

Kia Mau



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*Resisting Colonial Fictions*

Tina Ngata

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# Introduction

To be born Indigenous is to be born into a political reality. How we are brought into this world, the way we are named, the language we speak, the security of our family, the means of education, everything around us is a site that speaks to us of our Indigenous survival or Colonial conquest. For many of us, making a conscious choice to protect who we are as Indigenous people necessitates acts of resistance. These acts of resistance have created space for future generations to access their rights more easily, and yet, in an increasingly globalised world, there are constantly new sites demanding us to interrogate whether this protects, or diminishes the Indigenous legacy of our ancestors. For these reasons, it is often said that our very existence is an act of resistance.

As Moana Jackson points out, everything has a whakapapa, and certainly this is the case with colonisation, although rather than a tree it may be better suited to understand colonisation as a creeping weed: suffocating native growth, taking over all in its path, and as most gardeners will tell you—removing a weed from

your garden takes significantly less effort if you take it out from the root, rather than the many shoots.

For this reason, understanding the Doctrine of Discovery and its role in the root system of colonisation is vital for us if we don't want to spend an increasingly brief future hacking at the multiple shoots of injustice. Imperialism is not only the basis for colonial systems of political power, it constitutes a broad reaching system of economic domination and environmental exploitation that impacts upon all of us regardless of race, gender, class or income.

This collection of essays is therefore not only a call for Indigenous justice, but one for our Earth. It is a call for all who dwell upon her, to reject the re-entrenchment of these systems which ultimately serve none of us. The dismantlement of imperial systems of injustice holds vast and vital consequences, and it will take all of us to achieve.

Let us begin.

# The Doctrine of Discovery

*What It Is and How to Dismantle It*

The 2019 Cook commemorations are New Zealand's response to the 250th anniversary of the inception of colonisation on this land. Across the nation, communities will be recounting their perspectives of what this means for them, but there is arguably a much more important story to be considering this year—the story of imperialism, and the religious doctrine that drove it across the globe. Ethical remembering calls upon us to understand the greater systems that commemoration belongs to, and how they can function to maintain injustice. To understand the ethics of commemorating Cook, we must go much further back in time, and begin the story in, of all places, medieval Rome.

The Doctrine of Discovery (also known as the Doctrine of Christian Discovery) is an international legal concept that is borne out a number of Catholic laws (called “papal bulls”) issued by the Vatican in the 15th and 16th centuries. It gave the monarchies of Britain and Europe the right to conquer and claim lands, and to convert or kill the native inhabitants of those lands.

One of the early papal bulls of this set, *Dum Diversas*,

accorded rights to the King of Portugal to attack, conquer and subjugate Saracens (Muslims) and pagans (non-Christians). It recognised the Portuguese attacks upon West Africa as a type of holy crusade. This papal bull accorded King Alfonso the right to seek out, capture, and to “reduce their persons to perpetual slavery and commit them to his and their use and profit.” In doing this, Alfonso was also granted the right to “appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods.” In this way, *Dum Diversas* initiated the European and Trans-Atlantic slave trade that eventually displaced over 13 million Africans.

Following on from this decree were the papal bulls *Romanus Pontifex* and *Inter Caetera* which extended these rights out into the lands of the new world, proclaiming all non-Christians enemies of God, and commanding that the monarchy, “for the defense and increase of the faith vanquish them and their kingdoms and habitations, though situated in the remotest parts unknown to us” (*Romanus Pontifex*). *Inter Caetera* is widely acknowledged to be the basis of the Law of Nations, the foundation of international law.

Importantly, these laws have never been rescinded since they were issued in the 15th century. They were only ever built upon and expanded. They also sculpted a societal reasoning of European superiority over all that are non-white and non-Christian, which was accompanied with a sense of supreme European entitlement to all non-white, non-Christian lands and resources.

The following centuries saw these European empires expanding across the globe, claiming lands, establishing colonies, and carrying this out through some of the most horrific acts of torture, abduction and mass slaughter of men, women, children and babies that the world has seen. It located and channelled Indigenous wealth to Europe from every inhabited continent on the planet.

This arrangement was foundational in establishing a global finance system which kept Europe in financial domination over the countries it extracted from, and that global financial hierarchy still exists today in the international banking system, regulating global economic fundamentals such as free trade and third world debt. Over time, the British Empire became the British Commonwealth of Nations, and even though the various colonial outposts established their own settler colonial governments, still land and self governance was never returned to the peoples of those lands.

Maintaining these structures of power over other people's lands and bodies requires purposeful acts of maintenance. It requires social programming to reduce resistance to the system. This social programming occurs across multiple platforms—education, media, currency, place names, monuments, national heritage schedules, public holidays and commemorative events—that communicate to us in implicit and explicit ways every day whose perspective is centred, who is important to remember, and how they should be remembered. They uphold colonial fictions that justify European domination, which could also reasonably be described as white supremacy. Such fictions include:

Colonisation is historical.

The coloniser is great, benevolent and non-violent.

Colonisation was invited.

Opposition to colonisation is dangerous and divisive.

Colonisation is beneficial.

Colonisation is inevitable and unavoidable.

Colonisation is localised.

The coloniser is central to our identity.

In spite of its attempts at inclusion, TUIA250 cannot help but re-entrench many of these fictions, by virtue of centring the stories of the nation around the date of the arrival of Cook. Even our own voyaging history has been hitched to the core date of Cook's arrival. No doubt some see this as an opportunity for Māori, but in failing to dismantle the core fictions upon which these frameworks of domination rest, an even greater opportunity has been granted to the colonial project to reaffirm its place at the center of our nation.

What would it take to dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery, as has been requested by the United Nations? Here are three very important steps:

1. An independent Indigenous truth forum
2. Rescind the papal bulls
3. Return Indigenous lands

The first step on the pathway to justice is TRUTH. Uncompromising, unwavering, unsanitised Indigenous truth. The “two truths” model fails to reconcile historical injustice. The fact that Cook could map a coastline and sail a ship is not equal in relevance to the fact that he abducted, stole from, tortured, infected, shot at and killed masses of Indigenous peoples in a project of imperial expansion. It also fails to address the significant role that colonial fiction has played in erasing the truth. Colonial fiction has had its day, and the only reason to perpetuate it is to pander to fragile white supremacists. Giving nothing to racism demands us to move beyond “two truths.” We deserve our own truth forum, on our terms, unhitched to the coloniser tale.

The Doctrine of Discovery is still very much present in our society today. Legally, it provided a precedent for the alienation of land by the USA, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand governments. It underpinned the European belief in their right to set up a government which violates the Treaty of Waitangi



without impacting upon their right to remain. The Vatican has been called upon to rescind the papal bulls multiple times and consistently refuses to do so. Should the Vatican rescind these laws it will provide an important legal and moral impetus to review the status of Indigenous lands. Our land and water territories are our economic, cultural and spiritual base, and they thrive under our care. Reinstating Indigenous lands provides us with the economic basis upon which to pursue all other rights, aspirations and futures.

Ethical commemorations demand a deep understanding of the colonial project. Cook certainly did not discover us, while innocently sailing the Pacific. His was a military mission to facilitate the expansion of the British Empire. That mission was unjust, and founded upon principles of white supremacy, but most importantly—it was just one part of a global story that continues to this day. My story, as a Māori mother marching for land rights alongside my brothers and sisters of Ihumātao, is connected to the story of a wahine Maoli atop Mauna Kea right now, telling her imperial occupier that he has taken enough from her. It is connected to the young Mohawk woman making a stand for her sacred ancestral waters being stolen from beneath her very feet by multinational corporations. My story, here in 2019, is connected to the story of a young man ripped away from his family in Ghana and transported by Portugese slave runners to be sold to a plantation owner in the USA. It is connected to his descendant, being pulled over and frisked for no apparent reason on the streets of DC. My story is connected to the Berber woman in 15th century North Africa running for her life from Crusaders. It is connected to the African child laying in the arms of his mother who cannot access healthcare because of US sanctions upon her country. My story is connected to my Kashmiri brother caged in his own home, staring out the window at his lands, wondering if his world will ever be the same again. It is connected to my sister in Hong Kong, on the ground, bleeding

onto the tarmac out of her nose, cracked by the truncheon of enforced Chinese law. My story is connected to my brothers and sisters in Linwood Mosque who will never, ever recover from the entitlement of white supremacists to claim this land as theirs, with complete rights to all who walk upon it. All of these stories are woven together by the Doctrine of Discovery, and we cannot wait another moment to dismantle it.

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# The Reconciliation Lie

*Exploring the Logic of Achieving Sovereignty  
Through Celebrating Cook*

Many questions have been raised about the impending 2019 Cook Commemorations, and the various activities associated to the commemoration of Cook's arrival in 1769. From the very outset, the idea was challenged at Gisborne District Council level, and has continued to be a contentious issue amongst our Tairāwhiti communities.

Still our government has thrown significant resourcing towards the commemoration of Cook's arrival, and have, some would say, graciously allowed Māori to utilise some of this resourcing, along with supportive relationships, all launched under the banner of the commemorations in order to try and make this a positive experience for us all. Discussions have included the potential reconfiguring of our landscape, which is currently very Cook-centric (to date Cook's arrival is immortalised through two Cook statues, a statue of his crew member, two statues of the *Endeavour*, a memorial of the landing site, a plaza, three streets, a park, an observatory, a hospital, various references through town, and of course through the name "Poverty Bay"). Relationships have been set up to facilitate the return of taonga

from the extensive Cook collections held overseas. Waka hourua have been recruited to support the return of the *Endeavour*, and potentially to escort the *Endeavour* around Aotearoa in an apparent maritime version of “he iwi kotahi tatou”—a project which itself has already had millions of dollars pledged to it by the NZ government.

Of course, such support, and funding, for kaupapa Māori is novel in a region where we have traditionally struggled to fund such ideas. Which begs the question—why is the government so willing to fund and facilitate these Endeavours (excuse the pun) under the mantle of the Cook commemorations, but not at any other time?

Is the overarching interest here an actual honouring of dual heritage, or is this an exercise in social licensing—where the government recognises the power of Indigenous support, and more importantly, the damage of Indigenous objection? So much so, in fact, that it will go to great lengths to secure that support. More importantly—is there something more at stake here than historical perspectives? What is it that they, and indeed we, stand to gain or lose in these transactions? In order to fully explore these questions we must consider the upcoming Cook Commemorations through a range of contexts. The common position seems to be that this is a historical event, the commemoration of which holds positive impacts for local hapū and iwi—but I would like to extend this discussion out, both in terms of time, and distance.

In the first instance—although this is seen as a historical event, there are a number of aspects to Cook’s arrival that can be seen to still exist in a contemporary setting, and certainly still impact upon current Indigenous realities.

When the Royal Naval vessel HMS *Bark Endeavour* was commissioned to sail to the South Pacific, with James Cook as its Captain, the ostensible purpose of the expedition was to observe the transit of Venus. Other, sealed orders were given to Cook,

but he was under strict instructions not to open them until after his work was completed in Tahiti. It's important to remember at this point that many other European countries were vying for opportunities to strategically annex parts of the Pacific—and the British Crown were very careful not to alert other nations as to their intentions. Upon completing his work in Tahiti, the secret orders were opened, and they instructed Cook to locate Terra Australis, the great southern continent encountered by Tasman, chart its coasts, obtain information about its people, cultivate alliances where possible, and annex any convenient trading posts in the King's name.

This activity of “strategic annexation” is a part of what historians relate to as the “Age of Discovery,” the time range of which reaches from the 15th to the 18th century, and was characterised by European imperial expansion. European nations would fund “voyages of exploration,” and where new land and resources were discovered, they would be claimed in the name of the discovering nation.

From where did these many explorers, from different European nations, over three centuries, all derive the right to claim land and resources for themselves? How is it that, across such a wide expanse of time and distance, so many acquired this mindset of entitlement? Well it wasn't a coincidence; it was in fact an activity sanctioned by Pope Alexander in a 15th century papal bull which came to underpin an international legal concept called the Doctrine of Discovery. This doctrine declared that lands occupied by non-European, non-Christian populations were able to be claimed as the property of the coloniser, as could all the resources within, and the Indigenous populations forfeit all rights of sovereignty.

The papal bull *Inter Caetera*, issued by Pope Alexander VI on May 4th, 1493, shaped the Discovery Doctrine and inception the “Age of Discovery,” which, as Moana Jackson notes, is probably more accurately described as the “Age of Genocide.”

The act of taking possession of lands through the Discovery Doctrine was carried out through the ceremonial raising of the flag. It is broadly accepted by historians that Captain Cook's journeys fall within the Age of Discovery. It is also well accepted that his primary (albeit secret) orders were actually to "discover" the great southern continent (including Aotearoa) and "claim" it for Britain. It is also accepted that he raised the British Flag in Whitianga, and again in Te Waipounamu, each time claiming the land for Mother England.

Now even though Cook was under orders to, as much as possible, befriend the locals, one must remember that this did not mean that he was not permitted to kill them, and that he did. He and his crew killed them when he saw something of theirs that he wanted, like in Australia when he fired his musket at local Indigenous people, then tracked them as they fled to steal from their homes. Or in Tūranga when he decided he wanted a waka and so chased it down, and shot everyone inside it in order to seize it. He did when he thought he was under threat of any kind (whether he actually was or not remains to be seen) such as was the case for October 9th when Te Maro was killed by the coxswain in the first encounter.

