

**Rona Bailey Memorial Lecture - 2014**

**Labour History Project**

**‘Suing Robert Muldoon and doing time’: From anti-apartheid to Project Waitangi**

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**Toi Whakaari: NZ Drama School, 11 Hutchison Road Newtown Wellington  
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**Introduction**

E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga iwi o te motu, Kia ora tātou katoa. Distinguished guests, old friends, warm greetings to you all. Special greetings to the Labour History Project team and especially Jim McAloon and Cybele Locke.

I feel very honoured to be invited to deliver the *Rona Bailey memorial lecture*. When my old friend Jim McAloon asked me to speak in honour of Rona, about my involvement in *the anti-apartheid movement leading to work with the Te Tiriti*, I knew I had a challenge. Where to begin? I started by developing a time line to capture key events, pivotal moments and turning points. My focus in this paper will follow that theme with some context added where necessary.

**Tribute to Rona Bailey 1914-2005 (91)**

I knew Rona Bailey only by reputation. I wish I had known her personally. We had much in common even though she was a communist and I was a Catholic. She also lived in a different period of history. She was born in 1914 – only five years younger than my father – 28 years older than myself.

As I read a profile of Rona by David Grant I realized once again the extent to which our lives are shaped by our experience. She was described as a ‘legendary communist and activist’ and witnessed, as a child, a protest march of unemployed in Gisborne. She was influenced by her school teacher aunt and attended a Paul Robeson concert in Panama. Paul was an African American and a well known Communist. Rona also witnessed the hooded riders of the Ku Klux Klan Clan and was active in the 1951 Waterfront lockout during which the Police ransacked her flat. A conviction for having an unregistered Gestetner

followed and she was fined 14 pounds. Now that is a conviction worth having! She was also active in the 'No Maori No Tour' Campaign; anti-Vietnam protests; the Springbok Tour protests in 1981; Project Waitangi and the Foreshore and Seabed Hikoi.

She was a remarkable woman.

Our passion for justice emanated from different sources, Rona with her communism and me with my Catholicism. The following story symbolizes the 'cold war' struggle which dominated the world in both our lives. The focus of this aspect of the struggle was the competition for *'the hearts and minds' of youth*.

Rona went to Hungary in 1949 to the World Federation of Communist Youth. I was part of a NZ delegation which attended the World Assembly of Youth Conference in Liege, Belgium in 1969. Most of the liberation movements of the world were present at the Liege conference. Rona's conference was funded by Moscow. The gathering in Liege was funded by Washington. It was all part of the cultural cold war.

### **Formative influences and experiences**

I want to briefly mention a few of the key moments which shaped my own journey. In particular, I am going to speak of my Irish history, childhood, influential people and places, as these profoundly influenced my decision to be involved in the anti-apartheid movement and Treaty education work.

### **My Irish history**

My Irish whakapapa is very relevant to my identity in Aotearoa. On my mother's side I am descended from a long line of Irish revolutionaries. We are aware of three of them. One worked with Wolfe Tone who led the failed 1798 uprising against the English colonizers. Another was jailed in the land wars of Galway. The ancestor, Thomas Sweeney, who projected us to New Zealand was sentenced to hang in Tipperary on 1 April 1823 for 'felonious assault on a habitation' between sunrise and sunset. Just before he was due to be hung he and his fellow 'urban guerrillas,' were given a choice between 'hanging and transportation.' He chose transportation. After being kept on a Hulk in Cork Harbour for 8 months, was transported on a prison ship (the Isabella) from Cork to New South Wales. Sweeney was a convict for seven years and was eventually given a 'ticket of leave' and, after 15 years a full pardon from Queen Victoria. This was our family's first involvement with English Royalty!

Sweeney then married and his daughter immigrated to Hokitika in 1865 where she married another Irishman. That was the start of our family in New Zealand. Knowledge of my ancestral story has helped me make sense of why I have always been involved in social justice issues. It is in the essence of my being.

