

Political Reviews

The Region in Review: International Issues and Events, 2017

NIC MACLELLAN

Melanesia in Review: Issues and Events, 2017

VOLKER BOEGE, MATHIAS CHAUCHAT, ALUMITA DURUTALO,
JOSEPH DANIEL FOUKONA, BUDI HERNAWAN,
MICHAEL LEACH, JAMES STIEFVATER

The Contemporary Pacific, Volume 30, Number 2, 461–547
© 2018 by University of Hawai'i Press

Fiji Native and Tribal Congress. 2018. Blog, <http://fijinativetribalcongress300.bravesites.com> [accessed 29 March 2018]

Fiji One News. Fiji TV, Suva.

IB, Islands Business. Monthly magazine, Suva.

Jowitt, Anita. 2009. The Qarase v Bainimarama Appeal Case. *Journal of South Pacific Law* 13 (1): 24. <http://www.paclii.org/journals/fjspl/vol13no1/pdf/jowitt2.pdf> [accessed 11 Jan 2018]

Lal, Padma, Hazel Lim-Applegate, and Mahendra Reddy. 2001. The Land Tenure Dilemma in Fiji: Can Fijian Landowners and Indo-Fijian Tenants Have Their Cake and Eat It Too? *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 16 (2): 106–119.

Munro Ley's Law. 2014. Land Sales (Amendment) Act 2014. <http://www.munroleyslaw.com/land-sales-amendment-act-2014/> [accessed 11 Jan 2018]

Nair, Robyn. 2017. Permanent No More: The Slippery Surface of Fiji's Civil Service. *Islands Business* Sept: 29–32.

Nasiko, Repeka. 2017. Civil Servants Threatened by OMRS. *Fiji Times Online*, 27 Sept. <http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=417852> [accessed 5 Feb 2018]

Prasad, Biman. 2016. Is Our Democracy Really Working? *Fiji Times Online*, 30 Jan. <http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=339680> [accessed 26 Jan 2018]

Radio New Zealand. 2015. Bauxite Mining Practices in Fiji Criticised. 14 Dec. <https://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/292092/bauxite-mining-practices-in-fiji-criticised> [accessed 1 Feb 2018]

———. 2018. Calls for ILO to Step in after Unionist Questioned by Police. 27 Jan. <https://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/349021/calls-for-ilo-to-step-in-after-fiji-unionist-questioned-by-police> [accessed 28 Jan 2018]

NEW CALEDONIA

The year 2017 was said to be the last useful year to promote a calm and consensual completion of the Nouméa Agreement before the 2018 referendum on independence. It has indeed seemed to be a transitional year. The previous year of 2016, which was a preelection year in metropolitan France, revealed some key events related to the collapse of the nickel price, which put the three nickel plants in New Caledonia—the Le Nickel Society (SLN) in Nouméa, Vale in the South, and the Northern Province plant of Glencore—and the upstream mining activity at risk. The nickel industry accounts for a quarter of private-sector employment in the country and 90 percent of its exports (Delamarche 2016c). The country is footing the bill for the increase in building costs and low local competitiveness. During his trip to New Caledonia, French Prime Minister Manuel Valls announced a €200 million loan for the Société Territoriale Calédonienne de Participations Industrielles (STCPI, the holding company run by the three provinces of New Caledonia, which holds a 34 percent minority share of the SLN) (Delamarche 2016a). (€1 million = US\$1.2 million.) In November, Prime Minister Valls announced strong financial support for the Vale Plant, as he had done in April 2016 for the SLN. To prevent its possible closure, Valls pledged a €200 million loan and an additional financial guarantee for €220 million (Delamarche 2016b). The situation of the Northern plant was still to be resolved. In November 2016, the French government announced that

Glencore would not have to reimburse a €200 million tax exemption, the same amount the other two plants had received. In total, €600 million was lent to the three plants, the repayment of which is assessed as unlikely. Offering job subsidies is a classic strategy in French politics. The aid was most welcome because it allowed the country to pursue its dream of wealth and avoid any reform of the French Overseas way of life. It had the huge advantage of enabling the French government to be the savior of New Caledonia. The primary disadvantage was that this meant that important economic decisions could be postponed.

The year 2017 was strongly influenced by 2016. The country's financial situation has remained on standby, waiting for the recovery in commodity prices and impending political deadlines. There was also a strong message from the French government to the local one to make a "Keynesian" budget deficit in order to stimulate the economy. Nonetheless, 2017 has been a year of economic slowdown and budgetary restraint, obscured by the increasing public debt of the country. Local tax exemptions for the building industry have fostered the illusion of economic boom, which has been paid for with massive budget deficits and increasing inequalities (Gorohouna 2017). The government's economic strategy since 2008 has been a mix of "Keynesian" voluntary public spending and trickle-down economics (Chauchat 2017). A "wait and see" attitude seems to have prevailed. Nevertheless, 2017 has not been a wasted year, as the New Caledonian government has not foregone all change.

