

IN THE MATTER OF The Treaty of Waitangi Act
1975

AND

IN THE MATTER OF Claims by HUHURERE
TUKUKINO and OTHERS
known as the HAURAKI
CLAIMS

**STATEMENT OF EVIDENCE OF SAM NAPIA
ON BEHALF OF THE CLAIMANTS**

Personal

1. My full name is Samuel Wake Scott Napia. I am the Chief Executive Officer of the Hauraki Maori Trust Board. With humility and feeling the weight of the responsibility entrusted in me I stand authorised by the Board to deliver this evidence before the Tribunal.
2. The kaupapa underpinning this week's hearings is: Ka kawē i ngā tupuna, ka hikoi ki mua - we carry our ancestors as we walk into the future. This is not about peering into the retrospectroscope with grief; rather, it is an acknowledgement of the foundations set by our tupuna and our responsibility to build upon them for the good of our mokopuna.

We of today have inherited this responsibility, it is innate, not something we have engineered since lunch time.

3. From our ancestors to us, to our children, to our mokopuna the kaupapa represents a continuum of a cultural legacy. It is about being Maori. It is about the realisation of the aspirations of our ancestors. My own recognition of this responsibility is why I took this job.
4. Prior to my appointment by the Hauraki Maori Trust Board in March this year, I had developed a career in local government and community affairs in the North. It was a satisfying life, forged by professional ambition and the pursuit of personal aspiration. I gained five years of senior management experience with a territorial local authority. I was appointed as a member of the Tai Tokerau Maori Trust Board and continue as Chairman of its education committee. It has also been my honour to hold a number of other trusteeships, including foundation trusteeship of the Whangarei Life Education Trust and trusteeship of Sport Northland Trust.
5. So for many, taking on this role with the Hauraki Maori Trust Board seemed to be a departure from a clear career path. Yet as I reflect on my past, I realise that it is no coincidence that I am entrusted with my present role. From my own life experiences I have grown to appreciate the continuity between past and present and it is this philosophy that sustains me in my present role within Hauraki. I want to give you a couple of experiences, which are personal to me in order to illustrate my point.
6. Prior to my appointment as a member of the Tai Tokerau Maori Trust Board, that Board announced the unconditional sale of Pouerua. Pouerua is a most sacred site. It is considered by some to be the birth place of a people. The objective of those who supported my appointment to the Board was to overturn the decision to sell down this most sacred taonga.

7. After enduring months of public and personal attack for my stance on Pouerua and on the brink of submission I remember one night standing at the sink washing the dishes with my daughter who was then ten years old. At the very time that I was about to give up the cause I asked, "what do you think Daddy should do?" She replied, "do you want your mokopuna to see your name on the sale ticket?" "Out of mouths of babes" come wisdom and strength.
8. This month the Maori Land Court in the Tai Tokerau district will hear applications under sections 33 and 133 of Te Ture Whenua Maori to return the status of Pouerua to Maori land and to place Pouerua in reservation. Safeguarded in the stewardship of its people for all time.
9. Although I am not from the Hauraki region, I feel an association with the plight of its iwi, because my whanau and I have also felt the effects of the contrast between the different ways in which Maori and the Crown honour the Treaty. Were you to visit our family urupa you will read the same inscription on a number of headstones, "I pupuri i nga tikanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi me te hapai hoki i te whakapono." "They remained true to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and kept the faith." The words of our tupuna echo across time that the principles of the Treaty are sacred, sacrosanct and immutable.
10. Our small hapu once owned Puketotara, a block of land straddling the divide between Hokianga and the Kerikeri Inlet. By various means Puketotara was wrested from our control and title. As early as 1890 Native Land Court records documented the petitionings of my tupuna.
11. My tupuna were told that Puketotara was unproductive and valueless and thus no efforts to secure capital or support for its development were fruitful from the 1890s through to the Second World War. And so Puketotara grew native bush alone. In 1941, ostensibly for the purposes of the national ship-building programme and the war effort, totara sheathing was sought after by the Crown. A local sawmiller obtained authority from the

Crown to fell timber for this purpose. What actually occurred was the felling of every piece of millable timber at Puketotara, not only totara, but kauri, miro, rewarewa and others. When my tupuna protested that it was not Crown land and that the timber belonged to us the Crown did little but acknowledge their mistake citing bureaucratic oversight in respect of issuing authority to fell timber on land which was not theirs.

