# IN THE WAITANGI TRIBUNAL

## Wai 45

IN THE MATTER OF

the Treaty of Waitangi Act

1975

AND

an application for remedies on behalf of Te Rūnanga-ā-Iwi o Ngāti Kahu ("Ngāti Kahu")

# BRIEF OF EVIDENCE OF HECTOR BUSBY ON BEHALF OF TE RUNANGA O TE RARAWA 22 AUGUST 2012

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### MAY IT PLEASE THE TRIBUNAL

### E oku rahi, e oku rangatira

Ko Hekenukumai Puhipi toku ingoa. Waru tekau oku tau i noho nei au ki Te Hiku o Te Ika hei mokai mo oku iwi. I Whanau mai ahau ki Pukepoto, ko reira tonu ahau i tupu ake kei waenga nui o oku matua. Ka mutu i haere noatia oku matua ki nga pitopito whenua o te rohe puta noa. Ki o ratou whanaunga e noho ana ki Mangamuka, ki Hokianga puta atu ki Ahipara, he kainga ano hoki no matou. I whakawhiti atu ano matou ki Parapara, ki Te Au rere ki o matou whanaunga ki Ngati Tara.

Engari ko Taumata Mahoe, ko Huria hoki nga maunga e tatai iho nei ki a matou ko Te Uri a Hina, he hapu tuturu o te iwi nei o Te Rarawa. Kei Pukepoto tonu to matou Marae, he whakamaharatanga ki o matou tupuna me a ratou mahi. Ko to matou wharekai kei reira ko Ngamotu, he tamahine na Tarutaru raua ko Te Ruapounamu. I moe a Ngamotu i a Te Paa i puta ko Poroa hei ariki mo te iwi o Te Rarawa. Ko ana tuahine ko Te Marino raua ko Te Ruakuru kua noho tonu ki te takiwa nei hei tupuna whaea mo matou katoa o te whenua mai i Maungataniwha tae noa ki Hukatere.

Ka tatai tonu matou ki a Ngati Te Ao, ki Te Tahaawai hoki nga hapu pu o te takiwa nei ko Pukepoto.

Ko Tinana Te Waka, ko Tumoana Te Tangata, ka riro ko nga tatai hono o Te Iwi nei o Te Rarawa Kaiwhare. Ka tatai iho nei ki a Poroa te tangata, i aratakingia tona iwi o Te Rarawa. Ka moe tana tuahine a Te Ruakuru ki Huaki o Te Rangi ka puta ko Te Ripi Te Maru, he tangata toa na tona matua ko Poroa. I te hurihanga a Te Ripi ki te Karaipi Ture, I reira a James Busby e korero ana mo te whakaputanga a Te Iwi Maori. Na, kua whakarite ko James Busby te Godfather a Te Ripi, koia te tikanga e mau tonu ana matou te ingoa ko Busby, ara ko Puhipi. Koia ko Puhipi Te Ripi. A i haere katoatia e Te Ripi ki te taha a tona matua pakanga ai, mahi ai. He iwi no Poroa matou tae rawa atu ki Hukatere. Kei Hukatere i tukuna a Poroa ko Meringaroto ki a Te Ripi, hei hohourongo mo nga iwi e rua ko Te Aupouri me Te Rarawa. Kei reira tonu i whakarite ai e o matou tupuna te wawahitanga o nga iwi puta noa ki Te Hiku o Te Ika.



Ahau nei, he uri no nga tamariki tokotoru a Tarutaru raua ko Te Ruapounamu. Ko Te Tungutu, ko Ngamotu ratou ko Manihi. Ka tatai iho ki Te Ripi he tamaiti na Te Ruakuru, he tuahine ki a Poroa.

Ka moe a Te Ripi i a Akinihi a ka puta ko Timoti Puhipi. Ko Wharemate ano tera. Ka moe a Timoti ki a Maata Pukehuinga ka puta ko toku papa ko Mu Puhipi.