The Government of New Caledonia has been trying to curb health-care costs as it has strived to balance its welfare budget. Health-care expenditure, which has doubled in the last ten years, has risen at a faster rate than the growth of the gross domestic product. The economic system has exhausted all of its funds, while at the same time New Caledonia has built new health-care infrastructure and facilities—a brand-new hospital in the South, a private polyclinic in Nouméa, and a new Northern hospital—which are oversized for the population of the island. Without any major decisions being made by the government, Valentine Eurisouké, the member of the government in charge of health care, has begun to push this issue with a view to achieving a successful outcome by saving on costs and seeking new revenue streams. Working under pressure, the government has increased alcohol and tobacco taxes.

Finally, in December 2017, the Congress of New Caledonia accepted the names of the members of the new Competition Authority, which will enforce antitrust law. The members of the authority were mostly people from overseas and France, with, as usual, very high salaries. Aurélie Zoude-Le Berre, currently director in the French National Assembly and appointed to the Legislation Committee, will be the chairperson. The rapporteur will be Virginie Cramenil de Laleu, magistrate in Paris. The other members are Jean-Michel Stoltz, magistrate in Nouméa; Matthieu Buchberger, senior lecturer at the University of New Caledonia; and Robert Philip Simpson, a British citizen, who has set up similar authorities in Africa.

Replacing customs duties with a “General Consumption Tax” (TGC), based on added value like a Goods and Services Tax (GST), has been a major change. The reform started with a dry run beginning 1 April 2017 (René 2017) and should enter into force in July 2018. Thus, the country has still been trying to remove customs duties (which have given New Caledonian industries a competitive advantage over imports) and to create a more neutral tax. Nevertheless, the transition phase might be accompanied by protection of local industry. This is why the government has proposed a new tax, the “Cyclical Import Tax for the Protection of Local Manufacturing” (payable on taxable imports competing with local producers), and has also proposed a reduced TGC rate for local manufacturing. These two actions would strongly limit the inevitable exposure to regional trade, a debate that is ongoing in Congress today. Maybe the system could be simplified by applying only one tax rate instead of five. Nobody yet knows if the tax will come into force in July 2018 (Caprais 2018).

At the end of 2016, a center of unrest and insecurity—marked by gunfire against police and inhabitants and recurrent roadblocks—emerged in St Louis, a Kanak enclave located in Greater Nouméa, in the town of Mont Dore (Wéry 2017). Nicknamed the “white city,” Nouméa built its history as a city of discrimination and exclusion against the Kanak people, who were pushed to the margins of society (Dussy 2015, 147, 368). Ethnic and spatial segregation of the population is still the most significant feature of New Caledonia. Therefore, talking

about insecurity has quickly turned into talking about Kanak delinquency against all of the “others.” In the prevailing political climate, this issue is also used as a reminder of the French government’s responsibility for law and order in this multicultural country. The incidents were politicized to such an extent that on 2 February 2017 the Political Bureau of the FLNKS (Socialist Kanak National Liberation Front) had to call for calm, restraint, and moderation. Huge public demonstrations followed the death of a young nurse in front of the St Louis enclave while she was commuting home. In June, the public prosecutor made a statement explaining that the death was caused by young people frightening the nurse, causing her to fall while they were trying to steal her motorbike. On 16 January 2017, French Minister of Justice Jean-Jacques Urvoas issued an administrative circular outlining the French government’s new priorities for law and order. This penal policy was strongly influenced by the strife in St Louis. The minister emphasized tougher law enforcement for damage to persons and property, cannabis and drug dealing, the use of alcohol, domestic violence, and violence on the road, but he did not say a word about fighting white-collar crime (Urvoas 2017).

Meanwhile, preparations are going on for the referendum on independence. The questions on which consultation should be sought are already written in the Nouméa Agreement: “Do you agree with New Caledonia fulfilling sovereign functions (foreign affairs, justice, defence, public order, and currency)? Do you agree with an international status for the country?”

Do you agree with a new nationality?" These are three inseparable questions, which can only be responded to by a "Yes" or "No." However, the Yes and No are unbalanced. If you answer No, things remain unchanged. If you answer Yes, you throw yourself into a void, which is much more problematic. That is why in 2017 the pro-independence parties had to publish a "projet de société" (blueprint for a future political and socioeconomic system) to move forward. From the perspective of the anti-independence parties, the status quo should continue indefinitely.