### **My Addington Childhood**

Between 1942 to 1969 I grew up in Addington, one of the most interesting suburbs in the country. The entire district was working class. We were part of an Irish Catholic ghetto on the edge of Protestant Christchurch. Identity was very strong. The environment of Addington was unique. Looking back we were well catered for with Addington jail at one end and a psychiatric hospital (Sunnyside) at the other. There was a showgrounds; a racecourse; the oldest flour mill in the Southern hemisphere; two hotels; two fish & Chip shops; two barbers; all major religious denominations; a convent school and a state school; army barracks; one milk bar; a billiard parlour; a sale yards; two orphanages , Nazareth House & St Josephs Home; a Carmelite Monastery; Mt Magdala, one of the infamous Magdalene laundries, and St John of God for Intellectually Handicapped Children. Looking back there were some global significant influences which began to shape my worldview.

### **Global influences**

There were many events and influential people in the 1960s. One was Pope John XXIII who, in a very radical way, opened the Catholic Church to the global struggles in the world. The other was the Irish Catholic Kennedys – particularly JFK.

In 1967 I was the Youngest NZ delegate to attend the (Catholic Church) post Vatican II World Conference of the Laity in Rome. This global gathering followed the largest (1962/5) representative gathering of Lay Catholics in Rome since the Reformation. Described as the biggest meeting in the history of the world, there were more countries represented at Vatican II than in the United Nations. In religious terms the resolutions passed were radical.

Capitalizing on contacts I had made in Rome and at the Vatican I was subsequently hosted by families in nine American cities. I attended Civil Rights planning meetings; Anti-Vietnam meetings including secret anti-Vietnam pipeline meetings - to Canada to avoid the draft - and a variety of other meetings held in slums and ghettos.

As Chair of The Canterbury Youth Council I was a New Zealand delegate to the *World Assembly of Youth Conference in Liege, Belgium*. This involved listening to fiery speeches, witnessing dramatic withdrawals of delegates and meeting with members of Liberation Movement. I listened to and sometimes met members of the PLO, ANC, PAC, ZANU, MPLA, Sinn Fein. I subsequently found out that this gathering was funded by the CIA.

### **South East Asian Tour**

In 1973, while working for New Zealand's international aid agency – CORSO, I went to six Asian countries with John Curnow and was exposed to radical new thinking about aid. We were both NZ delegates to the UN training Conference on *'Peoples Participation in Development.'* As part of the training we toured Calcutta, New Delhi, Poona & rural areas. The overall theme was that aid has failed and that people need to be the authors of their own development.

In summary, by the early 1970s I had had some exposure to: the beginnings of a radical transformation of the Catholic Church in Europe leading to the evolution of 'Liberation Theology;' the Civil Rights Movement, anti-Vietnam movements, slums and ghettos in the United States; some of key the liberation movements of the world in Liege; wars in Vietnam and Bangladesh and third world poverty in six Asian Countries. These are some of the experiences which shaped my world view. At the heart of these influences was the emergence and the impact of liberation theology. Becoming an activist was inevitable – for me and many around me.

### **Activism**

No-body can do anything alone. We all operate in groups. I have never done anything alone.

I am often asked 'how do you decide what to get involved in.' My answer always is 'do what's in front of you.' I have never consciously looked for something to do. My strategy has always been to empower others. That is, to start by forming a group and then assessing the ability of individuals to act. Setting achievable goals; teaching strategies; developing a plan; training to build confidence; leading from behind; evaluating, celebrating and having fun; keeping morale and our convictions grounded were always part of the action.

I want to mention at the start a list of some of my activist activities in which I had some involvement, either as a leader or a trainer or a member. They are outside the scope of this paper and yet within the time-frame of tonight's theme. It is not a comprehensive list, Just issues in which I was involved.

In the 1970s:

- 1970 – 1978: The rise and demise of CORSO – The development Debate
- 1973 - The evolution of Trade Aid and Third World Shops
- 1972: the Abolition of Compulsory National Service – lead by Robert Reid)
- 1976: Action against Dawn Raids
- 1979: Peace Squadron and the Peace movement
- 1979: North East Christchurch Energy Group
- 1979: Court case against the Catholic Church

### **The Anti-apartheid Struggle in New Zealand**

In 1972 I joined Halt All Racist Tour. I attended my first meeting with Trevor Richards at (the aptly named) 101 Rugby Street. The meetings bugged by the SIS. As part of preparation for the Rugby Tours HART leaders attended a three day training course in civil disobedience (non-violent direct action) at a church training camp in Woodend outside Christchurch. The training was intensive. We engaged in realistic sociodrama and role play scenarios which enabled us to learn how to take over buildings, block roads and bridges and create other civil disobedience activities. The trainer was George Lakey, a Quaker from Philadelphia, USA. The target of our training at that time was the 1973 Springbok Tour of New Zealand which was subsequently cancelled by Prime Minister Norman Kirk.