- 1. My name is Hekenukumai A Iwi, **Hector Busby**. I am eighty years of age and I reside in the Far North as a servant of my people. I was born at Pukepoto and grew up there among my elders. I was able to travel with them to places around the region to which we had an affiliation or association. We had connections in Mangamuka, the Hokianga and through to Ahipara, which was actually one of our homes. We also frequently visited Parapara and Te Aurere which we belonged to as Ngati Tara.
- 2. However, Taumata Mahoe and Huria are our primary mountains which are woven in our genealogies to the Hapu of Te Uri o Hina, a confederate hapu of Te Rarawa, the Iwi. At Pukepoto are our Marae, established in remembrance of our ancestors and their feats. Our dining facility is named Ngamotu, who was the eldest daughter of Tarutaru and Te Ruapounamu. Ngamotu married Te Paa and one of their children, Poroa, became the Ariki of the Te Rarawa Iwi. Te Marino and Te Ruakuru and their descendants were all the people living between Maungataniwha North to Kaitaia and Hukatere.
- **3.** We can also affiliate to Ngati Te Ao, Te Tahaawai and Tahukai as the main hapu of Pukepoto.
- 4. Tinana is our principal waka, and Tumoana is the ancestor linking the tribe to the origin of the name Te Rarawa, the House Eaters and to the personage of Poroa, the leader of Te Rarawa, the Iwi. His sister, Te Ruakuru married Te Huaki o Te Rangi and had Te Ripi Te Maru, a warrior sworn to support his uncle Poroa. When Te Ripi converted to Christianity and the scriptures, James Busby



happened to be visiting to discuss constitutional issues for Maori nationally. Thus it was determined that James Busby would be Te Ripi's Godfather, and from that time on he adopted the name Busby for which he then became known as Puhipi Te Ripi.

- 5. Te Ripi travelled all over the district at his uncle Poroa's side, both in war and in industry. We are Poroa's people all the way up to Hukatere. It was at Hukatere that Meringaroto (sister of Te Houtaewa) was arranged by Poroa to be married to Te Ripi as a peacemaking gesture between Te Aupouri and Te Rarawa. This was where a number of determinations were made about iwi manawhenua in the Far North. In my case, I am descended from three of the children of Tarutaru and Te Ruakuru. Te Tungutu, Ngamotu and Manihi.
- 6. Te Ripi married Akinihi and had Timoti who was also known as Wharemate. Wharemate married Maata Pukehuinga and had my father Mu Puhipi.

### **7.** I hold the positions of:

- a. Senior Kaumatua for the Iwi of Te Rarawa ("Te Rarawa") and the Iwi of Ngati Kahu and have represented these two iwi in a number of fora. I have inherited and own whenua in both Iwi rohe and I have been living at Te Aurere for many years with my wife Ngahiraka (who has since died) and my children who also have homes there.
- b. I am a Tohunga of a number of schools of knowledge, mainly in the arts. These include Karakia Tawhito, whakairo, Haka/Mau Rakau, Kapa Haka, Hoe Waka, Tarai Waka and I have personally built thirty one waka over the past thirty years. Some of these are overseas but most are held in Aotearoa by Iwi who have had a renaissance in the ancient wananga of waka travel and celestial navigation. I was recently inducted as a member of the ancient Polynesian School of Navigators and this was a great honour for me. Our Waka, Te Aurere has now done over forty thousand miles of sea travel fulfilling a dream held by Sir James Henare, Niki

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Conrad and others of the time, to revive the skills and knowledge of our tupuna as seafarers. Now leaders like Ariki Sir Tumu Te Heuheu are leading the motu in supporting tarai waka and the latest initiative is the departure of two Waka Hourua from Aotearoa last week (17<sup>th</sup> August) which has been called the Waka Tapu voyage back to Rapanui (Easter Island) completing the Polynesian triangle and providing a new focus for the people of the Pacific.

- c. I have had a career in engineering and for many years owned and operated my own business building bridges all over the North. Over the years, I have held many positions as Trustee of Marae, Cemeteries and Reservations and I still hold some today. I have established with Te Puia (Maori Arts and Crafts Institute), a wananga outpost at Te Aurere that focuses upon Waka building and Navigation knowledge and practices. We also carve other forms and mediums that are associated with these arts. I am a well-known and understood leader of our Iwi and my own Marae and Hapu and have a pretty good understanding of our place in the history around here in Pukepoto, Kaitaia, Tangonge and the surrounding district.
- **8.** I am aware of the Application for Remedies that has been filed with the Tribunal by the Venerable Timoti Flavell on behalf of himself and Ngati Kahu.
- 9. As a child I sat at the feet of my elders who were very learned men and women. Our homes at Pukepoto verged on the southside of Lake Tangonge, which, at that time was being drained but still quite big. The Lake had been a food place for our tupuna and in our time we still got kai out of the Lake to feed our families. Fish from there was a part of our staple diet nearly every day. We were the only people living around the Lake although there was still gumdigging going on and there were big drains being dug to drain the Tangonge Lake for farming.
- **10.** There were also people living at a place near Kaitaia, we called Hollywood, because people staying there were considered



