

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**Maori and the Anti-Apartheid Movement:
Generating a Space to Oppose Domestic Racism
1959 - 1985**

LIN JOHNSON

2007

Maori and the Anti-Apartheid Movement:

Generating a Space to Oppose Domestic Racism
1959 -1985

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University

Lin Johnson

2007

Acknowledgements

Ehara taku toa i te toa taki tahi engari taki mano.

My strength lies not in my right hand but in those who stand around me.

This thesis owes its existence to the many people who stand around me. My thanks must go in the first instance to my supervisor, Kerry Taylor. Throughout the duration of this thesis he has provided exceptionally strong support and constant encouragement. The times spent discussing various issues in person, by telephone and email were numerous and he has been very patient and generous with his time. Above all I value his constructive criticism. Also appreciated has been the willingness of Lachy Paterson to discuss various issues and introduce new perspectives.

I owe a great debt to those whom I interviewed either in person or by email. For me this was the most interesting, rewarding and enjoyable part of the thesis. I would not have been able to write it in the way I wished without their willingness to share their experiences and critical insights. I thank each person for their contribution and for being a part of this thesis.

Thanks are due to the staff at the New Zealand Collection at Waikato University who allowed me to take over a substantial part of their working space for some considerable time and sort through innumerable boxes of material. The staff at the Special Collections at Auckland City Libraries, the Alexander Turnbull Library and University of Auckland Special Collections room must all be thanked for their marathon photocopying efforts. The staff at the Distance Library at Massey University have been brilliant and I cannot thank them enough for their assistance in locating articles and emailing information promptly.

My friends have kept me in the 'real world'. Sue Jones, Margaret Fairhurst, Susan Hallam, and Lorraine Percival in particular have always made time for me, provided coffee and been willing to listen when I have been in danger of unraveling. They became telephone friends as completion date loomed. I value the contact with 'email friends' Ros Howell and Pauline Knuckey who were also undergoing the same experience and understood the pressures involved. As I have only a superficial grasp of te reo, I thank Tania Taitoko for translating for me. To Sue Waddell, thank you for reading a second draft and introducing me to the finer points of punctuation. Thanks to my children, Shannon, Amber and Glen, who gathered 'overlooked' sources at short notice, offered encouragement and regularly checked up on how I was progressing.

I acknowledge and am grateful to Massey University for the support I have received through two scholarships – the Massey Masterate scholarship and the Sir Robert Jones Postgraduate scholarship in History. Both scholarships have made it possible for me to spend many extended 'research' periods away from home, and to carry out more extensive research than was initially envisaged.

The final acknowledgement must go to my husband Mike. Without his absolute support and encouragement this thesis would not have been written. During the times when it would have been so easy to walk away from it all, he made it possible for me to continue. I can only show my thanks by dedicating this thesis to Mike.

Contents

Title page		i.
Acknowledgements		ii.
Contents		iii.
Illustrations and Tables		iv.
List of Abbreviations		v.
Glossary		vii.
Introduction:	Creating Political Space through Apartheid Sport.	1
Chapter One	1960 'No Maoris No Tour' Protest.	14
Chapter Two	1970 All Black Tour of South Africa.	50
Chapter Three	1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand.	84
Chapter Four	1981-1985, Pakeha Attending to Domestic Racism.	128
Conclusion		165
Bibliography		170

Illustrations and Tables

Introduction	‘Come Out From Behind The Myths’.	1
Figure 1.1	‘A “hospital pass” from the only Maori in Cabinet’.	26
Figure 2.1	‘Dennis Brutus being welcomed to New Zealand by Syd Jackson’.	62
Figure 3.1	‘Gisborne, Day of Shame, 22 July 1981’.	115
Figure 4.1	‘Waitangi Day protest, Wellington 1986’.	138
Figure 4.2	‘Great Moments in NZ History’.	143
Figure 4.3	‘Waitangi Day protest, Wellington 1986’.	145
Figure 4.4	‘Racist, Non-Racist, Anti-Racist’.	153
Figure 4.5	Synergy Applied Research Project - ‘Survey of Pakeha Attitudes to the Treaty of Waitangi, November 1986.’	161

List of abbreviations

ACORD	Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination
ACL	Auckland City Libraries
ADMC	Auckland District Maori Council
ANC	African National Congress
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AUSA	Auckland University Students' Association
CABTA	Citizens' All Black Tour Association
CARE	Citizens' Association for Racial Equality
COST	Citizens Opposed to the Springbok Tour
HART	Halt All Racist Tours
MOOHR	Maori Organisation On Human Rights
MOST	Mobilisation to Stop the Tour
MWWL	Maori Women's Welfare League
NCC	National Council of Churches
NPR	New Perspectives on Race
NZMC	New Zealand Maori Council
NZRFU	New Zealand Rugby Football Union
NZRRC	New Zealand Race Relations Council
NZSCM	New Zealand Student Christian Movement
NZSS	New Zealand Security Service
NZUSA	New Zealand University Students' Association
POW	People Opposed to Waitangi
SAL	Socialist Action League
SAN-ROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee

SARB	South African Rugby Board
SASA	South African Sports Association
SUP	Socialist Unity Party
UAL	University of Auckland Library
UWL	University of Waikato Library
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington
WAA	Waitangi Action Alliance
WAC	Waitangi Action Committee
WCL	Workers Communist League

Glossary

ake, ake, ake	forever and ever
iwi	tribe, people
kaumatua	elders
kaupapa	proposal, plan, theme
ka whawhai tonu matou	we continue to fight
Kingitanga	the King movement
mana	authority, prestige, power, charisma
mana motuhake	autonomy, independence
Maoritanga	Maori culture
marae	meeting area of whanau or iwi, focal point of settlement, ceremonial courtyard
maranga mai	rise up
take	cause, reason, issue, topic
tane	male
tangata whenua	local people, people of the land
te reo	the language, the Maori language
tikanga	custom, rules
tino rangatiratanga	absolute sovereignty, Maori control of all things Maori
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauki	proverb
whanau	family, extended family