### **1976: Last Grave at Dimbaza**

In 1976 we acquired (on behalf of CORSO's Public - Development Education Programme) a 16mm film '*Last Grave at Dimbaza (1973)*.' I held showings at CORSO Christchurch for journalists, MPs, school teachers and civic leaders. 'Dimbaza' was one of the first, and certainly the most influential, films about apartheid. It was shot secretly in South Africa and smuggled out of the country and had an enormous impact on global opinion at a critical moment in the struggle against apartheid, revealing to audiences worldwide the shocking inequalities between whites and blacks in South Africa. The film had a huge impact on audiences in New Zealand.

### **1978 – 1981: Formation of 'Action Against the (Springbok) Tour'**

As the 1970s progressed we marched regularly and it became apparent that the Police (doing their job) had infiltrated HART. We decided to set up a new group to avoid infiltration by the Police. We all knew each other personally.

Political actions depended on surprise. We remained separate from and aligned to HART. I now began to train activists in civil disobedience for anti-tour political action. This involved taking groups of activists to rural areas and giving practical training in actions such as 'taking over a building,' 'blocking roads, bridges and picketing and other disruptive activities.

With good preparation we eventually carried out two major actions which proved the value of good planning and training. After intensive training our group (Action Against the Tour) successfully took over the Rugby Union Building in Manchester Street, Christchurch on Soweto Day, 16 June 1981. During the occupation the group contacted and were interviewed by South African 'Rand Daily Mail' and the 'Cape Times.' The day after members of our group took flowers to the evicted staff and paid the toll bill – as part of our commitment to the philosophy of civil disobedience. This group subsequently had a jury trial and were found '*NOT GUILTY.*'

### **1981: Getting into Jail**

Just before the Springboks were due to arrive our team discerned that the anti-apartheid movement needed a morale boost. The Springboks were coming. The tour was going ahead. It looked as though we had lost the argument. We were also worried about the potential for violence in the coming months and wanted to create a powerful model which demonstrated the power of non-violence.

Our group came with the idea, used extensively overseas of using a jail, a hunger strike and the courts in a political action aimed at maximizing anti-tour publicity. We worked out that we needed two small criminal charges to get ourselves remanded in the Addington prison. Four of us would go to prison on a hunger strike and the rest of the team would engage in a range of external activities to support us and our families.

It's not easy to get into jail when you really want to. Here's how it played out. The detail is important. That's why it was successful.

On the morning of the 8 July 1981 our well trained team of about 30, went to the Rugby Union Headquarters in Manchester Street. Four, soon to be incarcerated conspirators, climbed the scaffolding and carefully chained themselves to the railings – with heavy chains and padlocks. We then threw the keys away. We then raised the New Zealand and South African Flags together and, having dipped them in kerosene, set them alight. It was a

spectacular fire. Below on the footpath another member of the team was on standby with a fire extinguisher. Our 'Press officer' had pre-warned the media who were fully present.

Our team were all operating on the street with different roles and plenty of placards. We had a prepared anti-tour leaflet to distribute. The scaffolding, unintentionally provided by the rugby union, made a brilliant platform from which to make fiery speeches.

The Police arrived and blocked off Manchester Street at both ends and demanded that we descend. We informed them that we were unable to comply as we were chained to the scaffolding. The Police – there were 32 – then sent away for bolt cutters and started to climb the scaffolding. We assisted them to prevent casualties. Mike Gillooly, Robin Woodsford, Malcolm Twaddell and myself were arrested 'charged with 'being in possession of a building' and processed at the Police Station and then told to go home. We had lunch and then moved on the second part of our plan.

