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# **Maori Activism Across Borders, 1950-1980s**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

At Massey University (Manawatu Campus)

New Zealand

2015

#### **Abstract**

This thesis examines Maori activism across borders and is structured around two key themes, the creation, use and control of space, and New Zealand's race relations reputation. It is set against a backdrop of global currents, events and ideologies which entered New Zealand and stimulated Maori activism. The overarching argument in this thesis is that Maori activists progressively created a space for themselves internationally in a variety of venues, to have their claims, grievances and realities accepted. To do so they had to subvert and challenge the discourse which confined and defined them as a privileged indigenous people who lived in a position of equality with Pakeha in a country reputed to have the best race relations in the world. I argue that the 'privilege' discourse shaped the form which their activism took and how, in the process of successfully contesting that discourse, they created a space for Maori in an emerging indigenous people's activist network.

A key purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the importance of New Zealand's good race relations reputation as a determinant of both government policy and Maori actions. I demonstrate the lengths that the New Zealand government went to in order to maintain an image of 'one people'. Threading through the thesis are the actions of the government in restricting or mediating space in order to stifle any oppositional discourse and present a positive image of race relations. Alongside this is the agency and actions of Maori and the ways in which they subverted the dominant race relations discourse and created space for an oppositional narrative, first in New Zealand and then internationally. While Maori agency played a major role in this process, they were also the beneficiaries of a global shift which prioritised the elimination of racial discrimination, the liberation of colonised peoples, and saw a growing recognition of the oppression of indigenous people and the abrogation of their rights. All played a role in opening up a space for Maori activists to use and take their claims into international forums including the United Nations, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and the Russell Tribunal.

This thesis demonstrates the centrality of racial discrimination in opening up New Zealand to international scrutiny, and national discussion. Through an examination of three key events in the late 1950s and early 1960s I argue that this raised a political

awareness and politicised many Maori which was reflected in a less accommodating attitude, growing unrest and discontent. Race relations shifted to a central position in New Zealand. Discontent was exacerbated by proposals designed to accelerate integration and bring to a satisfactory close the 'one people' imperative. It played a part in the emergence of radical Maori activism. Internationally, the opposite occurred and for much of the 1960s New Zealand's reputation was enhanced. From this contact was made with indigenous people who came into New Zealand to study race relations and New Zealand's integration policies. With this came identification between Maori and indigenous peoples, understandings of similar historical and contemporary experiences, and a similar world-view. At the same time Maori began moving out across borders and making contact with indigenous people and communities. It was a soft activism and it can be seen as the first stage of awareness of each other and their place within an indigenous world.

Finally, this thesis demonstrates the movement of radical Maori activists into a variety of international spaces and venues. It sheds light on how they used international spaces, the geographic extent of their activism, and the shift from mainly single issue events into an emerging independence movement across the Pacific. Thus they became part of a large network of indigenous activists who came together at conferences, and provide support and solidarity at protest actions. Moderate Maori activists moved along a different route which took them into the first transnational pan-indigenous organisation with a global perspective, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. Collectively, as a result of these actions, Maori activists created a variety of spaces in New Zealand and internationally where they gained recognition for their grievances. Moreover they played a significant role in creating and sustaining organisations which advocated on behalf of indigenous peoples.

### **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.

First I thank my supervisors, Kerry Taylor and Geoff Watson for their support and constructive criticism throughout the process. Moreover, despite my many crises of confidence they were always encouraging, believed that it was a topic well worth doing, and had faith that it was achievable. Without doubt I caused major frustration, but they hid it well.

I owe much to those who agreed to be interviewed either in person or by email. For me the interviews and contact with people were the most enjoyable and interesting part of the thesis process. Some became friends. I thank them and am grateful for their willingness to spend time discussing issues, explaining and sharing their knowledge and experiences. I hope that this thesis is worthy of their time, knowledge and support that they all so generously gave me.