glamorous. Some of them even caught taxi's which was considered a luxury. Hollywood was somewhere that our relations could put a little place up if they were going to be working in Kaitaia. Being paid workers they got to live a bit more of an exciting sort of life, especially if they were away from their families. People lived there for a long time and I think the last family was evicted in the 1960's by the Crown when it decided to assert ownership over the land. But we do still own a reserve at Tangonge and there are Trustees who represent Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri established there.

- 11. All our lives we grew up fighting for Tangonge to be returned to us. There are two parts of it. The first part is the lake bed itself which the Crown first drained, and then seized claiming a sovereign right to ballot the land out to Pakeha only farmers. The second part is made up of the surplus lands from the Ahipara and other purchases which were retained by the Crown instead of being returned to Te Rarawa. Our tupuna Timoti Puhipi began the claims for this land to be given back and this was carried on by Herepete Rapihana through four Commissions of Inquiry and eventually the Muriwhenua Land Claims which were reported on favourably by the Waitangi Tribunal. On the other side of the lake, Ahipara people have interests and our tupuna Rewi Ngapera used to have a Paa there called Puketutu. We have a further six Paa around Pukepoto and another five in and around Kaitaia. On the Awanui side are the Ngai Takoto who have used the Lake too because it drains out into the Rangunu Harbour. Some of our relations in there have a whakapapa to Ngati Kahu but I have never heard that Ngati Kahu, as an Iwi, have any right in Tangonge.
- 12. It is a fact that there are old drains at Tangonge which have been engineered by one of our tupuna, Kauri, before Ngati Awa left the area many generations ago and these are considered by us as our Taonga associated with our Lake and our tupuna who named Tangonge after the swaying taro leaves of Awarua.



- 13. In all of our efforts in fighting for this land, the Ngati Kahu Iwi have never been involved in the proceedings or been recognised as having an interest anywhere west of Kaitaia. My tupuna from Te Rarawa have held manawhenua over these places since Kupe and since the conquests of Poroa, Te Uri o Hina, Te Tahaawai, Ngati Te Ao and Tahukai have had manawhenua interests from Okahu through to Kaitaia, and out to the beach as far up as Hukatere.
- **14.** There is a well known whakatauaki which refers to the arranged marriage between my tupuna, Te Ripi and Meringaroto, the sister of Te Houtaewa from Te Aupouri:

Hutia te rito o te harakeke, kei hea ra te komako e ko, whakatairangatia, rere ki uta, rere ki tai; Mau e ui mai ki a au, he aha te mea nui o te ao; Maku e ki atu, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

If we were to strip away the center shoot of the flax plant, where would the Komako bird find sustenance;
It would search to the sea and to the land without success;
If you ask me what is the most important thing in the world, my reply would be – it is people, it is people, it is people.

- 15. There is a history to this saying which has been interpreted in two ways. The first of these is a reference to people being the most important thing in our world and this has been adopted throughout the country as a well used whakatauaki. The other interpretation relates to Meringaroto's Iwi cursing the union by asserting they would have no children. Maybe both meanings are right but my tupuna was the one that was right there with Poroa and them and we are still here today defending our manawhenua as Te Rarawa. In all my life this has never been questioned.
- Oneroa a Tohe beach claim on behalf of Te Rarawa with Te Mutu Kapa from Te Aupouri they canvassed the whole area for support to pay the legal costs and for kaumatua to give evidence about

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the beach. There were knowledgable kaumatua who made our submissions to the Court, but no one ever said that the Ngati Kahu Iwi had any manawhenua on the beach. If they had, we would have objected. I have read Lloyd Popata's version of Te Paatu and how it got its name and I have never heard that story before. It doesn't tally up with what I have been told and learned from my tupuna's.

