

Anue, Tahiti Sep 1999

No Te Parau Tia,

No Te Parau Mau,

No Te Tiamaraa

FOR JUSTICE, TRUTH AND INDEPENDENCE

Kekuni Blaisdell



**Environment
Demilitarisation**

Decolonisation

Sustainable Human Development

Human Rights and Good Governance

Environment, Decolonisation, emilitarisation, Sustainable Human Development
Environment, Decolonisation, Demilitarisation, Sustainable Human Development

***No Te Parau Tia,
No Te Parau Mau,
No Te Tiamaraa,
For justice, truth and independence***

**Report of the
8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific
(NFIP) Conference**

**Arue, Tahiti, Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia)
20-24 September 1999**

**Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC)
Suva, Fiji Islands**

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No Te Parau Tia, No Te Parau Mau, No Te Tiamaraa

- For justice, truth and independence

Warmest greetings from the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC). PCRC is the secretariat of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement, based in Suva, Fiji Islands.

From 20-24 September 1999, over 110 delegates and observers from 28 countries and territories around the Pacific came together for the 8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference in Arue, Tahiti, Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia). The official delegates were joined by international observers, secretariat staff and scores of visitors and supporters from around Tahiti, in the shadow of Mount Erima, on the shores of Matavai Bay.

Since 1975, the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement has met in conference, bringing together peoples' representatives from around the Pacific region: indigenous people's organisations; church, trade union and peace activists; environmentalists; and movements for sovereignty and self-determination.

The first Nuclear Free Pacific conference was held at the University of the South Pacific (USP) in Suva, Fiji in 1975. Further NFIP conferences have followed in: Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia (1978); Ka Pae'aina / Hawai'i (1980); Port Vila, Vanuatu (1983); Manila, the Philippines (1987); Pawarenga, Aotearoa / New Zealand (1990); Suva, Fiji (1996); and Arue, Tahiti (1999).

The NFIP Conference is the supreme decision making body of the NFIP movement and its secretariat, the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC). The main objective of the NFIP Conferences is to serve as the premier forum for discussion amongst NFIP members concerning their struggle for self-determination, human rights, justice, peace and liberation, and to formulate policies and action programs for PCRC and the movement.

For the first time ever, the conference was held in one of the French occupied territories in the Pacific. Because of its long-standing campaign against nuclear testing in the Pacific, the NFIP movement was never welcomed in Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia) by the French authorities. We are thankful to our local hosts *Tavini Huiraa* no Te Ao Maohi, who organised the conference with the support and involvement of other groups, such as church, NGO

and trade union organisations in Tahiti. *Mauruuru* to Oscar Temaru, Nui Ben Teriitehau and all the people who made the conference such a success.

We give special thanks to the Evangelical Church *Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française* (EPPF) for use of their facilities at Arue, and to President Jacques Ihorai, Pastor Ralph Teinaore, Pastor Godfrey Marcus and his parishioners in Arue for their hospitality.

The theme of the conference was *No Te Parau Tia, No Te Parau Mau, No Te Tiamaraa* - for justice, truth and independence. The end of thirty years of French nuclear testing in 1996 has not ended the nuclear legacies for the Maohi people. A major theme of the conference was the struggle of the Maohi people for self-determination and independence in a nuclear free country. This book collects the testimony of Maohi leaders and activists with their vision for an independent nation. It also includes presentations from around the Pacific region on five key themes:

- a) The struggle for self-determination and independence in the Pacific into the new millennium
- b) Conserving our environment for our children
- c) Opposition to the new arms race in the Pacific
- d) Human rights and good governance in the Pacific
- e) Globalisation and its impact on Pacific economies

Throughout the conference, many participants paid tribute to Lopeti Senituli, the outgoing Director of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre. The success of the conference and the vitality of the NFIP Movement are a tribute to his work as PCRC Director since 1987. Congratulations are due to the staff of PCRC and the local organising committee for bringing the movement together in such a beautiful environment.

At the dawn of the new Millennium, the 8th NFIP Conference has set new directions and new challenges. Based on the mandate from this important regional gathering, the NFIP Movement is proud to continue the struggle for a nuclear free and independent Pacific.

Motarilavao Hilda Lini
Director, Pacific Concerns Resource Centre

Opening ceremony

We call this land "Te Ao Maohi"

Oscar Temaru, Tavini Huiraatira, Te Ao Maohi

The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference can finally take place in Tahiti. We call this land Te Ao Maohi. The official name of our country is French Polynesia, the name that perfectly describes the reality of our colonial history. Some members may have had problems with entry formalities and this was expected. President Gaston Flosse used his relations with French President Chirac to try to prevent this Conference from taking place.

As we see today, we have invited all the members of the Government, including President Flosse and all the official members of this country. But they're not here. They have received orders from the President not to come and not to participate in this Conference.

The organisation of this Conference was made possible because of the collective efforts of Nui Ben Teriitehau, our vice-president. But we want to say a special thanks to Lopeti Senituli. We would like to ask him to stand up so that everybody can see him, because he has done a lot for our country for many years.

I'd like to thank the members of our party *Tavini Huiraatira* and of course all those that I haven't mentioned. I applaud your work. Thank you for your continued support.

I must also thank the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia and its President, Mr. Jacques Ihorai for their courage in allowing this Conference to unfold here in Arue, on this very historical site. Equally important, we must also thank ourselves for our decision to take part in what is perhaps the last important meeting on the eve of the New Millennium.

We are united here today under one banner, the banner of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific. I hope this Conference will permit everyone to openly and freely debate the issues on the agenda.

Some theories claim that we come from one common bond but culturally we are as diverse as the colours of the rainbow, with its many colours, its shades and depths. If I had to choose a common bond, it would be the love that we and our *tupunas* (ancestors) have for our land.

For many years the NFIP movement was unable to hold a conference in Tahiti because of its stand in opposition to colonialism and nuclear testing. The permanent halt of French nuclear testing in 1996 has somewhat changed the attitude of France with regard to NFIP. We have come a long way since the founding NFIP Conference held in Suva,

Fiji, in 1975. However, regional and NFIP opposition to nuclear threats has not diminished.

Along with *Tavini Huiraatira no Te Ao Maohi* (the party for which I had been elected President since its creation in 1977), the Maohi people have a continuous commitment to make France fully recognise its responsibility for over 30 years of nuclear testing and 150 years of colonialism. There have been grave effects on our environment, our health and our society and our economy. France is indebted and must be held accountable - politically, morally and financially.

My people are faced with many challenges but the balance between economic gain and social advancement is a central point in our program. A key objective is finding an effective means to achieve a sustainable economy less dependent on others and based on the development of our own resources. On the other hand, we must also develop a Constitution guaranteeing individual liberties and freedom to all citizens. We must distribute our wealth and resources equitably to all sectors of our society, with all people sharing the benefits as well as the cost of development.

Opponents of this vision call it a dream. But because of our government's political short-sightedness, development has failed even after 150 years of French colonialism and US\$1.2 billion per year in French assistance. Even so, through tourism alone our economy generated nearly half the amount provided by France in 1998.

Our exclusive economic zone (EEZ) is larger than Europe. France, because of Tahiti and New Caledonia, has the third largest EEZ on this planet. We have many economic assets such as: black pearls; fisheries and marine resources; industries such as phosphate, cobalt and precious metals; agriculture such as *noni* fruit, vanilla bean and exotic cut flowers, etc. Banking and all the financial sectors are generating positive trends that as a whole will replace the French subsidies in coming years.

It is for this reason, like many of my predecessors, that I have confidence in our future as an independent sovereign state.

However while our economy grows, it is only performing at half its capacity. Political intimidation by pro-colonial conservatives (who fear the results of a referendum on this question of independence) has hindered the Maohi people from expressing freely and spontaneously in favour

of independence and sovereignty. In recent elections, 35% of the electorate voted in favour of the political platform and ideas presented by our party, the Tavini Huiraatira. This trend can only improve in the future, despite massive resources utilised against our movement.

On a sad note, the local President, Mr. Flosse, is currently under investigation by the French courts, facing many charges of corruption, using his influence to grant favourable treatment as well as false declaration of personal wealth. That's a sad note. Fortunately, the election results have given us a clearly defined polarisation in our local politics. Either you support independence or you don't.

It is imperative that the Maohi people with the full support of the NFIP movement and its members continue to inform and educate the Polynesian population that thinking independence is a noble course. People here were Maohi by ancestry or Maohi by adoption. We must understand that independence is not separation with closed borders. On the contrary, it is liberation and taking control of all sectors of our development, in partnership and co-operation with all sovereign states according to the United Nations philosophy.

I reiterate my call to the NFIP movement to openly demonstrate their solidarity with the Maohi people, who for years have died and struggled and never given up their right to self-determination. We ask that Te Ao Maohi be re-instated on the United Nations list of countries to be de-colonised immediately. Your support for our brothers in Kanaky is demonstration to that effect. We the Maohi people share that same inspiration.

The NFIP movement - with its authority, influence and the diversity of its' representatives - can play a vital role in spreading the Maohi people's cry for freedom. The 8th NFIP Conference will also be an opportunity to decide on our issues and concerns as peoples of the Pacific, which can be presented to important regional and international events soon to be held: the United Nations Conference on small islands developing states in September 1999; the South Pacific Forum meeting in October 1999; the Special United Nations Conference devoted to the Eradication of Colonialism. We entrust you with the task of speaking out to your respected leaders and countries about the concerns facing our region. The quest for freedom is a long and difficult road with many obstacles but together we can reach our dream for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

I thank you all. I am confident that we shall do what is necessary, so that our children may live freely. From the bottom of my heart, I would like to wish you again our welcome to Tahiti, our *tupunas'* land, our ancestors land, and may God bless you all.

Oscar Temaru is the Mayor of Faa'a in Tahiti, and leader of the pro-independence party Tavini Huiraatira no Te Ao Maohi

Welcoming speech

Sione Teisina Fuko
Chairperson,
PCRC / NFIP Executive Board



Teisina Fuko,
Chairperson of the PCRC / NFIP Executive Board

Honourable Oscar Temaru, Mayor of Faa'a;
Mr. Jacques Ihorai, President of the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia;
Pastor Godfrey Marcus and religious leaders;
Dear colleagues and friends, ladies and gentlemen;

It is a privilege and an honour to reply to your welcome and to your words of kindness, on behalf of the Executive Board of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC) and the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) Movement.

There is a saying from my homeland, the friendly isles of Tonga, which is *Koe me'a fakavale he anga ka koe masiva*. Because of my poverty, I am embarrassed as I know I cannot repay your kindness and generosity. Even if a person is of good character, even if one is full of good intentions, even if one makes sacrifices, one can do nothing unless one has the humble gracious heart of a Polynesian - the welcoming heart that we have witnessed here today.

I want to acknowledge and give my thanks to those who have supported us financially in holding this 8th NFIP Conference, which has opened today with such success. My thanks to John Doom of the World Council of Churches, Georg Hendriksen of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, and Bernhard Barth of FES who are with us today, as well as other friends of the NFIP Movement.

I would also like to express my thanks to Mr. Jacques Ihorai, President of the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia, for having allowed our delegates to use this beautiful and unique site at Arue, Tahiti.

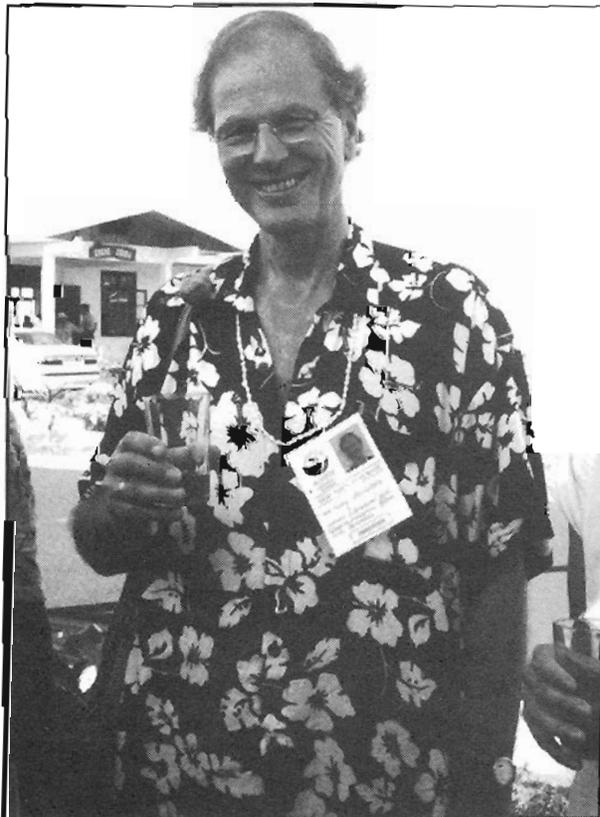
I would also like to thank with all my heart the party *Tavini Huiraaatira*, led by the Honourable Oscar Temaru, together with Nui Ben Teriitehau and all the other members and supporters who have worked so hard to welcome this 8th NFIP Conference to your land, Te Ao Maohi. I also want to thank Lopeti Senituli and all his staff for having worked to hard to make this conference happen. We look forward to the opportunity to share our experiences and exchange our ideas and a successful and fruitful meeting.

Since we arrived in this country, the Maohi people have removed the stress, the doubts and fears from our brows, replacing them with a beautiful smile for our soul.

Legend has it that three canoes came from afar. One stayed in Tonga and Samoa, another to the Cook Islands and Te Ao Maohi, while the last voyaged as far as Aotearoa. Today, the descendants of those warriors are here in the land of Te Ao Maohi.

We are the rightful owners of this land and sea. God, the Land, the Sea and our People are our inheritance, and we will not allow any intruders to take them from us. Let us bind our hearts, in mind and soul. Let our canoes sail together towards the dawn of the new Millennium, to explore new horizons. *Maururu i to outou ta'e Rahi mai teie mahana. Au ofa atu.*

Sione Teisina Fuko is the Chairperson of the PCRC / NFIP Executive Board, and a former Member of Parliament in the Kingdom of Tonga.



Georg Henriksen
of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA)

Welcoming address

Georg Henriksen
IWGIA, Denmark

Firstly, I would like to tell you how privileged we are to be part of such an important event. As a member of the delegation from the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), I want to congratulate you for having organised this gathering. We are so impressed as to how you have organised things down to the last detail, allowing people to travel here from so far afield.

I know that there are some people amongst you who haven't slept for the last week. These organisers merit our sincere thanks: NFIP and its secretariat, the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC); the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia; Mr. Oscar Temaru and his party *Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi* and all the local volunteers.

Let me just say two words about our organisation and the reason that we are here. IWGIA is an international non-government organisation based in Copenhagen, Denmark. Since 1968, we have documented the fate and struggles of indigenous peoples around the world. Our work on human rights, the rights of indigenous peoples, on land rights as well as the right to self-determination is a vital task.

In recent years, IWGIA has been active in pressing for a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system. Another major objective of IWGIA is to promote and strengthen links between indigenous peoples in various parts of the world, to share information between indigenous communities. With the co-operation of NFIP / PCRC, we hope to publish a document with the outcomes of this conference.

The peoples of Pacific nations represent a wide range of situations: those who are still colonised; those who are passing through a phase of decolonisation and those who are independent but are trying to reconcile their definition of nationhood with customary rights.

For 31 years, since the creation of IWGIA, we have seen an impressive growth of the indigenous peoples' movement on the international stage. This represents an important contribution, as this is an innovative movement which could become the spearhead for groups which want to liberate themselves and create institutions which will promote just and peaceful relations between peoples. This is one of the reasons that the aims and aspirations of this conference are important, not only for you in the Pacific, but for the whole world. On behalf of IWGIA, I wish all possible success to delegates at this conference, at a time when we face numerous challenges in the years to come.

Georg Henriksen is Chairperson of the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) in Denmark.

Self-determination in Timor Lorosae

Ceu Brites

East Timor Relief Association, Timor Lorosae

Firstly, in the name of PCRC and the NFIP Movement, I would like to say Maururu and thank you to Tavini and the people who have welcomed us as part of this vast congregation today. I would also like to thank my dear colleagues of the PCRC / NFIP Executive Board, who have given me the opportunity to speak here today as a Timorese. I would also like to express my deepest thanks to our hosts for their generous support, especially Mr. Oscar Temaru and Mr. Nui Ben Teriitehau, which is truly appreciated in this difficult time.

Dear bothers and sisters, it is with great sadness that I speak here today at the opening of the 8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference. The first conference of the NFIP Movement was held in 1975. The same year, my country East Timor was invaded by Indonesia. I was obliged to flee my native land as a refugee.

After 24 years of suffering, on 30 August the people of East Timor voted for independence. Because of that, the whole world has witnessed one of the most atrocious massacres of the current era. In the press, this massacre has been called the Holocaust of our region.

The Indonesian military has destroyed all infrastructure, as their way of showing their response to the people's vote for independence. This has involved not simply the massacre of innocent civilians, but also the total destruction of infrastructure, of the towns and the villages, as well as the forced resettlement of the population to other parts of Indonesia, into concentration camps that were built before the vote on independence. We still do not know the fate of

many young men aged between 14 and 18, who have been separated from their families by the Indonesian military.

All these atrocities were committed by the Indonesian government thanks to the financial, military and ideological support of the Western powers. Thousands of people have lost their life and others are dying as we meet here today. The peacekeeping forces will not enter East Timor until Monday or Tuesday next week. The Indonesians have said that they will withdraw their troops when the peacekeepers arrive. But how can we believe their lies?

My friends, brothers and sisters, let us gather our forces to bring peace once and for all to the people of East Timor. Let us call on the international community and your respective governments to respect the decision of the people of East Timor, when they voted last 30 August in favour of independence.

We ask you to support the United Nations in this period of transition, so that we can build a new nation. We hope that you will heed the call by the UN Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms. Mary Robinson, to set up an international War Crimes Tribunal for East Timor. Such a body would no doubt place pressure on the Indonesian armed forces to halt their butchery.

We also salute the efforts of Tavini Huiraaatira to collect funds locally and to provide humanitarian support for the men, women and children of East Timor. We hope that this 8th NFIP Conference will give us more power, to reinforce our courage and our hope in these difficult times.



Ceu Brites is a member of the East Timor Relief Association (ETRA), and served as a member of the PCRC / NFIP Executive Board from 1996-1999.

After the NFIP conference, she returned from exile to Timor, to help with the reconstruction of the new nation of Timor Lorosae, and to support further involvement of women in rebuilding of civil society.

Ceu Brites of Timor Lorosae with Tavini Huiraaatira Vice President Nui Ben Teriitehau

By the waters of Matavai Bay, in the shadow of Mount Erima

Lopeti Senituli, Director, Pacific Concerns Resource Centre

This is an historic occasion. It is historic because it is the first time that a conference of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement is being held here on the sacred land of the Maohi people.

This is a unique occasion. It is unique because this conference has drawn together the widest range of progressive forces from the Pacific. It brings together the church and the ecumenical movement; the armies of liberation; feminists and women's right activists; in summary, the pilgrims for justice and liberation.

This is an occasion for celebration:

- to celebrate the end of French nuclear testing at Moruroa and Fangataufa
- to celebrate the end of all nuclear testing in our Pacific
- to celebrate the exercise by the people of East Timor of their right to self-determination
- to celebrate the end of the war in Bougainville

This is an occasion to celebrate God's liberating love as we prepare for the new millennium. This is an occasion to re-charge our batteries. It is therefore appropriate that we are gathered here by the water of Matavai Bay like the oppressed people of Israel who gathered by the river of Babylon.

As we gather here by the waters of Matavai Bay and in the aura of the tomb of Te Arii Pomare and in the shadow of Mount Erima, we must remember our dead. We remember:

- Pouvanaa a Oopa
- Eloi Machoro
- Jean-Marie Tjibaou
- Queen Liliukalani
- Theodore Miriung
- Eva Rickard
- Eddie Mabo
- Darlene Keju
- Bishop Patelisio Finau
- Father Walter Hadye Lini

Mourning our dead is an empowering experience. This is an empowering occasions, for the salt is our tears and the sweat from brows adds our to the blood of our ancestors and rejuvenates the land which is in turn gives us strength.

*No Te Parau Tia - For Justice
No Te Parau Mau - For Truth
No Te Tiamaraa - And for Independence
Wake up, Stand up, Work, Work*



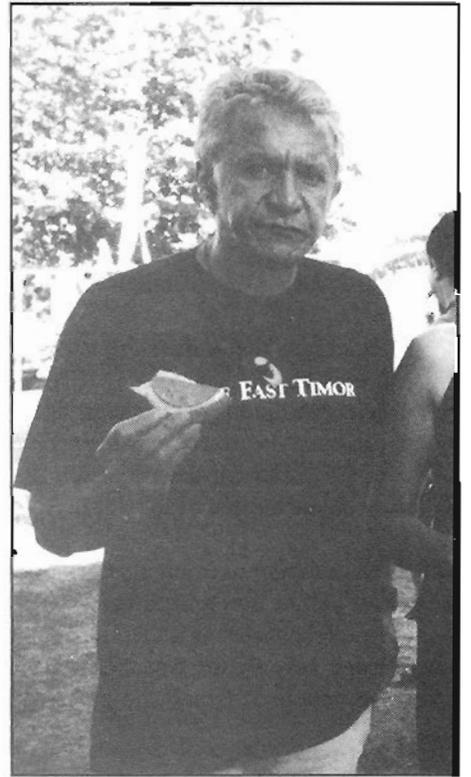
Lopeti Senituli (right) with
Vito Maamaatua, Director of the radio station Te Reo Tefana

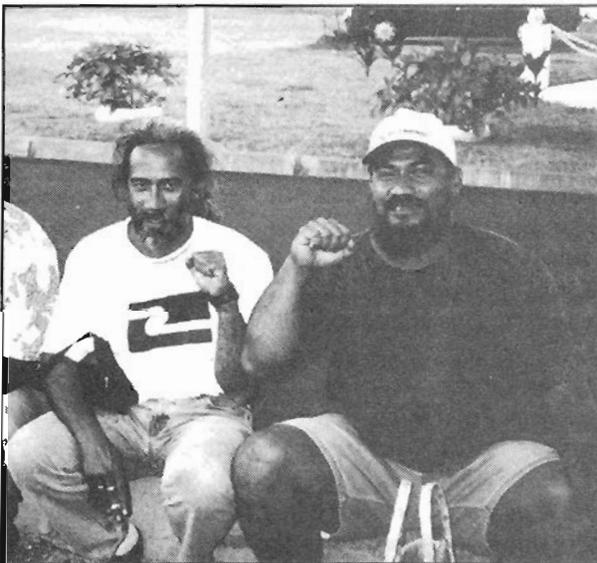
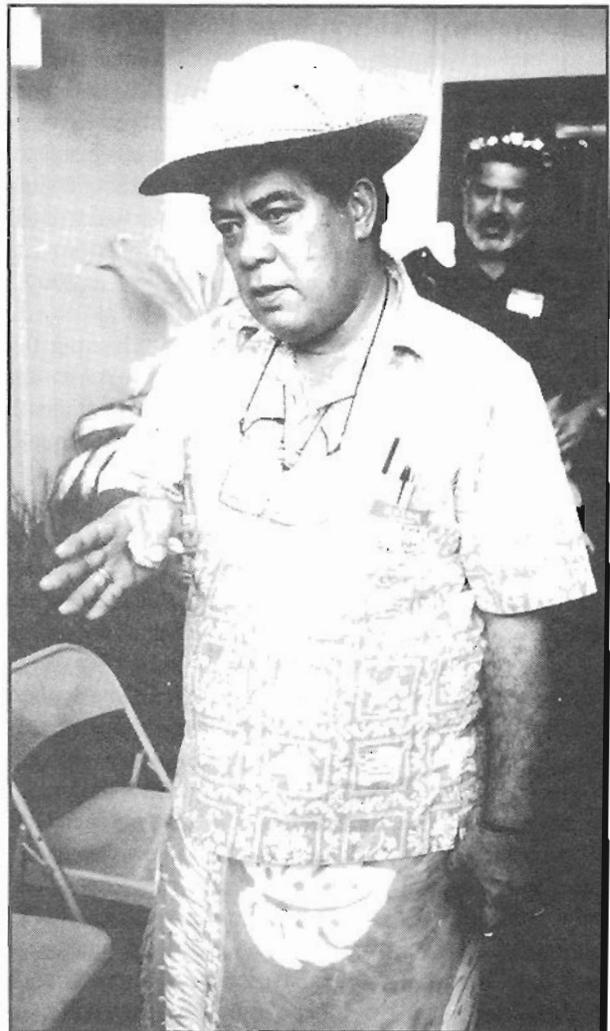
This is the theme of our Conference and our vision for the new millennium.

We have an exciting programme ahead of us. We shall address conserving our environment for our children. We shall discuss the legacy of 50 years of American, British and French nuclear testing in our Pacific from 1946 to 1996. We shall address the new arms race in the Pacific. We shall discuss the development of new generation of "Star Wars" technology at Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands and the ethnic cleansing in the Solomon Islands. We shall address the struggle for Human Rights and Good Governance in Tonga, in Samoa, in Papua New Guinea. Above all, we shall discuss Globalisation and its impact on the peoples and economies of the Pacific.

For our discussions to be successful, we are dependent on you all - the sons and daughters of the greatest navigators the world has ever known. Our ancestors stopped in Tonga and Samoa, while yours kept piercing the skies in search of new horizons. We need your love. We need your solidarity. We need your patience. In return, we have nothing of value that can ever repay you all or words that can fully convey our gratitude. All we have to offer are our bare hands in solidarity and we hope you will help us up should we stumble. *Mauruuru, Vinaka Vakalevu, Malo Aupito.*

Lopeti Senituli served as Director of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre from 1987-2000.





Theme One: The Struggle of the Maohi People for Self-Determination and Independence in a Nuclear Free Country

Welcome and Introduction

Oscar Temaru
Tavini Huiraatira,
Te Ao Maohi

Good morning distinguished guests,
friends and family.

I use the word 'family' because as I look out at the assembly, I can't help but imagine the seedlings of a future "United Nations Assembly of Small Island Nations". This would be an assembly of open debate under democratic principles, following the philosophy of the United Nations Charter, an assembly that manages its own destiny, so that we may all live freely in peace and harmony with nature. These next days will focus on important issues that will change the whole region on the eve of the new millennium.

I stand before you once more, to convey the message of my people held captive for 150 years. As I have said before, like many of my predecessors who have died, have been tortured, humiliated, and continuously ignored by those responsible for this mire: we must regain our independence immediately! A human being is born free without chains. The keys to detach these chains are in your hands. I ask again that our country be reinstated on the United Nations list of countries to be decolonised before the year 2000.

The *Tavini Huiraatira* has been actively planning this day of redemption for twenty years now. As in any government, we need competent people that can efficiently manage the every day rituals of self-government. Equally important, these people must also have a realistic foresight that will promote social, political and economic development. During the course of our conference you will meet a few members of our movement, who are knowledgeable in many fields. The topics that these people will share are diverse and appropriate for this conference.

We must not forget the history of our past. To know where you are going necessitates that you know your roots. I will invite Mr. Narii James Salmon Tane to share with you the history of our party *Tavini Huiraatira* since its creation under colonial rule. Mr. Salmon, who works as a Civil Engineer in Public works, roads and bridges, has been a member of our local Territorial Assembly for fifteen years now, and serves as General Secretary of the *Tavini Huiraatira*. On the subject of economics and finance we will hear from Mr. Nelson Heremoana Ortas Tane, a business major, and a member of our party. They will share with you a wide view of the present economic situation



and the possibilities for our future sovereign state.

On the issues of civil rights and environmental concerns we shall hear from another member of our local Territorial Assembly Mr. Hirohiti Tefaarere Tane, who for many years was General Secretary of French Polynesia's most innovative workers' union called *A Tia I Mua* (Stand tall and proud). Hiro also served for nearly 15 years as police investigator for the French government. He was subjected to violent treatment, in violation of his human rights, by the French occupying forces during France's resumption of nuclear tests at Moruroa and Fangataufa.

Hiro will be joined by our *Tuahine*, Marie-Therese Danielsson. Marie Therese, along with her late, great husband, the humanitarian and peace activist Bengt Danielsson Tane, have devoted much of their lives to serving the Maohi people and mankind. This couple has unselfishly and courageously served humanity so that we could one day live in peace. They've documented years of research that is considered a reference by world-renowned scientists from many fields.

Many of their books such as "*Moruroa Mon Amour*" and "*Poisoned Reign*" exposed what the French government did not want known. These books were once banned in French Polynesia. Bengt Danielsson Tane lost his title of Consul for Sweden because of French diplomatic pressure. I cannot thank you enough. *Mauruuru* Marie-Therese and may God bless you.

I trust that you these people will allow you to better understand the crimes committed against Te Ao Maohi.

Oscar Temaru serves as Mayor of Faa'a, the largest municipality in Tahiti. Previously, he worked as a Customs officer in the local administration, and worked at Moruroa Atoll, site of the French nuclear testing centre. He is an elected member of the Territorial Assembly and President of the pro-independence party Tavini Huiraatira no Te Ao Maohi.

Independence and sovereignty for Te Ao Maohi

James Salmon

Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi

The independence movement in Te Ao Maohi was formed in the first half of 1977, under the name *Front de Libération de la Polynésie* (FLP-Polynesian Liberation Front), in reaction to draft laws that aimed to overwhelm pro-independence aspirations, or relegate them to the distant future.

In 1983, against all expectations, the FLP won the municipal elections in the *commun* (local municipality) of Faa'a. This period was marked by success of other independence claims. Until then, we had never succeeded in winning any official positions in the local structures. The importance of Faa'a is shown by the fact that up until today, it is the only municipality out of 48 other municipalities that is controlled by pro-independence forces.

Launching of the FLP

In 1984, the majority in the Territorial Assembly slipped away from the United Front to the party *Tahoeraa Huiraaatira*, led by Gaston Flosse. It was at this time that the new Flosse government replaced the first law known as "Autonomy for financial and administrative management" with an internal Statute of Autonomy. The Territorial elections of 1986, called at the express demand of Gaston Flosse a year before the end of his five-year term, saw a clear victory by Flosse. His party won an absolute majority in the Territorial Assembly. These elections however also saw the emergence of *Tavini Huiraaatira - FLP*, winning two seats in the 41-seat Assembly. This was a major milestone in the history of Te Ao Maohi, as it was the first time that a party opening declaring itself in favour of independence could win seats in the Assembly. We carried the nationalist vision into the heart of this body.

Confirming the pro-independence stand

Five years later, at the time of the 1991 elections, Tavini reconfirmed its position in the local political scene, doubling its representation in the Territorial Assembly.

In spite of this new advance, the Maohi nationalist movement was effectively corralled on the margins of political life. While its electoral tally could be seen as remarkable, nationalism was seen as a minority cause and could be disregarded as such by the French authorities. The French administration could not only hope that the independence movement remained on the margins - they knew that they had to find all the necessary resources to keep it there and to limit its audience.

The 1996 Territorial elections were a major turning point in the annals of the country. Everyone was predicting the

stagnation, if not the retreat, of Tavini's vote - almost all the local commentators, the State authorities and even the *Reseignements Généraux* (Special Branch police).

In contrast to these expectations, Tavini won 11 of the 41 seats in the Assembly. Maohi nationalism could count on one quarter of the elected representatives, and more than doubled the votes garnered in comparison to the 12 per cent won in 1991. The stupefaction and confusion shown by the governing majority can only be imagined, in spite of the formidable campaign of denigration led by Gaston Flosse and his disciples. Such an attack was never seen before in the country. It was conducted with the complicity of the French State, which lent a hand by opening the French government TV service RFO to Flosse and his supporters. In the lead up to the 1996 elections, independence leader Oscar Temaru was publicly accused on several occasions of having instigated the popular riots that rocked Papeete in September 1995.

More remarkable yet were the scores obtained by Tavini in the 1997 elections for the French National Assembly, just a year later. Gaston Flosse was forced to call on the support and the votes of the party *Ai'a Api* to ensure that his candidate from the West coast, Michel Buillard, could win the position of deputy to the National Assembly. Only 3,000 votes separated him from Oscar Temaru's score. *Tavini Huiraaatira* had managed to gather 33 per cent of the overall electorate.

Impacts of Tavini's advance

The first impact coming from the rising Maohi nationalist movement was that in 1996 Gaston Flosse put in place a new Autonomy statute for the Territory. This brought two totally new elements to the local political scene.

Firstly, the colonial government led by Flosse was given legal authority to meddle in the internal affairs of each municipality. The new law allowed him henceforth to allocate billions of French Pacific francs from the Territorial Treasury for public works projects. One can easily see the advantage for Flosse, as this new power - provided by France - allowed the President to place pressure on local mayors who have not accepted his policies.

On the other hand, we saw the use of the Territory's public financial resources for the benefit of people in the private sector. French "justice" and the legal system showed itself so complacent in monitoring this abuse of public funds, that it seemed they'd adopted a policy of "anything goes". In order to provide assistance to victims of cyclones and natural disasters, the Flosse administration spent over 3.7 billion French Pacific francs from the public purse. The

distribution of prefabricated housing, both to real victims of the disaster and false victims chosen by Flosse, allowed his party Tahoeraa to win a number of extra votes, as if they'd been bought pure and simple.

Flosse has not hesitated to use and abuse the new powers provided under the new Autonomy Statute. These tactics have benefited him significantly. As proof, just look at two events in political life that occurred in 1998, which show how colonial power can be used to put a brake on the independence movement's advance. In elections for the French Senate, the local media crowed that Flosse romped home, winning more than 80 per cent of the vote against a candidate supported by Tavini. In the second event, Flosse's party won six out of eight seats in re-run elections for the *Iles Sous Le Vent* (ISLV – Leeward Islands) with 75 per cent of the vote, while Tavini held onto the two seats it had won in 1996.

The second major impact of Tavini's advance was that, for the first time, the French government recognised that Tavini was a political force to be reckoned with. This has been shown with official meetings between independence leaders and French Socialist party officials from the government that is currently in power in France.

Tavini can no longer be ignored as a player in local politics. The country is polarised between maintaining the French colonial regime in French Polynesia, or the accession to independence of the Maohi people. In the short term, people may even be surprised by the potential for a strong advance in the next Territorial elections.

A third impact has been the perceptible increase since 1996 in the number of European immigrants to the country, especially from France, who have the right to vote in the next elections. In these conditions, this may become an electoral issue. One can see the phenomenon of the "whitening" of the country by France, in a manner we've already seen in Kanaky (New Caledonia) where the Kanaks have been made a minority in their own country, only making up 44 per cent of the electorate.

Finally, the fourth impact can be seen with plans by the colonial power to introduce a new statute for French Polynesia, even though the last one was only introduced in 1996. The new legislation comes after lobbying by Flosse, who hopes to protect his position as the occupying power on Polynesian land.

In number of the provisions in this new statute should earn it the title of "Occupation Statute for the Year 2000". The legislation aims to chip away at the Maohi people's spirit of emancipation, by suggesting that bit by bit they are achieving their decolonisation:

- The name "Overseas Territory" (*Territoire d'Outre-Mer*) will be changed to "Overseas Country" (*Pays d'Outre-Mer*).
- The Territorial Assembly will become the "Assembly

of the Country"

- Territorial Councillors will become "Deputies of the Country" (in France, a member of Parliament is known as a deputy)
- The decisions of the assembly will be known as "laws of the country"
- A "Council of Elders" (*Conseil des sages*) – a sort of senatorial council of advisors – will be created as a consultative body for the colonial government.

In conclusion, one can only say that the "Polynesian" French colony remains unchanged. It is as if France wants to reclothe itself in a revised colonial fashion for the new Millennium!



James Salmon (left) and Vito Maamaatua of Tavini Huiraatira

Aims and objectives of Tavini Huiraatira

All political action by the party Tavini Huiraatira is based on the following four principles:

- The truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth
- Justice and equity
- Peace, the *sine qua non* for all forms of development
- Fraternity, the bedrock on which we must build our nation.

We operate on the follow bases:

- a) The entity known as "French Polynesia" has no real existence in the eyes of Tavini, as we acknowledge only one Polynesia that belonging to the Maohi people, which we nationalists call "Te Ao Maohi"
- b) This space has constituted, from time immemorial, the legitimate and collective heritage of the Maohi community
- c) France only established itself here after a long series of acts of armed aggression, acting on the orders of their government, which were marked by assassinations and actions which today would be classified as terrorism
- d) To this day, there is but one victim: the Maohi people

- e) The Maohi of Polynesia find themselves held hostage under the occupation of the French, as shown by the continuous presence of France and its armed forces (land, sea and air)
- f) The occupation of a country (Te Ao Maohi) by a foreign power (France) constitutes an act of war
- g) France has no intention of putting an end to this state of affairs, in spite of criticism from the international community and in particular the structures of the United Nations
- h) 157 years of monitored liberty, of perverted democracy, of battered dignity from the colonial power have only served to marginalise the Maohi people in its own land, as the victim of all forms of discrimination and segregation.

Tavini Huiraatira has resolved:

- To claim the immediate and unconditional reparation of that which France has taken without law or justice: the sovereignty of the Maohi people
- To affirm the claim for independence, as the priority above all others
- To reject as null and void all legislation, statutes or orders that do not aim for the immediate and unconditional sovereignty of the Maohi people.
- To call for independence – a total, immediate and unconditional Maohi independence to avoid any manoeuvres or delaying tactics.

The final objective sought by *Tavini Huiraatira* is the creation of a Maohi State:

- a) a Maohi State which is endowed with its own Constitution, which can only be endorsed by a popular consultation such as a referendum, resulting in the future in a State under the rule of law
- b) a Maohi State which is the crucible in which the Maohi nationality can blossom and flourish, as they have wanted to do for 157 years
- c) a Maohi State which respects the fundamental rights

- and freedoms of all people, but is free of all interference from external powers
- d) a Maohi State which is sovereign, and in control of all the means necessary for its own development
- e) a Maohi State which is democratic, where authority derives from the will of the Maohi people, and which should be expressed through the holding of regular elections
- f) a Maohi state which has a republican structure, in order to achieve the necessary separation of executive, legislative and judicial power.

None of this can be achieved without action by people of good will. If France continues to act without common sense, without limiting its exactions, and continues its infamous policies that have lasted more than a century and a half, it can only push the Maohi people to revolt. This will only lead to bloodshed, in the short or longer term. So-called "French" Polynesia cannot continue in its current manner, as if it was an association of white-collar criminals using methods only worthy of the Mafia. As we come to the dawn of the year 2000, it is time to put an end to Polynesia under French occupation.

The United Nations and its Committee of 24 (Special Committee on Decolonisation) will have failed in its task, unless it acts to implement the provisions of General Assembly Resolution 43/47 of 22 November 1988, which declared the last decade of the Twentieth Century as the Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism. Together we will succeed. Together we will win, without recourse to violence.

Thank you, *Mauruuru* and *Iaorana*.

James Salmon works as a Civil Engineer with the municipality of Fa'a in Tahiti. He has been a member of the Territorial Assembly for fifteen years, and serves as the Secretary General of Tavini Huiraatira - Front de Libération de la Polynésie

Opposition to nuclear testing

Marie-Thérèse Danielsson



Marie-Thérèse Danielsson

My advantage today is one of age. I arrived in Tahiti with my husband Bengt Danielsson in 1949. We had come here to do an anthropological and sociological study for three months, on an atoll in the Tuamotu islands where Bengt had run aground on a raft two years before. The study however took 18 months, and as a result we decided to stay on in the islands of French Polynesia.

I won't give you a history of nuclear testing in our islands. What I want to highlight to you today is that the *ta'ata Maohi*, from the very first, protested against the tests.

It was Pouvanaa a Oopa, the *Metua*, who from the beginning campaigned against nuclear weapons, well before the decision was taken to conduct tests in our islands. Pouvanaa had been elected as a Deputy to the French National Assembly in Paris in 23 October 1949. In the month of March 1950, the World Peace Council, meeting in Stockholm Sweden, presented an appeal to the world known as the Stockholm Appeal:

"We call for the complete abolition of atomic arms, a weapon of terror and mass destruction. We call for the establishment of a rigorous international system of control, to ensure that this abolition is carried out. We consider that the first government to use atomic weapons against whatever country would be committing a crime against humanity and should be treated as a war crime. We call on all people of good will around the world to sign this appeal. Stockholm, 19 March 1950."

Between March and November 1950, some 500 million men and women around the world signed this appeal. The appeal had been drafted by Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Council and also High Commissioner of the French Atomic Energy Commission (*Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique - CEA*). Five weeks later, he was removed from this post.

Pouvanaa a Oopa, understanding the importance of this document, decided to take the Appeal to Tahiti and present it to the local population. He began by having it signed first in Tahiti, then took advantage of the first voyage of the boat *Tuamotu* to travel further afield. The boat, which had been bought by the Tuamotu Islands co-operative, allowed him to travel to the outermost islands to explain to the islanders the dangers of nuclear arms.

My husband Bengt and myself had only been on the island of Raroia for a few months, and we had attended the meetings with Pouvanaa where the Stockholm Appeal was signed on this atoll.

In 1958, General de Gaulle agreed to hold a referendum in all the French colonies, allowing voters the choice to vote Yes or No as to whether they wanted to stay within the French Community or become independent. Pouvanaa stated that he supported a No vote, and was in favour of independence for his country. Unfortunately, all means for him to use the radio to spread his message or to travel to the five archipelagos were refused, and the Yes vote carried the day.

A short time later, Pouvanaa was accused of complicity in a case of attempted arson, and he was sentenced to eight years jail followed by a 15-year banishment from his country. He was sent to prison in France. It was by this means that they brushed aside the most embarrassing obstacle to General de Gaulle's project that was already underway – the plan to commence nuclear testing in French Polynesia.

From the time the nuclear tests were announced, Pouvanaa's supporters opposed them with all their might: Henri Bouvier, Jean-Baptiste Ceran Jeruselemy, Senator Daniel Millaud can give witness to this struggle.

One of those whose life was turned upside down in 1962 was my husband, Bengt Danielsson. Because of his profession, he understood immediately was the decision to test nuclear weapons in the islands would mean for their inhabitants.

He foresaw the migration of people to the capital Papeete, creating an unbalanced society and a proletariat, caused by the transition from a subsistence economy to a market economy. The danger to health from the tests was also clear. From that time, Bengt devoted a great part of his time and energy to condemning the effects of nuclear testing. We wrote a number of articles and books to let the world



Maohi participants at the conference (from left):
 Roti Make, Tamara Bopp du Pont, Monil Tetuanui, Gabriel Tetiarahi, Clement Pito, Nelson Ortas, Roland Oldham

know what was happening here. Bengt paid dearly for his courage. He was completely pushed out of the local activities, and lost his position as Consul for Sweden. Most importantly in 1972, he was removed from his post as director of the new Museum of Tahiti, even though he had been put in charge of its establishment and management. It was only their fear of politicians from that time, such as Francis Sanford, that stopped the French government from deporting Bengt.

During this period, there were anti-nuclear demonstrations and also actions by political parties calling for greater autonomy. After the Territorial Assembly was occupied for 10 months, the French Government was forced to give a new autonomy statute to the territory in 1977, which gave more power to the local administration. Francis Sanford was the first President. Several new committees or political parties, such as *Ia Mana Te Nunaa*, were formed.

However, in order to maintain the capacity to keep conducting its tests each year, year after year, the French Government had to dominate the local political scene in Tahiti. That is why for 35 years the anti-nuclear and pro-autonomy parties could never obtain the necessary support to improve the situation in our country. Instead, this support was always given to the pro-Gaullist party of President Gaston Flosse, which allowed him to distribute significant amounts of manna, and also to gain votes at election time.

In January 1977, soon after Pouvanaa had died, a new anti-nuclear party was created – *Tavini Huiraatira*, whose leader is Oscar Temaru. He was young, but he took up the torch. He needed lots of courage to do so.

Thus, together with the longer established parties, *Tavini Huiraatira* organised new demonstrations and marches around Tahiti, public meetings. Over 20 years, these activities followed each other, growing in numbers over time.

With great courage, the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia took a position in opposition to the nuclear tests. The church has not ceased to express this opposition, and organised a march around Papeete to demand the halting of the last series of tests in 1995. That was the year that the whole world realised, through the medium of television, that the Maohi people had had enough of nuclear tests conducted at their expense.

Thanks to the support of numerous people from overseas – politicians, environmentalists, pacifists, ordinary citizens around the world – the French authorities decided to give way, and the last two tests scheduled for 1996 were abandoned.

Now that nuclear testing has finished in our islands. It remains to be seen what are the consequences in the future, and what our destiny will be. That is what we must reflect on in the days to come, together with those that have suffered and are still suffering from these challenges.

For decades, Marie-Therese Danielsson has struggled for a nuclear free Pacific, working with disarmament and women's organisations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She is co-author, with her late husband Bengt, of classic books about nuclear testing at Moruroa and Fangataufa such as "Moruroa Mon Amour" and "Poisoned Reign."

Civil society and the struggle for independence

Gabriel Tetiarahi
Hiti Tau, Te Ao Maohi

Before sharing my thoughts with you on independence and accession to sovereignty for my country, I'd like to say thanks to Lopeti that we are able to join our country delegation. Thanks also to Nui Ben Teriitehau, delegate for our country colonised by France, for bringing together here in Tahiti delegates from Kanaky, Wallis and Futuna and Te Ao Maohi – it's a first in the history of the NFIP movement.

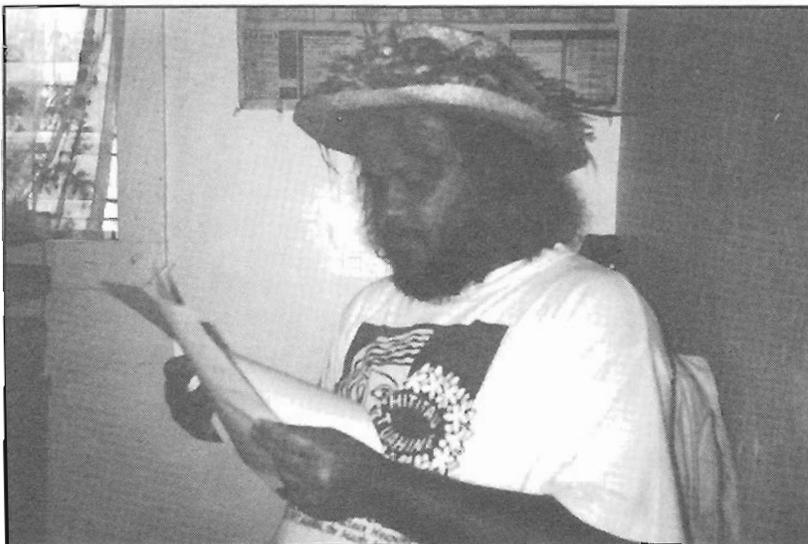
I would like to say that it is our privilege to have the opportunity to speak here, especially to our political leaders – not

only Oscar Temaru and *Tavini Huiraatira*, but to all those who believe that the sole destiny of the Maohi people is to join the international community by gaining our political independence. To Charlie Ching, the Pomare Party, *Ia Mana Te Nunaa*. I say it's a destiny that we must build together. To take up what Marie-Thérèse Danielsson just said, we will talk this week about the challenge before the Maohi people. What hinders the Maohi people and the victims of colonial history (the French and the Polynesians of Chinese origin) from achieving their common destiny?

Because I've travelled a lot and I recognise many faces here from around the Pacific, I often hear that President Gaston Flosse of the anti-independence party *Tahoeraa Huiraatira* is the greatest obstacle to political independence. I also hear that the French State, as the colonial power, is perhaps the main constraint. But I think we are mistaken somewhere – it is we ourselves, first of all, who are at fault in not leading our country to its political independence.

I think that we, the political organisations and other social actors speaking about independence here today, are at fault. I'm sure that the person who will lead us to independence is Gaston Flosse. I may have surprised many of you. I think that all political organisations *talk* about independence, but the Territorial Government and Flosse's political majority who today lead the territory will take us towards a new political life in the years to come.

Bit by bit, we will be endowed with a Constitution that will make the Maohi people a member of the international community. I think also that after a certain period, when Gaston Flosse no longer needs a policy of internal autonomy, that he will agree to a program of development program for his political party to achieve independence. I'm sure that his ultimate goal will be to put a budget for an independent nation before the Territorial Assembly.



Gabriel Tetiarahi co-ordinator of the NGO network Hiti Tau

We're on the way there slowly. I'm afraid that we're a bit like the famous fable from La Fontaine: "The Tortoise and the Hare". The hares run, they talk, but there's only one tortoise plugging away slowly towards independence – and that's Gaston Flosse. I know that I'm saying things that are shocking to many of you, but it's my deepest belief. After having been the greatest opponent of internal autonomy, Flosse is now the greatest partisan of political independence. He too is building the future of this country.

There remains plenty for us to do together. For my part, I want to talk to you directly, speaking here before Oscar Temaru with whom we have voyaged during the past years. The achievement of political independence is not the exclusive task of pro-independence political parties. The construction of a destiny for our country is not solely the responsibility of political parties. I know it is difficult to hear this, for those who've acted as sentinels for political moral and ethical values.

The Churches must contribute to the debate on constructing our independent nation. The NGOs have already begun to contribute to this dialogue with political parties on building our common destiny. Without doubt, the biggest effort for political parties which claim to support independence is to associate other communities, other structures, in this reflection on our common destiny – to give our children a citizenship, a nationality, an identity in a new nation, which is the Maohi nation.

For the moment, once again, the road is long. Too often, the question of representativity is an obstacle. Political parties have elected representatives, and because of this people talk as if they are representative of the struggle for independence. The legitimacy of all civic movements, including the churches, in building independence is given by their constituencies and their members, not by political parties.

I believe that the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement has until now concentrated on the nuclear tests. If NFIP has always believed that only independence could halt the nuclear tests, it was an error.

This NFIP Conference must be the beginning of a process for this country and for all organisations which talk in the name of this country, whoever they are, wherever they are, to build our path together to achieve political independence and accession to national sovereignty. It is not the exclusive role of political parties to discuss this. It is the whole people that is affected. It is a whole generation of children for whom we're building a future.

Is it only through the public institutions, the French structures, that independence will be gained? That's the choice that the political parties have made for the moment. What about a boycott of elections? (It's sad that it's Flosse who today talks of boycotting the elections, and not those who are challenging France politically).

Today, is it only through the comfort of the parliamentary institutions that we will accede to political independence? I'm not sure of this. The resources that Flosse controls to gain his parliamentary majority are the keys to the door – resources that the Left in France has always given to Flosse.

The political class in this country, including Flosse's party, often forgets when it is negotiating with the French Left that former Socialist Party President Mitterrand was the greatest nuclear criminal this country has seen. They often

forget that even today, France does not accept its political responsibility for the consequences of the nuclear tests on the environment and the health of the local population. I want to know: what do *Tavini Huiraatira*, the Socialist Party and Overseas Territories Minister Queyranne talk about every time they meet in Paris?

Oscar Temaru and his supporters have enough authority and intelligence to involve other organisations in these discussions with the French Left and the Government of the Left in France.

There's no possible confusion in my head: if the Noumea Accord has recognised the "colonial fact" in Kanaky, I don't understand why the question of nuclear colonialism cannot take pride of place in discussions between *Tavini Huiraatira* and the Left in France.

To finish, I'm a bit afraid that the French saying is true: "While the dogs are barking, the caravan has passed by". I'm afraid that we are all barking – NGOs, churches, political parties – but Gaston Flosse's caravan has passed.

This country will become independent. This is our challenge.

Gabriel Tetiarahi is co-ordinator of Hiti Tau, a network of Maohi non-government organisations in Te Ao Maohi. He is the former Chairperson of the Pacific Island Association of Non-Government Organisations (PIANGO).



Gabriel Tetiarahi (right) and Maohi participants relax after the NFIP Conference

Relisting with the UN Decolonisation Committee

Charlie Ching

Te Taata Tahiti Tiama

When I began *Te Taata Tahiti Tiama* with the objective of independence, people thought I was mad. Some years later, lots of parties with the aim of independence have grown up like mushrooms, like *Tavini Huiraaatira*, Pomare Party, *Ia Mana Te Nunaa* and others. I'm very happy that they have flourished. I wish that all the population of Tahiti and the islands, men and women, would create political parties for independence.

Today, we know that independence is not a dream, it's not utopia, it's a reality. We have seen that *Tavini Huiraaatira* has gathered the greatest proportion of those who support independence in Tahiti, but not all! There are some who have remained outside *Tavini*. This is the work of all pro-independence activists who began well before us. You know that in the history of this country, when the French wanted to take power there were lots of people who did not want to submit to its colonial rule. Many were killed. They died refusing to submit. There was a woman, a Queen, who refused to submit and was beheaded. You can find her skull in the *Musée de L'Homme* in Paris – the only skull of a Tahitian in the Museum!

I'll briefly speak about the history of *Te Taata Tahiti Tiama*. When I began my electoral campaign, there were obstacles everywhere. I couldn't go to the outer islands – no tickets were issued to travel. I was obliged to use a false name to travel. The man who came with me was obliged to book under "Madame", as we booked as Mr. and Mrs! Wherever I went, the police followed. They wanted to know how Mr. Ching could go from place to place. In those days, we didn't have enough *Te Taata Tahiti Tiama* cards. The mayors who we challenged made reports, but I was pleased to see what they said. We wanted to speak with truth and justice for independence.

As Gabi just said, I would like for there to be unity between pro-independence forces. I remember what the late Father Walter Lini of Vanuatu told us independence parties: "Unite yourselves. If you come to us for support, we will support you if you unite". He warned us against the spirit that said: "It's 'me' not 'us'". We must unite to gain the goal, which is independence. That is how we will win – if we gather at the seashore and push this colonial state into the ocean. One person cannot do it alone. But when there are one hundred, one thousand, two thousand....

In this conference, the NFIP Movement will be asked to support a resolution that French Polynesia be taken to the United Nations to be reinscribed on the UN Decolonisation Committee list of countries to be decolonised. Last year, I went to New York and found there were 17 countries on the list, but Tahiti wasn't on it. New Caledonia was on the list, because it had an agreement with France. That's why



Charlie Ching (centre)

today the pro-independence forces in Tahiti are demanding the reinscription of Tahiti on the list.

At the present time, the French judges with their French law and French justice are chasing Tahitians off the land. I'm talking here as someone knowing the judicial code, because many families come to me asking for assistance to fill in forms or redraft their applications to lodge before the courts. There is even an ordinance here that allows the French High Commission in Polynesia to seize money from the back account of a person, or to seize land in lieu of this. I have one case where land was bought by three Asians, and one part was resold to the Territory. I copied these papers to send to the Attorney General's office, to the European Union, to the UN Human Rights Commission, to show how France treats us in our own home. That is why independence must come as quickly as possible, before all Tahitians are pushed out onto the reef. *Pouvanaa* always told us: "Rise up! Don't be stubborn. You'll either live on the mountains or the reef".

Maybe you haven't seen much of Tahiti yet. People always talk of paradise, but have you seen a paradise where there are handicapped people on the street, where people live in squatter settlements? Is this paradise? No! We need independence to deal with these problems. We must return this land to the people from which it has been stolen. This way, all Tahitians will have a home.

Dear brothers and sisters, your presence here is very important to us, and your support is important. You have supported us for many years and I hope that this conference will pass a resolution to go the South Pacific Forum and to the UN Committee of 24, so that Tahiti is reinscribed on the list on countries to be decolonised. I wish you a pleasant stay in our country. We are all cousins, as it's written in the Bible that the three sons of Noah repopulated the world. Thank you for your attention.

Charlie Ching is a relative of the Metua Pouvanaa a Oopa, and one of the earliest pro-independence activists in Tahiti Nui. He was founder of the pro-independence party Te Taata Tahiti Tiama, and was jailed by French authorities in the 1970s.

For a nuclear free and independent Maohi people

Jacques Ihorai,

President, *Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française*

Dear friends, conference organisers and participants at this Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) Conference. *Iaorana* and *mauruuru roa*. Welcome and thank you for giving me the time to speak to you, to share our vision for the Pacific as seen from French Polynesia. We seek a region free from all nuclear testing – whether French, American or from other countries – and from a form of politics that prevents us from determining our own affairs.

The Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française (EPPF) against nuclear testing

I believe that the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia (EPPF) has never been considered as a pro-independence force. That's not to say we haven't had close relations with the local political party *Tavini Huiraatira*, ever since the Church came out in opposition to the French nuclear tests at Moruroa and Fangataufa, and also expressed its opposition to the French State which refused to recognise the *reo Maohi* as an official language for the Maohi people.

How can people call me a racist (that is to say a person who doesn't like non-Maohi people) when all I've done is to defend my mother tongue? How too can people consider me as a person who doesn't like the French, simply for having raised my voice against the French nuclear tests, which they refused to conduct in France? Where can one find this racism, within myself or my country, since all I've

done is to worry about the fate of my people in the face of a project which, in the short or long term, threatens to harm our health and environment?

How can they reproach me for having shown my desire to live in a nuclear-free country, especially when they haven't judged it wise or humane to ask my opinion? I cannot accept a policy, wherever it comes from, which refuses to recognise the existence of a people, at the same time as deciding to conduct an enterprise in the other person's home.

I deplore the attitude of the French Government for having conducted its nuclear tests at Moruroa and Fangataufa – that is to say in my home – without asking my opinion. This is a violation of our human rights.

I therefore want to think of the remarks of the President of the French Republic. In the course of a meeting with him in Paris, at 11.30 in the morning of Thursday 21 September 1995, the President promised us a future without danger for our health and our environment. "*Monsieur le Président*," he told me, "the French State has taken all necessary steps – which no other State has ever taken – to guard against the release of harmful radioactive elements which could harm the health of the Polynesian people or their environment."

I replied to him: "I hope you are right, *Monsieur le*



Jacques Ihorai, President of the *Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française* (third from left), with NGO and church participants

Président, as the consequences will be truly dramatic for my people if you are mistaken.”

It's not France that I am concerned with, but the policies of its government, which will not recognise my right to exist as part of the Maohi people. My remarks cannot thus be challenged, because for more than 200 years the Maohi people has remained a hospitable people, open to others. This is the true wealth of our *fenua*, our land. It's not the tourism, the pearls, the *nono* – it is the feelings and love of hospitality, which make foreigners feel that they can find overseas what they have been unable to find in their home.

It is through our welcome that the *papaa*, or foreigners, can understand the importance of the land, our *fenua*, and what it represents for us. It is important that they understand that the *fenua* is not something separate from human beings. As Maohi, like other people of the Pacific, we are tied to the land. The *papaa* must understand that the life and the survival of the Maohi people has not come from the billions of francs poured over us for all these years. It comes rather from the *fenua* – land that we must cultivate and protect, land that we must control.

I say this because during our meeting with the French President, he was astonished by the connection that we stressed between the *fenua* and our humanity, between the *fenua* and the Maohi people. The Secretary-General of our Church, Pastor Ralph Teinaore, reminded the French President of the history of creation, and more specifically that man arose from the earth, from the *fenua*.

Thirty years on, it seems that the nuclear tests at Moruroa and Fangataufa are a closed book, for both the French State as well as the local government which supported the State in its work to fabricate these weapons of death. But

the issue is not over for us. We cannot forget about the base of Moruroa atoll, where there are still pits full of radioactive wastes. How can we speak of the “post-nuclear” era when the nuclear menace lies in wait underneath our feet? How can we turn this page in our history when it is blemished by fear, by doubt, by danger?

To maintain the beliefs of the French over thirty years of nuclear testing at Moruroa and Fangataufa, the direct consultation of military archives was vital. So why should the concerns of the Maohi people be satisfied with discussion amongst the French?

That is why the Synod of our Church asked the French State and the local political authorities – more particularly the current Government - to guarantee that:

- Access to the military archives covering thirty years of nuclear testing also be given to independent researchers;
- A surveillance and monitoring post be created at the tests sites on Moruroa and Fangataufa, staffed not by the military but by French technicians
- An epidemiological study be undertaken on the health of former workers of Moruroa and Fangataufa.

I would like to congratulate and give thanks to the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC), the CEVAA and the World Council of Churches (WCC) for their support of the EEPF.

I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to the Reformed Churches of France, to DEFAP and to the Protestant Federation of France for their approaches to the French Prime Minister, so that our requests could be heard. I am thinking especially of the seminar held in Paris on 20 February 1999, which included the participation,



Pastor and Madame Godfrey Marcus of Arue Parish in Tahiti - hosts to the 8th NFIP Conference

amongst others, of the President of the WCC, Bishop Jabez Bryce, and our Vice President Pastor Taaroanui Maraea.

Finally, and in the name of the Synod of our Church, I would equally like to thank our friends John Doom and Bruno Barrillot. With financial support from the WCC, they supported the sociological study of former workers from Moruroa and Fangataufa, which lead to the publication of the book *Moruroa and Us*. Together with the non-government network *Hiti Tau*, we would like to say *mauruuru roa* to our friends Bruno and John for their commitment to the struggle for justice, peace and the integrity of creation in French Polynesia and the Pacific. To all those present who have supported the EEPF, please bear witness to my profound gratitude.

If you are trying to be free of a political system, of whichever kind, which hinders you from securing and directing your own destiny, you can get to hate the other side - to the point where you don't want anything to do with them.

I thus find myself today amongst many countries and even peoples of the Pacific as an enemy. Even France will be against me since it has, for many years, taken charge of our destiny.

I want to speak about the Maohi people taking charge of its own destiny. And if I begin by the remarks you've just heard, it's because the *papaa* would interpret this as an "anti-Western" attitude or reaction. I like the Maohi people, to which I am deeply attached, just as I like the French people. I love both peoples, like all peoples of the world, because they come from the wisdom and love of God the Creator. This God is a God of freedom, who refuses to live with an oppressed people or a people that is prevented from managing its own affairs.

It is in this light that we can understand the Biblical story of the liberation of the people of Israel from Egypt and the meaning of Easter. God, who is Love, wants us to be free. Liberated from fear and from death, the Church of Jesus Christ - that is to say this community of women and men who accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Master - must carry words of liberation and hope to the people amongst whom they live. No church in the world, in the Pacific or in French Polynesia has the right to fail in this mission, or they cannot truly call themselves a Church of Jesus Christ.

The *Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française* (EEPF), if it is really a Church of Jesus Christ, must also carry this message of liberation amongst the Maohi people. If it refuses to preach the liberation, the *tiamaraa*, of its people, it will be a Church that itself needs to hear the Word. Thus, I cannot conceive of a Church that would not support a people as they take charge of their own development. The *Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française* (EEPF) is autonomous, that's to say no longer dependent on the Society of Evangelical Missions in Paris, which the CEVAA replaced.

For this reason, the EEPF must help its people to find their dignity again, and take charge of their society, politically and economically. It would be a sin against the Lord our Father, who wishes us liberated and free, if the Church was to hold its tongue faced with the question of the people's liberation.

A people that is not free is a people that is suffering. And a people that is suffering is a people that has lost its reason to exist, and its dignity to exist as a people. No people in the world can be proud of itself, if it refuses to take its own affairs in hand.

It is like the owners of a house who have neither the power nor the right to manage the property themselves. You know best where you are going when you steer the canoe yourself. You cannot govern therefore when you don't have the powers to do so. Is this man or woman really free if they cannot govern their own affairs? And if a people is not free, can it be happy in its life and in its progression into the new world?

My dearest wish is that my people, the Maohi people, finds its dignity again and determines its own affairs. One day its must rediscover its right to exist as a people - why not before the Jubilee in the year 2047?

I don't believe that the French State can refuse us the right to take charge of ourselves, if that is the wish of the Maohi people. As proof of this, I recall the remarks of the President of the French Republic during our meeting in Paris on Thursday 21 July 1995. Even before I had the chance to explain the objective of our trip to Paris, the President of the French Republic told me: "If it is the wish of all Polynesians to gain their independence, well, I'll give it to them.

At the time, I told him that we had not come to that meeting to demand independence for the Maohi people, but instead to call on him to rescind his decision to resume French nuclear testing in Polynesia - a decision that he stated was irrevocable. The Maohi people must achieve its independence, its freedom to determine its own affairs. Local political leaders and the Churches of French Polynesia must aid the Maohi people to reclaim its dignity and its future. This is my prayer.

"*Mauruuru roa*" once more to the organisers of this conference for giving me the time to speak here. Thank you for allowing me to share the vision of the EEPF, in relation to nuclear issues in the world, in the Pacific and especially in French Polynesia, but also my hopes for the liberation of my people to determine our own future, taking control politically and economically of our destiny.

Jacques Ihorai is President of the Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française (EEPF). The Evangelical Church is the largest denomination in Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia).

Upholding the treaty

Joinville Pomare

Pomare Party

Welcome to all you, delegates from all over the world: the Pacific, Europe, United States and Asia. I am from the Royal family, the Pomare family who were the monarchs of this country. My ancestors were the first who fought against the colonial system in this country from 1842 to 1880.

In 1880, my ancestors signed the Annexation Act with the French Government. But I have to tell you that in that Annexation Act, in that Treaty, it was stipulated that the French Government will respect the properties of the Maohi people and also the rules that existed in this country from 1842 to the 1880s. But we all know that the French Government from that year till now never respected all the provisions that were stipulated in the Annexation Act.

That's why today we have so many problems. We are talking about land problems, our sovereignty and independence. It has been explained to all of you, what has happened from that time up until now: we have been through the humiliation of the killing of our people and have been through different status for our country.

We also know that everywhere throughout the world, the colonial system always goes that way. Today, we must talk about East Timor. I also want to convey all my respect to all of the parents, families and all of the people who died in the struggle for their freedom, for their sovereignty, for the independence of their country.

I don't want to tell you today what we have done. We have done a lot. We have been through the fight to keep our land and through different sorts of demonstrations in this country. We all know what we have done. As Tamana has said, we have to find out ways on how to get united, to get our freedom and Independence and also I convey this message to the church people who are present here today. We have to find out different ways, different means to get united with the Church people and to access to the freedom and sovereignty of this country.

My last message would be for all the Maohi people, the Church people, and different Political organisations to get united for our nation, for the Maohi Nation. To get this country free, we are also looking for your support from all of you, the delegates, from all over the Pacific, to help us to get our country free and sovereign. To all delegates from all over the Pacific, I wish you a good stay in this country, in Tahiti. I wish you a very successful Conference. Thanks to all of you.

Joinville Pomare is a descendant of the royal house of Pomare, which ruled in Tahiti at the time of France's annexation. He has been active in community struggles over land and culture for the Maohi people.

Closing speech on French Polynesia

Emile Vernaudon

Deputy for French Polynesia in the
French National Assembly

Speaking in my own personal capacity, first of all I would like to give you my fraternal greetings and to thank you for the opportunity to speak to you today.

During the week you have reflected on such fundamental issues as the right to self-determination for Pacific countries, denuclearisation, human rights and other issues. Before completing the work of the 8th NFIP Conference with the adoption of many resolutions and action plans, I would like to assure you of my total support for the struggle in which you are engaged.

We cannot forget the sad consequences of the events that French Polynesia lived through, following the month of June 1995 when the President of the French Republic Jacques Chirac decided to resume nuclear tests at Fangataufa, which his predecessor François Mitterrand had suspended indefinitely.

This unexplained, even pigheaded, decision by President Chirac plunged the Maohi people into division and conflict. In spite of numerous solemn appeals to him, he remained deaf to our concerns.

Today, who can guarantee to us that the nuclear tests were safe?

How can we be certain that the nuclear test sites will not release any radioactivity?

How can we remain calm when we are powerless before natural disasters, which every day are more and more frequent, and more and more powerful? Today, these calamities represent a permanent threat to our planet and our atolls.

For this reason, a few weeks ago in the French Parliament I took the opportunity to officially ask about the possibility of opening the archives of the French nuclear tests in French Polynesia. The purpose of this is so that the French government can throw all possible light on a subject that has remained taboo for more than three decades.

There are three considerations that have led to this desire to lift the cover of "National security":

- a concern for the Republic's honesty towards we Polynesians
- a concern for transparency which distinguishes modern democracies from totalitarian regimes



From left: Akilisi Pohiva (Tonga), Hiro Tefaarere and Oscar Temaru (Tavini Huiraatira), Motarilavoa Hilda Lini (PCRC), Emile Vernaudon (Deputy to the French National Assembly), Joinville Pomare (Pomare Party)

- the precautionary principle relating to issues of health and the safety of the food chain.

All of us here really want to know the truth, the whole truth, about these things that happened in our history. I will not fail to keep you informed about the reply that the French State gives to my demand.

You have also shown your desire to intensify the struggle against colonialism and for the independence of French Polynesia. To this end, I have had the opportunity to share my political vision on this issue with the President of Tavini Huiraatira. I salute him for the opening of political dialogue with the French Secretary of State for Overseas Territories, a dialogue that has been re-established in very difficult times.

Dear friends, independence for French Polynesia is not a matter for men but of divine will. We are but His instruments, and that is the reason that we must prepare ourselves for independence because it will come upon us sooner than anyone thinks possible.

It is in this vein that I make my presentation today. My political activity is based on a strategic vision that arises from the local political context, which we denounce and deplore: *"We do not want to live under the dictatorship of the current political system, put in place by one man"*.

It is this local neo-colonialism that I have decided to fight, this political system which destroys the soul and the conscience of the Maohi people and which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.

It is for this reason that I have made the struggle in my own country a priority. I made a forceful intervention last October

in the French National Assembly. During my speech, I strongly denounced, at length, the abuses of the current President of French Polynesia. This intervention had the effect of making the highest authorities of the French State aware of the urgency of re-establishing justice in this country, in order to maintain a lasting social peace.

Furthermore, all the legal and electoral reforms that I proposed to the national government could lead us in the short term – that's to say in 2001 – to a radical change of the political face and the institutions of our country. It is then that we can make a real contribution to the "IP" of "NFIP" – the creation of an independent Pacific.