Thanks are due to the staff at the many archives and libraries I visited in New Zealand, Australia and Canada. Staff at the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington) were especially accommodating, and often helped facilitate my access to restricted records which were proving difficult to obtain. At times they went an 'extra mile' and rushed through information, photocopies of articles and photos by email at very short notice. My research in Australia was an excellent experience and the staff at National Archives Australia, National Library of Australia, AIATSIS, and the National Film and Sound Archives were all superb. I am especially indebted to the many times they facilitated access to records at short notice (including restricted records), and suggested records and publications which could be of use. All the archives in Australia were a pleasure to use and staff went out of their way to assist on many occasions. The New York Central Library staff were also helpful in pointing me to indigenous publications, newspapers and magazines which would likely be useful. A special thanks must go to the staff at Library and Archives Canada who were aware of my time constraints and rushed through restricted material which could only be ordered in person and not in advance. They were extraordinarily helpful and patient.

Thank you to Viv Cook for proof-reading. At times chapters were sent at short notice and I needed them back quickly. She was truly excellent and always obliged. Thanks go to Tania Taitoko (Maniapoto) who over many years has given much advice and help. She has always been willing to explain and assist when necessary. Had Tania been in my life at an earlier age I have no doubt that I would possess much more than fragments of te reo.

I owe much to friends and family who have kept me in the real world and supported when things threatened to unravel. They had to listen to a mixture of rants, self-doubt, and enthusiastic renditions about particular issues which, to me, were riveting and of supreme interest but which possibly held little interest for them. Being away from university environs, and with no contact with others doing theses, was a solitary experience. Although my supervisors were available whenever needed, there were no opportunities to bounce ideas off others, have discussions and clarify ideas with other students. So I thank my family and friends, who listened, plied me with black coffee and support, made me laugh, and kept me fairly well grounded. I am also grateful to those friends who never let me hibernate for too long and made sure via phone calls, or 'just popping in to check', that I never became totally consumed by the thesis. I reserve a special acknowledgement to Whetu who started off as an interviewee. Over time a friendship developed. She was generous with her time, was always encouraging, made incisive comments and gave good advice. We planned to meet, but it was not to be. I went to Tania and explained what I needed to do and wanted to say but I had no words with which to say it. Tania understood immediately.

He maimai aroha

E te rangatira, tōku hoa pūmau, e kore e warewaretia Kua riro rā koe ki Paerau, ki te huinga o te kahurangi, ki tua o te ārai Ki te okiokinga i o tuupuna, haere atu rā, oti atu.

I acknowledge and am grateful for the Top Achiever Doctoral Scholarship which enabled me to do much more extensive research in New Zealand and abroad than was originally envisaged. Moreover it allowed me, for a time, to focus on the thesis and not have to cope with work distractions and pressures.

The thesis journey has been marked by highs and lows. Some excellent times have been had and I have met some truly wonderful and amazing people along the way. At times it came to a grinding halt only to be resumed when crises were resolved. Through it all was Mike. He will know precisely why this thesis is dedicated to him.

Lin Johnson October 2015

## Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgeme	entsiii
Contents	vi
List of Illustration	onsvii
List of Abbrevia	tionsix
Glossary	Xi
Introduction	
Chapter One	Maori Women's Welfare League and Pan-Pacific Women's Association, 1950s: A Site for Active Intervention, Creating Indigenous Space
Chapter Two	New Zealand and the 'Wind of Change' Opening up Race Relations: Domestic Discussion and International Scrutiny
Chapter Three	Generating Space across Borders: Contact, Community, Mediated Realities and Maori Privilege 1965-1970
Chapter Four	Radical Activism Across Borders, 1968-1982: Generating Space, Contesting Maori privilege196
Chapter Five	Intersecting Imperatives Maori, United Nations, and the Government, 1960-1973 Making Space at Home, Making Space at the United Nations 308
Chapter Six	A Place in the Fourth World: World Council of Indigenous Peoples
Conclusion	434
Bibliography	443