Was this normal behaviour for Europeans? Did they kill each other with such ease when back in their homelands? Well no, of course not—but it WAS permitted behaviour under the Discovery Doctrine. Under this doctrine, Cook was able to take what he wanted, and this included not only other people's property, but also other people. In fact, throughout his own journals, and those of his crew, and through Indigenous accounts, we have reports of Cook and his men killing, stealing and kidnapping their way around the Pacific. Of course, even in Tūranga Cook kidnapped three young men during his failed theft of the waka.

We can see that in very nearly every sense that Cook was very much operating under the Discovery Doctrine in claiming

lands and resources for England by raising the flag, and the manner in which he carried out his activities. It was this very first act that paved the way for the arrival of further settlers, and their own sense of entitlement. We must resist the concept that Cook was a noble explorer and accept the fact that he was deliberately sent out as a military naval captain, with a naval vessel, as the vanguard of British imperial expansion, armed with the Discovery Doctrine to claim Indigenous lands and resources. This was not unique—the military has always been the front foot of imperial expansion (and still is used as the front foot of corporate imperial expansion).

From Standing Rock to West Papua to Honduras and indeed here in Aotearoa—military forces are utilised to facilitate extraction from Indigenous territories.

Importantly—while it is the Treaty that compels the Crown to consult with us—it is the Discovery Doctrine that enables our government to consistently ignore those consultations. It is the Discovery Doctrine that enables them to ignore their obligations under very document that validates their occupation.

And that is how we find ourselves in the contemporary context of the Discovery Doctrine. For if we accept that Aotearoa is, in fact, Indigenous land, then the questions, very soon, begin to mount up:

Why, on Indigenous land, does our government get to ignore our voices?

Why, on Indigenous land, do we find ourselves looking to the likes of Maggie Barry for funding?

Why, on Indigenous land, do we get such little say about what happens to our land?

Why, on Indigenous land, do so many Indigenous people die so soon, so often, and so tragically?

Why, on Indigenous land, can we not protect and effectively promote our own Indigenous language?

Again—some may well say “well this is because the Treaty gets violated”—but then the question remains “so how do they get to remain in power, after they violate their own treaty?”

**The answer is the Discovery Doctrine.**

The very legislation that established the settler government, and paved the way for countless unjust legislative violations from then until now, and onwards into the future, are reiterations of the Discovery Doctrine again, and again and again.

And because Discovery Doctrine reaffirms the power structure of the “discovering” people, and the subjugation of the Indigenous people, it is, of course, something that the discovering nation likes to reaffirm through celebrations, commemorations, and the creation and support of “hero’s tales” that, in totality, aim to “move past unsavoury pasts” in order to cement their place in the colonised country. Cue Columbus Day; cue Magellan celebrations; cue the Cook commemorations.

In fact, the social licensing of the Discovery Doctrine grows more difficult for governments to carry out every year. In the 1969 Cook Celebrations, Māori validation and support was inconsequential—pre-Waitangi Tribunal, pre-Māori Language Claim, pre-Indigenous rights—the sixties were a time when Indigenous erasure was commonplace.

Cook Celebrations 1969 involved another military invasion, complete with aircraft and naval vessels.

It is only in recent years, thanks to much work from the likes of Moana Jackson, Linda and Graham Smith, Leonie Pihama and Aroha Mead, that colonial history has been exposed for its fallacy and damage. Thanks to this groundwork, any history that marginalises Indigenous peoples can be viewed as racist and archaic.



Can you see, now, why it is so vital for our government to court Indigenous approval for their festivities?

**Now that we see what they stand to gain, let us now consider what we have to lose.**

Of course we have heard of various benefits being channeled through these commemorations—the return of overseas taonga, the funding of voyaging events... and perhaps most interesting are the “opportunities to tell our version of the story.” Implicit in this statement are a number of assumptions—firstly that we cannot tell our truths in other ways, which of course is patently absurd. Second is the assumption that through telling our truths, we will find healing and reconciliation. Certainly this is lauded as a pathway to bicultural harmony—the languaging around the celebrations is deliberate in its continued reference to the event as a celebration of “dual heritage” and a way of “coming together.”

Yet given the disproportionate power system set up by Cook’s arrival and maintained by the celebration of that event, just how realistic is it to expect actual reconciliation?

While it may “feel good” to have our versions placed alongside other versions that heroicise Cook, is it still relevant, in this day and age, to be thankful for allowing that to happen, when this is now the minimum standard anyway?

Again, I return to the concept of “ground” because another position of the Cook promoters is that, in presenting two different versions of history, we reach a “middle ground.” This is reminiscent of the suggestion that Treaty principles are a fair middle ground between the differing versions of the Treaty and Te Tiriti.

But as Ani Mikaere points out—they’re not a fair middle ground because we did not sign the Treaty—we signed Te Tiriti.

This tactic is known as creating a “false middle ground.” There is no middle ground here. There is only Indigenous ground. The Pākeha version of events has been repeatedly embedded

in the nation's consciousness for 200 years. It has dominated history. It is the default position for most of Aotearoa. Setting it alongside the marginalised Indigenous version does not create a middle ground. There are also aspects of this version that have been challenged and disproven throughout much of the Pacific. Placing falsehood next to the truth does not make the falsehood any more truthful.

Actual reconciliation cannot be said to occur without fundamentally challenging the power systems that drive the continued oppression of our people in our own lands. This much will not happen as a result of these commemorations—we know that because this much is not even able to happen WITHIN these celebrations. Just look at who is holding the purse strings, who dominates the decision-making, and (of course) whose anniversary we are basing everything around.

In Canada, our Indigenous brothers and sisters face the same struggle. The banners of “truth and reconciliation” fly strong and high in the era of Trudeau. Yet Indigenous communities are still robbed of their lands, and literally poisoned, by the Alberta Tar Sands giga-project. We bear witness to instances where treaty promises are consistently broken every single day—all the while Indigenous communities are asked to stand and smile for the cameras in the name of truth and reconciliation. Indigenous journalist Steve Newcombe writes:

Reconciliation is a false-word that makes it appear as if something positive is being done without once addressing the persistent and ongoing process that is causing the problems experienced by Original Nations of Great Turtle Island in the place now commonly called ‘Canada.’

He couldn't be more right—just how much “reconciliation” rhetoric should Sylvia McAdam<sup>1</sup> be expected to swallow while

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<sup>1</sup> Sylvia McAdam Saysewahum is a member of the Canadian Cree Nation. She is an advocate for First Nation and Environmental rights in Canada. She is a founding member of Idle No More, a lawyer, a professor, and an author. In all of these cases, her work is focused on spreading awareness and education about First Nation and Environmental rights.

she continues to fight the theft and ruin of her lands and oppression of her people on a daily basis?

This brings me to the next context within which we may consider this event—the global Indigenous context. For as much as we must consider the benefits for our own hapū and iwi—we also enjoy membership of a global Indigenous community. We regularly celebrate our Indigenous relationships; we gather together and stand by each other by virtue of our many shared experiences—and in many spaces, we share a strong bond of solidarity and even alliances. When we consider what Cook meant to us, it makes sense to also at least consider what he meant for our Indigenous brothers and sisters who encountered him after he left our shores.

As I mentioned earlier, in Cook's three voyages around the Pacific, he managed to leave a significant legacy and impact on Indigenous peoples—and not a good one.

The fateful first 48-hours of Cook's time in Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, which featured theft, kidnapping, and murder, are roughly representative of his *modus operandi* around the Pacific. In addition to those that he and his crew shot and killed, Cook also knowingly brought infected men with him and allowed them to sexually transmit their diseases throughout Indigenous communities—which had devastating consequences for multiple generations.

For many, many other Indigenous relations across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, Cook's exploits represent one more hurtful, destructive page in history where Indigenous people are the unfortunate footnote in the story of European imperial expansion. Some of them are still trying to wrestle their own identity from the aftermath of Cook's "discovery" (if Poverty Bay is not difficult enough consider being called the "Cook Islands"), let alone pursue a platform for their experiences of encountering

him. In providing a platform for Cook to be celebrated, we cannot absolve ourselves of the impacts this will have upon those who are also a part of Cook's story.

And finally, for the broader Indigenous community, the issue of the Discovery Doctrine continues to impact them, as it does us. Not only through the domination of history, but also through continued seizure and occupation of Indigenous lands by settler governments and corporations. Even though it was Christopher Columbus who was famously credited with "discovering" the United States, it was in fact England's recognition of the Doctrine that was famously cited by the US Court of Law in removing the sovereign rights of First Nations peoples. In fact it has been acknowledged that the Discovery Doctrine forms the basis for US law. The Doctrine has subsequently played a direct and indirect role in the theft of First Nations lands, the theft of First Nations children, and more recently, it has played a role in the sale of Indigenous assets to corporate interests. Indeed, every year, still, Indigenous nations stand before the United Nations and cite the continued use of the Discovery Doctrine by member state nations to pave the way for corporations to abuse our rights and alienate our lands and resources.

The very curious, and human, condition of exceptionalism, exhibits as a tendency to think that we are the exception in the case—that racism is something that happens in other families, that other nations have experienced colonisation so much worse than us, and in fact that our experience is negligible in comparison. Yet, the Discovery Doctrine has underpinned legislation that has stolen much of our land, displaced generations of our children, has robbed us of our language and forced the vast majority of us off our ancestral lands, into the cities and away from each other. In failing to call out the Discovery Doctrine for its contemporary role in our own oppression, and that of our brothers and sisters,

we perpetuate a power relationship that continues to set us back in the struggle for full sovereignty in our own lands.

Importantly, in the case of the Cook commemorations—if we are not willing to consider the role of discovery narratives in maintaining a system of domination over ourselves and other Indigenous peoples, then the vision of *mana motuhake* will remain a distant mirage.



# Hey Cook – FAQ

In two weeks, I will be attending the United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues, to place before them the issue of the 2019 celebrations of Captain Cook's arrival in Aotearoa (and the Pacific). My objections to this event are anything but news to those that know me, or have read my blog. I've published on this numerous times, and spoken at a number of venues regarding the surrounding issues. Naturally the issues raised by these objections don't go unchallenged. While there are many of us who object to these proceedings, there are, still, many others who would like to see them go ahead. For those who may read or hear about this in the coming weeks, and feel the need to pose a question or two, I've compiled the following FAQ list with responses.

Oh also, it's probably a good time to wave out now to my most recent followers from Ministry for Culture and Heritage and let you know that yes—you can expect more resistance. We're only just getting started.

Ok so here we go—the Cook Celebrations FAQ:

### **1. Cook was on a science mission though... wasn't he?**

The observation of the transit of Venus was a convenient cover for Britain's moves to secure trading posts, military stations and the claiming of lands and resources in the name of the Crown. The 1700s was still well within this period of time known as the "Age of Discovery"—probably better termed from an Indigenous perspective as the "Age of Genocide." Driven by the Discovery Doctrine, which arose out of medieval law discourse around the reach of the church and the duties of discovery and conversion, explorers were essentially accorded divine rights for exploration, and claiming of new territories, with any non-Christian inhabitants being considered part of the land, and able to be claimed as territory. Converting them to Christianity was considered to be doing "god's work." By the time the mid-1700s came around there were Spaniards, French and Dutch "explorers" positioning themselves around the Pacific in their own little imperial race.

When the Royal Navy sent Cook on the HMS *Bark Endeavour*, they knew that declaring their true intentions could result in others beating them to their goal—and so the cover of a science expedition was a handy way to position Cook in the South Pacific without betraying their intentions. The *Bark Endeavour* was a military vessel, captained by a Naval Lieutenant, equipped with 10 four-pound cannons and 12 swivel guns, not for science, but for imperial expansion.

### **2. It's commemorations! Not celebrations...**

Semantics. You're basing a year-long series of events, and investing millions of dollars, around your own arrival to this land when the people most impacted by that arrival still struggle significantly from those impacts. A year of events and millions of dollars, while our true history still cannot be taught in our schools, and the government fails to address children going to school with no food. A year of events while whānau of Edgcumbe await



adequate housing a year after the floods, while whānau all over our country face another approaching winter without adequate housing, or heating. The fact that numerous newspapers, and even our own local council, can't seem to avoid calling it celebrations exposes the commemoration tag as a thin veneer.

Truth is, as a nation, we are nowhere near being ready to hold this discussion, and to do so leapfrogs the primary discussion of our Indigenous rights. Commemoration, celebration, whatever the hell you want to call it—it's not appropriate to be spending this much money on an event about your own arrival to our land. You have \$15 million handy? Give it to us come October 9th, along with an apology, an acknowledgement that this is just the scratch on the surface of what is required, and a commitment to start handing power and lands back and then we can talk. In fact, why put off 'til then what you can do right now?

### **3. It happened 250 years ago, shouldn't you be over it by now?**

Oh how I'd love for it to have stopped 250 years ago. Maybe if we'd shared some of the qualities of our Hawaiian relations, it would have.

The privilege of an inconsequential past belongs to those who still live off the benefits of how it played out.

For those of us who have survived a consistent, multigenerational experience of racism, from the theft of our lands and displacement of our ancestors, and the imposition of an illegitimate settler government, through to acts of cultural genocide—all of these rights violations have multi-generational impacts, and all of them are rooted in the entitlement assumed under the Doctrine of Discovery. These same rights violations are still relevant and present today. Our government still assumes rights it has never been accorded through our "founding document." Pull the thread of Britain's right to be here at all, of their assumption that they provide us with civilisation and protection, of their right to make the decisions about our lands,

resources, rights and lives, and the very foundations of our own government begins to unravel. It's a huge issue, which is why Discovery Doctrine issues are so rarely addressed, and why they still need to be addressed. What Cook did held impacts for our entire nation of Māori, and further afield, held impacts for our relations right across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.