After lunch we all went to the National Party Headquarters in Lichfield Street, blocked the street, and proceeded to paint slogans and pour our blood on various sacred objects in the building – notably photos of PM Robert Muldoon. This time we were arrested for 'Wilful Damage.' There was a potentially a minor hiccup. I had been to school with both arresting officers and they simply didn't want to arrest me. I demanded that they do their job and they eventually complied. We were taken to the Police Station where we were processed and held overnight for court the next morning. We were told by the Police we could go home if we promised to behave ourselves. That wasn't in the plan so we declined their kind offer. We appeared in Court the next morning – charged with 'wilful damage' – offered bail \$500 on our own recognisance. We refused to sign the bail bond. They had to then remand us in the Addington jail.

This action took place in the two weeks immediately preceding the arrival of the Springbok Rugby Team. The action created widespread domestic and global publicity. We were eventually convicted of 'being in possession of a building' (the Rugby Union) and 'wilful damage' which we intentionally inflicted on the National Party headquarters in Christchurch.

At the time Addington Remand Jail was packed with Maori mostly from the North Island. This was a huge shock to us. This was the mono-cultural

Addington of my childhood. This old jail, which had housed Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi in 1882/3 was still housing large numbers of Maori. We started to hear their stories. My cellmate was 29 years old Maori man – in on his third conviction. He had been in jail since he was 14. I needed to know more. This place was a shameful blot on the landscape.

### **Report to the judges**

Later that year after the Springboks had gone home we wrote a detailed report (with the Canterbury Council for Civil Liberties) on the appalling conditions at Addington Prison. We released it to the media and posted it to the homes of each of the 14 judges who lived in Christchurch. We are still waiting for a reply. The convictions were subsequently overturned by Justice Maurice Casey. Our defence counsel was Mike Knowles. From memory the judge ruled that ‘a scaffolding is not part of a building,’ hence no trespassing. We brought in a professional cleaner as a witness and the ‘wilful damage – costing \$1800’ charge was overturned on the grounds that ‘the blood could be cleaned up with a bucket of water.’

### **1982: Defamation against Robert Muldoon**

The day we left jail Robert Muldoon announced on TV that the ‘hunger strikers’ had been ‘nibbling.’ Rob Muldoon was the gift that kept giving. Another political action in the offing. We decided to sue Muldoon for defamation. He had falsely and publicly – on TV - accused us of lying. Then another gift emerged. One of New Zealand’s most prominent QCs Brian McClelland offered to take our case pro bono. The case lasted 8 years. We won. The (taxpayers) money all went to legal aid.

### **Postscript to the tour**

As I recalled my involvement in the anti-apartheid movement I recognized that there were many other courageous stories from 1981 reflecting the involvement and commitment of New Zealanders in the anti-tour protests. Ordinary people, with a passion for justice found that they could do extraordinary things.

One story is about my friend and former PA at CORSO, Mary Baker.

The day before the start of the tour Mary Baker, who had seen the Dimbaza documentary, was sitting in the Air New Zealand departure lounge in Los Angeles and she realized that the Springbok Rugby Team were on her flight back to New Zealand. With her heart in her mouth she promptly decided to tell

these big rugby players individually, that they were not welcome in New Zealand. The Air New Zealand staff told her to desist or she would be off-loaded.

She finally decided that the smartest approach was to wait until the flight was closer to Auckland and she couldn't be offloaded, and then act. During the flight she carefully wrote the word 'SHAME' in big letters on an aircraft sick bag. After waiting until the breakfast trays were down, for her own safety, this mother of eight then paraded up and down the aisle – at 43,000 feet - holding the placard in the air. The only abuse came from the New Zealand passengers. The stewards finally told her to sit down. They arrived in Auckland to the sound of massive protests.

Mary later reflected that the Springbok rugby players appeared to have no idea what was ahead of them in New Zealand. Along with Bishop Tutu and Wynand Claassen, the Springbok Captain, Nelson Mandela said a few times that New Zealand's opposition to the Springbok Tour was the single biggest external factor in bringing 'apartheid to its knees.' Although history may decide differently those of us who heard this directly from Nelson Mandela at a post Apartheid gathering in Auckland, received it as a magnificent compliment. The irony is that had the tour not proceeded the impact on apartheid may have been negligible.