12. I have often reflected on the irony that at the same time that others were unlawfully taking our resources supposedly for the war effort, my father and my uncles were overseas fighting the war. One of my uncles was killed in Tunisia and never returned.
13. After the war, now denuded and unoccupied, the Maori Trustee identified Puketotara as unproductive and in conjunction with the Department of Maori Affairs facilitated its sale. We claim that it is clearly documented that the sale was unlawful. My father, as well as the vast majority of other owners, were never consulted over the sale. In my father's case I gather that the first he became aware of the sale was a cheque in the mail representing his interests in Puketotara.
14. Though as a child I knew nothing regarding the above events, I remember my father's watch. He had named it Puketotara. Sometimes he would misplace it and ask, "where's Puketotara?" I remember very clearly, I might have been only eight or nine at the time, the day I asked him, "why do you call your watch Puketotara?" He replied, "Puketotara is tupuna land. It was sold and this is all I have to show for it."
15. Though the Native Land Court at the time was adamant that Puketotara was worthless, today those portions of Puketotara that were not retained by the Crown are the highest producing dairy farms per acre in the whole of the Bay of Islands.
16. In the most recent face to face meeting with Crown officials in respect of Puketotara, I brought to their attention the minutes of the Native Land Court whereat my great grandfather petitioned the Crown in respect of Puketotara. The petitioning was carried on by my grandfather and my father and me as I stood before them. I told them that I

have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that this kaupapa will be carried forward by my children and their children should the Crown fail to provide just redress.

17. It is this philosophy that I carry with me in my work with the iwi of Hauraki and that I share with you today.
18. The final point I want to make is that I am also one of the so called urban dispossessed. My parents also made the choice to move to the urban promised land because the opportunities available in a poor rural Northland community with little land were too few for two young Maori trying to raise a family. So I too grew up in Council flats in suburban Auckland. As so many of us discovered, Auckland was not the promised land my parents had hoped for, and its legacy for so many of my generation has been a life of marginalisation and a deep sense of grievance.
19. And so, although I am not from Hauraki, I strongly identify with the history of loss which you have heard about in these hearings. It is a history which is familiar to me and my family. Equally, I also strongly identify with the intense desire of Hauraki Whaanui to utilise this process to overcome that legacy and in remembering, to forge a better future. Ka kawē i ngā tupuna, ki hikoi a Hauraki ki mua.

Hauraki Maori Trust Board

20. You have heard the background of the Trust Board from Josie Anderson in the evidence she gave last year. You will remember that the issue of whether a central authority for Hauraki should be established as a regional voice for tangata whenua was widely discussed and agreed upon among all of the iwi, hapu and whanau of Hauraki.
21. Our Act was passed in 1988 and over the last eleven years the Board has participated intimately in the political, social and economic life of Hauraki. Few would argue that our participation has not led to significant positive outcomes for our people.

22. Central to the Board's activities in the last five or six years has been the prosecution of the Hauraki Treaty claims. The Board decided, as you know, at an early stage that achieving a comprehensive and durable settlement for the Hauraki grievances was to be the Board's number one priority in the medium term. That continues to be my directive.
23. Since 1988 tribal leaders have provided the political will and impetus necessary to continue the prosecution of the Hauraki Treaty claims. The focus of tribal leadership and indeed that of the Trust Board is encapsulated in the mission statement: *Kia mau ki te rangatiratanga o te iwi o Hauraki*¹.
24. Accordingly, the Board has made this commitment. Any steps that it may take beyond these hearings in respect of the claims will be taken only with the active consent of Hauraki Whaanui - iwi, hapu and whanau.
25. You have heard the past Chief Executive Officer of the Board, Josie Anderson state that "indeed the Board sits at the feet of the Hauraki tribes." That remains as true today as it was when Josie said it at the start of this process.

Recap of History of Loss and Deprivation

26. In 1840, Hauraki Maori were healthy and wealthy. They controlled their destiny. The next 150 years turned that situation on its head.

This vision defines the Board's strategic direction. In April 1999 the Board formally adopted a strategic plan designed to take the Board into the new millennium and beyond. In June 1999 the Board formally adopted its 1999/2000 annual plan. The annual plan is distilled from the strategic plan, the strategic plan is in turn derived from the vision. Thus everything the Board does, every function undertaken, every operation engaged in is founded in the vision of the tribal leadership of Hauraki. The Board's vision is the vision of the people it serves.