I want to say to you that France will not be opposed to independence if the people demand it in a democratic manner.

The globalisation of the economy and international relations challenges us to learn how we can live together in spite of our cultural differences. As Samuel Huntington, an eminent professor from Harvard University, has noted: "From now on, people are regrouping because of their cultural affinities. Political barriers count less than religious, ethnic and intellectual ones".

It is for this reason that I wish that all the countries of the Pacific represented here today should draw together to cope with the challenges of the new millennium, in the face of turmoil, uncertainty and the unknown. I thank you for your attention.

Emile Vernaudon is a member of the French National Assembly, representing French Polynesia. He is leader of the political party Ai'a Api, and serves as Mayor of Mahina in Tahiti.

Theme Two: The struggle for self-determination and independence in the Pacific in the new Millennium

Keynote address on decolonisation:

What future for the United Nations decolonisation process?

Dr. Carlyle Corbin, US Virgin Islands

I wish to begin by thanking my good friend and brother Lopeti Senitui and the members of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre for the kind invitation to come to participate in these proceedings, and to contribute some thoughts on the future of the United Nations decolonisation process. Perhaps it is because I have had considerable experience with the United Nations in representing one of the non-self-governing before the UN Decolonisation Committee over the last 20 years that I have been asked to provide some insights on this subject from the perspective as a representative of a territory.

You can see that I wear many hats at different times. Today the hat I wear is my own, as a university lecturer and what the UN has deemed me over the last ten years or so - a regional expert on decolonisation and self-determination issues. My views do not necessarily represent the position of any government, organisation or university with which I am associated, although my views are derived from 20 years of experience in representing a government of a non-self-governing territory as well as the non-governmental association which I founded, the UN Association of the Virgin Islands.

The genesis of the United Nations mandate

Any discussion of the future of the UN role in decolonisation should begin with a short review of the legislative mandate of the UN in decolonisation, the role that the UN has played in the past, and the changing dynamics of the UN process in a post Cold War era.

The genesis of the mandate of the relationship between the United Nations (UN) and the non-self-governing territories is contained in several articles of the UN Charter, particularly Article 1, paragraphs 2 and 55, which gives important references to the principle of self-determination of peoples: "while a further three chapters (Chapters XI, XII and XIII) are devoted to the question of dependent territories, to the establishment of the International Trusteeship System and to the creation of a supervisory body, the Trusteeship Council, which as a principle organ of the UN was entrusted with the responsibility with regard to those territories placed under the International Trusteeship System." Indeed, the adoption of Chapter XI of the Charter, entitled Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories was a major landmark in bringing the administration of non-self-governing territories within the

purview of the international community.

Specifically, Article 73 of the UN Charter committed the international community to the recognition that the interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount. The UN also accepted "as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost... the well being of the inhabitants." To that end, they accepted a series of commitments, specified in the Article, including the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of those territories, the development of self-government and the regular transmission to the Secretary-General for information purposes..."

The 'sacred trust' created in the Charter in relation to non-self-governing territories is similar to that of Chapter XII which created the International Trusteeship System, which had the identical aims, according to Article 76 of the Charter, of "promot(ing) the political, economic and educational advancement of the inhabitants." It went further to refer to the promotion of "progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of the trusteeship agreement." Subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly specifying the UN's mandate to similarly promote "self-determination and / including independence" brought the intentions of Chapters XI and XII closer in their aims.

These expressions was formalised by the enumeration in 1946 of some 72 territories scattered throughout the world under the eight administering powers of Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the United States through the adoption of UN General Assembly Resolution 66 (1) of 1946. This marked the beginning of a plethora of resolutions on decolonisation - often repetitive by necessity since the mechanisms for implementation to this day have never really been devised, especially for the small island territories.

Since the inscription of territories on the original list, the UN role in decolonisation can be divided into three periods:

- 1) the period between 1946 and 1960,
- 2) the period following the adoption of the 1960 Decolonisation Declaration, and

- 3) the post-Cold War period and implications for the UN decolonisation process.

1) The pre-Decolonisation Declaration period 1946 - 1960

This first period consisted of 14 years between the original inscription of non-self-governing territories and the adoption of the 1960 Decolonisation Declaration. These intervening years were marked by progress in defining the operational parameters for the UN role in decolonisation, but also by a reluctance on the part of most administering powers to adhere to the decisions taken by the General Assembly. It was noted by the UN Secretariat in 1990 that:

"In spite of th(e) provision(s) of the UN Charter) the progress of Non-Self-Governing Territories (toward self-determination and) independence in the period prior to the adoption of the (Decolonisation) Declaration was...slow...and during the early years of the UN, many of its efforts were directed at establishing its role as the principle guardian of colonial peoples. Only in the 1950s did the principle become established, though against the opposition of the administering Powers, that it was for the United Nations to decide ultimately whether a given Territory was or was not self-governing within the meaning of Chapter XI of the Charter."

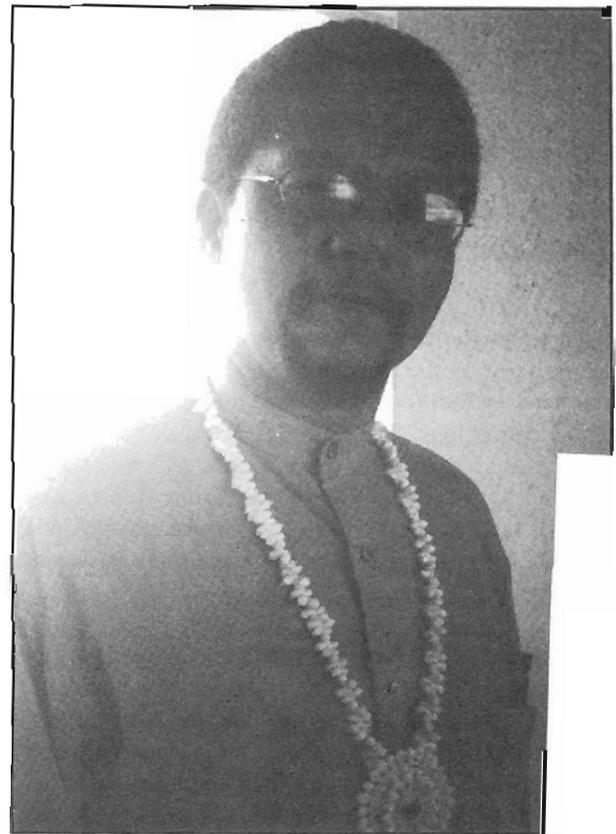
In an attempt to address the issue of implementation of its resolutions, the General Assembly in 1949 adopted Resolution 334 (IV) which expressed its competence to determine whether or not a territory was considered non-self-governing according to Chapter XI of the UN Charter.

This was followed by the adoption in 1953 of Resolution 742 (VIII) entitled "Factors that should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government" (the reference to 'full measure' will become important in later interpretations of dependency models).

Resolution 742 was perhaps the most important resolution to that point as it approved a list of factors indicative of the attainment of independence or other separate models of self-government, and established basic standards relative to the self-determination process. Important elements of the resolution included:

"...3. Recommend(ing) that the...list of factors should be used by the General Assembly and the Administering Members as a guide in determining whether any territory, due to changes in its constitutional status, is or is no longer within the scope of Chapter XI of the Charter, in order that...a decision may be taken by the General Assembly on the continuation or cessation of the transmission of information required by Chapter XI of the Charter..."

5. Consider(ing) that the validity of any form of association between a non-self-governing territory and a



Keynote speaker Dr. Carlyle Corbin

metropolitan or any other country essentially depends on the freely expressed will of the people at the time of the taking of the decision.

6. Consider(ing)...that the manner in which territories referred to in Chapter XI of the Charter can become fully self-governing is primarily through the attainment of independence, although it is recognised that self-government can also be achieved by association with another state or group of states if this is done freely and on the basis of absolute equality." (emphasis added).

This recognition by the General Assembly of political "association" as a legitimate option was an important prerequisite to the evolution of the "free association" concept in Resolution 1541 of 1960 which is the counterpart to the 1960 Decolonisation Declaration (Resolution 1514). Even in these early years, the legitimacy of such an association was to be determined by its adherence to political equality and mutual consent.

In recognition of these decisions by the General Assembly, and the metropolitan response and reaction to such decisions, the period of 1946 through 1959 resulted in significant developments. Eight non-self-governing territories became independent during this time frame.

Meanwhile, transmission of information on an additional 21 non-self-governing territories was discontinued pursuant to General Assembly resolutions in cases such as Puerto Rico, Greenland, the Netherlands Antilles and

1946 - 1960

Suriname, Alaska and Hawai'i; or by unilateral action in other cases such as the French territories in the Pacific and the French departments in the Caribbean and Indian Ocean, without the consent of the General Assembly. Additional unilateral action was taken in respect of the removal of Malta from the UN list by the United Kingdom (although it was re-inscribed in 1959) and in the case of the United States which ceased to report on the Panama Canal Zone.

While no territories were added in this period before the establishment of the Decolonisation Committee in 1961, additional territories were inscribed following the creation of the committee (The General Assembly approved Resolution 1542 of 1960, for example, which listed the Portuguese territories of Cape Verde, Guinea [Portuguese Guinea], Sao Tome and Principe, Sao Joa Batista de Ajuda, Angola (including Cabinda), Mozambique, Goa and dependencies, Macao, and Timor).

The new inscriptions were preceded by heightened political discussions among developing countries on a number of fronts, and in particular, on the issue of political self-determination. Of special note was the Badung Conference in 1955, which included in its final communiqué strong support for the self-determination process. This was followed by the First Conference of Independent African States held in Ghana in 1958.

This Conference declared that a "definite date should be set" for the process of decolonisation to be completed in each non-self-governing territory, "in accordance with the will of the people of the territories and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations." The Second Conference of Independent African States, meeting in Ethiopia in 1960, reaffirmed the declarations and resolutions of the Badung and Ghana conferences, and coincided with the year of the independence of some 16 African states.

The Decolonisation Declaration and parameters for self-determination

The second period to which I refer - following the adoption of the Decolonisation Declaration - was marked by the independence of these 16 African states in 1960 that created a new momentum within the UN system in the promotion of self-determination. This found expression in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly that year which considered a Report of the Secretary-General on the progress of self-determination, in accordance with Chapter XI of the Charter, and concluded that progress had fallen short of the needs of the people of the territories.

Thus, two major decisions were taken by the UN General Assembly. The first was the adoption of Resolution 1514 (XV), which declared, *inter alia*, that "all peoples have a right to self-determination (and) by virtue of that right they (should) freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

A most important provision of Resolution 1514 (XV) is that "immediate steps shall be taken ...to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire." This provision seems to be ignored in most instances, and appears inconsistent with unilateral application of administering Power laws to most territories.

The other major decision in 1960 was the approval by the General Assembly of Resolution 1541 (XV). This resolution established and defined the options of independence, free association and integration as the three political status choices that were deemed legitimate under international principles and consistent with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

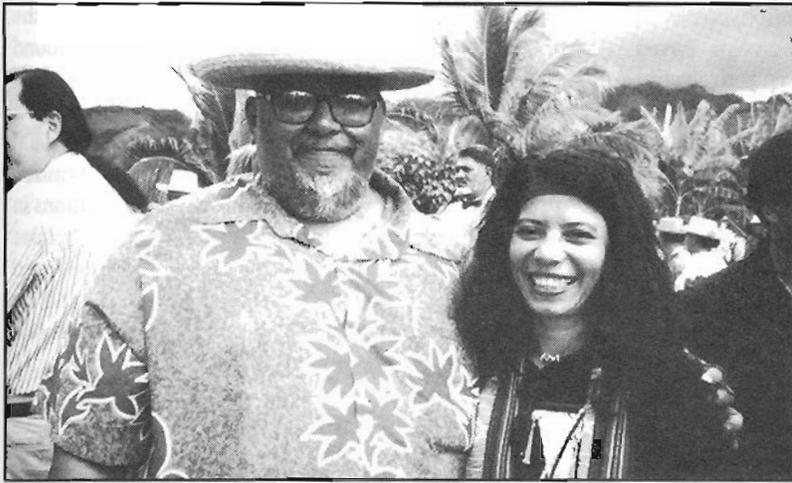
Following on the approval of these two landmark resolutions, the General Assembly in 1961 adopted Resolution 1654 (XVI) establishing the Special Committee on Decolonisation (which began its work in 1962) to establish a mechanism to examine the application and the implementation of the Decolonisation Declaration. By 1963, a preliminary list of territories was released which included some 64 territories - reduced from the original 72 territories listed in 1946. Accordingly, between 1962 and 1984, some 25 African non-self-governing territories, four Asian, 13 Caribbean, one European and eight Pacific territories achieved independence. Additionally, some ten territories either became integrated or associated during roughly the same period.

By 1990, only 18 remained, the majority of which were small island territories in the Caribbean and Pacific, under differing constitutional arrangements, none of which met - nor do they presently meet - the requirements of full self-government as defined by Resolution 1541 (XV). They were perceived generally as not being interested - nor being prepared if they *were* interested - in independence. This rationale began to be used in recent years in an attempt to justify the present non-self-governing arrangements as somehow acceptable because there was no perceived popular expression of the people for independence. Attempts to rationalise this thinking accelerated following the independence of Namibia, when it became clear that most of the remaining territories were small island developing countries with presumably limited resources and capacity for statehood.

This leads us to the third period -

The post-Cold War period and decolonisation disengagement

The fact that Namibia was the last African territory (excluding South Africa) to attain full self-government - in this case, independence in 1990 - was a significant factor in policy assessment on the part of UN member states. This process of review was seen within the context that the end of the Cold War had signaled an end to ideological



Ralph Teinaore (*Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française*)
with Ceu Brites (East Timor Relief Association)

rivalries. There was an unfortunate tendency, all too often, to link decolonisation and self-determination with ideological East-West considerations, rather than to assess the circumstances in these territories from a non-ideological perspective (e.g. viewing these constitutionally developing territories within the same context as other developing countries that emerged from a successful UN decolonisation process).

The idea of self-determination for the remaining small island territories was seen, therefore, with less urgency than in the past. Ideological rivalries had abated, and a prevailing view was that the people of the territories had expressed no interest in independence - an assumption which was somehow translated to mean that they were satisfied with the status quo, and that, anyway, these territories were too small to be sustainable sovereign states.

Hence, the debate on political alternatives for these small island territories shifted from independence, which had been a preferred choice by many African, Caribbean and Pacific states, to the options of free association or integration as defined in Resolution 1541. This was an acceptable posture on the surface, given the fact that successful association and integration models existed in both the Caribbean and Pacific where most of the small island territories remained. In the Caribbean, the Netherlands Antilles (including Aruba) achieved association in 1951 as one of the three countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, while Aruba in 1986 achieved its own status apart. In the Pacific, the Cook Islands in 1965 and Niue in 1974 achieved free association arrangements with New Zealand, and most recently, the Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands and Palau in free association with the United States. In some instances, however, other political associations were created which did not necessarily conform to the required level of autonomy under Resolution 1541.

In the Caribbean, with the collapse of the West Indies Federation in 1962, an associated state arrangement was created for five small island territories (Antigua, Dominica,

St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia and St. Vincent,) with similar features to that of the New Zealand model, but without sufficient autonomy to meet the requirements of free association in Resolution 1541. This was due to the power of the British Government to determine unilaterally matters related to defense and external affairs, thus giving the cosmopole "unlimited freedom of action to legislate for the Associated States in a variety of circumstances."

The realities of power under this arrangement made it clear that such an association could not be consistent with the principle of mutual consent. In a 1976 study on the legal problems of Caribbean integration, this point was further illustrated in noting that: "It was clear that there was no final abandonment of power by the United Kingdom; the basic competence from which derive the competencies granted to the Associated States remains in the hands of Great Britain and (she) could at any time, withdraw the delegation of power..."

According to the same study, "the United Kingdom (could even within the scope of these delegated powers) prevent the Associated States from actually exercising these powers if it appeared there was any conflict between the actions or proposals of the Associated States and the international commitments, responsibilities or policy of the British Government...(the Associated States) will accept the decision of Her Majesty's Government in such matters."

Accordingly, the General Assembly in Resolution 2357 rejected the British argument that the West Indies Associated States constituted true free association within the letter and spirit of Resolution 1541. As noted in a 1979 article on the issue in the *Virginia Journal of International Law*, the arrangements regarding the separation of powers and authority between the United Kingdom and the West Indies Associated States were more than sufficient to conclude that the status was not acceptable as a form of true free association.

Another example of the creation of a even less autonomous association than that of the West Indies Associated States was that of Puerto Rico.

The US controlled territory was originally conceived as a self-governing model of free association as a result of constitutional changes in 1952, initially sufficient to convince the General Assembly to approve Resolution 748 of 1953 removing the territory from the UN list. Since the de-inscription of Puerto Rico took place some seven years prior to the definition of free association approved by the Assembly in 1960, it is argued that Puerto Rico should be re-inscribed since the territory did not have true

autonomy. Attempts to initiate this re-inscription, however, have been met with repeated defeat over the years, based on political rather than legal considerations. But as recently as 1996, even the US Congress in legislation - calling for a status referendum for Puerto Rico in 1998 - formally recognised the relevance of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism to Puerto Rico in its findings. The US Congress listed the options for the proposed Puerto Rico referendum as identical to those in Resolution 1541 (XV). In the process, it declared the present commonwealth status as non-self-governing, but did not advocate the re-listing of Puerto Rico.

Evolution of decolonisation resolutions

This ongoing re-evaluation process by United Nations member states of the UN role in the self-determination process has resulted in the scaling back of longstanding commitments contained in previous General Assembly resolutions. Recommendations for "a timetable for the free exercise by the people of the territories of their right to self-determination," for example, were replaced with more generalised recommendations.

One of the key administrative decisions with respect to resolutions on decolonisation as a result of the post Cold War review was to consolidate the individual resolutions on the small island territories into one omnibus resolution. This new procedure came as a result of intense discussions in an open-ended working group created in 1990 to review the role and functioning of the Special Committee, streamlining and consolidating resolutions and other documents, and reviewing the method of work of the committee, its agenda and list of territories. Accordingly, this "review" precipitated the elimination beginning in 1995 of language which had previously "reiterat(ed) that it was the responsibility of the administering power to create such conditions in the territories as will enable their people to exercise freely and without interference their inalienable right to self-determination and independence." This omission raised the question as to whether this was no longer a responsibility of the administering powers concerned.

A shift in approach to decolonisation

The year 1995 marked a fundamental change in the approach of the Special Committee in undertaking its mandate. This change was evident in diplomatic maneuvering beginning in 1990, paradoxically the same year that the General Assembly commemorated the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Decolonisation Declaration. Notwithstanding the specific elements called for in the plan of action of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, the Special Committee came under heavy political and budgetary assault. This was due to budgetary constraints within the UN system in general, and a growing view that decolonisation was no longer an issue worthy of intense consideration - after all, we were only a bunch of

small islands scattered around the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. Thus, the period 1990 through 1995 found disturbing trends emerging.

a) One such trend was the consolidation of individual resolutions into one omnibus resolution that almost caused the total deletion of any reference to specific conditions in individual territories in favour of a general set of principles applicable to all territories. This was successfully defeated by some Decolonisation Committee members, and by statements of one territorial government whose representative addressed the Committee on this issue.

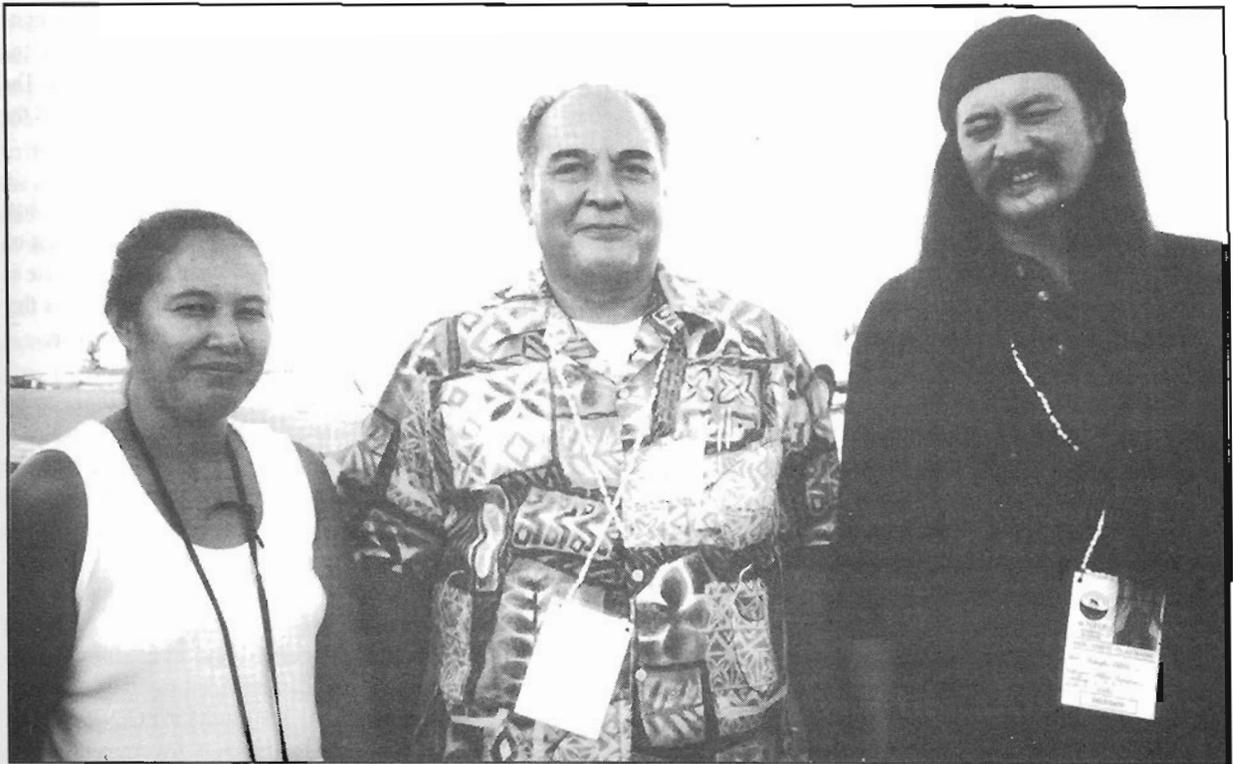
b) A second disturbing trend during 1990 - 1995 was the tendency to ignore implementation of decolonisation resolutions. It was pointed out that it is one thing to have excellent language in a resolution, and it is quite another to actually have some of that language acted upon in conformity with the resolution, and that many of the prescriptions for a successful self-determination process already exist in resolutions of the Assembly and the various plans of action approved over the years (but have gone un-implemented).

It is important to note that implementing language has always been left out of decolonisation resolutions, unlike resolutions in other areas, leading to an absence of follow-up. A case in point is the provision contained in resolutions adopted since 1991 which "request(s) the Special Committee...to recommend to the General Assembly the most suitable steps to be taken to enable the populations of those territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence and to report thereon to the Assembly...at its next session." UN records show no reports ever made on such "suitable steps".

Additionally, provisions on assistance to territories in political education, dissemination of information on decolonisation to the territories, and educational assistance have all been left un-implemented - and few member states of the Committee question the fact that the recommendations that had been routinely adopted have been essentially ignored. In general terms, it is clear that the level of discussion on decolonisation within the UN system had been effectively downgraded, and longstanding language in resolutions have been systematically removed - as if certain provisions which applied to the territories since 1946 were no longer applicable.

In short, the lack of implementation of these approved prescriptions serves to impede the process, and creates certain vulnerabilities. A statement of one Caribbean representative to the 1998 seminar of this Committee held in Nadi observed that:

"... it is clear that we are no longer experiencing a decolonisation *process*, but rather a decolonisation *crisis*. And the challenge is whether we can avert the disaster



Chamorro delegates from Guam and the USA (from left):
Norta Charfauros (Nasion Chamoru); Rufo Lujan (OPIR) and Joseph Leon (Native America Calling)

which awaits us, while threats of abolishing the committee and unilateral removal of territories from the UN list swirl around us. A proactive approach is the only way forward, rather than the defensive posture that the Committee has taken in recent years in its over-emphasis on achieving consensus even when that consensus does not accurately reflect the reality. Accordingly, a revised plan of action for self-determination should be initiated, since the present one was never allowed to begin. But the revised plan must be reflective of the people of the territories themselves."

Recommendations of the people

At this juncture, a number of these recommendations of the various UN seminars from 1990 through 1999 are worthy of mention, firstly, as their detail and specificity have replaced the more generalised and weaker resolutions of the General Assembly of recent years, and secondly, because they represent, by and large, the views of the peoples of the territories themselves.

A few examples include:

- The importance of a fair and unbiased political education for the peoples in the territories concerned, and the intensification of the dissemination of information on decolonisation (from the United Nations) with a view to raising the awareness of the people about their political rights and options available to them in determining their future status
- The importance of direct and closer participation of the territories in the work of the United Nations as an
- effective means of promoting the progress of the peoples of those territories.
- The creation of more opportunities for the populations of the territories to speak for themselves and to make their views on the issues at stake by inviting them to address the Special Committee.
- The fostering of greater awareness of the self-determination process in the territories and of worldwide information programmes to enhance the political education of the inhabitants of the remaining territories
- The transfer of all powers to the peoples of the respective territories without any conditions or reservations until the peoples concerned had the opportunity to exercise freely their rights in accordance with the (Decolonisation) Declaration.
- Greater membership and participation of territories in subregional, regional and international organisations.
- Observer status for the territories in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the General Assembly.
- The protection of rights of indigenous people in non-self-governing territories to self-determination.
- The emphasis that proposals for new models in decolonisation should comply with the principles contained in General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV)

- The establishment of an expert group comprised of representatives of the people of the territories to represent the interests and articulate the needs of their territories and, to that end, to advise the (Special) Committee and the Secretary-General on mechanisms for a successful completion to the decolonisation process.
- The importance of the completion of a Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of UN resolutions on decolonisation.
- The continuation of the Special Committee on Decolonisation after the year 2000, in order to provide international oversight for those remaining territories.
- The recognition of the right of the peoples of the territories to complete jurisdiction over the disposition of the land and ocean-based resources.
- The reaffirmation of the validity of all available options for self-determination as long as they are in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of the peoples concerned and in conformity with the clearly defined principles contained in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) and the requirement of a legitimate act of self-determination.
- The concern regarding difficulties in the implementation of the relevant provision of the Plan of Action of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism) which calls for periodic analyses of the progress and extent of implementation of the (Decolonisation) Declaration and calls upon the Special Committee to find alternative ways for the implementation of that provision.
- The need for an extensive study to be undertaken on the economic, social, and constitutional conditions in each of the remaining territories.

These recommendations of the regional seminars form quite a comprehensive policy statement with respect the successful completion of the decolonisation process. The fact that they emanate primarily from the people of the territories themselves is especially critical.

In the 1998 seminar in Fiji, participants acknowledged that:

1. Implementation of the (Decolonisation) Declaration contained in Resolution 1514 (XV) is not yet complete as long as there remains non-self-governing territories that still have to exercise their right to self-determination;

2. In the process of decolonisation, there is no alternative to the principle of self-determination, which is also a fundamental human right, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and as enunciated in General Assembly resolutions;...

7. All available options for self-determination are valid as long as they are in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned and in conformity with the clearly defined principles contained in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV); the issue of devolution of power to the elected governments of the territories is a key element in the transition from dependency to full self-government;

8. The views of the peoples of the non-self-governing territories should be ascertained through legitimate acts of self-determination under the supervision of the United Nations;...

11. A report on the implementation of decolonisation resolutions since the approval of the International decade for the Eradication of Colonialism should be prepared by the United Nations;

12. The decolonisation period is not over but rather requires unique remedies in protecting the inalienable rights of the people of the non-self-governing territories and, in particular, those small island territories which require special consideration as a result of the vulnerabilities that they share with other small island developing countries in their regions;

13. While the international community must remain flexible in its approach to assisting the non-self-governing territories in their constitutional advancement, any dependency models which have not achieved a full measure of self-government based on the principles of equality, in conformity with the acceptable choices contained in General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) should not be considered fully self-governing in order to avoid legitimizing the current non-self-governing arrangements;

14. The United Nations, in cooperation with regional organisations, should facilitate completion of the several studies and analyses called for in the plan of action of the



Sienc Manoufiua, from Wallis and Futuna,
with Ralph Teinaore of the Eglise Evangélique

International decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, but not yet undertaken, in particular the review of the impact of the economic and social situation on the constitutional advancement of the non-self-governing territories, periodic analyses of the progress and extent of the implementation of the (Decolonisation) Declaration in each territory, and other relevant studies on the economic, social and political development in these territories...

30. ...as long as there are territories that are not independent, freely associated or an integral part of another state by their own choice, the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories must be guaranteed by an independent broker. The United Nations and its Special Committee must continue to function in this capacity until the status of all non-self-governing territories dictates that this chapter of the history of the world be closed once and for all."

Recent developments

The seminar held in the Caribbean island state of St. Lucia in May 1999 re-inforced many of the recommendations called for in earlier seminars. But the most important aspect of this year's deliberations was the re-affirmation that full political equality was a critical prerequisite to the attainment of true internal self-government. This was a theme that was echoed by a number of the UN member states present, along with representatives from seven of the listed territories. The Foreign Minister of the host country, for example, emphasised that: "the principle of political equality should and must remain, universal (and) the fact that most of the current non-self-governing territories are small islands in the Caribbean and Pacific does not mean that the same principles of political equality do not apply to them."

The minister went on to note that: "While the international community must remain flexible in its approach to assisting these territories as they progress, we must ensure that their political status options remain in conformity with the legitimate choices of equality identified in Resolution 1541 so as not to legitimise, for expediency, present un-equal colonial arrangements which do not provide a full measure of self-government."

Concerns were repeatedly expressed by seminar participants that attempts were being made within the Decolonisation Committee to re-define the present dependency arrangements as self-governing, even though the fact remains that unilateral authority of the administering power to legislate for the territories and in many instances to overrule laws and decisions of the territories remains.

It was noted with concern in this year's seminar that the important research called for in the plan of action of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism had never been carried out due to a lack of funding, and

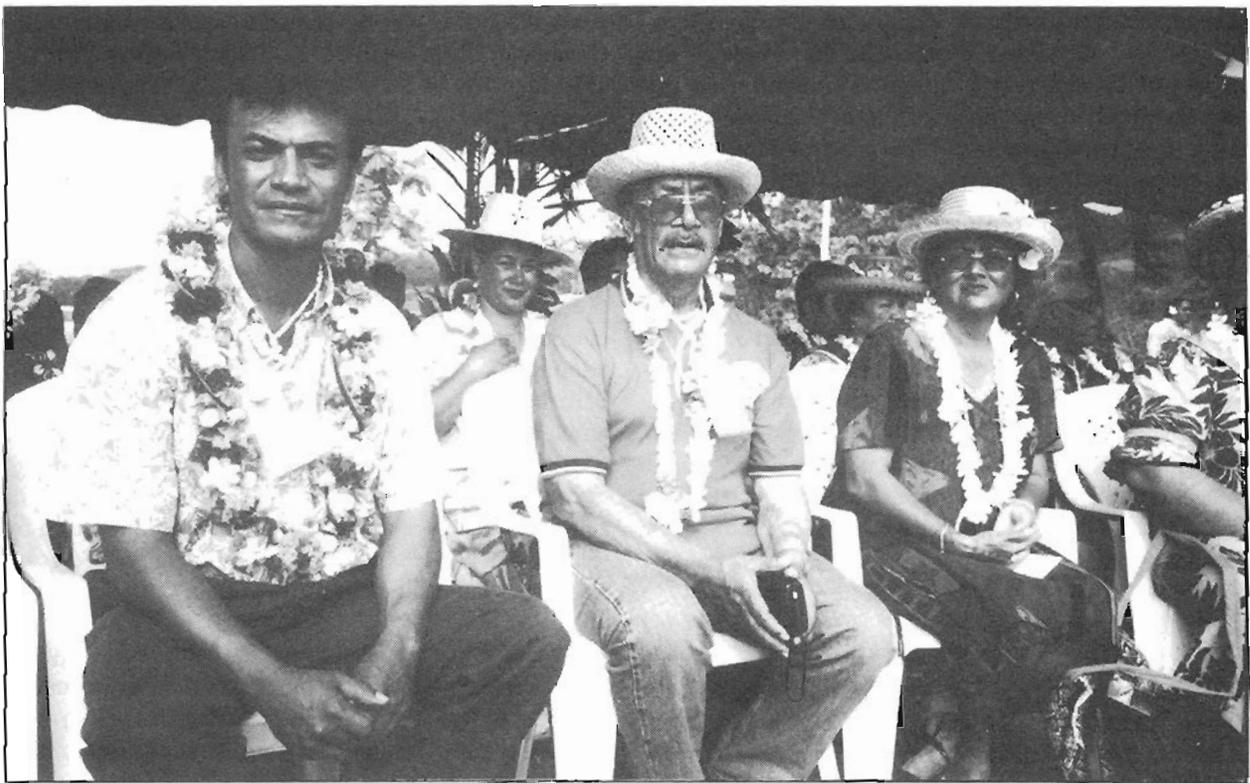
perhaps a lack of will on the part of member states of the Committee. It was regarded as extraordinary that since the 1991 approval of the plan of action, no funds had ever been requested by the Committee to implement these critical elements of the plan, despite repeated calls for the research to be carried out.

It was noted that there was little wonder that the UN member states were somewhat confused regarding the nature of the individual political arrangements between the cosmopolitan countries and the territories which they administer, and some wondered whether this was a deliberate way of keeping the reality of the dependent arrangements away from the UN member states who would then be more inclined to concur with the fallacy that these territories had gained, perhaps magically, a full measure of self government - a fallacy that was clearly corrected by the scholarly presentations of representatives from Caribbean and Pacific territories present at the seminar.

As a result of the momentum created by the successful St. Lucia Seminar, the Special Committee took the extraordinary step of approving the recommendations and sending them to the General Assembly for consideration. Heretofore, these recommendations were only acknowledged by the Special Committee but not sent on for wider consideration - a major victory for the self-determination effort.

The resolution approved by the Special Committee in June of this year also included a number of key provisions including the importance of the preservation of cultural identity, and noted with concern that the plan of action of the IDEC cannot be concluded by the year 2000. The session heard presentations from the elected heads of government of Guam (whose Governor called for an International Court of Justice ruling on decolonisation) and Puerto Rico (whose Governor called for the re-inscription of that territory on the UN list). The Minister for External Affairs of the US Virgin Islands in his statement to the Committee repeated earlier calls for the implementation of the plan of action.

A proposal by the representatives of Chile to establish a conceptual framework for the review of the constitutional and juridical status of the territories was also put forth for consideration during the Special Committee debate. The document had several disturbing provisions including the view that options that did not provide for full political equality could be considered acceptable by the international community. This was countered by a scholarly paper in response to the assertions in the Chile paper by the delegation of St. Lucia who outlined the legislative basis dating back to 1953 for the principle of "absolute equality" to remain paramount. In reply to the contention in the Chile paper that: "it was totally unnecessary in certain circumstances to consult the inhabitants of a given territory on their self-determination process," the St. Lucia ambassador made it clear that such special circumstances should not, and indeed, do not apply to the small island



Rapa Nui delegates Hugo Teave and Papa Teave, with Pa Tapaeru Ariki, President of the House of Ariki in the Cook Islands

territories (in the Caribbean and Pacific) "since democratic structures and administrative systems are the norm and are routinely utilised in conducting popular consultations."

Regarding the reference in the Chile paper that a referendum is only one of the options that would provide for political equality, the St. Lucia ambassador in his paper questioned whether there was another appropriate way to ascertain the views of a people other than a democratic electoral process. He expressed caution over the suggestion in the Chile paper that a possible method to address the decolonisation issue in the territories might be the negotiation of an agreement between the main organs of a given territory and the administering power. The St. Lucia ambassador responded that such consultations do not constitute an act of self-determination by the people who have continually expressed their wish to be consulted formally on their political future.

The St. Lucia ambassador expressed further concern for provisions in the conceptual paper that seemed to advocate a process where the administering powers and the Special Committee would decide on the status of the territories that remain on the agenda. He noted that the missing element in this equation was the people of the territories, whose future should not be left to negotiation between the Special Committee and the administering powers.

The St. Lucia paper served as an important reply to what many are considering to be the first attempt to end the UN decolonisation process without ending decolonisation - in this case through negotiations between elements of the Special Committee and the administering power. This must

be watched carefully, since there are definitely member states within the Committee who wish to end the UN's role in the decolonisation process through such subterfuge.

Thus, while the conceptual paper by Chile was prevented from being adopted as Special Committee policy by the timely response of St. Lucia, the bureau of the Special Committee has gone on to adopt in informal meetings (excluding the territories' participation) a set of "Guidelines on Consultations on Questions of Decolonisation" which call for each non-self-governing territory to be considered on a case by case basis. They propose that a corresponding programme of work is to be developed for each territory with possible goals, activities and dates, and may include visiting missions with the programme being endorsed, by necessity, by the government of the territory.

An important omission to these guidelines is any reference to the requirements of political equality. Another omission is the need for the required studies contained in the plan of action to be implemented in order to provide the necessary information for UN member states to analyse the individual territories on this so called "case-by-case basis."

In theory, such guidelines may seem admirable, but without the requisite political education among the territorial leadership regarding the parameters of decolonisation, political equality and the like, these leaders could easily be convinced to agree with a process anathema to the interest of the people they represent. This has to be watched carefully, as well.

The continued mandate of the Special Committee

In view of these developments, and the continued, and often disturbing, transformation of the Special Committee, the fact is that the remaining non-self-governing territories have not achieved a full measure of self-government pursuant to the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It is therefore obvious that the mandate for the creation of the Special Committee on Decolonisation remains intact, but their capacity to carry out that mandate is in question.

Expressions have been made - mostly from the Committee detractors - that the end of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism (IDEC) should mean the end of the Special Committee. Resolution 43/47 of 22 November 1988 declaring the IDEC, however, did not refer to the end of the work of the Special Committee, but some have inferred that the end of the decade should be the basis of the abolishment of the Committee.

In this case, even the most basic of goals of the plan of action of the IDEC have not been accomplished - with the notable exception of conducting the regional seminars on decolonisation. The necessary conditions of self-government simply do not exist to warrant the closure of the Committee and the de-listing of territories, which is the aim of some governments.

Instead, as indicated earlier, a second decade should be established by the General Assembly to focus attention on options of equality for the small island territories - and this time, the necessary resources should be made available for it to be successful.

However, if the Committee is to be the mechanism within the United Nations to address the decolonisation process into the next millennium, it must review its own operations to become more efficient, and more responsive, not just to the administering powers, but to the people of the territories. This can be done in large measure by insisting on the requirements of implementation of its own recommendations.

The Committee must take a pro-active approach to counter the dis-information campaign that has been successfully waged questioning the continued relevance of the decolonisation agenda item, and promoting the false assertion that the decolonisation process is complete.

It is interesting to note that the people of the territories themselves are often influenced by this dis-information campaign, and this can be seen in the notable absence of representatives of many of the territories in international deliberations on their own political development.

These political realities as they are, I would offer several recommendations designed to deflect the reactionary

criticism, and end the increasing isolation of the decolonisation issue with the present emphasis restricted to only one UN committee which is under constant political and budgetary attack. My approach would be through decentralising the discussion throughout as many UN and other international bodies as is possible. Accordingly:

1. In addition to discussions in the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee where the debate on the small island territories have been reduced to merely one or two days, the issue of decolonisation should also be addressed in the Third Committee of the General Assembly under its agenda item of "The Right to Self-Determination," and on the agenda of the relevant regional organisations such as the South Pacific Forum and the Caribbean Community. Additionally, a joint meeting of both regional groups on the future self-determination of territories in the two regions should be conducted. This can be achieved with influence from the NGO sector.

2. The issue should also be added to the agenda of the relevant UN bodies which address human rights issues, consistent with the recognition by the UN Secretary-General of the right to self-determination as a human rights issue.

3. More attention should now be placed on how the wider UN system can assist the territories in their socio-economic development process, and the inclusion of the elected governments of these territories and non-governmental organisations within these territories should be facilitated. This activity would be consistent with addressing the recommendations of some administering powers that the United Nations focus more on economic development issues within the territories, and is also consistent with many territories who wish to be more economically prepared before their political evolution.

In this connection, renewed attention should be given to the role of the specialised agencies, technical organs, regional economic commissions, and other bodies of the United Nations, as well as regional organisations, in implementation of their respective mandates to assist the territories in their socio-economic and constitutional development process.

4. Further, the Special Committee should be encouraged to identify resources to carry out the relevant political and economic studies and analyses contained in the Plan of Action (of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism), in conjunction with the regional organisations and expert, as a matter of urgency. This relevant research is essential to determining the future course of decolonisation in the small island territories.

5. New UN initiatives in governance should include a component that addresses the governance issues of the non-self governing territories.

Conclusion

To conclude, while the basis for the extension of the mandate of the Decolonisation Committee is clear, its' survival may be determined in large measure by its willingness to adapt through some measure of decentralising which would relieve some of the pressure it is currently under that has precluded it over the present decade from successfully carrying out that mandate.

The Committee needs to engage the wider UN system in the implementation of the UN- wide mandate on assistance to the territories, needs to find ways to integrate the views of the territories in its work, and must develop a way of implementing its own longstanding recommendations on decolonisation.

The remaining small island non-self-governing territories are at a critical stage in the history of their development, and a strong UN oversight of the process of the unique self-determination needs remains especially important. We must all remain vigilant as new initiatives to eliminate the international oversight of the decolonisation process will most certainly come. I therefore urge that the Pacific Concerns Resources Centre with its newly gained consultative status in ECOSOC, and other regional bodies maintain a watchful eye on developments in decolonisation at the United Nations. The future of this process is in our hands.

Dr. Carlyle Corbin serves as Minister of State for External Affairs for the U.S. Virgin Islands. He is presently the Secretary-General of the Offshore Governors' Forum, comprised of the elected governments of Guam, American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Corbin is the founding chairman of the Working Group of Non-Independent Caribbean Countries established in 1990 under the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Corbin is a visiting professor in international relations, governance and international trade at several Caribbean universities, the author of two books on political and constitutional advancement in the U.S. Virgin Islands, and is presently completing a third book on governance and dependency in non-independent island countries.

He has participated in the proceedings of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation since 1982, and has presented scholarly papers to United Nations decolonisation seminars in the Caribbean and Pacific over the last decade in Barbados, Grenada, Papua New Guinea, Trinidad and Tobago, Antigua and Barbuda, Fiji and St. Lucia.

Voting for independence in Timor Lorosae

Ceu Brites

East Timor Relief Association, Timor Lorosae

I hope you can hear me all like this. Maybe I should be tall like Lopeti! First of all, I'd like to thank you. I am standing here speaking to you on behalf of the newly independent nation of East Timor. But we should not call it East Timor or Timor Oriental. It should be Timor Lorosae. Lorosae is our dialect for the sunrise, the nation of the sunrise. Our nation is called Timor-Lorosae.

Many have asked why so much violence occurred in the last two weeks after the voting on 30 August 1999. The answer is simple. The Indonesian Government signed the accord of 5 May 1999 in New York, which started the process of popular consultation with the people of East Timor. Now let's remember that East Timor was never a part of Indonesia. We were illegally colonised for 450 years under Portugal and 24 years under the Indonesian Government.

This process of consultation in August included two main components. One is the Indonesian police, which are in charge of the security for the vote and another is United Nations Mission East Timor or UNAMET. The Indonesian Police are in charge of security but the main component of this security is the Indonesian Criminal Law. UNAMET is only in charge of the electoral process since it went to East Timor with only an electoral mandate. Their mandate is only to process the Popular Consultation so that the Timorese can vote.

UNAMET developed a code of conduct for the popular consultation and recognised the National Council of the Timorese Resistance (CNRT) as the representative body for the Timorese Independence Movement. UNIF or United

Front for an Integration Autonomy Indonesia is the other side defending integration with Indonesia. Both parties are the official organisations which work with UNAMET to implement the popular consultation.

The first phase was the registration of voters. The level of popular registration was about 430,000 people exceeding a lot of expectations. The second phase was the phase for the election campaign. But I must tell you that on our side of the resistance – we didn't do any election campaigning. When people say "Campaign" sometimes we have the impression that we have campaigns like out here, where you go in cars, asking people to vote for Independence – we didn't have that. All we had was our symbols that were going to be the symbol on the voting ballot to show people how they are supposed to vote. That's what we did. It was a very quiet campaign apart from one day, 25 August, when we just held a march. That's because the people demanded that we should have a march. We only had the march around the capital of Dili, where 40,000 people turned up but that included only the capital and the outskirts of Dili. It did not include the whole 13 districts of East Timor.

The level of interest was clearly related to independence support. Already were in the fitting mode by the time the official campaign started. The vote was held on 30 August after being postponed twice for security reasons. On that day, the people of East Timor turned *en masse* to vote. Only 6% did not turn up to vote. Those who did not show up to vote probably either lost their voter's card, had health problems or were afraid due to the threats of the Indonesian militias. Many also died after they had registered, killed by the Indonesian Army.



Ceu Brites tells the conference of Timor's vote for independence, with (from left) Kihei Soli Niheu, Moses Werror and Lopeti Senituli

Ceu Brites is a member of the East Timor Relief Association (ETRA), a Timorese non-government organisation that works for humanitarian relief for the people of Timor.

Ceu served as a member of the PCRC / NFIP Executive Board from 1996-1999.

After the NFIP conference in Arue, Tahiti, she returned from exile in Australia to live in Timor, to help with the reconstruction of the new nation of Timor Lorosae.

Human rights violations in West Papua

Rex Rumakiek

Organisasi Papua Merdeka

The preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (10 December 1948) states clearly that: "Recognition of the inherent dignity of all member of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

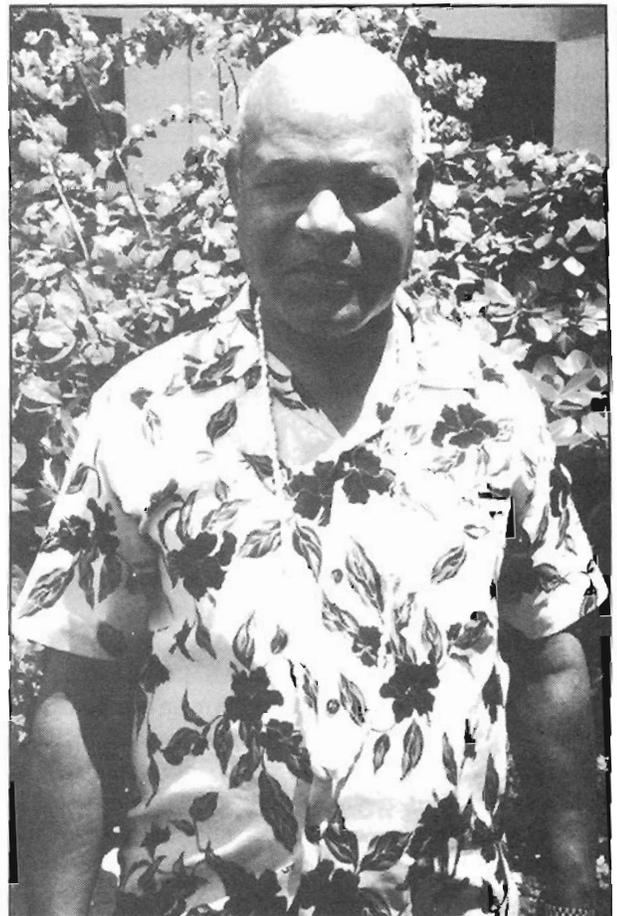
While it was assumed that all members will abide by this declaration, the Charter sets out a warning in its last article (No.30): "Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein." Perhaps it was also assumed that all modern states are governed by the rule of law enshrined in a national constitution. Based on that constitution, the state as the highest authority of the land is endowed with the responsibility to protect its citizens and to govern for their common good.

Unfortunately, in West Papua the opposite had been the experience of our people since West Papua was taken over by Indonesia in the 1960s. Our people never had the protection of the state or the luxury of being treated as equal citizens. Instead, for over 35 years our people have been condemned to acts of terror and annihilation by the state. Our people have been persecuted for who we are and for all the rights and freedoms described in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. All these violations were directed primarily to force the Papuan people to accept integration. It failed, but the whole policy became a permanent activity of collective eradication or ethnic cleansing. The demographic effect of this genocide policy is balanced by colonisation or transmigration.

Background

West Papua is the western part of the island of New Guinea. Formerly a Dutch colony, West Papua was annexed by Indonesia in 1963 and called West Irian. Since 1973, it has been renamed Irian Jaya which means glorious Irian. Our Melanesian population is just over 1.2 million. But increased colonisation called transmigrasi in the past 35 years is rapidly changing the demographic composition of our country. In the not too distant future, we would become minority on our own land. West Papua was a victim of colonial occupation and external domination, first by the Dutch, then Japan and now by Indonesia.

The tragedy of West Papua began in 1962. The same as the occupation of East Timor (1975), Indonesia wanted West Papua as a territory. It claimed it because it was part of the Dutch East Indies, which is now the Republic of Indonesia. But the Dutch disagreed, claiming that the Papuans are ethnically different and should be afforded



Rex Rumakiek (West Papua)

the same sovereign right as the Indonesians. After the Dutch granted Indonesia its independence in 1949, it also made efforts to decolonise West Papua. But Indonesia continued to pursue its claim over the territory. All its attempts at the United Nations failed. By 1960 the Dutch decided to speed up the process of decolonisation of West Papua by the election of what was known as the New Guinea Council, a body that could have become a Parliament if the Dutch remained. The election encouraged popular participation and eight political parties were established.

Indonesia objected very strongly to the Dutch plan and committed itself to invade the territory in an attempt to stop the creation of a West Papuan state. The Indonesian resolve was fully supported by the former Soviet Union and Communist China. The Dutch were also equally determined to defend West Papua, making the break out of war a real possibility. By 1961 Indonesia increased its armed infiltrators to engage the Dutch forces in West Papua. But the first real attempt of landing by a flotilla of fast patrol boats was repelled when the Royal Dutch Navy sunk the

commanding patrol boat killing the commander, Commodore Jos Soedarso.

To prevent this risky war that could have expanded the conflict in Vietnam right into the Pacific, the United States intervened by persuading the Dutch to soften its position in order to allow for a peaceful solution. In his confidential letter to the Dutch Prime Minister Dr. J. De Quay, President John F. Kennedy wrote: "Such a conflict would have adverse consequences out of all proportion to the issues at stake. This would be a war in which neither the Netherlands nor the West could win in any real sense. Whatever the outcome of particular military encounters, the entire free world position in Asia would be seriously damaged. Only the communists would benefit from such a conflict."

Consequently, West Papua was sold down the drain, so that the rest of the Pacific people could preserve the freedom and democracy that they all enjoy today.

On 15 August 1962, Indonesia and the Netherlands signed the US-mediated "New York Agreement" for the transfer of control over West Papua to Indonesia. The Indonesian control was only temporary, pending a referendum in 1969 where the Papuan people will decide whether they should become part of Indonesia or separate themselves from it (meaning, become an independent state). In 1969, instead of a referendum to allow for all West Papuans to cast their votes, Indonesia conducted a consultation with carefully selected 1,025 representatives. Absurdly, they called this an Act of Free Choice. The government made it abundantly clear that the exercise was only to confirm Indonesia's sovereignty over the territory. Our people called this fraudulent exercise an act of no choice. The hand-picked, screened and even terrorised 1,025 people decided that West Papua should become part of Indonesia.

This is what one of the electors, a highly respected Church leader, had to say when interviewed by Dutch journalist, Link van Bruggen: "The man who totally destroyed my self-respect was Brigadier General Ali Murtopo, publicly acknowledged as being the chief brainwasher. For two hours, this special envoy of President Suharto spoke to us. He began by pointing out that Indonesia, as the strongest military power in South East Asia, is able to strike fear into any country. Jakarta was not interested in us Papuans, but in West Irian as a territory. If we want to be independent, he said, laughing scornfully, we had better ask God if he could create an island in the Pacific for us to immigrate there. We could also write to the Americans. They had already set foot on the moon and perhaps they would be good enough to find a place for us there. This was not all. General Murtopo impressed upon us that 115 million Indonesians had fought for West Irian for years. They had made many sacrifices in this struggle, and they would not therefore allow their national aspirations to be crossed by a handful of Papuans. Short shrift would be made of those who voted against Indonesia. Their accursed

tongues would be torn out, their evil mouths be wretched open. Upon them would fall the vengeance of the Indonesian people, among them General Murtopo who would himself shoot the Papuans on the spot."

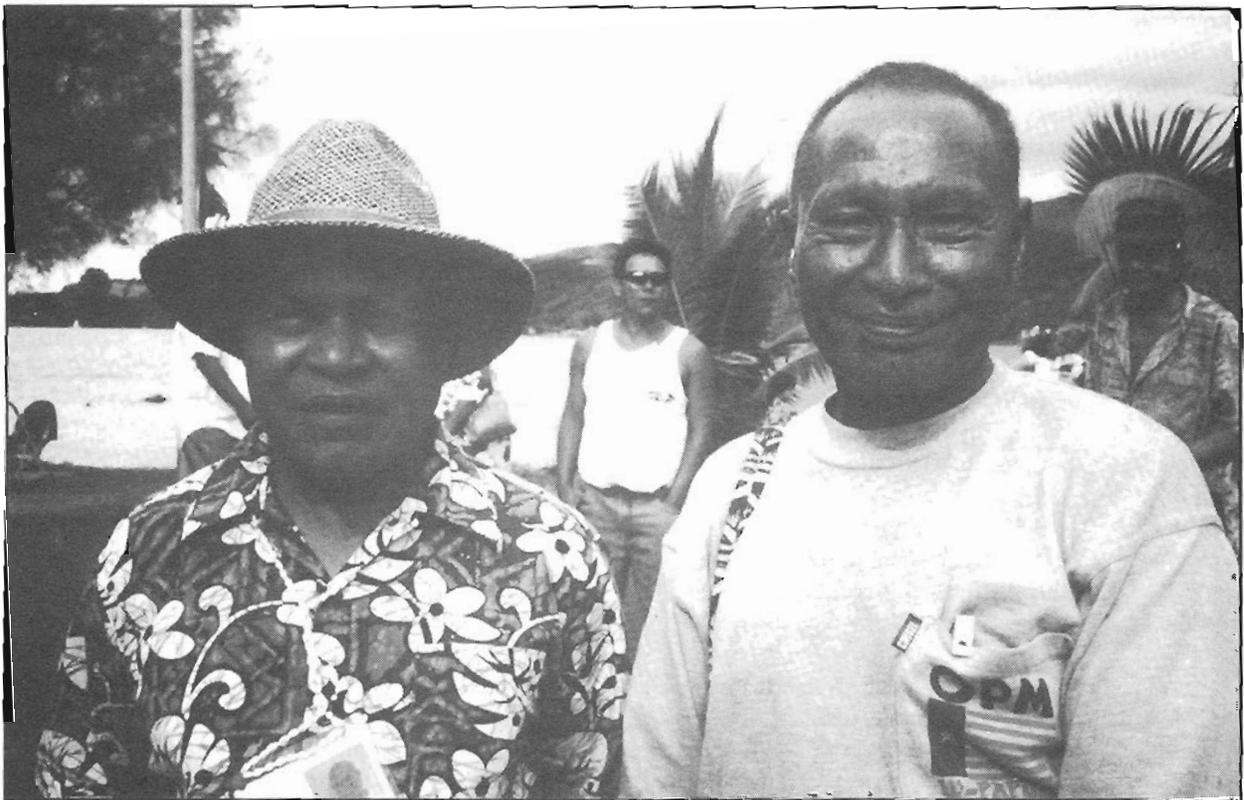
Despite all the evidence of gross human rights violations and non-compliance with the New York Agreement as reported by the United Nations Secretary General's representative Dr. Ortiz Sanz, the Secretary General himself failed to make a specific representation on behalf of the Papuan people to the UN General Assembly. Consequently, the UN General Assembly only accepted a resolution by Indonesia and the Netherlands to end their conflict. Our people's right of self-determination was not given any consideration. It was a clear travesty of natural justice to our people and a tragedy on the role played by the UN Secretary General's office. How on earth it is possible that the rapist is allowed to be the judge and the prosecutor over his victim? Before West Papua, the Apartheid regime of South Africa conducted a similar sham act of self-determination for the people of South West Africa, now Namibia, but the United Nations rejected this.

Our people never accepted the conduct and the result of the 1969 Act of Free Choice. On 1 July 1971 the West Papuan national liberation movement Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) denounced the Act of Free Choice. The OPM pledged to continue the resistance against Indonesian occupation. The ultimate goal of the OPM is to establish a democratic and independent state of West Papua.

Patterns of human rights violations

Most of the human rights violations in the early part of the occupation were directed against educated elites and politicians whom the Dutch prepared to run an independent West Papua. By way of Presidential Decree (No.8, 1963) the government banned all political parties and removed all the freedoms including freedom of speech and freedom of assembly or freedom to organise. The destruction of democratic structures and the removal of elected leaders by all means were then extended to include the whole of the West Papuan society. All these violations occurred in a variety of forms or patterns. For example, detention without trial, torture, rape, summary executions, destruction of property including churches, sterilisation, disappearance and institutional discrimination. These atrocities are conducted to be as horrific as possible, not only to break the resistance but also to eliminate the people.

Reporting on Indonesia in 1991, Amnesty International (AI) stated: "There are currently about 130 political prisoners from Irian Jaya serving sentences up to life imprisonment, the majority of whom were convicted under Indonesia's sweeping Anti-Subversive Law of 1963. Amnesty International believes that at least 80 of these may be prisoners of conscience [that is] people imprisoned for their non-violent political activities or beliefs. They



West Papuan delegates Rex Rumakiek and Moses Werror

included 37 people sentenced to prison terms of up to 20 years for their involvement in a peaceful flag-raising ceremony in December 1988 flag raising. One of those imprisoned was a police officer accused of distributing copies of a patriotic song to high-school students; he was sentenced to 13 years jail. Four others, who had sought asylum at the Papua New Guinean Consulate a few weeks before their arrest, were sentenced to terms of between 6 and 12 years" (A1 :1991).

On 3 August 1995, Catholic Bishop Mgr. H. M. Munninghoff of Jayapura disclosed a report on atrocities committed by the military against landowners of the Freeport copper and gold mine area in the Timika Sub-District of Fak Fak. This is a new development, because in West Papua, NGOs never go public on such matters involving the military. Acting on their behalf, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) released the full details of the report, which revealed a systematic campaign of terror against the traditional landowners. The report attracted official response from both Australian and the Indonesian governments. Investigation by the Indonesian Human Right Commission and visits by the Australian Ambassador confirmed the existence of the atrocities, involving 22 people massacred and another four disappeared, feared dead. If it was not for the Bishop's report, like many other cases before Timika, the whole incident could have been ignored.

The Timika atrocities made public for the first time patterns of human right violations that had occurred in West Papua for many years. Eye-witness accounts and reports by survivors revealed for example, constant intimidation

through surveillance, threats, rapes, destruction of property, detention without trial, torture, summary executions and disappearances. All these reports, including that of Amnesty International, indicated that the Timika incident was only the tip of the iceberg. A report compiled by a group of Papua New Guinean public servants and academics of West Papuan origin, for example, gave year by year graphic descriptions of horrendous atrocities and other human right violations committed in the territory, involving more than 300,000 people reported as missing by researcher Dr. Kees Lagerberg (1988). The following examples are given to illustrate the extreme nature of the violations, which are not only brutal but also unnecessary:

(1). The case of five prisoners of Teminabuan in the Sorong District. They were Adam Korem, Johan Jelmau, Christian Karet, Otniel Isir, and Arnold Gebse. On the night of 17 January 1967, the five prisoners were taken out of Teminabuan prison and driven to the highway towards Ayamaru. A few miles out of town near a bridge, the truck stopped; they were ordered out and instructed to stand against the bridge. They were then machine-gunned down. John Jelmau rolled over the bridge. Though mortally wounded with his intestines virtually out of his abdomen, he managed to get back to his mother's house where he lived long enough to recount the story and indicated where the bodies of his friends could be found before he died in his mother's arms.

(2). Another case involved the 22 year old OPM activist Soleman Daundi, reported also by the Amnesty International. He surrendered on mediation by church leaders and promise of leniency by the military. The military

unit that was sent to pick him up for procedural checking murdered him. They then cut off his head and carried it with them to the local military head quarters in Wardo, South Biak. On the way, the head was displayed in a number of villages before it was handed to a Pastor in Wardo to be buried (AI :1991, p22).

(3). One other example was the case of five young women from Babuma village in the Central Highlands. They were: Banduk Tago, Pani Pagawak, Nerak Makna, Yabena Thago, Etina Thago and Apisa Thago. They were pack-raped first, before being shot dead in their garden. They were disemboweled and their vaginas stuffed with sweet potato leaves and red berries. The murderers were from an Army unit of the Wamena District Military Command (KODIM Wamena) under the command of Col. Albert Dieng.

When Suharto was forced by popular students' protest to step down on 26 May 1998, many people hoped that things would change for the better. But in West Papua the killing continued. In July 1998, inspired by the changes in Jakarta, young people in several towns and districts demonstrated and raised the West Papuan independence flag, the Morning Star. Their demand was nothing less than independence. As always, the military responded ruthlessly causing many deaths. But unlike the killings during the Suharto era, this time the Churches, NGOs and Indonesia's own Human Rights Commission investigated all the cases, such as the massacres in Biak and Bela. The recently established Human Rights Study and Advocacy Institute is working closely with other NGOs and the Churches to compile a documentation of all the past and present human rights abuses in West Papua.

There are also many mysterious deaths and disappearances, to give only a few prominent names:

(1). Baldus Mofu, a former member of the New Guinea Council and member of the Regional Peoples Representatives Assembly (RPRA). He has been jailed many times and tortured. On 8 December 1979 he was abducted from his home at night, two months after he was released from jail and bashed to death.

(2). Penehas Torey, also formerly a member of the New Guinea Council and member of the RPRA. He was last seen being taken away from his home in Jayapura by the military on 13 April 1969, for questioning regarding a public demonstration on 11 April in front of the UN Representative's office to demand free and fair elections. He was never to be seen again.

(3). Another former member of the New Guinea Council, Godlief Mirino of Sorong. He was also abducted from his home at night of 5 July 1968 and never returned.

(4). Permenas Awom (founding member and commander of the OPM forces in Manokwari) surrendered following an amnesty granted by President Suharto in 1967. He was put on board the naval vessel Hyggene sailing from Manokwari to Biak, a trip that normally takes six hours, one way. The boat returned two hours later without Permenas. Queries

by members of his family were silenced by threats.

(5). Rev. Johanes Mamoribo, then Deputy Governor. He felt unwell after an official party and went for check up at the military hospital in Jakarta on 18 March 1976. He died from an operation, which his wife discovered only after the body was sent home for burial.

The cases of ethnologist Arnold Ap (24 April 1984) and OPM activist Melky Salosa (July 1990) presented another mysterious practice in the history of genocide in West Papua. Both Ap and Salosa were framed, shot dead while attempting to "escape from custody". If we list case by case of leaders alone, the list will go on and on and on, let alone similar deaths in the whole society over 35 years.

These atrocities are very common everywhere but under the Suharto regime there were no possible ways for the affected families to share the information. Attempting to describe the effects of these atrocities on the society, missionary pilot Theodore Fray was quoted as saying: "During my whole stay in West Irian/West Papua, I never met a single family which had not lost at least one member because of torture or other acts of violence by the Indonesians. In my opinion, and based on my own experience...the Indonesians are bringing not development, but systematic extermination."

Only under President Habibie and with the lifting of restrictions, the NGOs and Churches are able to record abuses and at the same time educate public about human rights.

Internationalised murder

In 1997, OPM leader Kelly Kwalik took 24 people hostage but released most of them and kept six Europeans and four Indonesians while demanding negotiation for self-determination. Kwalik requested the Red Cross to assist in arranging meetings with the countries whose nationals were held hostage including Great Britain. Instead of arranging direct negotiations as requested, the Red Cross proceeded to conduct the negotiation themselves. They failed to convince Kwalik. But the people and Kwalik trusted that the Red Cross would still bring the real mediators. Instead of the mediators, a Red Cross helicopter returned with British SAS troops and mercenaries. What happened next was beyond comprehension in the Red Cross history. The village people who gathered to welcome the Red Cross were gunned down by the British SAS and mercenaries from South Africa using the Red Cross helicopter. Our people are still demanding justice and explanation from countries concerned.

Which way forward?

Amid all the expectations and hopes for a democratic Indonesia, the Churches add their voices to a chorus of demands for human justice to the West Papuan people. Many organisations are speaking out, including the World

Council of Churches and a number of US Congressmen. President Habibie responded by inviting representatives from West Papua for a dialogue. The officials carefully selected 100 representatives from the West Papuan society to meet with the president in his Palace on 26 February 1999. President Habibie wanted to hear direct from these leaders the aspirations and the wishes of the Papuan people. So, they did. With his senior ministers including the Defense Forces Commander General Wiranto in attendance, they told him that. "the Papuan people have suffered for 35 years, they can not take it any more they want their independence." Shocked but resilient, President Habibie told them to go back and discuss again with the people and ponder the implications of their request.

After they went back and with the assistance of the Churches they conducted Seminars and meetings throughout the country where the issues of independence and autonomy were discussed. On 23-24 July 1999, representatives from the whole country came together in the capital Jayapura and concluded the whole five months consultation. The conclusion was the same: the Papuan people want their independence.

In September 1999, the 100 representatives returned to Jakarta to meet the President as agreed on 26 February. The message they will bring to the President was the same and that is: "No development, no other form of social justice could heal the pain of 35 years of subjugation. Only independence will put to rest the souls of tens of thousands

of our people whose blood was shed on their own land just because they are Papuans. WE WANT TO LEAVE THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AND CREATE OUR OWN." Because of the East Timorese issue at the moment a meeting with the President is yet to be arranged but the public is already aware of the Papuan people's intention.

Final statement by Rex Rumakiek on behalf of the OPM Free Papua Movement

It was a privilege to know and to work with leaders of the movement for independence of Te Ao Maohi - a movement that because of necessity have transformed into political parties. I must admit that there is a new spark, a voice that I have not heard before, and that is the voice of the church in unison with the struggle for independence. The speech by Jacques Ihorai this morning is inspiring indeed. I am standing on your sacred land, and I'd like to convey to you in sincerity, that you have the wisdom of your great ancestors and the capacity to unite your voices to win your independence. I want you to know that we are always in solidarity with you.

Rex Rumakiek is an activist in the West Papua movement. He lives in exile in Australia, and has represented the Organisasit Papua Merdeka at international meetings. Rex is a long-time member of the NFIP movement, and was elected to the NFIP Executive Board at the 8th NFIP Conference..



Guam-

An island seeking justice, truth and self-determination

Rufo Lujan

Organisation of People for Indigenous Rights (OPIR), Guam

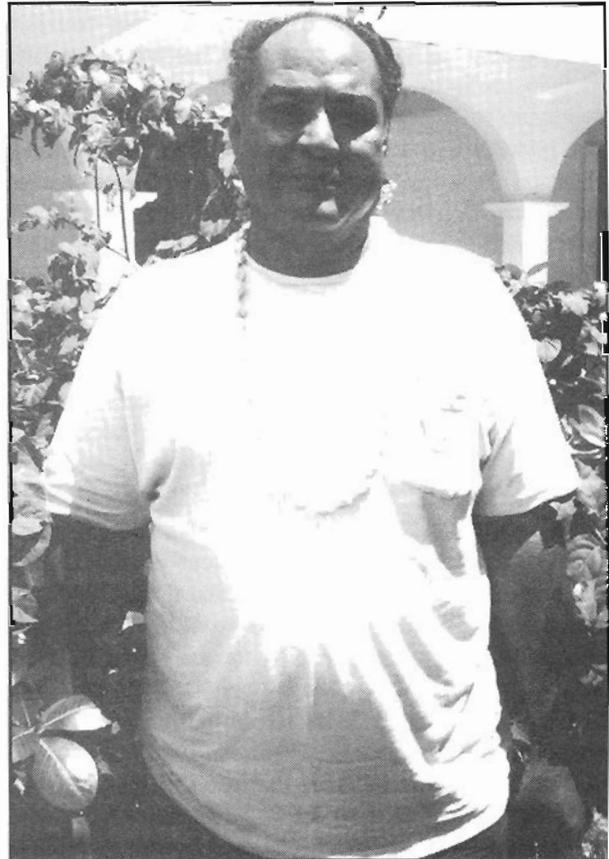
The island of Guahan (Guam) is the land of the Chamorros, *i man'taotao tano*. Chamorros have lived on Guahan for over 3000 years according to archaeological data.

The Portuguese sailor Fernao De Magalhaes, better known by his Spanish name of Magellan, "discovered" the Chamorros and their island in 1521. The Spaniard Lezaspí claimed Guahan (and the other islands in what is now known as the Marianas Islands) for Spain in 1565. In 1668, Padre Diego San Vitores initiated the colonisation of the island until the latter part of 1898 when it was ceded to the United States of America as part of the settlement ending the Spanish-American War. The United States became the colonial master of the Chamorros and their island from 1898 to 8 December 1941, when Japan conquered the Chamorros and their island.

Japan's imperialistic ambitions resulted in the Chamorros having them as another colonial master from December 1941 to July 1944. The Chamorros experienced tremendous suffering and were subjected to horrendous atrocities during the occupation by Japan. The Americans reconquered and reoccupied the island in July 1944. The reoccupation by the Americans brought about irreversible and irretrievable changes to the Chamorros and their island that are felt even to this day. Guahan changed from being a coaling station for the US Navy before World War II to a major military fortress after the reoccupation. Post-war military activities provided employment and other economic opportunities that brought changes to the Chamorros and their culture.