#### **4. But he was one of the good guys!**

Captain Cook's voyages around the Pacific have often been characterised as adventures where he engaged in mutually beneficial relationships, admiring the people he encountered, trading hospitably with them. He's often portrayed as the honourable and fair scientist-cum-explorer. Yet in his own journals he details stealing from Indigenous communities when he comes across their homes unattended—but shooting, killing, and abducting those who would dare to steal from him when he arrives uninvited to their lands and waters (and being the judge jury and executioner when anything went missing). He quite evidently didn't admire the people of Niue which he named "Savage Island," and also evidently didn't admire my own region which he titled "Poverty Bay"—of course these names revolved entirely around what he wasn't able to get from us rather than any intrinsic value. Here again, we see the erasure of native title simply in the assumption to name a place that already clearly has a name.

Cook also, of course, used deadly force whenever he felt he was under attack, and as was the case in Tūranga, his perception of attack may well at times have been a matter of miscommunication—but EVEN IF IT WERE true that he was under threat, that is a perfectly predictable and reasonable response to an invader, arriving without invite on other people's shores with no actual entitlement other than that of his own Crown. It has always been quite within our rights to defend our own territories from invaders so let us never forget who was

taking the action out here. Cook was imposing himself upon our territories and had no right to exert deadly force upon us for defending our territories as we saw fit.

But it was not merely within the scope of retribution or miscommunication that Cook took Indigenous lives, in fact he also detailed within his own journals the murder of unarmed Indigenous peoples merely because he desired to get a better look at the vessel they were sailing at the time. In plain terms, he committed piracy. Multiple times.

These particular pirates did not just pillage and plunder but they also infected swathes of Pacific populations with sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea, and in fact were responsible for the introduction of sexually transmitted diseases to Aotearoa, Hawai'i, and many other Pacific nations, by some crewmembers with girls as young as nine. It's widely known that Cook, himself, died ridden with syphilis. Alongside tuberculosis these diseases were responsible for huge population losses, hence in many places by Indigenous peoples Cook is remembered as a syphilitic pedophile rather than an honourable explorer. Comparing explorers who were all responsible for wiping out Indigenous populations is hardly a yardstick for morality. So who were the good guys? Well—in this context, I'd say the good guys were the ones that stayed at home.

### **5. But there are Māori taking part—they're getting to tell their story and celebrate their histories too.**

So first of all—Māori participation is not an indicator of justice for Māori—the Ture Whenua Māori Review quite clearly demonstrates that. But secondly—we are not a hive mind. Some value the Treaty, some do not, some see the relevance in the Doctrine of Discovery, others are quite unaware of it. I cannot answer for those who have chosen to participate but I can say that any move to base an event around the arrival of colonisation to these lands should NOT be initiated by Pākeha, should NOT

be led by Pākeha, and should not have the purse strings held by Pākeha. So what is the choice here, given that it was initiated by Pākeha, with an option for Māori to participate.

The option was participate or be absent.

And this, literally, is how I have had this situation presented to me by well-meaning Pākeha involved with these events who had no idea of how absolutely traumatising it is to say to an Indigenous person: “Well, it’s going to happen—so what would you like to do about it?”

And that, my friends, is the perfect example of the power dynamic that sits behind the Cook events. This is a chance to participate or be erased on your own land.

Can I blame anyone for insisting that their story be included? No. Does that make this a JUST scenario? NO.

There are still others who revel in the fact that this is “shining a light” on the Pacific, on Aotearoa, that it brings with it unprecedented interest in our region and a desire to learn more about us (and even now I cannot write that without sighing deeply).

Let’s be clear about this—we, Indigenous Peoples, Māori, and all Ocean Peoples—do NOT need Cook in order to celebrate ourselves. We have done so, and will continue to do so. Pasifika Festival, Matatini Performing Arts Festival, Te Māori... we don’t need to wait for Cook to come along in order to celebrate who we are. In fact—we should probably all at this point be asking some very important questions: Who is it exactly that is just now showing interest in our region and ourselves? Why now as opposed to any other time? Whose gaze are we courting, and for whose ultimate benefit? No, I’m going to suggest that the heightened interest in this region is the misinterpretation of a greater interest in the colonial narratives of discovering and conquering this region. This, combined with the peddling of Indigenous acceptance makes for a much more palatable version of our history—a story where fragile white settler descendants

can feel “safe” to engage in what happened, and is still happening, on these lands. That is what people are engaging in. For Māori—given that we CAN celebrate ourselves any time—why should we be basing any celebration of ourselves around the arrival of the forces that have sought to undo everything we are from that point onwards? Especially when it allows our coloniser to pat himself on the back for “providing the opportunity” and ultimately provides a free pass for our coloniser to leapfrog past restoration of due rights to a pretense of “reconciliation.” When our lands and waters are returned along with the ability to govern ourselves on our lands and waters... then we can begin the discussion of reconciliation. There is no shortcut. Which brings me to the next common line...

**6. But this is a great opportunity for us to reconcile our pasts and move on together!**

This... THIS is really rich. Like.. that bitter, embattled “HA!” kind of rich, when someone makes a suggestion that is as insulting as it is myopic. Māori have been dragging our Treaty partner back to the table to remind them of their obligations under the document THEY drafted, since before the ink was dry. In each instance, our Treaty partner has sought to curtail our efforts. Opportunities exist for reconciliation every single day in this country, and every single day we still see racism in the media, racism in our council representation, racism in our government, racism in our schools.

Even the incredibly flawed Treaty settlement process sits underneath a Crown power structure, which still resists our own historical truths and calls for justice. Every week I go to gatherings that essentially boil down to us dealing with the impacts of colonisation, and every week our Treaty partner leaves us to deal with that alone. Every one of those gatherings is a missed opportunity for the descendants of colonisers to attend, to hear the impacts, and to consider how they can help to restore

justice. You want to reconcile? Come hīkoi with us. Support our kura kaupapa and kōhanga reo. Learn our reo. Call for the return of our lands. Call for our right to govern ourselves. Call for Pākeha to exit their positions of power and hand them over to us, and support us in our journey for the restoration of our rights, and our agency, in our land. But no—you want to ignore those material opportunities and call THIS our opportunity to reconcile. An opportunity that affords you the right to celebrate yourselves, and then us too—because that, apparently, is how to do “bi-cultural.”

There are so many ways you can enter into the discussion of reconciliation.

But centering an event around the day that your lot arrived here, initiated by you, with options for us to participate—that’s not it.

### **7. What’s this got to do with the environment?**

If we’re talking about Cook—well, when Cook returned to Europe and even during his travels, as he spread word of the resources he encountered in various lands, it unfailingly led to intrusions from further traders, or military invasions and theft, and subsequent resource depletion and in some cases, the wiping out of food systems and staple stocks for Indigenous communities. Of course this fault lies not only with Cook but also with those that followed after him—and in both cases, again, we see this imperial entitlement, this socialised, normalised philosophy of entitlement to non-Christian territories and resources encapsulated by the Discovery Doctrine, that persists to this day. So the answer is: Everything. The Doctrine of Discovery has EVERYTHING to do with the environment. It was developed with the dispossession of Indigenous lands and resources in mind. The Discovery Doctrine facilitated the re-channelling of resources and wealth to European empires. From that point on, the claiming of lands, which was necessary in order to set up

settler governments, removed power from the people who lived in an interdependent relationship with those lands and waters, and placed that power in a central location that could reap the benefits of its use without being subject to the impacts of its degradation. And that is how governments continue to operate today—in a centralised fashion, viscerally dissociated from the harm they cause, re-channelling power and resources to a core group.

The empires they serve were once monarchies, and are now corporations who operate under the very same entitlement to impact upon our lands, waters and even our own children and bodies as if we were simply a part of the booty that they stole. Our government stole ten thousand hectares of land from Māori hands through the Foreshore and Seabed Act NOT because the Treaty allowed it to do so, but because the Doctrine of Discovery empowered it to do so. Oil industries plunder our seabed and lands not because of a Treaty-led government but because of a Doctrine of Discovery-led government. Our waterways are dying not because of a government that honours Te Tiriti, but because of colonial entitlement that erases Indigenous presence and voices, as per the Doctrine of Discovery. If the Treaty was the tenancy agreement of the Crown to remain in Aotearoa, then it begs the question why can it still remain after so many breaches? The answer is The Discovery Doctrine.

## **8. But...why the United Nations?**

The Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues sits within the UN, under the ECOSOC council, to hear specific issues pertaining to Indigenous peoples around the world. Where governments fail to recognise the rights of Indigenous Peoples, or in the instance where issues supersede one government and impact upon the broader Indigenous community, the Permanent Forum is there for these issues to be recorded in the global accounts. Upon occasion, recommendations may be elevated to the General

Assembly, or rapporteurs may be appointed to investigate an issue. The Doctrine of Discovery may not be that well discussed in Aotearoa, but in the Permanent Forum it's recognised as the underpinning theme for Indigenous dispossession. So much so, in fact, that a special session was held around the Doctrine of Discovery, and the resulting report from the Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues reaffirmed that "all doctrines, including the doctrine of discovery, that advocate superiority on the basis of national origin or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust and should be repudiated in word and action."

So while the NZ government might not realise the rights transgressions of an event which does anything less than completely repudiate Cook's acts as vile and immoral, the UN Permanent Forum certainly does, and that's where this needs to be presented, as a record of NZ's response to the recommendations of 2014.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this—we already know of instances overseas that seek to use these celebrations as a template for their own celebrations. Our brothers and sisters of Australia will also be subjected to a government imposing Cook celebrations upon them, will also be told that it will be in their own best interests, will also have government-sponsored participation from members of their communities, in spite of Cook's declaration of *Terra Nullius*, unoccupied land, which led to subsequently being subjected to horrific abuses and murder. Other Indigenous nations are also facing re-enactments of the arrival of colonisers—this issue of governments celebrating the arrival of the coloniser is a huge, unnecessary sap of energy and resources that could so much more effectively be spent on simply getting on with the business of reclaiming our freedom.

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1. See Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Thirteenth Session. (2014) *A Study on the impacts of the Doctrine of Discovery on Indigenous peoples, including mechanisms, processes and instruments of redress, with reference to the Declaration, and particularly to articles 26-28, 32 and 40.* <http://caid.ca/UNESRPFIL.C19.2014.pdf>



**9. What do you hope to achieve? What do you want to see happen?**

First and foremost, for the records to show that this did not go unchallenged. Secondly, for those that have spent so many years working to elevate social consciousness around the Doctrine of Discovery to have their work acknowledged and built upon, as a legacy for future Indigenous generations to carry on with.

To be honest—I would like to wake up in 2019 and have this be another year where we progress as Indigenous people towards our sovereign rights, not some other shifted goal of “celebrated dual heritage.” Let Cook rest in the shadows of history as the murderous, thieving, kidnapping, diseased pirate that he was, and let the rest of us just get on with elevating our own Indigenous stories on our own terms and timeframes.

Koina noiho. That’s why I’m going to the UN. If you’d like to contribute towards the trip—here’s the crowdfunding page. MCH— feel free to fund me! It would be a nice step towards reconciliation.



## Why I Won't Give the Cook Celebrations My Brown-ness

So here we are, in the thick of it—2019. The Cook celebrations are set in train in multiple townships across our country and there is a hearty debate on their impact and value.

From the moment it crossed my attention back in 2014 I have opposed it wholeheartedly. There are many other Māori, however, who have decided to participate. I'm not going to speak to their motives—that is for them to do. One of the most common tactics of the coloniser is to place Natives in front of other Natives to hold the debate about colonial abuse—so that the coloniser can continue on their business.

What I am going to speak to here, however, is my own reasoning why I, as a Ngāti Porou woman from Te Tairāwhiti, have not, and will not, participate in the TUIA250 funded Cook events.

Now, back in 2014 when I first started vocally opposing these events, I was approached by members and associates of Te Hā Sestercentennial Trust with various versions of “please be quiet and/or get on the waka.” I have been offered a “River Award.” I have been cajoled, and cried at, and when the attempts

to recruit failed—the tactics shifted to publicly discrediting me as a liar, purist and a hater who “needs to keep her mouth shut.” That’s not so much cause for “woe is me,” but rather, it’s interesting to see how determined these attempts have been. I’ve seen them do the same with others who have opposed—with varying results. The conversation themes generally went along the lines of:

This is your chance to tell your side of the story.

There’s a lot of money involved, you can make this work for you and your people, get something good out of it.

You can get some conservation wins out of this.

We need to start focusing on how to chart a path forward together.

Look for better or worse, it happened, and we need to acknowledge that.

Well the events are going ahead anyway, with or without you, so you just need to decide if you want your voice in there or not.

Now, I can focus on every single one of those arguments, but I think it’s more important right now to focus on why brown endorsement of the TUIA250 events is so important.

Of course, if you ask any person involved in these events they will rightfully point out that it is ethically important to present “both sides of the story.” Of course we have never required colonial permission or validation to tell our side of the story; we’ve been doing that for a long time, but in all honesty, if this were really about some benevolent intent to make sure I had my side of the story included, then the attempts would never have tipped over into aggression.