Pre-Treaty Transactions

27. Pakeha were adopted into Hauraki Maori society because of the skills they brought with them. They were gifted land, but these were not 'sales'. But by means of the Old Land Claims Commission, the Crown divided the lands which had supposedly been purchased between itself and the settlers. Hauraki was removed from the picture.

Old Land Claims

28. The Crown, through a series of investigations, deemed that these transactions were 'sales'. The Crown kept the 'surplus'.

Gold

29. Gold has dictated the relationship between Hauraki and the Crown right to the present. The 1852 agreement, if it had been honoured by the Crown, could have established a beneficial relationship between the two parties. Instead, gold came to symbolise to Hauraki the systematic stripping of their land base and the subordination of their mana.

Crown Purchases

30. 48,000 acres was claimed to have been purchased by the Crown from Hauraki Maori between 1852 and 1865. The Crown assumed that these transactions were sales.

War and Raupatu

31. Hauraki Maori were mainly neutral in the war in Waikato. For this they had lands confiscated.

Native Land Court

32. Hauraki Maori lost most of their land through the 'land-taking court'. The court process divested them of their land and extinguished Maori title. Tribal structures and chiefly authority were subjected to direct and deliberate attack. In combination with the drive for gold, the systems of the Native Land Court came to be the undoing of Hauraki. And worse, they were designed to achieve this.

Twentieth Century Land Administration

33. The remnant of the land base was open to the private sector in the 20th century. The Crown facilitated this. Other land was lost due to the non-payment of rates and local bodies' demands for land in satisfaction of debts.

Resources of Hauraki

34. By the process of colonisation and legislation, Hauraki lost access to and control of the sea and foreshore, rivers, and other natural resources.

Social and Economic Status of Hauraki Maori

35. The state of Hauraki Maori today is the outcome.

The Reality Today

36. I have read Dr Janet Sceats' evidence and in the six months or so that I have worked among Hauraki people I can say that the situation on the ground appears to support the statistical picture that she paints. Let me explain:

Age Structure of Hauraki Maori Population

37. Sceats says that 55% of Hauraki are under the age of 25. This is high on average. I can certainly say that by comparison to the rangatahi, there are relatively few kaumatua and kuia. It is expected that in the future there will be considerably more kaumatua and kuia within Hauraki.

Hauraki Te Reo Speakers

38. Sceats says that 30% of Hauraki Maori could carry out "a conversation about a lot of everyday things" in te reo Maori. The corollary is that 70% cannot. I agree that most Maori speakers in Hauraki are either kaumatua or children. In my experience those from secondary age through to about fifty are the lost generation. By that I mean that in my observation it is very unlikely that the members of that age group would be able to express their ideas in Maori. Given that the leadership of Hauraki will be drawn from

that group for at least the next two generations it is a cause of deep concern to Hauraki that soon our leaders may not be able to speak our ancestral tongue.

Educational Qualifications of Hauraki Maori

39. A higher percentage than average of Hauraki Maori youth are leaving school without any educational qualification. According to Sceats, the comparison is not favourable: 47% as measured against 32% as the national average. Again, this fact can be readily seen by anyone with eyes and the time to look around the streets of Thames and Paeroa or the marae of Hauraki.

Hauraki Whanau

40. The number of Hauraki Maori living in single parent families is high. That is certainly my observation. The potential impact of this fact alone on the social and cultural structures of Hauraki is enormous. The male role models for both boys and girls of Hauraki are more likely to be negative ones and the lives of Hauraki mothers are more likely to be the stressful lives of single parents without partner support either financial or emotional.
41. I am not a sociologist but it seems logical to me that children raised in those circumstances will find it harder to form permanent bonds when they reach adulthood because non permanent relationships or perhaps no relationships at all will be the norm in their experience.

Hauraki Maori Employment

42. As Sceats says Hauraki Maori are highly unemployed, particularly rangatahi. Those that are employed are more likely to be employed in unskilled occupations. Reliance on the state for everyday sustenance at some level or another is also very high - even by comparison to the rest of the Maori population. As a result of these factors, the income levels for Hauraki Maori are extremely low.

43. Again, anyone familiar with the circumstances of Hauraki Maori on the ground would confirm the thrust of Sceats' conclusions.

Hauraki Housing, Living Conditions, and Health

44. Hauraki Maori are less likely than the general population to own a home, a car or a phone. In fact, they are less likely even than the general Maori population to own those items.
45. Hauraki Maori are massively more likely than Pakeha to smoke. They're even more likely to smoke than other Maori.