In 1946, the United States placed Guam on the United Nation's list of Non Self-governing Territories. Unfortunately, this was not publicly known by the Chamorros. It was at this time in the Chamorros' history that the most of their ancestral lands was lost through condemnation actions by the government. The increased military activities on Guahan in support of the Korean War in the 1940s and early 1950s brought more changes to the Chamorros and their homeland.

From after the Second World War until late in 1962, the control and destiny of the Chamorros and their island was totally controlled by the US Navy via a Presidential Executive Order imposing a military security blanket on the island. This security blanket required permission by the US Navy for anyone to leave or come on the island, including the Chamorros. This security blanket had the negative effect of preventing the island from being economically developed; but, it had the positive effect of the Chamorros being the majority ethnic group on their



Rufo Lujan (Guam)

own island. This military security blanket was lifted by the then US President John F. Kennedy in 1962.

From 1898 to 1950, the Chamorros were not citizens of the United States of America. They were citizens of Guam and the military government assigned a Civilian Identification number to each Chamorro on the island. In August 1950, the Chamorros became "qualified" citizens of the United States by enactment of the Organic Act of Guam of 1950 – "qualified" since not all provisions of the US Constitution apply to Guam. Thus Chamorros on Guahan have less rights than those citizens residing in the individual states of the United States of America. Some Chamorros suspected that the United States only granted citizenship to the Chamorros to "legalise" the land condemnations for military purposes that had occurred.

The Organic Act of 1950 provided for some local governance autonomy. It established a Guam Legislature and provided for a civilian Governor to be appointed by the President of the United States of America. However, the Act provided that the US Congress has authority to repeal or amend any law passed by the Guam Legislature.

Two events of significance to the Chamorros and their island occurred in 1968. The first was the passage of a US public law granting the people of Guam the authority to elect their own Governor; this provided an unprecedented opportunity to the Chamorros for more political autonomy and self-governance. The second event was the policy decision by the government of Guam to promote tourism for economic development purposes. However, the Chamorros did not greatly benefit from tourism development, as it is mostly non-Chamorros who are participants in this sector of the economy.

The mid-70s was a time for coastal states to stake their claim on the world's oceans. The United States enacted the Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976, later amended and renamed the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act, claiming jurisdiction of Guahan's waters in contravention to its UN treaty obligations. Guahan, in 1984 and 1995, passed local laws asserting its rights over the Fishery Conservation Zone and the Exclusive Economic Zone to the waters around the island.

Starting in 1982, the Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPI-R), a local non-government organisation, because aware of Guam's placement on the United Nations' list non-self territories. Since then, OPI-R has appeared before different forums within the US and internationally advocating for Chamorro self-determination.

The Commission on Self-Determination (CSD) was established by the Guam Legislature in 1986. The purpose for the CSD was to advance the result of the plebiscite whereby the majority of voters on Guam advocated a change in Guam's political relationship with the United States. Of the options presented to the voters, the majority chose a Commonwealth political status with the United States. The CSD negotiated with the federal government on a Commonwealth status for Guam. The Commonwealth that the CSD pursued contained three key provisions that became the object of contention with the Administering Power as follows:

- 1) Local control of immigration;
- 2) Mutual consent on applicability of federal laws to Guam;
- 3) Chamorros only to vote on the future political status of Guam.

Negotiation between the CSD and the Administering Power has reached an impasse; Chamorro rights activists now consider this to be a dead issue. In 1993, a Chamorro rights activist sued the Governor of Guam to implement the Chamorro Land Trust Act (CLTA), a law that was passed in 1973 and not implemented. The CLTA was patterned after the Hawaiian Homes Act of 1921, a US federal law that granted certain rights to Hawaiians over ceded lands owned by the Hawaiian monarch, Queen Liliuokalani. The Superior Court of Guam ordered the Governor of Guam to

implement the CLTA by appointing the members of the Chamorro Land Trust Commission.

In November of 1994, three Chamorro rights activists running under the Democratic Party banner were elected to the Guam Legislature. These were Senators Mark Charfauros, Angel Santos and Hope Cristobal. All three have since lost their seats to the Guam Legislature due mainly to opposition by and the selfish ulterior motives of the incumbent Democratic Governor.

The Guam Legislature passed a law in 1996 establishing the Commission of Decolonisation. This Commission was tasked with preparing the Chamorros for a Chamorro only vote on their self-determination. In preparation for the voting, the Guam Election Commission was mandated to establish a Chamorro Registry of those eligible to vote. Also, the law further mandated the formation of three task forces to research and educate the Chamorro on the political status options – independence; integration with a sovereign state; or, in free association with a sovereign state – that they will be voting on. The law set 12 December 1999 as the voting date for the Chamorros to choose a political status to decolonise Guahan by exercising their right of self-determination (the Commission on Decolonisation has asked the Guam Legislature to change the voting date to sometime in July 2000 because the task forces have not completed their work and the Guam Election Commission has not established the Chamorro Registry).

In 1998, the OPI-R appeared before the Committee of 24 at the United Nations requesting for assistance in having the Administering Power for Guam recognise the right of the Chamorros to self-determination. Also, OPI-R further requested the UN for recognition of the Chamorros as the indigenous people of Guam with the sole right to self-determination. Since the Chamorros' initial contact with the Spanish, then with the Americans, Japanese and, again, the Americans, they have been treated with injustice, lied to and denied their right to self-determination. The Spanish in their quest for world expansionism and religious zealotry decimated the Chamorros to the point of extinction. The heavy handed administration of the island and the people by the Spanish military governors brought wide-spread changes to the Chamorro way of life, cultural beliefs and values, language and genetic makeup.

American imperialistic ambitions to Asia required a fueling station for her naval forces and Guahan was in the appropriate geographical location. The capture of Guahan from Spain meant that the Chamorros had to learn the ways of their new colonial master. Under the new American rule, the Chamorros had to contend with a new language, land tenure system, governance, cultural values etc. The Americans practiced a benign neglect type of governance during the early to middle part of this century and so allowed Guahan to be defenseless and become easy prey to Japanese expansionism in World War II. After World War Two, the Americans needed bases close to Korea to

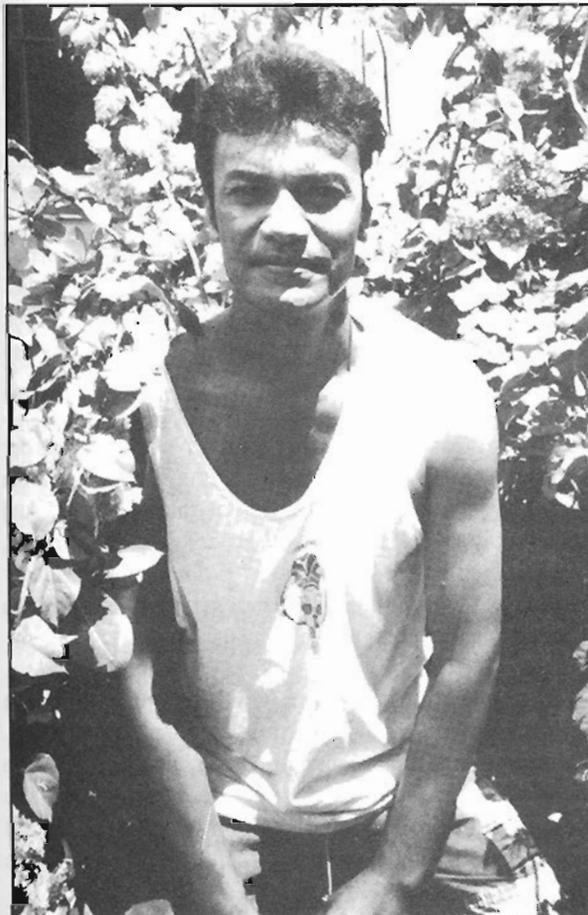
fight the Korean War; and for bases in Japan, the United States signed a Treaty of Peace with Japan. The treaty absolved Japan of war reparations due to the Chamorros for damages and suffering incurred during World War Two (The Chamorros have been seeking for reparations to this date). OPI-R, other Guam NGOs and quasi government agencies have succeeded in having Guam recognized as a special case by the United Nations. Our fight is by no means over. We must be vigilant and follow through to insure that the Chamorro right to self-determination happens.

Rufo Lujan is a member of the Organisation of People for Indigenous Rights (OPIR) in Guam, and was elected as a member of the NFIP Executive Board at the 8th NFIP Conference.

Rapanui

Hugo Teave and Juan Chavez Haoa Te Koro Hu'a, Rapa Nui

My name is Juan Chavez Haoa, head of Te Koro Hu'a Rapa Nui and ex-member of the Ancient Council of Rapa Nui. I would like to bring your attention to our plea for our fundamental rights to our land to survive and revive our own culture.



Hugo Teave (Rapanui)

The Rapa Nui people, now numbering about 3000, are respectable and worthy, socially well organised with their roots expressed in Maori or Maohi culture. We are simple and harmless people who have survived 136 years of continuous oppression by an implacable Chile government, which disregards and deprives us of our most basic human rights in our homeland. This included slavery from 1862 to 1864 by Chile, Spain and Peru.

It was 9 September 1888 when our King Atamu Tekena, Chief of the Ancient Council, signed an agreement with the government of Chile, for protection of the remaining 350 Rapa Nui islanders in exchange of sovereignty.

Unfortunately, this treaty was violated in 1891 when Chile rented the island to a British company. The British imprisoned Rapa Nui natives in concentration camps, deprived the islanders of their lands, and submitted them to slavery and other abuses such as: burning homes and fields, beating children and adults, forbidding their fishing, walking freely and contact with the outer world, for help and support to protest their stolen dignity.

In 1914, Mr. Daniel Maria Chavez, Chief of the Ancient Council, organised a struggle for land claims, fair treatment, justice and human rights. Chilean officials arrested him and tried him in a court on a ship. He died mysteriously on the ship en route to Valparaiso, Chile. Similarly, two years later, Rapa Nui King Riro died in Chile where he had gone to sign an agreement with the Chile government.

In 1933, the government of Chile registered Rapa Nui land under Article 590 of the Civil Code stipulating that any land without a registered owner within the territorial borders of Chile belonged to the state. This is not withstanding the fact that our parents and grandparents were living on their property as legitimate heirs.

In 1979, the Chile government decreed a new law No. 2885, which empowered the Chilean president to provide titles and deeds, legitimating the State inscription of 1933.

In 1989, the Rapa Nui Ancient Council filed a lawsuit against the State of Chile, charging land usurpation. As a result, the government of Chile created the indigenous law, which recognises and favors the rights and worthiness of cultural values of the Rapa Nui people abiding under the principles and recommendations of the United Nations for natives and ethnic minorities across the world. However, the Chile law is detrimental to our people since it legitimates the usurpation of land under the scope of Decree 2885 and the inscription of 1933.

In 1989 and 1990, for the aforementioned reasons, the Ancient Council called for a general protest strike to obtain a new dialogue and understanding with the government of Chile, but so far without success.

The Ancient Council made an historic decision to raise the

Rapa Nui flag to call the attention of the Chilean authorities, since our people were tired of the continuous neglect and lack of commitment to past promises. We fight for the reestablishment of our dignity with the belief that it is not possible to exercise our cultural needs without our own land.

The Rapa Nui people strongly support all peoples in their struggles for self-determination. At this critical time, we support all the Pacific brothers and sisters: Timorese, Kanaks, Maohi of Te Ao Maohi, Maori of Aotearoa, Timor Lorosae, Bougainvilleans, West Papua, and Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i).

We are seeking similar actions to the resolution going up to the NFIP Executive Board to include Kanaka Maoli decolonisation through re-inscription of Ka Pae'aina on the UN list of non self governing territories as a regular agenda item to be coordinated with appropriate priority and timing with the re-inscription of other Pacific colonies. Based upon the facts mentioned above, we respectfully request your help and assistance in obtaining a fair approach to our case. *Mauruuru!*

Hugo Teave is a musician and sculptor from Rapanui (Easter Island). He is a member of the organisation Te Koro Hu'a Rapa Nui, and works to protect the island's sacred sites and native plants. He was elected to the PCRC/NFIP Executive Board at the 8th NFIP Conference. Juan Chavez Haoa is head of Te Koro Hu'a Rapa Nui and a former member of the Ancient Council of Rapa Nui.



Kihei Soli Niheu of Ka Pakaukau (left) with Fci Tevi (PCRC)

Sovereignty and independence in Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i)

Kihei Soli Niheu
Ka Pakaukau

First of all I'd like to say '*Mauruuru*' to all the freedom fighters of Te Ao Maohi - '*Mauruuru*.' The second thing I'd like to say is that there are some things that we must always remember. As people of indigenous cultures, we have an opportunity and an expertise and a sense of humour. So with that in mind, I would like to express my decolonised mind by sharing with you an experience that I've had with the people of Rapanui, one part of the Polynesian triangle, and the *Tangata Whenua o Aotearoa*.

At this meeting we're discussing the achievements of our ancestors. We're discussing the achievements of our present leadership and also we're discussing the future of our people.

So it was time for *Tangata Whenua o Aotearoa* to express their strong points. In the expression of their strong points they mention their great leaders of the past, the great leaders of the seven tribes and of course of the great leaders of today. From Eva Rickard to Titifae Harawira to Tama Iti, Sid Jackson and Moana Jackson, Mike Smith and of course Hilda Halkyard-Harawira. So with that in mind, I knew that I have no fear.

Next came the *Kupuna* from Rapanui. In his expression of achievement, he explained how the great stone statues of Rapanui were built and how they were moved to a certain part and of course their cultures and their people.

And then in this corner there's myself. So I'm wondering how I can express my achievements when my cousins' *mana* was so enormous that it would be difficult. However, I am being urged by my cousins to express my achievements.

What I express to them is that for our people, perhaps our greatest achievement has been flying the rocket to the sun. They look at me as if: "Gee, is that possible?" And then I reply saying: "Our people are creative, very creative. We can feed our people with our *Kaimoana* and with our *'Aina*. As for technology, we are even more creative. We send the rocket at night time!"

Well so much for that, that's why I'm not employed as a comic! What I'm here to talk about is colonisation. Colonisation is the process which we must recognise. We must admit that all of us at one time were colonised. The colonisation process involves perhaps three steps and not necessarily in the order in which I am presenting them to you.

One of these steps of Colonisation is the Cross. The missionaries came to do well and historically the missionaries have done well. They have managed to colonise all the resources. They have managed to colonise our minds by saying that our Gods were not appropriate. They said there is only one God when in fact we had many Gods. We also had family Gods.

The second element of colonisation is the Sword - in our case the United States Military and more specifically the United States Marines. In 1893, the US Marines landed their troops on the shores of Honolulu to support the business community, especially those of American descent. With the help of the US Marines, we were put in the position that we are in today.

The third and most important cause of colonisation is what we call Coca Cola. Coca Cola is just one multi-national corporation. We have McDonalds, we have Burger King, and of course we have Jack-in-the-Box. So in colonisation we are reminded constantly by the printed media and television that we must support these multi-national corporations. They have been successful, as we continue to support these multi-nationals.

So in the process of decolonisation we must get rid of the multi-national corporations. We must develop our own economic organisations because independence is more than liberty. It is the decolonisation of our mind.

Through the efforts of two *wahines* Nalani Minton and Noenoe Silva, we have re-discovered a group of papers in the archives of the city of Washington DC. The papers document the struggle instigated by *Hui Kalai'aina*, *Hui Aloha 'Aina o Na Kane* and *Hui Aloha 'Aina o Na Wahine* in the year 1898. Those papers reflect the *Mana* of our people against annexation.

In 1898, our population was perhaps only 40,000, down from the Captain Cook days of over 1 million of our race. But in those papers we discovered there were 38,000 signatures protesting the annexation of Ka Pae'aina. And what we've been told for years and years and years that our *Kupuna* did not resist, that they just wasted away. But we give thanks to Nalani Minton and Noenoe Silva who have given us the lists of signatures. When we look at those papers we discover all our ancestors.

So you see, decolonisation is a process that occurs daily. We must always challenge authority, especially those influenced by the United States of America and its political leaders. It is our responsibility to begin the process of decolonising our Universities, our High schools and of course our Elementary schools.

At this time too, I'd like to share with you information regarding the present status of our road to Sovereignty and Independence. In the past couple of years, an effort was made by the bourgeois Kanaka Maoli to gain control

of a road to Sovereignty and Independence. We had a referendum where perhaps more than 85,000 ballots were mailed out for people to decide on the question: "Should we have a Constitution Convention to formulate our policies of Sovereignty and Independence?"

Knowing full well that the bourgeois Hawaiians were making an attempt to control our movement, we initiated a movement of protest. As a result of those efforts, only 32,000 people voted. Out of those who voted, 10,000 people were against plans to have a Constitution Convention and 20,000 Kanaka Maoli were for it. With that excuse the bourgeois Kanaka Maoli went on and said they had a mandate with our people to select delegates to a Native Hawaiian Constitution Convention. Once again our movement decided to boycott the elections. So the results were as follows.

Of those people who voted to have a Constitution Convention, 5,000 were from America or those of Kanaka Maoli ancestors. So what is happening to today in this thing called Constitution Convention? It is not a mandate but rather is the continuing effort to try and control our Sovereignty movement.

At the present time, our people in the sovereignty movement are perhaps in three categories. First of all are supporters of what we call "a state within a state". Basically, these organisations want to maintain the status quo. You want to replace a white oppressor within a Kanaka Maoli oppressor. Organisations such as the Office of the Hawaiian Affairs are a part of this group. The second group falls under the category "nation with a nation". What that means basically is that we want to attain the status by being recognised by the Federal Government, as in the case of Native American organisations. The group that reflects this opinion is called *Ka Lahui Hawai'i*.

The third category is the Independence group - those that are for total independence. At this time we have six Hawaiian Kingdoms, we have one group who call themselves the lawful government of the Hawaiian Nation. We have one group called the Nation of Hawai'i and the smallest group is called *Ka Pakaukau*.

The purpose of *Ka Pakaukau* primarily is to educate, agitate and decolonise our minds. That is our role - to question anybody whatever their role or attitude to state within a state, nation within a nation or even Independence.

We are not out to become premiers. We are not out to become regents nor do we express the wish to become Kings and Queens. Our purpose is to decolonise ourselves, our peoples and our nations.

There are some things I would like to leave with you as food for thought. The first one is: "Never imitate the Constitution of your oppressor". We have discovered in Hawai'i that whenever you imitate the Constitution of your

oppressor you'll be worse off. It is all too often true that the dream of a slave is not freedom, but having a slave of their own.

Two: "minimise, don't maximise centralisation of Government". We have discovered in Hawai'i that when you have one leader, you have a big problem. I mean a really big problem because the oppressor only has to influence one person, and consequently the money goes to only that one person. We have discovered that if you have some sort of Confederacy, the people themselves can have more control over their leaders.

Third: "inclusion and not exclusion". In the movement for Sovereignty and Independence, we must include all those who will be affected by the decision of all of us. It includes those who do not have the *coco*. It includes people whose gender preference is different. It includes everybody.

An example of this perhaps is in my travels, I discovered that the *Mahus* (men who live as women) have been discriminated against because of the colonisation process of the United States Government. It was not until I came here to Te Ao Maohi in 1981 that I changed my attitudes when I went to Huahine. Prior to Huahine I had this conception of *Mahus*. My first three days I couldn't sleep because I was afraid that I would be attacked. Here I am, you know a macho. I got this macho thing because of colonisation. It was then I realised that I was wrong. Being a leader does not preclude me from being an asshole.

We must all remember that whether we have the *coco*, we can make mistakes. It is up to you, people who have the knowledge, to correct us so that we do not continue being colonised. One thing I must say is that I've been associated with different Christianity groups and I learnt from some of those Reverends. One of the things that I learnt is that 'judge he not'. Does that sound familiar? 'Judge he not'. Judge me not by how much we agree with each other, but rather judge me by the way we handle our differences.

Those who've been married 20, 25, 30, 40 years, I salute you. Because a good marriage is the result of the way you handle your differences. You know when to give. You know when to take. You know when to accept your mistakes and admit your mistakes. So that is a lesson that all of us can learn. In closing, I would like to say for those of you who are in the movement: be strong. Remember your *Tupuna*. Find strength from your people. Be patient. The road to Sovereignty and Independence is a long trip and it will not occur overnight. Be persistent. Continue the struggle forever and you must always resist, resist, and resist.

Kihe'i Soli Niheu is an activist in the Kanaka Maoli sovereignty movement in Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i) He was a founding member of Kokua Hawai'i, Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana, Ka Pakaukau and the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies program. Soli served as member of the NFIP Executive Board between 1987-1999.

Bougainville's struggle for self-determination

Ruby Mirinka

Bougainville Community-Based Integrated Humanitarian Project

The issue of the right to self-determination was the reason for the ten years of war on Bougainville. Although the actual fighting stopped in 1997 with a peace process in place, the people's struggle to be given their right to decide their political future is far from over.

I stand today in this conference as a mother, and a representative of Bougainvillean grass roots, to speak for their justice and truth. We ask that the NFIP Conference can stand up with us in our struggle for our right to decide our political future.

The situation as Bougainville is such that the two Governments (Bougainville People's Congress and the Papua New Guinea government) are not talking seriously about the issue of right to self-determination, in the two years since the commencement of Peace Process in 1999.

The people of Bougainville have been waiting for what comes next. That is not the only problem, as there is also the delay in rebuilding of the infrastructure destroyed by ten years of war and delay in the restoration of basic essential services, such as medical supplies. A few NGO groups have attempted to provide basic medicine, but that is not adequate to cover the total population of 160,000 people on Bougainville.

During the recent Health Training Workshop which I have conducted, 32 health workers reported they do not have medicines in their clinics. One may say there is no difference to Papua New Guinea's situation. Drug shortage is common in Papua New Guinea. But remember Bougainville had been crippled by ten years of war and lack of medicine is causing more deaths. We believe that the Government's delay in negotiating the political settlement of the crisis will cause more deaths from lack of medicines, on top of 20,000 deaths during the armed conflict.

Hence, in assessing the situation on Bougainville in terms of services from the grass roots level, we see that the failure and the delay in addressing the right to self-determination is the very issue that is causing continued suffering and death on Bougainville. It is also causing further political divisions amongst the leaders, and the delay in the restoration, rehabilitation and the rebuilding of the whole of Bougainville.

Hence I would like to recommend that following this Conference, NFIP write to the Government of Papua New

Guinea and the President of the Bougainville People's Congress (BPC) to express the views of Bougainvillean grass roots that:

1) There is an immediate need to restore all services such as medical services, education and other essential services in all parts of Bougainville.

2) To urge both Governments (BPC and the Papua New Guinea government) to immediately open dialogue to settle the issue of self-determination to allow people to decide their political future through referendum without further delay. Two years of waiting after peace initiatives is too long. Further delays will have dangerous effect on the life of people.

3) A referendum should be carried out while the United Nation's representatives and the peace-keeping forces are still on Bougainville by end of this year.

4) Bougainville's struggle should be seen as an international issue of struggle and thus should be included in a regionally-based mechanism or body to monitor the people's political struggle. Additionally, recommendations

should be made from this conference to include Bougainville on the United Nations list of countries to be decolonised.

Finally I wish to thank NGOs such as the World Council of Churches, especially Mr. John Doom, for the great support given to my organisation to provide basic services to the people of Bougainville during the war.

Once again, I thank the host country, the organisers of this conference for inviting me to this historical conference. Let us wake up, stand up together for justice and freedom for our countrymen, women and children. Thank you.

Ruby Mirinka worked as a nursing sister and nurse trainer throughout Papua New Guinea, before returning to her home in Bougainville in the late 1980s. At the start of the Bougainville conflict, she established the Bougainville Community Base Integrated Humanitarian Programme, establishing health clinics and training programs for people living behind in the bush in the war-torn island. Today she lives in Honiara, Solomon Islands and continues her work for Bougainville's health care.



Bougainville delegates Ruby Mirinka and Dora Tsiuh

Learning from history in the Kanak struggle for independence

Louis Kotra Uregei

Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Kanak et Exploités (USTKE), Kanaky

Before starting to address our theme on the struggle for self-determination at the dawn of the new Millennium, I'd first like to present my respects to this land. From the Kanak delegation – myself, Victor Tutugoro (President of the UPM and member of the FLNKS Political Bureau) and Jimmy Nāunā, who will take up a position with the PCRC in Suva next year – we present our humble respects to those present here, especially the representatives of the Maohi people.

I'd also like to present our thanks to the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia for allowing this conference to be held on a location that is very symbolic. It allows us to work in very comfortable conditions. The Evangelical Church of French Polynesia, like its counterpart in New Caledonia, is a church fully engaged in the struggle for independence in our countries, and this is encouraging. I would also like to use this opportunity to encourage you not to let up your efforts, because you have a message that can mobilise the conscience of our people. Thank you for all your efforts to come.

Self-determination and the NFIP Movement

I have had the luck to participate in many Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) Conferences: firstly in Vanuatu in 1983, in Manila in 1987 and in New Zealand in 1990. I was unable to attend the last conference in Suva in 1996. My uncle Yann Céléné Uregei – one of the founding members of the NFIP movement with Oscar Temaru, Father Walter Lini and others too numerous to mention – asked if he could go in my place. Although I was the representative for Region One on the NFIP Executive Board, I wasn't at the conference because he asked me to cede my place. You must know that our involvement in the NFIP Movement was thanks to him, so I thought it appropriate that he took my place. In retrospect it was a good decision, because today he is a very sick man. I would like to pass you his salutations, as he can no longer speak and no longer travel. From my uncle who has struggled with you all these decades, please receive his salutations through my words.

As the inheritor of this commitment to the NFIP Movement, I have had the opportunity to participate at your side in all the struggles, both here in Te Ao Maohi and in Kanaky. Following the 1983 NFIP conference, I had the opportunity to come to Tahiti the next year where I met Oscar Temaru. This elder brother gave me the desire to return here to join the struggle underway against the nuclear tests. Oscar wasn't alone at this time – I'd like to acknowledge the work of information and awareness raising undertaken by

people like Charlie Ching and Joinville Pomare. I'd like to bear witness to their work, because on occasion we forget the work of our elder brothers. I think that on occasions like today, it is our duty to remember them. We often forget those who took the lead, who have shown us the path to follow. The struggle that continues is the sum of all the small acts of commitment.

After 1985, I joined most of the anti-nuclear demonstrations here in Tahiti beside Tavini Huiraatira. It was with great satisfaction that we saw the end of the nuclear tests in this country. We have done a good job, but many have suffered the consequences of that long struggle. I think of Hiro Tefaarere, a trade union leader who is amongst us today, who lost his job because of his opposition to the tests. He isn't the only one, so can we salute all the brothers and sisters who suffered in the struggle?

As for us in Kanaky, we organised some big anti-nuclear demonstrations when the tests resumed in 1995. One of our demonstrations against the nuclear tests in Noumea gathered 10,000 people, which is enormous for Kanaky and which shows the spirit of our solidarity for your cause here. But if all this has been done, it is thanks to the NFIP Movement. The nuclear tests have stopped, but are they forever ended? Who can say? We must remain vigilant.

The struggles for self-determination are not over, even if we have the great pride and honour today of celebrating the independence of Timor. We have also struggled in support of Timor, both in Kanaky and in other international fora. We have been able to do this thanks to the NFIP Movement. To focus on our theme of self-determination at the dawn of the new Millennium, I want to stress that we are in one big house, one family. With all its peculiarities, the family knows itself, it lives, and supports its members – that is the NFIP spirit. We all have our own strategies, but there is a necessity to guard our links and connections, and that is the NFIP Movement.

The struggle for self-determination in Kanaky

We know the history of Kanaky, because for years and years the NFIP Movement has listed Kanaky as priority number one. Delegates to the NFIP Conferences know the history of our struggle, but I'd like to briefly set out the steps so you can better understand the choices we have made, culminating in the latest signing of the Noumea Accord in 1998. Above all, it's important to say that Kanaky has never accepted colonisation. From last century until the most recent years, a level of violence has often marked

confrontation with the colonial power. Our colonised people have been dominated, but have never submitted.

We were colonised by France in 1853. The first revolt in 1878 (where the warrior chief Atai who led the revolt was murdered) was reflected more than a century later in the 1984 uprising, when our warrior chief Eloi Machoro was also murdered by the colonial power. In 1917, another revolt occurred, with the leader Chief Noel suffering the same fate. Noel was murdered by the colonial power. During the troubles that my generation lived through, the violent repression of the colonial power was inevitable. Because it remains inescapable today, the struggle for independence remains a risky business.

We had no rights. As Kanaks, the only right we had was to be dumped onto tribal reserves. The calculation by the colonial power at the time, in placing us in these reserves, was that alcohol and disease would wipe us out. But our people resisted. From the reserves we developed a capacity for self-defence, preserving the names and culture which are the basis of our struggle today. I spell all this out because we're here today in the "country of human rights" – France. We only had the right to vote from the beginning of the 1950s. Until then, Kanaks didn't have the right to go to school. Until then, we didn't have the right to walk in town at night. It was only after the founding of the first Kanak political party that France began to bow to the call for human rights. The recognition of our rights was not due to France, but to movements for emancipation at the international level.

For myself, I was of the generation that went to high school in 1962. It was the year that the first Kanak gained his *baccalauréat* (Education Certificate). Today, we don't have enough cadre and people who are trained to run things, and this is one reason that explains the political decisions we have taken. In the late 1960s, we had a political movement to reclaim our dignity and affirm our Kanak identity. In the colonial order, Kanaks were nothing, so it was necessary to go beyond that and state who we were. At the same time, our elders in the first political party *Union Calédonienne* were calling for internal autonomy. The Kanaks, who were in the majority in the Territorial Assembly during the period until 1974, were calling for more autonomy. In 1974, a mission went to France and met with the then Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and then President Valéry Giscard D'Estaing. The mission stated that a democratic majority wanted autonomy for the country. At the time, the President of the French Republic replied that the chance for internal autonomy had passed: the only options were independence or to become a department of France.

Returning to our country, our elders decided in 1975 to officially call for independence. Things accelerated after that. In 1977, the biggest party *Union Calédonienne* took up a position in favour of independence. In 1979, the pro-independence parties created the *Front Indépendantiste*

(Independence Front), based on a joint common program for the 1979 elections. Jean Marie Tjibaou was President of *Union Calédonienne* at the time, with Eloi Machoro and Yeiwene Yeiwene as joint General Secretaries. In 1982, thanks to an electoral alliance with a centrist party, a new Council of Government was created with Jean Marie Tjibaou as the leader.

In August 1983, there was a meeting between the pro-independence coalition, the anti-independence settler party RPCR and the French Government at Nainville Les Roches. This meeting saw the first agreement where all parties recognised the "innate and active right to self-determination" for the Kanak people. At the same time, the Kanak people recognised and acknowledged the legitimacy of the "victims of history" – that is to say, those people who arrived in our country over many decades, who were themselves victims of the colonial process.

I want to underline that the Kanaks at this time made a generous gesture. They accepted that people of other ethnicities were victims of the colonial process and that our country was their country. But after the meeting at Nainville, we wanted the recognition of the colonial reality and our innate and active right to self-determination translated into legislation, with a timetable to achieve independence. Both demands were rejected by the colonial power.

The FLNKS and the Kanak resistance

In 1984, the French National Assembly passed the Lemoine Statute. At that moment, the independence movement decided to boycott the elections scheduled for 18 November 1984. We created the independence movement *Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste* (FLNKS – Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front). It was the start of a period of opposition by Kanaks to a law that would deny their very existence. You will remember the famous photo of Eloi Machoro smashing a ballot box with an axe on election day. On 1 December 1984, we created our Provisional Government at La Conception. On the same day, I remember that we learnt that there had been clashes in the north of the country and our first deaths.

A few days later on 5 December 1984, the family of Jean Marie Tjibaou was ambushed, with 10 people killed. Jean Marie was supposed to have been with the group returning from Hienghene. In January 1985, following a trip to La Foa while he was in charge of our forces in the central region, Eloi Machoro was killed by the French colonial army. It was a period of great turbulence. I remember at the time I was representing the FLNKS in Australia, on a tour to raise awareness amongst political parties, churches, trade unions and NGOs. Following a meeting in Sydney, we heard the news about Eloi. I'll always remember the words of one of our brothers when he saw the pain and sadness on my face on hearing the news of Eloi's murder – an Australian named John Garcia, who was our interpreter.

John said: "Eloi was just one man. He is gone but you are still here". Many years later, I still remember these words. He was right when he said that, but he was also wrong, because people like Eloi are rare. People like Jean Marie Tjibaou don't come along very often. We must protect and guard those who guide us in our struggle, because the struggle is difficult and long.

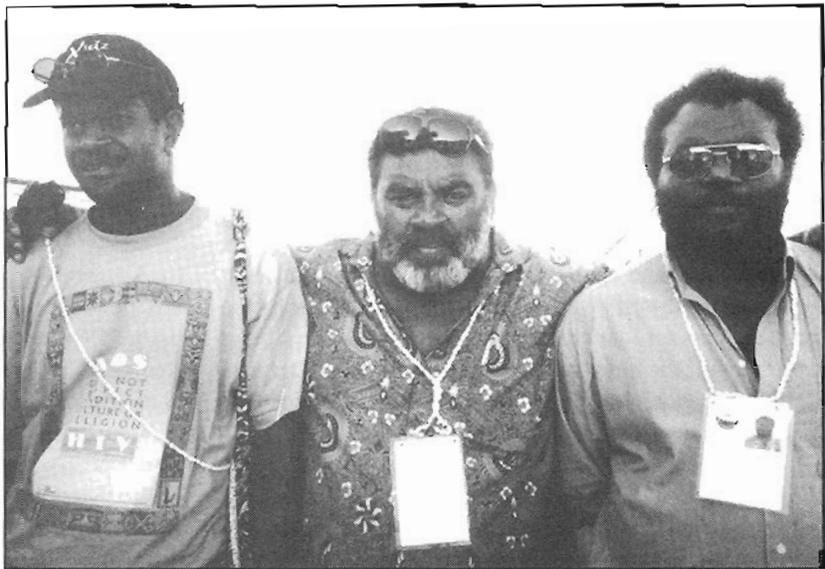
I think of you who are here today in Te Ao Maohi, like Oscar and Charlie and all the others. You must organise to avoid things like that, because we are but small peoples. When our great leaders pass on it leaves a great gulf, even though they are still with us as we continue the struggle. We always have need of those who are no longer with us.

In 1988, we decided to oppose the Pons Statute. The opposition included attacks on police posts in a number of places, and in particular on the island of Ouvea where gendarmes were taken hostage by Kanak activists. You all remember the attack on the caves in Ouvea in May 1988, when 19 of our activists were killed by the French military.

During all this period of the troubles, it was a very difficult time with the military occupation of my country. At the height of the militarisation, we had 14,000 French troops – soldiers, CRS riot police, paramilitary gardes mobiles and more – for a Kanak population of just 70,000 men, women and children. One soldier for every five Kanaks! This shows the degree of repression by France to halt the Kanak struggle. It gives a measure of what we represented. The Kanak independence movement, in its commitment to independence, represents more than 85 per cent of the Kanak population. If tomorrow, there were a referendum of just the colonised people, we would see the same result as Timor.

But today, we face a France that considers – here in French Polynesia as well as in New Caledonia – that our countries are an extension of France, that all citizens are equal and thus all citizens must participate in elections. This is a negation of the colonial reality: *le fait colonial* as it's described in the Noumea Accord. Even if they recognised the colonial reality in 1983, they have not translated this into their laws. Today in elections, you'll always see an anti-independence majority, because we have been made a minority in our own country.

This morning, we heard the report of James Salmon of *Tavini Huiraa* when he raised the issue of immigration to Tahiti. We have seen an immigration of French citizens, an immigration that's very insidious because under the French Constitution it's not "foreign immigration". So we understand the reasons why this repression occurred so



Kanak participants (from left) Jimmy Nāunāā (PCRC), Louis Kotra Uregei (USTKE) and Victor Tutugoro (FLNKS)

strongly. Therefore at that time, we negotiated an agreement because our leaders stressed the feeling that we faced a number of problems (such as the lack of cadre). In 1988, we negotiated the Maignon and Oudinot Accords following the events in Ouvea. These accords were based on a "rebalancing" of all sectors: rebalancing the training of people; rebalancing the nature of work and employment; rebalancing in terms of access to responsibility.

Another provision of the Accords was the development of public infrastructure. To explain this concern, I'd like to cite you a personal anecdote from the period when we were in full debate – should we sign the Accords? Is this the time to negotiate? (A permanent debate that one! Each time you go to negotiate you must have that debate amongst yourselves). The weekend before we decided to go to France in August 1988 for the second meeting on the Accords, a relative of Jean Marie Tjibaou was to be buried in his village of Tiendanite. Our delegation travelled way up there in the north to attend the ceremony, and as we passed along the road to the village, our car crunched on the road. Coming back down the road, I said to a colleague: "You know, people have real needs. Not everyone has roads, not everyone is housed in the same way". We knew at that moment why Jean Marie Tjibaou was so strongly in favour of public infrastructure.

The third fundamental element was that the Kanaks take control of their economy. One of the points of the discussion, but not included in the Maignon Accords between the different partners, was that the Kanaks should gain access to the mining sector. New Caledonia is one of the richest lands in the world, with the third largest reserves of nickel. Thus the aim of our leaders, in order to benefit people who were absent from the economy, was that the Accords would allow us to get a foot in the door in the minerals sector. Coming after the Accords, France bought the mining company SMSP for the Northern Province,

which is dominated by the Kanaks. At the time, this company produced and exported less than 5 per cent of the nickel from New Caledonia. Today, controlled by pro-independence people, it exports amount to 70 per cent of the market. They are trying to sign an agreement with the Canadian transnational corporation Falconbridge for the construction of a smelter in the north. We have also been active for three years trying to gain control of the nickel reserves of the Koniambo Massif.

Thanks to this choice made by our leaders, we had access to a powerful industry. Previously, we had seen the benefits of the mining industry sent to Australia or to bank accounts in Switzerland. The new riches controlled by the Kanaks allowed us to support the diversification of the economy into the agricultural sector, aquaculture, workshops, construction or purchase of hotels, both in the capital Noumea or in the north and islands. More and more today, we assert our place in the economy.

The Noumea Accord

Ten years after the Matignon Accords, we had the choice to go to a referendum on self-determination or to negotiate a new agreement. Our leaders renegotiated and we came to sign the Noumea Accord in May 1998. This Accord foresees a period of three mandates of the new Congress (lasting a period of 15 years) where we can follow up this process of rebalancing. The anti-independence forces remain opposed to independence. The challenge is that when there is a referendum on self-determination at the end of the 15-year period, our vision must be met by those who do not support independence.

There are important provisions in this Accord which I should underline. We have in the Noumea Accord a new concept of New Caledonian citizenship. This citizenship is held by the native-born of the country and those who arrived in our country before 1993. Today, there is a debate over the ten year provision for citizenship, which has been challenged as unconstitutional by the French Conseil Constitutionnel. Our desire is that the electoral body should be fixed up until the referendum. This accession to New Caledonian citizenship will also allow us to limit access to employment, bit by bit. We are faced with a massive immigration, with those that come from France and from the other French territories.

There we have the new stakes in the gamble that we're taking. We have heard that a lot of people are sceptical of the Noumea Accord. This scepticism can't be wiped away, because when you negotiate an agreement there's always a different appreciation of its contents – the eternal question of whether a glass is half full or half empty. We have supporters of the Accord, those who oppose it and those who feel we must be vigilant, because the only guarantee for the success of these Accords is ourselves. We will guarantee the Accord by our vigilance and our permanent mobilisation. There is an anti-independence

majority in the new Congress and new anti-independence power arising from the Accord. Already, it's a power that won't share, breaching the spirit and letter of the Accord, which has been recently denounced by the FLNKS.

These then are some of the political problems we have before us, as we face an arrogance of power, because that power has been given for a certain time. Our desire is that this balance of power changes in the next elections, but it's true that it is a very difficult challenge. Someone said to me that you must give us some guidance, because we don't know how to support your struggle. I hope that this information I've given you will allow you to understand our choices:

- First, the survival of our people faced with a colonial military power (when you compare the balance between 14,000 troops and 70,000 Kanaks, it's terrible for such a small people).
- Second, after survival, the next step was to make up for the delays that we are confronted with.
- Then, to prepare our country for independence, with an economy that we must control ourselves, to ensure our sovereignty in our own land.

These are the challenges for the new Millennium. To face these challenges we need you. Don't think that the Kanaks have finished their struggle – not at all. If you think that, you've forgotten all that we've done in the past. We need you. We need the NFIP movement. If today there are new priorities, think that we have made choices as a small population. But in ten or fifteen years, what has happened in Timor could happen in our country. We call on your vigilance.

Homage to Lopeti

I would like to finish by saying a word about Lopeti Senituli. I was in Suva two weeks ago when I learnt that Lopeti would be leaving PCRC. I'd like to take a moment to say a few words. No doubt we'll have other chances to do so, but I would like to do it from this tribune. I'd like to say thank you. For NFIP to be what it is today, there has been work by many representatives who were on the Executive Board, but always there was Lopeti. I'd like to say that we must never forget him, because he has worked so hard for all of us. When I get to Suva I remember the elders. With his wife Lupe, I was joking that Lopeti has aged with the movement. He grew old working for us. I'd like to say thanks again to Lopeti, and add that whatever the hour or day he can always count on his brothers in Kanaky. *Merci.*

Louis Kotra Uregei is President of the Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Kanak et Exploités (USTKE), the largest trade union confederation in Kanaky (New Caledonia). He is a former President of the South Pacific and Oceanic Council of Trade Unions (SPOCTU) and served on the NFIP Executive Board. Kotra Uregei was one of the signatories of the Matignon and Oudinot Accords for New Caledonia in 1988.

Report from the workshop on decolonisation

UN Decade on Decolonisation

The UN Decade on Decolonisation will be running till the end of the year 2000. A plan of action was approved in the beginning of the Decade but was never implemented, as no funding was allocated for that purpose. However, regional seminars have been successfully held on an annual basis.

Governments and NGOs in the Pacific have not given due attention to the Decade and therefore wasted opportunities provided by this instrument. This is partly due to forces outside the region which are destabilising the governments and putting economic pressure on them. Countries pronouncing themselves too strongly may lose donor support. To complete the tasks of the Decade, the establishment of a second Decade will be necessary.

Role of the Committee

The UN Special Committee on Decolonisation plays a role in keeping the world's attention to issues, but it has no instruments for implementation. For example the case of East Timor was discussed for years without any action taken.

Composition of the Committee

The chairmanship was transferred to the Pacific Region from the Caribbean after the independence of Namibia, as the territories in question are mainly small island territories in the Pacific. Both the former and the present chairman of the Committee are from Papua New Guinea, which has strong interests in the Committee. Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Cuba are influential members of the Committee. Other active members include Chile, Syria, Ivory Coast, Antigua and Indonesia. Most members are developing countries.

Standing above the level of the Committee are more influential countries such as France, UK and USA, which have a say in budgetary allocations. They can therefore block the process. The Committee is also subject to political changes in member countries, which was clear in the case of the Soviet membership being transferred to the Russian Federation. Papua New Guinea is a very influential member of the Committee. It supports the case of Kanaky but not the case of West Papua and Bougainville. The Vanuatu case was sponsored by Tanzania while the case of New Caledonia was sponsored through the South Pacific Forum.

At the last seminar Chile played a negative role as it presented a paper, arguing that the listed territories should be regarded as self-governing. Fortunately, this paper was successfully challenged by small island states from the Pacific and the Caribbean.

Inscription in the list of the Committee

Seventeen territories remain on the list, including Guam, American Samoa, East Timor and New Caledonia, Tokelau and Pitcairn from the Pacific. It is worth noting that a number of Pacific territories are not on the list: Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia), West Papua, Rapanui, Bougainville, Hawai'i. Seven territories in the Caribbean are on the list - of these, six are under British control and one under the USA (Virgin Islands). Puerto Rico is not on the list, even if there is a strong lobby to get it listed. There have been pressure for de-listing of a number of territories, based on the arguments that some territories have not expressed their wish for independence. The Committee has so far managed to prevent the de-listing of these territories but this has again prevented more resources to be used for promoting re-listing of other territories. Re-listing is a possibility but is very complicated under the present conditions. Realistically it will require a second Decade to accomplish this task. This will require major initiatives undertaken by the territories concerned and support by governments and NGOs.

Lobbying of the Committee

The Committee meets in New York and these meetings provide an opportunity for NGOs to address the Committee, also in informal corridor-lobbying. This has been effective in the case of New Caledonia. Due to logistic hindrances it is constructive to build linkages to NGOs with easy access to New York. NFIP board-members from the US could play a crucial role in this regard.

Governments, NGOs and churches in the region have not paid adequate attention to the work of the Committee. There is a general need for provision of reliable information, both to the Committee-members and to governments. The governments of the region should be lobbied before they meet in the South Pacific Forum, in order to get the issues on the agenda in due time.

Role of the South Pacific Forum

The SPF has been courageous in keeping the issue of New Caledonia alive and its endorsement and lobbying has carried political weight. Previously the SPF only included independent states and not "territories". But it does now allow for observer-status of other players. New Caledonia is about to achieve full observer-status and East-Timor is applying for observer-status with the longer perspective of full membership. However, in the current situation, New Caledonia would be represented by the anti-independence representatives. With the membership of three new Pacific Island states, the SPF now represents a growing bloc of the votes in the UN, when allied with other small island states. The current situation in the SPF may open new

windows of opportunities for countries aspiring for independence, such as French Polynesia and West Papua.

Abolition of the Committee

The Decolonisation Committee has been under serious attack since the independence of Namibia, which implicated that the remaining territories on the list are small islands which dominant nations argue are neither prepared nor interested in independence. The Committee suffers from a lack of funding and the budget of the Committee has been static or even declining over the years. During the Decade two sub-committees have been abolished for budgetary reasons. One was the Sub-Committee on small territories, which played an important role in analysing and drafting resolutions on individual cases. The resolutions of the Committee have therefore less specific references now.

Other instruments for achieving decolonisation

Other mechanisms of the UN-system may be more effective than the Committee on Decolonisation. One option in this regard may be to explore the opportunities provided by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

Suggestions for action:

- State the support of the NFIP conference to the continuation of the Committee.
- Promote the establishment of a second Decade on the

Eradication of Colonialism.

- Pass a resolution that observers from New Caledonia to the SPF should be Kanaks.
- Support the discussion of the situation of French Polynesia in the next SPF in Suva, and the inscription of French Polynesia in the list of the Committee.
- Request the church to support the issue of independence at the local, national, regional and international level (Pacific Conference of Churches and World Council of Churches).
- Support the case of West Papua and the "Team Hundred" claim for independence, which will be presented to President Habibie in February 2000.
- Ask Fijian delegation to lobby their government before the next SPF in Suva.
- Obtain financial support for the lobbying of Pacific governments before they convene in the SPF.
- Request PCRC to establish a web-site on decolonisation issues and approach supportive leaders through e-mail.
- Distribute the proceedings of the NFIP conference to the grass-roots and translate it into local languages.





Above Participants from AINU Moshiri, Tonga, Te Ao Maohi and the Fiji Islands

Left: The Aotearoa delegation fly the Maori flag.

Below: The delegations from Samoa and American Samoa

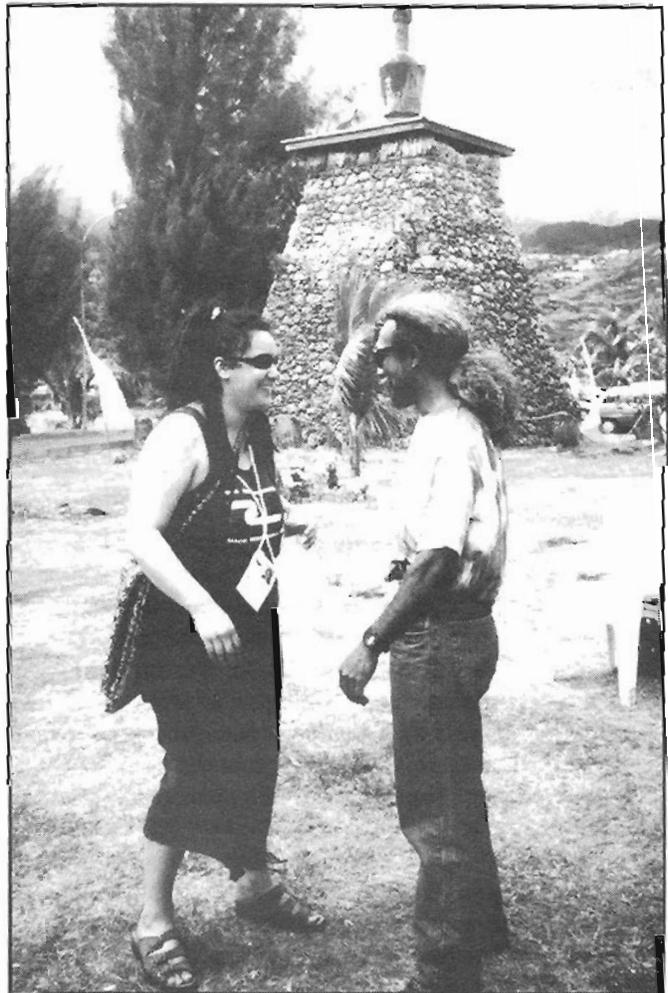




Above: Lorinc Tevi (formerly General Secretary of the Pacific Conference of Churches) with Ralph Teinaore (General Secretary of the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia).

Right: Conversation at the *Tombeau du Roi* - the tomb of King Pomare

Below: Ian Aujare (DSE, Solomon Islands) meets Birgitte Feiring of International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Denmark



Keynote address on indigenous rights:

A Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations

Hjalmar Dahl

Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Greenland

First of all, I want to thank the organisers of the 8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference for allowing me to speak today, regarding Indigenous Peoples and their work within the United Nations system.

I will concentrate my presentation today not only on the question of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system. I will also touch on the main issue the United Nations is dealing with in relation to indigenous peoples – namely the process concerning the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

My name is Hjalmar Dahl and I am from Greenland. I have been working for the Inuit Circumpolar Conference since 1981. Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) is an international non-governmental Inuit organisation representing approximately 152,000 Inuit people from Greenland, Canadian High Arctic, Alaska and Chukotka in the Russian Federation.

The principal goals of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference are:

- to strengthen unity amongst Inuit of the circumpolar region;
- to promote Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples' rights and interests on an international level;
- to develop and encourage long-term policies which safeguard the Arctic environment; and
- to seek full and active partnership in the political, economic, and social development of circumpolar regions.

I would also like to inform this important conference that the principals and elements for a Comprehensive Arctic Policy of the ICC mentions that the Inuit circumpolar homeland, including its land and marine areas, air space, sea-bed and subsoil, shall and must only be used for purposes that are peaceful and safe. Testing, use, manufacture, production or acquisition of any nuclear weapons within the Inuit circumpolar homeland must be prohibited. Nuclear explosions for "peaceful purposes" under international law should not be permitted in the Arctic.

I can also tell you that the Greenland Home Rule Parliament in the mid-1980s adopted a policy that all use of nuclear materials should be prohibited and that Greenland and the Arctic should be a nuclear free zone.

Till the end of 1999, I am working as Technical Advisor for the Arctic Council Indigenous Peoples Secretariat in Copenhagen.

The Arctic Council is a high level forum to provide a means for promoting co-operation, co-ordination and interaction among the Arctic States, with the involvement of the Arctic indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, in particular issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic; oversee and co-ordinate the programs established under the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy; adopt terms of reference for and oversee and co-ordinate a sustainable development program; and disseminate information, encourage education and promote interest in Arctic-related issues.

Permanent participation of the Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic is created to provide for active participation and full consultation with the Arctic indigenous representatives within the Arctic Council. The Indigenous Peoples Organisations participating in the Arctic Council are: the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Saami Council, the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North and the Aleut International Association of Alaska.

The work within the United Nations system

1) The Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

In regards to the work within the United Nations, Indigenous Peoples have been involved every year since the creation in 1982 of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP). The main objectives and mandate of the Working Group was to develop a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as well as to review developments about the living conditions of Indigenous peoples world wide.

The WGIP reports to the UN Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which reports to the UN Commission on Human Rights, which further reports and makes recommendations to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the UN General Assembly for final adoption of any issues dealing with human rights.



Hjalmar Dahl of Greenland (centre) in discussion with delegates from Aotearoa and Ka Pae'aina

Up to date there have been no considerable achievements in regards to get the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples be adopted by the UN Commission on Human Rights and then by the General Assembly.

Indigenous Peoples' representatives following the process in the United Nations are in favour of the draft as adopted by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations as expression of minimum standards on the rights of indigenous peoples. They will not accept any attempts to weaken or change the draft.

The WGIP started the process to develop a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples back in 1983. Since that year, the Working Group sessions have taken place every year in Geneva, Switzerland, to consider issues regarding Indigenous Peoples Rights. The WGIP is the only body within the United Nations dealing with issues affecting Indigenous Peoples. The sessions of the WGIP are open for direct participation to anybody, regardless of status within the United Nations.

The WGIP took 11 years in drafting the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, containing preambular paragraphs and 45 articles dealing with collective and individual rights as well as the political, cultural, social, economic rights of Indigenous Peoples. The WGIP adopted the draft declaration during its 11th session in 1994 and it was endorsed by the Sub-commission the same year.

The Sub-commission submitted the Draft Declaration to the Commission on Human Rights in 1995 for its consideration and adoption. The Commission on Human Rights established an Open-ended Working Group in order to technically reconsider the draft. The new considerations of the Draft Declaration started in November and December 1995 and the fifth session will take place before the end of 1999.

During the 3rd session in 1997, the governments attending the working group adopted two articles, which are:

Article 5 with following text:

"Every indigenous individual has the right to a nationality".

And, article 43 with following text:

"All the rights and freedoms recognised herein are equally guaranteed to male and female indigenous individuals".

The most important paragraph of the Draft Declaration is that the "indigenous Peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

During the last session of WGIP in July 1999, we the indigenous peoples' representatives made efforts to put the issue of "land" as a permanent item within the agenda of the WGIP. The land – and the right to land – is the most important element to exist as peoples. Without the right to land, there will be no meaning of existence as peoples.

Our purpose for being involved in the United Nations work is simply to struggle for recognition as peoples with the right to self-determination. We are on the same path – struggling for the right to land and independence.

2) The Permanent Forum issue

Besides 16 years considerations of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, one of the main issues United Nations are dealing with is the possible establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system.

The idea of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN system was introduced during the 1980s by Indigenous peoples groups that participated at the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. At that time, the indigenous peoples' representatives presented the need to create a forum at the highest possible level within the UN system because the Working Group was at the lowest level of the United Nations.

The establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous

Peoples represents a step forward empowering Indigenous Peoples, and it is considered as one of the principal objectives of the UN Decade for the World's Indigenous Peoples (1995-2004).

The first time the idea worked itself into a document of the United Nations was in the report of Program of Actions of the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, in 1993. Then the General Assembly of United Nations through a resolution recommended that the idea of a possible establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system should be considered by the Commission on Human Rights during the International Decade for the World's Indigenous Peoples. Now, the question is in the hands of the Commission on Human Rights by its establishment of an Ad Hoc Working Group. The first meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group took place in February 1999 in Geneva.

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the Saami Council, the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the north along with other Indigenous Peoples organisations from all over the world are partners to the idea. We mean that universal peace and prosperity cannot be brought about without the acknowledgement on the rights and aspirations of the Indigenous Peoples by states that form the United Nations. Indigenous Peoples and Nations must be included into the United Nations by creating a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN itself. A forum where we are represented and where we work with each other and with governments on issues and problems that affects us, in order to achieve rational and peaceful solutions.

After the Vienna conference on Human Rights back in 1993, regional consultations were held in Denmark, Chile, Panama and India with attendance of Indigenous Peoples and the governments. The Arctic Indigenous Peoples Organisations developed an Arctic Indigenous Peoples' Declaration on the Establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations in 1998. The results of the consultations were very similar to one another, in regards to the mandate and terms of reference for the activities to be undertaken by the forum as well as membership, participation and in which United Nations body the Permanent Forum should report to.

The first session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN system was held in Geneva between 15-19 February 1999. Over 200 people, including representatives of 55 Governments, 7 UN specialised agencies and 117 indigenous and non-governmental organisations attended the session.

Overall, the vast majority of Indigenous Peoples participating considered the result of the this Working Group to be positive; it was considered a significant step forward in the already long, process of establishment of the Permanent Forum. The efforts by the chair of the

working group to facilitate dialogue and to avoid entering into debates which might obstruct discussion of the issue, actively facilitating the search for consensus between the different proposals presented, were particularly appreciated.

Our goals for the swift establishment of a high level Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN (as presented to the Ad Hoc Working Group):

- That the overall goal of the Permanent Forum should be to promote peace and prosperity in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, by developing friendly relations among nations and peoples on respect for the principle of equal rights.
- That it should be a forum for dialogue between Governments, Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations system on issues affecting Indigenous Peoples.
- That the mandate of the Permanent Forum should enable it to deal effectively with the full range of issues covered by the mandate of the Economic and Social Council of the UN which are of concern to Indigenous Peoples.
- That the Permanent Forum mandate should include, but not be limited to, the submission of proposals, recommendations and reports to Economic and Social Council and co-ordination of all matters pertaining to Indigenous Peoples.
- That it should also be authorised to call upon and establish ad hoc working groups in specialised fields or individual experts, if and when necessary.
- That the Permanent Forum should report directly to its parent body, the Economic and Social Council.
- That the Forum should be composed of equal number of representatives of Indigenous Peoples and Governments, acting as full voting members on equal basis, and that the members of the Permanent Forum should be chosen for a period of four years.
- That the Indigenous Peoples, communities and organisations, non-governmental organisations, United Nations agencies and organs can participate.
- That the Indigenous Peoples should be able to participate in the work of the Permanent Forum regardless of consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of UN.
- That individual experts should be allowed to participate in the work of the Permanent Forum if or when called upon by the Forum.
- That the Permanent Forum, including its potential subsidiary bodies, should be funded via the regular budget of the United Nations, and finally;
- That a new and separate Secretariat of the Permanent Forum, funded via the regular United Nations budget, should be established well in advance of the first session of the Forum, and that the Secretariat should be lead and staffed by Indigenous persons,

The results of the Ad Hoc Working Group session were in brief, that the majority of participating governments expressed their support for the creation of a new organ within the UN system to deal specifically with indigenous issues. In this respect, one of the objectives expressed by the indigenous caucus - that the term "possible establishment" should be eliminated once and for all - seems to have been achieved. However, governments such as United States and India (supported by the Asian group) continued to express their opposition to the idea of the establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples.

With regards to the concrete aspects of mandate, level and composition, a certain consensus seems to have been achieved around the fact that the new body would:

- Have a broad mandate, covering, not only issues of human rights but also issues relating, to the environment, development, culture, education and health.
- Be established at a high level within the UN system, "linked" directly or indirectly to ECOSOC.
- Be an advisory body to the UN.
- Have a core group with mixed composition, made up of Governments and Indigenous Peoples representatives, and
- Be funded within the overall budget of the United

Nations

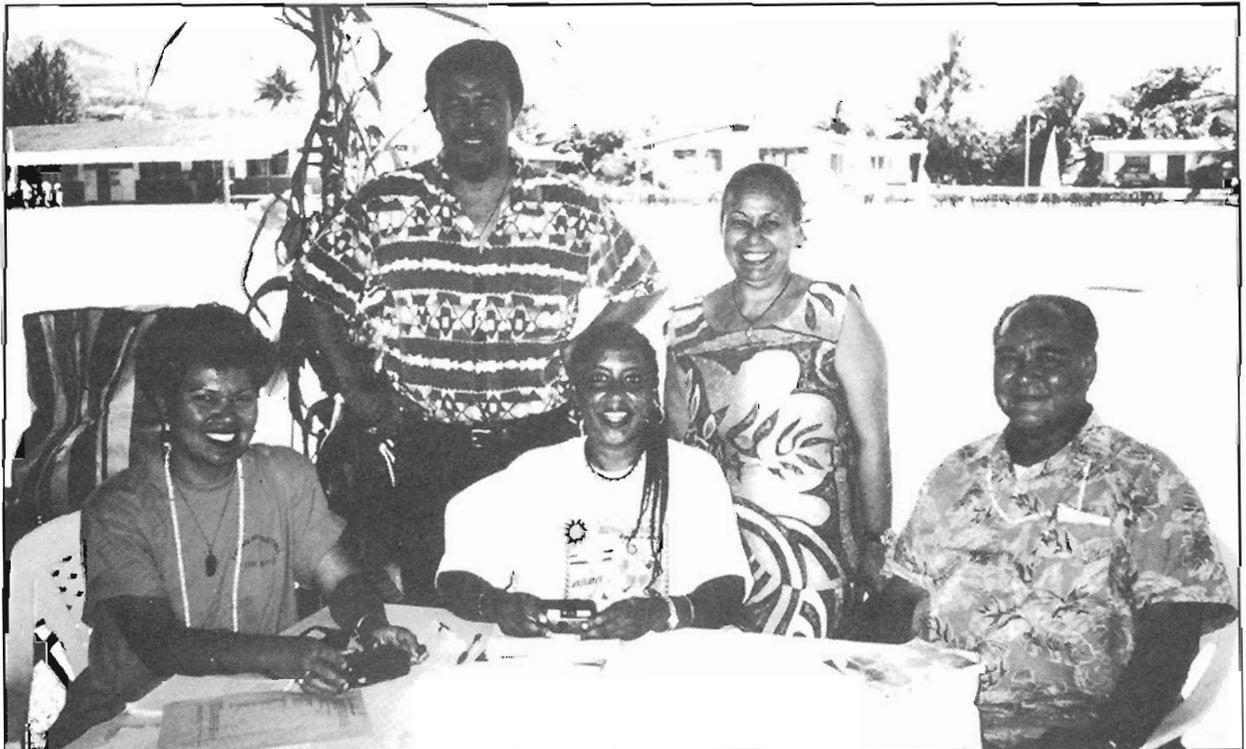
The Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution to hold a second meeting in 2000 to finalise its work in the process of establishing a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN system once and for all. In any case, there are still many outstanding questions around which it will not be easy to reach consensus on.

The proposal made by the Canadian government to carry out inter-sessional work between Governments and Indigenous Peoples with the aim of attempting to make progress in gaining a consensus around a proposal is an important initiative alone, the path to achievement of the Permanent Forum.

Hjalmar Dahl is an Inuit from Greenland, and a leading campaigner for the creation of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system.

He trained as a Teacher, then worked from 1981 as Assistant and then Executive Director of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (an NGO for Inuit people of the Arctic region).

In 1992 - 1993, he worked at the United Nations Centre for Human Rights dealing with indigenous peoples' issues, and has acted as UN representative of the Inuit for the past 10 years.



The new Ainu Act: Its real effect and meaning

Mitsunori Keira

Yay Yukar No Mori, Ainu Moshiri, Hokkaido

A new act, "*An Act for the Promotion of Ainu Culture, the Spread of Knowledge relevant to Ainu Traditions, and an Educational Campaign*" (known as the New Ainu Act) was established on 8 May 1997 in the Diet of the government of Japan. This meant that the old Ainu Act, the "*Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act (Law No. 27, March 1899)*" lost its power finally after 98 years.

People call this act the "New Ainu Act". However, it is quite doubtful whether we can call it as a really new piece of legislation. Many people, including some Ainu people, regard this as a "real racial act". Even the media praised this as "a great achievement to establish a first racial act" in Japan. But is it true? It is necessary to examine the contents and the effect of the Act.

Before the establishment of the New Ainu Act, there was the old Ainu Act of 1899. Many people say that: "the Old Ainu Act was established without having a consensus of the Ainu people nor any discussion with them. Due to this old Act, the Ainu people has been discriminated against and outcast for the recent hundreds years."

The Ainu people suffered under the government in 1700s and in 1800s. The government changed its assimilation policy quite often in those days. The Ainu people were deprived of their place to live and their cultural meaning to rely on. This ethnocide policy had its strongest power in late 1800s under the Japanese government's development policy of Hokkaido / Ainu Moshiri (motherland of the Ainu people). In 1872, the Meiji government legally assimilated the Ainu people as Japanese and expropriated all the land of Hokkaido as "un-owned virgin land". The government enforced many laws and regulations to legalise their actions. They sold those lands that they gained without any cost. Buyers were Japanese immigrants, companies and other organisations from the main land. The land was sold at very cheap price or even no cost in order to attract immigrants and to help "develop" the land of Hokkaido. The government even abused its power to expropriate the land where the Ainu people were actually living.

As the body of the local government changed, there had been some trials to help the Ainu people legally. However, all local regulation failed to support the Ainu. Then, finally came the Old Ainu Act in 1899, 30 years after the establishment of the local government of Hokkaido.

Mr. H. Kawano said that: "There were some Ainu people who helped to establish the old Ainu Act. They visited the parliament as a campaign to establish the act. This

meant that the Old Ainu Act was not simply enforced unilaterally by the government of Japan."

There had been five minor revisions of the Old Ainu Act until 1968. The original version mainly focused on the following three points:

- (1) Distribution of land to those who wish to be a farmer
- (2) Support to children for education and establishment of schools
- (3) Medical support to poor people

Although limiting its target to the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, the Ainu, certainly the Act tried to protect the rights of the Ainu people. Nowadays, some people stress the negative aspects of the Old Ainu Act which limit occupation, places to live in and so on.

At least, it seems to be true that the Act was enacted for the protection of the Ainu people as a recognised group of people. As a matter of fact, there was an official article for the recognition of the Ainu people issued in 1900. It was necessary to enact a strict rule for the government to implement the Old Ainu Act. Already in those days, there were many mixed blood marriages between the Ainu and the Japanese.

Of course it is necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of the Old Ainu Act. In a court case in March 1997, the judges dismissed the appeal of the Ainu people for the Ainu function. The place was reclaimed to construct a dam. However, the court admitted in the decision that "The Ainu people are the indigenous people of Hokkaido. Although it was necessary to consider its importance very carefully, the government of Japan and the local government of Hokkaido neglect to make enough research for this project and ignored the importance of its culture." The judge was referring to the land that was distributed by the Old Ainu Act. However, due to the establishment of the New Ainu Act, the Old Ainu Act was abolished without careful discussion nor explanation.

The purpose of establishing the New Ainu Act can be regarded as a prevention step to establish an Act to compensate what the Japanese government has done to the Ainu. The Ainu did not do anything to stop the efforts to establish this New Ainu Act.

At least, the Ainu people had to examine the fact that the Japanese government did not abolish the Old Ainu Act

for 100 years and produced a national culture of discrimination by Japanese toward the Ainu people. People abandoned the Old Ainu Act that was the anti-symbol of the democratic country, Japan

The New Ainu Act which replaced the old one focuses only on the tradition and the culture of the Ainu, not on the people of the Ainu as human beings.

Article 1:

"This act aims to realise the society in which the ethnic pride of the Ainu people is respected and to contribute to the development of diverse cultures in our country, by the implementation of measures for the promotion of Ainu culture (hereafter called "Ainu Traditions"), the spread of knowledge related to Ainu Traditions and the education of the nation, referring to the situation of Ainu traditions and culture form which the Ainu people find their ethnic pride."

The contents of this article can be regarded as an abstract of the official report of the private committee of the Cabinet Secretariat for the Ainu people issued in April 1996. I had a personal opinion as following towards this report.

"The purpose of this report is to isolate the Ainu people socially by stressing on the aspect of its culture only. In order to realise what we need and what we want as an Ainu, a New Ainu Act is not necessary. It is impossible to restore our rights and social status a Ainu only by law. I just doubt the opinion that this will drive us to the start line. I would say that this simply drove us to a situation that we could not change anymore. This will not improve our situation but just stabilise our social situation." (Yay yukar No Mori, Vol. 16, May 1996)

In other words, I would say that although this report showed a recognition by the government about the originality of the Ainu, the indigenusness of the Ainu, the history of being oppressed and the history of being discriminated, it was limited only to Ainu culture. Similarly

the New Ainu Act which was based on this report had only the same meaning for the Ainu.

Article 2 (definition):

"The Ainu Culture" in this act means the Ainu language and cultural properties such as music, dance, crafts and other cultural properties which have been inherited by the Ainu people, and other cultural properties developed form these".

The government announced that the government and other local government organisations had to support to bring up those who would inherit the culture, had to support the activities for the promotion the research and the publicity work of the Ainu culture. Literally, there is no necessity to have Ainu people in all these activities. Moreover, those Ainu people who have nothing to do with the Ainu tradition are considered to be exterminated socially.

Basically, there is no culture where no one lives in. "The pride as an Ainu" can not realised by the possession and expression of the culture, but by the dignity to be recognised socially as Ainu – as a people and a nation. This New Ainu Act ignores the current situation of the Ainu people. It only focused on the cultural aspect of the Ainu. So this can be regarded as an ethnocide of Ainu which even the ancient governments of Japan never tried to do.

This act which has nothing to do with the current lives of the Ainu people. It cannot be considered to be a "real racial act". This can not replace the Old Ainu Act which, at least recognise the existence of the Ainu people. And moreover, due to the enforcement of this new act, it became much more difficult to establish an acknowledgment of the public about the indigenusness and the indigenous right of the Ainu people.

Some people are saying: "This is just a start. We can develop this act and make it as an ideal act." However, in the history of human beings, has there been any amendment of a law that improved a situation of people?



Japan's delegation: Dorothy Dufour, Amu Keira, Mitsunori Keira and Hidemichi Kano

Mitsunori Keira is founder and administrator of Yay Yukar no Mori, a group with the purpose of maintaining the living culture of the Ainu people, the indigenous people of the Japanese archipelago.

