

Higgins, 2008

TERROR IN OUR MIDST? SEARCHING FOR TERROR IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND DANNY KEENAN



First published in 2008 by Huia Publishers 39 Pipitea Street, PO Box 17–335 Wellington, Aoteana New Zealand www.buia.co.nz

ISBN 978-1-86969-329-9

Copyright © the authors 2008 Cover photograph courtesy Monique Ford, Whakatane Beacon Cover design: Tim Hansen

All eights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, including photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the publisher.

National Library of New Zealand Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
Terror in our midst?: searching for terror in Aotearoa
New Zealand / edited by Danny Keenan.
Includes bibliognaphical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-869693-29-9
1. Police—New Zealand. 2. Civil rights—New Zealand.
3. Terrorium—Prevention—New Zealand.
1. Keenan, Danny.
363.32—de 22

Published with the support of the Office of the Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori, Victoria University of Wellington



and with the assistance of

Puke Ariki

6	The Terror Raids and the Criminalising of Dissent Danny Keenan	129
7	Māori MPs and 'Operation Eight' Dominic O'Sullivan	139
8	Wars of Terra Maria Bargh	151
9	The Logic of Terror Brendan Hokowhitu	165
10	Beware the Hollow 'Calabash': Narrative, Analogy and the Acts of Suppression Māmari Stephens	181
	Part Three Reflections	
11	'The Emperor's New Clothes' Tonga Karena	197
12	'Another Chapter in Our History': Reflections on the Events at Rūātoki, 15 October 2007 Rawinia Higgins	205
13	Poetic Justice: Writing (as) the Struggle Alice Te Punga Somerville	223
14	'5, 6, 7, 8, Don't You Blinkin' Obfuscate!' Ocean Rīpeka Mercier	239
20.41	ilogue – Maungapõhatu: An Enduring Tühoetanga urikore Biddle	245
Notes on Contributors		259
Glossary		265
Bibliography		267
Index		275

Raupatu: the line is drawn

The continual raiding between the tribes of the Mātaatua area was only heightened by the trials for the murders of Völkner and Fulloon. Governor Grey planned to restore order and hoped to disband Pai Mārire by invoking the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, and the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. He declared that the lands in the Eastern Bay of Plenty would become Districts under the Settlements Act – effectively confiscation – on 17 January 1866. The proclamation was subsequently amended on 1 September 1866 because the boundaries of the original declaration were inaccurate:

The western boundary of the confiscation began at the mouth of the Waitahanui river at Otamarakau, ran south then eastward to the Tarawera River, bisected Putauaki (Mt Edgecumbe), crossed the Whakatane, Waimana, Waioeka, and Otara Rivers to take in the entire Whakatane, Ohiwa and Opotiki districts, then turned north-east, crossing the Motu River to the Haparapara River, in the Whanau a Apanui rohe (and included lands of Ngai Tai to the east of Opotiki.⁶

The lands confiscated in the Bay of Plenty were clearly the prime lands of the area. For Tühoe, the land taken encompassed all of their rich agricultural lands; the confiscation line forced them back to the untenable hills and valleys. The confiscation of land was part of the government's policy to threaten Māori so as to 'tame' them. 'This was a policy designed explicitly to divide Māori into loyal and rebel categories, and to force Māori to prove their 'loyalty' by acts, deeds, and a compulsory taking of the oath of allegiance to the Crown.'7 The other reason for enforcing the confiscation of land policy was to open up areas of prime Māori land for European settlers. Tühoe were prime candidates for the enforcement of this policy. They were still operating autonomously, outside of the government's authority which did not reach as far as Te Urewera. For Europeans, the landscape of dense bush and mountainous ranges still seemed mysterious, and a place of refuge for fugitives. The confiscation of their lands allowed the government to begin a process of opening up Te Urewera, exposing and 'taming' the 'wild men' within.