So let's consider, instead, what this would have looked like without any brown endorsement and involvement: colonial funds, celebrating colonial arrival, telling a colonial story. Colonising governments spending tens of millions of dollars purely on themselves, while Indigenous peoples remain in poverty.

It would never have gotten past square one.

For this reason, whenever I hear people talk about how we can use this as “our chance to tell our story”—what I cannot help but consider, is how we are actually being used for the coloniser to centre their own story. Indeed, Indigenous participation on the margin is vital to the centring of the coloniser.

Therein is my first reason why I will not lend them my brown-ness: I will not play any role in the coloniser centring of themselves in the story of my land.

Of course it's vital to get brown endorsement of these events—it sends a signal to ourselves, and the world, that our interests are being represented and supported. In this sense—it doesn't really matter what is said in our participation—what counts is that we participated. That is what the world will see, and when TUIA250 is critiqued, that is the first defence they have.

Therein lies the second reason I will not lend them my brown-ness: I will not be a tool of defence for our colonial government.

This is a form of exploitation that functions to cloak the white supremacy, which sits at the heart of these events. The very articulate Moana Jackson (I know...I quote him a lot) has reflected that:

When many Europeans were still nervously venturing into what Socrates called the “little pond” of the Mediterranean, the peoples of the Pacific were charting the greatest ocean in the world. They mapped its currents, reached for stories in its depths, and established a whakapapa that joined all of its islands together. That is a story worthy of being honoured—

but in the Crown commemorations, it is only being told in the shadowed narrative of someone else.

There is what you say in an event, and there is what an event says—just as monuments are a signal of what society deems important enough to embed as a marker of our identity on the landscape—so too are publicly funded nationwide events a statement in and of themselves. They are monuments in time that say THIS date matters, that THIS person matters, and that they matter enough to centre our identity on it. In placing our stories within the wake of the coloniser, we give them power to once again be our great benefactor, the centre of our success. This is why groups like Robyn Kahukiwa’s “Kia Mau” page, and the accompanying declaration, is so important. It is not just opposing the celebrations—it is DENYING them our participation, as *Tangata Whenua*.

Like I stated above—the colonial story does not hold centre stage in my story of Aotearoa. It does not even share centre stage. Māori are the centre of this nation’s identity, and the colonial story (even that which sits in my own whakapapa) is a much more recent addition to the story of Aotearoa. We are very selective in what counts as history in this country—certainly, the “Māori Land Wars” (probably more aptly called the “Colonial Theft Wars”) are not deemed important enough to be embedded in the national curriculum. In Aotearoa our history is consistently misrepresented, and indeed even the historians at the very centre of the Cook campaign continue to misrepresent the facts of what happened, positioning Cook as benevolent, framing his killing of Native people as a mere character flaw of an otherwise noble renaissance man, and deliberately minimising the murders of brown people that he carried out everywhere he went. Our participation alongside these people implies endorsement of their fictions, and therein lies my third reason why I will not participate in these events: I refuse to allow my brown-ness to

endorse the continuation of colonial fictions about the killing of my ancestors, and the theft of our lands and waters.

There is also a larger story and issue at play here and that is the global struggle of opposing the impacts of The Doctrine of Discovery. It has played out all around the world, and has been highlighted by the United Nations as the driver of all Indigenous dispossession. As a mindset, the Doctrine of Discovery reiterates an entitlement to conquer for the sake of imperial expansion. That mindset sits at the heart of corporate empires, and fuels the processes of climate change and ocean pollution which place our very existence at threat. I cannot maintain a position of solidarity with my Indigenous brothers and sisters, or one of care for our Earth Mother, while reinforcing the very mindset that threatens them all. I will not allow my Indigeneity to be used in a process that places the roots of my Indigeneity, and my Indigenous brothers and sisters, at threat.

The Doctrine of Discovery is the bedrock of the colonial structure that sits around us. Like all structures, if left alone, the colonial power structure will soon crumble in on itself. It requires ongoing acts of restoration and reinforcement in order to sustain itself. Disguising Indigenous truth with colonial fiction is one such act of reinforcement. These colonial fictions look like:

We were discovered.

Our colonial experience is historical.

Our colonial experience was benevolent and non-violent.

Our colonial experience was invited.

Our colonial experience has been overall beneficial.

Capitalising on the “benefits” of a platform for us to tell our side of the story belies two facts: one, that we have already been

telling this story without them for 250 years, and have generally been vilified, by our colonisers, for doing so. And two, that if the coloniser was generally interested in our side of the story they could have joined us in this practice at any point over the past 250 years rather than vilifying us, or arguing with us. The entire Waitangi Tribunal process is a harrowing experience of us telling our truths about the colonial experience while the Crown continues to deny or minimise it—and that is going on still, today.

Of course it is hoped that the pockets of Indigenous truth that are allowed through these events will result in some social shift towards justice. This does not, however, allow for the bulk of colonial fiction that is being funded through this event. Those colonial fictions will continue to frustrate my children and mokopuna's struggle for sovereignty in their own land—because the first step to justice is TRUTH. TUIA250 may not be willing to take responsibility for the colonial mistruths they are facilitating around the country, but I can certainly make them accountable through refusing to lend them my brown-ness.

Most especially, you will not find me anywhere near a welcoming ceremony for the replica of the death ship, *Endeavour*. To provide welcoming ceremonies for the replica of a ship, which killed our people and stole our lands is exactly the kind of endorsement our coloniser requires of us to maintain their false premise of being invited, and welcome, in their role. These kinds of optics are vital for the coloniser—which is why I use the term “brown-ness” because to them it is very much a performative, optical endorsement of their presence and behaviour that they seek—even though within Te Ao Māori these ceremonies, our whakapapa and mana, should mean so much more. This is why it becomes difficult and confusing for whānau and communities who don't want to welcome the coloniser, but do want to welcome each other, our waka hourua, and our performers, who are walking alongside the coloniser, ushering the coloniser into



these opportunities. You see—it is US providing the coloniser with opportunities to tell their story and indeed centre it, not the other way around.

Tōku mana Māori, he mana Māori motuhake—a line from the anthem of our tuakana, Te Whānau a Apanui. My mana is a gift of my ancestors, inherited to me by way of whakapapa, genealogy. They have survived 250 years of colonial fictions and oppression. Their marks upon my skin, their name that I carry, their values in my heart, their matauranga in my mind. Regardless of my actual skin colour: everything that the coloniser perceives as my “brown-ness” actually comes from my ancestors. It is a sacred part of who I am, my connection to this land and these waters—and that is the most important reason I cannot, and will not, allow it to be used within a systemic legitimisation of colonial crimes.

Nōku tēnei whenua, kei a au te kōrero. Nōku tēnei whenua,  
ko au te rangatira (This is my land, this is my story to tell.  
This is my land, and I am the authority)

– Apirana Mahuika



*James Cook and the Doctrine of Discovery*

# 5 Things to Know

The Doctrine of Discovery (also known as the Doctrine of Christian Discovery) is an international legal concept and Christian principle, that is borne out a number of Catholic laws (called “papal bulls”) originating out of the Vatican in the 15th and 16th centuries. It gave the monarchies of Britain and Europe the right to conquer and claim lands, and to convert or kill the native inhabitants of those lands.

In 2019 it will be 250 years since this process was carried out in Aotearoa New Zealand, by James Cook. Here are 5 important things to know about that:

## **1. The intent of the Doctrine**

The Doctrine of Discovery provided a framework for Christian explorers, in the name of their King or Queen, to lay claim to territories uninhabited by Christians. If the lands were vacant, then they could be defined as “discovered” and sovereignty claimed.

## **2. Within the framework of the Doctrine, Indigenous Peoples were considered non-human.**

The Doctrine asserts that non-Christians on these discovered lands were not human and therefore the land was empty or *Terra Nullius*. When Cook arrived in Aotearoa he was under orders to claim land for King George III, preferably by consent—however he did so without consent. When he arrived in Australia, there would have been up to 750,000 people living there, who had been living on those lands for over 65,000 years, however, he declared the land *Terra Nullius*, which means he declared the Indigenous people of Australia to be not human, and the land empty—and then claimed the land for King George III. In Aotearoa, Lieutenant William Hobson, on order from the British Crown, declared Te Waipounamu (The South Island) *Terra Nullius* in 1840 and then claimed it for the Crown.

## **3. UN perspective on the Impact of the Doctrine of Discovery**

The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues concluded its eleventh session with the approval of a set of nine draft recommendations, highlighted by a text approved on the special theme, the ongoing impact of the Discovery Doctrine on Indigenous peoples and the right redress. That 15th century Christian principle was denounced throughout the session as the “shameful” root of all the discrimination and marginalisation Indigenous Peoples face today.

The Permanent Forum noted that, while such frameworks of domination and “conquest” were promoted as authority for land acquisition, they also encouraged despicable assumptions: that Indigenous peoples were “savages,” “barbarians,” “inferior” and “uncivilised,” among other constructs the colonisers used to justify their subjugation, domination and exploitation of the lands, territories and resources of native peoples.

**4. The Doctrine of Discovery is a legal foundation for many of the court cases and pieces of legislation in Aotearoa New Zealand that have alienated Māori land.**

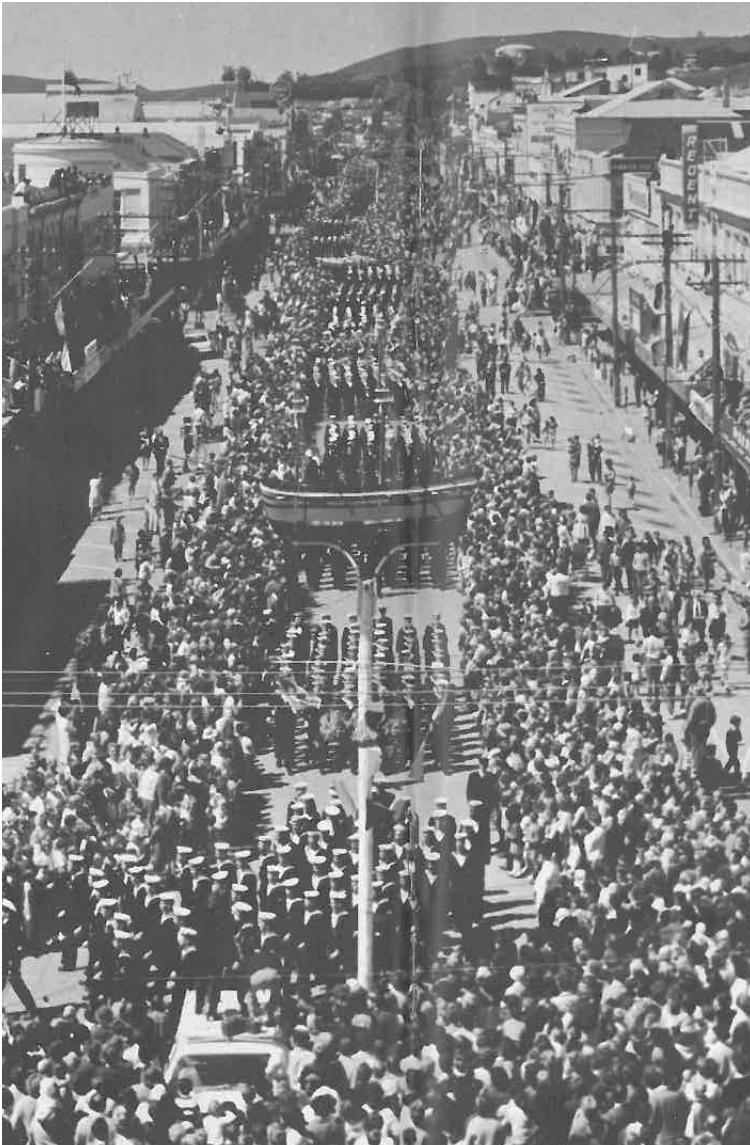
One of the most famous court cases in New Zealand legal history is *Wi Parata vs The Bishop of Wellington 1853*. Its impact was huge for New Zealand law, in that it famously declared the Treaty of Waitangi “a simple nullity” and found that the only valid title to land was Crown title. This finding, by Judge James Prendergast, relied upon a precedent case from the US: *Johnson vs McIntosh* that invoked the Doctrine of Discovery. In this case, US Chief Justice John Marshall repeatedly cited the Discovery Doctrine, saying:

that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects it was made, against all other European governments [which] necessarily gave to the nation making the discovery the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives.

-*Johnson v. M'Intosh*, 21 U.S. 543, 5 L.Ed. 681, 8 Wheat. 543 (1823)

In using this US case as a precedent, Judge Prendergast inserted the Doctrine of Discovery into New Zealand law, and these findings continued to then be used as precedent and be supported by New Zealand judges in the denial of Māori rights and the alienation of Māori land right up to the current day. In fact, in the Court of Appeal case *Ngati Apa v Attorney-General*—famously known as the Foreshore and Seabed case, Chief Justice Sian Elias referenced *Wi Parata vs Bishop of Wellington* by saying that:

I am of the view that the approach taken by Turner J in the Supreme Court and by the Court of Appeal in *In Re the Ninety-Mile Beach* can be explained only on the basis that they were applying the approach taken in *Wi Parata*



The 1969 Cook Celebrations in Gisborne: an unabashed military parade including the navies of the UK and US.

v Bishop of Wellington. On that approach Māori property had no existence in law until converted into land held in fee of the Crown. Until then it was assumed to be Crown property.... For the reasons already given, such view is contrary to the common law.