He lives in Ainu Moshiri, Hokkaido and was organiser of the International Indigenous Peoples Conference in 1989 as part of the Peoples Plan for 21st Century founding Conference. Amu Keira worked as a volunteer intern in the PCRC office in Suva in 1998-9.

Land, law and culture in Australia

Kathy Malera-Bandjalan, Kyra Kum Sing and Mary Munro
Aboriginal Australia

Kathy: Greetings! We're going to start with a dance – a gift to the Maohi movement in your fight for independence, which shows courage and commitment beyond the call of duty. I want to acknowledge this as an indigenous Australian person who has lived with the threat of extinction for a long, long time. We have survived and our culture has survived.

I am the bloodline custodian of the north-east forest of New South Wales. I am the custodian of Malera Bandjalan law, language, land and culture. My daughter is the next custodian of dance, and she will perform for you a survival dance, with our totem, the kangaroo. [*Kyra Kum Sing performed a beautiful dance at this stage to introduce the presentation.*]

Mary: Hi, I'm Mary Munro from Sydney, Australia. My mother's tribe is Wiradjuri. Kathy asked me to come up to explain the colours of our flag. Black is for the people, red is for the land and the blood that has been shed across our land, and yellow is for the sun that keeps us going. I just want everyone in the Pacific to know that you have our support. Whatever you go through, we go through.

Kathy: Following the comments this morning about Queen Pomare, I'd also like to add that we will offer any support to mount legal challenges to bring your Queen home. We believe that to bring home your own people, to lay in your



Flying the Aboriginal flag at the NFIP conference

own earth with dignity, is also your freedom - freedom to the people living and freedom to the ancestors we carry on

My family comes from the north-east forest. I come from a mountain that is a solid rock of gold. That is the only interest the Australian government has in my family. Two years ago, they offered me \$1.3 million for my mountain, but that mountain is of our blood, of our language, of our law, of our culture. After five generations, my family has kept it in order as true custodians and traditional owners. This was finally recognised in the Federal Court of Australia in August 1999.

It's embarrassing to say that in the whole state of New South Wales there are only five families that ever passed this test to remain as Aboriginal Australians. Our people need support to change that. We have legislation introduced after the 1992 Mabo decision that acknowledges that "terra nullius" (the land belonging to no one) was a lie. It was our land and our law that had prevailed.

Not all our indigenous people have the strength that my family has. Our strength is from the faith in knowing who we are, in maintaining our language. That might seem funny to you mob here, to hear me speak in English, dressed like a nice little white girl. But I can tell you, we'll do anything as a means of survival. As Malcolm X once said: "By any means necessary". Aboriginal people say that we believe this principle, but we must do it with the dignity that our old people did it with. We acknowledge that people are living in a time of revolution, in a time when things have got to change. People in power have misused that power, not only in my country but all across the Pacific.

Malcolm X also said: "A better world must now be built". The Reverend Jesse Jackson added: "We are not responsible for being down, but we are responsible for getting up." Please take that challenge on, and with our two systems of knowledge, continue the law of our grandmothers and grandfathers, whether in the institutions or in the community.

On 19 August, we were told that the gold on our land was millions of years old. We are very old. We come from the first light – that is our belief, a belief that we will maintain and keep and teach our children, along with their law and culture to help keep their identity through anything. To lose that is to lose everything. In my hand, I hold the written treaty signed by my people, the Malera Bandjalan, with a Scottish settler named Edward Ogilvie. It was printed in the Sydney Morning Herald at the time, but for my family this treaty has never been acknowledged or accepted. In this treaty, we kept our mountain and they got the grass to



Aboriginal delegates (from left) Kyra Kum-Sing, Mary Munro and Kathy Malera-Bandjalan

put cattle on. I want this treaty acknowledged and accepted, and I want support to get this treaty – and all the other treaties that have never been acknowledged – to be implemented. As grandchildren, we still carry these treaties.

The Mabo case in 1992 acknowledged our rights. Our rights still existed as native title holders, and the whole British system was an imposed law that basically murdered my people. The history of Australia in terms of indigenous people cannot be ignored forever. I am a single line of genealogy from that mountain. My great great grandmother was the only surviving member of the Malera Bandjalan tribe. I am her great great granddaughter. I am also the product of a rape. Many people ask me about my colour. I say to you: "Forget about colour. Aboriginal people are a spiritual people. We can't be what you want us to be." People must consider the crimes that have been committed against our indigenous people, without punishment. Rape is the major one amongst our old women. We carry that pain, but it is also the energy that keeps us strong, making sure that no one ever again touches our old women, our old men or our land.

My grandmother died four years ago. From her, I learnt the stories and learning that led me to maintain the bloodline law and custom of my people. I'm from a matrilineal nation, which is also hard for some to accept. In fact, my grandfather was named "King Billy". He was the husband of the bloodline custodian, but they wouldn't accept a Queen so they made her husband a king! They couldn't pronounce his real name so they called him King Billy.

There was a genocide case before the Federal Court of Australia in August 1999. We lost, but only because there is no domestic law in Australia that says it is an offence to commit genocide against Aboriginal people. Even though Australia has signed the UN Charter against Genocide, and was one of the first signatories, it has not been

translated into domestic law and it's not a chargeable offence in Australia up till now. People should not remain naïve about the history of indigenous people in Australia. We have done a lot of work to support the maintenance and survival of other people's cultures right through the Pacific. We have deaths in police custody, which are a major issue in Australia. We have deaths in the home, which is another major issue. We have deaths all through the community.

Following amendments to the Native Title Act and the Howard government's ten point plan in 1996, Australia was asked to respond to the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This needs to be looked at by the NFIP Movement and groups in the Pacific, to see how they can support us to stop the extinguishment of native title on our land.

There are many Aboriginal people in Australia who haven't been as fortunate as me and my family in maintaining Aboriginal language and law. Many people will have heard of the Stolen Generation – Aboriginal and Islander children taken from their families. Most of these people fall into that category. Only one member of my family was part of the Stolen Generation. This is because we had the mountain, we had the forest and the hills to hide in. We knew our country better than anyone did. We had men and women who stood strong together. They knew that one day we would go through this again.

Kathy Malera Bandjalan is an Aboriginal activist from northern New South Wales in Australia. She has been involved in a range of campaigns for many years, working with Tranby College, and becoming the first Aboriginal writer and editor with StreetWise Comics – a community education initiative for young people. For over a decade, she has been working on the issue of HIV / AIDS and indigenous people.

The Tangata Whenua in Aotearoa

Marcia Cassidy

Freedom Roadworks, Aotearoa

Decolonisation politically incorporates not only the withdrawal of colonial forces from our lands, but also the crux of what will be the survival of those lands – the people's identity. We need our independent nations run by strong people with independent minds - minds that are independent of our former colonisers.

To decolonise ourselves we need to break through the barriers that the colonial powers create to keep our true power, our true identities, our means of existence - not only from the world but also from ourselves.

For many young people in jails, on the streets, in psychiatric institutions, in the pubs, on drugs, even in the churches – their physical lives are struggling and their spirits are flailing in the winds – their cultural identities have been stripped, lost and stolen by the generations of colonial laws, power and assimilation. The school system is the biggest institution of colonising our young. It is there that they lose the cultural identity with the land as their true histories are re-shaped by the lies and deliberate brain washing of the western culture on our kids.

Imagine you have just completed building the house of your dreams. It took a long time as the foundations had to be made of the best materials possible in order for this house to stand forever and ever. The materials you have built your house with are the resources of the land that you specifically chose as the most appropriate for you and your people to be housed in. All your furniture has been made by members of your family, immediate and extended – again this was determined by you and the people who would live there. Photos of your ancestors, family and friends reflecting everyday the values and customs of your household.

Then one day a visitor comes to stay, and signs an agreement to live in the ways that have been determined by the people. Very soon he starts to rearrange the furniture but then ever so subtly and strategically begins to move all the furniture out the back door without you even knowing. All the photos are destroyed and the visitor replaces the natural resources with his own resources – all done without your permission and often without your knowledge. You've been made a stranger within your own environment.

Marcia Cassidy works with Maori youth in Aotearoa (New Zealand), as a member of Freedom Roadworks. She was elected to the NFIP Executive Board at the 8th NFIP Conference.

He Korero no Aotearoa

Hilda Halkyard Harawira

Te Kawariki, Aotearoa

E Nga waka, E nga reo, E raurangatira ma o Te Moana Nui a Kiwa.

Tena koutou katoa.

I would like to acknowledge the leaders of struggle in Tahiti: to King Pomare and his family, the Tahitian Queen, to Pouvanaa a Oopa, to Marguerita Tetuanui, Oscar Temaru, Charlie Ching, Gabriel Tetiarahi and the many active supporters of independence. It is a sign of *mana* to see the many movements represented here.

In 1980, two Tahitians attended the Nuclear Free Pacific Conference in Hawai'i: Marie Therese Danielsson and Tea Hirshon. One spoke of the effects of nuclear testing and the other spoke of the desire for independence. The issue of "Toto Tupuna" was brought to our attention. For me, they have laid the foundations for our continued networking with Te Ao Maohi.

Several Maori elders, who have since died, journeyed to Moruroa to voice their opposition to the nuclear testing: Matiu Rata, Galvin Tihema and Huhana Oneroa. Eva Rickard was deported on her arrival at the airport. Like others, I came to the last French tests as a representative of NFIP Aotearoa to show solidarity with the Tahitian



Marcia Cassidy (Aotearoa)

people. I was amazed by the conviction of young people from all over the world who were dragged off coral reefs or who came to the Peace Camp.

I witnessed Australian and New Zealand parliamentarians "taking over". They were passionately opposed to nuclear testing for health reasons and because it was too close to the Pacific "back door". But they did not want to hear about independence. As colonial mini-powers in the Pacific, they did not want to offend their French brothers, nor did they want to recognise the call for independence by Maohi people. If the parliamentarians recognised the right of Maohi people, they would have to recognise the Maori Treaty rights and Aboriginal land rights at home. From reliable sources we highlighted the campaign to release Hiro Tefaarere.

Today, we are fortunate to be hosted in Tahiti by Tavini Huiraatira and the Evangelical Church. This indeed is an inspirational step forward for the church to be involved in the liberation of its people. I congratulate Tavini for winning one third of the political seats in the Territorial Assembly. I also would like to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela, Father Walter Lini, Sitiveni Rabuka, Jose Ramos Horta, Xanana Gusmao, Yann Uregei and all the soldiers and workers who have shown great indigenous leadership qualities in a capitalist world. We are united in our concern to provide a better future for our grandchildren.

Decolonisation and Self-Determination

Decolonisation is a process that cannot be won overnight. It requires many strategies at different levels. For the Maori movement, decolonisation of the mind has been the greatest struggle. Fear of the unknown, fear of losing, fear of change and our distrust in each other holds us back.

Decolonisation begins when we no longer believe that Maori are born failures. When we accept that we deserve justice, we have taken a great step. When we accept that we are the guardians of our Treaty, our land rights, culture, language, education, economy and our children's future, that is another step.

Twenty years ago, the Maori delegation sought support for:

- the recognition of our Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840;
- for our country to be known as Aotearoa;
- for the right to speak our Maori tongue;
- for the right to represent ourselves at international conferences;
- and we sought solidarity for prisoners who were imprisoned as a result of Maori Treaty grievance land occupations.

We have gained all that support from ourselves and from the NFIP Movement. In Aotearoa we have organised local NFIP conferences, organised speaking tours, and hosted international guests. More importantly we continued



NFIP activists Hilda Halkyard-Harawira (right) and Tea Hirshon

networking with indigenous organisations and shared ideas, which have mutually benefited our struggles. Although Maori have fought strong resistance battles throughout our history of contact, there has been a quiet revolution in Aotearoa in the last 20 years. Borrowing from Bob Marley, music and art have conveyed many creative political messages from throughout Aotearoa. Tame Iti has erected an open-air art gallery on confiscated Tuhoe Land. He has issued eviction orders to all non-Tuhoe. Cars passing by are met with the sign "Trespassers will be eaten!"

Our Maori self-determination leaders have been portrayed as "disrupting the national peace." Good leaders are those who agree with the Status Quo. Although there are fourteen Maori parliamentarians coopted by various parties, our liberation as a people cannot be won in Parliament. A few concessions have been made. We don't want to replicate deal-making politicians. Does Parliament have to be a dog-eat-dog business? For now, many of our Movement prefer to rebuild our tribal and community foundations first. *Te Ohonga Ake* or conscientisation has developed amongst Maori grassroots. The revival of Maori language has been a common bond for many, which has led to the establishment of pre-school and *Kura Kaupapa* (Maori immersion primary schools).

1) The Flag

The Maori flag was borrowed from our Aboriginal cousins. We wanted a symbol of pride and identity that would unite Maori regardless of tribe, politics or religion. Our

organisation Te Kawariki ran a flag competition in 1990, and the following design was approved. Red represents our Earth Mother *Papatuanuku*; black represents our sky father *Ranginui*. White represents the separation of the two parents locked in a permanent embrace. Tane separated the parents to make way for the living. The white *koru* represents ongoing life. The Maori flag is for those who choose not to stand under a colonial ensign.

This year Te Kawariki formally announced that we have retired from organising protest marches to Waitangi. We have decided we want to adopt new strategies for the New Millennium. It was satisfying that this year our group was honoured by elders for our contribution to Maori politics. We are busy in some exciting new projects and they require all our energy.

I ask myself often how can I best contribute to the NFIP Movement, self-determination and decolonisation? By working in my own rural community, by challenging and learning from my people, by creating alternative models I hope to make some small changes. I cannot charge off every time there is an action alert. I cannot change the world but I can give energy to a small group of future leaders and potential supporters.

2) Maori Language

Maori language is an important tool for our decolonisation. In our language is our spirit, our *wairua*. "*Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori*". If we lose our language we lose some of our identity. In a recent survey it was found that only 8% of Maori are fluent in Maori language. Maori language has only recently been recognised an official language. It has created its own industry – and offers career opportunities in community services. Maori language is not a hobby - it is a lifestyle.

A government review found that 85% of Maori children in the Far North community are failing in schools. For two years we ran our own *kura kaupapa* (Maori immersion school) without any funding. We now receive state funding. There are now 54 *kura kaupapa* in the country. As a principal of a *Kura Kaupapa*, our 68 children learn the local histories and dialect of our area because they are nearly lost. The *whanau* (families) define what are the curriculum priorities for Maori children in a modern world. My task is to ensure that the curriculum will liberate our children and not enslave them. We do not copy the mainstream schools. We teach academic subjects but also Maori values and practices. Technology is important but learning how to cope if the power fails is also important. We teach our children it is normal to be Maori. We are preparing our children to govern and manage our tribes and our communities.

We have just won approval to run a college, and we are now working to establish a *Whare Wananga* - a Maori University. All our subjects will be taught in Te Reo Maori.

We organise parent education because it is an unfair burden to expect our children to shoulder the responsibility of our language and culture. Maori language will survive only if there are other support systems in place. Maori language needs to be heard in everyday happenings, on radio, on television, in meetings, at school, on buses. The NFIP Movement had made some great gains in the last 20 years. Vanuatu and East Timor have gained independence. Indigenous people have had a greater visibility. We have all borrowed ideas and strategies from each other. Indigenous and independence are no longer dirty words. The PCRC is our networking centre. It is our job to feed the information to alert others.

I would like to acknowledge the work of Lopeti and his wife Lupe. It would be wasteful if we did not utilise the lobbying skills that Lopeti has gained. He is a considerate ambassador who has the ability to convey the views of the NFIP Movement. I acknowledge Lupe as Lopeti's backbone; and all the men, women and children of our Movement who support and struggle for self-determination.

From this gathering, I ask our Pacific cousins and future leaders to:

- 1) Recognise Maori as *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa. I am grateful to Nelson Mandela, Walter Lini, Charlie Ching and Oscar Temaru who have openly acknowledged Maori people. It is a small action but very welcome. Maori are often classified and dismissed as part of the colonial regime. Tactical Pacific alliances will always be useful and mutually beneficial.
- 2) Recognise that Government-sponsored speakers are not the spokespeople of the Maori movement. They may speak for government policies but not for Maori aspirations.
- 3) Recognise Maori never ceded sovereignty in the indigenous version of the Treaty of Waitangi and we do not endorse the Government's plan to sell our stolen sovereignty to foreign multinational interests.
- 4) Meanwhile Maori will fight our own battles at home. Everything we have gained we fought for.
- 5) One day we may take Walter Lini's advice to unite. One day you may see a Maori Nation member included in the South Pacific Forum. One day we may form a political Party that is not afraid of the word "independence". One day we may run through the colonial checklist routine so that Aotearoa is included on the Decolonisation List. Some day soon Pacific leaders will have flagpoles for the Maori and Aboriginal flags...

The Process of Liberation is Irresistible and Irreversible

Hilda Halkyard Harawira is a mother of seven children and grandmother of two. She is also the mother of Te Kawariki, which provides educational awareness about the Treaty of Waitangi. Hilda worked as a Maori broadcaster and is now the principal of a Maori language immersion school in Kaitiaki. She is a member of NFIP Aotearoa and formerly served as Secretary of the NFIP / PCRC Executive Board.

Bio-colonialism and genetic research

Debra Harry

Indigenous People's Coalition on Biocolonialism

Paiute Nation, USA

I bring warm greetings from Great Turtle Island and specifically from the Northern Paiute nation, from the high desert country of the Great Basin area of Nevada. First I would like to thank PCRC and the organisers of this conference for having the opportunity to be here. I'm thankful and humble to be speaking before you today.

The work that I'm working on is in the area of biocolonialism – it's the next wave of colonisation, this time at the molecular level. We're at a situation where the technology of scientists – particularly genetic scientists and researchers – coupled with world-wide interest from countries and institutions and world-wide funding from these institutions that enable scientists to look at lifeforms at the molecular level, and to look at the genetic composition of those lifeforms for a variety of reasons.

The world's genetic diversity exists within aboriginal territories. The world's human genetic diversity exists amongst indigenous peoples. So like it or not, we are high priority research subjects by scientists. I came at this work about six years ago when I heard about the Human Genome Diversity Project, which targeted 500-700 indigenous populations around the world. They wanted to collect our

blood. What they do with the blood samples when they take it is to use a process known as immortalisation, because the blood is living – the cells are alive. They now have the capacity to keep the cells alive in gene banks in laboratories all around the world.

Now, when I look at the scope of human genetic research, with its interest in collecting DNA from indigenous peoples, the institutions that are involved has grown. It's no longer just the Human Genome Diversity Project – now everyone and their uncle wants to collect genetic materials from indigenous peoples. We are a high priority subject and object for their scientific curiosity. We are finding when they look at our specific environments that we have unique genetic compositions. That's what they're looking for – Genetic Uniqueness. When they find it, it's like gold mining, it's like prospecting - when they find it, they have the ability to manipulate it. They have the ability to commercialise it.

We are at a situation where our bodies now are facing the brand of colonisation. Our bodies now are considered a commodity protected by all of the laws that protect the right of commercialisers on the global scale. There are no



Debra Harry (second from left) with participants Joe Leon (USA), John Kawowo (Papua New Guinea) and First Nations delegates Priscilla Settee, Miska Usiskin-Settee and Lois Standing

laws that protect the rights of people in the face of biotechnology. All that exists are what I call flimsy ethics or bio-ethics, but there's nothing in the law that protects us from this kind of violation and exploitation. We are facing two major forces with the advance of biotechnology. We have seen the theft of genetic resources from our territories, from the plants that we have. Now the new commodity is the human body itself. The benefits are not for us. We are not the people who can afford genetic technologies, we're not the people who can afford new medicines or genetic therapies but we are considered objects of scientific curiosity, we are providing the basic raw resource.

I think the two forces that we're coming up against are first of all – racism. Racism because they consider us less than human. We don't have the same rights to control our resources even at the molecular level. We don't have the right to say yes or no. We don't have the right to manage and control the resources that are ours.

The second force I believe that we're coming up against is greed. I regret to inform you that the Hagahai DNA cell line now is available for sale on the Internet. You can order up a copy of their human DNA, viable living cells - full of life essence of the Hagahai people - for \$218 from the American culture collections in Maryland in the United States.

We have to understand that even though we are talking about a mystifying topic – science, genetics, DNA - we have to get a handle on it, and understand it and not be afraid of the topic because we're at the front end of this new wave of bio-prospecting. With genetics, in our understanding of it, it is life essence. Every part of your body, whether it's your hair or your blood or your skin, carries your ancestral spirit that belongs to your children. It is not a commodity, it cannot be bought sold, traded, fixed, manipulated in the market place.

On the other side, they have absolutely no feeling about what they do with genetic materials. They commercialise it, they patent it, and they experiment with it. Because it's life essence, they have the ability to put human DNA into other organisms. They can put it into bacterial cultures, they can put in viruses, and they can put it into plants, humans and animals. They have the ability to cross species barriers with genetic manipulation. That has happened to some of our people. Some of our people now have parts of their DNA in animals, in sheep. It has happened to the Maori, our relatives from Aotearoa.

There is no way that scientists can predict what the impacts of this manipulation of life will be on life itself, on the environment, and what it means for future generations. They are actually tinkering with the production and the reproduction of life itself and we cannot allow that to happen. Our traditional people, when they have heard about this research on our DNA, have said that this is an act of war on our children. It's an assault on the genetic

integrity of our ancestry and it's an assault on the genetic integrity of our children, their birthright, and our unborn generations.

In the Philippines, indigenous peoples have said they have prepared to meet the gene hunters with spears and arrows. That's almost what we're going to have to do - we are going to have to protect our biological resources. Not only do we have to protect our land from militarisation or gold mining or uranium mining, or the theft of land - now we've got to think about the molecular level.

The opposition to this kind of research has been extensive the first research. The first opposition that I heard about was in 1993 from the Aboriginal people in Australia. They passed the declaration opposing the Human Genome Project. They nicknamed this kind of research the vampire project, because that's what they want – blood. That's all they're interested in. Once they get the blood that's all they need, they're not going to come back. They might come with a lot of promises. They might promise medical care, they might promise payments in cash for your blood, but in essence of what you're selling is your birthright. They promise cures, to cancer, to diabetes, and so on. But in the genetic field, much of the research that they are doing on diabetes, you can make more of a difference in your life style in your health, in your well being by paying attention to what you eat and making changes in your life style. You can make more changes in the survival of our people in the basic health care of our people by putting in the same amount of money into making sure we have clean water, making sure our children have access to immunisation. That's when we would see changes in our quality of health. With genetic technologies, it's empty promises. You're never going to obtain the results of that work.

We propose that we have to look at protections at three levels. First of all, you have to stop the flow of blood out of your communities. You have to know when researchers are coming in and saying: "We're looking at asthma, we're looking at diabetes, looking at the prostate cancer". You've got to understand what they plan to do with the DNA - why do they want it and what do they do with it? For instance, with the Hagahai DNA, we now do not know whom else had access to their DNA and what they're doing with it in their laboratories. There's no way to monitor what is being done with the DNA, once those materials leave your control.

We propose that we look at local protections, local policies, and local laws. It's your right to do that: just as we regulate and manage our resources, our land bases, our peoples, we have to now look at protection of our biological resources. There's going to be times when we'll have to do interventions, because we know for a fact that a huge amount of money is going to the research. There are research teams out in the indigenous communities as we speak taking blood. We got to get a handle on who is

Sovereignty and economy for First Nations peoples

Priscilla Settee

Cree Nation, Canada



Priscilla Settee (First Nations, Canada)

Lois Standing (continued)

it was 53 years ago that the sun dance was last performed. In the summer of 1998 it came back and will continue for the next four years. When I go back to community, it's a good thing to see that in every home on our reserve that there's a traditional sweat lodge in almost every yard of every each family.

What I've been learning about global issues and concerns of other indigenous people will definitely compliment my MBA studies and contribute to my involvement with First Nations organisations in Canada. One of the aspects of the First Nations people in Canada in the overall goal of achieving self-determination is to strengthen our economies. There were about 20,000 First Nations, *metis* and Inuit businesses in Canada: agriculture, high-tech, retail etc. Some of them were starting to form alliances and developing strategies to participate in supporting other indigenous businesses in other part to the world. For

As part of our mission to train our young people, I take every opportunity that I can to invite family members or aspiring young leaders like Lois Standing to our meetings. I think it's very important that NFIP continue to develop the leadership among the youth. So many times, I come to meetings and there are not enough youth. It's important that elder people pass on the history of what happened, particularly in relation to the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement because without that history, we can't move forward. I would like to take this opportunity to thank *Tavini Huiraatira* for sponsoring this conference. Before I left Canada, I took the opportunity to use my journalist skills to tell readers that this is an historic meeting. In many ways it is challenging and defying the colonial powers that be.

I want to thank the *Eglise Evangélique* for opening it's doors and proclaiming solidarity with those of us indigenous people from other parts of the world. I believe it is time for church and community to strengthen those ties, due to the political and economic realities that face all of us indigenous peoples globally. I'm humbled to stand up here and to listen to the stories of our brothers and sisters of the South Pacific. I'm humbled because I feel like I'm standing among great leaders. I feel that I really have no right to be here except that I use every opportunity I can to explain the story of the South Pacific to my people back home. I take that responsibility very seriously.

In our country, it is estimated that only 3 languages out of 62 indigenous languages will survive beyond the turn of the century. Without our languages, our culture is destined to disappear. As an educator, I focus a lot on this problem.

I take my responsibility as citizen of the so-called First World, to tell the stories of the people of the South Pacific to the various governing bodies within North America. I believe that as a so called First World citizen I have an obligation to tell these stories about your lands which

example, in Saskatchewan, the Meadow Lake Tribal Council is involved in a forestry project in Nicaragua. Aboriginal businesses are going to become an important part of the Canadian economy. My community takes part in various economic development programmes such as investing in a hotel and medical clinic and raising buffalo.

In our goal to achieve self-sufficiency through economic development, there are many barriers, such as: government and political interference; lack of financing; geographical distance from markets; lack of education; and social problems, which are the result of systematic racism. For us we need to strengthen our economy to provide jobs for our own people and build our economies but with strategies that are combined with First Nations perspectives.

Lois Standing is a graduate student in the MBA course at the University of Saskatchewan, and is involved in researching how business development can assist indigenous peoples.

very seldom reach journalists back home.

Last year our Prime Minister Jean Chretien openly welcomed the President of Indonesia, Suharto to a meeting of APEC in Canada. He was met with a barrage of protests from the parallel APEC forum. Many youthful student protesters were later jailed and imprisoned for their actions against Suharto.

Canadians recognise that the international trade agreements that bring countries like these tiny South Pacific countries to their knees also bring many of the Canadian people to a position of poverty. The International Free Trade Agreement was the cause for the loss of thousands of jobs among Canadians. It was the same free trade agreements that declared civil war on the indigenous people in Chiapas, Mexico in the early 1990s.

In Canada and in North America, indigenous people suffer from the impact of development and are left as marginalised communities. We are suffering from the loss of traditional land through pollution. Our land base has disappeared significantly since the arrival of Europeans in 1639. There are many tribal groups who now suffer from militaristic practices of NATO, including the tiny Inuit nation in Labrador who suffer from over a hundred low-level flights over their lands. The tiny nation of Lubicon Cree, with just 2,000 people, has become victims of large oil development corporations and have been forced into a life of poverty and erosion of the traditional culture.

Presently there over 200 documented environmental disaster sites in North America. These indigenous communities have become recipients of toxic wastes, victims of mining practices that decimate our communities and undermine traditional economies. My own community, tiny Cumberland House on the North Saskatchewan River, was once an economically viable community. But we had 18 suicides amongst our youth in one year alone, all because of a hydroelectric dam that was put in in the 1940s

and wiped out the traditional economy. The situations of destruction which the colonial governments have forced among our people connect us and are too numerous to mention, but I'm going to leave this speech with words of hope.

In spite of the massive attacks against our sovereignty, communities are slowly and surely rising, discovering ancient techniques and technologies, which sustain governments and communities.

I was really pleased to hear about some of the forms of agriculture that are produced in the South Pacific. These sustainable models of development must include women, children and the entire community. Women who have often been the keepers of traditional knowledge in all of our communities are now taking leadership in development projects in their community. Soli mentioned that we must get rid of the multinational corporations that have taken over our communities, whether they be oil companies, companies that build mega-dams, clear-cut logging companies, or others.

In closing, I believe that social change has two sisters. The one that is quite evident in our community is the one of anger and despair. But if we can use that anger and despair and couple it with its sister of courage, we can have the kind of future that we all envision. Thank you.

Priscilla Settee is from the Woodlands Cree nation of northern Saskatchewan. She is co-ordinator of Indigenous Programs at the University of Saskatchewan, and serves as the Canadian representative for the Indigenous Women's Network and Indigenous Environment Network. She holds many positions within her First Nation's community, and has been involved in the anti-uranium campaign in Saskatchewan. She has been working to build links between indigenous peoples in Canada and the Pacific, and serves on the NFIP Executive Board.

Theme Three: Conserving the environment for our children

Keynote address on environment:

Intellectual Property Rights, Genetically Modified Organisms and our biological resources in the Pacific

Clark Peteru

O Le Siosiomaga, Samoa

Iaorana and Talofa. I'd like to begin by thanking our hosts for their hospitality and this beautiful venue. I also thank PCRC, especially Lopeti Senituli, for the privilege and honour of being invited to present this keynote speech. Even if I wasn't given that privilege, I was determined to come to Tahiti, because I've been walking around the Pacific with two "angles" in my pocket. I wanted to come to Tahiti because it completes the triangle of Polynesia.

Another reason I wanted to come to Tahiti was for religious reasons. This is the gateway of the Gospel into the Pacific. It was from here that the Word was taken to Samoa (*lotu ta'iti*) and spread to the rest of Pacific all the way to Vanuatu, Tuvalu and Papua New Guinea. So with due respect to Soli, I think Arue is a fitting place to have our conference.

What has this got to do with our theme - "Conserving the environment for our children"?

Given the venue and the significance of the Gospel for the South Pacific, we should ask ourselves what the Bible has to say on such a significant topic. For those of you who missed the sermon on Sunday, I've picked a familiar verse - it's a controversial verse - from the Book of Genesis, 1:27-29.

"God [created man and woman] blessed them; and said to them 'Be fruitful and multiply, and *fill the earth, and subdue it and rule over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the sky and over every living thing that moves on the Earth.*'

"Then God said: 'Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed that is on the surface of all the earth, and every tree which has fruit yielding seed; it shall be food for you'".

I have emphasised that sentence, because there has been some controversy amongst theologians over the meaning of 'rule'. In some translations, the word 'dominion' is used in place of 'rule'.

That verse raises questions about our relationship to the environment. Firstly, God has built into us a spirit of dominion and we are meant to dominate nature. It is not on the same level as us, and serves our needs. This therefore

goes against those people and those religions that worship nature.

The problem from the Biblical perspective is that if you believe there is a Creator, then you should worship the Creator and not His Creation. This word 'dominion' has not been translated to mean a sort of free discretion to do what we want with the environment. In fact, the words 'be fruitful and multiply' suggests that God envisages there will be children. Because there's that intention and mind, there is also a corresponding obligation on us to use our dominion with the thought that there will be generations coming after us that will also be using this environment.

Just as God has made the fish of the seas and the birds of the air and put into them the nature of a fish or a bird, so it is that we have within us the spirit of dominion. If you take a fish out of water, you see how it goes flip-flop, gasping for air. It has been taken out of its natural environment. Once you put it back in the water, away it goes.

We have the story of the Garden of Eden where Adam and Eve were chased out of the Garden. Like the fish out of its environment, we were separated from our natural environment the way that God had planned it, and that is why we have this spirit of dominion within us still. We want to dominate, but because we are no longer in that relationship that was made for us, we have used our dominion in unwise ways. We are no longer satisfied with dominion over nature. We want to dominate our fellow human beings and rule over them.

Pacific biodiversity

How does this relate to the theme this morning?

Because of our location on the planet, Pacific Island Countries (PICs) have lots of biodiversity. We are rich in plants. Because of our position on the planet, we receive a lot of sunlight, a lot of energy, a lot of rain. The islands are rich in marine and terrestrial biodiversity. All of us in the islands have inherited this richness, especially in plant diversity. The Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea have a rich fauna as well. Corresponding with this richness in biodiversity is our poverty in terms of wealth. In contrast, the countries of the North are biodiversity-poor but

wealthy countries and technology-rich.

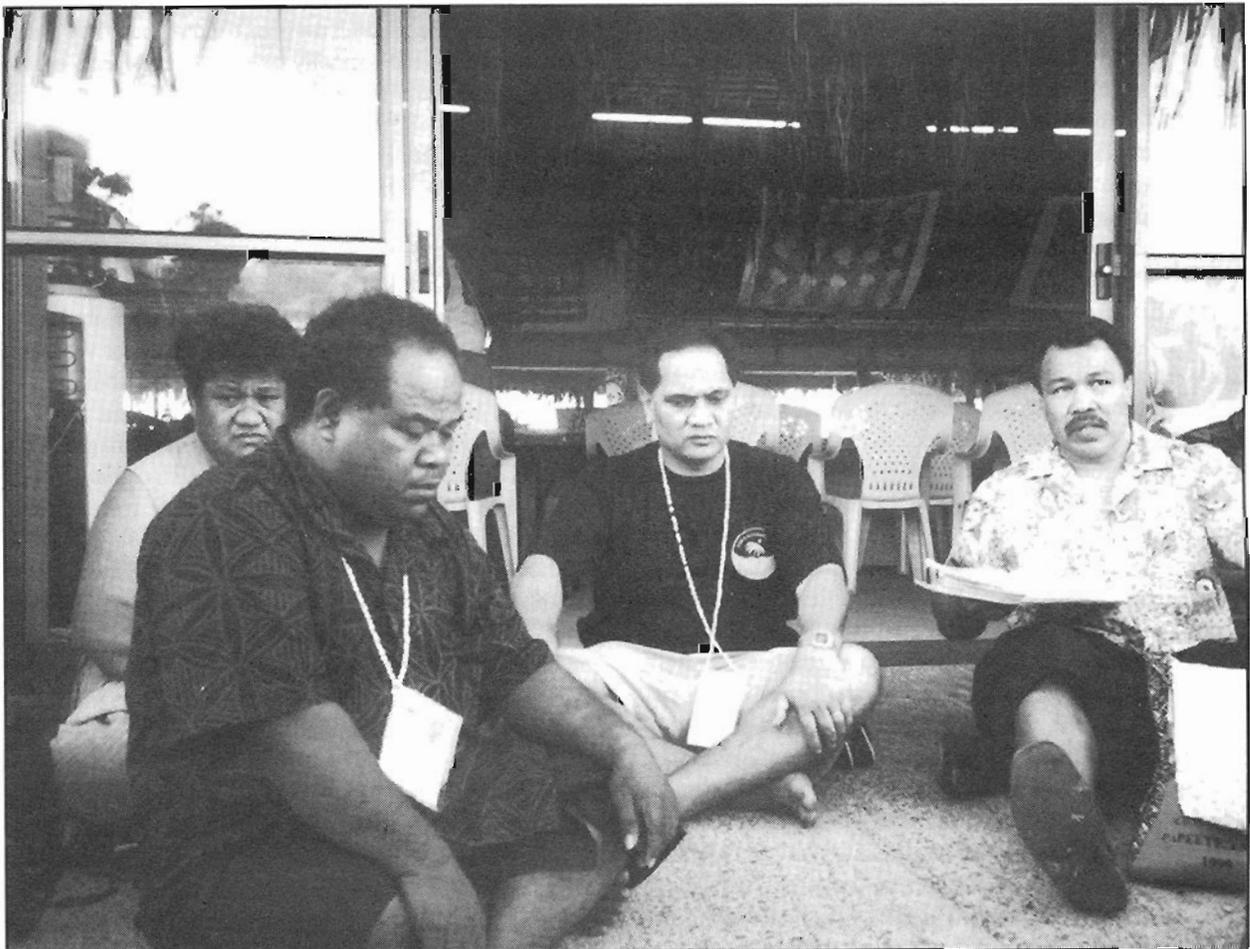
Because of recent advances in science, the biodiversity we've taken for granted, which has fed, nurtured and healed us, is becoming of more and more interest to the technologically rich but biodiversity-poor countries. The arrival of researchers and scientists into our countries, taking samples and plants for analysis overseas, is not a new event. The early explorers did this and it continues to this day. Until very recently, this activity was largely unregulated. These resources were once considered the "common heritage of humanity". In other words, there was a free-for-all. You couldn't say it was yours – if someone found something, took it away, did research on it and produced something useful, that was the person's reward.

This has all changed since the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), because we've come to realise that there is value in our plants. In many plants, especially the domesticated ones, there has been an input of traditional knowledge and traditional ingenuity, but this was never rewarded or compensated. How different is this traditional science from the science we have in laboratories conducted by men in white coats? Why is one compensated and protected by the law, while the other is ignored and called 'the common heritage of humanity', open for all to exploit?

So it is with some thanks that we should welcome the

CBD. It now says that you have sovereignty over the resources that you have within the jurisdiction of your country. The CBD has been signed by probably every country represented at this conference. It came about because there was a concern over the deterioration of our environment. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the Convention was the topic of access to genetic resources. Many countries in the North were disturbed that these resources would become *our* property under the CBD. However, very few developing countries have the technology to exploit these resources). Thus what they gave us with one hand they took away with the other, because if you're not able to use those resources, they argued that we should not prohibit or make it difficult for countries with the technology to come in and exploit the resources.

This is happening now in the Pacific. In Fiji, the University of the South Pacific (USP) in conjunction with people in Verata region has engaged Strathclyde University in a bio-prospecting project. The people in the villages will collect samples and be paid, I think, about US\$100 per sample, which will be taken for analysis at Strathclyde. From what I've seen of the agreement, it's justified in a number of ways: it is bringing in income; it is allowing capacity building because some of those collecting samples will be trained in the nomenclature of plants; research will be done at USP; and it's alleged that it is encouraging conservation.



Clark Peteru (seated centre) with Samoan delegation

It is too early to see if this scheme is working, but this latter point is important, as one of the main thrusts of the CBD is that this sort of activity should promote conservation.

Another example is the Japanese in Samoa, who have been coming to the Pacific for research for some time now. They have an interest in orchids and ornamental plants and for several years they have been collecting orchids to send back to Japan. It is only recently that our government has cast a worried eye over this activity, and the visits were beginning to come to an end.

Just when we thought it was over, however, a new initiative seems to be expanding this "economical botany inventory" in Samoa. Initially, a researcher from Nihon University in Japan had approached our National University in Samoa, proposing that we should engage in a mutual plant gathering exercise. The Samoa Government rejected this, so the professor from Nihon University then went to the Japanese Embassy in Wellington to see if they could intervene on his behalf. That didn't work either. So after a few months he came back with Japanese Government sponsorship for the project, which is something that is harder for our government to reject (Before it was simply university to university – now it's government to government). Japan funds a lot of education and infrastructure in our country, so I'm sure it was very difficult for our politicians to turn the project down outright.

What they've now done is in the form of a compromise. They've allowed the Japanese researcher to engage students to go out and collect plants. However, they are only meant to gather dried specimens and no specimens are meant to leave the country. This is subject to an agreement that will be negotiated some time in the future, to determine whether any plants will be allowed to leave Samoa and if they do, to determine who will have ownership in the chemical or the gene that is found in the plants.

We were a bit worried and sceptical about agreements like this. It's so easy, once a researcher has access to collecting, to slip a seed or part of a plant into a pocket. We're also worried that the project has brought a biochemist into the country when they should only be collecting dried specimens.

The Japanese are also active in Palau with a marine studies centre, as you'll know that Palau has a terrific marine environment. In fact, the marine environment is more attractive to the biochemist than the terrestrial environment.

In New Caledonia, the French have a laboratory in Noumea that analyses samples found in New Caledonia and Vanuatu. The lab, run by CIRAD and IRD/Orstom, also has branches in Port Vila and Santo in Vanuatu. They have been carrying out tests on local plants in their laboratories, but they're reluctant to give out results. They say they've only found one chemical in a plant that has commercial significance

for the production of perfume, but apart from that they say they have had no success.

Normally these plants will go to our traditional healers, who have generations of experience with these plants. They know which way the plant will work, and what to do with the plant to make it work (whether to chew it, boil it or masticate it etc.). The research scientists find it easier to use our traditional healers' knowledge in order to target promising specimens, to send overseas for analysis in order to find the active compound or chemical that gives the plant its medicinal property.

Intellectual Property Rights (IPR)

If the search is successful, legal protection is normally sought. Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) are laws that protect inventors and ideas. Normally we associate IPR with inanimate things like the telephone, the fax machine, the microphone or the TV. But now IPR have been transferred to living things. The reason this has been done is that scientists have argued that they've spent so much time and effort isolating a gene or a compound or synthesising a compound that the government should give some protection to the discovery. IPR laws give scientists temporary ownership of bio-chemicals, isolated genes, altered genes or other inventions. This gives the scientists (or the company sponsoring the scientist) a head start in commercialising the product. The company or person can commercialise the product for profit and recoup their costs, with a monopoly that normally lasts for twenty years before anyone can use the process.

In the Pacific, there are many examples where plants have been used in this way. In Samoa we have the *mamala* plant, a plant found throughout the Pacific from New Caledonia to Tahiti. An American ethnobotanist working in one of our villages in Samoa discovered a compound in the plant. He took it back for testing, and they found it has promising anti-AIDS properties. That's the last we heard about this plant until February 1999, when I found that a patent had been taken out over the compound that had been found in the plant. The patent was in the name of the National Health Unit of the US Army and Brigham Young University. I talked to people in our country, from Foreign Affairs, the Forestry Department and in the villages, asking whether they had given their consent to it. Had they known that this had taken place? No one had known anything about it. The point is that even though the ethnobotanist had published papers saying that he would share the royalties if this compound were commercialised, no one in the island has been consulted about it.

Another example is the plant in New Zealand you all know, called the Chinese Gooseberry or Kiwi Fruit. This humble fruit grows on vines and is eaten by people. It wasn't until scientists conducted tests on this plant and improved its characteristics that they coined the name "Kiwi Fruit" and it became an instant commercial hit. They had markets call

over the world for the fruit, and for some years it was a terrific income generator. But because the scientists and those marketing the Kiwi Fruit had not taken out ownership rights over the fruit, it was copied in the United States and Europe and grown in those countries. The bottom fell out of the New Zealand Kiwi Fruit market. New Zealand is now much the wiser. Even though they had created a new variety and under international law you're able to protect new varieties so no other country can use it without permission, they hadn't done so. The Kiwi Fruit is now grown freely overseas, and New Zealand no longer has a monopoly on the market.

Coming closer to home, let's have a look at kava, something that is near and dear to many of us. The scientific literature suggests that Vanuatu is the centre of origin for kava. Originally it existed in wild form in the bush, but you couldn't drink it because it would make you nauseous. However, people in Vanuatu cultivated it for many thousands of years and brought out its drinkable qualities. Voyages between countries enabled the spread of kava to Fiji, Samoa, Tonga and all the way to Tahiti and up to Hawai'i.

It was only in a few of these countries that the tradition of kava growing was continued. However, the Germans have been studying our kava for over 100 years. Today, if you look in the United States, kava is one of the booming miracle drugs, because of its healthful effects. In Europe, it has not taken off at the same rate because it is classified as a drug, while in the United States it's classified as a food, so that it doesn't have to undergo the same number of rigorous clinical tests. In America, it's seen as an herb, and you'll find it's freely available in many US stores. If you look at a bottle of kava, it normally has a patent number or says 'patent pending'. Already, companies are seeking out patents on the way they've processed the drug or patents on certain chemical compounds that they've found in the drug.

As a result, since I spoke on this issue at our last NFIP Conference in 1996, the Forum Secretariat has organised two symposia on kava, to try to see how they can combat this. In the view of the scientists who were there, it would be very hard to apply the present IPR laws that exist to kava. The most appropriate law to apply would be Plant Breeders Rights, but this is unlikely to work because of the plant's specific characteristics. We asked whether it would be possible to get trademark protection for the name "kava", as there's nothing more Pacific than that name! But when we sent in a request to the Trademark Office in Wellington, the reply was that it was unlikely that the name "kava" could be trademarked. You'll find that overseas countries will trademark their product as "Kavakava", "Kava Pill" or "Kava relaxant", but the name "kava" itself has become so common, so generic like "coffee" or "sugar", that it can no longer be given trademark protection.

Coming closer to Tahiti, the *noni* or *nono* plant is being

promoted as the next wonder elixir. The US-based company that is marketing this product has their headquarters here in Tahiti, but they are collecting samples everywhere in the Pacific that this plant grows, such as Samoa, Fiji and the Cook Islands. It wouldn't surprise me that the biochemicals in that plant are already under scrutiny and that there are already patents pending on these chemicals.

With one final example, perhaps our colleagues from Rapanui can help with further information. Last year, I heard that scientists had discovered a micro-organism in the soil in Rapanui that had potential benefits for children with kidney conditions. I was interested in this because my niece has a kidney condition and the news of this discovery was greeted with great jubilation on a support network for the children. They hope that this micro-organism could hold out hope for the children. Thus it is not only plants and marine organisms that are a vital resource. Even things that we have in our soil have potential beneficial uses.

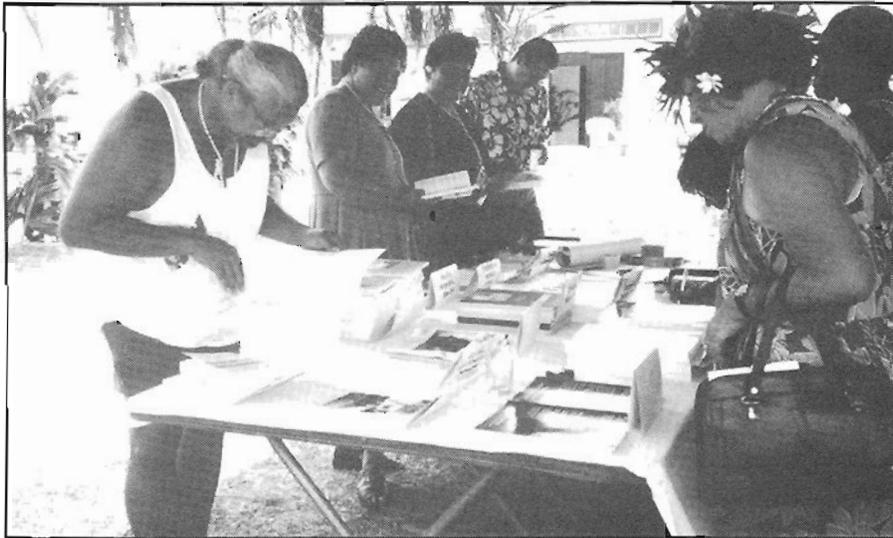
Some years ago, on behalf of PCRC, Lopeti and I attended a meeting sponsored by the South Pacific Commission (SPC). There was a request from a British-based organisation that wanted to catalogue our invertebrates, micro-organisms and fungi through a driftnet inventory. Most of the species in our countries have been catalogued, but not much work has been done on neglected species like micro-organisms and fungi. I'm happy to say that after lobbying by Lopeti and myself, this project was put on hold by the SPC. Many things needed clarification: what will happen to the information if we give scientists a blank cheque to collect whatever they want and to do research on whatever they want? What safeguards would there be for the countries and communities who own those plants?

Protection of Germplasm

Germplasm is the reproductive part of plants and many samples from the Pacific are being held at the USP's Alafua campus in Samoa. The SPC is now proposing the establishment of a Regional Germplasm Centre that will house core collections of the region's major crops (taro, sweet-potato, yams, etc.)

The SPC is aware that crop germplasm has been taken overseas already. Kava, for example, is found in many botanical collections overseas. Unfortunately, it seems that for kava collected before the CBD came into force in December 1993, there is no protection. The feeling is that it's anyone's property if it was collected before December 1993. If it is already in your botanical garden in Singapore, Malaysia or the Kew Gardens in London, then it's your property, you can research on it, you can try to make new varieties from it and gain legal protection over it.

The SPC Regional Germplasm Centre has drawn up a contract called a material transfer agreement. This contract will allow member countries to access their collection, so if you have a cyclone and all your trees or crop species are



Conference participants check out the book stalls

The Intellectual Property Rights laws from the United States are the most virulent on the planet. Other countries have seen the danger of these IPR laws and have excluded the operation of IPR over food and chemicals, because these are the things that we need for our basic survival. What can we do about this bioprospecting and biopiracy? We can't refuse to participate in bioprospecting. Nearly every Pacific country has signed the CBD, and the Convention requires that you don't prohibit access to your genetic resources.

wiped out, you can have access to your germplasm in the Regional Centre. In terms of regional co-operation between the Pacific Islands, there is more or less free transfer of germplasm. For countries outside the region, if they want to use this material they have to adhere to very strict guidelines as to how they make use of it. The other thing in the agreement, I believe, is that permission must be sought from the country that has donated the germplasm before it can be transferred to a third party.

In the Pacific, we often think that the islands are the only place that you can grow kava. But because it's such a boom industry in Europe and the United States, we can't meet the quotas to fill the demand for kava. Suppliers are looking elsewhere as we can't meet the quantity or quality. Fiji produces a lot, but mainly for domestic consumption and when they don't get enough, they import from Samoa. How then can overseas markets be satisfied?

Samples of kava have been sent to Queensland in Australia to see if it can be grown, though I'm pleased to say that after three years there samples there are still stunted and they're not having a lot of success. But samples have also been taken to Guatemala to see if they'll grow. There's no way that the Pacific islands, with their limited land mass, can compete with other countries with huge areas for plantations.

Hawai'i is also involved and there have been plantings of kava there. Even though the Polynesian tradition of growing kava was discontinued by the missionaries in Hawai'i, the kava they have is in tip-top condition. Our concern in the other Pacific Islands is that because Hawai'i is a state of the United States, it has all the US IPR laws. These are the most predatory and comprehensive laws on the planet.

Earlier, Debra Harry mentioned IPR in respect of human genes and human cells. In Europe, they have had a big ethical debate about whether we should be playing God. You can see here how man's dominion knows no limits.

Another option if IPR patents are taken out over your plant resources is that you can lodge a complaint with the patent office that granted the protection. This was the case with the *Neem*, a plant from India with many medicinal purposes long known to locals in India and other Asian countries. Scientists from the United States who found out about the properties of this plant were able to get patent protection over some of these properties. The Indian Government launched a challenge against this patent and they were successful in having it invalidated, on the grounds that one of the conditions of being given patent protection is that it is a new discovery. Because Indians had known about these properties for generations, it was easy to show that this condition hadn't been met.

A third option is to do what USP in Fiji has done. You could try collaborative methods with the overseas pharmaceutical companies, to try to strike some balance between the benefits for you and the benefits for them.

Yet another option is to do what Samoa is trying to do, which is pass regulations that will regulate access of foreign companies into the country. These regulations are biased on favour of the government, reaffirming its rights over local plant genetic resources.

If you have the capacity, you can conduct the research yourself. Then if you think that the Western IPR laws are a great thing, you can make use of them. Most countries in the Pacific have patent, trademark and copyright laws, so you can make use of your own law. But one problem we've found when discussing Intellectual Property Rights is that IPR laws have Western philosophical thinking behind them and their not applicable to us in the islands. This is clear when you ask: who owns the plants in your village? Can you identify an individual or family that can claim ownership over a plant? That's what patent law requires you to do: to identify an individual – normally a company – to hold the patent. Can villagers apply for that sort of protection? That's an open question, but my feeling is that Western laws are not appropriate for our Pacific

communities. The other element is that the cost of taking out IPR protection is quite high. That's why you'll find that companies and individuals in the countries of the North take out 99 per cent of patents. In order to fulfil the criteria for getting patent protection and defending it over the life of the patent, it costs a lot of money and that's often not available to us.

The final thing you can do – and it's what many developing countries are doing – is to make our own *sui generis* laws which are more appropriate to our own situation. Forget about the western model, let's just start afresh and find what works for us.

Before I finish, I'd like to give two final examples to demonstrate man's dominion over nature. The first is the Terminator seed. You might have heard that this is a seed that scientists have been able to program, almost like computer software. They can build characteristics into the seed. The idea is that when you buy the seed from the transnational corporation, it will grow to maturity. But before it gets to produce seed, it is sprayed with a chemical that triggers a reaction in the plant, producing a toxin that will destroy the plant's fertility. The plant can no longer produce seeds.

The idea is that you then have to go back to the seed company to buy new seeds for the next planting. Fortunately, most of our major crops in the Pacific (such as taro, breadfruit, cassava, and bananas) are vegetatively grown – they don't produce seeds but grow from a sucker or cutting of the plant. But for those of us who are dependent on seeds coming in, there may be pressure to grow these new Terminator seeds.

Biosafety and modified organisms

The other concern is over biosafety. Biosafety means the establishment or maintenance of means to regulate, manage, or control the risks associated with the use and release of any "living modified organism" (LMO) resulting from biotechnology, which is likely to have adverse impacts on the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity (CBD Article 8(g)).

Essentially, such organisms are those in which the genetic material has been altered in a way which does not occur naturally by mating and/or natural recombination. Biotechnology consists of a set of enabling techniques for bring man-made changes in genetic material (deoxyribonucleic acid or DNA) in plants, animals and microbial systems, leading to useful products and technologies

Biotechnology may provide:

- better health care,
- enhanced food security through sustainable agricultural practices,
- improved supplies of potable water,

- more efficient industrial development processes for transforming raw materials,
- support for sustainable methods of afforestation and reforestation,
- and detoxification of hazardous wastes.

However, significant potential and actual risks associated with the release and use of biotechnology products such as living modified organisms (LMOs) are also recognised.

Modern biotechnology has been applied since the early 1970s and used for application in the environment since the mid-1980s. Key gaps in knowledge have been identified, most notably in the interaction between LMOs and the environment. Many developed countries have formulated recommendations, guidelines, laws and regulations governing the use and release of LMOs domestically, whilst most developing countries lack national laws, regulations and institutional capacity to manage and control introductions of LMOs.

The modern biotechnology industry is comprised principally of transnational corporations, such as Monsanto, ICI and CIBA-GEIGY, among others. These corporations have rapidly progressed in the field of genetic engineering, to such an extent that a number of organisms that have been genetically engineered or modified have been released into a number of countries, both developed and developing. Some have been field-tested.

The transnational corporations, many of whom are based in OECD countries, have often outlined the need to obviate the requirement for increasing demands on food crops, nutrition and supply, particularly in the developing world where the majority of the starving are found. The concept is that by genetically engineering or modifying food crop organisms, for example to become resistant to diseases, then the world food supply will increase and provide relief and benefit to the world's starving. In addition, global biological diversity is shrinking at an alarming rate, where forests are burnt off, animals are becoming rare and the human population is increasing. The release of genetically engineered or modified organisms to supplement the world food shortages will provide relief and protection to global biological diversity.

However, it is also increasingly evident that the release of organisms that have been genetically engineered or modified into the environment also poses risks to habitats and ecosystems. This stems from the fact that experiences with genetically modified organisms show that they can multiply, mutate, recombine, and spread out of control, after a release has occurred. Experiences with pest organisms, including the Chestnut Blight, Mediterranean Fruit Flies, rabbits and cane toads in Australia, Kudzu in the southern USA and even with bio-control organisms released to control these pests, are real unmistakable lesson: once loose, released organisms cannot easily be recalled.

The use and release of LMOs covers both intended and unintended release situations. Concerns include

- LMO interaction with various ecosystems,
- unintended changes in non-target species,
- concern over genetic instability in living modified organisms,
- accelerated genetic erosion,
- increased crop and livestock vulnerability, and that once released into the environment LMOs may not be recalled and could potentially reproduce.

Essentially, the goal of biosafety as applied to LMOs, is to avert adverse human and environmental impacts that could follow an LMO release.

Biosafety mechanisms should:

- use the precautionary principle;
- be transparent and accountable;
- use Prior Informed Consent (PIC) / Advanced Informed Agreement (AIA)
- anticipate possible detrimental effects that follows a release of an LMO during experimentation or commercialisation;
- design monitoring systems for detecting adverse outcomes;
- plan intervention strategies to avert, and if necessary remediate, adverse environmental or health effects;
- develop regulatory authority to prevent the development and/or importation of potentially dangerous LMOs, and
- encourage development of the capacity to pursue biosafety adequately.

As a protocol or annex to the CBD, the international community is trying to get a biosafety protocol that will address these concerns. But in developing countries in the Pacific, we have to be aware that some of our islands may be targets for experimentation. Our countries have a rich biodiversity, with a lot of germplasm that can also be used for experimentation. In the nuclear age, our countries were seen as vulnerable and isolated. In the past, this led to our islands being used for nuclear testing. In the biotechnology age, we may be vulnerable to the same pressures with regard to quarantine stations or field testing for these new organisms. We must be vigilant. On that cautionary note I'd like to thank you and end my presentation.

Clark Peteru is a lawyer by profession. He is the former Director and current President of the environment organisation O Le Siosiomaga in Samoa. Clark worked at PCRC in Suva in 1994-5, and helped organise PCRC's conference on Intellectual Property Rights and Indigenous Peoples' Knowledge in 1995.

Clark has been involved in drafting sui generis legislation for Pacific islands to protect their biodiversity and intellectual property, and also drafted the Hagahai Treaty for a Lifeform Patent Free Pacific.

Global warming and climate change

Mahendra Kumar

South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP)

Samoa

Madam Chairperson, Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel privileged to be allowed to make a presentation to this distinguished gathering. This is the first occasion that I have had the opportunity to participate in a conference of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, and wish to thank the organisers, Pacific Concerns Resource Centre, more specifically Lopeti Senituli, for the invitation. May I also thank our hosts for the hospitality and assistance rendered to us since we first arrived in this beautiful country.

South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP)

The South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) is an inter-governmental organisation whose mission is to promote cooperation in the South Pacific region and to provide assistance in order to protect and improve its environment and to ensure sustainable development for present and future generations.

The member governments have called upon SPREP, through the "Action Plan for Managing the Environment of the South Pacific Region 1997-2000", to focus on a comprehensive range of regionally-coordinated and nationally implemented activities under the five Programmes:

1. Biodiversity and Natural Resource Conservation
2. Climate Change and Integrated Coastal Management
3. Waste Management, Pollution Prevention and Emergencies
4. Environmental Management, Planning and Institutional Strengthening
5. Environmental Education, Information and Training

My brief this morning is to talk about two of the areas of up our work, firstly climate change and secondly a programme within the biodiversity area.

Overview

Climate change continues to be an issue of global environmental concern and one over which Pacific Island Countries have been expressing serious concern since 1987. These concerns have been reflected in the activities of SPREP since 1986, and every South Pacific Forum Communiqué since 1988. They have been well captured in

recent statements issued by the Forum Leaders.

Since the last South Pacific Forum, the Forum Secretariat has facilitated the exchange of political views with in the region and co-ordinated the development of Forum statements on the issue. Consistent with the 29th Forum Communiqué, SPREP continues to provide policy relevant scientific and technical advice to island countries engaged in the climate change negotiations and build capacity in Pacific island countries to understand and respond to the issue. This has included efforts to further define critical scientific and technical issues for this region and to ensure the region's priorities are reflected in international negotiations.

SPREP Activities

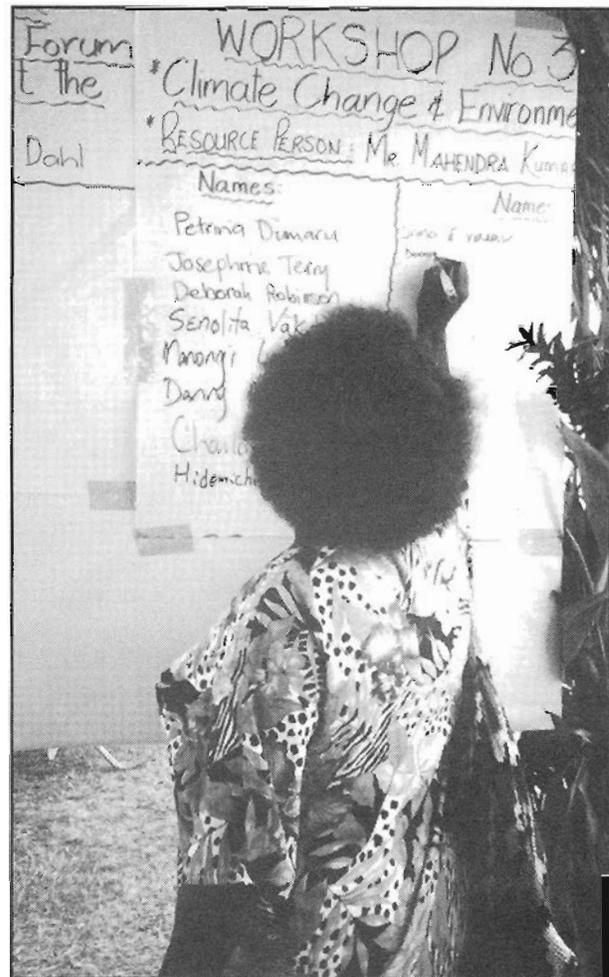
There are a number of initiatives or programmes within the climate change area currently implemented by SPREP in the region. These are designed to further strengthen the capacity of Pacific Island countries to respond to climate change and include:

- The establishment of the WMO Sub-regional Office for the Southwest Pacific within SPREP;
- The installation of sea level monitoring stations in many countries in the region under an Australian government funded "South Pacific Climate Change and Sea Level Rise" project;
- The completion of greenhouse gas inventories, vulnerability and adaptation studies and training in addition to National Communications under the Pacific Island Climate Change Assistance Programme (PICCAP);
- The development of a Strategic Plan for the Development of Meteorological Services for the region;
- The raising of awareness of relevant issues within the context of the UN Framework Convention for Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol;
- Assistance to countries with ratification of the Montreal Protocol as part of an overall regional strategy to remove Ozone Depleting Substances.

Frequently asked questions

There are a number of frequently asked questions when one talks about issues of global warming and climate change. Some of the more common ones are:

- Is the planet warming?
- Climate change evidence
- Natural variability vs human induced changes
- Are the trends discernible from the background noise?
- Impacts of climate change
- How vulnerable are small island countries?



Signing up for climate change workshop

Science: past, present and future

Let me try and briefly cover some of these issues and begin with a discussion of the science that underpins the current debate and evidence for the observed changes in the climate.

1) Global temperature—

According to a World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) Statement on the status of global climate, the Earth's global surface temperature in 1998 was the highest since reliable worldwide records began in 1860, 0.57°C above the recent long-term average based on the period 1961-1990. The global temperature is almost 0.7°C warmer than at the end of 19th century.

Background

The final text of the Convention. In the negotiations, the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) was guided by the following principles:

- The principle of prevention action;
- The precautionary principle;
- The polluter pays principle and State responsibility;

- Duty to cooperate;
- Equity;
- The principle of common but differentiated responsibility; and
- Commitment to binding energy conservation and the development of renewal energy sources.

From these principles, AOSIS has developed a number of core medium and longer-term objectives that have guided its recent work on the implementation of the Climate Change Convention and the Kyoto Protocol, namely:

- Review of the adequacy and adequacy and strengthening of industrialised-country emissions reduction commitments;
- Reducing scientific and methodological uncertainties associated with the Kyoto Protocol's commitments and the Kyoto mechanisms;
- Development of strong monitoring, verification and compliance regimes; and
- Development of mechanisms for meeting the costs of adaptation to the adverse effects of climate change.

These principles and objectives have continued to form the basis of AOSIS positions under the current negotiations in the implementation of the Convention and the Kyoto Protocol.

Sustainable Development

The acknowledged vulnerabilities of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) have also highlighted the necessity for small island States to pay special attention to their sustainable development needs. Functioning together as a group through AOSIS, small island States sought to give emphasis to this during the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. Agenda 21 now recognises SIDS as a special case both for environment and development, for they are ecologically fragile and vulnerable.

A direct outcome of the Rio process was the convening of the Global Conference on the sustainable development of Small Island Developing States held in Barbados in 1994. AOSIS was deeply involved in the negotiations and preparatory work for the conference. A main focus of AOSIS activities in the past five years has been the implementation of the Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA) produced by the conference.

Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA)

The BPOA was the first real opportunity for the international community to give practical effect to the agreements of the Rio Earth Summit. It acknowledged that SIDS have unique problems and rainfall produced for this study show a more El-Niño-like mean state over the Pacific under climate change. Rainfall increases are also distributed in an El-Niño-like pattern but they generally increase over most of the Pacific.

There is no evidence that tropical cyclone numbers may change. However, a general increase in tropical cyclone intensity (i.e. wind speed and central pressure) of 10-20% at the time of CO2 doubling, now appears likely. How this affects the risk posed by severe storms needs to be determined on a regional basis and further work is required to improve the confidence attached to this result.

Impacts

Another common question posed is whether the small islands of the Pacific which are regarded as amongst the most vulnerable to the adverse effects of global warming. There is plenty of anecdotal evidence. For example:

- Rising sea levels making soil saline for cultivation of staple crops such as taro, pulaka and yams
- Coastal roads, bridges and plantations suffering increasing erosion, even on islands that have not experienced inappropriate coastal development;
- Recent devastating droughts, linked to El Nino, have hit important export crops and caused serious water shortages in many Pacific countries including FSM, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Samoa and Tonga;
- Changes in fisheries patterns have left many Pacific Island countries with substantial reductions in their seasonal tuna catches;
- Increased incidence of malaria with warmer temperatures, even in the highlands of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands which previously were too cold for mosquitoes to survive.

Indeed the evidences continue to support what was highlighted in the Second assessment Report produced by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that: "the balance of evidence suggests a discernible human influence on global climate." A precautionary approach is justified by island countries and significant action is required to reduce GHG concentrations in the atmosphere particularly by the industrialised countries.

It is revealing to note that the Pacific Island countries which contribute a negligible 0.03% of global greenhouse gas emissions are in the frontline as far impacts due to the adverse effects of climate change is concerned. Notwithstanding this, countries have continued with activities aimed at responding to climate change and undertaking studies to demonstrate their particular vulnerabilities. These should form the basis of future adaptation activities.

Actions

There is a recognition of the problem internationally and



Small Island Developing States will be hard hit by sea-level rise: Manongi Latham (Cook Islands) Annie Horroasi (Tuvalu), Charlene Funaki (Niue), Sulufaiga Uota (Tuvalu) and Louisiana Faneva Kakahemoana (Niue)

as you may be aware, a UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) came into force in 1995. The Convention:

- Recognises climate change as a threat
- Objectives
- Framework and process for action
- Steps to address climate change
- Major responsibility on developed countries
- Recognises right of developing countries
- Acknowledges particular vulnerability of some countries eg small Islands
- Supports 'sustainable development'

Its ultimate objective is "to stabilise greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system". The Convention has been ratified by 165 countries, including 13 Pacific Island countries.

The Kyoto Protocol, which was adopted in 1997, is designed to provide parties with firmer guidelines on the levels of emissions and how these may be attained. It provides quotas or emission targets to the developed country parties. It allows mechanisms to enable countries to meet their targets. According to the Kyoto Protocol, the developed countries have agreed to an emission reduction of an average of 5.2% in their emission during the first commitment period which 2008-2012.

This is far smaller than what was proposed by the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) which wanted a 20% reduction. Indeed it is far less than what is required to

maintain the status quo, which according to the IPCC requires an immediate cut of between 60-80%. Nonetheless the Kyoto Protocol has been accepted as a first step towards tackling this issue. Even so, the Protocol has yet to come into force and to date has been ratified by 9 countries, 7 of which are small island states. To come into force, the Kyoto Protocol needs to be ratified by 55 Parties accounting for 55% of the emissions.

Future Priorities and Actions

The issues which we feel are important to the region and needs to be advanced at national, regional and international levels are:

- Adaptation
- Capacity building
- Technology transfer, and
- Transition to climate/environmentally friendly energy paradigm

Internationally, we continue to call for an early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. We seek greater effort by the industrialised countries to reduce emissions at home and return emissions to 1990 levels as advocated in the UNFCCC. The developing countries need assistance with sound, environmentally friendly technologies and provision of adequate financial and technical resources to advance capacity building and adaptation.

Mahendra Kumar is the International Negotiations Officer with the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), based in Apia, Samoa.

Biodiversity conservation in the Pacific Islands region

- the work of the South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Program

Sam Sesega

South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP)

The Pacific region has more rare, endangered and threatened species per capita than anywhere else on Earth. Its marine environment comprises an enormous and largely unexplored resource including the most extensive and diverse reefs in the world, the largest tuna fishery, the deepest oceanic trenches and the healthiest remaining populations of many globally threatened species including whales, sea turtles, dugongs and saltwater crocodiles.

Its high islands support large blocks of intact rainforests, including many unique species and communities of plants and animals found nowhere else in the world. For some islands, 80% or more of the species are endemic, and Dahl (1985) estimates that 50% of the region's total biodiversity is at risk.

What are the main threats to this biodiversity?

Unfortunately this rich natural heritage is increasingly under threat. Rapid population growth (2.2% for the region; as high as 3.6% in some countries); habitat destruction from logging, mining, agriculture, uncontrolled disposal of wastes and coastal/near-shore degradation; over harvesting of fish and wildlife resources; and invasive species have combined to put tremendous pressures on natural environments and native species. Very new threats to the region's biodiversity are the destructive live reef fish trade from Asia and illegal bio-prospecting.