# **List of Illustrations**

Figure 1.1	Pan-Pacific Women's Association Conference, Manila, 1955.
Figure 1.2	'Opening Lunch', International Conference PPSEAWA, Manila, 1955.
Figure 2.1	'No Maoris No Tour' protest, Meyers Park, Auckland, 1960.
Figure 2.2	Frank Haig, Doc Paewai and Arapeta Awatere lead a protest march.in Auckland.
Figure 2.3	"This hurts me more than it hurts you!"
Figure 2.4	'The Winds of Change in Maoridom'.
Figure 2.5	Brownie Puriri speaking on the Voice of America.
Figure 3.1	'Chief Kelly Welcomed in Maori fashion'.
Figure 3.2	Honor Goldsmith, Mana Rangi and Hine Potaka at award ceremony for their work with AFEC.
Figure 3.3	Matiu Rata with striking Aboriginal stockmen.
Figure 3.4	Raymond Kane (Apache) with pupils at Te Reinga School.
Figure 4.1	Nga Tamatoa on the steps of Parliament.
Figure 4.2	'Polynesians Against the War', 1972.
Figure 4.3	'New Zealand Supports Aboriginal Rights', Australian Tent Embassy, Canberra.

Figure 4.4	Gary Foley and Gary Williams on the steps of Parliament following the Land March.
Figure 4.5	Maori and Polynesian Panther representatives visit to China, 1973.
Figure 4.6	Demonstration, New Zealand House, London, 9 June 1977.
Figure 4.7	Prime Minister Muldoon being met by demonstrators on his arrival at New Zealand House.
Figure 4.8	Colin Clark, Russell Tribunal, Rotterdam, 1980.
Figure 4.9	'Maori welcome for First Nations visitor'.
Figure 5.1	New Zealand Outlaws Racial Discrimination
Figure 6.1	Prime Minister Trudeau at Waiwhetu marae.
Figure 6.2	International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, Port Alberni, 1975.
Figure 6.3	Third General Assembly, World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Canberra, 1981.
Figure 6.4	Aboriginal Land Rights Protest, Canberra, 1981.

### **List of Abbreviations**

AAL Aborigines Advancement League

ACL Auckland City Library

ACORD Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination

ADMC Auckland District Maori Council

AIM American Indian Movement

ASIO Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation

ATL Alexander Turnbull Library

ATOM Against Testing on Moruroa

CABTA Citizens' All Black Tour Association

CARE Citizens' Association for Racial Equality

CHOGM Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

FCAA Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement

FCAATSI Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait

Islanders

HART Halt All Racist Tours

ICERD International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial

Discrimination

ILO International labour Organisation

LAC Library and Archives Canada

MAAA Maori Affairs Amendment Act

MOOHR Maori Organisation On Human Rights

MWWL Maori Women's Welfare League

NA National Archives (Wellington, New Zealand)

NAA National Archives Australia

NCC National Council of Churches

NFP Nuclear Free Pacific

NFIP Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific

NZMC New Zealand Maori Council

NZRFU New Zealand Rugby Football Union

NZSCM New Zealand Student Christian Movement

PCR Programme to Combat Racism

PCRC Pacific Concerns Resource Centre

PPSEAWA Pan Pacific and South East Asia Women's Association

PPWA Pan Pacific Women's Association

PPP Polynesian Panther Party

SASA South African Sports Association

UAL University of Auckland Library

UDHR Universal Declaration on Human Rights

UN United Nations

UWL University of Waikato Library

WAA Waitangi Action Alliance

WAC Waitangi Action Committee

WCC World Council of Churches

WCIP World Council of Indigenous Peoples

## **Glossary**

Haka posture dance

Hapu descent group within an Iwi; sub-tribe

Hui meeting or gathering

Iwi tribe

Korero a talk, discussion

Mana prestige, respect

Maoritanga Maori culture and beliefs

Marae courtyard of a Maori meeting house

Mihi to greet

Powhiri ritual ceremony of encounter

Take reason, topic of discussion

Te Reo the Maori language

Tikanga protocols and practices

Waiata song

Whakama embarrassment, shyness, shame, humiliation, inferiority,

self-doubt

Whanau family