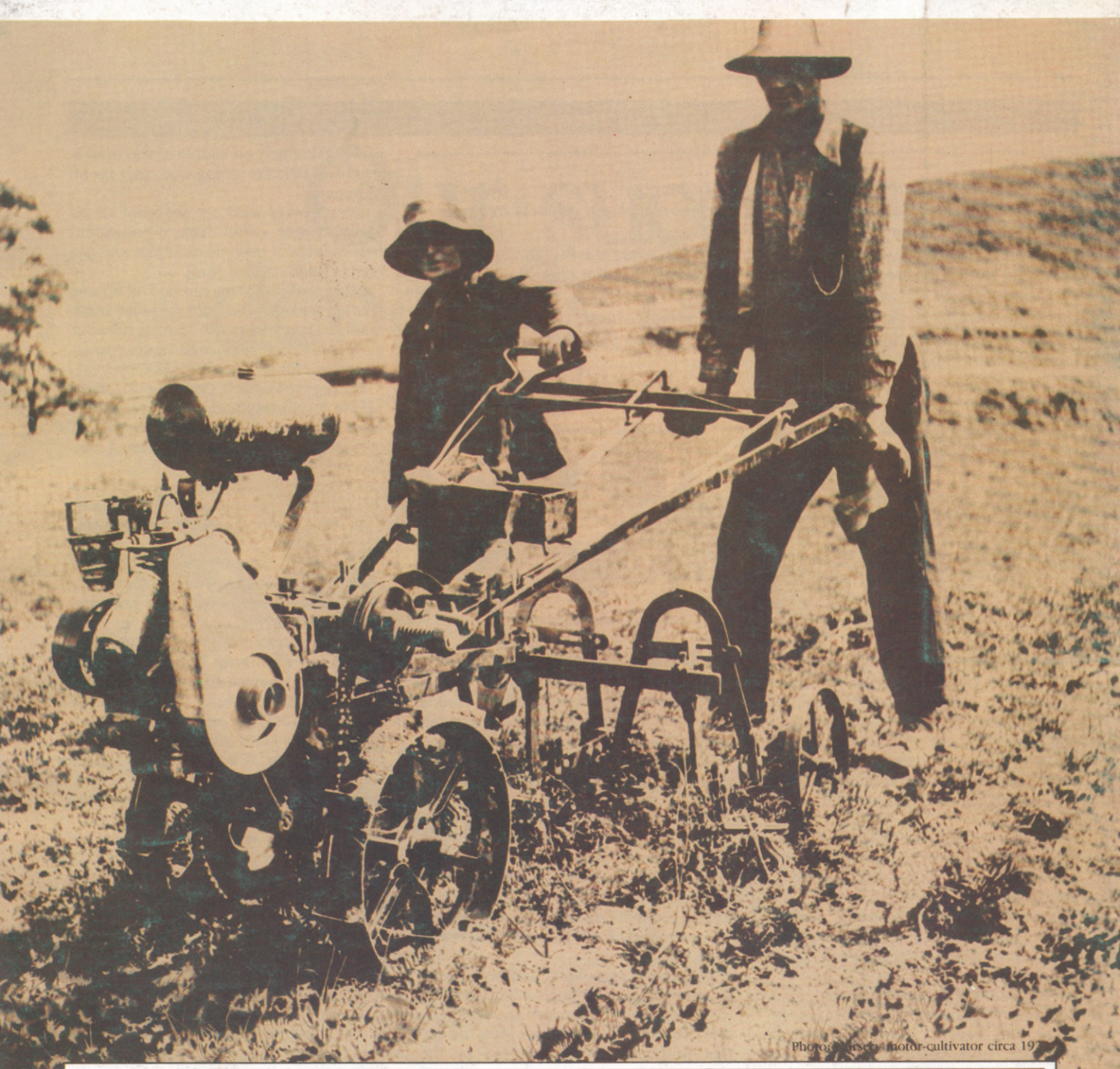
Barefooted, daily foot exercises (which can be built up gradually) are:

1. Sit with back straight in chair, feet extended, turn feet inwards and hold 3 seconds. Turn feet out (hold 3 seconds). Repeat the two motions 20 times.
2. Pick up marbles with toes.
3. Stand on a thick telephone book and curl toes over book. Keeping fleet flat, raise toes for 3 seconds.
4. Standing on telephone book turn feet inwards. Hold for 10 seconds.
5. Standing on telephone book, place toes together, hold, raise heels and hold.
6. Stand on edge of telephone book with each foot hanging over a side. Hold for 30 seconds. Repeat 5 times.
7. Stand on a one-inch book with heels touching floor. Rise on toes and hold. Repeat 10 times.
8. While seated, pull a weighted towel with toes.
9. While seated, grasp towel with toes and bring feet inwards.

These exercises serve three major purposes: Ankle flexibility, strengthening the muscles which support the arch and building strength in the forefoot region.

But equally important is good walking and running. Point the foot straight ahead and the greatest motion should be carried out by the forefoot. The leg should swing forward on the ball of the foot and the weight carried by the toes.

Everyone convinced of improving foot fatigue and other benefits should try the exercises mentioned. For sure, you will be better off in the long-run.



Photograph: Forestry motor-cultivator circa 19

OUR FUTURE LAY IN THIS BARREN SOIL

We saw it back in the 1920's. New Zealand's future lay in trees. Radiata pine trees. Planted in the barren, pumice regions of New Zealand that would bear little else.

It was a belief that developed into forests that today grow twice as fast as in their native land. And are, we're proud to say, one of this country's most thriving industries.

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