Some of the main threats to biodiversity are:

- Rapid population growth
- Over-exploitation of resources
- Habitat destruction mainly as a result of development activities.
- Impact of invasive species
- Live reef fish trade
- Illegal bioprospecting

SPREP is one of a number of regional organisations (including regional NGOs) who are actively involved in protecting the region's biodiversity. SPREP is addressing this through the following programmes and activities of its Division for the Conservation of Natural Resources (CNR):

- a) Species conservation programme.
- b) Avifauna and Invasive Species programme
- c) South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Programme (SPBCP)

The Pacific Islands Roundtable of Conservation Organisations – SPREP is a founding member of the informal forum of regional organisations who meet regularly

(twice yearly) to co-ordinate their activities in nature conservation.

By collaborating with SPREP's other technical Divisions (Environmental Education, Information and Capacity Building (EEIC); Environmental Management and Planning (EMP) on cross cutting issues such as information, planning and capacity building.

The South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Programme (SPBCP)

- US\$10.0M Global Environment Facility and AusAID funded through UNDP;
- Executed by SPREP for the Pacific Islands region.
- Initially for 5 years from 1993 – 1997 and extended to the end of 2001.

Aim of SPBCP

To develop strategies for the conservation of biodiversity by means of the sustainable use of biological resources by the South Pacific.

Objectives of SPBCP

- 1) Identify new areas important for conservation of biological diversity, which could become conservation areas (CAs);
- 2) Assist in the creation of CAs that protect biodiversity and demonstrate ecologically sustainable development by the management of natural resources by local communities, NGOs and government agencies;
- 3) Protect threatened or endangered terrestrial and marine species in the Pacific region;
- 4) Improve regional awareness of the importance and means of conserving biological diversity;
- 5) Improve capacities and working relationships between different sectors and agencies contributing to the conservation of the biological diversity.

The Philosophy of SPBCP

SPBCP promotes the in-situ conservation of biological diversity. It seeks to do so by establishing large areas wherein biodiversity is conserved. The CA concept promoted by SPBCP differs from the traditional national park and protected areas concept in that it allows for the utilisation of resources in a sustainable manner, while promoting the conservation of areas of high biodiversity.

The programme is based on the following convictions:

- 1) It is absolutely essential that the local population be

an integral part of the project initiation process and that they agree to participate in its development and implementation.

- 2) The Conservation Area Project (CAPs) are intended to be community driven and owned.
- 3) They must reflect the wishes and desires of the local people as ultimately, the local people should take over the administration and management of Conservation Areas (CAs).

Definition of a 'conservation area'

A generally large (relative to the island(s) on or around which they are established, diverse, geographical units which contain important features for the conservation of the biological diversity of the region or country.

Features of a Conservation Area Project:

- 1) They cover large and diverse areas encompassing either marine or terrestrial ecosystems or both.
- 2) Biodiversity is conserved by ensuring that the use of the resource is sustainable. In this way, the objectives of sustainable and development are integrated.
- 3) CA Communities form an integral part of the project management structure. They participate in project planning, implementation and monitoring.
- 4) Biodiversity conservation uses both traditional practices and scientific methods.
- 5) Income generating activities that use resources and are complementary to conservation objectives are facilitated and supported and are an integral part of the conservation strategy.
- 6) There is emphasis on building the capacity of the community to enable them to take over CA management in the long term.

How is a Conservation Area Project managed?

The Conservation Area Management Structure

The management structure of each Conservation Area Project (CAP) consists of the following:

a) *Lead agency (either an NGO or a government agency) who performs the following functions:*

- Provides a Project Manager who has overall oversight responsibility for the sound management of the Project.
- Conduit for funds and reports between the Project and SPREP and is the contact point between the Project and SPBCP.
- Provide technical support to the Project
- Responsible to SPREP for the proper management, use project funds and accounting for project funds.

b) *Conservation Area Co-ordinating Committee (CACC)*

- Members are drawn from CA community(ies) and other key stakeholders.
- CACC meets quarterly but sometimes more often if required.

- CACC reviews and endorses quarterly work plans and budgets before they are submitted to SPREP. They make sure activities in the workplans reflect community priorities and interests.
- CACC ensures community support and assistance for project implementation.
- CACC helps co-ordinates project implementation especially of activities involving the community participation.

c) *Project staff – Conservation Area Support Officer (CASO) and Conservation Officer (CO).*

- Responsible for the day-to-day implementation of project activities.
- Prepare progress reports, quarterly workplans and budget for CACC to review and endorse.
- Support CACC and Project Manager.

Participatory planning

The need to ensure adequate community participation demands that the project management approach is flexible and adaptive. Planning in this context is a continuous process. But a basic indicative plan is formulated at the preparatory phase of the Project to give an overall structure to the Project. This plan is participatory in its formulation and it identifies the objectives, issues, activities, inputs, expected outputs, risks and workplans and budget. SPBCP's approval of the overall Project is based on this document which is normally referred to as the Project Preparatory Document (PPD).

The PPD becomes the basis for the three-monthly planning process where the Co-ordinating Committee plays a major role. Quarterly workplans are prepared by the CASO based on the PPD. These are reviewed and endorsed by the CACC before they are submitted for SPBCP funding. The objective of the review is to ensure activities proposed in the PPD continues to reflect the priorities of the progress in the implementation of the project over the previous quarter and advise and assist project management in resolving constraints and obstacles to project progress. In this manner, SPBCP adheres to its principle of letting the community drive the Project.

Status of implementation

After 6 years of project planning and implementation:

- 17 conservation areas projects (CAPs) have been established in 12 Pacific Island Countries.
- The ceiling of 17 CAPs is determined to be the optimal number that can be supported effectively by the Secretariat.
- The total area under conservation management in these CAs exceeds 1.3 million hectares.

The following Table One lists the Conservation Area Projects and their respective area:

Table 1: SPBCP Conservation Area Projects

1) Arnavon Islands Marine CA Solomon Islands - 8,270 hectares	10) North Tarawa CA Kiribati - 1,270 hectares
2) Funafuti Marine CA Tuvalu - 3,300 hectares	11) Pohnpei Watershed CA Pohnpei, FSM - 10,625 hectares
3) Haapai Conservation Area Tonga - 1,000,000 hectares	12) Rock Islands CA Palau - 100,000 hectares
4) Huvalu Forest CA Niue - 6,029 hectares	13) Saaapu-Sataoa CA Samoa - 75 hectares
5) Jaluit Atoll CA Marshall Islands - 70,100 hectares	14) Takitimu CA Cook Islands - 155 hectares
6) Kiritimati Atoll CA Kiribati - 52,370 hectares	15) Uafato CA Samoa - 1,306 hectares
7) Komarindi Catchment CA Solomon Island - 19,300 hectares	16) Utwa-Walung CA Kosrae, FSM
8) Koroyanitu CA Fiji - 2,984 hectares	17) Vatthe Community CA Vanuatu - 2,276 hectares
9) Ngaremeduu CA Palau - 484 hectares	Total 1,278,544 hectares

Sustainable resource management:

Sustainable resource management is an important objective of Conservation Area Projects. All CAPs pursue this objective through a combination of proven traditional practices and taboos that are sustainable and modern methods. The use of sustainable traditional methods combined with scientific tools is encouraged. Table 2 lists the CAPs and the methods of resource management used for different types of resources.

The methods are applied either through taboos issued by traditional leaders and enforced locally or through formally constituted resource management plans or national policies supported by national legislation or local by-laws.

Over the years, SPBCP has been encouraging and facilitating the formulation of formal plans to make resource management more systematic, integrative and based on solid scientific data. This approach is important to put in place a process of biodiversity monitoring that is more robust with verifiable results over time. Achieving this aim requires that SPBCP provide technical support and funding in the following areas:

- The collection of biodiversity and resource data to determine the baselines and the extent of resource use;
- The training of CASOs in the information gathering and analytical tools and processes for community based resource management planning;
- Provision on technical assistance in the development of CA management plans
- The determining of biological indicators and the setting up of biological monitoring systems for biological monitoring.

To date all Project CASOs and several CACC members have been trained in two separate sub-regional workshops on community based resource management planning. Many of them have since embarked on the gathering of planning information as part of their resource management planning processes. The Uafato CAP management plan was completed in 1998. The Ngeremeduu CASO completed the management plan for Palau in August 1999. Others are either reviewing existing plans or in the information gathering stages.

The SPBCP has been actively involved in conducting biodiversity surveys in all CAs. During the last two years, 1998-99, these included

- the complete surveying of the flora and fauna of the Koroyanitu Conservation Area in Fiji,
- flying fox survey of the Huvalu Forest in Niue,
- ecological study and flora survey of the Tofua Islands of Tonga,
- reconnaissance survey of the marine resources of Jaluit Atoll, Marshall Islands,
- bird studies of the Kiritimati Atoll of Kiribati

Income generating activities

Income generating activities play a vital role in strengthening and reinforcing the commitment of local communities in conservation. They are seen as incentives that support and strengthen the resolve of enlightened conservation-minded communities rather than inducements for the unenlightened and short-term utility maximisers. In reality, both types are found in CA communities. The types of enterprises that SPBCP have been assisting in setting up include handicraft production, ecotourism facilities and activities development and marketing, forest tree nut harvesting and marketing,

Summary of Conservation Areas and methods used for managing resource

Listing resource management method, CAs using each method
and resource being managed by the corresponding method

1) Controlling access

1.1 By closed areas or zones

Kiritimati, Ngaremeduu, Saanapu-Sataoa, Rock Is., Koroyanitu, Arnavon, Funafuti, Uafato, Vattine, Huvalu, Haapai, Pohnpei, Takitimu, Tahiti BS

Trochus, fish, trees, Micronesian pigeons, milkfish, birds, turtles, bonefish, parrots, ganivatu (hawks), all marine invertebrates, reptiles, ferns, coconut crabs, clams, freshwater fish, pigeons, flying foxes, clam circle, mangroves, coastal plants, kaikerori, land snails, wetlands.

1.2 By closed seasons K o r o y a n i t u ,
Arnavon, Uafato, Vathe, Huvalu, Haapai, North Tarawa, Rock Is., Tahiti BS, Pohnpei, Takitimu, Nagaremeduu, Utwa Walung, Jaluit

Pigeons, megapodes, flying foxes, coconut crabs, migratory fish turtles, mullets, bonefish, groupers, sardines, rabbit fish, Micronesia pigeon, lobsters, freshwater shrimps, atule, trochus, kaikerori, giant clams, mangrove crabs.

2 Controlling harvest

2.1 By setting harvest or catch limits

Arnavon, Uafato, Vathe, Tuvalu, Rock Is., Pohnpei, Tahiti BS

Sharks, ifilele, wild bullocks, pigeons, coconut crabs, timber clams, trochus, turtles

2.2 By defining minimum sizes

Kiritimati, Saanapu-Sataoa, Nageremeduu, Jaluit, Tahiti BS, Utwa Walung, Uafato

Lobsters, mangrove crabs, fishes, trochus, wrasse, parrotfish, hawkbill and green turtles, coconut crabs, clams, ifilele (Intsia bijuga)

3 Controlling who can use the resource

3.1 To only CA community members

Uafato, Vathe, Huvalu

Fish, land chestnuts, coconuts, freshwater prawns, bats, mangroves, trees, marine resources, medicinal plants, megapode eggs

3.2 To only license holders

Huvalu, Haapai, Rock Is., Pohnpei, Kiritimati, Nageremeduu, Tahiti BS

Timber, reef-fish (fencing), mangroves, all fish, bonefish (Kiritimati), mangrove crabs, fish park, pearl oysters, manta rays and shark feeding.

3.3 To only indigenous people

Tahiti, Pohnpei, Ngaremeduu, Arnavon, Funafuti

All resources in most CAs land marine resources and trees, megapodes, coconuts

4 Controlling harvesting practices and technology

4.1 By banning harvesting equipment and gear

All CAPS

Dynamites, poisons, small mesh nets, spear-guns, all fin fish, scuba, poison, firearms, heavy machinery, gillnets 3" min., electric fishing, poison herbs, hunting dogs, coral destruction diving – rubber & wire rods, bow and arrows.

4.2 By banning certain types of harvesting techniques

5 Encouraging the use of alternatives/ substitutes

Haapai, Pohnpei, Tahiti BS, Ngaremeduu, Jaluit, Utwa Walung, Koroyanitu

Other income generating activities, use lowland for sakau, use of larval stages for baits instead of fish for aquaria fish trade fishing, use of traditional fishing methods, instead of dynamites.

agricultural crops enterprises, bee-keeping, aquaculture and several others.

SPBCP support is in the form of seed funds for setting up small community enterprises, technical assistance for feasibility, business planning and marketing studies, and training. In a number of cases, SPBCP support is in partnership with other funding partners. The major ones include The Nature Conservancy in Pohnpei and Amavon

an NZODA in Koroyanitu. Training of CASOs and community representatives cover a wide range of small business management, ecotourism planning, tour-guiding, scuba diving, handicraft making and marketing.

The following list in Table 3 shows the conservation area projects and the types of income generating activities they are engaged in:

Table 3: SPBCP Conservation Area Projects – Income Generating Activities

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1) Amavon Islands Marine CA, Solomon Is.
Fishing ventures, ecotourism, handicraft</p> <p>2) Funafuti Marine CA, Tuvalu
Ecotourism – outer-island tours, scuba and snorkeling, handicraft, pandanus selling.</p> <p>3) Haapai Conservation Area, Tonga
Ecotourism, handicraft</p> <p>4) Huvalu Forest CA, Niue
Ecotourism, handicraft, coconut oil production</p> <p>5) Jaluit Atoll CA, Marshall Is
Ecotourism – tours of World War II relics, scuba and snorkeling, handicraft, fishing</p> <p>6) Kiritimati Atoll CA, Kiribati
Ecotourism – sport fishing, birdwatching, handicraft</p> <p>7) Komarindi Catchment CA, Solomon Islands
Ecotourism – forest sightseeing & hiking</p> <p>8) Koroyanitu CA, Fiji
Ecotourism – accommodation, forest hiking tours</p> <p>9) Ngaremeduu CA, Palau
Ecotourism – kayaking, snorkeling and scuba diving, water</p> | <p>sports</p> <p>10) North Tarawa CA, Kiribati
Handicrafts, ecotourism</p> <p>11) Pohnpei Watershed CA, Pohnpei FSM
Ecotourism – forest tours; handicrafts</p> <p>12) Rock Islands CA, Palau
Ecotourism – snorkeling, scuba diving, water sports.</p> <p>13) Saaapu-Sataoa CA, Samoa
Ecotourism-mangrove canoe tours; cultural experience; mangrove crab harvesting, aquaculture.</p> <p>14) Takitimu CA, Cook Islands
Ecotourism – forest and bird watching tours</p> <p>15) Uafato CA, Samoa
Handicrafts, bee-keeping, ecotourism</p> <p>16) Utwa-Walung CA, Kosrae FSM
Ecotourism – mangrove forest tours, snorkeling and scuba diving</p> <p>17) Vatthe Community CA, Vanuatu
Lodges for accommodation, forest and culture tours, ngali nut harvesting.</p> |
|--|---|



Cook Islands participants Maui Bradbury, Danny Mataroa and Manongi Latham

Building communities capacities

The sustainability of Conservation Area Projects relies ultimately on the commitment to and capacity of local communities to manage them. SPBCP is active in building this capacity of the local CA Support Officer (CASO), members of the CACC and many others in the communities.

SPBCP sponsored formal training takes place regionally as well as in-country. CASOs are themselves trainers in several skills areas and these skills are passed on informally through working together with local colleagues and community members, or in in-country workshops.

SPBCP has also supported study tours by community representatives (mainly CACCs) to similar Projects in neighbouring countries to promote the exchange of experiences and the cross-fertilisation of new knowledge. Since 1996, the following tours were funded:

- the Kosrae CACC toured Pohnpei (1998)
- the Haapai CACC tour of Uafato and Saanapu-Sataoa in Samoa (1998)
- Takitimu CACC(Cooks) tour of the Samoan CAPs and Koroyanitu CAP in Fiji (1996)
- Komarindi CACC's (Solomons) tour of Vathe CAP in Vanuatu (1998)

Lessons learned

Some of the key lessons learned from the SPBCP experience are listed below.

- 1) Community based conservation projects require longer time frames for capacities of communities to be strengthened and for income generating activities to bear fruit. The sustainability of projects depends on these factors among others. In many cases, donors must be committed to supporting CAPs over a term that is longer than the conventional five-year project life.
- 2) Local communities need the support of local government line ministries and NGOs for technical advice and assistance. Partnerships with government agencies and NGOs for this purpose are crucial for the long term success of Conservation Area Projects.
- 3) Benefits from income generating activities must be handled in a transparent manner and distributed equitably. Project inputs (especially funds) must likewise be handled with transparency.
- 4) Unity amongst participating communities is vital to holding the Project together. Factional communities undermine CACC unity and will adversely affect the Project.

5) Participating communities must be satisfied that the spud of project activities and benefits amongst them are fair and balanced. Perceptions of unfairness and lack of balance will undermine community interest and commitment.

6) A strong CACC is crucial to the sustainability of the CAP. Strong CACCs are usually those with members drawn from all sectors or interest groups. CACCs that include traditional leaders or community members of status and authority are the most effective and successful.

7) A committed and competent CASO and a supportive Project Manager and Lead Agency is crucial to the success of the CAP.

8) Unrealistic community expectations of benefits to be gained are a major threat to their commitment and support for the CAP. It is important that during the initial consultations in planning the CA, that the community members are fully informed of the nature of the Project and of the kinds of activities and the levels of benefits to be expected.

Annex 1: SPBCP Secretariat and TMAG

The SPBCP Secretariat

SPBCP implementation is supported by a secretariat consisting of a Programme Manager, Programme Officer (resource management), Programme Officer (socio-economics), Programme Officer (species conservation), Executive Officer, and two Divisional Assistants.

SPBCP also draws on the assistance of other professional staff within the Division for the Conservation of Natural Resources of SPREP, including the Invasive Species/Avifauna Programme Officer, Coastal Management Officer and Wetlands Officer.

Technical Management Advisory Group (TMAG)

The SPBCP also has a technical management advisory group (TMAG) of independent technical experts and representatives from donor organisations (UNDP, AusAID, NZODA) who provide technical advice and review project progress. TMAG meets once annually.

Samuelu Sesega is the Programme Officer (Resource Management), South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) in Apia Samoa. In his absence, this paper was presented by Mahendra Kumar of SPREP.

Transshipment of plutonium

Hidemichi Kano
Gensuikin, Japan

Thank you all for letting me share this important moment with you. I have to speak about the serious crime now taking place on this Pacific Ocean.

Two ships, both have the word "Pacific" in their names, *Pacific Teal* and *Pacific Pintail*, have been sailing through the Pacific islands to Japan with their deadly cargo of plutonium. This commercial shipment of nuclear weapons-usable plutonium fuel is only a beginning of 80 to 100 times of these series.

These two British-flagged freighters carry nuclear material MOX fuel (plutonium mixed with uranium), fabricated in Europe from Japanese spent nuclear fuel. Plutonium is known as the most dangerous toxic substance that humans ever made. It is also a material to make nuclear weapons. This point is important, as it shows the difference from MOX and nuclear waste shipments, another problem caused by Japanese spent nuclear fuel from power plants.

These ships need protection from possible attack by terrorists or so called rogue countries, because this MOX fuel assembly contains around 500 kilograms of plutonium and you can easily make 60 nuclear bombs from it. So, for the first time as commercial ships since World War Two, these two ships are armed by 30-mm cannons and staffed by British officers with machine-guns. Security and proliferation issues are now involved in these shipments.

The nuclear industry claims this transport is safe, but they are based upon the safety standards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that are very limited. The casks which these MOX fuel assemblies are in cannot stand a serious fire or collision.

I heard there was a big earthquake in Taiwan yesterday. I do not know the details, but no one can tell there is no possibility of an accident like hit by tidal wave on their long route through the Atlantic, around the Cape of Good Hope in Southern Africa, through the Indian Ocean, around Australia and through the Pacific islands. Serious damage could come from an accident, but no environmental impact assessments are done yet.

This shows one of the examples of irresponsibility of this joint project by Japan, the United Kingdom and France. The nuclear industry use lies to claim its safety. They provide information only suitable for their convenience. They cover up accidents and made up important data. One example recently revealed is the casks used to transport spent nuclear fuel. The nuclear companies changed the

data about a radiation shield when they produced it and got a licence by the government.

The nuclear industry sent officials to the Pacific islands to argue in favour of this shipment. Japan's reasons to justify their needs for plutonium use are actually not true. Their ambitious plutonium plan was based on a dream of Fast Breeder Reactor (FBR), which produces more fuel than it uses. This forty-year old dream was proved wrong and now became a nightmare while creating tons of plutonium and nuclear waste.

In 1995, the prototype of FBR Monju had an accident and that should be the turning point of the Japanese reprocessing policy. This accident brought Japan's development of fast breeder reactors to an end. The constructions of Monju look eight years with a total cost of 600 billion yen, or US\$5 billion. Monju achieved criticality in April 1994, and succeeded in generating electricity in August 1995.

The accident happened during a final check before the start up of full power operation and was caused by metal fatigue due to vibration of the thermocouple in the secondary loop. The leaked sodium coolant reacted with moisture in the air resulting in a fire, which melted part of the steel floor. The accident was caused by a basic design error of the thermocouple. The sodium diffused in a wide area, and will continue to make the plant's instrumentation vulnerable to corrosion.

Now, the only justification for Japan to hold on to its increasing surplus of plutonium is to use it in the form of MOX in light water reactors. These reactors are designed to use uranium fuels, and using plutonium is just like using gasoline in oil heaters. It is not safe, and economically speaking, MOX is much expensive than uranium fuel. There is no reasonable justification or social benefit for the continuation of plutonium separation and the launch of a MOX fuel program for economic, security, safety, waste management and social implications.

As long as Japan continues its reprocessing policy and continues plutonium separation from spent nuclear fuel already sent to France and the United Kingdom, these dangerous transshipments could take place. The Pacific Ocean could become a freeway of plutonium and nuclear waste, floating Chernobyls going through Pacific islands every month.

Some 50 nations have previously objected to nuclear transport and Caribbean states and the New Zealand Government have already expressed formal opposition. Pacific Island governments including Marshall Islands, Fiji, Vanuatu have spoken out against this shipment. We should act now to speak out.

Hidemichi Kano is a campaigner with the anti-nuclear organisation Gensuikin in Tokyo, Japan.

Fiji's Christmas Island nuclear veterans

Losena Tubanavau-Salabula

Pacific Concerns Resource Centre, Fiji Islands

Iaorana! To the *tangata fenua* of Te Ao Maohi, I want to thank you for allowing me to set foot on your land. To the Superintendent of the Evangelical Church of Arue, thank you for permitting us to hold the 8th NFIP Conference on this very royal and holy land. A very special thank you to the members of *Tavini Huiraa* for their hospitality and hard work which made this conference possible.

Christmas Island was encountered by Captain Cook on Christmas Eve in 1777, and that is how the island got its name. Christmas Island is in the Line Group north of the Equator and is politically under the nation of Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands.

In 1957-58, the United Kingdom conducted a series of hydrogen bomb tests at Christmas Island known as the Grapple series (these tests followed earlier nuclear tests in Australia, at Maralinga, Emu Field and Monte Bello). As well as British and New Zealand troops, Fijian military personnel also took part in the Grapple tests conducted by Britain (At the time, Fiji was still a British colony and the Fijian military forces came under the British command). It is estimated that some 300 Fijian Army and Navy troops participated in the bomb tests, construction work and clean-up operations from 1957 – 1960. Most of the young Fijian men were between the age of 19 and 25 years and most of them single.

Forty years after the British tested nine bombs on Christmas Island and Malden Island, nothing has been heard about compensation for the Fiji veterans, for their sufferings from the Grapple tests. A US-based attorney Ian Anderson has been campaigning on behalf of the British nuclear veterans; who were exposed to the Christmas Island bomb tests.

The situation of the Fiji veterans parallels that of the former test site workers in French Occupied Polynesia, and other nuclear veterans from Britain, Australia and New Zealand. *This is the evil of Colonialism.* The issue of compensation also remains crucial for the people of the Marshall Islands, where the US conducted 67 atomic and hydrogen bombs tests between 1946 and 1958 on Bikini and Enewetak Atolls.

In late 1996, an NFIP activist Steven Ratuva wrote to our PCRC Director, Lopeti Senituli and told him about the Court Case on the British nuclear veterans who went to Christmas Island at the European Court of Human Rights. He suggested that the Fiji veterans could be followed up by the PCRC.

The Director saw the need to document the heroic deeds of the Fijian veterans. So Mr. Senituli commissioned the work to begin documenting the stories of the Fiji Christmas

Island veterans.

How did PCRC collect or compile information? We first put out a notice in the Fijian weekly paper *Na i Lalakai* on 15 May 1997. We called the veterans to come to PCRC office, where we began the interviews and some of the veterans testified the horror of their work on Christmas Island. The response from the veterans was quite good: some physically visited while some telephoned us - but many of them had passed away.

Most of those that came to visit us had never seen each other for forty years. Some could not recognise their very closest friends, due to the sicknesses that they have which they attributed to their exposure to radiation. There were tears of joy and also of sadness. One of them told me: "You know, I am 20 years older than what I should be actually; I regretted going to Christmas Island. If I had known about the effects before, I would not have gone." Another said: "We were never told what we went there for, until we arrived. A British Army commander told us why we came to Christmas Island - that was to test the atomic and hydrogen bombs, to help in the development of Britain's nuclear power. He warned that we will suffer from some very serious diseases and our children too will and even our grand children and great grand children as the results of the tests. However, you should never tell anyone anything about the activities here on Christmas Island."

Some of the veterans came and said that they still retain their allegiance to the military and will not reveal anything, and will die with it. But many others were very angry and quite saddened by the way they were treated by the Fiji government and also the British.

The most interesting and moving part was when veterans shed tears to reminisce about their time together at Christmas Island. For almost six months, the office of PCRC was the meeting place of the veterans. Also the media, at national, regional and even international level - particularly the British journalists and Bruce Hill of Radio New Zealand - consistently made very good coverage of the British bomb tests on Christmas Island.

PCRC was able to compile information through interviews and some told their own stories. We were also able to collect information from friends like: Ian Anderson; Mrs Sui Kiritome of Kiribati, Bruce Sowter; the After Care Fund of Fiji.

It was not easy to collect information about the Christmas Island bomb tests, there was very little available in Fiji. Secrecy is a feature of militarism. Despite the hardships

PCRC encountered in compiling information, we succeeded in publishing the book *Kirisimasi*, which was launch on 23 June 1999 by Fiji's Minister for Home Affairs.

The book *Kirisimasi* has two very important features that made it very historic. Firstly, it is the first bilingual book to be published in Fiji, in English and Fijian; and secondly, it is the first documentary book of the Fijian veterans who participated in the British hydrogen bomb tests after forty years.

I will take us back to 27 April 1998 when the former Fiji government announced it would amend both the Pension Act and the After Care Fund Act to cover the Christmas Island veterans. The Fiji veterans were not covered because their service on Christmas Island was classified in the military context as *inactive service*, regardless of all the health devastation experienced by the veterans and their children and their children's children. I can confirm to you, my brothers and sisters, that it is through the consistent lobbying and advocacy work of the PCRC staff that revoked the attitude and the decision of the Fiji government to compensate the Fiji veterans. The payment is on hold now through PCRC's request to await the hearing of the European Court of Human Rights.

To my brothers and sisters of Te Ao Maohi, you have been the nuclear victims for 33 years, the Fijians for 43 years and the Marshallese for 54 years. Do you think that

we should give in to the French? NO! Do you think we should give in to the British? NO! Do you think we should give in to the Americans? NO! To all the peoples of the Pacific who are here today: do you think we should give in to Indonesia, Chile, Australia and New Zealand? NO. We have been the victims of different agents of colonialism. We must be liberated from the evils of imperialism.

We are the *tangata whenua* of the lands of the Pacific, as the theme of the 8th NFIP Conference says Wake up, stand up, work, work for justice, for truth and for independence into the new millenium. *No Te Parau Tia, No Te Parau Mau, No Te Tiamaraa, E Tu, E Tu!*

I want to take this opportunity to thank Lopeti Senituli my Director and his good and humble wife Mrs. Lupe Senituli who is always quietly working hard behind the scenes in both good and hard times. Also I want to thank the Executive Board Members for working with us for the last three years. *Vinaka saka vakalevu, Malo au pito, Kom e mmol tata, Mauruuru maitai.*

Losena Tubanavau Salabula has worked as a teacher in Fiji and the Marshall Islands, and currently serves as the Assistant Director Demilitarisation for the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre. She is co-author, with Nic Maclellan and Josua Nameoce, of the book Kirisimasi (PCRC, Suva, 1999).



Losena Salabula (left) with Nic Maclellan and Josua Nameoce, co-authors of *Kirisimasi*

Theme four: Militarisation and the new arms race in the Pacific

Keynote address on demilitarisation:

The new arms race in Asia and the Pacific

Cora Fabros

Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition

As ever, it is through a gathering of peace forces and those committed to independence struggles, that future generations are given hope and assurance for a better, safer tomorrow. Our struggle is an arduous and difficult one because of the enormous and powerful foe that confronts us. But history has time and again shown, that it is not the size or might alone of the aggressor that determine the outcome of the fight.

It is the determination of a struggling people that ultimately spells the difference, as we have witnessed in the struggles for independence of the peoples of Vanuatu and now the peoples of East Timor (or Timor Lorosae as it should be appropriately called). These are inspirations that we carry in our hearts as we build on our work and look forward to independence for our brothers and sisters here in Te Ao Maohi, West Papua, Bougainville, and other still colonised Pacific island nations.

When talking about struggles for self-determination and independence, what stands out is the fact that our colonisers have occupied our lands and subjugated our people through the power of the gun. The use of military and violence have been a common denominator, whether we are looking at centuries of history or contemporary times.

This year 1999 marks 100 years of US intervention in Asian affairs. The era began on 4 February 1899 when US troops trampled on Philippine soil, undermined the freedom and sovereignty that our forefathers won after 300 years of Spanish colonisation, waged a war of conquest and colonised the Philippines so as to gain a market and military stronghold in Asia.

The bloody US conquest of the Philippines in 1899 caused the death of more than 650,000 Filipinos or 20% of our population at the time. Most of them were civilians. Historians have described the Philippine-American War as America's first Vietnam in Asia.

In 1991, the Philippines people ended the US military presence in the Philippines through the historic rejection of the RP-US Military Bases Agreement. It is unfortunate that this year 1999 also marks the return of US forces and military exercises in Philippine soil after the Philippine Senate's ratification of the RP-US Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA). This development will restore the role that the Philippines played when we had US bases in our



Corazon Fabros, Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition

country - as an accomplice in intervention and aggression by US forces in the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East, or any part of the world. There are trends and developments that support the assertion that there is a new arms race in Asia and the Pacific. Some elements include:

- US military presence in the Asia-Pacific region
- The US-Japan Military alliance and the 1991 Security Guidelines
- RP-US Visiting Forces Agreement, 1999
- Foreign aid, arms trade and military and paramilitary build-up
- US security and defence policies
- War games and joint military exercises in Asia and the Pacific region

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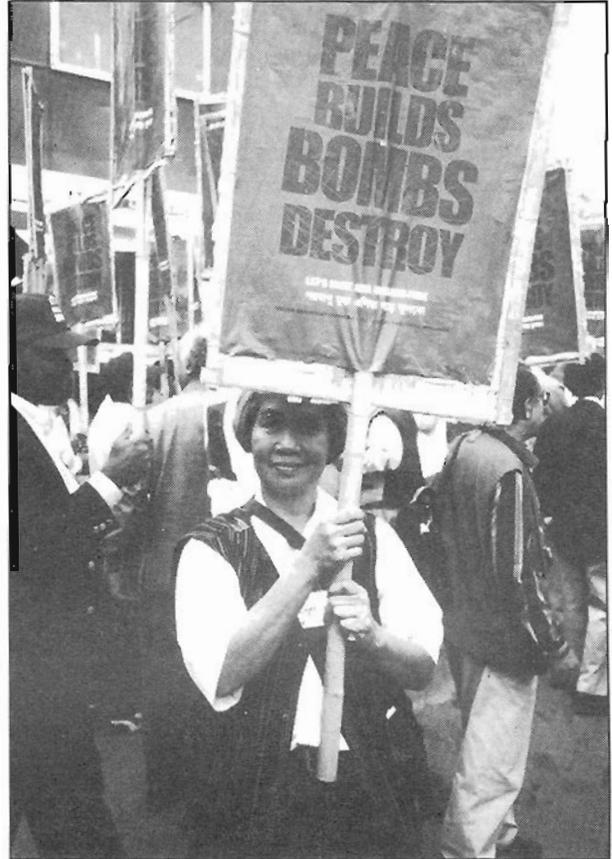
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- War games and joint military exercises in Asia and the Pacific region

1) The US military presence in the Asia-Pacific region

The main military bases covering the Asia-Pacific region are located in Alaska, Hawai'i, Japan, Korea, Guam, Saipan, Singapore and Diego Garcia.

Other Asian countries do not have bases but are covered by Access and Cross Servicing Agreements (ACSA), Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA), or Visiting Forces Agreements (VFA) as in the case for the Philippines. These agreements provide supply arrangements and unimpeded sea/air access to ports and harbours. The forward presence of the United States - more than 100,000 troops - with its bases, agreements and operations is a stumbling block to the self-determination efforts of communities, undermining efforts to create a non-militarised regional security system.

The US-Japan military alliance and the 1999 Security guidelines

Today, the cornerstone of US military presence in Asia and the Pacific is still the US-Japan military alliance.

The revised Japan-US Mutual Defence Co-operation Guidelines, signed in 1999, intensify the nature and range of US-Japan military operations, causing unease among Japan's neighbours. These guidelines will allow Japanese forces to provide stronger rearguard support to US forces in crises that directly threaten the country's security. US naval ships would be allowed to use Japanese civilian ports and Japanese ships could conduct mine-sweeping operations. It improves US-Japan military co-operation in providing fuel, food, medical services and transport and allows Japan to send warships to rescue Japanese citizens overseas.

In Okinawa, US Marine Expeditionary units form the core of today's interventionary forces in the Asia-Pacific region. In this region, US military might is actually the largest military force overseas of a foreign military power on land and sea. As US Air Force General John Lorber bragged: "We the US, are a Pacific nation where command extends from the west coast of the United States to the eastern coast of Africa and includes both polar extremes."

The United States aims to maintain and expand existing bilateral military and security treaties, the core of which is the inter-operability of strategy, command and equipment, and where the US military command is the "first among equals". Corollary to this is the US doctrine of "open and unimpeded access" to Asia-Pacific waters and the Indian Ocean.

US military today is anchored on six security treaties in the region with Japan (1951), the Republic of Korea (1953), Australia (1951), the Philippines (1951), Thailand (1954) and the Compacts of Free Association with the Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia and Palau (1986).

The US - Republic of the Philippines Visiting Forces Agreement of 1999

Like previous military treaties between the Philippine government and the US, the 1999 Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and its onerous provisions show utter disrespect for Philippine territorial integrity, environment and the dignity of the Filipino people. The VFA reintroduces US military troops into the Republic of the Philippines, granting them landing and docking rights and extra-territorial privileges. It grants special privileges to US forces like exemption from taxes, duties, charges, visa regulations and judicial jurisdiction over crimes that may be committed within Philippine territory. The US considered 22 commercial ports as military access points, opening the whole country to unprecedented US military presence.

More ominously, the VFA does not require the US military to declare whether or not nuclear weapons are on board vessels entering Philippines territory. This allows the transport of nuclear weapons into the country and the possibility of a nuclear explosion. It also opens the country to possible external threat from enemies of the US.

The VFA is now a serious threat to our peoples' security and welfare. The US global military apparatus that now spends US\$264 billion annually - including its 15,000 nuclear warheads and a new generation of nuclear weapons - is now a prime and favourite target of dedicated Islamic groups challenging US imperial interests in the Middle East. They could strike anywhere against US interests, especially US military units sent out against them. A borderless US military presence in the country attracts borderless retaliation and attacks by America's foes.

Other "activities" granted to US forces by the VFA have grave implications for both our public and private security. The US National Security Agency (NSA) has developed a global surveillance system called ECHELON, which is a powerful electronic net that intercepts and monitors all phone, fax, e-mail and modem signals. The 1998 European Parliament report entitled "*An appraisal of technologies of political control*" has listed serious concerns and has recommended an intensive investigation of US-NSA operations, which utilise military communications' facilities in other host countries. The NSA ECHELON system provides awesome potential for abuse against civilian targets and governments worldwide, even against allies of the US.

In the VFA, the definition of US military personnel includes not only US soldiers and sailors but also 44 civilian personnel who are employed by the US armed forces. These US "civilians" include technicians and specialists of the National Security Agency, which during the time of US bases operated spy communication facilities at Clark, Subic and Camp John Hay. All private citizens' communications are intercepted and monitored by the ECHELON system, which is one of the most sophisticated

eavesdropping networks in the world. According to Nicky Hager's 1996 book about the international spy network "Secret Power", the US has not only been using its NSA ECHELON system to collect political, military and economic intelligence against its enemies. According to Hager, "there is extensive interception of the ASEAN countries including the Philippines . . . where ASEAN meetings receive special attention with both public and private communications of these countries being intercepted to reveal the topics discussed, positions being taken and policy being considered." Through the VFA, US plans to fully restore its ECHELON system in the Philippines, which was interrupted by the pullout of US military facilities and bases. ECHELON functions as an electronic intercept and processing operation geared towards civilian communications, including those of governments.

We are concerned about the environmental destruction that will again be inflicted by US military exercises and port calls. The Prefecture of Okinawa has documented environmental contamination and damage on its shores through the US port calls and military exercises. Some examples:

- a) artillery firing exercises have destroyed their forests and mountains and contaminated lands with TNT, RBX, DNT and unexploded ammunition and missiles;
- b) contamination of Okinawan waters by asbestos, lead and PCB;
- c) red soil erosion as a result of regular military manoeuvres;
- d) cobalt 60 emitted from military ports;
- e) PCB polluting Okinawa civilian water supply;
- f) mutant frogs have been discovered in Gushkawa City coastal area surrounding US military facilities.

With the VFA, Filipinos could once again be at the receiving end of human rights violations committed by US armed forces. Scavengers may once again be mistaken as wild boars as bullets rip their flesh. Poor women and children may be forced to engage in the flesh trade due to extreme economic difficulty. The presence of Americans could also result in the mushrooming of brothels, nightspots and other "entertainment centres" for their unlimited pleasure.

Foreign aid, the arms trade, military build-up and paramilitaries

An examination of \$13.6 billion in US foreign aid activity for Fiscal Year 1997 reveals that almost half of the aid is military or security assistance. Every year, billions of dollars are spent on the active militarisation of the world through direct grants of military equipment or financing of equipment purchases. There is no need to emphasise that this aid comes as icing in the cake on military and defence agreements that are being forged with governments in Asia and the Pacific region. These deals are often undertaken under a veil of secrecy forged by corrupt and unscrupulous defence negotiators. The United States invests more on militarisation than in development aid, contrary to its

announced foreign policy objectives such as sustainable development, protection of human health and promotion of economic growth.

According to a July 1998 study on foreign aid and the arms trade by Joan Whelan of the Council of a Liveable World, the United States has approved hundreds of millions of dollars worth of commercial licenses for weapons sales and joint production between defence manufacturers and governments involved in or recently emerging from civil war or other forms of conflict. The United States holds a disproportionately large share of the global arms market with 49 per cent of all weapons sales. These transfers can increase the threat of war, help fuel arms races and represent huge opportunity costs that in the end limit economic and social development.

Aid to Asia and the Pacific is directed primarily to some of the poorest nations in the world and some of the most populous - in programs ranging from \$30-\$50 million. The vast majority of military assistance programs consist of military equipment stockpiles. Nations in East and Southeast Asia are consistently some of the best customers for US arms exports. In the five years from 1993-1997, eight nations in Asia (including Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, Japan, Singapore and the Philippines) purchased more than \$18.5 billion of military equipment from the US through the Foreign Military Sales Program.

The Philippines has asked a number of defence manufacturers to bid in the production of fighter jets and patrol ships that will be part of a fifteen year \$8.5 billion plan to upgrade its military capabilities. The Asia-Pacific region accounts for 48 per cent of world arms purchases. The 1997-8 economic collapse is undermining human security in many Asian countries, threatening the stability of the entire region. In some countries, newly modernised militaries have been turned on civil populations to ensure "internal security".

In the *New York Times* of 7 September 1999, there is an article about American submarines on patrol in the Atlantic carrying small warheads. This is the W-88, which is one of the most deadly weapons in the US arsenal. The US Navy is adding this weapon to its Pacific fleet, so in the next few years the W-88 is likely to be aimed at China.

We also need to look into the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) which is designed to liberalise investments, but its powerful provisions limit governments' ability to intervene in the economy. Such corporate treaties pose a serious threat to measures to promote peace and security. The MAI will have a dual effect of threatening social programs, while protecting and enhancing military spending and arms trade. The purpose of the MAI is to remove virtually all barriers to the free flow of investments by investors (i. e. corporations) between contracting parties (i. e. signatory countries), thus

granting special protection for military spending and putting restrictions on governments' ability to control the arms trade.

We should also look into the weapons trade shows that are being sponsored by the arms industry with the co-operation of governments. Such exhibitions are a yearly event in the Philippines and regularly held in Australia. There is an upcoming international aerospace exhibition in Dubai in November 1999. This is meant to seek more markets in the Asia and Pacific region through demonstration of the use and effectiveness of weapons systems.

US security and defence policy

US strategic presence is implemented by 100,000 US troops deployed in the region. According to the 1997 Report of the Quadrennial Defence Review by the US Department of Defence, US national defence and security policy is now inter-twined with economic globalisation such as "protection of the sea lanes of trade" and "ensuring unhampered access to key markets, energy supplies and strategic resources."

Pentagon literature now treats operational jurisdiction of the Pacific Command as "highways of trade which are vital to US national security." It is in this context that the territorial claims in the Spratlys in the South China Sea by five Asian countries can be seen as a potential flashpoint in the region. Incidentally, it is this tension perceived as created by China's aggressive territorial claim in the Spratlys, that has provided justification to restore military presence in the Philippines through the Visiting Forces Agreement.

A paper presented by the Centre for Defence Information to the US National Security Study Group in March 1999, sets out developing trends that affect security:

- Many nations will continue to move toward some form of democratic government and open markets.
- National minorities within states created during the colonial era will demand more equitable share of economic and political power; or, they will pursue measures to gain independence.
- The United States will encounter greater resistance to permanent stationing and forward deployments of US forces overseas.
- Potential adversaries will move away from classic force-on-force confrontations with the US and its allies.
- Computer-based information gathering, data storage, and distribution will increase, and greater familiarity with computer techniques will enhance the possibility for cyber warfare and the need for cyber defence.

- The 19th and 20th century concept of absolute national sovereignty will be challenged by the growing power inherent in non-state transnational finance and trade organisations, the growth in treaties regulating or allocating the distribution of resources, and other agreements embodying international norms and standards; e. g. human and political rights

The use of cyberspace in the 21st Century opens new areas of concern. The *Arms Sales Monitor* reports in May 1999 that: "One aspect of the Pentagon's Defence Reform Initiative is the Department of Defence Electronic Mall, an Internet based system providing 'one stop shopping' for the DOD warfighter to quickly and easily locate and order items from commercial electronic catalogues.

Hoping to provide the best in modern customer service to its foreign arms sales customers as well, the DOD is planning a pilot program for integrating Foreign Military Sales into the e-mail for June 1999." That is virtually arms sales on the Internet.

Wargames and joint military exercises in Asia and the Pacific region

The primary purpose of US military training and exercises is to familiarise foreign military forces with the use of US weapons and military hardware. Joint training is important in creating a climate of support for US foreign policy goals and in establishing personal contact and influence between US military and foreign defence officers. US military exercises are part and parcel of the Pentagon's expansion of US military might world-wide and to maximise capabilities for intervention.

US Army training institutions for foreign soldiers like the School of Americas has trained thousands of soldiers from Latin America, Asia and Africa. Among those trained were former military dictators and officers responsible for the deaths of thousands of people. This has aligned the US with the forces of tyranny and oppression. US military training programs have instructed and indoctrinated tens of thousands of government killers, death squads, US agents and counters.

In 1996, the US Department of Defence finally admitted that training manuals used at its military schools included instructions on torture, beating, murder, extortion and recruitment of informers and counter-insurgency operations. The United States has scheduled at least eight joint military exercises in the Philippines before the end of 1999 as a result of the VFA ratification.

The age of colonialism is slow to die, as self-determination and independence struggles of Timor Lorosae, Guam, and New Caledonia demonstrate. Larger powers are suppliers of military equipment and training programs to Pacific islands where there has been a build-up of militaries and paramilitaries.

Here in the Pacific, seven Pacific island countries have taken part in the Paradise '99 naval wargames in June 1999. About 300 naval personnel, 12 vessels and patrol boats took part in the 12-day exercise that took place in the Solomon Sea. The wargames included forces from Australia, Papua New Guinea, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, New Zealand, Palau and the Solomon Islands. The objective of Paradise '99 is to share tactics, skills and equipment.

Fijian soldiers travel to New Caledonia each year for military exercises and training (including commando training) in co-operation with the French armed forces. In return, French soldiers are sent on attachment with the Fiji Military Force. To mark Bastille day in 1998, a French warship from New Caledonia arrived in Suva to unload trucks, spare parts and military supplies as military aid for the Fiji Military Forces.

Other countries have started similar programs. French troops from New Caledonia joined US Marines and the Tonga Defence Services for wargames in Tonga in 1998. Tonga now conducts annual military exercises in France. French police trainers also helped establish the elite intervention force of the Vanuatu police, with training in firearms, close order combat and special operations.

Members of Vanuatu's paramilitary police force joined exercises in New Caledonia funded by France. French aid programs have been formally extended to cover eight South Pacific countries – Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tonga, Samoa, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands.

This opens the way for provision of military equipment,

military assistance to local armies and training of overseas military personnel in French military schools.

The armed forces of France, Australia and New Zealand are co-operating on maritime surveillance of the small island states of the region. The use of the navy and airforce for civilian surveillance and search and rescue should not cover up the ongoing military functions of this naval co-operation.

Australia-supplied patrol boats were used in the blockade of Bougainville by the Papua New Guinea Defence Force, in a conflict causing death to at least 12,000 lives. Even with the closure of the Nuclear Testing Centre on Moruroa, France is maintaining military forces in the Pacific.

The call for self-determination and independence in the French Pacific colonies of New Caledonia and French Polynesia takes on an increasing importance in this light. The end of nuclear testing in 1996 is an important step for security in the region, but not the end of the issue.

Now more than ever it is imperative for us in the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement to be vigilant, to provide the leadership that is needed during these crucial moments for our brothers and sisters in Timor Lorosae, Bougainville, West Papua, Kanaky and other nations struggling for genuine independence. We must persist in the struggle for justice, peace, and independence in the region.

Corazon Valdez Fabros is a lawyer from the Philippines, and has worked as Secretary General of the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC).



Internal militarisation in the South Pacific - Papua New Guinea as a case study

Karibae John Kawowo

Melanesian Solidarity (Melsol), Papua New Guinea

May I begin by taking this opportunity to thank Mayor Oscar Temura and his people of Te Ao Maohi for accepting us in their great land, the Evangelical Church of Tahiti for sheltering us and to Lopeti Senituli and his hard working secretariat staff of the PCRC for bringing us here.

When I first received the invitation to participate in this 8th NFIP Conference, I was not sure whether I would be granted an entry visa due to my involvement in burning the French flag in 1995, when France announced its re-introduction of nuclear testing. That year the South Pacific Forum was held in Papua New Guinea and the NGOs had initiated the concept of South Pacific NGO Parallel Forum.

Mayor Oscar Temaru was invited but unfortunately he was unable to attend. I must say here that "Your Struggle is Our Struggle" and it is not over until it's over.

Our last NFIP Conference Resolution No.26 on "Internal Militarisation in the Pacific" had little achievement since after the resolution was adopted. Our last resolution had some impacts like the withdrawal of PNG troops in Bougainville and the war on Bougainville.

My panel presentation is on the internal militarisation in the South Pacific, focussing on Papua New Guinea as a case study. The Internal Militarisation issue is thought only to be experienced in the Non Self-Governing Territories of the Pacific. But that is not always the case now.

The war on Bougainville, between the people of Bougainville and the PNG military, had already set the precedent in the Pacific that internal militarisation is no longer faced by the Non Self-Governing Territories, but also an independent island state like Papua New Guinea.

There are maybe many causes to the internal war, but most conflicts start due to the people's relationship with their land, sea, waters and its resources. The Pacific peoples have a very unique relationship with their lands, seas, waters and resources and that is their livelihood.

A clear example is in Papua New Guinea, where the owners of the copper-rich island Bougainville were not informed about their wealth before development. There were no consent given in agreements for the development of their resources and fair compensation for exploitation of their resource, due to unfair negotiations between the State and Multinational Corporation. As a result, a war on Bougainville had started.

Once the Bougainville war had started, the arms build-up in Papua New Guinea increased. The law enforcement agencies have purchased high-powered military equipment to kill their own people under the banner of maintaining law and order problems. We have seen the deployment of armed Rapid Deployment Units (special police) to the major mining projects - to protect the companies, not the peoples who are owners of the resources. There have been massive abuses of human rights under the guise of maintaining law, order and peace.

Another impact of internal militarisation is the arms build-up within communities, using high-powered arms to resolve conflicts between two tribal groups. This has affected the border relationship between Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands where the PNG military and police of the Solomon Islands exchanged guns shots.

The recent ethnic crisis between the Malaita and Guadalcanal people of the Solomon Islands is a direct spill over of the ten years of war on Bougainville. Internal militarisation (specifically arms build-up and use of military equipment by the communities against the State) has already planted roots in the Pacific.

This experience in Papua New Guinea shows us not see internal militarisation happening only in Pacific Non Self-Governing Territories but may happen in the independent states because of our Pacific people's unique relationship between our land, seas, waters and resources.

I wish to thank the Nuclear Free Independent Pacific Movement and others unknown who had sent protest letters to PNG Government as well as solidarity letters to my three comrades and myself after our public protest march against the PNG Government's hiring of Sandline mercenaries. Without your international support, we don't know what would have happened to us.

I wish thank Lopeti Senituli and his good working partner (Lupe Senituli) for the commitment he had for the peoples of the Pacific as I acknowledge the time Mrs. Ellen Whelan had spent for the *Pacific News Bulletin*. I find no words that would satisfy the expression of thank you for your commitment to the NFIP Movement. *Em tasol. Tenkyu tru.*

John Kawowo is an activist with the Melanesian Solidarity group in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. He was charged with NGO activists at the time of community protests against the Sandline mercenaries in 1998.

Kwajalein missile tests and regional conflicts

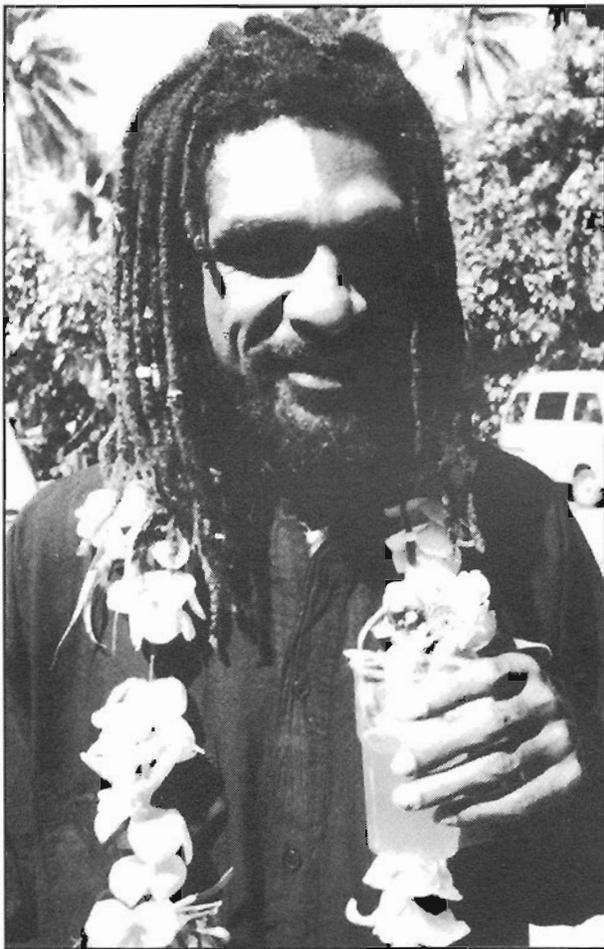
Nic Maclellan

Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC), Fiji Islands

On 29 September 1999, just days after our conference, an intercontinental missile will be fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. The missile will arc across the Pacific Ocean, releasing a warhead aimed to splash down in Kwajalein lagoon in the Marshall Islands – the largest lagoon in the central Pacific. A smaller missile fired from Kwajalein Atoll will try to intercept the incoming warhead, and knock it from the sky.

A week later, the leaders of the independent island nations will start to arrive at this year's South Pacific Forum in Koror, the capital of Palau. They will be driven to their hotel in luxury vehicles purchased with a grant of US\$400,000 from China. Our Prime Ministers and Presidents will attend the Heads of Government meeting, which is also supported by a grant of nearly a quarter of a million dollars from Taiwan.

These two events may seem unconnected, but they reflect a link between the ongoing militarisation of the Pacific islands and regional conflicts in north east Asia.



John Kawowo (Papua New Guinea)

The missile test at Kwajalein is the first in a series by the US military for the development of a National Missile Defence System. Ever since the days of Ronald Reagan, US defence contractors have dreamed of utilising billions of dollars to develop Star Wars missile systems – over \$100 billion has been spent so far, although there is not a working system in operation. Even though such systems will breach the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty signed with the former Soviet Union, the US government hopes to make the decision to deploy this new missile system by the year 2000.

The end of nuclear testing in the Pacific has not meant the end of our ocean and atolls as a testing ground for new weapons systems. Since the 1960s, the US has used Kwajalein Atoll as the splashdown point for its long-range missiles test-fired from bases in the US. Today, the islands are still being used for the development of National Missile Defence (NMD), as well as Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) systems to be deployed in Asia and the Middle East.

Each NMD anti-ballistic missile test at Kwajalein Atoll costs US\$100 million dollars. The overall cost of the National Missile Defence system will be US\$60 billion - money that could be put to better purposes. The Marshall Islands government is currently asking the United States to pay extra compensation for Marshall Islanders who were irradiated by 67 US nuclear tests at Bikini and Enewetak atolls between 1946-1958. How can the US government justify this expensive missile testing program, when it refuses to face its responsibility for past nuclear tests? The Nuclear Claims Tribunal in the Marshall Islands has promised compensation to hundreds of Marshallese affected by the US nuclear tests at Bikini and Enewetak. But over one third of those due to receive compensation from the US government have died before full payment can be made.

The US Army Kwajalein Atoll Missile Range covers 11 islands in Kwajalein Atoll, with land leased from local landowners. The Kwajalein base employs over 1,200 Marshall Islanders. More than 1,000 work for Raytheon Corporation, the US company that runs the base engineering. But the Marshallese do not live on Kwajalein island with the US civilian and military technicians who staff the missile range. Over 150 women work as domestic servants for US personnel, travelling each morning from Ebeye island and returning home at night.

Kwajalein is a key reason for the ongoing US strategic interest in the Marshall Islands. After more than forty years of US administration from 1944, and 67 atomic and hydrogen bomb tests at Bikini and Enewetak Atolls, the

Republic of the Marshall Islands ratified a Compact of Free Association with the US in 1986. Under the US Compacts of Free Association with the Marshall Islands, Palau and Federated States of Micronesia, Washington has responsibility for defence and security, in return for the right to deny strategic access to other countries. The 15-year Compact between the US and Marshall Islands is up for renewal in 2001, with negotiations commencing in a few weeks time. While the Marshall Islands government can negotiate on issues such as aid, trade and commerce, the US government can unilaterally extend the leases on the Kwajalein missile range for another 15 years.

So what does all this have to do with China, Taiwan and the South Pacific Forum? The luxury cars at this year's Forum are just one example of an ongoing competition between China and Taiwan, to woo diplomatic support from Pacific Island states – a substantial bloc of votes at the United Nations now that Kiribati, Nauru and Tonga are joining eight other island nations as members of the UN General Assembly. Taiwan established diplomatic relations with the Marshall Islands in November 1998, with China closing its Embassy in December in retaliation. Taiwan's attempt to woo support from Papua New Guinea, and the subsequent fall of the Skate government, is another example of this diplomatic game.

People say the Cold War is over. But Cold War rhetoric is still driving a new arms race. In the US, there is debate over China's alleged theft of US nuclear weapons technology. Even in the Pacific islands, there has been media coverage of an alleged Chinese spy base in Kiribati, located in the capital Tarawa – recent media reports have suggested that this monitoring station is tracking the US missile tests into Kwajalein.

With ongoing tension between China and Taiwan, and the threatened development of missile technology by North Korea, there is increased pressure by US corporations to

develop missile defence systems to be deployed in the Asian "theatre" of conflict. In 1998, the United States signed an agreement with Japan to jointly research and develop such systems. Tensions between China and Taiwan, and between north and south Korea, are also used as the rationale for new defence agreements between the US and its Asian allies. In May 1999, at the same time that NATO launched its war against Yugoslavia, two important agreements were signed by the US government with Japan and the Philippines.

On 24 May, the Japanese Parliament passed the new US – Japan Defence Co-operation Guidelines, committing Japan to support US military operations in areas surrounding Japan – a clear breach of Japan's post-war peace Constitution. Four days later, the Philippines Senate passed the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), which allows new US military activities in the Philippines archipelago. The VFA comes less than a decade after people's struggle and the Mount Pinatubo eruption closed US bases at Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base.

As Filipino activist Walden Bello has noted, the NATO bombing of Serbia and the signing of the Japan and Philippines agreements are a new sign of US unilateralism in international affairs. They mark the end of European and Asian attempts to develop multilateral security systems to ensure peace in the post Cold War world.

In the 1980s, South Pacific nations took a stand against the Cold War era arms build-up: nuclear free Constitutions in Palau, Vanuatu and the Philippines; Aotearoa / New Zealand's nuclear free legislation; the Rarotonga Treaty for a South Pacific nuclear free zone.

These actions came in part from our anger at the use of the deserts of Australia and the islands of the Pacific as testing grounds for weapons of war. These areas were seen as vast empty spaces – empty except for the indigenous peoples whose land and waters were desecrated.

The end of the nuclear testing does not mean the end of the development of weapons systems in our region. The use of our lands and waters for the development of satellite and rocket systems is a new threat as we move into the twenty first century.

Nic Maclellan works as the Educational Resource Developer at the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre in Suva, Fiji Islands. He is co-author of a number of books on militarisation and environment in the Pacific, including Kirisimasi (PCRC, Suva, 1999).



Nic Maclellan carried a statement from the NFIP conference to the 1999 South Pacific Forum in Palau (with Makareta Komai of PACNEWS, left)

Legacies of French nuclear testing

Hiro Tefaarere

Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi

laorana, maeva, manava: Te Farereiraa, Kura Ora, Kaoha, aloha, Kia orana, Welcome. Thank you, brothers and sisters, dear friends, for giving me the freedom to speak, to use the sacred word which is so important to all peoples of the Pacific.

In France on 20 February 1999, within the very portals of the French National Assembly, an important seminar was held on "The French Nuclear Tests in Polynesia – demanding the truth and proposals for the future". During the seminar, I had 10 minutes to explain the conditions leading to my arrest in 1995, my jailing, my trial and all the events that have flowed from it. Today, my speech aims to explain to you how we in Tavini Huiraaatira see the current nuclear situation.

A lot has been written and spoken about the nuclear tests conducted in our homeland, and the consequences of the tests. Unfortunately, though, much still remains to be done, at all levels. My opposition – our opposition – to nuclear weapons dates back before the creation of our respective political parties. It comes from all levels: moral, spiritual, Christian, cultural and also political, social, economic, relating to health, the environment, and education. I have been - we have been - involved in struggle on all these levels, as sympathisers, activists or political leaders.

Like you, dear brothers and sisters from the Pacific and around the world, sometimes more and sometimes less we have cried out our indignation since the establishment of the *Centre d'Expérimentations du Pacifique* (CEP – the Pacific Nuclear Test Centre).

We have demonstrated our opposition, publicly but always peacefully. We have fasted, we have prayed, we have undertaken a range of initiatives to raise the awareness of our people, but also to force the French state to hear us, to listen to us, to respect us. But this was too much to expect from the State. The State didn't care. Its logic, implacable and pitiless, was simple: "We are at home here in French Polynesia. You graciously ceded title for Moruroa and Fangataufa to us. We are paying you, so you have no rights. Grin and bear it". This slogan was repeated to us in a range of accents from a series of French Presidents: de Gaulle, Giscard d'Estaing, Mitterrand, and Chirac.

We soon learned at our expense, that reasons of state had greater importance than our ideals of justice, peace, and solidarity between peoples, liberty, freedom, sovereignty and independence. These reasons of state were the basis of the colonial state and a powerful nuclear lobby (which, thanks to French Polynesia, made France into the third most powerful nuclear and maritime nation in the world).

Above all, we learnt that the fight waged by our elders, our ancestors was not in vain. Their struggle was the link between generations: Pouvanaa a Oopa, Francis Sanford, Tony Teariki, Pasteur Henri Vernier, Henri Hiro, Roland Epetahui, Moana Ehumoana, Edwin Haa, Bengt Danielsson and others, famous or unknown.

Together with all those men and women who supported us – whether here, in the Pacific, in Europe and especially in France - we have opened breaches in the walls of the State. As long as we know how to use the opportunities created and develop them, we can gain political and legal victories in the days to come.

Dear friends, to explain how we got to this situation, it's necessary to outline some information about the nuclear lobby. In the years after 2 July 1966, France conducted 193 nuclear tests in French Polynesia, of which 44 were in the atmosphere and 149 underground. After its last nuclear test on 27 January 1996, France halted its nuclear test program and announced the dismantling of the test sites at Moruroa and Fangataufa atolls.

In order to have a clear conscience and draw a line under thirty years of nuclear testing, France asked the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to conduct a mission to determine the "radiological balance sheet" at the two atolls.

A report of more than 2,000 pages was published in July 1998 with a set of conclusions that seemed reassuring on all points. One might even be led to believe that nothing had happened at Moruroa, because the IAEA recommended that the atolls be left as they are and stated that they posed no risks (Just like Chernobyl!).

These conclusions deeply shocked us, particularly those of us who had worked at the test sites and had been witnesses to numerous accidents and incidents during the tests series, and the fundamental impact the tests had on the underlying geological structures of the atolls. It must have seemed the same to all those men and women who had long opposed the nuclear tests as a crime against humanity. (Indeed how else can we describe these nuclear tests?).

What does the 1998 IAEA report say?

To note at the beginning, the report has become the standard reference of the civilian and military authorities, their perfect alibi, because it legalises a crime that has been committed against this country and this people, my country and my people.

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What does the 1998 IAEA report say?

To note at the beginning, the report has become the standard reference of the civilian and military authorities, their perfect alibi, because it legalises a crime that has been committed against this country and this people, my country and my people.

- 1) The period of the atmospheric nuclear tests, which experts consider as the most polluting and harmful because of the radioactive fallout, has been hidden from view (discussed in only eight pages of the 2,000-page report). Yet we already have explicit and unequivocal evidence of the attitudes of military, civilian and medical authorities from the time towards the hazards, as detailed in the article by Vincent Jauvert in the February 1998 edition of the French weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*.
- 2) The IAEA experts have not taken account of the precautionary principle, even though this idea has been advocated by Christian Bataille, the French Socialist Party Deputy (Member of Parliament), in his December 1997 report to the French National Assembly. In the report, he advocated that the nuclear test sites should be registered as "storage sites for high level radioactive wastes".
- 3) The IAEA report does not broach the epidemiological and health problems. Instead, the French government has given responsibility to the French government research institute *Institut National de la Santé et de Recherche Médicale* (INSERM) to study the development of cancers in French Polynesia. For us, the health issue is absolutely fundamental, because cancer has become the primary cause of mortality and our rate of thyroid cancer is one of the highest on the planet. A simple press release from the French Ministry of Defence in August 1998 stated that there was no relation between the nuclear tests and cancer in French Polynesia. That's a bit like the tobacco manufacturers (American and French) who cry long and loud that tobacco is not an aggravating factor in

lung cancer, even after courts in these two powerful countries have found them guilty. To this day, we are still awaiting the INSERM report. We are aware, however, that one of the authors of the report, in a public commentary published in the local monthly *Tahiti Pacifique*, gave her regrets that they had not benefited from all the necessary information to conclude their study. She also stated that the French military had not given them access to all the necessary data, especially in relation to the workers who staffed the sites.

What can we do in the face of this contempt?

Today, the French State and the Territorial Government say that we must turn the page as quickly as possible, to forget everything and to centre everything on the Reconstruction contract signed in August 1996 by President Gaston Flosse and then French Prime Minister Alain Juppe. Their deal focusses on economic development or high profile projects, at the same time that they used the French media service RFO to launch invective and attacks against the "rioters", the "arsonists", the "terrorists" Oscar and Hiro, Hiro and Oscar.

But the people have a memory. For us, it is our duty to remember.

In prison, I had a lot of time to meditate, to pray and to reflect on all the things that had come from my life as a public figure, as a father, as a Maohi. For me, a Maohi, a small man whose freedom had been taken away, whose dignity and honour had been battered and humiliated, whose sovereignty had been taken away, at last I understood the deep significance of the message which I



Hiro Tefaarere (second from left) with Tahitian participants at the conference.

had been given by one of the most famous contemporary figures, Nelson Mandela: "No one knows a nation until one has been in its jails".

I understood that I wasn't finished, not broken at all, and that once again I could serve my country and my people. I knew that the first objective of the colonial justice system is to humiliate me, firstly before my wife and children, secondly before my friends and family, and finally before my people, and especially in the labour movement. They hoped to lynch me in the media, in the political world, in the trade union movement, crucifying me through a judicial decision that was unique in its content (three years prison, withholding my civil, political and family rights). Their aim was to distance me from everyone and to silence me.

I can assure you that they have not achieved the result they desired. On my part – and I hope on the part of all of us – they will never gain a moment's respite.

I understood that I had to continue the struggle for human rights and for the Maohi people that I was undertaking beforehand as the leader of *A Tia I Mua*, at the time the most active and important trade union in the country (unfortunately today under the control of the president of the Territorial Government).

I therefore accepted the proposition put by Oscar Temaru to serve my people and my country within the party *Tavini Huiraatira no Te Ao Maohi*. Thanks to Oscar, to Tavini and to the people, I was elected to the Territorial Assembly in 1996. I remain an elected representative, still faithful to his convictions, struggling at the levels of ethics, from a sense of duty, of public service and of solidarity; an elected representative still hopeful that truth, justice, ready for all the sacrifices that will be needed so that "Te Ao Maohi" will live tomorrow.

For the moment, we are bogged down with the daily routine and all the constraints created by the myriad of problems we face: jobs, education, social welfare, financial problems, unemployment, working hours, managing waste water and sewerage and household waste, reform of the tax system, land reform issues, protection and conservation of the environment etc.

For me, the things we need most are *imagination, audacity and rigour*:

- *Imagination* in the search for solutions to the concrete problems of the modern world. Often, it's worth recalling that we can use our traditions to find original and lasting solutions to the problems that face us (the intelligent use of Pacific medicinal plants such as Kava or Nono, and the use of resources from our lagoons for the development of aquaculture and fisheries).
- *Audacity* in the seeking new paths and searching for initiatives to undertake (especially in the legal and financial sectors), to show that we understand, we

can manage things ourselves and exploit our resources in a better manner than the multinationals.

- *Rigour* at the level of ethics, and in managing the responsibilities that the people have confided in us.

In order to succeed in the political, social, cultural and economic decolonisation of our country, we have to undertake a number of things:

- 1) Open the archives of the French State to create more transparency, more light, more justice and truth. We have a duty to remember the victims and their families, a duty towards the right of future generations to live in a healthy environment. For this step, it is advisable that we never give up. Remember that the United States opened their archives with information on the nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands. It's worth noting that our demand for France to lift the restrictions placed by national security are not unprecedented, as France released defence documents relating to the period of genocide in Rwanda.
- 2) Classify the nuclear test sites at Moruroa and Fangataufa as nuclear waste storage sites (*installations nucléaires de base*), and inscribe them on the lists of nuclear waste disposal sites under French law and international law, to be covered by basic principles of nuclear safety.
- 3) Take France before all the legal tribunals at national and international level for its crime against humanity, and to respect the February 1964 decisions of the Permanent Commission of the Territorial Assembly, which called for the return of Moruroa and Fangataufa to French Polynesia.
- 4) Conduct independent studies on the economic, social, health and environmental consequences of the nuclear tests (supported by CRII-RAD and the many groups in France, Europe and other countries, as well as international experts who have offered their services).
- 5) Support those Polynesian activists who were found guilty in October 1998 by French colonial justice, by supporting their needs for the costs of justice (fines and payments to lawyers), the appeal process (at a date that has still not been set) and their complaints against the manner of their arrest (which is still under investigation).
- 6) Win the next elections for the Territorial Assembly to be held in March 2001, developing a new and all-encompassing social vision which can mobilise the conscience of the Maohi people, whatever group they belong to: Tavini Huiraatira; Hiti Tau; Pomare Party; Te Taata Tahiti Tiama; Aia Api; Ia Mana Te Nunaa; the Evangelical Church etc.

Unfortunately, we are obliged to participate in all the institutional and political games to achieve this. As you can see, the tasks are colossal. But don't you think the challenge is magnificent?

To conclude, I'd like to say that over the conference, I've been challenged.