Hauraki Tribal Estate

46. Traditionally the Hauraki estate was an area of about 650,000 hectares or 1,600,000 acres covering the Coromandel peninsula, Hauraki Plains, and the Western side of Tikapa Moana (excluding offshore islands).
47. Today, according to Innis, there are 13,237 hectares or 32,711 acres of Maori land remaining which accounts for approximately 2% of the original tribal estate.
48. Present records show that the lands, comprising 627 separate blocks, are held by or for 23,934 interests (this figure does not equate to the total number of owners as an individual Maori may hold interests in more than one block).
49. You have heard the evidence of Innis to the effect that the lands in the remaining tribal estate are of a relatively poor quality and his research suggests that around 75% of the lands are not earning an income. A high proportion of these lands studied are without legal road access (around 37%).

Interpreting the Snapshot

50. The above represents a consistent pattern of disadvantage of Hauraki Maori, particularly those living within the rohe, compared with the rest of the country and also compared with other Maori.

51. There is consistently a large gap between Hauraki Maori and the general New Zealand population in terms of educational achievement. In my view, there are insufficient support structures and programmes such as would encourage Hauraki youth to stay at school and to gain educational qualifications. As a downstream consequence, Hauraki Maori are significantly disadvantaged in respect of the types of employment gained; clearly there is a large disparity in terms of Hauraki skill base. The next link in this sad chain of consequences is the below median living conditions of Hauraki Maori.

52. This is graphically shown in the lack of access to motor vehicles and phones. In the New Zealand of today a phone and a car are not luxury items. They are basic necessities. Our whole society revolves around these two items. In rural communities such as those which characterise the Hauraki rohe, they are critical. Essential health, education, and other services are likely to be at some distance.

53. Poor access to health, social and other support services is compounded by the high percentage of smokers in Hauraki. The relevance of this observation is that these combined factors will cause significant future health problems. The statistical evidence is that Hauraki iwi are producing the number of children necessary to carry Haurakitanga into future generations. The prevalence of smoking amongst Hauraki women, however, has major implications for maternal and child wellbeing and indeed for the future wellbeing of the iwi. The promotion of wellness and the myriad programmes supporting it are considered to be vital to Hauraki Whaanui as it forges into the future.

54. In terms of government income support, it appears that Hauraki Maori are dependent on the state proportionately more than any other community in the country.

55. This level of dependence is clearly the result of the lack of an alternative viable economic base for iwi here in Hauraki. As a people we rely on the state because we can no longer rely on ourselves in the way that the chiefs and tribes of old could. The obvious alternative economic base: the land, the sea, the rivers - the natural resources of Hauraki - were all lost to Hauraki ownership and control by the beginning of this century. As you know, the Crown had acquired both in respect of these taonga by that time. The picture I now draw of the level of Hauraki dependence on the state is the result of that alternative economic base being wrongly taken from us. No one who knows the current realities for iwi here in Hauraki would dare to say that the loss of Hauraki's resources to the Crown happened too long ago to affect our lives today.
56. But this is not a simplistic model of cause and effect. What I am portraying to you is a vicious cycle that is all too familiar for Maori. It is a cycle which has compounding and cumulative effects. It is characterised by elements such as loss, deprivation, dependency and grievance. Many of the problems are more pronounced in Hauraki because the extent of the loss was greater than almost everywhere else.
57. By affirming that we carry our tupuna into the future, we commit the present generation to breaking the cycle. But we cannot do this alone; it requires the Crown to meet its obligations under the Treaty. It requires the Crown to exhibit unfeigned goodwill in giving full effect to the principles established by this very Tribunal.

THE NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT

We need to move to settlement mode without delay

58. As you have heard, Hauraki has not been sitting on its hands. We have been active in the area of service delivery - particularly health but other social services as well. We have engaged with the modern economy in the area of marine farming and commercial fisheries utilising our traditional taonga - Tikapa Moana - as we always have. We have protected the rights of iwi and hapu in respect of customary fisheries.

We have engaged with the Crown and local government in the area of resource management and exploitation.