- 17. In this part of Te Rarawa we are strong on the Arawairua which comes in to Ahipara at Paripari and then runs up the beach between the low and high tide marks. There are places where the wairua perform certain things and these places are tapu to us with a korero for them that we also share with the other manawhenua Iwi on the beach, but this has never included the Ngati Kahu Iwi who from our point of view might have manawhenua on the east coast but not the west coast.
- 18. However, under the mantle of Tumoana our ancestry is intertwined with Tinana Waka descendants and in some periods of our histories we were closer with each other than other periods. Parata and Kahutianui are used by Ngati Kahu as their main tupuna but they come after the mantle of Tumoana. For this reason we will always be connected by ancestors in common. I myself am as much Ngati Kahu in ancestry as I am Te Rarawa.

### Take Whenua

19. Kaitaia, which was originally known as Te Ahu Paa, was named by Toakai, whose two wives were competing for his favour. We in Pukepoto, Okahu, Kaitaia and Ahipara are the uri of these two women (Tukotia and Tarawhati) both wives of Toakai who drove the Ngati Miru and Ngati Awa people out of this area many generations ago. Neither Kahutianui nor Parata had any mana over the Te Rarawa kainga in these places, or anywhere in the Te Rarawa rohe. The Iwi that have been closest to us in these areas is Te Aupouri through Wheeru who occupied these areas not so long ago and this is reflected in the Tangonge Lake Trust schedule of owners and Trustees. I have been told by my elders

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that Ngati Kahu didn't use to be a proper iwi and that they were only accepted as a true iwi about 1921 or shortly after when Henare Kingi Waiaua fought for them to be recognised. I learned about this from an address by Herepo Harawira at Jack King's tangihanga. Jack King's actual name was Ngati Kahu and he was named after the event that allowed Ngati Kahu to be fully recognised as an Iwi. This was done down south, either at Rotorua or Heretaunga and a Lawyer (Rakena) and Policeman (Hetaraka) were also appointed. I was told that the Takahue River from Maungataniwha to Awanui is where the Iwi interests are roughly separated with Te Paatu having the area to the east and Te Rarawa having the area to the west. Te Paatu has often been described as a Hapu of Te Rarawa and this is because of the merging whakapapa where their interests meet and sometimes overlap.

- 20. Tangonge is also the area that the famous Waharoa, sometimes called the Lintel, was found by our matuas at the Waiake drain very near Pukepoto. When that ancient carving was found in 1920, it was karakia'd over then removed by Te Rarawa kaumatua (including my father and father-in-law, Waata Te Pania) to be preserved as a very important Taonga. But because it had been in a swamp for so long it was very hard to stop from drying right out and perishing, so the kaumatua accepted that it should be cared for by the Auckland Museum, which was the only institution, at that time, capable of ensuring its full preservation. But from that day to now Te Rarawa have held the manawhakahaere over that Taonga and for the last few years Te Runanga o Te Rarawa, on behalf of the Iwi, has been working and negotiating with the Auckland Museum for the return of the Taonga to Kaitaia for local exhibition. It is so important a taonga to Te Rarawa that the actual insignia of Te Runanga o Te Rarawa is the Waharoa.
- 21. The return of this Taonga has now been achieved and Te Rarawa Whanau have kaitiaki roles and responsibilities which require us to look after the mana of the Taonga every day. Never once in



the history of this Taonga and its discovery have Ngati Kahu ever asserted a claim of mana over this Taonga. In all the public debates and discussions between and with Museums, never has Ngati Kahu, or any other iwi contested the mana of Te Rarawa in relation to this Taonga. That is because it was found near Tangonge Lake within the manawhenua of the Ngati Te Ao, Te Uri o Hina and Te Tahaawai hapu who are all firmly affiliated to the Iwi of Te Rarawa.

22. I remember old Tana Ratima who was our uncle from Okahu and there are still some Te Paatu people like Sir Graham Latimer with interests in the lands there. But the areas are still under Te Rarawa and the Te Paatu interests sit in among our other hapu that can establish their own manawhenua interests there. When Te Rarawa come to hand back any assets and benefits through the Deed of Settlement, this will happen at a hapu level which will allow the involvement of all interests, regardless of which Iwi they affiliate to. The church and the urupaa at Okahu have been established by my own tupuna who are also buried there. For example, my uncle Heehi Te Paa is buried there and it was his grave that the famous mere pounamu, Punaute was dug up from in 1921 by his own son, Pou. After much heated discussion the Mere was eventually acquired by the Auckland Museum and we are currently mounting a case to have it returned to iwi and whanau custodianship. This was Poroa's mere given to him by Ngati Pou at Takahue, as a result of his protection of them from Hongi Hika, his close friend and relative from Ngapuhi.