- I've been challenged about the reasons for my struggle, in my life as a public figure, for my existence as a Maohi
- Challenged in my capacity to listen to the views of other and to respect our differences
- Challenged with my thirst for justice, truth and solidarity
- Challenged by the type of society that we must build,
- Challenged by the rights that you claim over our genetic, biological, intellectual and natural heritage, and our capacity to resist the multinationals who govern us and dictate the laws
- Challenged by the urgency of building a new community of vision and destiny, where we will finally be free and sovereign in our own country, where democracy meshes with human rights, justice with equality, truth with respect, fraternity with solidarity.
- Challenged by the things that we will face tomorrow in our country, how to explain to our people the challenges and sacrifices necessary to achieve our independence, so that we can avoid in our country the fate suffered by our brothers and sisters in East Timor.

Before finishing, I'd like to thank you for holding this 8th NFIP Conference here on the land of my ancestors, land charged with history. Allow me to quote from the Holy Scriptures (Psalms 8: 4-9):

"When I look to the sky that you have made
At the moon and the stars, which you set in their places –
What are human beings that you think of them;
Mere mortals that you care for them?
Yet you made them inferior only to yourself;
You crowned them with glory and honour;
You appointed them rulers over everything you made;
You placed them over all creation;
Sheep and cattle and the wild animals too;
The birds and the fish and the creatures in the seas".

Lord, comfort us in our choices, strengthen us in our fight and lead us to victory.

Hiro Tefaarere was arrested by the French police, jailed and tortured after the September 1995 riots which rocked Papeete after the first nuclear test, following the resumption of French nuclear testing.

Formerly an inspector with the intelligence branch Renseignement Generaux, Tefaarere served as the leader of the Maohi trade union movement A Tia I Mua. Tefaarere was elected to the Territorial Assembly in 1996 as a member of the Tavini Huiraatira list.

Call for Peace

Pa Tapaeru Ariki
President, House of Ariki,
Cook Islands .

In 1894, a noble declaration was made by the Federal Parliament of the Cook Islands as follows:

"The land is owned by the tribe, but its use is with the family who occupies the land. The family consists of all the children who have a common ancestor, together with the adopted children, and all the descendants who have not entered other tribes."

This statement is about relationship. It is about how to live in a community. Knowing your family. Knowing your heritage and your future. This gives you freedom. It gives you peace. It gives you a sense of security.

This goes way back in history. Think of the story of Isaac and Ishmael. The Jews and the Arabs are still fighting. Fighting about land rights. Wars are still raging now because of land. Look around us. What is the solution to all our problems? We need peace. We need understanding. We need everyone, not just some people to join in with any effort to bring peace and harmony to our world.

Pacific means peace. Let us make it start here in our Pacific islands and in our Pacific region. Let us take up the challenge and appeal our governments to take on what we have started and carry the torch higher and higher so that the world may enjoy greater peace in the new millennium.

In the Cook Islands, the House of Ariki took up the initiative to ask the Prime Minister to support this move towards peace in the new millennium. I understand that there is agenda item for the Annual General Assembly of the United Nations of which every United Nation country will sign.

Knowing that we are not yet recognised as an independent member country, nevertheless, the House of Ariki of the Cook Islands wanted to be part of that process, together with all other organisations and arms of the Government of the Cook Islands to promote and maintain peace here in the Cook Islands. It is our hope that this will spread to all other places in the Pacific region and throughout the whole world.

We believe that this is the most opportune time to spearhead this campaign with the knowledge that Year 2000 is just round the corner. We just want to be part of the effort to establish peace and harmony commencing with our own tribal people in our communities, with the hope that it would get to the Commonwealth Heads of



Pa Tapaeru Ariki (right), with Motarilavoa Hilda Lini (Vanuatu) and Tea Hirshon (Tc Ao Maohi)

Governments meeting in November 1999 and eventually the United Nations.

I am glad to have the support of the Prime Minister as the Head of this country, and they should, for they are our door to the outside world. I anticipate the Prime Minister taking our peace document on behalf of our people to the attention of the conference in Palau and to the world.

It has always been the stance of the House of Ariki to uphold the welfare of its people and fight against any form of threat to its people, land, titles, customs and other traditional matters.

The House of Ariki has been accused of saying things against the Government. I say that, where there are issues that the Government, or any other organisations may impose on our people, or matters which cut across our traditions and culture, I dare to say that that will just invoke our utmost wrath or opposition for the sake of the well being of people whose trust we must uphold at all cost.

When Government brings hardship on our people, they expect us to be quiet? No. It is this issue that the leaders of the land would like the world to know. We submit that the government must also look after the welfare of our people. We will stand up for our people if they are oppressed. It is in this light that the House of Ariki has often been criticised.

The terror that is reigning in East Timor, in Yugoslavia, and

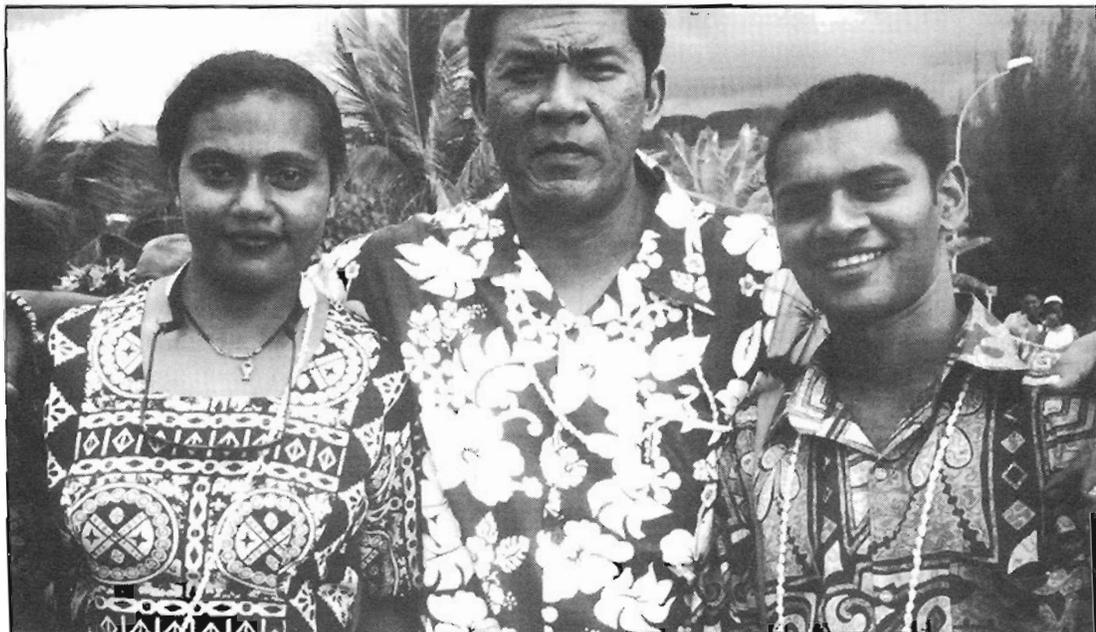
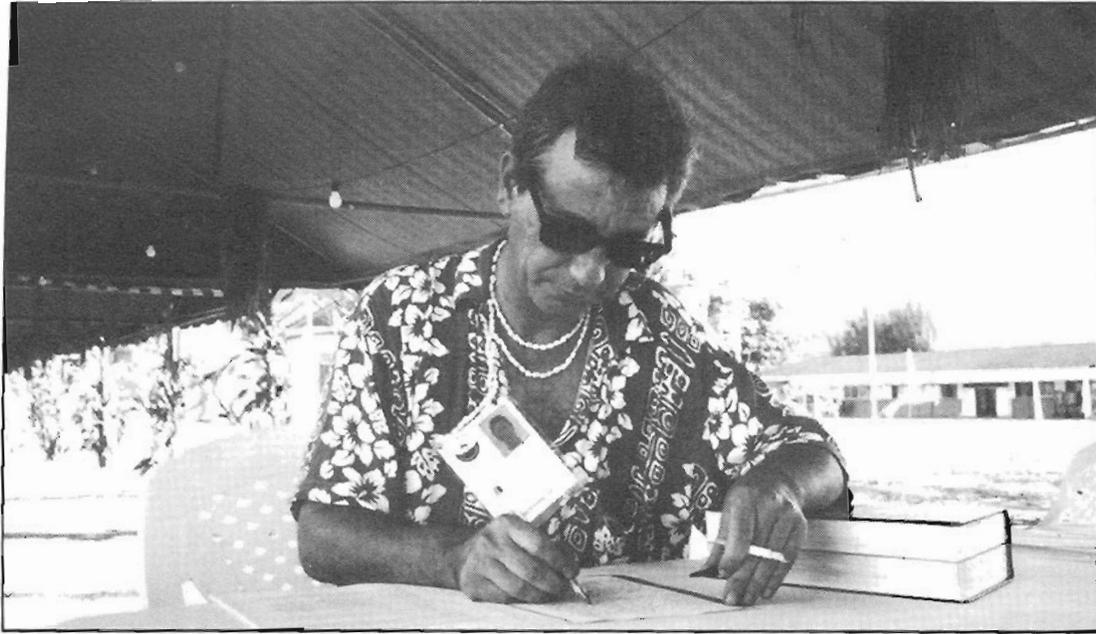
about a dozen other hot spots around the world, and some in the Pacific itself, are more than enough to encourage us to foster peace and goodwill. The struggles of the oppressed for peace and safety is a cry that must be answered as urgently as possible to alleviate tragedy.

The House of Ariki feels that each one of us can do his/her bit to better the lot of our people, our future generations, and people everywhere if we were to act right now. Putting our differences aside is a step in the right direction.

There are many things in this country that the House of Ariki has supported with its people rallying behind them, but those have been taken for granted by many. But, let's leave that behind, take up the challenge of Year 2000 by beginning to lift high the call for peace with everyone in the community moving forward starting now. Let us join hands for this message to resound right around the globe for peace in the new millennium. We, the House of Ariki of the Cook Islands pledge to lead you as we move to that ultimate goal.

Pa Tapaeru Teariki Upokotini Ariki is President of the House of Ariki in the Cook Islands.

She is also active in her support of the non-government and community sector, as Patron of the Cook Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations (CIANGO) and other community organisations in the Cook Islands.



Theme five: Human rights and good governance in the Pacific

Keynote address on human rights:

Human Rights and Good Governance - Collective Human Rights for Pacific People

Motarilavao Hilda Lini, Vanuatu

First of all, I bring greetings from the ancestors, the chiefs, and the people of the Republic of Vanuatu to the ancestors and the people of Te Ao Maohi. I would like to thank God for bringing all of us together here, because for many of us Tahiti has been a dream. We have been helping your struggle in our own various ways in our own countries, with prayers, moral support and actions. But we were never allowed to come here to Te Ao Maohi even if we tried, because of the commitments that we made to try and end the nuclear testing on Moruroa and Fangataufa. I for one am really grateful that I am here, because before this I have never been allowed into Tahiti.

I would like to acknowledge also the presence of our elders and our wise men and women who have been guiding the NFIP movement through the years. I acknowledge especially the church leaders, the chiefs, our activists, and our women leaders who are here with us today, because even as we come into the movement we still need them. We need their wisdom to guide us through, to know what the NFIP movement is and what we stand for. We need to learn from what they've been able to do in the past, which has helped us to achieve a lot.

At this time, on behalf of the Lini family, I would also like to thank those of you - friends, people from across the Pacific and across the world - who have shared with us in spirit, in writing, and also physically with the untimely death of Father Walter Hadye Lini, who passed away at the beginning of 1999. The family would like to thank you very much for the appreciation and the sympathy that you had shared with us during that time, as we continue into life without him.

On this note, I would like to make a special thank you to NFIP, especially to Lopeti Senituli, for the obituary that was given to Father Walter Hadye Lini. It was a very powerful obituary; one of the most powerful messages that were sent from around the world.

In the last two years we have lost some of our leaders. I would like to acknowledge their contribution to NFIP from my point of view, because I had known what they were able to do for us, even at their different levels.

The two people from Tahiti I'd like us to acknowledge are Francis Sanford and Bengt Danielsson. When I was getting into the movement, the person and the name that I knew in

Tahiti was Francis Sanford. Later there was Charlie Ching being put in jail and then Oscar Temaru came on, and the others. As I was young and getting into the movement, I knew the activities against nuclear testing here through these two people Francis Sanford and Bengt Danielsson. The book *Moruroa Mon Amour* publicised to us what was happening here in Te Ao Maohi

Three other important people passed away this year. I have mentioned Father Walter Hadye Lini, but the two other leaders are the late Prime Minister of Tonga; Prince Tupou and also the late Prime Minister of Samoa; Eti Alesana. While we are fighting as activists, church people, women leaders there is a level where we can't get to. It's these people who make things happen for the NFIP movement, especially getting the Bougainville Peace process going, getting New Caledonia to be accepted by the Forum and to be listed at the United Nations, even getting the nuclear testing to end on Moruroa. So for those five people, I'd like you to bear with me if we could all stand and give one minute's silence.

Collective Human Rights for Pacific Peoples

The topic that has been given to me this morning is "Human Rights and Good Governance - Collective Human Rights for Pacific People." I don't know how much justice I'll do to the topic but before I start, I'd like to say that I have some principles that I have been using. One of these is that I never write my speeches. I'd like to explain that in the Pacific, within the indigenous people we have our computer. It's a natural computer [points to her head and brain]. Other people say that we are people of oral history because we don't write, we talk. I find that if we don't keep on using our natural computer, we are going to lose that skill - that is to speak and other people get it and then store it in their brain. We will be all sitting and reading papers, depending on other people's information because we haven't stored our own.

So I don't write most of my speeches that I have given in the Pacific and around the world, unless they really need it for translation sometime beforehand. I do not want to lose that skill and talent which I believe is God-given to all indigenous people all over the world. Also when we talk about all sorts of things, I think that we have to start from personal practise ourselves. We have to be the examples. We can't expect other people to do it, if you don't do it.

Now we talk a lot about Conservation. We talk about Biodiversity. But we are using a lot of paper. Where do we expect the paper to come from? We have to go and cut the trees from the indigenous land to get more paper. So we have to start looking at what are the alternatives. If we keep using this resource somewhere, someone is going to suffer. The whole planet is going to suffer with global warming because we are cutting down all our trees, to serve the purpose of the Western industrialised world that needs all the paper.

I also stand on another principle that has been given by other people, especially from Vanuatu. When Vanuatu became independent in 1980, my brother - who was at that time the first Prime Minister - stood up to give his speech. He said that today Vanuatu is independent. But as long as we have people living under colonialism in the Pacific and worldwide, Vanuatu is not free. We are committed to help them fight for their human rights and self-determination. That is the principle that I also stand on everywhere I go, because I believe it so much. How can Vanuatu be free? New Caledonia is just nearby, Te Ao Maohi is here and every other place around the world needs us. If you have got there, please hold the hand of those who are not there yet and pull them up to where you are.

The other principle - again from my brother - is that we are living in a different stage of development. We used to have our own indigenous value systems. Christianity came into the Pacific and has been accepted as part of life. Foreign politics and Western democracy have come into the Pacific. We have accepted them as a part of our life, part of our system. My brother always said that indigenous values, Christian principles and politics all have a role to play in development. It's a matter of how you use them to get to where you want. He always said that a sense of community is a sense for security for small island nations and small villages. It's a sense of belonging and a sense of feeling secure. So communities are very, very important to us.

Then he said that one of his main principles has been that respect is honourable, wherever you are. If there is no respect, then there's bound to be conflict. The other person who has not been respected will start coming up and say you are supposed to respect me. I find that to be a principle that human beings need to live with, because there has been so much disrespect going on for so long that today, we tend to be taking revenge. It's always revenge because we have not been respected in one way or the other and we are not trying to say "OK that's the end of disrespect now, let's respect." The disrespect is still going on between other races, between colonial powers and indigenous people, between other nations. If we do not respect each other we'll never get what we want because other people also expect to be respected. When they're not respected, they start fighting back.

I'm not going to talk about the kind of Human Rights and

Good Governance that is being promoted worldwide. I'm going to share with you our experiences of Human Rights and Good Governance - and bad Governance - in Vanuatu. I'll also talk of the alternatives that I have been able to experience, hoping that maybe as I tell you, you will be able to learn.

The family, the land and respect

To talk about Human Rights: I grew up in a family where the family had the land. The land belonged to the clan; the clan made up the tribes. In my nation, we have two tribes that inter-marry. They are part of the security that the nation - my indigenous nation -needs. My parents are there to look after me, to provide me with food, to see that I am sheltered and to see that I am loved and given other guidance that is needed. I spoke my own language and that to me is my basic human right. I was born with parents with land, with a clan, with a tribe, with a system that had been inherited by my parents from their ancestors.

Then I moved on and there were church schools. We had to go to church. My parent would say: "The bell is ringing. Go to church". In the church, they would teach me about Christian principles at Sunday schools. At home, my parents had already told me about Takaro. Takaro is my God and all the legends, every evening I will be getting that which is mine. But when I go to church, they tell me about Christ who was born somewhere in the world and God. The name is 'God' not 'Takaro'.

Later I moved on in life, to school. When I got to school, Vanuatu was colonised by Britain and France. My community happened to be in a church area which is Anglican with the Church of England, so automatically the schools there would be English schools and the language that was taught at school was English. We read about all these things from England. We didn't even know what snow looks like. We didn't even know what a train is, what a car is. But that's the education I was given by the Colonial government that was still on my home island.

Then I had to move to another island. When I moved, I had to board at school. I realised that there were two different dormitories. There were two different toilets. The boys had to go to this one, the boys had to sleep in this one and the girls had to sleep in that one and use this toilet and the bathroom. It was very different from home, because at home we were all together as a family. I started to see the difference of what the value of the family is and the community in the family, and how separation starts in a Western education institution.

Everything is presented to say: "This is for the boys". Obviously the boys went here and the girls went there. In my villages as you grow up, the parents start looking at who is going to be your married partner, but here I am, away from my home. There isn't that guidance even though you are growing up and you are with the boys. Obviously

when you see the boys, you like them. The boys see you, they like you and at the same time they live in another place, you live in another place. The respect that I had at the family level of communication was not there anymore. The boys were laughing at the girls at school. There was no respect. At the same time you get into a situation where even the boys were abusing the girls because they have been separated. You would find people from other communities but not from the clan that you are supposed to be married with, because you are away from your clan, on another island.

So indigenous values start to erode as you follow the western agenda and the colonial system. I've gone through that. I finished at high school then I wanted to become a journalist. It was a colonial situation. In 1971, an independence movement was starting already with a very clear agenda. The deadline was Independence, which must come in 1977. These are the things that we need. We need leadership. We need to work together. We need information to go out. We need people to run awareness programmes. As soon as I wanted to be a journalist, the British Government said: "No, we only give scholarships for teachers, nurses and secretaries, not for journalists." So I didn't become a journalist. I decided to stay home and work for the Liberation Movement.

The struggle for independence

I was in the Liberation Movement as the leader of the women and the Women's wing of the Liberation Movement. At the same time I was editor and journalist, putting the paper out every week and a press release every day. You have to try and put it in whatever languages people could understand. I think one of the things about the Liberation Movement in Vanuatu was that it mobilised the Indigenous Chiefs, the Church Leaders, the educated, and those who were not educated. Everyone was working together for Independence. There was no division and the Liberation Movement stayed united until we achieved Independence. At that time, we had very committed leaders who had the vision of what we wanted.

We had our own agenda and we worked on our agenda. We didn't want to know what the British and the French agenda was. When you have your own agenda, you set your goals and you have to try and get there. They tried every way to distract you from your own agenda. But we had to follow our own. That was the instruction: we have our own agenda, we follow ours - we don't follow what they say, or what their agenda is.

Unfortunately, we didn't get Independence in 1977. Three years later we gained Independence in a peaceful way (from my count only one person died). Even though there was a rebellion, everyone was in it - the chiefs and the church leaders - and justice and Independence were being preached from the pulpit. The church leaders were saying: "If there is injustice the churches cannot sleep. They have

to preach against injustice." These church leaders and indigenous chiefs were the backbone of our Liberation Movement in Vanuatu. Together with the women of course, because if the women didn't vote there would be no majority. We had one enemy, which was Britain and France together, ruling us jointly. We had one enemy to fight against.

I was also in the Liberation Movement at the time when we set up the People's Provisional Government, because France was playing up so much to delay our independence. There were six people in the Cabinet that had to decide everyday what had to be done. I was a member of Cabinet and the only woman. But women were half the population of Vanuatu, so they needed to know what was happening. Information is very, very important in a Liberation Movement because you need to get things out there.

Then, we looked for someone to sponsor us at the United Nations. The Pacific Conference of Churches was very instrumental in support for our Independence. Nuclear Free Pacific was very supportive. The churches in New Zealand and Australia were very supportive, together with the World Council of Churches and other indigenous people around the region. But there were places where we do not get to which make decisions. We needed support from independent countries such as Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Nauru, Kiribati and Tuvalu, Solomon Islands.

Only three of them were member of the United Nations at that time: Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Western Samoa. So we needed someone to sponsor us and we couldn't get someone to sponsor us to the United Nations. We had to start looking for support from the African region. In Africa, the organisation of African Unity supported us. It was Tanzania that sponsored us to be listed on the UN Decolonisation Committee and the mass of the vote was from African countries.

As we moved on, France became very difficult. We had to do some of the things that we felt were the most important to touch ideas France respected and holds in its heart. We decided that France's culture is the main thing. If you touch the culture of one country or one nation, they would react, and it was the French education system that teaches French culture. We decided we were going to boycott French schools in Vanuatu, so where the Liberation Movement was strong, we closed the French schools in Vanuatu. Of course France started reacting really strongly. If you had to go to the Liberation areas you had to get a pass in the Liberation Movement office, otherwise you could not go there. With the Provisional Government we paralysed the whole country, because we were the majority. France and Britain were not able to move. That's when France started to think very seriously and they sent their very high level people to Vanuatu. They said: "Come to France to talk." We said: "No, it is the issue of Vanuatu. You come to Vanuatu to talk about our Independence, we don't come to France." So Britain and France had to fly to Vanuatu to discuss our agenda for Independence in Vanuatu.



Motariavao Hilda Lini (Vanuatu) with Alfred Jack (PCRC)

I'm just telling you this because dealing with colonial powers, there are certain things that we have to do. They have their agenda; it's been there for hundreds of years and they follow it. They don't sleep. We sleep sometimes in the Pacific, they don't. After we have been independent they come around again and because they feel so humiliated that we beat them, they come now with different kinds of food, with different tastes and colours and everything to offer to our leaders.

For those who say that you need preparation before Independence, when we gained Independence in Vanuatu we only had one lawyer, five doctors, one economist, and one accountant. If you're talking about Western educated qualified people, those were the only ones that we had in 1980 when we gained Independence. We believe that if we had followed the French when they said that we have to prepare you, they just want to turn you into a little Frenchman, little Frenchwomen. By the time they finish with you, you have forgotten your agenda, you have forgotten to be your own real person. You will be what they want to turn you into.

So those are some aspects that we tried to follow to gain our human rights, which was for the national community of Vanuatu. Already in the villages, people were independent. They grow their own food. They don't go to the market. They don't live with money. They are independent, self-reliant people in the villages of Vanuatu. At that time, 98% of the population were living in the villages. Even in the urban areas, the chief was controlling his own people. They have their own gardens. So we were lucky and I believe that Vanuatu's situation was better because the majority of the people still lived that way.

Good governance after independence

O.K, what happens after Independence? We got our human rights, that is the communal human rights for the whole of Vanuatu - what do we do after that? We had two separate administrations going in Vanuatu - now we had to combine them into one. While we were trying to build that up, we also tried to be with the people - to be accountable to them, so they tell us what to do.

But after ten years of Independence one of the biggest things that I found in Vanuatu was that as people were coming back from overseas from education, they've gone through the Western education system. When they come back, they all come with Western concepts and ideology of what Independence and Sovereignty are, what education is, what economy is, what everything is. While the grassroots people are talking about something that they were fighting for, they knew this is what we were fighting for. The indigenous people who run the country are the people that sit in the office and make the plans. They plan according to what they've learnt from the British, the French, the Australian and the New Zealand education systems, and they were not consulting the people at the grassroots while they were making the plan.

So the national level people were speaking a different language while the majority of grassroots people were speaking a different language. The other thing that came up was the leadership struggle. During the Independence struggle, the leaders were together. We were united until we gained Independence and our sovereignty. But after Independence the leaders started to fight amongst themselves. This affected the development of Vanuatu,

because as you fight the interests start to change.

I'd like to say one thing about this, for those of us who are fighting anywhere, as an organisation, liberation movement or whatever. In any organisation there are one or two or three people who have the vision of what they want. The others members are those of us who are around because we support that vision and want to help. Now if that visionary leader does not complete what the vision for Independence is for that particular country or his liberation movement and we keep changing people, we will never get there.

Take Kanaky for example. There were visionary leaders, but they have been killed along the way. In Vanuatu, we had visionary leaders at the beginning. I would say there were three who were right there in the movement, going everyday with the people, while the others were in the British Administration, French Administration or studying. At Independence, we should continue to respect that we have an agenda to complete because on Independence Day our Prime Minister said: "Today we are Independent. This is an easier road but there is a most difficult road still ahead of us, that is economic self-sufficiency and self-reliance. That is the next step for Vanuatu and we should try to get there in ten years time." That was the agenda after Independence.

By 1988, the leaders were fighting amongst themselves and by 1991, the Liberation Movement was split into two. Father Walter Lini was in one group, Donald Kalpokas with another. We were split when the next Elections came three months after. Because we were split, the pro-French parties walked in and took the power in Vanuatu because we were fighting amongst ourselves as liberation leaders. The pro-French parties have been ruling until last year. What has happened during 1991 until today? Where is Kanak Independence struggle, East Timor, West Papua, Nuclear Free Pacific and all that? Where is it while we have been struggling among ourselves for power in our country? We were not being responsible. We didn't even look beyond Vanuatu to see whether our struggle among ourselves could affect other struggles around the Pacific, around the world.

So I put a lot of the blame to Vanuatu. We are to be blamed because we had a commitment but we were fighting among ourselves. We had played a very important role at the South Pacific Forum, at the Melanesian Spearhead Group, at the United Nations. When the Kanaks and when Oscar Temaru got there, East Timor got there, if there were no countries that allowed them, Vanuatu would register them as Vanuatu delegates. Oscar Temaru could sit in the Vanuatu chair and make his presentation or the Kanaks could sit in the Vanuatu chair and make their presentation. They are very small things but this is what Liberation Movements need. They need just little things, little consideration to be given by those of us who are already free. If we are free we can be praying all the time, we can be fishing and eating, gardening and whatever. But what does this mean when our brothers

right next door to us are still suffering and we are not doing enough.

Good Governance is another issue. For those of you who have been following events in Vanuatu since 1992, there has been a lot of abuse of power. There have been a lot of reports put out by the Ombudsman because a lot of our leaders have been misusing their power. For the first time in 1992, we had an Ombudsman who was able to bring out to the public for us to see what the leaders were doing. It was good we were able to do that.

There was a lot of criticism about the Ombudsman because she's white, she's French. They think that she doesn't have the cultural concept that indigenous people would have. But at least she did one part of the job and that is monitoring the leaders, which is part of Good Governance - seeing that they are accountable to the people who have elected them to be in Parliament and to be in Government. Since then there has been a change of the Ombudsman.

I myself have been a Minister. I have been a member of Parliament for ten years and I was Minister first responsible for Health, Water Supply, Environment, Population Policy, the Rights of Children and Traditional Medicine. Later, I was Minister for Justice, Culture, Religion and Women. Those are very responsible things that you hold for the life of people.

My inspiration has always come from the grassroots people, the NGOs, the churches, the NFIP movement. Wherever you are you have to touch base all the time. If you don't touch base, you can be living in a dream world, not knowing what is happening around you. Wherever you are, if any of us can get into those positions, take advantage of that position to use it for the issues that we are addressing so that we can help those who are still struggling.

I'll give you the example of the Bougainville situation. I was the Minister for Health, when the New Zealand Minister for Foreign Affairs was visiting Vanuatu. We had dinner with him as Ministers. But from Bougainville, three delegations were there in Vanuatu trying to lobby and I had to put them up in my house.

I was a Minister, but what's wrong? They are my friends so I had to put them up in my house. At dinner I mentioned to the advisor of the Foreign Minister of New Zealand: "Oh you should meet the Bougainville people who are here so that you can hear their story yourself." So we arranged the next morning, he would be jogging and I arranged with the Bougainville representative that one of them would be sitting at the bus stop pretending that he is waiting for the bus to come that way where this guy would be heading. It's a small thing but it can happen if you know where you can make the connections. So they met with him. They informed the Foreign Affairs Minister who went back and since then New Zealand never stopped supporting Bougainville. They are very small things that

you can make connections.

I have been very instrumental also at the international level, especially on the use of nuclear weapons, relating to the resolution that went before the World Court, and also at the moment with Abolition 2000 and the Middle Powers Initiative (We are trying to get a centre group going so that the nuclear powers can negotiate with each other to try and really abolish nuclear weapons, to ban them altogether).

After having gone through Vanuatu's independence, the post-Independence State, seeing how politicians play with the power and abuse the power, I resigned from my political party in 1996. I did not like the way political parties were serving their own interests and not the nation's. It was my brother's political party and I resigned. I sat as an independent member all by myself in Parliament because I could not accept the way political parties were handling the issues in Vanuatu.

After that I finished from Parliament last year because I didn't want to run on a party ticket. Since 1996, I had been running an awareness programme for the indigenous chiefs of Vanuatu because I believe they still have power but they don't know where to use it and how to use it. From my point of view, Vanuatu needs a second revolution to really put it back on where we wanted it to be when we were fighting for Independence. The Constitution states clearly in its preamble that the Independent and Sovereign State of the Republic of Vanuatu is founded on Melanesian indigenous values, traditions and in God. But we have not done it.

With the awareness group that has been working with, there are strong organisations that are based in some of the islands. We are trying to get the awareness going in all the islands. We are saying that indigenous wisdom, science, technology, values, system and indigenous democracy are our key to the Year 2000. If we are going to continue with all this Western crap that we have been continuing with since they colonised us, we will never be there.

I think that I have gone from the village level right through the spectrum right up to the international level, even negotiating at the United Nations. I have found that power is still in the hands of your own people in the community. If you make the change there, then the change can go on. My other principle is that I'm not going to go and talk anywhere if I haven't done it myself.

My last question, before I finish. Vanuatu has been a Nuclear Free country since 1980. In 1983, we declared

ourselves a Nuclear Free country and Aotearoa did the same. We have been fighting for a Nuclear Free Pacific all these years. When are some of our other independent countries in the Pacific going to declare themselves Nuclear Free States?

If we have to depend on the Rarotonga Treaty, well, the Rarotonga Treaty is the one that's allowing these plutonium shipments going through the Pacific, because it is not strong enough. My brother never signed it. It was the former pro-French Prime Minister who signed it in 1993. It's too weak. It will never give us the kind of Nuclear Free Pacific that is in our charter. The NFIP Charter clearly states what a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific is. The Rarotonga Treaty does not give us that.

So my question to you is: "OK, can we make it? The Churches, the Women, the NGOs, the political parties, our governments together - can we declare a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific?" It's now the Year 2000.

My last message to those of you who are still fighting for Independence is a quotation from Mahatma Gandhi. If the colonisers are saying that you are not ready, Mahatma Gandhi said that: "It is better for the Indigenous People to run a bad Government then for a good administration to be run by aliens."

So with that I hope that I have given you something on Human Rights and Good Governance. It is the experience of Vanuatu but I'm giving it you, hoping that you can see which are Human Rights and which is Good Governance. For me, my Government and Good Governance starts at home. If my parents have looked after me and I can practise it at home, I can practise it at church, I can practise it in my community, I can practise it on my island, in my home country and all the way up. But home is the most important place. If we are not taught Good Governance at home, we'll never be able to get it anywhere else, because we ourselves must practise it. If we expect other people to do it but we don't practise it, we are not good examples. Thank you very much.

Motariavao Hilda Lini is from Pentecost in Vanuatu, a high ranking chief in the women's chiefly society of Turaga. She has been involved in community groups, women's organisations and indigenous people's organisations such as Tivuanatu, and was a founding member of the NFIP Movement. She served as the only woman in Vanuatu's Parliament for ten years, including terms as Minister for Health and Environment and later Minister for Justice, Culture, Religion and Women. In 1999 she was appointed as the new Director of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre in Suva, Fiji.

Papua New Guinea after the Sandline Crisis

Sophie Gegeyo

Papua New Guinea Council of Churches

I would like to thank Mr. Lopeti Senituli and the members of the executive board of PCRC for the invitation to be present at this meeting and to participate in this panel. I also would like to extend my sincere gratitude and deep appreciation to the Evangelical church of Te Ao Maohi for hosting this historical occasion in this beautiful place.

I have been asked to share my thoughts on the issue of Papua New Guinea after the Sandline affair. I work with the PNG Council of Churches and I will try and share my personal views in relation to the Sandline affair.

Some may ask the question "what is Sandline"? For the benefit of others, Sandline was the process in which the Papua New Guinea government engaged mercenaries to go into Bougainville and flush out the rebels of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA).

Of course, as we all know, the army commander made this secret plan of the government known to the public, when he made a public appearance in the media. As a result, there was an uprising, the public took to the streets petitioning and calling on the government to withdraw the mercenaries and not to allow them into Bougainville.

The public pressure was so great that the government was forced to withdraw the mercenaries and send them back to South Africa. The government responded favourably as the people had demanded, and I believe this was only possible by the power of the people. The people made that change. In fact, the political leaders felt so threatened by the people that they sought the security of parliament. None was allowed to leave Parliament House until they agreed to the people's demands.

A lot of people in Papua New Guinea believe that most of the parliamentarians lost their seats in the 1997 election due to the Sandline affair. After the Sandline affair, we witnessed a change of government. The ongoing political crisis has had serious economic and social implications for the country.

The lack of continuity between governments has had repercussions on development planning. The country faces human rights challenges in the area of excess and abuses by law enforcement, correctional agencies and defence forces, discrimination and violence against women, and corruption in politics and public administration.

On a positive note, the government has recently adopted a new organic law that will bring about greater decentralisation of powers, resources and responsibilities to the provincial and local level governments.

The churches in Papua New Guinea have always maintained and advocated peace in Bougainville. At this point in time I would like to pay tribute to the many missionaries that risked their lives and stayed in Bougainville and continued to provide services during the crisis.

I would like for us to give special recognition for the work of Caritas through the Catholic Church in the area of justice, peace and development in Bougainville. Great work has also been done by the women's network through the Interchurch Women's Forum.

The churches believe that to be a Christian community would mean portraying the love of God to others and that can only be achieved through the liberating message of Christ and through the churches advocating for peace and justice, to assist the Bougainvilleans find their destiny, through choice of free will.

The churches continue to provide rehabilitation, restoration and reconstruction through the program on peace forgiveness and reconciliation. This is done through the member churches in Bougainville.

Given the disparities of poverty and hardship in Bougainville, the government is initiating a district level approach to be encouraged. Community based initiatives, churches and NGOs will be strengthened, and linkages made with the government-sponsored activities.

The focus areas of the government program on Bougainville to further promote peace and stability are:

- restoration of employment
- income generation and sustainable livelihoods ;
- the rehabilitation of the basic services ;
- the rehabilitation and reintegration of youth into society ;
- and the alleviation of suffering of women and children.

Though the intention of the government may be genuine, the reality of the situation is that very much needed basic services such as the provision of health and education are still not available to the majority of the people in Bougainville. *Tenkyu tru.*

Sophia Gegeyo is Secretary General of the Papua New Guinea Council of Churches.

She is a teacher by profession, and worked as a planning officer with the PNG Department of Education and Education Secretary of the Anglican Church.

Crisis in the Solomon Islands

Charles Kelly

Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA)

The Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) is made up of the five main churches in the country: (i) Catholic Church of Solomon Islands, (ii) Church of Melanesia (Anglican Church), (iii) United Church Solomon Islands, (iv) South Seas Evangelical Church, (v) and the Seventh Day Adventists. It is so unfortunate that the Solomon Islands has been violated by ethnic tension. The ethnic tension has been a very sad and painful experience for a country that is known as the "Happy Islands". The country is affected by ethnic tension, damaging the economy, tourism, and even the wantok system. Families have been separated by the crisis.

The tension - may I call it confusion - developed between two groups and island people from Guadalcanal and Malaita. Malaita is the most densely populated island, while Guadalcanal is the biggest island where Honiara, the capital city of the country, is situated. More than 10,000 people of both Malaita, Guadalcanal and people from other provisions have been made displaced by the Isatabu Freedom Fighters (IFF) who opposed the presence of Malaitians on Guadalcanal. At the height of the tension, the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) was very instrumental. SICA made several press statements calling for calm and surrendering. Using the Church infrastructure, SICA was able to reach the militants in their hideouts (camps) when the Government called for help from the Commonwealth for a "Mission of Peace" (led by Sitiveni Rabuka, ex-Prime Minister of Fiji and Professor Ade Ade Fur, through the Commonwealth Secretariat).

Because SICA was already developing relationships with IFF, it was a SICA person who led the Commonwealth Peace Envoy into the jungle to meet with the militants. NGOs and churches were very involved in repatriation and rehabilitation (involving Red Cross, Development Services Exchange, Solomon Islands Development Trust, World Vision and women's agencies).

Present Situation

- 1) Elements of IFM - have continued to harass the people of Guadalcanal. That means the Guadalcanal people are now fighting against each other.
- 2) Food and other rehabilitation services to the Guadalcanal people that have been disciplined have been stopped by IFM from accessing goods and supplies. If they do receive supplies, the receiving community will pay compensation to the IFM.
- 3) The Malaita people have been discouraged from retaliating by way of a Malaita Eagle Force to take up arms to fight the Guadalcanal people. Malaita leaders, Members of Parliament and other Malaitan church leader try to stop the mortality of retaliation.
- 4) The minister has announced that the militants in a small way have begun to surrender arms to SICA in preparation for the Peacekeeping forces from Fiji and Vanuatu.

In Summary, "20 years of Peaceful Independence."

- 1) The Solomon Islands has gone through an experience of ethnic Islanders wanting recognition.
- 2) Customary land ownership is of vital importance to the indigenous people.
- 3) It is an experience of Housing Problems for the labour force working in the urban areas of Honiara. \$15 - \$50.00 (Notenongu)
- 4) Our experience is that to centralise development in the capital - Honiara City - attracts many rural migrants seeking the right to development.
- 5) The Solomon Islands government has a working policy on Natural Disaster but has no policy on "Man Made" Disaster. The ethnic tension has not been declared a National Disaster. That is why it limits donations from International Agencies.

Remember: "No Man is an Island"



Charles Kelly (second from right)
with delegates from Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and West Papua

Charles Kelly is Director of the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) Ecumenical resource and Support Desk and Chairperson of the Development Services Exchange (DSE) in Honiara, Solomon Islands. He has worked in the area of health, population and family planning, serving as the Director of the Solomon Islands Red Cross and the Solomon Islands Family Planning Association

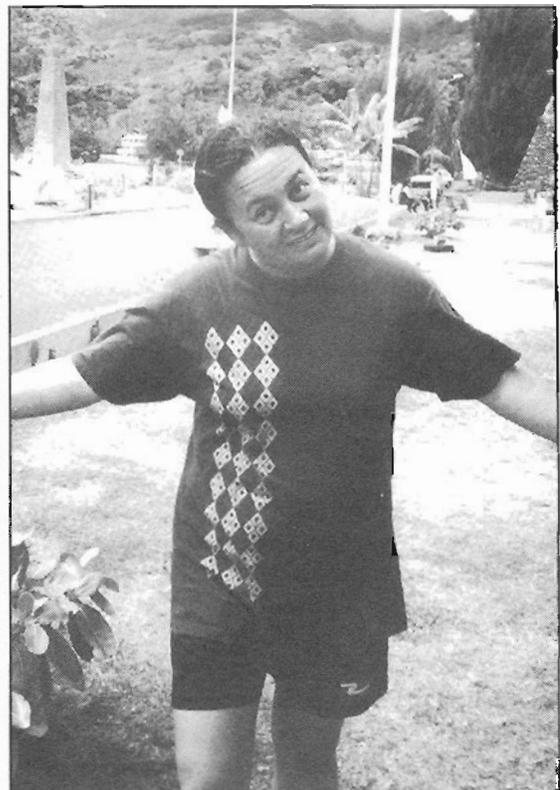


Above, from left, Tamara Bopp du Pont (Te Ao Maohi), Roland Oldham (Te Ao Maohi), Estelle Lakalaka (Wallis and Futuna), Lornie Tevi (Fiji Islands)



Left: PCRC Assistant Director (Finance) Alfred Jack looking forward to retirement

Below: Longtime NFIP activist Hilda Halkyard-Harawira from Aotearoa.



Human Rights and Good Governance in Tonga

Samuela 'Akilisi Pohiva

Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement

Since the last Nuclear Free and Independent (NFIP) conference, our movement had continued to work on a proposed draft constitution for Tonga, based on the resolutions adopted in the convention on the "Tongan constitution and democracy" held at Nuku'alofa in 1992, and on empirical data collected from various sources.

For the Movement to be able to efficiently and effectively carry out this very important task, it had to approve a recommendation from the Movement's Executive for a change in the official title of the "Tonga Pro-Democracy Movement" to the "Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement." This new title fits in well to what the Movement does, which is the promotion of the fundamental rights of Tongans, and eventually to achieve its goal, which is the establishment of a democratic government elected by the people.

Towards the end of 1998, the Movement's Constitutional Review Committee completed its work on a draft constitution. In the proposed draft constitution, there are two major changes. The first major change is the restructuring of the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Branch of government, which, in effect, shifts the executive power of the monarchy to the executive, or the ministers elected by the people. The second major change is the reallocation of land rights to give the people a fair share of the monetary benefits gained from the land resources.

In January 1999, a convention on the draft constitution was held at Nuku'alofa on the theme, "A search for a democratic ruling model suitable for Tonga for the year 2000 and beyond." One of the resolutions adopted in the convention is as follows:

"That a request be submitted to government for a referendum to coincide with the last election seeking the response of the people to the question, "Should the people elect the members of Parliament including the noble representatives and all the government ministers?"

The Deputy Prime Minister in his reply says the government would need time to consider our request and give a reply later. However, he adds it may be too late for government to get it done in time for the 1999 election.

Now, I want to move on to what is currently happening in the political and commercial arenas inside our government. During the past few days we learnt about the on-going struggles of the indigenous people to get their independence and self-determination from the colonial

powers. Ours is a struggle against an authoritarian ruler who is well protected by a constitution designed by a Western administrator and advisers.

In summary, our monarch has Tongan blood, but his mind is a foreigner to our country. The Crown Prince and the Princess both have the same and inherit the same mentality. Like the Suharto family, the royal family has taken over the most profitable business options available in the country. Behind the monarchy is the Church. If you ask me about the religion in Tonga, my answer would be - and I'm sorry to say this - that this is where most of our people are being domesticated and made to suffer in silence. I am not challenging Christianity, or Christian principles. I am only questioning most of the religious practices adopted in most religious organisations.

The Princess' company, Tongasat, an agent of Tonga government takes control of the slots in the space registered under the Kingdom of Tonga. The profits that have been collected have never been disclosed or made known to the public. Her duty free company is a major shareholder in a joint venture investment with Tonga government. She is also very much involved in other investments on a joint venture basis with others, mostly foreigners. The Crown Prince's company based in San Francisco controls the Internet stuff which Tonga government should be a major shareholder. He is a major shareholder in a locally based company, the Royal Beer Co., the only one producing beer in the country. He is also involved in other business ventures such as the Lands, Sea, Air Co. Ltd. based in Hong Kong which involved in the selling of Tongan Naturalisations and Tongan Passports. In 1997, before retirement, he became the chairman of the Tonga Electric Power board. During this time, he obtained the approval of the Board to sell the manufacture of oils to his company and to get a Development Licence removing all duties and other charges imposed on oils imported by his company.

Despite the fact that government has been called, on several occasions, to account for incompetence, maladministration and misuse of public funds by some of the ministers and senior officers, lack of accountability still prevails up to this moment.

In a response to a letter of the Minister of Justice and Attorney General to me requesting my apology, on the ground that my statement published in the *Wall Street Journal* defamed His Majesty, I said:

"Hon. Minister, I believe there is no ground for me to make an apology as you requested... as the statements I made were done independently based on factual occurrences.

..(Mr. Minister), the only way for the King to evade criticisms is a total isolation from the law making and the executive position to become an Honorary King like the King of Britain and other dynasties in Europe.. (I continued) the only leader in the universe that cannot be subjected to criticisms is Jehovah, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. His reign is righteous and flawless... His leadership is free of prejudice and unchallenged."

That part of my response to the Minister's letter was quoted in Justice Finnigan's decision in the *King vs Pohiva* in the Supreme Court of Tonga, page 17.

I made these remarks in my response to the Minister's letter in a hope that would clear my position to the Minister once and for all. Unfortunately, the Minister did want to take the bitter medicine. So, he decided to take me to court for defaming His Majesty.

Brothers and sisters, the fundamental issue our movement has been dealing with during the past nine years or so, has been the lack of accountability and injustice in our government. To prove our case, I wish to come back to Justice Finnigan's decision in the Supreme Court on the same case, part of it reads as follows:

"It is not shown to my satisfaction that the accused said that the King is a dictator. But, if he did then, in their context, those words can only mean, the King is an

authoritarian ruler who ignores my repeated requests for accountability by himself and his Ministers... if he said that, it appears to me to be the truth. Taking into account of the evidence by the accused during the trial it appears to me not surprising that his attempts to obtain accountability in a system which does not provide for it are ignored" (page 26)

The government has never challenged that part of Justice Finnigan's decision. Some might well say, if that is how things work in Tonga, then why do they need change, since the people's rights can be sorted out in the Court of Justice?

Brothers and sisters, taking government in every single offence committed by any of the ministers or, a senior officer in government, is a very costly and painful exercise.

One good example: I took government to the court, after a long battle to get government to account for the unlawful selling of Tongan naturalisation and Tongan passports. What actually happened was that, a few days before the trial, Tonga government, under the royal command from his Majesty, called an emergency meeting of Parliament only to pass legislation legalising the unlawful action taken by government - thus bringing an end to that long struggle for accountability. I hope that the decision of Justice Finnigan well supports our case and the motive behind our struggle. But, this is not a struggle to remove our



Tongan participants at the 8th NFIP Conference: Seketi Fuko, Lupe Senitulu and Sister Senolua Vakata

monarchy as some people might think. Rather, it is a struggle to get our constitution reviewed, as it is both theoretically and practically suppressive and dictatorial.

We believe that a constitution that is dictatorial is bound to produce very selfish and authoritarian leaders. To be able to get rid of these constitutional defects, our constitution has to be reviewed as soon as possible, so that justice and accountability can be put in place.

So, between now and the year 2002 our movement will be working hard in preparation for a national referendum to be held before the next election on the issue: "Should the people elect all the members of Parliament including noble representatives and all government ministers? At this point of time, our movement needs the support of the world community to put pressure on our government.

The last part of my presentation is dedicated to all of us who are here in this very important and historical conference.

Some of us who are here in this Conference witness the authoritarian character of most, if not all, of the leaders in the region. They are either motivated by fear of losing their own base or by the need to hang on to the former colonial masters and other internal and external manipulators.

The professional ideology of most of our leaders in the Pacific entails a belief in accountability to their superiors rather than to the people they are supposed to serve. Our ideology is to be accountable to our people who are suffering and victimised by uninvited alien forces and their local partners, which is made worse by the forces of globalisation. If however, our organisations are used as a means towards emancipation and promotion of the welfare of the majority of the people in our region then we must always resist being manipulated. We need to develop and express our potential in an open climate and avoid being used as a means for maximising material rewards.

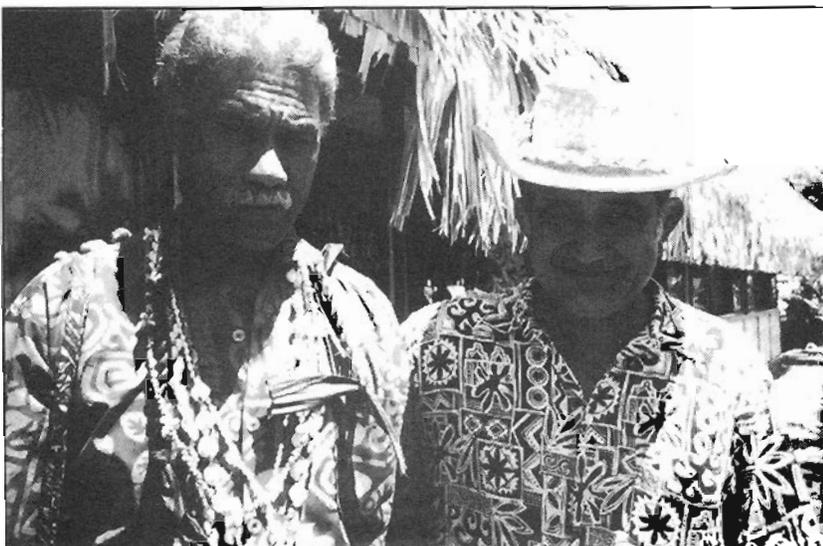
The history of human society should always be viewed as a continuing struggle between the advocates of development and the guardians of the status quo. Freire's "Cultural action for freedom" notes that the revolutionary advocates are engaged in a struggle which is utopian in nature:

"Revolutionary utopia tends to be dynamic than static; tends to life rather than death; to the future as a challenge to man's creativity rather than a repetition of the present; to love as liberation of subjects rather than pathological possessiveness; to the emotion of life rather than cold abstractions.

"To living together in harmony rather than gregariousness; to dialogue rather than muteness; to praxis rather than "the law and order;" to men who organise themselves reflectively for action rather than men who are organised for passivity; to creative and communicative language rather than prescriptive signals; to reflective challenges rather than domesticated slogans; and to values that are lived than myths that are imposed."

The revolutionary guardians in the Pacific are those distanced by the activists in their search for this utopia. The struggle between this irresistible force and its immovable object is illustrated by countless conflicts. What is happening now in Timor, and in this island Tahiti and elsewhere in the Pacific is case in point. In these conflicts, the activists are so often numbered among the transgressors: they raise uncomfortable questions about the whole nation of criminality within human society.

Before I sit down, I wish, on behalf of the delegates from Tonga, to express our thanks and love to the Director, Lopeti Senituli and the PCRC and NFIP staff and all the organisers for inviting us from Tonga to be here to participate in this wonderful and historic conference. Our thanks are also extended to all our brothers and sisters here in this beautiful island for your hospitality, your kindness and love. We will never forget you. *Ofa atu.*



Tonga democracy campaigner Akilisi Pohiva (left) with Oscar Temaru

Akilisi Pohiva is General Secretary of the Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement and a People's Representative Member of Parliament. Since his election in 1987, he has been re-elected four times with the highest tally of any candidate. Through radio programmes and the newsletter Kele'a, he has campaigned in Tonga against corruption and for a broader franchise. His actions have earned him several suits for defamation from the Crown Prince and Government Ministers, an arrest on charges of treason and 26 days detention in September 1996 for contempt of Parliament.

Human Rights in Te Ao Maohi

Stanley Cross

Ligue des Droits de l'Homme de Polynésie – Teturaetara

It is a great honour for me to receive your invitation to be an observer at this 8th NFIP Conference, as a representative of the Human Rights League of Polynesia – *Teturaetara* (*Ligue des Droits de l'Homme de Polynésie* or *LDPH Teturaetara*).

The conference is being held here on Maohi land – land that is also yours, ladies and gentlemen, as representatives of the peoples of the Pacific. It is an honour to speak before this honourable assembly about human rights in French Polynesia. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the political movement *Tavini Huiraatira* and particularly its representative on the NFIP Executive Board, Mr. Nui Ben Teriitehau.

It is an honour for *LDPH Teturaetara* to be here. I must note that neither the authorities of the Territory of French Polynesia, President Gaston Flosse, or the French authorities represented by the High Commissioner of the Republic Mr. Jean Aribaud, have taken up the invitation to attend.

LDPH Teturaetara is a non-government organisation, independent of all authorities, trade unions and political parties and receiving no grants or funding from any State authority from overseas, yet we have been judged *persona non grata* in our own country. To give you an example of this politics of denial, the French government's Secretary of State for Overseas Territories has not seen it necessary to consult *LDPH Teturaetara* on the evolution of the Statute of Autonomy for French Polynesia, which has just been voted on by the French Parliament. In their eyes, our organisation is not a force to be acknowledged in this country.

In spite of this, and since its creation in 1991 by seven Polynesian volunteers, *LDPH Teturaetara* has not ceased to denounce violations of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms by the Territorial authorities and the French authorities.

Certain actions amongst the dozens taken by our group have had a great impact on local public opinion. Others have been undertaken in secret, like support for those Polynesians who received blood transfusions contaminated with the HIV virus, while they were being operated on in French hospitals in 1984-5. It was a French doctor who alerted us to the situation of Polynesians who were dying of AIDS, without receiving any financial support or compensation from the French government. With the threat of revealing this scandal, not less than 15 of the 40

Polynesians saw their claim for compensation come to fruition, the others having died before we could take up the case with the relevant French government services.

In order not to take up too much time, I'd like to focus on five actions that we've undertaken.

The first and most significant action was to publicly denounce the inhuman and degrading treatment of detainees in the Nuutania *Maison d'Arret* (remand centre), which is an express breach of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which is applicable in French Polynesia.

Our action to support those detained in Nuutania were undertaken over several years, interspersed with hunger strikes by the prisoners themselves, of whom 95% are Maohi. Paradoxically, the success of our campaign saw the transfer of control over Nuutania from the Territorial authorities back to the French government, due to the complete incompetence of the local authority in this area.

Since January 1995 and the transfer of power to the French authorities, conditions for those detained have improved considerably. The one remaining question is whether the overpopulation in the prisons necessitates the construction of a new penal establishment based on French standards, as the current prison is totally unsuitable, being over 30 years old.

The second significant action that *LDPH Teturaetara* undertook was in November 1994, when we lodged a claim against the French government before the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Geneva. The claim focussed on the situation of the professional divers in the pearl farms of the Tuamotu Gambier islands. These divers were risking their lives every day, because the legislation covering their work passed by the local authorities were in total violation of safety rules for professional diving.

Thanks to support from the WFTU trade union confederation, which lodged this complaint on our behalf, the ILO Administrative Council issued a recommendation in March 1996 stating that the Government of France had carried out a policy which discriminated between professional divers in French Polynesia and their counterparts in France.

This discrimination continues today, with the Territorial Government of French Polynesia and the Government of France seeking above all to protect the interest of the large pearl farmers.



Human rights activist Stanley Cross (left) with other delegates

The third action undertaken by *LDPH Teturaetara* was to add its voice to the chorus of protests which greeted the resumption of nuclear testing by French President Jacques Chirac in 1995. In a media release entitled "Who benefits from the crime?", we denounced the plot instigated by the French Government, which stepped back to allow the city of Papeete to be left in the hands of looters and arsonists for several hours after the first test. The *gardes mobiles* (paramilitary police) were not sent in, even though they were ready for action in avenue Bruat and the city of Papeete was already in flames.

Immediately after the riots, the French Government and the Government of French Polynesia used every opportunity to attribute responsibility for these acts of arson, pillage and destruction to the Polynesian anti-nuclear movement and especially to the political party *Tavini Huiraatira*.

After a cleverly orchestrated campaign of disinformation, the authorities arrested and jailed several trade union leaders such as Hiro Tefaarere and Ronald Terorotua, as well as political figures such as Nui Ben Teriitehau. The Courts in Papeete released Nui Ben without conviction in October 1998, but the arrests at the time allowed the French government to complete its series of nuclear tests in relative calm.

The fourth major action of *LDPH Teturaetara*, supported this time by the Evangelical Church of French Polynesia (ECPF), was to denounce grave faults in interpretation before the courts and judges, the Police brigades and the Public order office, which are all under the direct authority of the French Government.

We launched a public appeal, calling on all Polynesians who are arrested, questioned or brought before a magistrate, to refuse to sign their statement and record of

interview or attend a hearing unless they are assisted by qualified interpreters. One must note that French is the official language of the justice system in Tahiti.

To this day, no concrete actions have been taken to address this problem, even though on 7 May 1999 France became a signatory to the European Charter on Regional and Minority languages. This Charter authorises the Maohi people to ask that its *reo Maohi*, its language, be recognised as an official language of equal status as the French language.

Finally, *LDPH Teturaetara* commemorated the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948. With the approval of the Chief of Medical Staff at the Vaiami psychiatric hospital and the head of the Nutania prison, we used this anniversary to visit the mental patients and detainees in their cells. We presented each of them a poster illustrating the Universal Declaration on Human Rights translated into *reo Maohi*, with a drawing by our Secretary General, the artist Mathius and the text translated by our brother Turo a Raapoto.

I must say however that I'm ashamed to talk of the breaches of human rights in my own country, which seem so small and inconsequential compared to the events currently happening in other parts of the Pacific. I refer of course to the right to life for the people of East Timor, who are seeking to preserve this right from which all other rights inherent in the human person flow.

To the representative from East Timor, it is with great emotion that I heard you speak about the dramatic events in your country, which you described at our opening ceremony and during your speech last Monday. *LDPH Teturaetara* strongly condemns the policy of extermination launched by the Indonesian Army and the pro-Indonesian

Women, Health and the Environment

Patrina Dumaru,
Fiji Women's Rights Movement

Ni sa bula vinaka. Greetings to you all.

I have been asked to talk to you on the subject of "Women, Health and the Environment". Before I start, however, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the hosts of this conference for the tremendous preparation, the warm welcome and the kind hospitality. I would also like to thank PCRC for allowing me this opportunity to get to know you all and to share your experiences in the difficulties and the successes of the issues that concern you. I must say that as a young person, I am encouraged by the vitality, courage, love and belief that I have seen in the last two days. The thought that we have so much in common makes me proud.

In presenting my topic, I feel that I must substantiate why women are differentiated when approaching the issue of health and environment as we all know that environmental deterioration has the potential of affecting the health of everyone, regardless of sex.

While this may hold some truth, it has become more evident that women are in a more vulnerable situation. As well,

women have special contributions to conservation and healthy living. This is due to our biological make-up as well as the character of our roles and responsibility within our families and communities.

Studies are showing that women are at more risk to environmental pollution. This is due the fact that our biological make-up is such that toxins tend to enter our bodies more easily and remain in there for longer periods of time compared to that of men. Toxins and radiation in the environment is distressingly affecting our health. ECOWOMAN (the women and environment project of SPACHEE in Fiji) has been raising awareness on the linkages between toxic radiation and exposure to breast cancer and other cancerous illnesses that affect women.

In the Pacific Islands, pregnancy complications are the major cause of female mortality. In addition, breast cancer and cervical cancer are on the rise.

This is of major concern to the Fiji Women's Rights Movement and they are currently working on providing

Stanley Cross (continued)

militias against the Timorese people. Allow me, Madame, to present our support at this time of sadness and pain for your people.

My fear is that what is happening today in your country may be the same fate reserved for my homeland. *LDPH Teturaetara* is alerting public opinion about the basis for what we call a dictatorship, which is developing with the silence and complicity of the French Government.

On top of human rights violations which we have already criticised, *LDPH Teturaetara* is concerned about the creation of the *Groupement d'Intervention de Polynésie* (GIP) by the President of French Polynesia, Gaston Flosse. This group, which includes as members some former Foreign Legionnaires and former parachutists from the French Army, has been training on the island of Tupai, with access forbidden to the general public. We fear that the GIP could be the core of a militia that could be launched against the Maohi people. In a media release on 4 December 1998, we described this brigade as tomorrow's "*Tontons Macoute*" of French Polynesia.

The representative of the French Government in Polynesia has said nothing, seen nothing and heard nothing of the current activities of the President of the Government of French Polynesia, who is putting together all the elements of a soft dictatorship.

That is why the *LDPH Teturaetara* with the support of the Evangelical Church during its last Synod, called for an international mission comprising the French Human Rights League and the International Federation of Human Rights, to undertake a study of human rights in Polynesia. It is through this perspective of Human Rights that our children and grand children will know whether their country has taken the path of Democracy or Totalitarianism.

Ladies and gentlemen, participants and observers at this NFIP Conference, I'd like to present you all with copies of this poster of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the Maohi language.

Tomorrow, if you hear that the activists of *LDPH Teturaetara* have been imprisoned or killed, you will know that our governments have torn up this Universal Declaration. Instead, I long for the day when our governments will scrupulously respect Human Rights. *Iorana and Mauruuru!*

Stanley Cross is a lawyer and activist in Tahiti. He holds degrees in law from the University of Bordeaux, and was formerly the General Secretary of the Confederation of independent trade unions of French Polynesia. He is a founding member and President of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme de Polynésie - Teturaetara (Human Rights League of French Polynesia).

gender sensitive health care services that will cater for women's special needs because of their reproductive function. ECOWOMAN on the other hand is putting efforts through awareness raising into reducing toxins in the air we breathe, food we eat and water we drink. We try to inform people and draw public support against the dangers of industrial discharge, irresponsible littering, vehicle fumes and other forms of pollution.

Moreover, we are working on promoting the consumption of organically grown food, instead of those that have been chemically applied such as pesticide sprayed vegetables and fruit and other confectionery items. We are looking into ways of distinguishing organically produced goods from those that have been chemically applied through ecolabelling.

However, this is not an easy task, particularly for a developing country like Fiji. Already, we have a member that has started up a permaculture initiative in her own community and we would like to promote this sort of agriculture at all levels. We heard that similar forms of agriculture are actively implemented in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea and we hope that this trend will spread across the region.

In cultures where women are the traditional food gatherers, firewood collectors and water carriers, large-scale development such as logging and intensive commercial agriculture within the resource locality means that women are given the extra burden to walk even further and to spend longer hours on their daily chores.

A survey conducted last year on rural women in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands revealed that the women were generally concerned about the environment, especially where it linked health and family well-being. It also stated that the problems women were currently faced with resulted from men making resource management decisions without consulting them. Logging operations spoiled the rivers so they had to walk further to find clean drinking water; the coconut plantations that were too close to the village made the soil less fertile for gardening, adding to the distance that women had to walk for subsistence gardening.

ECOWOMAN is concerned about the participation of grassroots women in development decision making as they have vested interests in the environment. ECOWOMAN has just recently produced a Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) manual designed specially for use in Fiji and possibly in other Pacific Island communities.

PLA is a method of assessing the problems and potentials of a community through consultation with different sectors such as women, youth, elders etc. We have just completed one of the three PLA training workshop in which participants were trained on this method of approach. Our aim is to ensure that such an approach is used as a basis

for any development initiative, as we believe such a method brings out the concerns of women and ensures a bottom-up, participatory approach to development.

My third and final point is the fact that women are traditional caregivers and nurturers in the home. Whenever a family member is sick it is most likely that the mother, grandmother, aunt, sister or daughter is doing the nursing. This has been the traditional role of Pacific Island women and therefore women are most knowledgeable in the use of medicinal plants and traditional healing practices. This knowledge is a significant part of Pacific culture and well-being and it is usually the women that are the experts.

However, traditional practices of healing have been gradually disappearing since colonial times. With the introduction of Christianity, traditional healing has been associated with paganism and "evil witchcraft practice". The introduction of Western medicine has also contributed to this cultural erosion. Nonetheless, this type of medical service has not always been readily available for people at the lower economic bracket as well as those in remote rural areas where health services are inefficient and medical supplies lacking. Furthermore, Western medicine is usually too costly.

WAINIMATE, a group of women traditional healers, is taking up these concerns. In the Fijian language *wainimate* refers to medicine. WAINIMATE aims to conserve plants that save lives, to make health affordable to all and to ensure that traditional knowledge and practices of healing is passed down to the next generation.

Currently, a profile of healers from around Fiji is being compiled. Issues discussed with traditional healers include plants that they find are endangered or becoming extinct, intellectual property rights and the importance of conserving traditional medicinal plants. The healers are encouraged to establish traditional medicinal enterprises that can provide income and affordable medicine for rural communities.

WAINIMATE members and affiliates have grown in village communities as well as amongst professional medical practitioners. WAINIMATE has been working closely with the Fiji School of Medicine, Fiji School of Nursing and the Ministry of Health. Medical practitioners have admitted that at times they have recommended traditional medicine and healers have said that on a number of occasions patients have been referred to them. WAINIMATE would like to see that traditional healers are formally recognised. Village pastors are beginning to welcome the concept and preach that plants are a gift of life to us from God and that it is our duty to protect them.

Protection is being done through the establishment of nurseries in various villages and in the individual backyards of the healers themselves. The University of the South Pacific also has established a nursery of



Women's Rights are human rights!
 Unasa Ese Vaeau (Mapusaga o Aiga, Samoa) with Dora Tsiuh (Bougainville Inter-church Women's Forum)

medicinal plants in collaboration with WAINIMATE.

Presenting these linkages on women, health and the environment brings to light a number of crucial environmental, health and cultural issues which I feel needs to be addressed in this conference:

a) Improvement in women's health services

Women have a crucial role in our society, as we are the reproducers and nurtures in the family. Therefore, we must have efficient and appropriate services. It's not for our own well-being but for the well-being of the family. We would like to see governments put more efforts into prioritising women's health and to provide better and efficient services, as well as to provide more training and facilities for community health workers. I think that the NFIP can play a crucial role in advocating for this.

b) Participation of women in resource management decision making

This is needed particularly at the grassroots level. Although this is a sensitive issue in relation to our culture, I feel that the problems arising out of this to too urgent to be overlooked. Women must be consulted in any development decision-making. We make up half of the population. Government departments, NGOs, regional organisation and any group interested in developing communities must

ensure that the approach is participatory. The PLA model or similar models should be promoted in all areas of development.

c) A concerted effort to reduce all forms of pollution.

Since it started the NFIP has been lobbying and campaigning on this issue. Our wish is that this continues and that we environmental organisations work more effectively with each other to fight it. We would like to see the industries targeted in particular. Currently, in Fiji the industries are getting away with murder. They are polluting enormously without compensating for the costs. We must ensure that they take responsibility to their actions.

d) Awareness raising on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs).

With the growing consumerist culture in the Pacific Islands, this issue must be address. We must be informed about the goods we consume. POPs is a new word here in the Pacific. It's hazardous to the human health and to other organism. PCRC and other environmental and health organisations need to make a concerted effort in raising awareness on this.

e) The urgent need to conserve our biodiversity

Biodiversity is an integral part of our culture and well-

being. Throughout this conference we've been sharing about how important our land is to us and how our ancestors and pro-independence activists have fought hard to protect this right. The land, including the seabed, binds us humans with all the different plants and organisms. This concept is fundamental to our culture and our history. Well over 80% of the biodiversity in some Pacific Islands are endemic to us, in that they are found nowhere else in the world but here. If these plants are threatened then so is our culture and well-being, If a single plant becomes extinct then so will the traditional knowledge and practice that goes with it.

f) The need to revive traditional knowledge and practices

We must ensure that this is passed on to our youth. Education of traditional knowledge and practices needs to be made available to youth. We need to learn about our traditional agricultural methods, fishing methods, healing methods, history etc. During colonial times, we were told do away with such practices. We were told they were mystic, inefficient and did not make sense and to a certain extent we did.

However, it is now that we are beginning to realise that these traditional methods were practiced to ensure that resources were managed sustainably. This can be seen in the design of traditional fishing gear, taboos placed on agricultural land and fishing grounds (which are now referred to as "marine protected areas") and not forgetting our cultural totems such as the plants and animals which certain tribes identify themselves with.

Our children need to learn about the old ways and take pride in it. This is vital for our culture. It is vital for our natural environment and our health and it is vital for our future.

g) The need to lobby on the reduction of air, water and land pollution in the Pacific region.

There has been a lot of environmental awareness undertaken. It's now time to allow people to take action. I believe that the youth of today are amongst the most prepared to do something – whether it be picking up rubbish, making composts or lobbying. You know why? Because we are scared. I know I am. I'm afraid of sea level rise, deforestation, and intensive use of chemicals on food. I'm afraid climate change, POPs, plutonium, nuclear waste, genetic modification, the accumulation of solid waste, marine pollution, species extinction and list goes on and on. It's us that will be bearing the consequences fifty years from now and I don't even want to begin to think of what it might be like for my children. We at SPACHEE and other environmental organisations I know of get people coming in asking for voluntary work. It's such a pity that we cannot accommodate the capacity to attend to their needs. *Vinaka vakalevu.*

Patrina Dumaru is a member of the Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM) in Suva, Fiji Islands. She worked as the co-ordinator of ECOWOMAN, a project of the South Pacific Action Committee for Human Ecology and Environment (SPACHEE). In 2000, Patrina took up the position of Assistant Director (Environment) with the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre.



Fiji delegates Patrina Dumaru (Fiji Women's Rights Movement) and Josephine Terry (Greenpeace Pacific)

Health of indigenous communities in Ka Pae'aina

Kekuni Blaisdell MD

Kanaka Maoli Tribunal Komike, Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i)

Indigenous peoples. The world's 500 million indigenous peoples are usually defined as peoples with distinct cultures who continue to inhabit their ancestral lands, but who are dominated by settlers. Generally, they have unfavourable Western health indicators, such as shortened life expectancy and higher death and disease rates. The 1993 UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples assures collective and individual rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty, security and full guarantees against genocide.

Western health determinants. The West usually views the health determinants of a community in three main categories: (1) genetic factors; (2) individual lifestyle, such as nutrition, personal hygiene, physical fitness, use of harmful substances, coping with stress; and (3) environmental factors, such as the natural setting and resources, public sanitation, population density and social institutions.