59. Because of the severely limited resources available to us we have barely scratched the surface. We certainly do not yet have the ability to change the profile of our people that you have heard about from other witnesses.
60. Having said that, the potential for the future of Hauraki economically, culturally, socially and politically is literally mind-boggling. But the catalyst will be a settlement of these claims. Without it, I can promise you, the future will be more of the same depressing story you have already heard, but worse.
61. Where to from here? It took Ngai Tahu nearly fifteen years from the commencement of its hearings to the settlement of its claim. It took Waikato ten to twelve years from commencing negotiations to its settlement legislation. Here in Hauraki we started hearings in the spring of 1998. On that basis it will be spring 2010 before the Hauraki Claims Settlement Bill finds its way onto the parliamentary order paper. That timeframe is utterly unacceptable.
62. If we settle in this timeframe, then the problems that I am describing which beset this generation will be the problems besetting their children when the settlement is done. We will have consigned a whole generation to failure because of our failure to grasp the possibilities of settlement. This is the social cost of delay.
63. There is also an economic cost. In real terms and in terms of lost opportunity, the costs to Hauraki each year the claim goes unsettled is in the order of millions of dollars. These costs ought not to be sustained further by Hauraki or the Crown.
64. I say Hauraki as well as the Crown because jointly we are players in that cycle of deprivation to which I have referred. The cycle is founded on a sense of grievance against the Crown. This sense of grievance pervades Hauraki's present culture. It defines our relationship with officialdom at all levels. It will probably continue to do so

until we settle. For the Crown's part, Hauraki is now (as it has been for 130 years) a consistent source of intense irritation. In short, the Crown doesn't trust us either. The partnership we have today is not as Treaty partners but as sparring partners. I have two examples to illustrate my point.

Maori, Local Government and the Crown

65. Local government is clearly aware of the aspirations of Maori. They would appear to have some recognition of the Treaty and the partnership principle. At least either by statutory compulsion or genuine goodwill Councils generally endeavour to meet their obligations to Maori under the Resource Management Act 1991 for example. Some Councils, however, would seek to avoid any real partnership with Maori on the basis that it is with the Crown that Maori have a Treaty partnership.
66. For our part, we recognise that local government is a creature of statute and statute is created by Parliament as the legislative organ of the Crown. The unfettered sovereignty of Parliament is derived by virtue of the Treaty. Thus the Crown and local government and their myriad bureaucracies are neither inseparable nor individually discernible.
67. To seek to distinguish them represents, in my view, an illegitimate dichotomy.
68. In early 1999, the Thames Coromandel District Council published the names of Maori land owners who were behind on their rates. These were Maori owners of general land and fell outside of the provisions of the Rating Powers Act 1988 in respect of Maori freehold land. This was due to the Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967, which overnight changed the status of Maori freehold land to general land for those titles with four or fewer owners. Free from any statutory special provisions for Maori freehold land owners, the Council deemed it fit to act in a manner which caused anxiety and embarrassment. Discussions have taken place and I understand that the Council was big enough to admit its mistake. But what sort of public authority would consider it appropriate to publicly humiliate our rangatira in order to secure an ultimately

illegitimate outcome - the payment of rates that were unjustly charged in the first place.
This is how relationships run off the rails.

Hauraki Gulf Marine Park Bill

69. Tikapa Moana is a taonga of Hauraki and is known to others as the Hauraki Gulf. Hauraki Maori have opposed the Bill since 1991 when the concepts surrounding the Bill were first mooted. It was not until November 1998 that a working party with tangata whenua was first established to address Maori issues surrounding the Bill. This working party was told that consultation would cease within two weeks of it being set up and that the Bill would be introduced into the House with or without tangata whenua agreement.
70. Hauraki's opposition to the Bill is based on our belief that the enactment of this legislation will create a fresh Treaty grievance in 1999. This is because in our view the Bill entrenches the wrong presumption that the Crown owns the resource it seeks to manage. We are given to believe that the Bill is about management not ownership of the resources.
71. Identical philosophies have been ascribed to the Resource Management Act 1991. In recent weeks we have seen the Tribunal in its findings in the case of the Whanganui River state that (in respect of the Resource Management Act 1991) the Act is not neutral on the issue of property rights because the effect of the Act is to subsume them. This is a fear that Maori have held since 1991 and it appears to be borne out. It is all too sadly clear to us that the effect of the proposed Hauraki Gulf Marine Park legislation will be the same.
72. Furthermore, the ascription of high conservation values to a "marine park" would create in the public perception a national resource owned and managed by the Crown for the national good. Such a perception once created will surely see that Tikapa is taken out of any possible formula for Treaty redress. In my view no lasting settlement can be reached while this remains the case.

73. On this vitally important matter Hauraki is left to lobby the Crown (Parliament) not by way of collaborative consultation as a partner would do but as any other subservient interest group might be compelled to do. Again, this is how relationships run off the rails.