*-Ngati Apa v Attorney-General* [2003] 3 NZLR 643, 663

In legal speak, that's Chief Justice Sian Elias saying "GTFOH with any idea that the Crown owns the foreshore." In response, the NZ government drafted legislation that, in direct conflict with these findings, vested ownership of the foreshore and seabed with the Crown.

So even when the judges stopped explicitly supporting it, the NZ government still based legislation on the Doctrine of Discovery that alienated our foreshore and seabed.

## **5. The Doctrine of Discovery continues to dispossess Indigenous Peoples of our rights every day**

The Doctrine of Discovery has come to mean much more than a legal concept. It has been acknowledged by the United Nations as "the driver of all Indigenous dispossession." The laws and policies that grew out of the Doctrine have come to shape society's ideas and attitudes about Indigenous Peoples and our rights. In 2012 at the United Nations, international human rights and Indigenous rights lawyer Moana Jackson said:

... while the Doctrine of Discovery was always promoted in the first instance as an authority to claim land of Indigenous peoples, there were much broader assumptions implicit in the doctrine. For to open up an Indigenous land to the gaze of the colonising 'other,' there is also in their view an opening up of everything that was in and of the land being claimed. Thus, if the Doctrine of Discovery suggested a right to take control of another nation's land, it necessarily also implied a right to take over the lives and authority of the people to whom the land belonged. It was in that sense, and remains

to this day, a piece of genocidal legal magic that could, with the waving of a flag or the reciting of a proclamation, assert that the land allegedly being discovered henceforth belonged to someone else, and that the people of that land were necessarily subordinate to the colonisers.

In short, Moana Jackson is pointing out that the Doctrine of Discovery has been used not only to exercise control over Indigenous lands, but also over Indigenous Peoples—this is probably best reflected by the many, many times Cook and his crew took Native’s lives while also taking the land.

This disregard for Indigenous rights remains to be the case, at all levels, today. Importantly—the “waving of a flag or reciting of a proclamation” that Moana refers to are the rituals carried out by colonisers to apply the Doctrine of Discovery and state the claim of the Crown to those lands. These rituals are about to be re-enacted around Aotearoa and Australia to mark the anniversary of the original claim of the Crown.

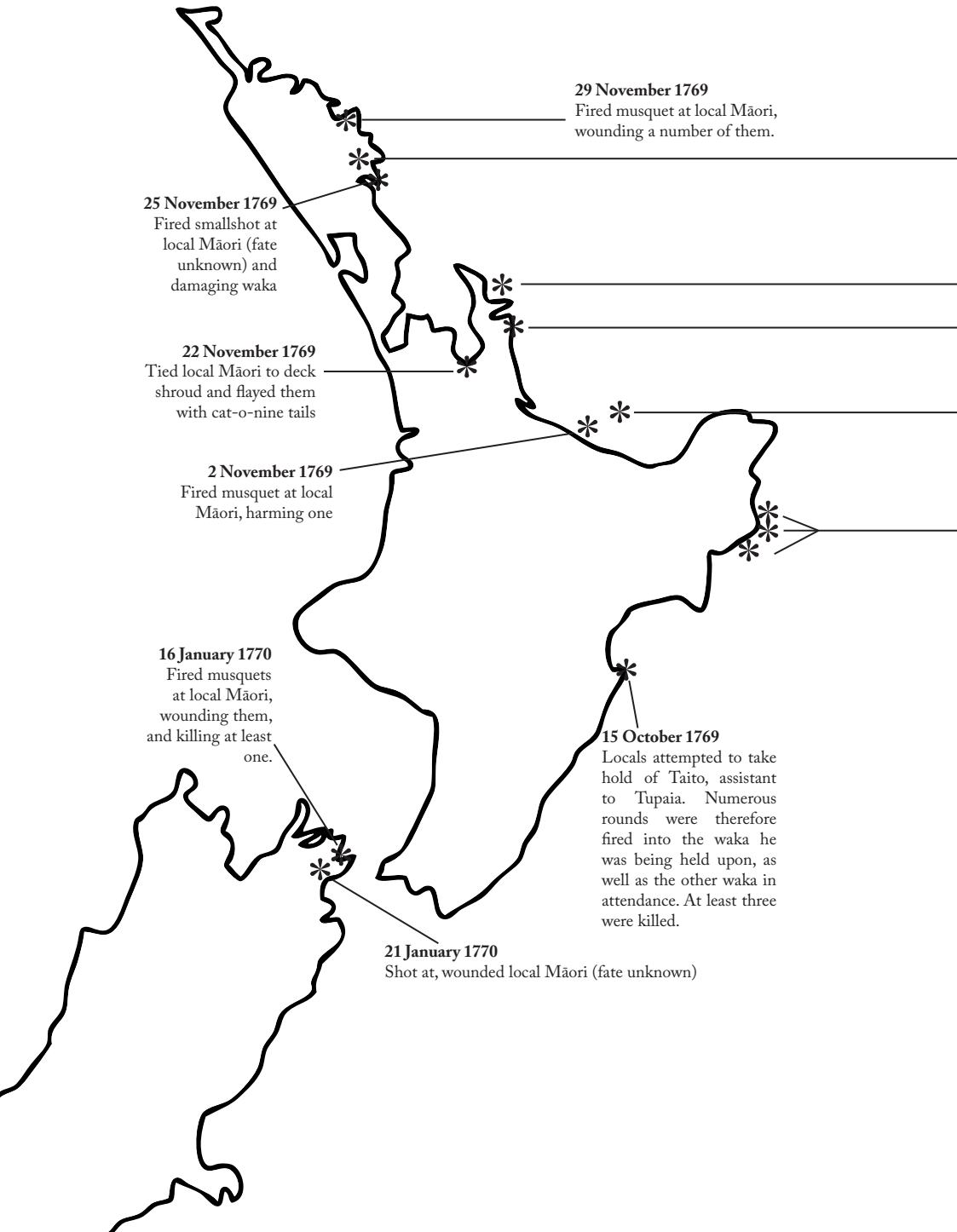
If we are to accept that the current NZ government is in breach of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi by 1. establishing itself in a way that subverted tino rangatiratanga and 2. failing to secure adequate and appropriate Māori representation as defined by Māori—then this begs the question—by what right does the government of New Zealand make laws that impact upon Māori lives and lands? By what right does this government continue to breach the very document that permits its presence, yet still retain power?

The simple answer is—the NZ government is not operating under the provisions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It is operating under the provisions of The Doctrine of Discovery—which it will be re-entrenching throughout 2019.



# Cook's crime spree in Aotearoa

*Mapping the crimes of Captain James Cook and his crew*



**29 November 1769**  
Fired musquet at local Māori,  
wounding a number of them.

**25 November 1769**  
Fired smallshot at  
local Māori (fate  
unknown) and  
damaging waka

**22 November 1769**  
Tied local Māori to deck  
shroud and flayed them  
with cat-o-nine tails

**2 November 1769**  
Fired musquet at local  
Māori, harming one

**16 January 1770**  
Fired musquets  
at local Māori,  
wounding them,  
and killing at least  
one.

**21 January 1770**  
Shot at, wounded local Māori (fate unknown)

**15 October 1769**  
Locals attempted to take  
hold of Taito, assistant  
to Tupaia. Numerous  
rounds were therefore  
fired into the waka he  
was being held upon, as  
well as the other waka in  
attendance. At least three  
were killed.

**27 November 1769**

Fired musquet of smallshot at local Māori, it was later discovered that he had died from his wounds. Wounded others (fate unknown) and damaged vessels.

**9 November 1769**

Fired musquet at and killed local rangatira Otirreeoðnooe

**4 November 1769**

Crewmember fired his musquet at a nearby local in his waka, wounding him (fate unknown, suspected dead), and damaging the vessel.

**1 November 1769**

Fired musquet at local Māori, wounding one

**10 October 1769**

Cook approached waka, who, in fear, tried to paddle away. He then ordered musquets to be fired over their heads, which they responded to by throwing whatever was in the fishing vessel at the boat. He then ordered musquets to be fired into the vessel, killing at least 4, with 3 youths diving overboard to attempt to swim to safety. The three youths were kidnapped.

**9 October 1769**

Midshipman fired upon and killed Te Maro

**10 October 1769**

Numerous shots fired at locals, killing at least 4.



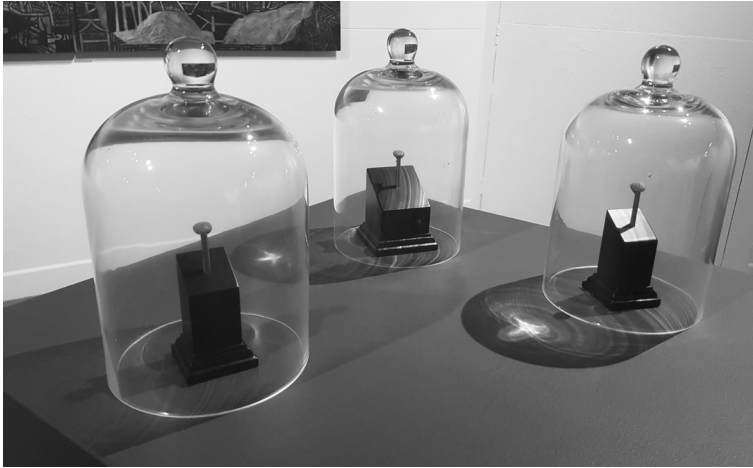
# Cerebrum Coloniae

## *(Colonial Brains)*

*He Tirohanga Ki Tai (A View from the Shoreline): Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery* is an exhibition featuring both leading and emerging Māori artists, who have created a completely sovereign space, supported by Indigenous funds, to hold a conversation critiquing the Cook invasion, the ensuing colonial experience, up to and including the TUIA250 events.

This exhibition started at Tairāwhiti Museum, in Whataūpoko, Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, not far from the actual site of invasion itself. It subsequently toured to New York, where it was hosted by the ORA Gallery in Manhattan and accompanied with talks by First Nations scholars and myself on the specific impacts of the Doctrine of Discovery and Indigenous women. It then went to the University of Waikato during the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Conference (NAISA) opening June 26th, 2019 and is on display until September 2019.

I am sharing a brief essay I wrote about my own entry in the show: *Cerebrum Coloniae (Coloniser Brains)*—*Whataūpoko*.



Tina Ngata, Ngāti Porou

*Cerebrum Coloniae series: First they discover you, then they subjugate you, then they fund you.*

*Whataūpoko*

2018

Plastic, glass, steel, wood

#1 *Cerebrum Praesumptor*

14mm x 11mm x 4mm

I am aware that the most humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will censure my conduct in firing upon the people in this boat, nor do I myself think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will at all justify me, but when we was once a long side of them we must either have studd to be knockd on the head or else retire and let them gone off in triumph and this last they would of course have attributed to their own bravery and our timourousness.

#2 *Cerebrum Agripeta*

14mm x 9mm x 5mm

They didn't kill enough.

#3 *Cerebrum Rex*

14mm x 9mm x 5mm

Where is the 5 percent discount for Pacific Island people, if they are actually causing trouble as well? They climb in the windows of other New Zealanders at night. It is not only Māori.

This artwork responds to the claims that Cook was on a research expedition, and was no more than a benevolent scientist—a claim that is supported by the involvement of the Royal Society for Science and the various scientists on board such as Solander and Banks. This argument is often used to cloak the fact that Cook was also a naval officer, the HMS *Bark Endeavour* was a weaponised naval vessel, and they had direct orders to discover and claim lands for the Crown.

This fact aside, the use of science as a benevolent cloak also belies another truth—that it was systematically utilised in the colonisation process to justify the killing and assimilation of Indigenous Peoples. In his article for E-tangata ‘Understanding Racism In This Country,’ Moana Jackson writes:

Like all of the ideas that have been used to justify colonisation, racism developed over time through a complex and uniquely European history, in which the normal curiosity people have about the different and unknown was morphed into a patronising determination to equate difference with inferiority... The bodies of the racialised “other” became chattels to be enslaved, and lab rats to be dissected and measured and experimented upon.

Forlorn samples of pickled indigenous brains were scanned, and skulls were measured, as pseudo-scientists justified the European will to dispossess by inventing rationalisations about an indigenous lack of intelligence, and even an inability to appreciate the sublime.

Many of the pseudo-scientists referred to by Jackson in this statement were members of the same Royal Society that sponsored expeditions into Indigenous territories. The practice of “phrenology” was based upon the notion that Indigenous Peoples, due to the shape and size of their skulls, housed smaller brains and were therefore intellectually inferior. This conclusion was then used to justify colonisation as a beneficent act upon savage, indolent peoples.



Collectively, this artwork turns the tale around, placing colonial brains on display, subjected to the gaze of others. They are presented in belljars, a common display method in Victorian science.

It is also referenced in 1960s popular culture through the iconic literary novel *The Belljar* by author Sylvia Plath. In this novel, the author uses the metaphor of the belljar to describe how, from within the belljar, one's perspective of the outside world is bulged, ugly, distorted and inescapable: "Wherever I sat, on the deck of a ship or at a street café in Paris or Bangkok, I would be sitting under the same glass bell jar, stewing in my own sour air."

Within the context of this artwork, the belljar therefore references the lens of colonial phrenologists, anthropologists, navigators and politicians who have, throughout time, distorted the realities of Indigenous Peoples to suit their own agendas.