### **Working with Te tiriti and the Tangata Whenua**

Looking back the connection between my time in jail and the evolution into Treaty work was an obvious next step. I often think of a line of poetry from Michael Whyte 'I turned my head and looked the other way and it became my life.' When I left jail in 1981, the shocking impact of meeting such a large number of Maori in prison stayed in my mind. The experience had opened my eyes to a different reality and I was appalled. Whilst Maori protest had begun to impact on my consciousness, it was not until Māori activists challenged Pakeha such as myself, that we began to take some responsibility for our colonial history. I felt I was ready to do something BUT what? Pakeha and Maori began to meet. In this generation Maori had been active on these issues since the 1960s. Nga Tamatoa, ACCORD, Land March, Bastion Point, Raglan Golf Course, Maori Language struggles, Waitangi Day protests and then the beginning of Crown responses – Waitangi Tribunal, SOEs Case to name a few!

The public backlash against Maori activism was strong. The changes in the Treaty relationship were being driven by Maori. The big question? What was the role of Pakeha?

### **Three ideas emerged.**

- 1) Pakeha were responsible for tackling Pakeha ignorance. There was to be accountability to Maori BUT not a Maori responsibility.
- 2) Maori had their own work to do.
- 3) Pakeha were challenged to 'create the space' in the system for Maori.

### **The Maori challenge**

In 1985 after accepting an invitation to become a member of Te Runaka ki Otautahi o Kai Tahu we began to face the challenge. Pakeha needed to learn their own history and begin to confront the history of colonialism in New Zealand. We needed to develop our own cultural identity and values by understanding who we were in a cultural and historical context. It was crucial to take responsibility for our own lack of awareness of New Zealand's colonial history, and in particular the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi.

This process involved creating a strategy and a process, which would challenge the majority culture, and concurrently connect with the indigenous struggle for self-determination. The message was clear, powerful and initially daunting. Maori activists knew that the key for Maori was their own empowerment. Therefore, if Maori were to receive justice, the majority culture had to change, and for that to occur, Pakeha had to educate themselves and those around them.

For some Pakeha, including myself, the challenge to educate the majority culture was a calling too strong to ignore, and so I embarked on a journey to relearn the history of New Zealand. I began listening to Maori activists more closely and reading everything I could lay my hands on about this topic. I spent hours at night poring over books - a practice I continue today - trying to cram in years of colonial history that I had not been taught. I enrolled to do some University history Units.

### **Our shameful history**

What I found out about New Zealand's colonial history shocked me profoundly. The colonial history of New Zealand since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 with the British Crown was a history of dishonoured promises, fraud,

theft and violence against Maori by settler governments through a process of systematic colonisation. At every level of the political and economic systems Maori had been marginalised.

My journey of self-discovery was tremendously liberating as I came to see, feel and experience issues with a new clarity. I realised how hugely disadvantaged I had been, growing up in a county where the media and the education system had been feeding me either misinformation, or as at school, no information at all. Like many Pakeha I had to learn to distinguish between truth and political propaganda. I had to accept responsibility for my own learning about New Zealand's colonial history.

Reading and listening to other people enabled me to realise that there was a wide variety of views, opinions and interpretations on New Zealand's colonial past and its impact on the present. This new appreciation transformed my picture of the colonisation of New Zealand. It enabled me to comprehend the complexity of the debate and begin to gain a more *informed* point of view, knowing both sides of the story.

This knowledge challenged and transformed the way I viewed New Zealand. I became increasingly aware of the information gap that existed between the general public, and the discourse amongst academia and other authors producing specialist books on New Zealand's colonial history. I knew this information needed to be transformed and delivered in a process, which could be understood and integrated by the general public.

### **Treaty Education**

However, as time went on, members of Project Waitangi became divided over how Treaty education workshops should be run. The classic dilemmas of the left - the conflicting ideologies of feminists, Christians, Marxists and trade unionists – came to the fore. People who brought a feminist or socialist perspective argued that without that agenda anti-racism work would be futile, and so on. The challenge was to find a common purpose. What aspects of these ideologies should be incorporated into the anti-racism process? Was the movement primarily educational or should it also be activist? Agreement had become very difficult.

Each leader had an unfailing commitment to the kaupapa, but a different view on how to carry it out in the workshop content and process. I have always believed Marxist, socialist, feminist and globalisation perspectives are all

relevant, valid strands of the whole; however, I came to believe that the challenge in Treaty education workshops was to keep the focus on racism, colonial history and the failure by governments to honour agreements with indigenous peoples.