Reconstructing a Partnership

74. What is required is a fresh start. The kind of start that only a major seismic event can render. What is required is a partnership that is not underpinned by grievance; but rather provides for the charting of the future on equal footing. We call on the Crown to participate jointly with us in the reconstruction of a true Treaty partnership.
75. The catalyst for reconstruction is a full and durable settlement. Not, I might add, a full and final settlement. This is to be the beginning of something new, not the end of something old.

How to do the Settlement

76. In moving to settlement we all must be aware of the ingredients that make up Hauraki. There exists a strong and secure sense of Haurakitanga that also encapsulates the autonomy of individual iwi, hapu and whanau. In other words, moving collectively on the one hand, and recognising the mana motuhake of each element within Hauraki on the other, are not mutually inconsistent ideas. Thus there are regional issues, there are iwi issues and there are hapu and whanau issues. The secret of a durable settlement in Hauraki will be accommodating both sides of the equation into the settlement.
77. Whilst taking the above into account, in the final analysis it is all the same: settlement must occur and it must occur soon.

He Kupu Whakamutunga

78. In the office of the Minister of Maori Affairs, the Honourable Tau Henare, hangs a piece of art. It is large in scale, and significant in its location. At the top it depicts warriors of a bygone age in the posture of haka; at the lower corner they are mirrored by an

equivalent group of young boys from today. The inscription proclaims: "We knew then.. .And we know now."

79. Even the semantics are significant. It is not that they knew; and now we know. It is simply that we are one - our tupuna, us, and our mokopuna even those yet unborn. "We knew then...And we know now": that which is referred to is known by us all, perhaps intrinsically, perhaps inherently; but we all know. We know of the greatness of our tupuna, we know of their aspirations for us, we know it is entrusted in us to give body to those aspirations and to see them fulfilled for the generations waiting ahead of us. We are heartened that a Minister of the Crown shares the vision of us all. For "without vision, the people perish" (Proverbs 29:18). We have a vision, a vision shared by all of Hauraki: Ka kawē i nga tupuna, ka hikoi ki mua.
80. At the first week of hearings in respect of these claims, Hauraki brought with us our tupuna. It might be more properly said that our tupuna brought us; for we are one and it is the same. You have heard our kaumatua speak of the deeds of our tupuna. The expression of their deeds and the recitation of their histories, whakapapa and names invoke their very presence among us today. We feel their presence, we draw from their strength.
81. Their legacy to us is embodied in the Treaty itself. They did not sign in ignorance or without compelling cause. They signed with a clear vision of the possibilities that the future contained, motivated by the hope of a prosperous future for their people. A future where Maori parents bore children whose life expectancy was the same as that of the Pakeha. Where access to Pakeha technology meant greater opportunities for enterprise and growth. Where Maori and Pakeha would coexist, respecting each other's values and domains based on the notions of kawanatanga and tino rangatiratanga and thereby jointly prosper.

82. And so the Treaty was signed. Signed with their names. Signed with their moko. Signed with the mana of their tupuna before them. That is why the Treaty is sacrosanct, sacred and immutable; cast in stone.
83. And then in 1852, Hauraki signed a new Treaty with the Crown. Again, filled with hope and the expectation of joint prosperity. Again, that Treaty was sacrosanct, sacred and immutable; cast in stone.
84. Yet our present circumstances are not as they foresaw. We might ask ourselves: what happened? We might ask ourselves: what went wrong?
85. We might gaze forlornly into the retrospectroscope and mourn. But we do not.
86. We look to the past for conviction, we gird ourselves with the strength of our tupuna, we look forward and ask: what can happen? What possibilities lie ahead for us and our children?
87. And we see. We see the day when our taitamariki are achieving in the educational institutions throughout Aotearoa. We see the day when Hauraki whanau units are strong, when we have jobs, when wellbeing abounds, when our kaumatua enjoy life with more abundance.
88. The time has come for a new Treaty which re-establishes that belief that our tupuna held in a common and prosperous future in partnership with the Crown. It is time, in the name of all of those whose lives were expended in the pursuit of justice, to grasp this opportunity and make it work.

89. Ka kawe i nga tupuna, ka hikoi ki mua. We carry our ancestors with us in to the future.
A future illuminated with hope and possibility. For a new day is about to dawn.

Ka po, ka po,
Ka ao, ka ao,
Ka awatea.