This collection from the *Cerebrum Coloniae* (Colonial Brains) is termed *Whataūpoko*, which references a site that is closely located near the Cook landing site, and a story which, from the Native perspective, plays a pivotal role in the narrative leading up to Cook's invasion. It is also the site where *Tirohanga Ki Tai—Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery* first launched.

Whataūpoko referred to the piked heads of Māhaki chiefs Tuarau o Te Rangi from Repongaere and Waiopotango from Whānau-a-Kai which were placed at the boundary marker of the Waimata riverbank, a mark of the mana of Konohi, a leader from Whāngarā who killed the two to protect the Whānau a Iwi people of that area. Konohi was the nephew of the highly esteemed chief Rakaiatāne. The grandson of Rakaiatāne was Te Maro—who was the first ancestor murdered during Cook's invasion.

The three brains, as disembodied heads on pikes, therefore also reference the land blocks upon which the invasion took place, as sites of resistance, conflict, protection and resolution.

Although the brains are given quotes that come from actual people, each piece is given a Latin name, as Latin was the common language for European science from the 18th century onwards and commonly used to denote species. The artists utilised this nomenclature to demonstrate the dehumanising approach of European science towards Indigenous subjects—but also to reference that these are not just about singular events or individuals, but rather a socialised mindset and system of which these quotes are representative.

The first in the series is called *Cerebrum Praesumptor*—Brain of the Aggressive Invader. The quote is taken from the journal of James Cook, in reflecting upon his invasion of Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa, wherein he shot and killed a number of unarmed fisherpeople on board their waka.

I am aware that the most humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will censure my conduct in firing upon the people in this boat, nor do I my self think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will att all justify me, but when we was once a long side of them we must either have stud to be knockd on the head or else retire and let them gone off in triumph and this last they would of course have attributed to their own bravery and our timourousness.

This is an important quote to highlight, because it illustrates that Cook's decision to carry out this mass murder was not at all an act of self-defence—but merely one to exercise their superiority, so that the victims were not to think that they were in any way superior. This therefore speaks to the aggressive nature of Cook, and directly challenges the notion of colonisation as a benign experience.

The second in the series is titled *Cerebrum Agripeta*. “Agripeta” translates in Latin as “squatter, settler, landgrabber.” This refers to the colonial hordes who followed upon the heels of Cook, grabbing land, and establishing “settlements” by way of unsettling the Māori who were already there, and eventually

setting up their own system of governance which is still in power today. The “Agripeta” power structure relies upon the colonial fictions of Cook’s arrival being just, and even the killings being necessary. This was reflected last year when a Gisborne District Councillor was heard to utter that Cook did not kill enough local Māori during the invasion. Thus, the brutal, presumptuous nature of the original invaders lives on and continues to bear impacts for local Māori through the policies and governance decisions of *Cerebrum Agripeta*.

The final in the series is *Cerebrum Rex*. “Rex,” in Latin, holds the multiple meanings of: Monarch, oppressor, usurper and patron. This quote is taken from ex-MP Jenny Shipley, who, in response to the government selling radio channels to Māori with a 5% discount, remarked in parliament:

Where is the 5 percent discount for Pacific Island people, if they are actually causing trouble as well? They climb in the windows of other New Zealanders at night. It is not only Māori.

As Ani Mikaere notes, “This comment revealed as much about Pākehā New Zealand’s obsession with home invasion, as it did about Shipley’s racist belief in a Polynesian prevalence for criminal activity.”

Like *Cerebrum Agripeta*, *Cerebrum Rex* relies upon colonial fictions, and the suppression of Indigenous truth, in order to maintain its oppressive power structure. This is seen in Shipley’s attitude towards Māori historical accounts, when she said:

While all political parties in my experience are generally committed to closing the gaps that exist in health, welfare, education and employment, this won’t be achieved by rewriting history.

This was in response to Tariana Turia referring to the Māori experience of colonisation as a “holocaust” (which is literally defined as destruction or slaughter on a mass scale). Mikaere

goes on to note that,

The response of Pākehā politician, media and public to a simple truth about the genocidal impact of colonisation on Indigenous Peoples typifies the fear and overreaction that usually accompanies any interpretation of events other than the one that sustains their own shaky foundations.

Today, Dame Jenny Shipley is the co-chair the National Coordinating Committee for the multimillion dollar TUIA250 patron fund that is facilitating the invasion anniversary events.

# Halitosis

*New Zealand's Celebration of Cook's Invasion Is Racist  
and Needs Revisiting*

Earlier this week, Australia surged ahead of us in culturally appropriate history.

The University of New South Wales' "diversity toolkit," which acts as a guide for appropriate language in respect of Indigenous realities, came under heavy media criticism. The guide includes the most appropriate terminology for referring to the Indigenous Peoples of Australia, correct place-names, and, shockingly (for some), the very factual reminder that:

Australia was not settled peacefully, it was invaded, occupied and colonised. Describing the arrival of the Europeans as a 'settlement' attempts to view Australian history from the shores of England rather than the shores of Australia.

This includes the suggestion that Captain Cook's arrival was an act of invasion. Naturally there was an indignant uproar, accusations that UNSW were attempting to "whitewash" and "rewrite history," which as Alex McKinnon correctly points out betrays a profound misunderstanding of what the word "whitewash" means in historical terms.

First of all I should say that yes... history is being re-written here.

**It's called a correction.**

It's taken us a little while to be able to crack the vice-grip of the colonial lens on world history. It took marches and demonstrations. It took lives being laid on the line. It took many, many court cases, petitions, acts of civil disobedience and political resistance. It took legislative development; it took us demanding our own spaces for learning, developing, sharing and promoting OUR truths and our views. Stan Grant, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Global Affairs and Indigenous Affairs Analyst, has openly criticised the guide, saying universities "can't tell students what to think." Yet, he misses the fact that they already do. This is the point of the guide: that language is embedded with inferred value statements and worldviews—and by labeling an invasion as "settlement" they are already telling people to think of it in a certain way—a colonially privileged way.

The coloniser insisted we were primitive and savage—and this has since been corrected. The coloniser insisted we were "peacefully" settled—and this has been corrected (even though nobody told John Key that). The coloniser insisted that "The Māori" killed all the Moriori (which must be super annoying to the Moriori people who are still very much alive)—and this, too has been corrected. Of course none of these lies are without agendas—they are all constructed to legitimise the colonially-privileged power frameworks.

We have fought, and fought, and continue to fight, for the right to speak our own truths and resist the colonial voice that has tried to speak on our behalf, to whitewash our experience of colonial expansion. We have railed against, AND fought through the colonial systems and forums of knowledge, and through our infiltration, and continued, unrelenting demands for social

justice, we have made ourselves heard. I BET that hurts colonial ears—it's certainly not something that they'd be used to hearing.

So of course, criticism of the colonial golden-child, Captain James Cook, "Explorer of the Pacific" on his "Voyage of Discovery" is somewhat of an anathema for colonial sensibilities. Gananath Obeyesekere, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at Princeton University, notes that Cook's portrayal in history is a very typical colonial myth model of the "white harbinger of civilisation," and that references to the invasion of the Pacific have undergone some kind of "silent conspiracy" to stifle work that harshly criticises these activities. Of course, where one version of history has taught us to consider someone as the founder of a modern nation, displacing that notion, errant as it is, does not happen without a screech of discomfort. Lancing such septic, longstanding boils will naturally smart.

I applaud the University of New South Wales for their correction of the masses. And let's be real about this—there is not one big dusty tome called "History" sitting somewhere on a shelf in Ankh-Morpork that faithfully writes itself as stuff happens. UNSW didn't break into anywhere, grapple down a line and profanely deface those sacred self-writing pages. They wrote a guide. A guide that reminds students that the dominant worldview and social narrative is not Indigenous, often offensively myopic, and should rightly be challenged. It's reminding students to be critically self-analytical—and that absolutely IS the hallmark of GOOD tertiary institutions.

Likewise, I applaud those who have fought and successfully brought to light the true legacy of Christopher Columbus, another brutal invader, for so many years labelled an "explorer." There is now a growing realisation that the previously considered "founder" of the nation does not deserve a national holiday, and many institutions and local governments are now recognising October 12th as Indigenous Peoples' Day.

So how is it, that while others are finally coming to

terms with the injustice of celebrating colonial acts of violence, New Zealand, who purports to be the progressive nation of harmonious race relations—is about to invest many, MANY millions into a celebration of Cook’s arrival, a celebration that will last not just for a day but for an entire YEAR (Atua, give me strength)—and labeling it the “inception” of our nation? If we are so ready to call out John Key on his suggestion that New Zealand was “peacefully settled,” and condemn mainstream Australian news outlets for not recognising the Indigenous reality of colonisation—where does that sit with our own multi-million dollar investment in celebrating our own invasion?

Unsurprisingly there has been a rush to “indigenise” this patently colonial event, through recruitment of Māori interests, the acknowledgement and inclusion of “Polynesian navigation histories” and being sure to add the term “commemoration” in a vague acknowledgement that maybe this might not be something everyone wants to celebrate.

Of course, it’s a little hard to escape the fact that the entire event is centered on the day the coloniser arrived—yet again, Māori are placed on the table as the relish to the main meal. Unsurprisingly, Gisborne council can’t even hold true to their own brownwashing and revert back to calling it “celebrations” in their official records.

The very use of the term “Te Hā” is offensive. This ill-conceived name was proffered by one of our own to relate to the sharing of hā (breath) in the first meetings of Cook with Māori—and the inception of our nation. The sharing of hā is an intrinsically spiritual notion that relates to the first breath of life, given to Hineahuone—for the inception of TANGATA WHENUA. Not Tangata Tiriti as it has been co-opted for in this instance, but Tangata WHENUA. Hā is spiritual, it is meaningful, and it is MĀORI. Stop giving our stuff away.

So here’s what ACTUALLY happened when Cook landed in Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa:



MONDAY, 9th October. Gentle breezes and Clear Weather. P.M. stood into the Bay and Anchored on the North-East side before the Entrance of a small River, in 10 fathoms, a fine sandy bottom. The North-East point of the Bay bore East by South 1/2 South, and the South-West point South, distance from the Shore half a League. After this I went ashore with a Party of men in the Pinnace and yawl accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We landed abreast of the Ship and on the East side of the River just mentioned; but seeing some of the Natives on the other side of the River of whom I was desirous of speaking with, and finding that we could not ford the River, I order'd the yawl in to carry us over, and the pinnace to lay at the Entrance. In the mean time the Indians made off. However we went as far as their Hutts which lay about 2 or 300 Yards from the water side, leaving 4 boys to take care of the Yawl, which we had no sooner left than 4 Men came out of the woods on the other side the River, and would certainly have cut her off had not the People in the Pinnace discover'd them and called to her to drop down the Stream, which they did, being closely persued by the Indians. The coxswain of the Pinnace, who had the charge of the Boats, seeing this, fir'd 2 Musquets over their Heads; the first made them stop and Look round them, but the 2nd they took no notice of; upon which a third was fir'd and kill'd one of them upon the Spot just as he was going to dart his spear at the Boat. At this the other 3 stood motionless for a Minute or two, seemingly quite surprised; wondering, no doubt, what it was that had thus kill'd their Comrade; but as soon as they recovered themselves they made off, dragging the Dead body a little way and then left it. Upon our hearing the report of the Musquets we immediately repair'd to the Boats, and after viewing the Dead body we return'd on board.

That was the first meeting—it was not an exchange of sacred breath. It was an uninvited landing and a murder. Here, you can read the journal entries of Cook, Banks, and Parkinson—Banks himself by day two “despaired” of ever making peace with us—

and after killing a few of us they decided to “name” our land (which already had a name) “Poverty Bay” because of what little was gained from their time here.

By the time Cook had finished, only a few days later, by his own account, he had killed at least five people, and wounded at least four more (whether they died from their wounds is not known). This was not uncommon for Cook, who with his men, killed, wounded, kidnapped and stole their way around the Pacific. They did it in the Marquesas Islands, in Australia, in Tonga, in Tahiti... until finally Cook tried it one too many times in Kealakeakua Bay, Hawai’i, and was dispatched by locals. Mahalo.

Cook was a thief, kidnapper, murderer and invader of Indigenous lands, and it is beyond inappropriate to encapsulate his actions with the sacred term “Hā”—it’s not unlike a broad cultural case of Stockholm syndrome. His activity was not something to be celebrated—and it is not a date upon which to “hang” celebrations for our tīpuna. It is an event to be ashamed of, a vital tool of imperial expansion and the forerunner of the oppressive forces that were soon to follow. It’s immoral to me that our council is spending so very much on celebrating a murderer, when those funds could be spent on restoring the near-dead waterways of those who were murdered.

I realise the UNSW position is not one shared widely across Australia, but gawd at LEAST they’re having the conversation! Hawai’i is quite clear about the role of Cook in their history—it’s negligible. He was a lying thief who tried to get away with murder and failed. The US is swiftly abandoning its culturally inappropriate references to Christopher Columbus. Meanwhile, New Zealand, spearheaded by Gisborne’s own Te Hā Sestercentennial Trust, not only avoids the conversation, but hoists sail, drops the engine and hurls itself in the opposite direction of major investment in celebrating this shameful practice.

The Governor General Jerry Mateparae launched the Te Hā Sestercentennial Trust with a speech dripping with euphemisms that skirted about the brutal reality of that first interaction:

Governor General Mateparae: I am delighted to be involved in launching the Te Hā 1769 Sestercentennial Trust, and initiate the official lead up to the commemoration and celebration of the moment when the destinies of Māori and Pākehā became intertwined.