By the late 1980s this debate was affecting relationships and creating paralysis. At this point I decided to withdraw to the periphery of the Treaty network and form Waitangi Associates.

The person who helped me make this decision was Elsie Locke. What a gift. Elsie and I used to swim at the same pool in Christchurch. Elsie generously helped me sort out the tangle of conflicting ideologies about the Treaty and helped me clarify my own way forward. I began to develop a highly interactive, accelerated two-day workshop model. The process evolved from my psychodrama and socio-drama training – action methods of teaching. I have never stopped refining the process and the content.

### **Parallel Process**

In the late 1980s I teamed up with Irihapeti Ramsden from Ngai Tahu. Because of practical difficulties created by the polarised Treaty politics at the time, we developed the practice of a parallel process. Mixed, Maori and Pakeha workshops didn't work. Those involved could be affected in various ways: fear and self censorship by participants in the groups; stories about loss and grief could be very painful; there was potential for intimidation and a general lack of cultural safety. In summary, participants had different cultural needs. Irihapeti Ramsden wanted to lead decolonisation workshops with Maori only.

The Treaty workshops I developed were designed as a starting point for Pakeha to address the widespread lack of understanding of colonial history, culture, cultural heritage, racism, sovereignty and self-determination for indigenous peoples, and to contribute to informed and reasoned debate.

The government withdrew all funding from Project Waitangi in 1990 which then wound up in its original form and morphed into Network Waitangi encouraging the groups already formed to continue the educational work on a regional basis as best they could.

There are still many dedicated peoples in the treaty Network. Each person does Treaty education in their own way. My understanding of colonisation and the Treaty deepened as I saw it in the context of my history of studying world poverty – when I worked for CORSO. There are 350 million indigenous peoples

in the world. Somewhere along the journey I began to see that all of the issues that concerned me – indigenous rights - poverty – racism – sexism - as rooted in colonialism and neo-colonialism - and the dispossession of indigenous peoples.

I would now describe decolonisation as the great challenge of our generation. I would compare the struggle to the ‘abolition of slavery’ – ‘Civil Rights Movement’ – ‘The struggle for Universal franchise – ‘feeding the hungry’ - the ‘abolition of war.’ Colonisation contaminates everything for the coloniser and the colonised!

### **Racist Media**

We have always been up against a racist media which often portrays Maori activists as trouble makers and Maori aspirations and claims as a demand for privileges. It happened again at Waitangi. Ngapuhi were portrayed as demanding millions of dollars for a settlement. Not a word of context from the journalists. No wonder the public think it’s all a rout. In less than one minute a well informed journalist could have briefly explained the Ngapuhi claim – thousands of acres stolen illegally by the Crown - and the level of suffering, poverty and lost opportunity inflicted on the people to this day.

### **Normal/superior**

For the first 150 years the entire institutional life of the country portrayed Pakeha/English world as normal, superior. Pakeha were taught to be superior, Maori were taught to be inferior. The challenge is to change this conditioning. Parliament, government departments, local government, town planning, the environment, resource management, health, education and justice systems were portrayed as culturally, economically and politically neutral. Tikanga and Maori were invisible. Like uncovering layers of an onion I was gradually drawn into the chaos of the worlds we have inherited as a consequence of colonisation and empire – where most of the wealth of the world is owned and controlled by relatively few people - while millions of people starve.

### **Waitangi Associates Ltd**

In 1991 when I first started delivering workshops on my own there was no money. I would have to earn my way and learn how to run a small business, and charge. I operated out of my garden shed. Low overheads. I was in serious debt for seven years and operated out of the equity in my house. Over time the business became sustainable. For the record, I have never received any government or institutional money. I love the work. I never stopped believing

in the value of the work. In 1994 my wife Trish join this little business which, since the earthquake operates out of a garage. Trish is a brilliant administrator.

### **Professional Development and networking**

In 1992 I went on a Churchill Fellowship study tour to 23 United States and Canadian cities/ghettos/Native American Reservations. I studied Native American and Canadian 'Treaties' and worked with anti-racism programmes and groups – European and African American.

In 1994 I accompanied Ngai Tahu delegates to the Mabo Native Title Conference in Sydney, Australia. I was invited to develop anti-racism workshops in Australia, but was unable to respond at this time due to NZ work commitments.