Kanaka Maoli historical periods. Modern Kanaka Maoli tend to consider their past in five main eras:

- (1) Timeless origin in Po, with the mating of Wakea skyfather with Papa earthmother from which arose, and continue to arise, all in the cosmos in orderly sequence as living, conscious and communicating. After Kalo was born Haloa, the first kanaka. Kanaka sailed *Ka Moananui* (the Pacific) by canoe and settled widely dispersed islands, including Ka Pae'aina c100AD.
- (2) Kanaka proliferated and with concepts of *aloha 'aina*, *'ohana*, *'aumakua*, *ahupua'a*, *lokahi*, *pono*, *mana*, *palua*, *ola*, *'uhane*, *ha*, *mauli*, *wailua* and *ea*, they thrived and attained a population of about 400,000 to 800,000 by the late 1700s.
- (3) 1778 return of Lono or chance arrival of British Captain James Cook brought contagious infections, alcohol, tobacco, guns, processed foods, goat, foreign plants, wheel and other instruments, books and a single God with no respect for the Kanaka Maoli *akua*. Depopulation and collapse of the old society followed with Euro-US colonialism and 1810 European-style hereditary monarchy. *Ahupua'a* subsistence economy, which provided for all, was replaced by foreign sandalwood, whaling, trade debts and Kanaka Maoli impoverishment. 1820 US Christian evangelism, coercive assimilation, imposed 1840 constitutional monarchy, capitalists' ranches, plantations and 1848-1850 Mahele privatisation of lands secured the ruling whites. By 1890, declining Kanaka Maoli reached a nadir of 40,000, outnumbered by 30,000 voteless Asian contract labourers and 20,000 whites.
- (4) 1893 US armed invasion toppled Queen Lili'uokalani,

1898 US forced annexation entrenched Big Five oligarchy. 1941-45 World War Two, 1950 Korean War displaced Kanaka Maoli by Western-educated Asians. 1959 fraudulent statehood, 1960s transnational tourism, nuclearism, Vietnam War and transmigration marginalised Kanaka Maoli.

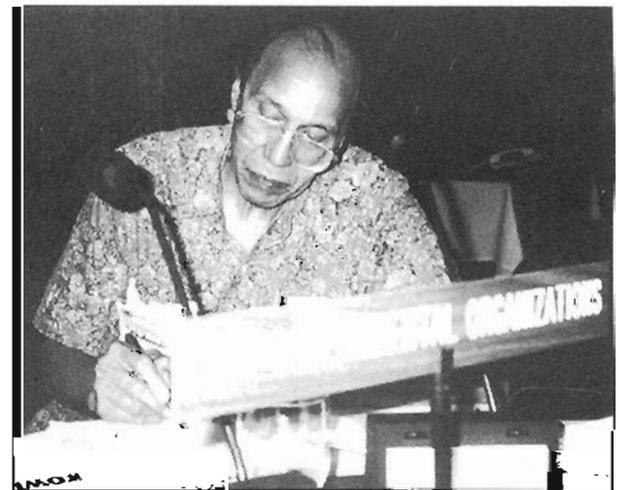
- (5) Post-statehood rise of the modern Kanaka Maoli movement, in spite of and because of, Kanaka Maoli worst health, social and economic indicators. By the 1990s, the total island population was 1.2 million (by ethnic composition: whites 25%, Japanese 23%, Kanaka 20%, Filipino 14%, Chinese 10%, others 8%).

1910-1993 Kanaka Maoli health and social profile: Shortest life expectancy, highest rates for leading mortality and morbidity (viz.: heart disease, cancer, stroke, diabetes, injuries, infections, infant mortality); highest rates for tobacco, alcohol, obesity, high blood pressure, high blood cholesterol; school drop-out; juvenile crime, prison incarceration; lowest median family income, home ownership.

Five main reasons for Kanaka Maoli plight:

- 1) Depopulation and worsening minority status because of increasing foreign transmigration;
- 2) colonial exploitation with theft of Kanaka Maoli lands;
- 3) cultural conflict and despair;
- 4) too eager adoption of harmful foreign ways;
- 5) colonial neglect and malice (institutional racism).

Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell has worked as a physician and Professor of Medicine at the University of Hawai'i. He is a leading member of Ka Pakaukau and Convenor of the Kanaka Maoli Tribunal Komike in Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i). These brief notes do not do credit to the vigour and joy of Kekuni's presentation at the conference!



Kekuni Blaisdell addresses the UN Decolonisation Committee

Radiation and health in French Polynesia

Jacqui Drollet

Ia Mana Te Nunaa, Te Ao Maohi

We have the right to know:

- what has happened?
- what still remains?
- what will happen in the future?

What has happened?

What were the conditions under which the French nuclear tests at Moruroa and Fangataufa were conducted, and what are the consequences for the health of the workers who lived at the atolls?

The response of the French military is as follows: there are no problems with the tests, but the medical dossiers for the workers remain a national defence secret.

The established facts from the population: over the last thirty years, more and more people have died from cancer.

What can be the solution to understand this contradiction? An epidemiological study could be conducted by an international team, on the model of that done by the British at the end of their nuclear testing. Following this work, even if it came too late for some, the results of the scientists could not be challenged.

What remains and has been left as our legacy?

The nuclear tombs are under our feet, without us knowing exactly what is in them and what will become of them in the future.

What will happen in the future?

The precautionary principle, an idea that is dear to the heart of the current French government, should be applied to the nuclear test sites in the Tuamotu Islands. France has the responsibility for monitoring and surveillance of the different nuclear dump shafts.

Based on our existing knowledge of fluid motion through the base of the atolls, isn't there a risk of the release of radioactive isotopes through the phenomenon known as endo-upwelling, which has been described for the first time by French scientists studying the Tuamotu islands?

If there are new releases of radioactive elements, what measures will France take to warn and protect the populations most at risk?

I solemnly appeal to the members of this conference to take up these three issues officially with the French government – concerns which for we Polynesians are directly tied to the struggle for Human Rights which must be universal and indivisible.

Jacqui Drollet is Secretary General of the pro-independence party Ia Mana Te Nunaa, and works as Mayor of Hitiaa in Tahiti, Te Ao Maohi.

He is a member of the Territorial Assembly, and in the early 1990s served as Minister of Health in the Leontieff government



Jacqui Drollet of *Ia Mana Te Nunaa* (right) with NFIP Conference panelists on human rights

Living with HIV / AIDS in the Pacific

Maire Bopp du Pont

Te Reo Tefana, Te Ao Maohi

Hi, *laorana*, my name is Maire.

Nu mua roa, Maeva, Manava e laorana i te farereiraa i teie mahana, outou tei ratere mai i roto i to matou fenua, tatou tei tapapa mai i teie apooraa; Te Haamauruuru taae nei au i te feia atoa, tane, vahine, ui api, tei tauturu mai i te faaineineraa o teie apooraa NFIP. Mauruuru maitai!

To our English speakers, I have just said a few words of welcome to you all, who have come from overseas to gather at this 1999 NFIP conference.

I wanted to give my speech in Tahitian, so that my Maohi people won't be excluded from the message I wish to share with you here. But I have just noticed that there are some French speakers here who don't understand much English as well, so I might as well speak English. I hope everyone here will be part of the talk.

The first time I stood up like this to talk about HIV/AIDS was at the Pacific Islands News Association (PINA) conference, in December 1998. I didn't know then that it would just be the start of a long advocacy journey! First, I want to thank the PCRC Executive Board for putting the issue of HIV/AIDS on the agenda.

The story I'm going to share here is already known to some of you in the audience.

This story is that of a young Tahitian girl who was raised in the small and beautiful island of Moorea. She grows up just like any other girl of her village. She's only 21 when she first graduates in Tahitian language from the *Université Française du Pacifique*.

It's at the same time too when she gets involved with a Tahitian guy from her village. A few months after they met, she leaves for Fiji. This girl was not interested in continuing with her academic studies in France. What she wanted was to know better the Pacific reality, her Pacific.

So for the first time, she travels to Fiji in 1996. As she was there she came to know the University of the South Pacific (USP) and also the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC). She liked it and found it so interesting that she enrolled in new studies: journalism and History / Politics. It was so hard because she was the only Tahitian student and she knew only basic English. But she met the challenge and through struggle she succeeded.

In December 1997, she came back to Moorea for Christmas; she found her ex-boyfriend, very sick (The boyfriend was

EX- because they had just broken up). Normal medication wasn't doing any good. She took him to hospital. He stayed there more than a month. She stayed with him through those weeks, because although they were not partners anymore they were still friends, she thought. After this "Holiday", she went back to USP for her final year. Life was smiling on her then; her studies were successful.

By the end of August that year, she travelled to Vancouver as the Youth Pacific Delegate to a conference. The journey was nice but hard. She started having continuous high fevers. Some healing sessions with two Canadian women relieved her for a few days, but it didn't get any better when she got back to Fiji.

She didn't worry too much because she thought her wisdom teeth were causing all this pain. But antibiotics and strong vitamins didn't help and by the end of October, things had gone so bad that she had to enter the hospital in Suva.

She underwent all possible blood tests, including HIV/AIDS. Doctors diagnosed acute pneumonia, but feared the worst. On her side, she thought it would take only one week before she got better and that she would be able to return for her final exam. But as her case worsened, she called her father and asked him to take her back to Tahiti. She didn't know what it was, but she needed to see her family.

She entered Colonial War Memorial Hospital on a Thursday. On the following Tuesday, her doctor visited her, held her hand and told her: "Your HIV/AIDS test is positive" She asked for confirmation; he confirmed.

Her entire world had suddenly faded. *UA MOE TEU TIIROA*: physically you're alive, but your mind is gone, flying freely in the air. How can it happen to her, how did it happen to her, what is she going to do, what about her family, her friends, her life? So many questions unanswered! But it's there and there's nothing she can do about it anymore!

That night she didn't sleep, the shock was too big. On the following evening, her father and her brother finally arrived in all their distress. It was just the beginning! She didn't know how to tell them, but she realised there were only three words: I HAVE AIDS!

Her brother sat with her that night and she told him; "I have pneumonia but I also have AIDS."

The day after her father sat with her and she told him;

"Dad. I have pneumonia but I also have AIDS."

Her friends sat with her and she told them. "I have AIDS, be more careful than I've been."

Miraculously, she managed to come back to her island; God had answered her prayers to bring her back. Thank God!

Back in Tahiti she was put under tritherapy, the new anti-HIV treatment which doesn't cure, but brings back an AIDS person to HIV status and maintains her. She also went under alternative treatment to clean her organism and strengthen her immune system.

She discovered how she contracted the virus; it was through her steady boyfriend. When he got sick the year before, it was because of AIDS. But he hid it. He said he was too scared and shameful. She wondered "What kind of picture of the world have we build, for someone to remain silent, to risk a beloved's life?"

Now she knows, she's almost an expert on AIDS sexual implications, the medical expert and particularly the economic and social issues that surround HIV/AIDS. Today she knows people still die with AIDS. She knows she's luckier, she is healthier than many other non-HIV person. She knows how to protect herself and how to protect others – she is responsible about it. She's strong,



Maire Bopp du Pont (Te Ao Mauihi)

God gave her that strength. So she decided to speak out for the weaker ones and teach, educate, raise awareness amongst her people in the Pacific.

Today, this girl is 25 and standing in front of you.

There is so much to say, but 15 minutes is already over! It is this, "much more" part that I told my community in Moorea last Saturday night. The same "much more" I will tell the parish of Paea, the next district, next Saturday.

I stand up because unfortunately AIDS is contaminating the blood of our indigenous fellows; the same blood that links us to our land. We shall stand up, to talk about it. We shall sit down to discuss about it. We shall not feel ashamed because in shame, there is no life!

Today, I am proud of an association called ACS which gathers HIV positive people, doctors, nurses, family, and volunteers. With Ingrid, my teacher at USP and with the support of the Fijian and French governments, we have just finished a 40 minute documentary which will be launched on 12 October. I invite you all to use this material in your community to raise awareness and information about HIV / AIDS.

In two weeks, I'll be on an advocacy tour around Fiji and maybe other Pacific islands afterwards. Especially, I want to raise awareness amongst you for you must be aware of our vulnerability to AIDS; you must also know that 80% of the affected people have only one partner. Maybe one of you in this audience is HIV positive but doesn't know it yet, because I've once been in that situation before. I don't wish any of you to go through this experience.

It's a sin for me to remain ignorant.

- There are ways to know; seek them
- There are means to protect yourself; use them
- But finally, moreover, there is dignity in HIV/AIDS, and NO ONE SHALL DENY IT !

Finally I'd like to thank :

- the NFIP Executive Board to have finally put HIV/AIDS on the agenda.
- thanks to the people who have contributed to this 8th NFIP Conference.
- thanks to my radio station for being a pleasant place to work in –

And I wish us the best, for this is just the beginning of a long life.

Maire Bopp du Pont is an independence activist from the island of Moorea. Te Ao Maohi

She is a graduate of the Journalism School of the University of the South Pacific, and works as a journalist with the radio station Te Reo o Tefana in Tahiti.

Theme six: Globalisation and its impact on Pacific economies

Keynote address on globalisation:

Globalisation

- Impact on Small Island Developing State economies

Fata Koroseta To'o, Samoa

Through the Forum Economic Minister's Meeting (FEMM), a new economic orthodoxy is impacting Pacific island nations. Similar to the wave of neo-liberal orthodoxy affecting Africa, Asia and Latin America, there have been a range of structural adjustment and "reform" programs in countries such as Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, Fiji, the Cook Islands and Samoa.

Pacific peoples have many concerns relating to political independence and freeing colonised peoples from the chains of colonialism as well as maintaining the Pacific as a nuclear free region. This article is an attempt to remind and make us ready to counter a force that has always been around. We have not been able to see its subtle penetration destroying our values and in turn reinforcing a more devastating and dangerous wave of neo-colonialism.

Globalisation is de-localisation, which is the uprooting of activities and relationships from local origins and cultures. It means the displacement of activities that until recently were local, into networks whose reach is distant and or worldwide. Anthony Giddens sums it up by saying that globalisation is the intensification of worldwide social relations, which link distant realities in such a way, that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away or vice versa.

In the Pacific, we have seen governments blindly following the austerity measures imposed by international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as well as other economic trade blocks promoted by the Lomé Convention and other agreements. It is taken as the 'best' medicine but not realising the dangers that globalisation brings to society.

Since, the early 1980s, the macro-economic stabilisation and structural adjustment programs (SAP) imposed by the IMF and the World Bank on developing countries (as a condition for the renegotiation of their external debt) have led to the impoverishment of hundreds of millions of people. Contrary to the spirit of the Bretton Woods agreement which was predicated on economic construction and the stability of major exchange rates, the SAPs have contributed largely to destabilising national currencies and ruining the economies of developing countries which include the Pacific nations. Internal purchasing power has collapsed, famines have erupted, health clinics and schools

have been closed down, hundreds of millions of children have been denied the right to primary education. In several regions of the world, including the Pacific, reforms have been conducive to a resurgence of infectious diseases including tuberculosis, malaria and cholera. While the World Bank's mandate consists of "combating poverty" and protecting the environment, its support for large scale hydroelectric and agro-industrial projects has also speeded up the process of deforestation and the destruction of the natural environment, leading to the forced displacement and eviction of several million people.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, macro-economic restructuring also supports geopolitical interests. Structural adjustment is used to undermine the economy of the former Soviet bloc and dismantle its system of state enterprises. Since the late 1980s, the IMF/World Bank 'economic medicine' has been imposed on eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, former Soviet Union, and in Pacific countries like Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, with devastating economic and social consequences. These consequences have included unemployment, low wages and the marginalisation of the large sectors of the population. Social expenditures are curtailed and many of the achievements of the welfare state are repealed.

Since the 80s, the impact of structural adjustment, including the derogation of the social rights of women and the detrimental environmental consequences of economic reform have been well documented. While the Bretton Wood institutions have acknowledged the social 'impact of adjustment', there has been no change in policy direction. In fact, the IMF-World Bank policy prescriptions (now imposed in the name of poverty alleviation) have become increasingly harsh and unyielding.

Role of Global Institutions

Global institutions play an important role in the process of restructuring national economies. The ratification of the GATT Agreement and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) formation in 1995 mark a landmark in the development of the global economic system. The WTO's mandate consists of regulating world trade to the benefit of the international banks and the TNCs as well as "supervising" the enforcement of national trade policies. The GATT Agreement violates fundamental people's rights, particularly in the areas of foreign investment, biodiversity and intellectual property rights.

In other words, a new "triangular division" of authority has unfolded, based on collaboration with the IMF, World Bank and the WTO in the "surveillance" of developing countries' economic policies. The completion of the Uruguay Round saw the emergence of a new trade order, which now redefines the relationships between the Washington-based institutions to national governments. IMF and the World Bank policy prescriptions no longer hinge solely upon ad-hoc country level loan agreements (which are not legally binding documents). Many of the clauses of SAPs such as trade liberalisation and the foreign investment regime have become permanently entrenched in the WTO articles of agreement. These have become the foundations for policing countries and enforcing conditionalities according to the international law.

IMF Agenda

Debtor countries are blacklisted if they do not conform to IMF performance targets. 'Parallel government' government that bypasses civil society is established by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs). Central Banks and Ministry of Finance are reorganised, often with the complicity of the local bureaucracies. State institutions are undone and "economic tutelage" is installed.

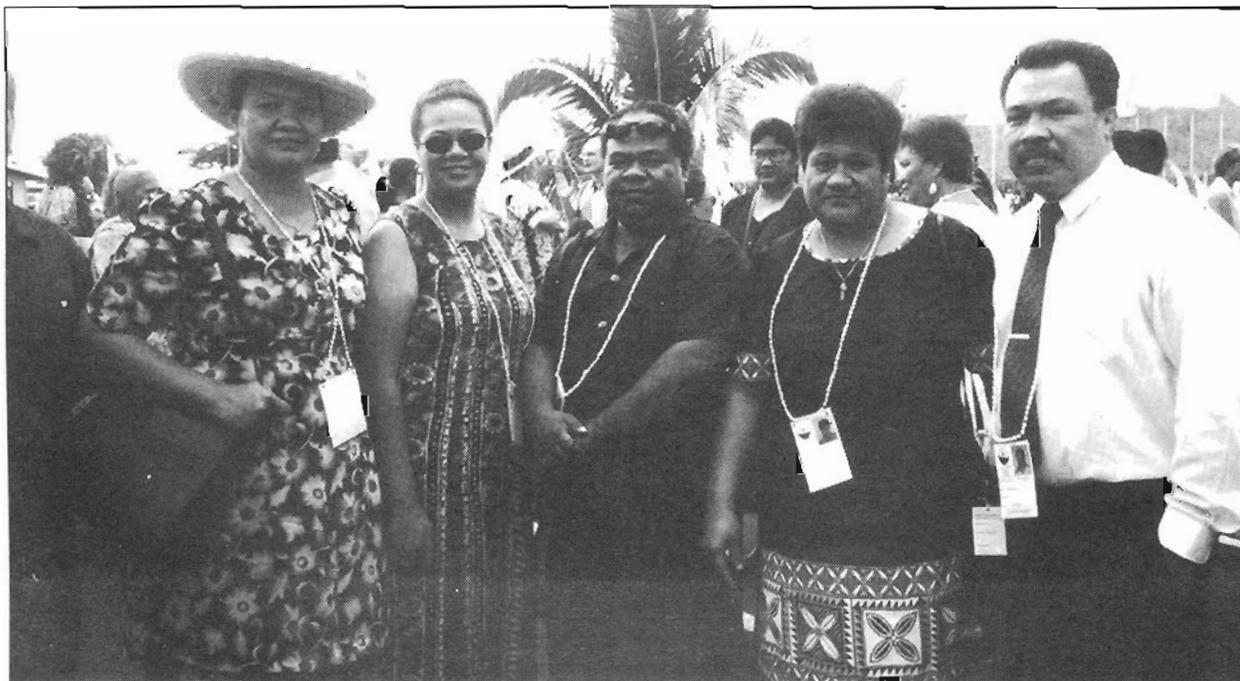
While adopted in the name of "democracy" and "good governance" the SAP requires strengthening of the internal security apparatus. Political repression – with the collusion of the Third World elites – supports a parallel process of economic repression. Consequently, the Third World has experienced a situation of local desperation and the hopelessness of a population impoverished by the interplay of market forces. One only has to look at riots in Caracas in 1989, Morocco 1990, Mexico 1993 and Papua New Guinea in the early 90s to name a few examples.

SAPs as Economic Genocide

Structural adjustment is conducive to a form of "economic genocide" which is carried out through the conscious and deliberate manipulation of market forces. Historically, its social impact is devastating. SAPs affect directly the livelihood of more than four billion people. The application of SAPs in a large number of individual debtor countries favour the "internationalisation" of macro-economic policy under the direct control of the IMF and World Bank acting on behalf of powerful financial and political interests (e.g. Paris and the London Clubs, G7). This new form of economic and political domination – a form of "market colonialism" – subordinates people and government through the seemingly "neutral" interplay of market forces. At no time in history has the "free" market – operating in the world through the instrument of macroeconomics – played such an important role in shaping the destiny of "sovereign" nations.

National Economy

The restructuring of the world economy under the guidance of the IMF/World Bank increasingly denies individual developing countries the possibility of building a national economy: the internationalisation of macro-economic policy transforms countries into open economic territories and national economies into "reserves" of cheap labour and natural resources. The application of IMF "economic medicine" tends to further depress world commodity prices because it forces individual countries to simultaneously gear their national economies towards a shrinking world market. At the heart of the global economic system, lies an unequal structure of trade, production and credit which defines the role and position of the developing countries in the global economy.



Keynote speaker Fata Koroseta To'o (right) with delegates from Samoa and American Samoa

By the turn of the century, the world population will be over six billion, of which five billion will be living in poor countries. The rich countries with some 15 percent of the world population control close to 80 percent of total world income.

In contrast, some 56 percent of the world population representing the "low income countries" (including India and China), with a population of over three billion people, received approximately 5 percent of total world income in 1993, less than the GDP of France and its overseas territories.



Losena Salabula presented a special NFIP conference statement to the September 1999 UN Special Session on Small Islands Developing States

Pacific Experience – New Zealand

The new liberal experiment in New Zealand is the most ambitious attempt at constructing the free market as a social institution to be implemented anywhere this century. It is a clearer example of the costs and limits of reinventing the free market in the late 20th century context than the Thatcherite experiment in Britain. Among the novel effects of neo-liberal policy in New Zealand has been the creation of an underclass in a country that did not have one before.

The New Zealand experiment is the free market project in laboratory conditions – uncompromising neo-liberal ideology animated a program of radical reform in which no major political social institution was left unreconstructed. One of the world's most comprehensive social democracies became a neo-liberal state. New Zealand society underwent a correspondingly profound metamorphosis. The consequences and hazards of the New Zealand experiment are instructive, not to say ominous.

The New Zealand experiment was very much similar to the structural adjustment programs forced on the governments of developing countries as a condition of credit from transitional international institutions. But New Zealand was not a third world country – it was an advanced social democratic state. Traditions of state intervention in the economy to protect social cohesion were more deeply entrenched in New Zealand than in any other western country, with the exception of social democratic Sweden.

In New Zealand, as in the UK, the sudden growth of the underclass is a textbook example of the manufacture of poverty by the neo-liberal state. Beyond the growth of the underclass, New Zealand has experienced an astonishing growth in economic inequalities of all kinds. The bargaining power of employees in relation to employers was considerably reduced by legislation imposing individual contracts on the labour market. At the same time, reductions in marginal levels of income taxation were implemented, affecting particularly those at the top. The

result was that income inequality increased in New Zealand more than in any other western country.

The principal cost of New Zealand experiment has been a loss of social cohesion. Its political aftershock has been a meltdown in which the electoral system was repudiated and all the major parties have fragmented. The effects of market fundamentalism in New Zealand may well be tempered over the next few years. Nearly all New Zealand political parties will publicly abandon neo-liberal rhetoric. Politicians will repudiate the disregard of economic fundamentals for social stability. Criticism of the excesses of the neo-liberal experiment in New Zealand will become an integral component of a new political consensus.

Conclusion

The economies of small island states are so vulnerable to globalisation that its political independence in the long run will be controlled by the more powerful and ruthless TNCs. The power of the state diminishes and leaving the socio-economic fabric of society in a robotic and controlled medium. As they say in Samoa: "*Ua puleesea lo ta'ola*" – (our destiny is controlled by others) and this time by market forces whom humanity and emotions cannot feel.

Let us take stock of where we are and how we chart our course into the new millennium. Let not the wealth carrot seduce us to political manipulation and divide us from the course of freedom. The Pacific people have survived for thousands of years and we can sustain that by sticking to the realities of living in our cultural strengths – there, the economic of survival and prosperity is enhanced by being free on one's land. *Soifua ma ia Manuia!*

Fata Koroseta To'o is a matai (chief) from Samoa. He worked with the South Pacific Forum Secretariat in 1983-85, and has been an activist in Samoan non-government organisations and trade unions

Economic options after nuclear testing in Te Ao Maohi

Nelson Ortas

Tavini Huiraatira, Te Ao Maohi

Distinguished guests and family, greetings to all, *Iaorana*. With 30 years of French subsidies, the simple dynamics of our economic structure has totally mutated. The word mutated is most appropriate, considering that we have this imbalance because of French nuclear testing.

Indigenous people gave up the ancient customs and lifestyles of our ancestors in favour of government jobs in the nuclear society, literally abandoning the tranquillity of the outer islands to move onto this island, Tahiti. The nuclear bomb transformed the Maohi people into a society of people programmed to a 9 to 5 workday. We have a colonised society that basically stifled the spirit of entrepreneurship.

During this period, my country received nearly US\$1.2 billion of financial assistance each year from France. From a business stand point, this contract was a typical agreement between supplier and customer. However this agreement had a hidden clause. This money did fuel the inner workings of our economic cycle. But what we've discovered is that France gives from one hand but takes back from the other. France created a system based on extracting maximum amounts of money from our local economy then transferring this money back to the European continent.



Nelson Ortas of Tavini Huiraatira (centre)

The French scheme consisted of many things, but let me mention just a few. The French created a favourable business environment for French businesses and interests, especially for products originating from the European Community. Tahiti became a giant display for the European community, basically holding the Polynesian customer as hostage.

It is made difficult for companies based outside of EU borders from entering the local market. Imposing very high duty taxes or banning non-European products is a common practice in our country. This went on for many years in violation of the basic principles of the GATT treaty. France signed this treaty that is based on the free flow of merchandise or products between member nations.

The French also implanted the French State-owned lottery system and European based insurance companies to our market. Most of their profits are transferred to Europe. French banking and financial institutions in 1993 invested nearly \$580,000,000 outside of Polynesia thus creating jobs for Europeans. French civil servant expatriates earmarked back to the French continent nearly 39% of their total wages. This is just a tip of the iceberg but it doesn't take an economist to understand the reality of this so called economic assistance so highly acclaimed by the French government. Very little is left of the \$1.2 billion dollars.

In light of this, the reinstatement of Te Ao Maohi on the United Nations list of countries to be decolonised is a prerequisite to full economic development. In doing so this will open doors to many opportunities such as IMF and European economic assistance and free unobstructed commerce and trade with all nations.

The bases of our economic program is based on elementary principles of basic economics meaning efficiently managing and maximising the scarcity of our resources in four basic steps.

- Full employment of available resources
- Development of resources and technology
- Efficient organisation of the production and dissemination of goods
- Redistribution of goods or income among members of our society

The elements that will fuel our economic program are the following:

1) Our economic maritime zone is perhaps our largest resource next to our culture. It is larger than all of Europe. Our ocean is rich in potential. We have the world famous *Poe Rava* (Tahitian black pearl) that was marketed by Hollywood stars like Jodie Foster, Elizabeth Taylor, and

Sharon Stone including others. We have fisheries and aquaculture that along with the black pearl contributed millions to our economy last year. In addition our country is now capable of building whole fleets of commercial fishing vessels.

2) Opportunities also exist in the field of mining phosphate, cobalt etc.

3) The agricultural industry has yet to be born but holds much promise with *Noni* and *Tamanu* products and their bi-products. In certain medical circles the *noni* is considered the next best discovery to aspirin.

4) Our tourism industry, in its infant stage with less than 189,000 visitors, generated nearly \$400,000,000 last year (35% of the \$1.2 billion in French subsidies). This is in spite of our government's poor management of our resources. It is a realistic vision that under present conditions, our tourism industry will double its capacity in the coming years.

We must not forget alternative economic niches or micro-projects, which are perhaps the best means of distributing wealth to grass roots people. One example of this are the very popular family run and owned hostels in our outer islands that are generating important revenues for Maohi people. Remember tourism is the most effective means of obtaining valuable hard currency, which is vital for trade and commerce. However as in any development program one must also control the expenses, and two of the key dangers to guard against for all NFIP members countries are:

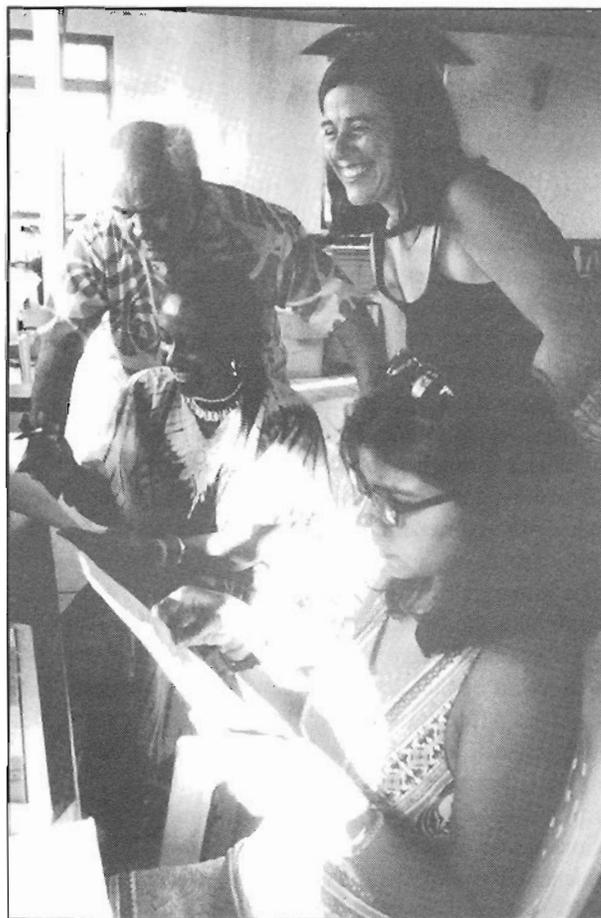
1) Illiteracy

In business, it's obvious that you maximise profits and minimise or eliminate costs. Training an illiterate person requires more time and consequently more cost. Illiteracy is a cost not only for the private sector but also equally for government. How does a gardener use fertiliser if he can't read the instructions or warning labels? How does government diffuse information if inhabitants in remote areas can't read?

If I could share something with the East Timor people who are strategically located, I highly suggest that you implement programs to promote reading skills. Factories need qualified workers and even on the assembly line non-reading people can incur unnecessary costs. I defend this subject because I experience it everyday in Te Ao Maohi with our youth.

2) Exercise, eat well and stop smoking

It promotes well being and balance and keeps you out of hospitals, thus lessening the financial burden on social Medicare. Sick people generate costs for society. Our



International observers at the 8th NFIP Conference
Standing John Taroanui Doom (World Council of Churches
Switzerland), Madeleen Helmer (ECSIEP, Netherlands)
Seated, Deborah Robinson (IPU, USA), Debbie Singh (United
Nations Development Program SIDSNet, Fiji)

present government, like all governments, shares the same concerns. Our social security system risks bankruptcy if the tide isn't turned soon. Programs for prevention must be utilised.

Economic growth comes through skilful management of your resources. Your culture and just being yourselves is your greatest natural resource.

In conclusion, like most of you here we've been led to believe by the very people that are the cause for our economic dependency, that without their assistance we will never survive. And yet our ancestors travelled treacherous journeys, faced droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, storms and a variety of hostile climatic conditions for thousands of years, and survived. When my country becomes an independent state I know, like our *Tupuna*, that we will survive.

Nelson Ortas is a member of the independence party Tavini Huiraaatua. He was educated in the United States, and worked in tourism industry, with Tahiti Tourism and the Tourism Council of the South Pacific. He works in the municipality of Faa'a in Tahiti.

The Future of the Lomé Convention

Feiloakitau Kaho Tevi

Assistant Director, Sustainable Human Development

Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC)

The Lomé Convention is a State to State development co-operation agreement between the 15 European Union (EU) countries and the 71 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. The first Convention was signed in Lomé, Togo in 1975. It covers almost all development sectors and addresses development issues. It is a Convention that seeks to promote democratic principles in the ACP countries through political dialogue and it also attempts to address the notion of partnership in development as one of the cornerstones of the co-operation.

The financial envelope of the 4th Lomé Convention, commonly known as the European Development Fund (EDF), is estimated at more than 14,500 million Euros over a duration of the Convention, which is five years. This fund is allocated under two general categories: programmable fund and non-programmable fund.

In terms of the programmable fund category, the Convention allocates a given sum to an ACP country to finance what is known as the National Indicative Programme (NIP). In addition to that, other funds are available for specific areas such as private sector investment through the availability of investment funds from the European Investment Bank. The NIP and other programmable funds

are negotiated between the ACP country and the EU for the duration of the Lomé Convention.

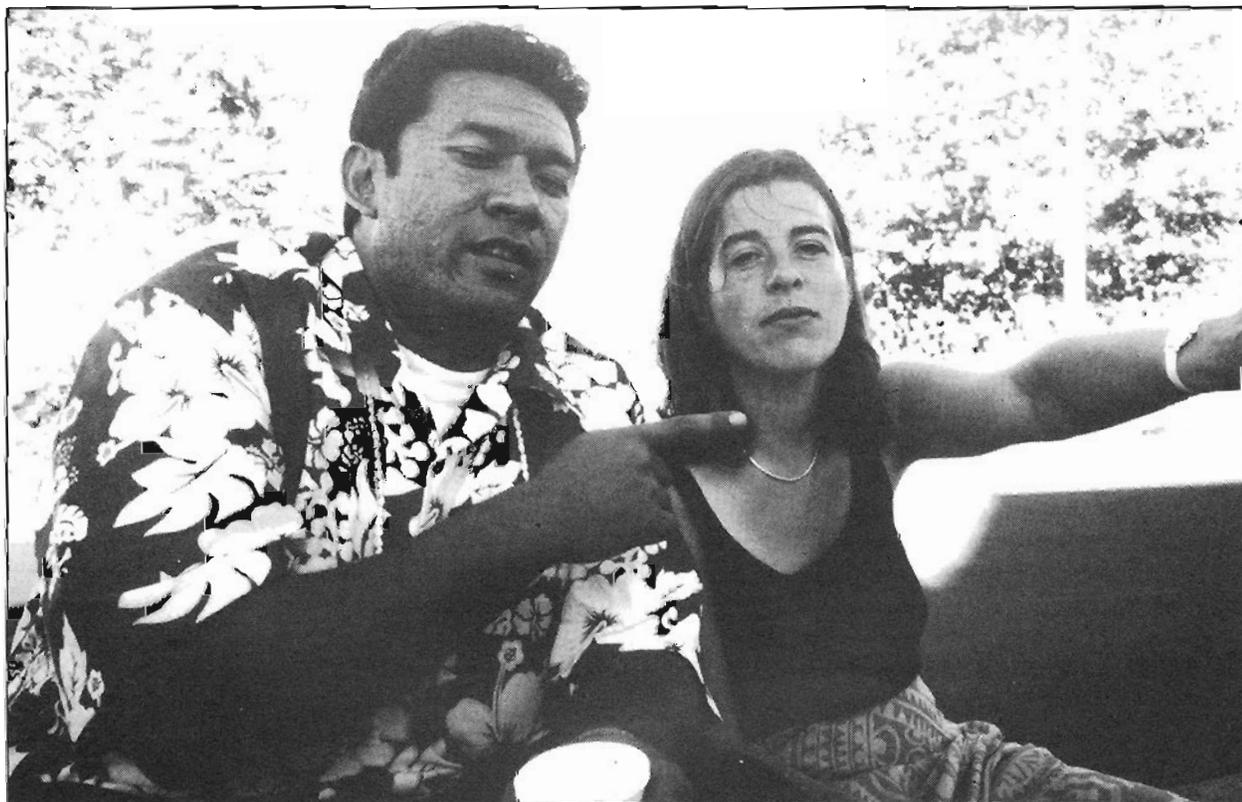
The other category of non-programmable fund caters for the other needs of the ACP countries as they arise. Instruments under this category cater for the price fluctuation of export commodities, minerals, the financial support for Structural Adjustment Programmes and emergency and humanitarian aid.

Trade is the other important component of the Lomé Convention. Products from the ACP group are given preferential treatment when they enter the EU market. In other words, duty taxes and other tariffs are waived under the various protocols (sugar, beef, rum, bananas etc.).

Lomé Convention in the Pacific region

Eight Pacific countries are currently members of the ACP group. They are

- Tuvalu
- Kiribati
- Tonga
- Fiji



- Papua New Guinea
- Vanuatu
- Solomon Islands
- Samoa.

Other Forum Pacific countries (Niue, Nauru, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Palau) are likely to be invited to join the ACP group at the next meeting.

EDF contributions to the NIPs of the ACP Pacific countries range from 7 Million Euros for Kiribati to 55 Million Euros for Papua New Guinea for the duration of the current Lomé Convention (Lomé 4). Other countries also receive additional funds through the Lomé Convention for support.

For example, Fiji receives more than ECU 90 million every year for sugar exports to Europe under the Sugar Protocol. These protocols allow for duty and tax-free access of ACP products into the European market. However, these protocols only work for countries that have an export base sufficiently large enough to cater for local and foreign markets.

The French Occupied territories in the Pacific - Wallis and Futuna, New Caledonia, and French Polynesia - also receive funds from the Lomé Convention. However, their requests are in a special category together with other overseas countries and territories (OCTs) of the European countries.

The Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC) and the European Centre for Pacific Issues (ECSIEP) have been working together on disseminating information on the Lomé Convention amongst NGOs in the Pacific region. This promotion has focussed its attention on the promotion of the process of Decentralised Co-operation (DC) as the ideal way of increasing NGO participation in Lomé funded programmes through the various NIPs. A number of DC programme proposals have been submitted to Pacific governments for funding. These programmes fall in line with the development policies of the NIP. It must be stated here that the DC process is not a new principle that is applied by donor agencies. What is peculiar about the DC process is the framework and conditions in which it operates: the Lomé Convention.

The DC programme proposals are initiatives that should be supported by and consolidated through the support from the European Commission (EC) Delegates Office. They are initiatives by local NGOs and Governments to work together under the Lomé framework. Unfortunately, when approached, most of the Delegate's Offices shy away from these projects, as they do not have a firm grasp on what the DC process is. Nonetheless, the request still remains very pertinent.

What is Lomé?

The apparent lack of information, or rather the lack of

dissemination of information, is a major stumbling block in the region as far as participation in Lomé funded programmes in the ACP countries is concerned.

It is a fact that the Lomé Convention is not a name that is often encountered in the Pacific region as far as NGOs are concerned. The Lomé Convention is known only to the converted and to those who have a vested interest in it. Furthermore, there is even a minority within the minority that actually deals with policies of the Lomé Convention at the ACP level for the Pacific region. Apart from those that represent the respective Pacific ACP countries as well as the regional organisations, there aren't many more organisations that know of the Lomé Convention in the region.

However, one cannot assume that as a result of the lack of information, there is a lack of interest in the Lomé Convention. Resultant of our tours in the eight Pacific ACP countries (PACPS) and the three French OCTs, we encountered an enormous interest from both NGOs as well as Government line ministries.

The levels of interest in the Convention varied from the information level to the actual implementation of current NIPs. Not many of the participants though, had a firm grip on the Lomé Convention development policies and how they linked to its realisation in the field. This observation can be explained by the fact that not many of the participants have been involved in the actual discussions.

Constraints

The other factor that has greatly influenced the level of knowledge of the Lomé Convention was the complex set of procedures and requirements. Whilst acknowledging the accountability factor towards EU citizens, it must be stated that the complex set of procedures often discourages any NGO to request funding from the EU.

In addition, the majority of NGOs in the Pacific do not have the capacity or the resources to handle EC procedures. The exceptions to this are the NGOs that have offices in Europe or partner NGOs in Europe (e.g. FSP International in London has been able to access co-financing funding from the EC on behalf of its offices in the region).

The nature and size of Lomé funded projects is another barrier to the involvement of NGOs in EC projects. Most of the projects funded under the NIPs are often infrastructure (roads, buildings, bridges etc.). Most projects funded by the EC are above and beyond the absorption capacity of local and even regional NGOs. Furthermore, when it is indicated in the NIP that funds are for Human Resources Development, the most likely case is that the EC and the country involved decide to build another building! Therefore, it is unlikely that the Governments in the Pacific involve NGOs in the implementation of their respective NIPs as they have had very little experience at this within

the Lomé framework.

In many of the Pacific ACP countries, the character and attitude of the EC Delegate affects the ratio of NIP programmes implemented as well as the participation of NGOs in such programmes. In the Pacific there is a wide spectrum of attitudes of EC delegates, ranging from very approachable and flexible to completely rigid and condescending towards Pacific ACP countries. This is an attitude that does not foster good working relations with the countries and with NGOs for that matter.

In the countries where there is a "good delegate", NGOs have been able to participate in the NIP to a wide extent. It is understood that the official contact point of any EC Delegate is the National Authorising Officer (NAO) of the country. Nonetheless, it is surprising that some delegates actually take the initiative to go into the field to obtain more data and more contact with the people. This is by far the most suitable way for the Pacific region.

The negotiations for the new Convention

Negotiations for a new Convention are underway in Europe between the ACP and the EU. Among the important issues being negotiated is the proposal for a new form of partnership that would be compatible with World Trade Organisation (WTO) principles. The EU proposal for a new form of partnership defined as the Regional Economic Partnership Agreement (REPA) is a proposal that seeks to promote a form of partnership that will be compatible with the WTO principles of trade liberalisation, deregulation and regional integration.

Of course what has occurred in this regard is that the ACP group has depended a lot on these trade preferences. Their proposal seeks to maintain the current status of the Lomé Convention.

If the EU succeeds, which is likely to be the case, we will see a phasing out of trade preferences in the coming years. This act will be followed by the opening up of Pacific ACP markets to foreign investors. Furthermore, regional integration as a form of trade liberalisation will result in an increase of competition for the local private sector against the foreign investor.

Recently, the South Pacific Forum has endorsed a position that proposes to consider the adoption of the REPA pending some studies. This is a bold step within the ACP group as none of the other regions have considered the European proposal of an REPA. Now as it stands, the Pacific region has implicitly endorsed the proposal of an REPA, thus undermining the ACP group position. This endorsement follows in line with the proposal of a Free Trade Area for the South Pacific Island countries.

Whilst we are not against the proposal for a free trade area, we are concerned about the fact that the social

ramifications of these trade policy decisions have not been carefully considered by the Pacific Island Country leaders.

In this regard, we welcome the position of the recent Forum Economic Ministers Meeting in Samoa to look more closely at the social consequences of the decision for a free trade area and to slow down the process so that our Pacific countries are able to really understand what they are adopting instead of jumping on the bandwagon. Well, for the Pacific we should say canoes because we do not have trains in the Pacific.

For your information, Fiji has called for the signing of the new Convention to take place in Suva. Therefore, we might have a Suva Convention to replace the Lomé Convention. This signing is to take place in 2000 after the termination of the current 4th Lomé Convention on 28 February 2000.

Proposals

- 1) Call for the renewal of EU-ACP Development Co-operation Agreement with a specific promotion of the important role of NGOs in the development of our Island countries
- 2) Bring the Lomé Convention closer to the people.

Extensive efforts must be made by the relevant officials to bring the Lomé Convention closer to the people. Promotional materials, booklets, seminars and other means of communication must be used to maximise the dissemination of information in the Pacific region. The seminars organised by PCRC and ECSIEP have been successful in reaching the NGO sectors. Other sectors should also be addressed. In fact, there might be a need here to have a promotional component inherent in each of the new NIPs of the Pacific region. The same activity could be initiated in the EU whereby there is a promotion of the issues that are encountered in the Pacific that could obtain the assistance of the EU NGOs.

- 3) Renew the ECSIEP/PCRC Lomé project.

The programme has generated a growing interest amongst the NGOs of the Pacific ACP countries. It is proposed that the current project be extended to cater for the new Decentralised Co-operation programmes, as well as to be a voice for the Pacific NGOs in the new ACP-EU Development Co-operation Agreement.

- 4) Call for the inclusion of the other Pacific Island Countries into the ACP group.

PCRC has welcomed the proposal for the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia to become members of the ACP group and proposes to call on the other Pacific Island countries to become members of the ACP group.

- 5) Call for the Inclusion of the French Occupied



Territories in the ACP group.

France regulates the current benefits incurred by Wallis and Futuna, New Caledonia, and French Polynesia. As the NFIP stands for the rights to self-determination of these territories, we should also push for the economic independence of these territories. Such a proposal will cut further ties with the mother country and bring them closer to the Pacific region.

6) Underline the importance of the social ramifications of the regional integration policy of the South Pacific Forum.

It must be made clear that any policy decision leading towards regional integration should be accompanied with clear policies on the social ramifications of the promotion of WTO principles in the Pacific region.

The tacit endorsement of the REPA by the Pacific ACP countries will lead the way to a gradual erosion of our economies to the benefit of the EU.

7) Promote products that are of comparative advantage to the South Pacific region.

Tuna is a natural resource that we have in abundance in the Pacific region. Other resources of similar economic nature need to be promoted and used as a bargaining tool for the Pacific region. Even our Kava could be marketed in such a manner.

Conclusion

The Pacific ACP countries are faced with the challenges of the new millennium that call for new strategies and alliances. The Pacific region has always survived through times when the external pressures have been great.

What has brought us through is our way of life. We have always been able to sway with the pressures but always having that option of not jumping onto the bandwagon (or the canoe). We must remind ourselves that we still have that option with the new challenges and pressures from the WTO and other Bretton Woods institutions.

Between 1997 – 2000, Feiloakitau Kaho Tevi worked as the Assistant Director (Sustainable Human Development) at the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre in Suva, Fiji. He is now the Executive Secretary for the Pacific desk at the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva.

Globalisation and its effects on Indigenous Peoples

Cyril Chapman

Te Whare Awhin, Aotearoa

Aotearoa, like other island nations of the Pacific already subject to colonisation, is experiencing new forms of colonialism. Colonisation forces of this age with self serving interests of a global elite whose interests are shaping a global economy and who are not accountable to anybody, other than themselves.

Aotearoa is an isolated country whose population is less than 4 million and with a Maori population of around 400,000. It is an ideal place to push New Right policies and practices as experienced by us over the last ten years.

You will be aware that the colonial government of Aotearoa recently hosted the Asian Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), a forum of 21 economies which aims to bring about free trade and investment by its members, of which Aotearoa is one. APEC is seen as a way to push the free trade agenda of the GATT / World Trade Organisation (WTO) which worked through a year-long cycle of ministers and heads of multinational companies engaged in official meetings prior to the summit. Over \$50 million was spent on the conference and about \$20 million on security (not bad for a country that is hundreds of billions of dollars in debt).

It is not a coincidence that APEC was hosted in Aotearoa. In fact, it was organised to happen that way, as part of a plan to promote Aotearoa to an international audience as a prosperous, poverty free and tolerant market economy (a model for all other APEC governments to follow).

The standard of living in Aotearoa has dropped from 2nd in the world to 23rd (you could hardly call this poverty free or prosperous). In the past ten years, unemployment rates have rapidly increased with privatisation of many of the once publicly owned services. The telephone and railways have been sold to American corporations. The waste disposal systems, which were run by local councils, have also been contracted to another American company. Local councils are now in the process of privatising and selling off the water. The roads are being privatised and thousands of acres of land now belong to giant overseas investors. Because of deregulation many jobs have been lost.

Flora and fauna (native plants) have been patented by overseas companies and the spectrum has also been sold to overseas interests (over \$200 billion is made per year, again by and for overseas). Just before we left Aotearoa for this conference, the government announced that they plan to build a prison in my region, probably to be run by a private corporation from Australia.

New Zealand's former Labour Prime Minister Mike Moore has been elected as chair to the WTO. I am reminded about attempts by the New Zealand government to introduce a

smart card ("Kiwi Card") about ten years ago, this was to replace the social welfare benefit ID card. Many people in Aotearoa objected. Civil liberties groups in Australia objected so the government put the plan on hold. A year later they introduced a user pays system for health services and with this introduced the Community Services Card which meant you could get cheap health service only if you had the card. This of course forced our people who could not afford to pay for health services to accept the card.

Early this year, a protest was organised in opposition to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). Again, *Tangata Whenua* from Aotearoa objected to the take over by overseas giants. The guts of the MAI agenda meant the governments and big business could put in place protocols, which ensured Big Business open access to Aotearoa and its resources. In essence the New Zealand government opened the country to any type of investing corporation with few restrictions. This again is driven by big business and once protocols were decided they were locked in place for twenty years. Not even the government could sue these corporations. We the people of Aotearoa had no say.

Smart cards have become a natural part of our lives, most people have a card to purchase products (such as a card to access money from your bank etc). Because even in our banking system not only do have to pay to withdraw your own money but you also have to pay to put your money in the bank. We are only exempt from paying bank fees if we have over \$500 in our accounts. I know of families from home who have at least five or six credit cards. They rely on being able to purchase everything with the credit card. Many of them are reliant on benefits and can't afford the necessary commodities, but because of the cards end up buying things on tick. However, the reality being if you can't pay up you lose what little you have got or go to prison.

This year the government introduced digitised photo licenses. All people with their license will become part of a massive database. With the use of the technology they will be able to keep track you—you will simply be a number on the big computer being installed in America.

Aotearoa is being used as the guinea pig for all this new technology. They say it's because the New Zealand government wants to play with the big boys i.e. America, France, Britain. Pakeha from New Zealand are like sheep, they like to follow. A lot of the ministers in government also have shares in some of those big companies. Of the 33 million acres of land, Maori now have control of less than 2 million acres and much of that land has now been

leased to big overseas giants.

Yesterday I heard our sister talk about the genetic engineering programs and genetic cloning. The big seed supply companies of the world now have control of many of the seeds, which are now hybrids so they cannot be used more than once.

For many of our families at home they just live day to day. They have become dependent and because we no longer control our resources, we have been trapped. I support the talk from Hilda - we must free our minds from colonisation. Next year marks 160 years of fighting to get the Treaty of Waitangi recognised. We did not cede our sovereignty; the Treaty affirmed our sovereignty. The government has no right to negotiate international agreements. They say they recognise the Treaty but their actions are the complete opposite. They have never stopped taking our Treaty rights from us. Part of their strategy has been to develop a settlement process whereby some tribes are sucked into doing deals in fear of missing out on the goodies the government offers. These goodies have a fiscal cap not even worth a quarter of their true value. Often these "leaders" have been government appointed and these settlements are full and final and can never be claimed for again. Many of the people who are the guardians of those lands don't want the money; they want the land back!

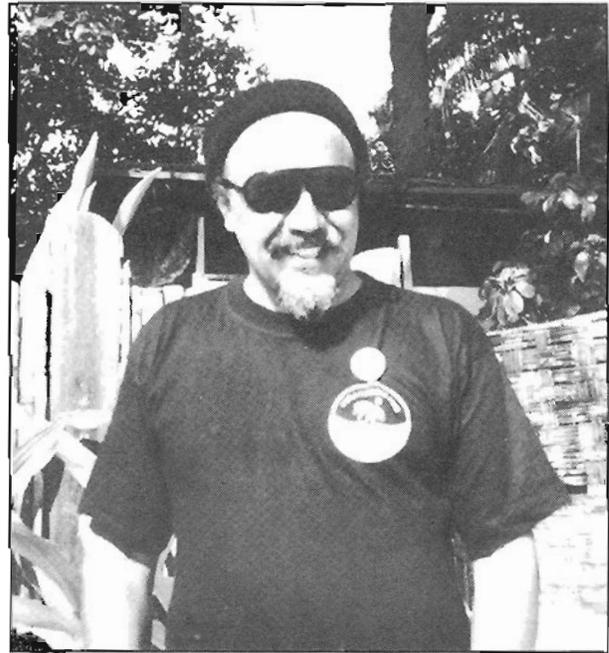
Treaty rights over our *Taonga*, like land, rivers, forests and sacred places will be affected by the actions of foreign industries that want to limit any risk from indigenous claims. Of the few jobs that we have in my homeland, forestry is one. They too are run and controlled by overseas companies.

Foreign companies will use agreements like APEC and MAI to back their demands in other international forum for rights to intellectual property over our *taonga* like flora, fauna and other indigenous knowledge.

Some Maori corporations may see some benefits in partnership with overseas investors but there is no guarantee that the benefits will flow down to the people. Although the lifting of tariffs are being promoted as good because people may be able to buy products cheaper, thousands of jobs have been lost.

We must look at ourselves for solutions. It may be simple but we must start growing our own food, saving our seeds, and setting up alternative economies. Not economies that are based on capitalist dog-eat-dog models, but models that promote and enhance our culture. In our individual communities we must set up alternatives to the plastic money, develop strategies to inform our people about what is happening.

Forget about the white man's way of doing things, set up independent trade links amongst ourselves. We know that



Cyril Tainui Chapman (Aotearoa)

Papatuanuku (the earth) is our Mother and we the Maori in Aotearoa are the guardians of our Mother. We need to teach this to our children in order for her and us to survive. Globalisation always seems to big for people to deal with, but it can have some really simple solutions. As Hilda Lini said earlier, the process needs to start with our families our communities and ourselves. Take every opportunity to support our local communities because it is too hard to fight and to resist the monsters when we are isolated. Their education system has taught us to hate learning, so we must set up other alternatives because although the technology now can help us we must not depend on it.

MAI, APEC, Globalisation is about total control by a few people. I have heard about the terrible things they have done to you. The rule of the guns, the mass killings, it happened to us in Aotearoa in the time of our grandfathers and grandmothers. For us, the descendants, the coloniser now uses other means. They have colonised the minds of our people. But we will resist.

The fight for freedom is not owned by any of us. But we all belong to freedom. Our commitment to the struggles of sovereignty, land rights, independence is because in Aotearoa we have suffered the same atrocities of war. We cannot stand back and allow other indigenous nations, like our brothers and sisters in Timor Lorosae to end up in the same situation as Maori people today. We need to learn from each other's struggles in order to reclaim and restore a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

Cyril Chapman is a Maori activist from Te Kohatutakai, which is within Nagapuhi and Te Tarawa nations in Aotearoa / New Zealand. He is a member of the community-based organisation Te Whare Awhin, and manager of the tribal radio station Tautoko FM



Conference staff:

Left: Laughing Peter - translator Pierre Riant

Above: PCRC staff member Fipe Tuitubou

Below: Conference staff Feiloakitau Kaho Tevi and Nic Maclellan with media liaison officers Stanley Simpson and Maire Bopp du Pont



NFIP CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement Conference Arue, Tahiti, Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia) 19-25 September 1999

The following resolutions were prepared at workshops of the 8th NFIP Conference at Arue, Tahiti, or presented by country delegations. They were adopted by the plenary of the conference on 24 September 1999. The resolutions listed below are grouped under headings of Environment, Decolonisation, Demilitarisation, PCRC / NFIP activities, Human Rights and Good Governance; Sustainable Human Development, and Final resolutions. The resolutions can also be found on the PCRC Website (www.pcrc.org.fj).

Theme One: Environment

Resolution #1

Transportation of MOX Fuel through First Nations Territory

Preamble :

Grand Council Chief, Vernon Roote, of the Anishinabek Nation, Ontario, Canada, reacted with disgust and anger to the announcement of the Canadian Government, that it will be transporting American and Russian MOX fuel (mixed oxide) through the heart of the Robinson Huron Treaty Area. Chief Vernon Roote has not been consulted about this transportation of this dangerous fuel, stating emphatically that "*we have to be consulted*".

There are at least eight First Nations areas through which these shipments of MOX fuel will pass, or through areas adjacent to the First Nations territories.

Whereas transporting MOX fuel involves danger and risk of accidents, in spite of assurances by the Canadian Government to the contrary;

Whereas Chief Vernon Roote, Grand Council Chief of the Anishinabek Nation, nor this people have been consulted about the transporting of MOX fuel through their territory; and,

Whereas this action by the Canadian Government is in clear violation of the traditional territory of the Anishinabek Nation; and

Whereas the territorial area of the Anishinabek Nation is being affected by circumstances beyond its control, and furthermore no benefits accrue to people in the area, except risk and danger;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Insist that the Government of Canada stop the transportation of American and Russian MOX fuel through the territory of the Anishinabek Nation.
- 2) That the Government of Canada consult with Grand Council Chief, Vernon Roote and his people about the plan to transport this dangerous fuel through their territory.
- 3) That only when the Anishinabek Nation agrees, after consultation to the process of transportation, can the Government of Canada proceed with its plan
- 4) That if the Anishinabek Nation denies access for the transportation of MOX fuel through its territory, the Government of Canada shall find another route, and consult with the people in the area of the new route to get their agreement to carry out the shipment.

Resolution # 2

High Seas Interception of Elvers Migrating to Aotearoa

Preamble :

- Recognising that the Maori of Aotearoa utilize freshwater eels for subsistence purposes ;
- Whereas the freshwater eel is a cadadromous fish species, meaning that it develops from the juvenile to mature reproductive stage in freshwater and then migrates to spawn in the ocean;
- Bearing in mind that the interception of elvers, the metamorphic stage of the eel during its migratory phase after hatching in the high seas will drastically reduce the population returning to the rivers to complete the life cycle;

The Conference resolves to :

Insist that Japan and the Netherlands halt the practice of intercepting elvers on their migratory return to Aotearoa.

Resolution # 3

Resolution to stop Plutonium Shipments

Preamble :

Considering Pacific peoples' continuous opposition to the passage of shipments of plutonium and high level radioactive wastes through the Pacific Ocean;

Deeply concerned that a commercial shipment of MOX nuclear weapons usable plutonium fuel is now taking place and more are planned in future by Japan, U.K and France through our Pacific Ocean, including the Economic Exclusive Zones (EEZ) of island states, which is extremely dangerous to our lives and environment;

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Urge a ban of all nuclear material shipments through Pacific Island countries, oceans and airspace.
- 2) Demand environmental impact statements in case of accident funded by those three governments, to be carried out by independent scientific organisations;
- 3) Insist on the immediate convening of high level consultative dialogues/meetings between Pacific Island Countries, Japan, U.K. and France on above items;
- 4) Strengthen the Rarotonga Treaty for a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone;
- 5) Condemn the Japanese government for their irresponsible plutonium plan which causes potentially hazardous effects on our environment, as well as nuclear arms proliferation problems;
- 6) Insist on a halt of reprocessing of Japanese spent nuclear fuel and fabrication of MOX fuels in UK, USA and France and all other countries.

Action Strategy:

Lobby the South Pacific Forum, the 1999 Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in Durban, the United Nations and other international conferences, and work through the media all over the world

Insist that South Pacific Forum member countries reconsider their diplomatic and trade relations with Japan, Britain, France and all other players involved in the shipment of plutonium.

Resolution # 4

Mining

Preamble:

- Recognising the devastating impact of large scale mining operations on the peoples of the Pacific;
- Noting with special concern the impact of Ok Tedi

Mine operations in Papua New Guinea, where tailings from the mine have been dumped into rivers, polluting the water, causing the river to overflow and creating die-back of the natural forests, as well as mining operations in Vanuatu and the Ross Mine in Solomon Islands;

- Noting that other companies hope to open new mines in the region;
- Recognising that the people most impacted by mining practices should have an active voice in mining operations;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Establish links with NGOs in regions outside the Pacific who are also working on mining issues, with the purpose of sharing information and strategies;
- 2) Collect information on mining companies operating in the Pacific and investigate their practices in other countries;
- 3) Develop strategies to hold the mining companies accountable to acceptable environmental protection practices;
- 4) Strongly urge that comprehensive Environmental Impact Statements with adequate community input be conducted before any new mining operations begin;
- 5) Demand that multinational corporations in NFIP countries, especially in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, West Papua, Fiji, Kanaky and Bougainville, adequately compensate communities affected by their mining practices;
- 6) Demand that polluted rivers and streams be thoroughly cleaned-up;
- 7) Demand that any new mining operations do not impinge on sacred sites.

Resolution # 5

Forests/Logging

Preamble :

- Recognising the value of intact indigenous forests;
- Noting the destructive practices of clear-cutting forests;
- Bearing in mind that fast growing exotic species are being introduced for purely economic gain;
- Concerned that this practice takes out essential nutrients from the soil;

- Recognising that some people in the region are selling their land to logging multinational corporations as a means of income generation;

The Conference resolves to :

1. Lobby at regional levels (with the South Pacific Regional Environment Program, the South Pacific Forum Secretariat etc.) for more dialogue with individual Forum members to promote small scale development projects in opposition to industrial logging.
2. Assist landowners who need specialist services, technical skills, financial assistance and information about economic alternatives to logging (e.g. Small scale saw-milling, women's dress-making, poultry keeping etc.)
3. Assist in providing programs to increase literacy, business, commercial and basic bookkeeping skills, training in access to funding from banks, donors and development agencies as part of a process generated by the villagers themselves, in the context of integrated campaigning.

**Resolution # 6
Climate Change**

Preamble :

Recognising that South Pacific Island Nations are facing a major social, economic and environmental threat from climate change and sea level rise; and

Recognising that major industrialised powers, especially Australia in our own region, are failing to take the necessary steps to reduce green house gas emissions;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Collect information from the region and develop a database on the impacts that people are seeing in relation to global warming.
- 2) Collect information from the region and develop a database on methods of adaptation.
- 3) Develop a list of simple things every person can start doing to protect the environment.
- 4) Create a comprehensive educational program on this issue, which includes basic information on climate change, the impacts, methods of adaptation with natural resources.
- 5) Conduct in-depth analysis of the relationship between environmental impacts and economic development, as well as the relationship between environmental degradation and economic globalisation.

- 6) Collect examples of environmental laws and legislation being passed in the region and develop a database of this information.
- 7) Promote sustainable development practices that use clean renewable energy technologies.
- 8) Encourage Pacific island countries to be very vocal in our calls to industrialized nations such as New Zealand and Australia to drastically cut their use of fossil fuels such as oil, coal and gas.
- 9) Lobby Pacific island countries to take the lead in pushing for real efforts to ensure that the environmental effectiveness of the Kyoto Protocol is not undermined.

**Resolution # 7
Ciguatera Poisoning**

Preamble :

- Bearing in mind that ciguatera poisoning is increasing in the region;
- Noting the severe health consequences for both humans and animals;
- Considering that this poison accumulates in the body and remains there for many years;
- Noting the negative impact on productivity and thus the economy;

The Conference resolves to:

1. Call for epidemiological health surveys to determine the incidence and prevalence of ciguatera poisoning;
2. Strongly urge that further research be conducted to identify the sources of ciguatera poisoning and the kind of fish most highly contaminated;
3. Create educational programs that raise the awareness of peoples in the Pacific to the harmful effects;
4. Collect the various testing protocols that are currently available, determine which may be most appropriate for various Pacific communities and disseminate this information.

**Resolution # 8
Invasive Exotic Species**

Preamble :

- Concerned that our islands are a highly fragile ecosystem that have developed in isolation;
- Noting that increased surface and air traffic pose the potential threat of introducing exotic pestiferous

species to our islands;

- Bearing in mind that our native flora and fauna, having developed in isolation, may not have the ability to repel or compete with introduced exotic species;
- Recognising that strict quarantine inspections are needed to minimize the accidental or intentional introduction of unwanted pestiferous species;

The Conference resolves to :

1. Urge its members to call upon their respective governments to implement and enforce quarantine laws;
2. Support collaborative efforts within the area in the development of a quarantine advisory report warning the member countries of the accidental or intentional introduction of any unwanted species;
3. Call upon PCRC to cooperate with all appropriate regional organisations to develop educational materials warning the public on the dangers of the introduction of unwanted species.

Resolution # 9

Fiji Sustainable Development Bill

Preamble :

The Conference welcomes the initiative of the Fiji Government to draft the Fiji Sustainable Development Bill, which aims to provide integrated environmental and development legislation for the country.

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Ensure the adoption of the Bill as soon as possible.
- 2) Seek to have Clean Production included into the Waste Management section of the Bill.
- 3) Seek to develop an alliance with industry as they have the most to benefit from the current draft legislation and are ready to develop a code of practice.
- 4) Promote this bill as one of the models for the entire region.

Resolution # 10

Solid Waste Management and Sewage Disposal

Preamble :

- Concerned that solid waste and sewage disposal is a major problem in our region, especially on our smaller island countries;
- Whereas the population of the islands are expected to continue growing, further exacerbating the problem;

- Bearing in mind that continued economic growth will enhance business growth, thus bring more manufactured products to our islands;
- Concerned that the use of plastics, particularly the use of plastic bags, has proliferated in recent years;
- Considering that land is a scarce resource and demand for housing needs will in all likelihood outweigh other uses for land;
- Recognising that solid waste and sewage must be properly disposed of to avoid health, environmental and sanitation problems;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Initiate dialogue with the South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission (SOPAC) and the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP) to assess the solid waste and sewage disposal problems for the member countries in our region;
- 2) Urge SOPAC and SPREP to recommend appropriate measures to solve the problem, including but not limited to, implementation of environmental laws, development plans, etc.;
- 3) Develop educational programs to raise people's awareness of this problem;
- 4) Establish links with NGOs from other regions that have information, strategies and educational materials that could be useful to the Pacific region.

Resolution # 11

Papua New Guinea - Australia Natural Gas Pipeline

Preamble :

- Bearing in mind that a new natural gas pipeline has been approved by the governments of Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Australia;
- Noting with extreme concern the potential environmental and safety hazards of this pipeline;
- Concerned that the pipeline may result in the further militarisation of Papua New Guinea;

The Conference resolves to :

Educate the people along the pipeline about its environmental and safety implications of the project.

Resolution # 12

POPs

(Persistent Organic Pollutants) Pesticides

Preamble :

Recognising that Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) are a class of mainly synthetic toxic chemical substances that

have severe and long-term effects on wildlife, ecosystems and human health.

Recognising that POPs' findings are particularly troublesome for the Pacific Island countries because of our isolation and the size of our countries.

While western governments have already graduated from the stage of ignorance of the problem, of denial, acknowledgment and now into action, policy makers and citizens in the developing world remain unaware of what these chemicals are and what they can do.

The POPs problem in the South Pacific is too large, complicated and expensive for individual countries to handle, including stockpiles of obsolete chemicals, the continued importation of POPs pesticides into the region and the proposed expansion of POPs producing technology.

Noting that many Pacific Island countries are now undergoing changes in industrial development, in consumption patterns and the materials that circulate in society through cycles of production, use and disposal. As a result there could be a rapid increase in the amount of dioxin that is generated and released in Pacific island environments.

It is therefore very important at this stage to identify in a comprehensive way both the kinds of facilities and the kinds of processes that generate and release dioxins to the environment. It is also important to identify for each source category, the chain of dioxin production and in particular, identify the source of chlorine in the dioxin production. This basic information will provide the primary information that is needed to design effective dioxin abatement and elimination measures.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Eliminate all forms of POPs in the Pacific region.
- 2) Lobby for urgent commitments to phase out POPs and their sources and to move toward a global system of clean production.
- 3) Lobby Pacific countries to conclude a legally binding, global agreement on POPs by the year 2000 at the latest.
- 4) Lobby for an Agreement to include real and enforceable commitments to:
 - Phase out production of intentionally produced POPs in every region and in every country.
 - Phase out production and use of synthetic materials that always generate POPs as unwanted wastes during their ordinary life-cycle.

- Clean up POPs stockpiles and environmental reservoirs using technologies that do not create by-products that are also POPs.

- Introduce clean products and processes that serve as effective replacements to POPs and their sources.

5) Pacific countries need to seek the financial, technical assistance to take appropriate action. In this context, governments of the OECD and newly industrialised countries can hasten the shift to non-toxic and resource efficient food and manufacturing systems.

6) Place a priority on the development and use of existing and economically viable alternative systems and materials. POPs could be phased out rapidly.

7) Lobby for Pacific countries to participate in the Intergovernmental Negotiating Conventions. This will provide governments of the region an opportunity to ensure that regional Small Island States' concerns are voiced.

Resolution # 13

Banning of Tributyltin (TBT) in NFIP Member Countries

(originally adopted as resolution 48 at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble:

Concerned that the use of tributyltin as an antifouling agent for boat and ship hulls is increasing worldwide;

Whereas tributyltin, commonly known as TBT, is preferred by boat owners because of its longer effective life of 5-7 years as compared to copper sulfate which has an effectiveness of only 2-3 years;

Whereas preliminary scientific studies have shown that TBT has a harmful genetic effect on certain marine invertebrate species;

Bearing in mind that TBT's persistency in the environment means that its harmful effects last longer;

Considering the harmful effects of TBT on marine invertebrates, it urges NFIP to call for the banning of this antifouling agent.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Urge all NFIP members to appeal to their respective governments to take immediate action to ban the use of TBT.
- 2) Call on the manufactures of TBT to conduct research on the impact of TBT on the environment.