Captain Cook: The coxswain of the Pinnace, who had the charge of the Boats, seeing this, fir'd 2 Musquets over their Heads; the first made them stop and Look round them, but the 2nd they took no notice of; upon which a third was fir'd and kill'd one of them upon the Spot

Joseph Banks: After some time Mr Green in turning himself about exposd his hanger, one of them immediately snatchd it, set up a cry of exultation and waving it round his head retreated gently. It now appeard necessary for our safeties that so daring an act should be instantly punishd, this I pronouncd aloud as my opinion, the Captn and the rest Joind me on which I fir'd my musquet which was loaded with small shot, leveling it between his shoulders who was not 15 yards from me. On the shot striking him he ceasd his cry but instead of quitting his prize continued to wave it over his head retreating as gently as before; the surgeon who was nearer him, seeing this fir'd a ball at him at which he dropt.

Joseph Banks again: We had almost arrivd at the farthest part of the bay when a fresh breze came in from the seaward and we saw a Canoe sailing in standing right towards [us], soon after another padling. The Captn now resolvd to take one of these which in all probability might be done without the least resistance as we had three boats full of men and the

canoes seemd to be fishermen, who probably were without arms. The boats were drawn up in such a manner that they could not well escape us: the padling canoe first saw us and made immediately for the nearest land, the other saild on till she was in the midst of us before she saw us, as soon as she did she struck her sail and began to paddle so briskly that she outran our boat; on a musquet being fird over her she however immediately ceasd padling and the people in her, 7 in all, made all possible haste to strip as we thought to leap into the water, but no sooner did our boat come up with her than they began with stones, paddles etc. to make so brisk a resistance that we were obligd to fire into her by which 4 were killd. The other three who were boys leapt overboard, one of them swam with great agility and when taken made every effort in his power to prevent being taken into the boat, the other two were more easily prevaild upon.

Let's just go over that last "intertwining of destinies." Captain James Cook decided he wanted to steal a canoe—complete with unarmed people inside it. When they tried to flee—he ordered gunfire over them. When they resisted—he ordered that they be shot, and killed—and the remainder were abducted against their will. Can I get an "Arr arr me hearties"?

Ear hair leer—I'll have that crayfish, oh and that canoe... and the people in it too—Jolly good show!

Mateparae goes on to talk about how the Sestercentennial will give us "an opportunity to inspire today's youth. As tomorrow's leaders, they need to learn about the beginnings of our nationhood, to appreciate our dual heritage and shared future. It's an opportunity to look at how that relationship has grown and changed over time and think of how it will progress in the next 250 years."

I don't need a colonially centered story to inspire our rangatahi—In fact, I fully intend to inspire them to promote THEIR TRUTHS on THEIR TERMS. The truths of their ancestors—the truth of Te Maro and Te Rākau who were

murdered by invaders upon their land. The truth of all those from Orakaiapū Pā who were shot and killed needlessly, and whose river lies abandoned and defiled, while their murderer is celebrated. Our relationship hasn't grown nearly as much as it could have, certainly not to the point where we are challenging the storyteller in their rendition of the truth. And even though there are many more brown faces regurgitating the colonial version of the truth—that is not, in fact, a new story in the slightest, it's simply the perpetuation of the dominant narrative, with a little brown relish dolloped on the side.



## TUIA250 are narcissistic abusers

Unsurprisingly, the return of the *Endeavour* has been the centerpiece in the TUIA250 Cook celebrations. The protests have thus far been effective enough to raise awareness and expand the conversation, but of course not halt the multimillion dollar juggernaut. Naturally, those who are profiting extreme amounts from the exercise are quick to defend it, to present it as a unifying, beneficial, culturally rich affair. The most common retorts to the protests are that we either don't understand, or are too selfish to see, the "bigger picture" of how beneficial TUIA250 really is. In fact if you look at their behaviour overall, there are some hallmarks that align very closely with that of a narcissist abuser. I'm raising this because like interpersonal relationships, there is often confusion, a lack of clarity and awareness around whether or not we are being abused. Sometimes it takes a friend to point out the languaging and behaviour that is abuse.

Hello friend.

Trait	Narcissistic abuser	TUIA250
Gaslighting	Tells you the abuse never happened, that you are exaggerating or making it up, even in the face of clear and irrefutable evidence.	TUIA250 has repeatedly suggested that records of murder, slaughter, rape and torture are outright lies or exaggerations of the truth even when these records come directly from Cook and his crew members.
Jealousy	Control over who their partner talks with or hangs out with. Condemns and vilifies “outsiders”, in other words, anyone that does not subscribe to the abuser’s opinion.	TUIA250 has manipulated the media right throughout this event, as evidenced by the <i>Gisborne Herald</i> editorial response to TUIA250 opposition. The TUIA250 media team during the events in Gisborne were controlling to the point of enlisting police to intimidate journalists and marginalising those who did not report favourably.



Trait	Narcissistic abuser	TUIA250
Rushes the relationship	<p>They will be quick to profess love and accelerate the terms of the relationship (calling each other bf/gf, sharing accounts, moving in or getting married). The abuser will be quick to apologise for poor behaviour and promise a “new phase” of the relationship without deeply examining their behaviour or undertaking a process of change</p>	<p>Has attempted to skip the process of justice restoration and instead forces a narrative of “dual heritage.” There is a disproportionate focus on the positive without deep analysis of the negative. There is an aversion of accountability that is exemplified by the British High Commissioner’s statement that, “it is impossible to know what really happened.” There is the repeated suggestion that it is now “time to move on” without any material shift in the justice arrangement.</p>
Control	<p>Controls decision-making over finances, victim’s freedom of movement, “safety” and socialising.</p>	<p>Ultimate funding allocation has rested with TUIA250.</p>

Trait	Narcissistic abuser	TUIA250
Intimidation tactics	An abuser will often reiterate their power to the partner and will remind them where they stand. They will use regular demonstrations of power to remind their partner of the extreme consequences of opposing them.	TUIA250 engaged Police hyper-surveillance to monitor protestors but admitted to protestors that they were only focussing on Māori opposition not white supremacist violence. Events in Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa included a military presence.
Isolation	Isolates the victim from friends and family and tries to make them believe that they are alone in their experience. Will go to great lengths to keep victims separate.	Isolates our narratives at hapū/iwi/regional/community level rather than joining them together to understand that violent human rights abuses were common across Cook's journeys.
Charm	The abuser might be charming and romantic, showering praise and attention. He/she expresses intense emotions and feelings for the victim	Seduction of Indigenous culture as an additive to the commemorations. Unprecedented expressions of desire to provide justice for Māori (within its own parameters).

Trait	Narcissistic abuser	TUIA250
Stereotypical roles	<p>The abuser will push and demand that stereotypical roles are enforced, in other words, that the woman must be submissive, is inferior and must serve the man.</p>	<p>TUIA250 has relied upon the perpetuation of stereotypical roles of the Crown as the ultimate authority/ patron and the Indigenous person as the “noble native”. We are expected to accept that Cook’s arrival was a good thing, that explorers are intrinsically heroes and exploration and history are apolitical.</p>
Does not respect boundaries	<p>Will show up at your work, call you when you are out with friends, make declarations of love in inappropriate places. Will create inappropriately close and manipulative relationships with your friends and family to recruit them as allies.</p>	<p>TUIA250’s approach to enlisting Māori support has been aggressive. They have continued to request participation from people who have expressly stated that they conscientiously oppose the event, and have purposefully concealed TUIA250 funding to those ends.</p>

Trait	Narcissistic abuser	TUIA250
Blame	<p>The abuser plays victim and blames everyone else for his/her problems and reactions: 'You make me hit you.'</p>	<p>By focussing on the 'positives' that Māoridom has experienced through colonisation and the TUIA250 project, and vilifying the protestors as ungrateful/non-progressive/aggressive, TUIA250 have positioned themselves as the victims and attempted to redirect blame towards Māori. They have also focussed strongly on the Māori participation and used that as justification (i.e. Māori have asked for this to happen) while also avoiding the discussion about Pakeha/colonial benefits. Not one TUIA250 event has discussed how the government benefits from sponsoring these commemorations.</p>

<b>Trait</b>	<b>Narcissistic abuser</b>	<b>TUIA250</b>
Hypersensitive	Beyond overreaction, the abuser takes everything personally and is easily insulted.	In typically fragile behaviour TUIA250 has averted the use of words like slaughter, rape, murder, torture and genocide. Instead it has opted for 'encounters' and 'misunderstandings' to describe repeated and regular shootings and whippings, or has omitted them altogether.
Attacks self-esteem	Makes you feel that your concerns are irrelevant, that you don't really matter so the abuse does not really matter.	Asks us to overlook ongoing oppression in the interests of 'getting on with it' for the benefit of the nation.

Trait	Narcissistic abuser	TUIA250
Manipulation	Abusers will use everything at their disposal to emotionally manipulate you into remaining in their relationship (children, pets, etc.)	Use of youth and children on the <i>Endeavour</i> in spite of being warned that the boat would be met with protests, and that it would be inappropriate to have young people in that position. TUIA250 ignored these warnings, blocked those trying to warn them and when the inevitable happened, then accused the protestors of traumatising these children.

Your partner doesn't need to have all of these traits in order to be a narcissistic abuser, but if they are exhibiting some or most of them, you should probably, at the very least, tread with caution. Better yet, consider leaving.

As you can see, TUIA250 comfortably exhibits all of them.

# Deconstructing the Imperial Psyche in Pursuit of a Just Global Economy

I went to London on the invite of the British Labour Party for their inaugural International Social Forum. There were bold questions being asked including what should Britain's role be in re-scripting a global economy that will secure our descendants a future on this planet?

As I have pointed out in my speech below—there is a reckoning to be had in order to answer that question.

Tēnā koutou. I have travelled for two days to get here, my return trip will create 4.8 metric tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>. That's a great distance and a lot of carbon for 10 minutes so I will be cutting to the chase to make the most of our time together. I normally wouldn't agree to travel this far for just one engagement, but I have made an exception here because as I am about to outline to you—I really believe that of all nations, you, Britain, have a particularly special role to play in avoiding planetary catastrophe.

We are, as a planet, caught in a trap right now. It's a manmade trap and one that we are struggling to find our way out of.

After over 30 years of deliberate focus on reducing emissions—we are now emitting more than ever. 2018 was an all time emissions high. The world's governments are struggling to meet their COP commitments, which were already too weak to begin with. We are way off-track for reaching the planet's Sustainable Development Goals. The global south and Indigenous Peoples all around the world are paying the price of this failure.

It's well past time for us to consider what we are MISSING in our discussions and plans to pull the brakes on this destructive trajectory.

We are all, now, trapped in a framework of economic domination upon the planet, upon resources and upon other nations. A system that permits profits at the expense of lives, futures and ecological survival. A system that has economically forced and assimilated us into extractive, pollutive systems of food procurement and lifestyles that disconnect us from the implications of our decisions.

And we are here today to discuss how to get ourselves out of this trap.

For Indigenous Peoples, we understand this issue only too well—when you talk about a system that extracts from our lands to profit another, when you talk about a system that spells the end of our way of being, that forces us to worry about our very survival, that impacts our food systems, our bodies, our human rights—we know this experience very well.

We call it colonisation.

It is an imperial entitlement to impact upon other people's bodies and territories that we have personally experienced now for hundreds of years. And now, the corporate empires are on track to impact your bodies, your lives and your territories, your futures.

And you want to know what to do about that.

We are all currently stuck in an abusive relationship with



our planet and just like any abusive relationship—if you want to break your patterns of behaviour you need to understand where your patterns of behaviour come from. That is a task for all of us but I have to say—for Britain it will be hard. You need to come to terms with where this imperial entitlement comes from, and what has been your role in this pattern. This will not be an easy healing journey for you, but you cannot delay it a moment longer.

You want to recreate an architecture for a climate just economy, but there is a reckoning that needs to happen here. The psyche of corporate imperial entitlement that besets our planet has a heritage and that heritage is you. You really need to come to terms with that and own it in order to start your healing journey.

As an Indigenous Person I look at colonial society and what I see is that you have spent so long disconnected from your sacred relationships with this planet, I honestly don't know if you remember what that looks like, in order to set your trajectory in that direction. For Indigenous Peoples that memory is much more recent. For many of us around the world, it is still being practiced but it remains under threat from colonial settler governments—many of whom today still call themselves The Crown.

So decolonisation is a big part of the discussion on climate justice now. We have seen it arise with the movements at Standing Rock, the Alberta Tar Sands and in our own territories as well. We are constantly pointing out the contribution of Indigenous Peoples to climate mitigation. We hold 80% of the world's biodiversity in our territories. We have sequestered 30 times the global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in our Indigenous and communally managed forests, but still we are hunted, assassinated, criminalised and imprisoned by our settler colonial governments for protecting these same surviving territories from exploitation. I want to know what are YOU doing to stand with us, to stand by us in protecting this planet from the system YOU largely created?

What often upsets me is that it is assumed to be the job of Indigenous Peoples to drive decolonisation of lands, of minds and of economies. Colonial abusers must begin to take responsibility for their role in this and figure out how they will dismantle their own paradigms of imperial entitlement.

There are concrete things you can do—you want to start redeeming yourself in this story? Start with decolonising your trade—incorporate UNDRIP into your trade deals so you are holding your trade partners accountable on how their trade may be impacting Indigenous Peoples and their territories. You want to redeem yourself? Stand up as a powerful nation and DEMAND equitable Indigenous involvement in climate talks.