# Heke Tika, Mana Whenua Tuturu

23. That area of Okahu runs right into the township of Kaitaia and its tatai to the tupuna's goes back to Te Uri o Hina along with Te Tahaawai and Ngati Te Ao and Tahukai, who are the tangata whenua hapu. My tupuna, Timoti Puhipi believed in making the best of whatever the Pakeha could offer us as rangatira of this area. He and Panakareao were of one mind to develop the area of Kaitaia and Te Hiku o Te Ika. This was what they said at the

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signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi at Te Ahu. We must all be of one heart. My tupuna Timoti was also named Wharemate and he had stood for Parliament but lost the vote due to a campaign by his own kuia to stop him being elected because she did not want him to leave the area. He built the first school in this area at Pukepoto in 1872 because he saw the value in education for the next generation of Maori rangatira. On Waitangi Day 1876, he died, attracting an enormous crowd of four thousand people to his tangi and where his own armed troops of four hundred toa performed an ancient sacred haka, Tutungarahu.

- 24. Riapo Puhipi, who was my father's older brother from his first wife carried on the same whakaaro that had been handed down by Poroa and actively recruited my uncles and grand uncles to go to war, as our contribution to the nation. In 1916 he invited Sir Maui Pomare to Kaitaia to unveil a war memorial to honour the Maori and New Zealand effort. Riapo himself led the project on behalf of Maori and Pakeha and the shrine (which still stands today) was the second memorial built and first one commemorated in the country. It is the only memorial of its nature in the country that is fully bilingual and speaking the language of unity and common purpose. Commentators spoke about the whole of Kaitaia being present at the event and the huge success of this Hui showed that he (Riapo) was carrying on the mana of his father and the take whenua that Timoti and then Herepete Rapihana, among others, fought for at Tangonge and Kaitaia. In further expressing his manaakitanga he then invited the entire gathering back to his marae at Pukepoto for the hakari feast. Ngati Kahu may have been present as individuals and there as our relations, but they did not have any Iwi manawhenua.
- 25. During the time that Panakareao and then Wharemate were in leadership roles for Te Rarawa they exercised mana between Mangonui and Ahipara and in all those years there were no fights or quarrels of any significance between Maori and Maori (except between Panakareao and his cousin Pororua), or between Maori

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and Pakeha. The whole area lived in peace because of Panakareao, Te Ripi Puhipi, Te Morenga, Te Huhu, Papahia, Harimana and others who remained steadfast to Poroa's kaupapa, the absence of war and a path toward peace and prosperity.

### The Place of Te Paatu

- 26. Te Paatu is older than Ngati Kahu and my understanding of their name is that it came from an event at Oturu. My old people always referred to Te Paatu Teretere because they were a sort of people who moved around a lot, staying here and there depending on their circumstances. I know the tupuna Kakaitawhiti. He was a famous toa of Ngati Moroki from Te Kauhanga and he has many descendants, not just Te Paatu. I had not heard that he was buried at Hukatere but being buried somewhere is not necessarily proof of manawhenua. In the old days our people moved around a lot following the kai seasons and Hukatere has always been a popular place as a central location to the beach and the Peninsular. The Paa at Hukatere which is named Utia was last taken by Poroa with the aid of Hongi Hika in about 1824 and while Te Rarawa did not remain to occupy the Paa they established their manawhenua by conquest south of Hukatere. Once again, Te Paatu did not feature in the power arrangements but did gain the favour and protection of Poroa who possessed the mana over the entire area as a result of his victories in war.
- 27. Lloyd Popata says in his evidence that the Mamaru Waka was not a waka hourua but a single hull like a waka taua. This is not possible. Waka like waka taua were paddled and were developed after the sailing waka had arrived here so that large groups could move about quickly around the shoreline. Once out in the open sea, sails are required and the waka hourua is the most efficient type of waka for this sort of journey. My understanding of the korero is different to Lloyd Popata's and yet my own matua had a lot to do with Te Paatu and went regularly to their Hui. I

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remember once my grandfather going to an unveiling at Te Paatu and on the way to that particular Te Paatu Marae he stopped at the urupaa and did the karakia to unveil the head stones. Then he went to the marae where there was a big argument going on about who should do what at the unveiling. He told them he knew full well they would end up arguing over it so he stepped in and did it himself, solving all their disputes. Not many people could do a thing like that but that showed that he had mana not just among the Rarawa but also the Paatu.