Theme Two: **Decolonisation and** **Self-Determination**

Resolution # 14 **Decolonisation**

Preamble:

Considering that a number of non-self governing territories are located in the Pacific and that the "UN Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism" will soon come to an end, with the United Nations plan of action not carried out for lack of funds, and

Concerned that there are moves within the United Nations to abolish the Special Committee on Decolonisation;

The Conference resolves:

- 1) That Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) members in co-operation with interested NGOs, churches, trade unions, political parties and other organisations in their respective countries, lobby their governments and the South Pacific Forum Secretariat to adopt a pro-active strategy within the United Nations (UN) system to deflect the reactionary attacks on the Special Committee on Decolonisation - to ensure the Committee continues its work beyond the year 2000, by decentralising the discussions throughout as many UN and other international bodies as possible.
 - 2) That the UN Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism be extended, particularly to implement the Barbados Plan of Action until all the Non Self Governing territories have exercised their right to self-determination.
 - 3) That the following Pacific Island non-self governing territories be added to the UN Decolonisation Committee List of Non Self-Governing Territories
 - a) Te Ao Maohi / French Polynesia (to be reinscribed)
 - b) West Papua / Irian Jaya (to be reinscribed)
 - c) Ka Pae'aina / Hawai'i (to be reinscribed)
 - d) Bougainville
 - e) Rapanui / Easter Island
 - 4) That in addition to discussions in the Special Committee on Decolonisation and the Fourth Committee, the issue of decolonisation should be addressed in the Third Committee of the General Assembly under its agenda of "The Right of Self-Determination".
 - 5) That "The Right of Self-Determination" also be placed on the agenda of the South Pacific Forum, so that member states of the Forum may promote this in concert with the Caribbean Community at the United Nations and through joint meetings to discuss the future of self-determination of the colonial territories in the two regions.
- 6) That the Forum nations also commit themselves to put the issue of self-determination as a human right on the agenda of other relevant UN bodies that discuss human rights.
 - 7) That the UN be asked to assist the territories in their social, economic, development and security concerns, consistent with the recommendations of some of the administering powers and the respective mandate of the specialised agencies and technical organs of the United Nations.
 - 8) That the Special Committee be encouraged to identify resources to carry out the relevant political and economic studies and analysis contained in the Plan of Action of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, in conjunction with regional organisations and experts.
 - 9) That the new UN initiatives in governance should include a component that addresses governance issues of non self-governing territories.
 - 10) That participants lobby their respective Prime Ministers and Ministers of Foreign Affairs on the issue of extension of the UN Decolonisation Committee List of Non Self-Governing Territories to include Te Ao Maohi / French Polynesia (to be reinscribed), West Papua / Irian Jaya, Bougainville, Ka Pae'aina / Hawai'i (to be reinscribed), and Rapanui.
 - 11) That the delegates from Tonga, Nauru and Kiribati in particular ask their government to move at the United Nations General Assembly this year for the inclusion of the above territories on the UN Decolonisation Committee List of Non Self-Governing Territories.
 - 12) That church members of the NFIP at the conference approach their own churches and National Council of Churches for assistance in lobbying for the above.
 - 13) That the NFIP conference recommend to the Pacific Conference of Churches, CEPAC and the World Council of Churches to continue their support actions to assist in the resolution on decolonisation and therefore to ask their ecumenical partners for equal support.

Resolution # 15

Convening country and regional seminars for colonies to be reinscribed on the United Nations Decolonisation Committee List of Non Self-Governing Territories

Preamble:

Reaffirming the right to self-determination for all countries in the Pacific;

Acknowledging the right of non self-governing countries to be reinscribed on the UN Decolonisation Committee List;

Recalling Resolution #6, paragraph 4 on Decolonisation, adopted at the 7th NFIP / PCRC Conference, in Fiji in 1996;

The Conference resolves:

- 1) That PCRC / NFIP through the PCRC Decolonisation Desk convenes a seminar for each country to be relisted and that the seminar be open to all concerned parties including Non Government Organisations, church groups, trade unions and the civil society in general advocating the above resolutions;
- 2) That PCRC / NFIP through the Decolonisation Desk convenes a regional seminar for representatives of these colonies;
- 3) That the present terms of reference be implemented by 2002, year of the 9th NFIP / PCRC Conference.

Resolution # 16

Establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system

Preamble :

We, the representatives of the 8th NFIP Conference were informed about efforts made by indigenous peoples' representatives from other parts of the world to establish a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system, and the delegates of the 8th NFIP Conference were also informed,

- That the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 recommended the United Nations to seriously consider the establishment of such a body for indigenous peoples, and
- That regional consultations have been held in Copenhagen (Denmark), Temuco (Chile), Kuna (Panama) and Indore (India) with the participation of indigenous peoples and governments about the future establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system, and
- That the regional consultations have supported the idea to establish a high level body for indigenous peoples within the United Nations system;

The Conference resolves that :

1) The delegates of the 8th NFIP conference acknowledge the efforts made by indigenous peoples and governments to establish a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system; and

2) All necessary information be distributed to all NFIP affiliates for regional consultations about the Permanent Forum; and

3) The NFIP delegates respond to the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre about the results of their regional consultation about the Permanent Forum no later than 15 December 1999, and

4) Delegates of the 8th NFIP conference authorise the PCRC to follow up and make further actions on this matter, and consult with the Centre for Human Rights, Indigenous Peoples section in Geneva, Switzerland regarding the upcoming session in February 2000 of the United Nations Working Group on the Establishment of a Permanent Forum for Indigenous Peoples within the United Nations system.

Resolution # 17

European Union policy on the role of indigenous peoples in development cooperation

Preamble:

The Conference welcomes the resolution issued by the Council of Ministers of the European Union (EU) in November 1998, on support to indigenous peoples in the development co-operation program of the European Commission and its Member States.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Recognise the importance of this policy instrument.
- 2) Emphasise the necessity of ensuring appropriate implementation, which will integrate the concern for indigenous peoples at all levels of European development co-operation. This will also imply the inclusion of indigenous peoples' concerns in the negotiations of the new EU-ACP cooperation agreement.
- 3) Especially underline the importance of the direct participation of indigenous peoples and their organisations in the discussions and monitoring mechanisms related to the implementation of this policy.
- 4) Calls on PCRC to liaise with indigenous organisations and concerned NGOs to promote the implementation of the EU policy on support to indigenous peoples in development co-operation, e.g. through dissemination of information, lobbying and dialogue with the European Commission and Member States of the EU.

Resolution # 18 Timor Lorasae

Preamble :

Acknowledging the democratic vote for the newly constituted independent government of Timor Lorasae, and congratulating the people of the country for their historic vote on 30 August 1999;

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Denounce the massacres, arson, and murders of innocent people in Timor.
- 2) Demand complete removal of all Indonesian Military Forces and their paramilitary detachments from Timor.
- 3) Support the call by the newly constituted independent government of Timor Lorasae for an international war crimes tribunal.
- 4) Call for the release of all East Timorese political prisoners in Indonesia.
- 5) Recommend that PCRC writes to the South Pacific Forum government members to lobby that East Timor be granted observer status at the South Pacific Forum.
- 6) Recommend that PCRC writes to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees calling for the repatriation of all the Timorese in West Timor and other parts of Indonesia.

Resolution # 19 Bougainville

Preamble:

Recognising that:

- 1) The war on Bougainville has stopped two years ago, and that the peace process is in progress under the supervision of the South Pacific Peace Keeping forces and the United Nations;
- 2) The Bougainville People's Congress (BPC) was established early this year to legally govern the affairs of Bougainville;

Concerned however that:

- 1) The total withdrawal of PNG Military from Bougainville and laying down of arms by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) and Resistance had not eventuated;
- 2) The new Government of Papua New Guinea and Bougainville People's Congress (BPC) have not made a serious commitment to negotiate the issue of self-determination to allow people to decide their political future through a referendum.

Recognising the need for the Government of Papua New Guinea to consider giving financial support to the Bougainville People's Congress (BPC) to provide essential services, health, education, agriculture and in rebuilding of infrastructure on Bougainville.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Call on international NGOs on Bougainville to:
 - Help with the re-building of infrastructure on Bougainville
 - Continue the support for local Bougainville NGOs to strengthen Community Based Programs on Bougainville.
- 2) Call on the South Pacific Forum, considering the situation in Bougainville, to propose to the PNG Government to immediately allow the people of Bougainville to decide their political future through a referendum.
- 3) That the NFIP delegation to the United Nations Special Session on Small Islands Developing States suggest to the United Nations to propose to the Papua New Guinea Government that it holds a United Nations supervised referendum on self-determination of Bougainville, whilst the United Nations Peace Keeping Forces are still in Bougainville.

Action Strategy:

That the PCRC Secretariat, together with representatives of member organisations in Suva and Papua New Guinea, lobby the South Pacific Forum Secretariat, the Government of Fiji and the Papua New Guinea Government to put the issue of the right to self-determination of the people of Bougainville on the Agenda of the next meeting of the South Pacific Forum.

Resolution # 20 Resolution on Kanaka Maoli Decolonisation, by reinscription of Ka Pae'aina on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories

Preamble:

Whereas, the NFIP / PCRC has repeatedly supported Kanaka Maoli (Indigenous Hawaiian) self-determination through peaceful decolonisation in their homeland of Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i), most recently by four resolutions:

- September 1996, Suva, Fiji, Resolution on Decolonisation for Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific, endorsed by the Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific Workshop on the United Nations (UN) Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which resolved to "submit this resolution to the South Pacific Forum and appropriate entities within the United Nations";

- December 1996, Suva, Fiji, Resolution on the Opposition to the "Native Hawaiian Vote" and the "Hawaiian Constitutional Convention," approved by the 7th NFIP Conference, which *inter alia* "urged Pacific Island peoples and nations to support the reinscription of Kanaka Maoli of Hawai'i on the UN List of Non-Self-Governing Territories for decolonisation";

- December 1996, Suva, Fiji, Resolution on Decolonisation "that Tahiti-Nui, West Papua and Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i) be reinscribed on the UN List of Non-Self-Governing Territories (Decolonisation Committee List)";

- September 1997, Rarotonga, Cook Islands, Resolution on Kanaka Maoli Self-Determination and Reinscription of Ka Pae'aina (Hawai'i) on the UN List of Non-Self-Governing Territories, adopted by the PCRC / PIANGO 3rd NGO Parallel Forum;

Whereas, the July 1998 United Nations Study on Treaties, Agreements and other Constructive Arrangements between States and Indigenous Populations, submitted to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, proposed that since the 1898 US annexation of Ka Pae'aina was invalid, Ka Pae'aina "could be re-entered on the List of Non-Self-Governing Territories for decolonisation";

Whereas, the Kanaka Maoli independence movement in Ka Pae'aina is being undermined through cooperation by the colonial United States (US) federal and state of Hawai'i governments:

- HSEC/Hawai'i/Native Hawaiian Convention current puppet government process to maintain colonial control over stolen Kanaka Maoli lands while denying Kanaka Maoli full self-determination, in violation of Kanaka Maoli law, the US Constitution and international law;

- legal position in the *Rice v Cayetano* case to be heard by the US Supreme Court in October 1999, that the US and state governments have a "special trust relationship" to the Kanaka Maoli people analogous to the relationship of the US toward American Indian tribes, which are considered "domestic dependent nations," whose people are to be treated as "wards...subject to the plenary power of the US Congress";

- July 1999 designation of a US Justice Department official and a US Interior Department official "to address Native Hawaiian political status and land issues," in violation of Kanaka Maoli inherent sovereignty and right to self-determination;

Whereas, the Kanaka Maoli people presently comprise less than 20% of the total Ka Pae'aina population of 1.2 million, continue to be evicted from their lands, have the worst and worsening health, social and economic

conditions in their homeland, and are projected by the US Congress for extinction as a "pure race" by Year 2044;

Whereas, the Kanaka Maoli people strongly support all peoples in their struggles for self-determination and, especially at this critical time, Pacific brother and sister Kanaks, Lorosae Timorese, Bougainvilleans, West Papuans, Maohi of Te Ao Maohi, Maohi of Rapa Nui, Maori of Aotearoa and Aborigines of Australia;

The Conference resolves to:

1. Urge implementation of the above previous four resolutions on UN reinscription of Ka Pae'aina, in view of the pressing implications of the additional four clauses, by the following action strategy:

- Call upon the NFIP / PCRC Executive Board Decolonisation Reference Group and NFIP / PCRC Staff Decolonisation Desk to include Kanaka Maoli decolonisation through reinscription of Ka Pae'aina on the UN List of Non-Self-Governing Territories as a regular agenda item to be coordinated with appropriate priority and timing with reinscription of other Pacific colonies, such as Te Ao Maohi, Rapa Nui, Bougainville and West Papua.

- Coordinate research and promote public education, media and electronic world-wide communication about Ka Pae'aina, Te Ao Maohi, Rapa Nui, Bougainville and West Papua self-determination, beginning with documents in appropriate languages, such as the 1997 *Independence and Sovereignty for Te Ao Maohi* booklet, for wide distribution.

- Seek official endorsement of, and commitment to, reinscription of Te Ao Maohi, Ka Pae'aina, Rapa Nui, Bougainville and West Papua initially by Pacific region organisations, such as Pacific Women NGOs, Pacific Conference of Churches, other Pacific peoples and nations, the South Pacific Forum and the Melanesian Spearhead Group, other appropriate non-Pacific peoples and nations; and submission of their endorsements and commitments through a resolution to the United Nations General Assembly, coordinated with the support of other concerned UN bodies, such as the UN Decolonisation Committee, for adoption and implementation.

Resolution # 21 West Papua

Preamble :

Whereas, Indonesia annexed West Papua in 1963 in complete violation of the New York Agreement it signed with the Netherlands on 15 August 1962;

Whereas on annexation, Indonesia banned all democratic organisations and abolished all freedoms and rights in violation of the said Agreement and against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948;

Whereas in 1969, instead of a referendum to allow the 800,000 people of West Papua to cast their votes on the choice between independence or remaining with Indonesia, the Indonesian government conducted a consultation with only 1,025 representatives who accepted the only choice demanded by the government and that is to become part on Indonesia, in complete violation of the New York Agreement;

Whereas, for over 35 years of rule Indonesia has committed untold human right violations against the people of West Papua simply because they are different and because they refused to be Indonesianised, and the West Papuan people continue to resist Indonesian rule and;

Whereas on 26 February 1999 on the request of President B. J. Habibie, 100 West Papuan representatives have met the Indonesian Cabinet and issued a Communiqué stating that West Papuan people want their independence.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Fully implement all the resolutions adopted at the 7th NFIP conference in Fiji, including the proposal to seek South Pacific Forum support for the re-inscription of West Papua on the United Nations list of non self-governing territories.
- 2) Sponsor a campaign for the reopening of the 1969 act of self-determination (called the Act of free choice); including support for the current dialogue between West Papuan leaders (delegation of 100) and the Indonesian government for a peaceful process towards independence.
- 3) Sponsor a campaign in support of the efforts of the NGOs and churches in West Papua for the full investigation of Human Right violations including the Red Cross involvement with the massacres at Nggeselema in the central highlands and appeal for the release of all political prisoners.

Action Strategy

In relation to point 2), the West Papuan delegation calls on this conference to send a Letter or Statement to President Habibie to encourage him to continue the current dialogue he has under taken with the West Papuan people since 26 February 1999. Send copies to FORERI and the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan.

Resolution # 22 Rapa Nui

Preamble :

Recognising that:

- 1) Rapa Nui people have too long been ignored by the Pacific community, except the NFIP movement;

- 2) The 3000 indigenous people who compose Rapa Nui are still struggling for their emancipation from Chilean occupation since the late 1880s;
- 3) Rapa Nui's independence has been undermined by occupation of colonial Chilean State;
- 4) Rapa Nui people have been dispossessed to their basic rights to land by the Chilean government;
- 5) Rapa Nui's people's call upon the Chilean Government to commit to past promises has remained unsuccessful.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Campaign for the listing of Rapa Nui with the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation list of non-self-governing territories.
- 2) Publish and disseminate a leaflet about Rapa Nui's struggle for self-determination.

Resolution # 23 Kanak

Preamble:

Having heard and examined the report on the political situation in Kanaky, and the new perspectives arising from the Noumea Accord process which will continue for fifteen years;

The Conference Resolves to:

- 1) Renew its continuing, complete and active support for the struggle of the Kanak people, the indigenous people of Kanaky (New Caledonia), for their political, economic, social and cultural emancipation, and for the accession of the Kanak nation to independence.
- 2) Call for the maintenance of Kanaky (New Caledonia) on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories.
- 3) Call on regional and international political organisations to support this resolution before the United Nations authorities.

Préambule :

Après avoir entendu et examiné le rapport sur la situation politique en Kanaky et les nouvelles perspectives issues du processus de l'Accord de Nouméa dont la période porte sur quinze ans;

La conférence:

- 1) Renouvelle son soutien indéfectible, total et actif à la lutte du peuple Kanak, peuple indigène de Kanaky (Nouvelle-Calédonie) pour son émancipation politique, économique, social et culturel et pour

l'accession du Pays Kanak à l'Indépendance.

- 2) Exige le maintien de Kanaky (Nouvelle-Calédonie) sur la liste des pays à décoloniser de l'ONU.
- 3) Appelle les organisations politiques régionales et internationales à soutenir cette résolution auprès des instances de l'ONU.

Resolution # 24

Decolonisation and grassroots participation

Preamble :

Recognising the importance of grassroots members to participate properly in the territorial elections of 2001 in Te Ao Maohi and further to be aware of what is happening regionally.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Request the PCRC Executive Board to consider our request that the official report of this conference come out in three languages, English, French and Tahitian.
- 2) That the Evangelical Church of Polynesia be requested to prepare appropriate bible studies and encourage theological reflections to be held accompanying the dissemination of the conference report.

Resolution # 25

Aotearoa

Preamble :

Since the Great Migration, Maori tribes have occupied and ruled over Aotearoa, 1000 years before European contact;

The Declaration of Independence signed on 28 October 1835 declared Niu Tirenī an independent state and affirmed the sovereign power and rule of the United Confederation of Chiefs;

The Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 between Maori chiefs and the British Crown guaranteed Maori their *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty) over their lands, fisheries, forests and treasures;

Although the Treaty of Waitangi is touted as the "founding document of the nation", Maori Treaty rights have been violated by successive New Zealand Governments since 1841. For example, Maori own less than 2.5 million acres of land (of 66 million acres), and Maori fishery rights have been extinguished by the illegal Sealords Deal;

The Maori Treaty partner has high unemployment, poor education, health and social services.

This conference resolves to:

- 1) Support the *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa in their

struggle for *tino rangatiratanga*;

- 2) Call on the New Zealand Government to stop the sale of Aotearoa and its assets to foreign multinational companies;
- 3) Support the five-year Maori Nation Strategy for Decolonisation 2005 to be convened by Te Kawariki and Te Kotahitanga o Aotearoa.

Kia ora ra.

Resolution # 26

Olympic Actions on Aboriginal and Islander Rights

Preamble:

Whereas the 1996 NFIP Conference in Suva, Fiji resolved to support the rights of the indigenous peoples of Australia to land rights and justice at the time of the 2000 Olympics in Sydney;

Whereas the rights of the indigenous peoples of Australia have since then been further eroded by Federal government legislation and changes to institutional structures, even to the extent that the UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) has asked the Australian Government to 'please explain';

Whereas the Olympic torch will travel on its way to the Olympics in Sydney through twelve Pacific island countries;

The Conference resolves to:

1. Call on its members in the twelve Pacific Island countries to organise for the red, black and gold Aboriginal flag to be carried in parallel with the Olympic torch:
 - to call attention to the continuing injustices which Aboriginal peoples face
 - to be a symbol of Pacific solidarity with Aboriginal Australia.
2. Call on the delegates from Guam, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Samoa, American Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, Fiji, and Aotearoa / New Zealand:
 - a) to receive the flag from the Aboriginal delegation and to commit to this action
 - b) to organise a working group in each of these twelve countries to develop the logistics and the information necessary to arrange for the Aboriginal flag to run in tandem with the Olympic torch as a symbol of solidarity with Aboriginal struggles.

3. Call upon the PCRC Secretariat to develop an information leaflet explaining the background for the Olympic action, which can be used by the working groups in each of the twelve countries, and which can be reproduced locally to be handed to the public as the Aboriginal flag passes by.

Resolution # 27

Stolen Generations

Preamble :

Recognising that the Prime Minister of Australia has for two years refused to say 'Sorry' as recommended by the *Stolen Generations* Report;

Recognising that the Prime Minister's statement in the Federal Parliament in August 1999 that he 'deeply regretted' the injustices suffered by Aboriginal peoples is insufficient in the eyes of Aboriginal communities;

The 8th NFIP Conference calls on its members and associates to write to the Australian government demanding:

- that a full and proper apology be made to Australia's Aboriginal peoples.
- that the recommendations of the *Stolen Generations* Report be implemented immediately.

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Call upon the PCRC Secretariat to give timely updates regarding the Australian government's implementation of the *Stolen Generations* Report.
- 2) Call upon the PCRC Secretariat to continue to monitor the implementation of the Deaths in Custody recommendations and to advise its members when lobbying action is needed.

Resolution # 28

Native title in Australia

Preamble :

Bearing in mind the two landmark High Court decisions (Mabo 1992 and Wik 1996) which acknowledged and confirmed the pre-existing right of Traditional Owners in Australia to their land through continual connection and maintenance;

Concerned that there is a representative body in New South Wales under section 202 of the Native Title Act (1993) which is not properly constituted to adequately represent the voices of traditional owners;

Understanding that there is a Traditional Owners register in New South Wales of those who have successfully passed the registration test as Traditional Owners of land;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Call upon the PCRC Secretariat to support the efforts of the NSW Traditional Owners who are calling for the National Native Title Tribunal to facilitate and fund the creation of a council of traditional owners in NSW, that have direction and direct say at all levels in matters relating to the lands for which they are responsible and over which they have traditional rights.

Action Strategy:

This support may best be expressed through:

- a) correspondence to the National Native Title Tribunal, supporting the call for a NSW Traditional Owners council
- b) a post-card campaign to ATSIC on behalf of the Sovereign rights of Traditional Owners that have maintained continual connection to land in which we ask NFIP/PCRC network to advertise this campaign about the funding of such a council.

Resolution # 29

Genocide Convention

Preamble :

Recognising that the Australian government has signed the International Convention on the Prevention of Genocide but to date has not passed the corresponding domestic legislation to go with the Convention;

Recognising that in a recent case in the Federal Court of Australia, the judge ruled that a case for genocide in Aboriginal Australia exists, but as there is no domestic law which makes it a crime and chargeable offense, the judge could only determine to have the case set aside;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Call upon all NFIP members and associates:
 - to lobby their governments to question the Australian government on why they signed an international convention when they have not made the corresponding domestic laws to give effect to that convention;
 - to report back through PCRC the responses which their governments receive from the Australian government.

- 2) Call upon PCRC to prepare an information sheet with the relevant details to enable members to do this lobbying.

Resolution # 30

Resolution on War Reparations for the Chamorro People of Guam

(originally adopted as resolution #29b at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble:

Concerned that the war between the United States of America and Japan ended over 44 years ago;

Whereas the Chamorros of Guahan (Guam) who were not even citizens of the United States of America suffered horrendously, were enslaved, deprived of their freedom without just compensation;

Bearing in mind that the United States and Japan signed a Peace Treaty in 1950;

Considering that the Treaty absolved Japan of its obligation to compensate the Chamorros for their pain and suffering experienced during their occupation by Japan;

Recognising that the Chamorros are the victims of both Japan and the United States of America during World War II and of subsequent actions by both countries thereafter.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Insist that the United States of America and Japan do what is legally right and just for the Chamorro people of Guam.
- 2) Endorse that this War Reparations issue for the Chamorros of Guahan be included in the PCRC's address to the United Nations General Assembly.

Resolution # 31

Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia)

(originally adopted as resolution #29c at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble :

On the occasion of the 8th NFIP Conference taking place at Papaoa, Arue in Te Ao Maohi ("French" Polynesia);

Recognising that this is the first NFIP Conference to be held in a French Pacific colony;

The Conference Resolves to:

- 1) Renew its complete and active support for the struggle of the Maohi people, the indigenous people of Te Ao Maohi ("French" Polynesia), for their political, economic, social, cultural and governmental decolonisation, and the accession to independence and full sovereignty for Te Ao Maohi, which comprises the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, the Society Islands, the Marqueses Islands, and the Tuamotu-Gambier islands.
- 2) Campaign in favour of the reinscription of Te Ao Maohi ("French" Polynesia) on the United Nations list of non-self-governing territories.
- 3) Call on all political, religious, economic, social, cultural and environmental organisations, at regional and international level, to support this resolution before the relevant United Nations bodies.
- 4) Insist that the French State open all military, scientific,

medical and other archives, so that the truth and light can shine on the thirty years of French nuclear tests on Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls.

- 5) Consider Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls as "storage sites for radioactive and high level wastes", based on the precautionary principle used for French nuclear installations.

Préambule :

A l'occasion de sa 8eme Conférence qui s'est déroulée à Papaoa-Arue-Te Ao Maohi (Polynésie dite Française) ;

Reconnaissant que celle-ci est la première conférence du NFIP qui se tient dans une colonie française du Pacifique,

La Conférence décide de :

- 1) De renouveler son soutien indéfectible, total et actif à la lutte du peuple Maohi, peuple indigène de Te Ao Maohi (Polynésie dite Française) pour la décolonisation politique, institutionnelle, économique, sociale et culturelle et l'accèsion de Te Ao Maohi qui regroupe l'archipel des Iles Sous le Vent et des Iles du Vent, l'Archipel des Tuamotu Gambier, l'Archipel des Iles Australes et des Iles Marqueses, à son indépendance et sa souveraineté pleine et entière.
- 2) De tout mettre en œuvre en faveur de la réinscription de Te Ao Maohi (Polynésie dite française) sur la liste des pays à décoloniser de l'ONU.
- 3) D'appeler toutes les organisations politiques, religieuses, économiques, sociales, culturelles et environnementales régionales et internationales à soutenir cette résolution auprès des instances compétentes de l'ONU.
- 4) D'insister auprès de l'Etat Français en faveur de l'ouverture des archives militaires, scientifiques, médicales et autres afin que la vérité et la lumière soient faites sur les trente années d'expérimentation nucléaires françaises sur les atolls de Moruroa et Fangataufa.
- 5) De considérer les atolls de Moruroa et Fangataufa comme de véritables sites de stockage de "déchets radioactifs à haute activité et à longue vie" en vertu du principe de précaution lié aux installations de bases nucléaires.

Theme three: **Demilitarisation**

Resolution # 32 **Japanese Militarism**

Preamble:

We the 8th NFIP Conference feel a strong and present danger, following the adoption of a series of laws on the new Japan-US Defence Guidelines. These include:

- a) Support measures for the U.S military by Japan Self-Defense Forces in areas surrounding Japan.
- b) The amendment of the SDF law to allow Japan Maritime Self Defence Force ships to rescue Japanese nationals abroad.
- c) The Japanese – U.S Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA)

We believe these laws are intended to support the re-emergence of Japan as a military force capable of waging war in the Pacific.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Insist that the Government of Japan re-examine the above policies as soon as possible and return to its former position of being a country that follows its own Constitution and continues to be a country contributing to peace on national and global levels.
- 2) Co-operate with groups in Japan to publicise and oppose these laws.

Resolution # 33 **Kwajalein**

Preamble :

Recognising that Kwajalein Missile Base is a key reason for the ongoing US strategic interest in the Marshall Islands;

Noting the 15-Year Compact of Free Association between the United States and the Marshall Islands is up for renewal in 2001, with negotiations commencing in October 1999. Under the Compact, Washington has responsibility for defence and security, in return for the right to deny strategic access to other countries,

Noting that while the Marshall Islands can negotiate on issues such as aid, trade and commerce, the US Government can unilaterally extend the leases on the Kwajalein missile range for another 15 years.

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Work towards the complete close down of the US Army Kwajalein Atoll Missile Range in Kwajalein Atoll and convert the facility to productive civilian use.

- 2) Raise awareness with the people of Kwajalein about the negative effects of the Missile Range test on their environment and livelihood.

- 3) Raise awareness about the linkages between Kwajalein and the development of the Theatre Missile Defense System (TMDS) by the US with its allies, Taiwan, Japan, Korea.

- 4) Show solidarity with the people of Kauai, Niihau, and the Pacific Missile Range in Ka Pae'aina and their opposition to all aspects of TMD testing.

- 5) Insist on the US government and military to abandon programs for the development of a National Missile Defence System, as such systems will breach the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty signed with the former Soviet Union.

- 6) Work with partners in Asia to oppose development and deployment of Theatre Missile Defence Systems.

Resolution # 34 **Johnston Atoll Chemical Agents Disposal System (JACADS)**

Preamble:

Recognising that the Johnston Atoll Chemical Agents Disposal System (JACADS) is working toward its closure by the end of the year 2001;

Concerned over how the contaminated waste will be treated before it is disposed, and how the plant, the incinerators, and the smoke stacks, will be decommissioned;

Aware that there are continuing pressures from Europe, Asia and the United States to ship chemical weapons to the Pacific facility for disposal;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Reaffirm our demand for the complete closure of JACADS
- 2) Call on the US authorities to allow NGO oversight for the decommissioning process.

Resolution # 35 **Second Revolution to Demilitarise the Pacific Region.**

Preamble:

It is seen that militarism is on the rise in the Pacific today. This is evident in the situation in Bougainville, East Timor, West Papua, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands (in the case of Malaita and Guadalcanal). An integrated effort is needed to push the issue of denuclearisation and demilitarisation back onto the political agenda and start up a second revolution to denuclearise and demilitarise the Pacific.

The Conference resolves to:

Conduct a study into the current state of military affairs including the military budgets of island states. It is believed that the increases in the military budgets will have tremendous impact on the budget allocation to the Social Services in education, health and social welfare.

It is proposed that there should be a study done on the following issues:

- a) The current state of military affairs;
- b) The military budgets of the Pacific Island countries regardless of whether they have standing armies or not.

Resolution # 36

Fiji Christmas Island Veterans

Preamble:

Concerned about the ongoing health and environmental impacts of British nuclear testing at Christmas Island and Malden Island in 1957- 58;

Recognising the completion of the PCRC book *Kirisimasi*, which documents the testimonies of the Fijian army and navy personnel who served on Christmas Island.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) To follow up the court case for compensation for the Christmas Island veterans at European Court of Human Rights.
- 2) To work in collaboration with other NGOs in the UK, New Zealand and Europe (e.g. ECSIEP and the British Nuclear Test Veterans Association) in awareness raising activities.
- 3) To continue to work toward recognition and gaining compensation from the British government.

Resolution # 37

Opposition to the deployment of the new Warhead 88 to the Pacific Ocean

Preamble :

Nuclear warheads continued to evolve, and by all accounts, the apex was reached in the 1980s with the W88, one of the most deadly weapons in the American arsenal.

The warhead, made for submarines, first went to sea a decade ago and is considered powerful for its small size. At least eight W-88s can fit atop the Trident D-5 missile, which is less than seven feet wide. Since Trident subs have more than 24 missiles - a single submarine can carry

up to 192 of these thermonuclear arms.

Today, American submarines on patrol in the Atlantic carry the small warheads and the US navy is adding them to the Pacific fleet.

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Condemn the deployment of the W-88 nuclear weapon.
- 2) Lobby the U.S. government calling for a ban on the deployment (with letters to President Clinton, Defense Secretary William Cohen, and CINCPAC Admiral Dennis Blair)
- 3) Lobby heads of government at the October 1999 South Pacific Forum Meeting
- 4) Notify and inform NFIP affiliates
- 5) Research further stages of this Pacific deployment.
- 6) Protest at future U.S. Navy port visits.

Theme four: NFIP Activities

Resolution # 38

Strengthening Ties with USA / Canada

Preamble :

Recognising that many issues in the Pacific are related to similar issues globally;

Recognising that many multinational corporations operating in our region have their parent company outside the region;

Bearing in mind that multinational corporate power can most effectively be countered by multinational NGO mobilisation;

Considering that NGOs outside the Pacific region may have strategies, information and other resources that could be helpful to NFIP member organizations;

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Establish greater links with progressive NGOs outside the Pacific, particularly in Region 5 (USA / Canada).
- 2) Endorse solidarity actions and mobilization activities conducted in Region 5 which are done in consultation with NFIP organizations.
- 3) Promote greater exchange of information with progressive NGOs in region 5.

Resolution # 39

Resolution on the priorities of the NFIP/PCRC

Preamble:

Recalling that the NFIP Movement was originally established with the mandate to campaign for a nuclear free Pacific zone, independence of colonised territories, land rights and demilitarisation, the 8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference:

Reaffirms its commitment to these areas as the main thrust of the NFIP, and strongly calls on the Executive Board and the PCRC to ensure that these areas are given priority attention in the implementation of its three-year work program.

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Request the Secretariat to identify past Conference resolutions on decolonisation that have not been implemented, and have them merged with the 8th NFIP Conference resolutions and have them included in their appropriate Plan of Action.
- 2) Request the PCRC Executive Board to prioritise the plans of action to enable the secretariat to focus on these major areas of concern to the NFIP, and streamline PCRC program areas so as not to create overlapping with other regional organisations.
- 3) Request the PCRC Executive Board to upgrade the administrative capabilities to allow the Director more time for national, regional and international campaigns and negotiations on these major areas of concern.
- 4) Closely monitor the decolonisation process in East Timor, West Papua, Te Ao Maohi, Rapa Nui, Ka Pae'aina, Bougainville and Kanaky and submit a progress report to the next Conference.
- 5) Mandate the NFIP / PCRC to expand and include the "Campaign for Economic Control and Independence" as a key to completing a process for a truly sovereign nation.

Resolution # 40

Pacific News Bulletin

Preamble :

Acknowledging the importance of the NFIP Movement's monthly magazine *Pacific News Bulletin*, as a means of informing and mobilising the peoples of the Pacific and supporters of the movement.

The Conference resolves to :

Call on NFIP members to:

- 1) Send articles and information to PCRC for use in *Pacific News Bulletin*.

- 2) Promote *Pacific News Bulletin* in their country (to educational institutions, government departments, NGOs and other relevant groups).
- 3) Place advertisements for the magazine in their newsletters and magazines.
- 4) Send information about their organisation to be profiled in *Pacific News Bulletin* and the PCRC website.
- 5) Encourage young people to contribute to *Pacific News Bulletin*.

Call on the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre to:

- 6) Translate key articles from *Pacific News Bulletin* into French or other relevant languages, with the long-term aim of publishing a French language edition of *Pacific News Bulletin*.
- 7) Link the PCRC Website to other NFIP members' websites.
- 8) Promote training in email and website construction for NFIP members.
- 9) Develop alternative histories of the Pacific to be published in *Pacific News Bulletin* and other formats.
- 10) Seek extra funding to cover the costs of improvements to *Pacific News Bulletin*.

Resolution # 41

Revolution Youth for NFIP Movement

(originally adopted as resolution #45 at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble :

We, the youth of the 8th NFIP Conference in Arue, Tahiti, Te Ao Maohi,

Recalling the resolutions that were adopted in the 7th NFIP Conference in Suva, Fiji, 1996 - in particular:

- "Support the establishment of a youth branch of the NFIP to be called: "Revolution: Youth for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific";
- "Affirm the responsibility of all delegations to bring at least one youth person with their delegation either as a delegate or an observer";
- "Pledge to schedule a time and space at all NFIP conferences for a Youth Caucus as well as the time for the caucus to report back to the General Assembly";

Making it known that we are extremely disappointed with the lack of action taken to implement the above resolutions; Bearing in mind the importance of youth for the continuity of the struggle of the NFIP Movement;

The Conference resolves to:

- 1) Request that the PCRC / NFIP Executive Board and the Director consider the establishment of a Youth desk, whose objectives are to:
 - Protect and promote customary and cultural values and identity as youth of the Pacific;
 - Promote networking of youth groups between the different regions;
 - Promote, educate and raise awareness on Health issues particularly HIV/AIDS and substance abuse;
 - Promote alternative forms of education and provide training and learning programs to Pacific youth on Indigenous History;
 - Facilitate discussion and debate among Pacific Youth on cultural values and human rights;
 - Encourage Pacific youth to be more pro-active on environmental issues;
 - Lobby, assist and promote the creation of alternative forms of employment that will reduce reliance and dependency
- 2) We demand that all delegations bring at least one young person, either as a delegate or an observer, to all future NFIP Conferences.
- 3) The conference resolves to schedule a time at all NFIP Conferences for a Youth Caucus as well as the time for the Caucus to report back to the General Assembly.
- 4) The Conference requests the Executive Board, in its consideration of the structure of the Executive Board, to consider the appointment of two (2) youth delegates onto the Board. *(This issue is to be discussed at the level of the regions to discuss the make-up of the Board, with the involvement of Women and Youth.)*

Theme five: Human Rights and Good Governance

Resolution # 42

Tongan Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Movement

Preamble :

Drawing attention to the resolution on the Tonga Pro-Democracy Movement adopted at the 7th NFIP Conference in Suva, 1996;

Recalling the need to lobby relevant non-governmental organisations in our Pacific countries to recognise the Tongan Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Movement's struggle and to pray for it;

Recognising the struggle of the Tongan Human Rights

and Pro-Democracy Movement in Tonga for a more open government based on the principles of equity, accountability and fairness;

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Lobby relevant Government organisations in the region and other International Human Rights Organisations, to recognize and support the Tongan Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Movement's proposal to the Tongan Government to conduct a Referendum on the issue: "Should the people elect the members of Parliament including the nobles representative and all the government members?"
- 2) Support the dissemination of all relevant materials relating to the proposed Referendum throughout the Pacific region.
- 3) Support the Tongan Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Movement's proposal for the government to set up a Constitutional Review Commission to review our constitution aiming at giving the people their Rights to elect our leaders and for our Monarch to remain the Ceremonial figure and Head of State.
- 4) That the Tonga Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Movement, with the support of PCRC / NFIP, lobby relevant Government officials through information exchanges and visits to countries and /or to the next South Pacific Forum meeting.

Resolution # 43

Resolution on health: HIV / AIDS

(originally adopted as resolution #45 at the NFIP Conference)

Focusing on Maire Bopp Du Pont's inspiring speech, the 8th NFIP Conference:

- 1) Recognised that HIV-AIDS is on the rampage in the Pacific, with French-occupied Polynesia, New Caledonia, Guam and Papua New Guinea having the highest reported rates of infection per capita.
- 2) Notes that treatment for HIV-AIDS is not affordable or accessible, but denial of treatment for any reason is a violation of human rights - newest therapies should be available to all.
- 3) Notes that Pacific churches are an obstacle in Fiji, where social conditions enforce silence on HIV-AIDS awareness and prevention programs, while the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu have programs that train health workers to prevent STD's and HIV-AIDS. Samoa and Niue have church participation in HIV-AIDS prevention programs.
- 4) Welcomes with approval a recently launched

publication in Suva, Fiji, called "Up Front", the result of five UNAIDS / PINA (Pacific Islands News Association) workshops on these issues.

The conference resolves to :

- 1) Lobby governments to strengthen programs on HIV/AIDS and for access to such programs.
- 2) Reinforce and recognise that all NGOs and churches can play an active role in awareness building.
- 3) That the PCRC Executive Board considers the creation of a Health Desk with two primary aims :
 - a) Finance awareness programs
 - b) Lobby governments to enact a policy of enabling young people to have free access to an HIV-AIDS check up.

Resolution # 44 Solidarity with Vieques, Puerto Rico

The 8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement conference endorses a call for a letter in support and solidarity to the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico from the NFIP affiliates. (draft letter and background information provided below)

COMITE PRO RESCATE Y DESAROLLO DE VIEQUES
(Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques)
Apartado 1424 Vieques,
Puerto Rico 00765(787)741-8651
Email: bieke@coqui.net

Dear Friends, la Orana

From the shores of Arue, Tahiti-Nui, Te Ao Maohi we send our warmest greetings and message of solidarity.

As Pacific Island nations, we know how precious land and our fragile ocean resources are. We believe the United States of America, in particular the U.S Navy, has committed a great crime engaging in the destruction and contamination of your Land and Oceans by continuous bombing for over 50 years.

We stand in solidarity with your commitment to call for complete withdrawal of US Naval Forces from Vieques and the transfer of lands to the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico.

Further we call upon the United States Government to:

- Immediately end all military operations on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico
- Clear ordnance and remove hazardous substances and other waste material.
- Desist from any repressive measures against people of Vieques, which includes Fishermen and their families (Mount David) presently occupying the East end of Vieques.

Resolution # 45 Human and Indigenous Rights for Rapa and Morotiri

(originally adopted as resolution #29a at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble :

A Declaration between King Parima, from the Island State of Rapa and the French Commandant Chesse was signed 7 May 1881;

Under threat of Military retaliation, King Parima signed the Declaration but urged the French to allow them Self-government under customary law ;

The 1996 petition organised by the 'OPARO PARURU IA RAPA' organisation called for the recognition of Indigenous land rights and all natural resources of the Islands of Rapa and Morotiri ;

All Rapa and Morotiri records are held in the French Navy Archives ;

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Call for an independent investigation on the colonial history of Rapa and Morotiri
- 2) Lobby for the restoration of Self-Government over Rapa and Morotiri
- 3) Present the Declaration of Rapa to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations' Rapporteur of the UN Study on Treaties, Agreements and other Constructive Arrangements between States and Indigenous Populations.

Resolution # 46 Human Rights (originally adopted as resolution #49 at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble

The 8th NFIP Conference in Arue, Tahiti endorses human rights work as a priority for the NFIP Movement, to highlight the integrity and dignity of the human person.

We believe that human rights involve not just individual civil and political rights, but also the collective rights of Pacific peoples. Our work on human rights must focus on our economic, social and cultural rights, from a Pacific perspective, especially the right to self-determination as indigenous and colonised peoples.

The Conference resolves to:

In co-operation with NFIP affiliates, the PCRC Human Rights and Good Governance desk should work on a range of human rights issues, including:

- Rights over indigenous knowledge and science
- Treaty rights and sovereignty issues
- Native title rights of indigenous peoples and customary landowners
- Women's rights as Human Rights
- The rights of young people and children
- The right to know: access to information, and opening colonial and military archives
- Media freedom
- Use of courts, media and other tribunals to publicise breaches of human rights
- Government accountability and transparency
- The right to organise (as churches, NGOs, unions)
- Health and human rights
- Legal literacy and human rights training for NFIP members
- Liaison with other human rights groups (including the proposed Pacific Centre on Human Rights)

The 8TH NFIP Conference welcomes the establishment of a Human Rights and Governance desk within the PCRC Secretariat.

We urge the PCRC /NFIP Executive Board to prioritise the recruitment of a staff member for this desk as soon as possible.

Theme six: **Sustainable Human Development**

Resolution # 47 **Globalisation and our Pacific Alternatives.**

Preamble :

Globalisation and trade liberalisation based on WTO principles have a great impact on the open and vulnerable economies of the Pacific Island countries.

The 8th NFIP conference fears that only a few will profit from globalisation and free trade whilst the large majority of Pacific peoples will be impoverished and left with depleted resources, stolen knowledge and suppressed cultural values.

Land is the basis of Pacific cultures and economies. We should look after our land at all costs thus the indigenous economic value of land should be the basis of any economic development.

Local economies, including agriculture, manufacturing and services should be strengthened and be the basis of economic development in Pacific.

The resources unique to the Pacific should be identified and exploited in a way that guarantees the sustainable use of these resources to the present and future generations

of the Pacific. Regional cooperation is a pre-requisite to strengthen the bargaining power of the Pacific states in international trade negotiations.

Indigenous knowledge and intellectual property should be protected against foreign patenting and should be economically exploited in such a manner that the rightful owners of this knowledge be equitably compensated and their knowledge protected.

The Conference resolves to :

- 1) Strengthen the capacity of our Pacific peoples in order for us to make informed choices on the sustainable utilisation of our limited resources.
- 2) Strengthen the capacity of Pacific peoples and their networks to further elaborate on the principles of a Pacific regional integration and to advocate this vision in the relevant national, regional, and international fora.
- 3) Urge the peoples of our Pacific region to support local industries and locally made products.
- 4) Lobby and advocate for the protection of all indigenous knowledge and intellectual property.
- 5) Consider the long term goal of having a common currency.
- 6) Strengthen the capacities of NGOs and other groups to utilise modern information technology towards their own economic empowerment.
- 7) Urge the PCRC Secretariat to provide training courses on economic empowerment.
- 8) Clarify the legal status of the French Occupied Territories with regards to the World Trade Organisation.
- 9) Urge Pacific Governments to take into consideration the social consequences of liberal economic policies as promoted by the Bretton Woods Institutions.
- 10) Call on NGOs and other relevant bodies to continue to look into alternative economic models pertinent to the social structures of the Pacific communities.

Resolution # 48 **Lomé Convention**

(originally adopted as resolution #13 at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble :

Considering that the Lomé Convention is the main trade and aid arrangement between the European Union (EU) and the Pacific;

Recognising the role of Pacific NGOs and other Pacific civil society organisations in the grassroots development programs;

Emphasising the increasing importance of the contribution of Pacific NGOs and other civil society organisations in Pacific nation's policy making spheres;

Mindful of the role played by the joint program of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC) and the European Centre on Pacific Issues (ECSIEP) on the Lomé Convention since 1997 in the following areas:

- Raising the general awareness of Pacific NGOs and other civil society organisations on the Lomé Convention and its meaning for the Pacific;
- Successfully exploring with Pacific NGOs the opportunities of Pacific NGO participation in the implementation of the National Indicative Programs;
- Enhancing the participation of Pacific NGOs in the policy discussion on future EU-ACP cooperation; and
- Strengthening the role of Pacific civil society in future EU – Pacific cooperation.

The Conference resolves to :

Have the PCRC, ECSIEP and their networks continue their work on the Lomé Convention by developing a follow-up program to the PCRC / ECSIEP joint program on the Lomé Convention, whose objectives are to:

- a) Monitor current development policies of the Pacific Islands nations, in particular with regard to the European Union and the areas of trade, the impact of globalisation and the role of civil society in the future Pacific-EU cooperation.
- b) Advocate for the inclusion of the Pacific civil society in the future ACP-EU cooperation in the area of policy development, planning and implementation of development programs.
- c) Institutionalise the process of Decentralised Cooperation in the framework of the EU-Pacific cooperation.
- d) Renew the call for the inclusion of all Pacific Island countries into the ACP group.
- e) Call for the Inclusion of the French Occupied Territories in the ACP group.

Resolution # 49

Moruroa and Fangataufa

(originally adopted as resolution #47 at the NFIP Conference)

Preamble :

Recognising the successful campaign to halt French nuclear testing at Moruroa and Fangataufa atolls;

Paying our deepest respect to the many people of Te Ao Maohi and around the world who have fought and suffered to achieve this end;

Knowing in our hearts that the end of testing has not meant an end to the health and environmental hazards that remain at Moruroa and Fangataufa;

Certain that studies such as the 1998 IAEA report are flawed and do not analyze all aspects of nuclear hazards which remain;

The Conference resolves that:

- 1) The NFIP Movement will provide ongoing support and solidarity to the people of Te Ao Maohi to deal with the legacies of thirty years of nuclear testing.
- 2) The French Minister of State must open all military, medical, scientific and other archives to independent researchers and scientists, to allow research of the nuclear testing era and its radioactive aftermath.
- 3) We call on the international agencies to conduct comprehensive, independent and multidisciplinary studies into the nuclear era and the radioactive legacies at Moruroa and Fangataufa, including:
 - Ongoing monitoring of the atolls;
 - Epidemiological studies on the relationship between the tests and the rates of cancer and other diseases in Te Ao Maohi;
 - Ongoing health studies and monitoring of all military and civilian personnel who staffed the sites and their families;
 - Geological and oceanographic studies of the atolls, to monitor the release of radioactive isotopes released (through endo-upswelling) through fissures and the dispersal of plutonium from the lagoons.
- 4) We call on the government of France to fulfill all its moral and legal responsibilities
 - For clean up and rehabilitation of the sites
 - For immediate and concrete support for the military personnel and Maohi workers at the sites and their families who are suffering from illness or disease.
 - For compensation to those affected by the tests
 - For economic reparations for the social, cultural, and economic imbalances caused by the nuclear economy
- 5) We will maintain our solidarity and support for the churches, political parties, NGOs, those who have been imprisoned after the 1995 events and customary landowners on these issues in Te Ao Maohi.
- 6) This Conference urges the French to recognise the "colonial fact" during the nuclear era of thirty years.

Final resolutions

Resolution # 50

Appreciation Resolution

Preamble:

Recognising the invaluable contribution made to the NFIP movement during the past 12 years under the leadership of Lopeti Senituli;

Respecting the decision he has made to be given leave from his position as full time PCRC Director;

Realising that this is the last Conference before his contract expires as Director of PCRC;

The Conference resolves to:

Recognise Lopeti Senituli as a living legend within the NFIP, the Pacific region and internationally.

Convey its heart felt and immeasurable appreciation to Lopeti's leadership, commitment, patience, sacrifice, nurturing and guidance to the people and governments and organisation in the region.

Call on Lopeti Senituli to be available to assist the NFIP and other organisations which would need his expertise and remain as NFIP Ambassador in his future deliberation.

Resolution # 51

Thanks to hosts

(originally adopted as resolution #41 at NFIP Conference)

Preamble:

We the delegates of the 8th NFIP Conference in Arue, Tahiti wish to express our profound thanks to our hosts at this historic conference – the first NFIP conference held in a French colony in the Pacific.

The Conference resolves to:

Express our deepest thanks to:

- The leader and members of the conference hosts *Tavini Huiraa'ira no Te Ao Maohi*
- The Pastor, deacons and members of the Arue parish of the *Eglise Evangélique de la Polynésie Française*
- The *Eglise Evangélique de la Polynésie Française*, for use of the conference facilities
- The members of all political parties, churches, trade unions and community organisations from Te Ao Maohi who have participated in the conference and welcomed us to their country.
- The staff of the conference secretariat
- The drivers, cooks, cleaners, security, musicians, joke tellers and all those who have labored so hard to make this conference a resounding success.

Resolution # 52

9th NFIP Conference

Preamble :

Recognising the importance of uniting all NFIP members at the triennial NFIP Conferences,

Taking leave of our gracious hosts in Te Ao Maohi for the 8th NFIP Conference

The Conference resolves to:

Accept with thanks the offer of the delegation from Tonga to host the 9th NFIP Conference in the year 2002.

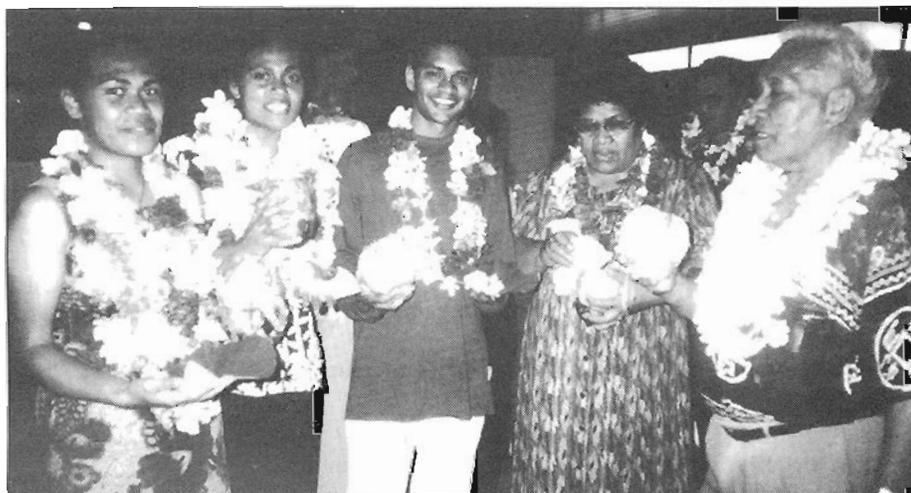
Encourages the PCRC Executive Board and Secretariat to liaise with NFIP members to organise the conference in Tonga, with Vanuatu and the Cook Islands as fall-back options.



Above Secretariat staff
Mitou Boudin and Onie Torang

Right: PCRC conference staff
Fipe Tutubou, Sophie Ranadi,
Stanley Simpson, Losena Salabula
and Alfred Jack

Below: Ending more than twelve
years service with PCRC -
Director Lopeti Sentoli with
Assistant Director (Pacific News
Bulletin) Ellen Whelan.



PCRC / NFIP Executive Board

The PCRC / NFIP Executive Board is responsible for policy, staffing and overall management of PCRC and the Movement. Elections for a new Executive Board were held in September 1999, at the time of the 8th NFIP Conference in Arue, Tahiti. The new members of the PCRC Executive Board are listed, followed by members of the old Executive Board whom they replace:

Sione Teisina Fuko (Tonga)

a member of the Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement. Teisina serves as Chairperson of the Board (reelected).

Nui Ben Teriitehau (Te Ao Maohi)

a leading independence activist with the political party Tavini Huiraatira in French-occupied Polynesia (reelected).

Kali Vatoko (Vanuatu)

Kali is the Secretary General of the Presbyterian Church in Vanuatu, and serves as Chairperson of the Vanuatu Alliance of Non-Government Organisations (VANGO). He replaces Abraham Baeanisia (Solomon Islands).

Rex Rumakiek (West Papua)

Rex is a long time NFIP activist, representing the Organisasi Papua Merdeka. Rex lives in exile in Australia, and replaces Ceu Brites (East Timor), who returned to Timor Lorosae from exile in Australia after the 30 August 1999 vote.

Marcia Cassidy (Aotearoa)

Marcia is an activist in the Maori movement in Aotearoa / New Zealand and a member of Freedom Crossroads. She replaces Jenny Munro (Aboriginal Australia).

Rufo Lujan (Guam)

Rufo is a member of the Organisation of People for

Indigenous Rights (OPIR) in Guahan, and is active in the Chamorro movement for self-determination. He replaces Annie de Brum (Marshall Islands).

Priscilla Settee (First Nations, Canada)

an activist and scholar from Saskatoon, Canada, involved in campaigns for indigenous rights and against uranium mining. (re-elected).

Hugo Teave (Rapa Nui)

Hugo is a member of Koro Huatae in Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and replaces Kihei Soli Niheu (Ka Pae'aina), a leader in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement.

Hidemichi Kano (Japan)

Hide is a disarmament activist in Japan and a member of Gensuikin. He replaces Corazon Fabros (Philippines), Secretary General of the Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition.

Molesi Taumaoe (Samoa)

Molesi is a journalist and board member of the Samoan environment organisation O Le Siosiomaga (replacing Vereara Maeva, Cook Islands).

Lorine Chan Tevi (Fiji)

Lorine Tevi, formerly the General Secretary of the Pacific Conference of Churches, comes onto the board as ex-officio Secretary, replacing Adi Asenaca Uluiviti (Fiji).



First meeting of the incoming PCRC / NFIP Executive Board:

Standing at rear: Rufo Lujan (Guam); Jone Dakuvula (Fiji - proxy for Lorine Tevi), outgoing PCRC Director Lopeti Senituli; Hugo Teave (Rapanui); Hidemichi Kano (Japan), Board Chairperson Teisina Fuko (Tonga)
Standing, centre: Priscilla Settee (First Nations, Canada); Rex Rumakiek (West Papua); Molesi Taumaoe (Samoa); Nui Ben Teriitehau (Te Ao Maohi), incoming PCRC Director Motarilavao Hilda Lini; Kale Vatoko (Vanuatu)
Kneeling: Fiye Tuitubou (PCRC staff), Marcia Cassidy (Aotearoa)

Delegates and Observers at the 8th NFIP Conference

KANAKY (NEW CALEDONIA)

Mr. Louis Kotra UREGEL - *Union Syndicale des Travailleurs Kanak et Exploités* (USTKE)
Mr. Victor Tutugoro - *Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste* (FLNKS)
Mr. Jimmy NAUNAA
Pacific Concerns Resource Centre

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

Mrs. Estelle LAKALAKA
Conseil Territorial Des Femmes de Wallis et Futuna
Ms. Siene MANOUFIUA
Conseil Territorial Des Femmes de Wallis et Futuna

TE AO MAOHI (FRENCH POLYNESIA)

Mr. Oscar TEMARU
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Mr. Nui Ben TERIITEHAU
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Mr. James SALMON
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Mr. Hiro TEFAARERE
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Mrs. Tamara BOPP DU PONT
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Pastor Ralph TEINAORE
Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française
Mr. Gabriel TETIARAHI
Hiti Tau
Mr. Roland OLDHAM
Hiti Tau
Mr. Stanley CROSS
Ligue des Droits de l'Homme de Polynésie - Teturaetara
Marie Therese DANIELSSON
Annie COEROLI
A Tia I Mua
Mr. Joinville POMARE
Pomare Parti
Mr. Charlie CHING
Te Taata Tahiti Tiama
Pastor Jacques IHORAI (Observer)
Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française
Ms. Tea HIRSCHON (Observer)
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Mr. Desire Tagaroa TORANGI (Observer)
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Mr. Andre MANEA (Observer)
Tavini Huiraaatira no Te Ao Maohi
Ms. Roti MAKE (Observer)
Mr. Mai TETUA (Observer)
Te Tiamaraa O Te Nunaa Maohi no Polynesia
Mr. Gerard VAHINI (Observer)
Te Tiamaraa O Te Nunaa Maohi no Polynesia
Mr. Anthony TOKORAKI (Observer)
Te Tiamaraa O Te Nunaa Maohi no Polynesia

Mr. Armand MAI (Observer)
Protection of the Human Rights of the Leeward Islands

VANUATU

Motirilavao Hilda LINI
Mr. Lai SAKITA
Nasional Komuniti Developmen Trust (NKDT)
Mr. Kali VATOKO
Vanuatu Alliance of Non-Government Organisations (VANGO)

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Mr. Charles KELLY
Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA)
Mr. Ian AUJARE
Development Services Exchange (DSE)

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Mr. John KAWOWO
Melsol
Ms. Sophia GEGEYO
PNG Council of Churches

EAST TIMOR

Ms. Ceu BRJTES
East Timor Relief Association

WEST PAPUA

Mr. Rex RUMAKIEK
Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)
Mr. Moses WERROR,
Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)

BOUGAINVILLE

Mrs. Ruby MIRJINKA
Bougainville Community Based Integrated Humanitarian Program (BOCBIHP)
Mrs. Dora TSUIH
Bougainville Interchurch Women's Forum

AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)

Ms. Hilda HALKYARD-HARAWIRA
Te Reo Oranga O Te Moana Nui a Kiwa
Mr. Cyril Tainui CHAPMAN
Te Whare Awhina
Ms. Marcia CASSIDY
Freedom Roadworks

AUSTRALIA

Ms. Kathy MALERA-BANDJALAN
Ms. Mary MUNRO
Ms. Kyra KUM SING
Mr. Luke NOONAN (observer)
Australia West Papua Association

GUAM

Mr. Rufo LUJAN
Organisation for the Protection of Indigenous Rights
Ms. Norita CHARFAUROS
Nasion Chamoru

FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

Ms. Tina TAKASHY
FSM Women's Association Network

CANADA

Ms. Priscilla SETTEE
Indigenous Peoples Program, University of Sakatchewan
Ms. Lois STANDING
Mr. Jack LAKAVICH (Observer)
South Pacific People's Foundation
Ms. Mika SETTEE-USISKIN (Observer)

USA

Mr. Joseph LEON
Native America Public Telecommunications
Ms. Deb HARRY
Indigenous People's Coalition Against Biocolonialism
Mr Richard ENG (Observer)

KA PAE'AINA (HAWAII)

Mr. Kihei Soli NIHEU
Ka Pakaukau
Mr. Kekuni BLAISDELL
Ka Pakaukau
Ms. Terri Keko'olani RAYMOND
Ohana Koa
Ms. Miri VIDAL (observer)
Ohana Koa
Mr. Imai KALAHLELE (observer)
Na O Iwi

RAPANUI

Mr. Hugo TEAVE
Te Koro Hu'a Rapa Nui
Mr. Juan CHAVEZ Haoa
Te Koro Hu'a Rapa Nui

JAPAN

Mr. Mitsunori KEIRA
Yay Yukar no Mori
Ms. Amu KEIRA
Yay Yukar no Mori
Mr. Hidemichi KANO
Gensuikin

PHILIPPINES

Ms Cora FABROS
Nuclear Free Philippines Coalition

COOK ISLANDS

Mrs. Vereara MAEVA

Cook Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations

Mrs. Manongi LATHAM
Cook Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations

Mr. Danny MATAROA
Cook Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations

Mr. Teanau TARIPO (observer)
Pa Tapaeru ARIKI (observer)
Mrs Maui BRADBURY (observer)
Mrs. Madeleine METCALFE (observer)
Mr. Terangi LITTLE (observer)

TONGA

Mr. 'Akilisi POHIVA
Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement
Sister Senolita VAKAUTA,
Tonga National Council of Churches
Mr. Sione Teisina FUKO
PCRC / NFIP Chairperson
Mrs. Seketi FUKO (observer)
Mrs. Lupe SENITULI (observer)

NAURU

Mrs. Ruby WILLIS
Nauru Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations

AMERICAN SAMOA

Ms. Malelaga TUIOLOSEGA
Le Tausagi
Mrs Fiasili Puni HALECK
Le Tausagi

SAMOA

Mr. Clark PETERU
Mr. Molesi TAUMAOE
O Le Siosiomaga Society
Mrs Unasa Ese VAEAU
Mapusaga o Aiga

TUVALU

Mrs. Annie HOMASI
Tuvalu Association of Non-Government Organisations (TANGO)
Miss Sulufaiga Ioana UOTA
Fakapotopotaga Fafine (Ekalesia Kelisiano Tuvalu)

NIUE

Ms. Charlene FUNAKI
Niue Council of Women (NCW)
Ms. Louisiana Faneva KAKAHEMOANA
Niue Council of Women (NCW)

KIRIBATI

Mrs. Claire BAITEKE,
Amak (National Council of Women)

Mr Tebebeku TEIA
Kiribati National Council of Churches

FIJI

Ms. Patrina DUMARU
Fiji Women's Rights Movement
Mr. Jone DAKUVULA
Citizens' Constitutional Forum
Ms. Josephine TERRY (observer)
Greenpeace Pacific
Mrs. Lorine Chan TEVI (observer)
Mrs. Eleni TEVI (observer)

Keynote Speakers

Mr. Clark PETERU (Samoa)
Dr. Carlyle CORBIN (US Virgin Islands)
Dr. Hjalmar DAHL (Greenland)
Fata Koroseta TO'O (Samoa)
Motarilavo Hilda LINI (Vanuatu)
Ms. Corazon FABROS (Philippines)

International Observers

Pastor John Taroanui DOOM
Executive Secretary - Pacific desk
World Council of Churches (WCC - Switzerland)
Mr. Georg HENRIKSEN
Ms. Diana VINDING
Dr. Hjalmer DAHL
Ms. Birgitte FEIRING
International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
(IWGIA - Denmark)
Ms. Madeleen HELMER
Mr. Peter VAN DER VLIËS (ECSIEP)
European Centre for Pacific Issues (ECSIEP, the
Netherlands)
Mr. Bernard BARTH
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES - Papua New Guinea)
Ms. Debbie SINGH
SIDSnet - United Nations Development Program (Fiji)
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Rheinisches Journalist Innen Bureau (Germany)
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French - English - reo Maohi translator

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Mr. Fei TEVI
Mrs. Losena SALABULA
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Ms. Fipe TUITUBOU
Ms. Sophie RANADI
Mrs. Ellen WHELAN
Ms. Mitou BOUDIN
Ms. Omei TORANGI
Mr. Gerard TEARIKI
Mr. Stanley SIMPSON
Ms. Maire BOPP du PONT

Special thanks to the Pastor and parish of Arue for hosting us, and a cast of hundreds - thank you to all the drivers, musicians, dancers, late night joke tellers, healers, cooks, dishwashers and other helpers who provided such hospitality for our stay at Arue!

Peoples' Charter for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific

PREAMBLE

- 1) We, the people of the Pacific want to make our position clear. The Pacific is home to millions of people with distinct cultures, religions and ways of life, and we refuse to be abused or ignored any longer;
- 2) We, the people of the Pacific have been victimised too long by foreign powers. The Western imperialistic and colonial powers invaded our defenceless region; they took over lands and subjugated our people to their whims. This form of alien colonial political and military domination unfortunately persists as an evil cancer in some of our native territories such as Tahiti-Polynesia, Kanaky, Australia and Aotearoa. Our home continues to be despoiled by foreign powers developing nuclear and other means of destruction, oppression, and exploitation that advance a strategy that has no winners, no liberators and imperils the survival of all human kind;
- 3) We, the people of the Pacific will assert ourselves and wrest control over the destiny of our nations and our environment from foreign powers, including Transnational Corporations;
- 4) We note in particular the racist roots of the world's nuclear powers. We are entitled to and we commit ourselves to the creation of a just and equitable society;
- 5) Our environment is further threatened by the continuing deployment of nuclear arsenals in the so-called strategic areas throughout the Pacific. Only one nuclear submarine has to be lost at sea, or one nuclear warhead dumped in our ocean from a stricken bomber, and the threat to the fish and our livelihood is endangered for centuries. The erection of superports and Nuclear Testing Stations, may bring employment but the price is destruction of our customs, our way of life, the pollution of our crystal clear waters, and brings the ever present threat of disaster by radio-active poisoning into the everyday life of the peoples;
- 6) We, the people of the Pacific reaffirm our intention to extract only those elements of Western civilisation that will be a permanent benefit to us. We wish to control our destinies and protect our environment in our own ways. Our usage of our natural resources in the past was more than adequate to ensure the balance between nature and humankind. No form of administration should ever seek to destroy that balance for the sake of a brief commercial gain;
- 7) We the peoples of the Pacific will strive to be politically, economically, and spiritually self-determining. This includes the right to secede from oppressing nations.

WE, BEING THE INHABITANTS OF THE PACIFIC,

- I) CONVINCED that our peoples and our environment have been exploited enough by superpowers;
- II) ASSERTING the nuclear powers in the Pacific are operating here against our will, from territories administered or claimed by them as colonies;
- III) BELIEVING that the political and economic self-determination of all peoples is fundamental to attaining a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific;
- IV) BELIEVING that nuclear tests in the Pacific and the resultant radiation constitute a threat to the health, livelihood and security of the inhabitants;

-
- V) BELIEVING that nuclear tests and missiles tests are the major means by which the armaments race maintains its momentum;
 - VI) BELIEVING that the presence of the nuclear and chemical weapons, nuclear reactors, nuclear powered vessels, and nuclear wastes in the Pacific endangers the lives of the inhabitants and the environment;
 - VII) RECOGNISING the urgency to end the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons;
 - VIII) DESIRING to contribute towards the ending of the armaments race; and
 - IX) NOTING that a Nuclear Free Zone is not an end in itself but only a step, to total worldwide nuclear disarmament,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

X) ARTICLE 1: THAT A PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE BE DECLARED

including all that area of the South Pacific bounded by the Tlatelolco (Latin America), Antarctic, Indian Ocean and ASEAN zones, and including all of Micronesia, Australia, Philippines, Japan and Hawai'i;

XI) ARTICLE 2: THAT THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE PACIFIC WILL NOT PERMIT ANY OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES OR INSTALLATIONS WITHIN THE ZONE:

- a) All tests of nuclear explosive devices including those described as "peaceful";
- b) All nuclear weapon test facilities;
- c) All tests of nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and systems;
- d) All storage, transit, development, destruction or any other form of presence of nuclear and chemical weapons on land, or aboard ships, submarines, and aircraft within the zone;
- e) All bases carrying out command, control, communication, surveillance, navigation, and any other functions which aid the performance of a nuclear weapon delivery system;
- f) All nuclear power reactors, excepting very low capacity experimental units, all nuclear powered satellites, surface and sub-surface vessels and all transit, storage, release or dumping of radioactive material;
- g) Uranium mining, processing and transport;

XII) ARTICLE 3: THAT THE PEOPLES AND THE GOVERNMENTS WITHIN THE ZONE will withdraw from all mutual defence alliances with nuclear powers;

XIII) ARTICLE 4: THAT THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS SIGNATORY TO THE CHARTER will work to ensure the withdrawal of colonial powers from the Pacific;

XIV) ARTICLE 5: THAT THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS SIGNATORY TO THIS CHARTER will meet at intervals of not more than three years to explore ways of extending the geographical extent of the zone and the comprehensiveness of the bans enforced within it.

PROTOCOLS TO THE PEOPLES CHARTER FOR A NUCLEAR FREE AND INDEPENDENT PACIFIC

XV) PROTOCOL I

- 1) The undersigned plenipotentiaries, furnished with full powers by the respective governments;
- 2) AWARE of the desire of Pacific people to gain political independence, and to remain free of risks associated with nuclear weapons, nuclear war and nuclear power;
- 3) HAVE AGREED to observe all the prohibitions and activities and installations associated with nuclear war and nuclear power as established in the CHARTER FOR A NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC zone.
- 4) AND HAVE FURTHER AGREED to take immediate steps to grant political independence to territories and people at present governed by them within that zone.

XVI) PROTOCOL II

- 1) The undersigned plenipotentiaries, furnished with full powers by their respective governments;
- 2) HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:
 - a) TO RESPECT all the prohibitions on activities and installations associated with nuclear war and nuclear power as established in the CHARTER FOR NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC zones;
 - b) TO PERMIT at any time inspection by representatives of governments and people within the zone.

In September 1999, people from 28 nations around the Pacific came together in Arue, Tahiti for the 8th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) Conference. In the shadow of Mount Erima, on the shores of Matavai Bay, over 120 participants discussed issues of decolonisation, demilitarisation and development facing the peoples of the Pacific.

The theme of the conference was No Te Parau Tia, No Te Parau Mau, No Te Tiamaraa - for justice, truth and independence. The end of thirty years of French nuclear testing in 1996 has not ended the nuclear legacies for the region. This book collects the testimony of the Maohi people of Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia) on their struggle for self-determination and independence in a nuclear free country. It also includes speeches, presentations and resolutions from people around the vast Pacific region, on issues of: self-determination, sovereignty and independence; the new arms race in the Pacific; human rights and good governance; the impact of globalisation on Pacific island economies; and the need to conserve the environment for our children. This book presents voices from around the region, calling for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

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