Demand that we are at that table rather than being shut out.

You want to recreate an architecture for climate justice? Do you really want to do that? Because this is what it will take—it will take nothing less than a full account of climate injustice and its roots in imperial entitlement.

You need to recognise when colonial entitlement is in play: you need to know what that looks like as a food system, as an energy system, as an economy, as a trade deal and as a government.

You aren't there yet. I know this because the Indigenous Peoples of the world, whose territories were stolen MOSTLY by the British Crown, are still awaiting an apology and acknowledgement of that fact. In my country the government is REENACTING your invasion of our lands. In that story—you're the abuser, it's your actions being reenacted here—what are you going to do about that?

Imperial entitlement can no longer be sanctioned, endorsed or re-entrenched it wasn't OK in 1769, and it's not OK today.

I can indigenise my world, my home, my family, the worlds of my daughters as much as possible but that ain't going to

change who holds the power here. We are tired of telling you we need to decolonise. This isn't a new discussion so I want to know what YOU are going to do as global colonisers to understand your history of colonial mentality, so you can understand how to begin to heal yourselves.

Those of you who retain your white knuckled grip on power—you're not the ones making the good decisions. You are not the ones with the living memory of how to nourish this planet. You are not the ones protecting the remaining biodiversity. You are not the ones protecting the remaining carbon sinks. In our region we have chased off four oil and gas companies—it was colonial law that ushered them in. It was our application of Indigenous law that chased them out. So you need to be also considering not just a new economy but a new power structure.

Customarily Indigenous Peoples claim 50% of the world's lands but legally today we have just 10%, and you have a role in that story. The climate mitigation that we carry out with that 10% means that returning the remaining title holds huge potential for our climate.

We need to have our lands and oceans handed back so we can get about the business of developing and growing the economic systems that have managed to salvage the remnants of biodiversity on this planet, and the vast majority of the carbon sinks.

We need protected Indigenous sanctuaries in order to foster the models of best practice that this world needs, and Britain owes it to Indigenous Peoples around the world to actively support us and advocate internationally for the return of our territories. That is the least you can do. No more washing your hands of our history—we don't get to walk away from that legacy, the planet doesn't get to either—so nor should you.

You have a role here and you need to step up to it on your healing journey. We are all waiting on you to do it.



# Wetewetehia 250

*Deconstructing colonial fiction in education*

The 2019 Cook commemorations are New Zealand's response to the 250th anniversary of the inception of colonisation on this land. TUIA250, the NZ government program has delivered millions of dollars in funding to programmes around the country who will be taking a range of approaches to the anniversary. This has taken the form of events, memorials and a nationwide curriculum program. The responses to the anniversary range from celebrating Cook himself, to celebrating Māori and Pacific heritage, and even in some cases discussing racism and colonialism. Still, many people feel that TUIA250 is not appropriately equipped to ethically drive this conversation which strikes to the heart of racism and colonialism in Aotearoa, and have challenged the government on the ethics of the TUIA250 fund itself. While many of the discussions are focused on local impacts of what happened, the deeper, more responsible themes of racism, imperialism, colonisation and militarism have been left largely untouched so far, and it's vital for these issues to be addressed. "Ethical remembering" calls upon us to approach commemorations from the perspectives of those who have been

worst affected by them, and to cast a broad gaze across the issue in order to understand its full historical and social context.

For parents and teachers who may wish to engage in this discussion with children and youth, here are some guidelines for you to consider, largely built from my reflections of discussing this with youth and rangatahi over the past few years as this anniversary approached.

### **1. Know the story**

It's important to know the full truth yourself. Decolonise your understanding of NZ history and Cook. Provide age appropriate information on the truth of what happened. The voyages of Cook were not bloodless, nor was Cook a renaissance man on a science mission. Cook was a naval officer on a naval vessel with orders from the British military to claim land and establish colonial outposts for the Crown. It was an exercise of imperial expansion and this, like all expansions of empire, was led by a military vanguard. In achieving these ends, Cook carried out multiple murders, abductions, infected whole communities, carried out brutal tortures and shot at and wounded countless Indigenous Peoples.

Importantly—this is not at all out of step with imperial expansion in general, and in fact the premise behind Cook's orders rest within a larger story that it's also imperative for us all to school ourselves in—the story of the Doctrine of Discovery. Resources are provided at the end of this chapter, but the severely abridged version is that a series of papal laws were issued in the 15th and 16th centuries which endorsed imperial expansion and enslavement or eradication of non-Christian, non-white natives of the lands that were “discovered.” These laws not only legally endorsed invasion, land theft and slavery, but also fostered a societally ingrained psyche of imperial entitlement to all who were not white and Christian, and all that non-white, non-Christian people owned. In this way the Trans-Atlantic slave

trade, as well as the colonially named “Age of Discovery” was initiated, and this era saw Columbus, Cabot, Cortez and Cook all venturing out on behalf of their monarchs.

## **2. Understand and analyse languaging**

This is really important for decolonisation education in general. Euphemistic language has long been a tool to mask and minimise colonial crime while demonising Indigenous resistance. Words like “Encounters” and “Arrival” function to neutralise the fact that, as an armed military vessel arriving without invite to claim lands, and killing people while doing so, fulfills all of the criteria to otherwise be seen as an invasion. Many proponents of TUIA250 still struggle to recognise Cook or his superiors as invading white supremacists however any project that is based upon a supreme entitlement to the lands and lives of non-white people is clearly white supremacist. This is an exercise that will provide very handy skills in understanding the role of media in perpetuating racist stereotypes as well as perpetuating the colonial fictions around heroes.

## **3. Focus on imperialism**

This is not an opportunity to erase what Cook did by focussing on Indigenous history. Ignoring the impacts of imperialism will not make it go away and will merely vacate the discussion on its harmful impacts for imperial apologists to fill. It is an opportunity to address colonialism, imperialism and what that looked like when it arrived in our oceanic and land territory. We get to speak about our culture all the time, and we should, but this is the year to counter the colonial fiction of what happened 250 years ago with the Indigenous truth of what happened 250 years ago.

Imperialism is a wide reaching machine that continues to deliver harm across the globe, and it’s vital that our future generations be equipped to identify it and take on the challenge of addressing it. Be mindful that this is the anniversary of the

birth of colonialism in New Zealand, and so when we hitch our own cultural celebrations to it we can inadvertently be placing our own culture on the periphery, and recentring the coloniser. This can be extremely problematic for future generations who will be tasked with parsing this out in the face of ongoing white supremacy and settler colonial oppression.

#### **4. Contextualise our story in the greater story of imperialism**

This is an important time to also acknowledge the connections to other nations that have experienced imperial expansion. Cook's invasion has a level of relevance at a national level, but at an international level this was just one of many nations between the 15th and 18th centuries that were severely impacted by imperial expansion. Understanding how the Doctrine of Discovery initiated the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, as well as the expansion of Empires across the African continent, North and South America. Be mindful that this is harrowing history, so undertake this discussion in an age appropriate way with careful observation of how the information is "landing."

#### **5. Address the colonial fictions inherent in discovery myths**

Imperialism and colonisation rely upon their fictions in order to uphold their power structure. These fictions include: Colonialism was a historical event; colonisation is a localised event; colonisation was invited and beneficial, and colonisation is unavoidable.

**Contemporise imperialism**—Provide clear examples of how imperialism has endured over time, from the "claiming" of Aotearoa by Cook, through to the entitlement exemplified by the New Zealand Company, to the declaration of *Terra Nullius* over Te Waipounamu by William Hobson in 1840, through to the ongoing breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by The Crown with apparent impunity. A simple truth to centre in this discussion is that Māori were at one time a free and independent, self-



governing people on our own lands, and this has not been the case since 1840. It is also a good opportunity to analyse the moral standpoints of the 1846 and 1852 New Zealand Constitution Acts, as the establishment for the New Zealand government. Compare it to the constitutional models proposed by the *Matike Mai Aotearoa* report.

**Connect imperialism**—Colonial approaches tend to individualise the platforms, but imperialism is a global phenomena. Connect the events of Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa to that of Heretaunga, of Hauraki, of Te Tai Tokerau and of Tōtaranui, in order to understand the impacts of the multiple invasion sites. Connect these stories to the same experiences at the hands of Cook and his crew in Australia, Tonga, Niue, Tahiti, and Hawai’i over his three voyages. Seek out Indigenous perspectives in these spaces. Connect these stories to the other nations who have been subjected to settler colonialism in order to understand the “colonial template” and how it has resulted in similar outcomes of health, mortality, incarceration and landloss. Connect imperialism across time and contexts to understand how corporate entitlement mimics (and is derived from) imperial entitlement, and manifests as climate change, as plastic pollution, as human trafficking and as refugee crises.

**Criminalise imperialism**—Colonial education also tends to euphemise crimes that are carried out in the name of imperial expansion. “Loss of life” at the hands of imperial invaders is no less a murder than if any other person arrived uninvited to take people’s lives. Claiming lands for yourself that clearly belong to other people is theft. Knowingly infecting communities with diseases to which they have no immunity is genocide. Cook’s cognisance of the genocidal impacts of infection is upheld by the fact that his posting in the Seven Years’ War was directly under Field Marshal Jeffrey Amherst, also known as the father of germ warfare, who famously travelled up the Saint Lawrence River to

Fort Niagara, handing out smallpox infected blankets in order to weaken, and thin out, Mohawk communities. These are some of the earliest instances of biological warfare.

## **6. Offer Hope**

Discuss clear actions that they can do to resist imperialism and dismantle the Doctrine of Discovery. Teach them about the strong leadership already being shown in this space. Haudenosaunee and other First Nations peoples and youth in particular have shown significant leadership in calling upon the Vatican to rescind the papal bulls. Impress upon them the importance of promoting the Indigenous perspective. Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery and imperialism holds great benefits for us all, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, so consider discussing the promise of a post-Doctrine of Discovery future. Discuss what actions could be taken by the Vatican, by governments, by communities and at an individual level.

## **7. Prepare them for differing points of view (even racist ones)**

Provide all sides of the argument. Many Māori are participating in the TUIA250 celebrations, and it's important to understand their reasoning behind doing so. Groups like Hobson's Pledge and white supremacist groups also support the commemorations and the return of the *Endeavour* replica. It's important to look at the correlations and contrasts between these positions, and compare them to those who oppose.

## **8. Discuss responsible accountability**

It's very easy for people to learn of this history and fall into the trap of resenting non-Indigenous Peoples, or indeed Christianity. Listen and watch for cues to how they are responding to the information before them. Shawnee/Lenape scholar Steve Newcombe makes an important and helpful distinction between Christianity as a faith and Christendom as the amalgamation of church and state, an alliance between monarchies and the

church, which resulted in the “divine right” of monarchs to do as they wish. This is also an opportunity to discuss how many non-Indigenous People have been forced away from their homelands through imperialism. Accountability rests with all of us to speak to the harms of imperialism.

### **9. Promote ethical remembering**

Colonialism, as a construct, rests upon the aforementioned fictions to justify its own importance, centrality and beneficence. It’s not only important to deconstruct those fictions but also understand how those fictions are transmitted. Statues, currency, education, media, entertainment, place names, memorials and events like TUIA250 all function to underscore the fictions that uphold colonialism. This is an important opportunity to discuss how we might envision a more ethical remembering of who we are and what is important in order to set a pathway for who we want to be in the future. Pose similar scenarios for comparison: Would it be appropriate to “balance” the Holocaust with workshops on Hitler’s other, more redeeming characteristics? When confronted with the horrors carried out by the conquistadors, is it at all appropriate to celebrate what an excellent navigator Hernán Cortés was? What version of history has dominated our worlds up until now? What counts as “important” history and what is the right way to remember painful histories?

### **10. Resources**

Here are some helpful, supportive resources to inform your pathway:

#### **Websites and blogs:**

First Mennonite Church of San Francisco. *Doctrine of Discovery Factsheet*

[https://www.commonword.ca/FileDownload/21895/](https://www.commonword.ca/FileDownload/21895/DoctrineDiscoveryFactsheet.pdf?t=1)

[DoctrineDiscoveryFactsheet.pdf?t=1](https://www.commonword.ca/FileDownload/21895/DoctrineDiscoveryFactsheet.pdf?t=1)

Jackson, Moana. *James Cook and our monuments to colonisation*  
<https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/james-cook-and-our-monuments-to-colonisation/>

Jackson, Moana. *The connection between white supremacy and colonisation*  
<https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/the-connection-between-white-supremacy/>

*Cook's Crime Spree Map – Mapping the crimes of Captain James Cook and his Crew* <https://tinyurl.com/cookcrimes>

**Video clips (please screen first for age appropriateness):**

Steve Newcomb. 2009. “Christian Doctrine of Discovery Panel” Parliament of the World’s Religions ‘09 conference  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bI9NAIfock>

Debra Harry. 2019. *Background to the Doctrine of Discovery*. “Might Makes Right” panel. Native American and Indigenous Studies Conference (NAISA)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ijp1TVhGi8&t=562s>

Chief Oren Lyons:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yVZDbqh7WgM>

**Books:**

Steven T. Newcomb. 2008. *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery* (Fulcrum).

Kahukiwa R. 2019. *True Story* (self-published)

Kahukiwa R. 2019. *Captain Cook Invader* (self-published)

**Events:**

*He Tirohanga Ki Tai: Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery*

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