### Te Runanga

28. Through my marae, Te Uri o Hina (descendants of Hina, which was a special name used to refer to the ancestor Tarutaru) my Hapu and my Whanau are affiliated to the Runanga o Te Rarawa as the body that represents the interests of our Iwi. Leadership structures have changed over the generations and about twenty or so years ago the Hapu and Marae that were affiliated to Te Rarawa decided to create an iwi entity, which for the first time, would be voted on. There were twenty three marae that decided to join the confederation which has been going since that time representing the Iwi, and looking out for the things that my tupuna used to do for his people in his day, and what I have tried to do in my day. I am a person who has always been shy to talk, especially about myself. I prefer to let my hands talk for me and I can be judged by that. So I am not really a Runanga man. I have struck out on my own with a number of projects over the decades and I tend to focus on these expecting that my Runanga will support me. Sometimes they do and sometimes they don't. Our Marae hasn't always been totally satisfied with the way the Runanga has structured things. I am not a marae delegate to the Runanga but my nephew is and he is our connection to what is going on. In spite of these concerns, we have remained loyal to our structure in the knowledge that the wider brief of the Runanga is and will continue to produce benefits for everybody and this fulfills the hopes of my tupuna Te Ripi and Panakareao for the katoa.

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29. The Runanga has been thorough in seeking and obtaining its mandate amongst Te Rarawa Hapu and Marae and our people living away from home. I have supported them in their negotiations process and, along with other senior Ngati Kahu Kaumatua, who attended in support of the Te Rarawa settlement, I attended their ratification Hui in Kaitaia, endorsing the recommendation of the negotiators. I have also been consulted and participated in the planning that is underway to deliver the redress contained in the settlement to the hapu and claimant groups.

### **Getting Equity**

- I, and other kaumatua from Pukepoto were involved in the discussions with the Ngai Takoto people over the Sweetwater Farms. I did not agree with the claims made by Ngai Takoto to Tangonge and Te Make and I made my views known in our meetings. But at the end of the korero the negotiators came up with a way of sharing the Farms that allowed me to see things differently. I was very concerned about the amount of ground we gave in on because it did not match my memory of where their and our interests were in that area. But in discussing the matter with the negotiators and the Chairman of the Runanga, I came to see that if we wanted to get any movement going forward we had to give something to start the process of sharing without having to argue and fight over the manawhenua issues.
- 31. To me this meant that we now have to make our own new decisions about today for ourselves and the future of our children. We can rely upon the past decisions of our tupuna to get us here, but it is our decisions that we will need to rely upon, to take us to where we need to go. So I have no problem with our negotiators making the decisions that are needed to move us ahead, and they have done this with a number of innovative approaches to our farming strategy and with conservation management. All I have expected is appropriate consultation and

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involvement by my Hapu. This has been happening and I have faith in the negotiators and the new Runanga structure that our hapu interests will be properly recognised and reflected in the final settlement arrangements.

32. I know that the four Iwi of Te Hiku o Te Ika have tried to work this way so that everybody gets a fair share of any settlement which we estimate to be only a fraction of the real value of the claim. This requires thinking and behaving like a rangatira, establishing pono and tika then choosing to tuku some things so there can be better balance and equity. I think the way that Ngati Kahu have chosen to settle their own claims back before the Tribunal will actually bugger up the efforts that the other Iwi have put in to come up with a fair split of the assets and other redress. By not properly participating in the korero and decisions with the other Hiku Iwi, they have created a process that does not show respect for whanaungatanga or for collaboration among Iwi and I think some of this comes down to personalities which is really immature leadership. We have to put our egos last and our people first to prepare a place for the next generation. This takes vision, courage and wisdom and not all leaders have it.

HEKENUKUMAI A IWI PUHIPI/HECTOR BUSBY

22 August 2012