In 1996 I visited six cities in Canada to assist in the formation of Treaty Education groups based on the New Zealand model. I met with a number of First Nations groups and networked with a variety of European anti-racism and Treaty groups.

In 1997 I visited British Columbia to address the 'BC Aboriginal Education Conference' and meet with Treaty education groups.

In 2001 I co-wrote *'Healing Our History – The Challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi'* (Penguin) with my daughter. This was updated 2005 and 2012. It was launched in 2002 in the presence of a crowd of 700 at Addington Raceway by Prime Minister Helen Clark and former Governor General Sir Paul Reeves. Nearly 20,000 copies are in print (3 editions).

In 2005 I was invited by Tariana Turia and Ken Mair to stand as a candidate for the newly formed Maori Party. After a quiet conversation I agreed to stand provided that I couldn't get elected. Subsequently I was placed at number six on the Party list. I toured the North Island for the month preceding the election in a 'Maori Party bus' owned and driven by my friend Colin Docherty. The bus was partly funded (\$12,000) by Pakeha supporters in Otautahi and Waitangi Associates Ltd. It was an exciting campaign as we worked with the Maori Party candidates.

In 2011 I travelled to Perth, Western Australia, to deliver an anti-racism workshop (with my daughter Bernadette Consedine) and met with anti-racism and Perth city groups and the Western Australia Aboriginal (Council)

representatives. The aim was to share the NZ Treaty Education model. Three representatives (two European, one Aboriginal) have subsequently attended NZ Treaty workshops in Napier.

Thousands of New Zealanders have attended a Treaty of Waitangi workshops. Poet, Mary Oliver sums up the challenge of Treaty Education in one of her poems. 'The mind clings to the road it knows, rushing through crossroads sticking like lint to the familiar.'

### **The success of Treaty Workshops**

They have succeeded because I decided to make this workshop the very best training experience participants would ever attend. All methods of teaching are used. Cultural safety is paramount. Two, full-day workshops is the minimum.

What we discovered was that each participant brings numerous and varied questions to the process, many of these important questions are sub conscious and the process of the workshop enables them to emerge. People have questions regardless of class or educational achievement.

The workshop process uses a wide range of group skills: sociodrama, role play, sociograms, group reflection, poetry, timelines, sculpture, small groups, action methods, workbook, videos, audio and music.

I unashamedly ask every participant to promote the workshops and I now have waiting lists in many institutions. The success of the workshop depends on the ability of the workshop leader to connect with each participant and make the Treaty debate relevant. Each workshop is completed with a written anonymous evaluation. Participant feedback is taken very seriously.

Since the death of my colleague, mentor and friend Irihapeti in 2003 my workshops have been mixed with a good mix of Maori, Pakeha and other cultures. Treaty education has become very specialist. There are basic historical and contextual questions which don't change; however, a workshop full of scientists has different questions to one of teachers or prison Officers, or health professionals, or police, or local Government staff, or staff in psychiatric hospitals or community workers or engineers. The key challenge is relevance to the individual participant

I remember Sir Paul Reeves telling me that the problem for Pakeha was that they did not see any connection between the Treaty and their lives. I also remember a policeman coming into a workshop and saying 'what I want to know is - what's the Treaty got to do with catching crooks?' If the workshop doesn't answer his question then it has failed.

In 2014 after nearly 30 years involvement delivering Treaty Education in over 200 institutions, involving more than 50,000 participants I have never lost my enthusiasm for the work. I have waiting lists amongst my clients.

There are many significant deceased activists whom I admired, who were influential on my journey and many who are still alive and committed to social justice. It's a long list of extraordinary New Zealanders and it would be futile to try to name them all.

Finally when I think about the Maori renaissance I have never had reason to change the view articulated by Frederick Douglass nearly 200 years ago: 'power cedes nothing without a demand, it never did and it never will.' When I think about many extraordinary activists throughout our history I remember that he also said: "If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favour freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men (and women) who want crops without ploughing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle."

I am very excited at the enormous impact that Maori are having on this country and what has been achieved so far. Maori, in my lifetime have gone from invisibility to the centre of political discourse. There is much to celebrate and more to do.

**Kia ora tatou**

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