The Caledonian Union, the oldest political party in New Caledonia, unveiled its projet de société in January. The Palika (Liberation Kanak Party) followed in March. Then, the pro-independence umbrella organization FLNKS, which is responsible for claiming independence before the United Nations General Assembly, drew up a synthesis of those two plans during its 35th congress, with their common aim being that Kanaky–New Caledonia would become "a multicultural, democratic, secular and united Republic." Socialism "would be enshrined as one of the most important principles," as proclaimed in the 1986 Constitution of Kanaky, which is deposited at the United Nations. Socialism would today identify with public policies such as rebalancing power between Kanaks and non-Kanaks, control over strategic resources, fair distribution of wealth, working with semipublic companies, and, more largely, creating a mixed economy with both private and public enterprises. "Socialism in action" would be what the FLNKS

proposed for the people in the future independent state. A revolution clearly hasn't been necessary. Some parts of the Nouméa Agreement have not been reconsidered by the constituent political parties of the FLNKS. Indeed, the constitutional status of New Caledonia was crafted to prevent a majority from holding political power. Its aim was to lead to a consensus between the political forces, both Kanak and non-Kanak, without going straight to a deadlock. Thus, political power was shared, and this was accepted as common consent.

First, the establishment of three provinces as regional councils has resulted in the sharing of power on a regional basis. That might be maintained, if slightly limited by the creation of a coordinating body between the presidents of the three provinces under the supervision of the president of New Caledonia's government. Second, the power inside the government itself has been shared. The Nouméa Agreement provided that the members of government may be elected by the New Caledonia Congress under a system of proportional representation. So, all of the main political parties may join the government. This was called the "Collegial Policy." That might be maintained. Nevertheless, under the new plan, a president of the republic would be elected by Congress, whose new name would be "National Assembly," together with the provincial assemblies, the Customary Senate, and the mayors. The FLNKS was silent on the subject of the right to dissolve Parliament, but the movement confirmed the principles of the 1986

Constitution of Kanaky, which gave the president of the republic that right.

Registered voters in the provincial elections, namely, those who have New Caledonian citizenship, as well as the people who can vote in the referendum, would acquire the nationality of the new, independent country. A law would establish the conditions of acquisition, loss, and recovery of New Caledonian citizenship by birth or descent. Maintaining French nationality, as a dual-nationality status, would be an open option to discuss with France (NC Presse 2017c). The land question, which would trigger confrontations and division, would be a main priority for the new nation, in order to foster a desire to live together. As is currently the case, the new independent country would maintain three types of land tenure: public property, private property, and customary land. New Caledonian citizenship would facilitate priority access to real estate.

Regarding sovereign functions, the new independent state would join the United Nations and open diplomatic and consular services in the Pacific region and in France. Public order would be maintained by only one entity of public servants, created by merging the gendarmerie with the municipal and national police. Defense would involve the creation of a national army, sized according to the needs and means of the country. The FLNKS would create a military service, based on the model of France's current SMA (Overseas Adapted Military Service). New multilateral and bilateral defense accords would be negotiated with France and neighboring countries. Regarding the justice system, a break with the French tradition should

be noted: The judicial system would be a unified combination of the special administrative courts and the judiciary, with a supreme court at the top. A customary court would be maintained for customary civil affairs. For the FLNKS, having a Kanaky national currency pegged to a basket of stable international currencies would seem the most promising monetary option. The option of the euro replacing the French Pacific franc has been ruled out. Finally, the FLNKS has proposed "Kanaky–New Caledonia" as the country's name and the "Kanaky flag" as the national flag. This flag was raised for the very first time on 1 December 1984 by Jean-Marie Tjibaou at La Conception.

On 28 June 2017, Flavien Misoni, head of the UN expert group, submitted the situation report regarding the revision of the special rolls for the provincial elections and the referendum. Following a first task force in 2016, the twelve UN experts have been working throughout the country, observing the working process of the special administrative verification commissions in charge of the revision proceedings. Their aim has been to look into the reliability and exhaustive nature of the special electoral rolls, so that the result would be indisputable. Their main observation has been that not all the people who could enroll had done so, especially Kanaks. A great demonstration in favor of automatic enrollment of all Kanaks took place in July. Once again, this was proof that this particular issue is sensitive and mobilizing Kanak support.

On 2 November 2017, the Signatory Committee of the Nouméa Agreement met in Paris to find a compro-

mise regarding the exhaustive nature of the electoral roll for the referendum. An independence referendum is typically designed for people who have been colonized—in this case, the Kanak people. However, the first compromise of the Nouméa Agreement was to give the right to vote both to Kanaks and to other people with twenty years' residency before the 31 December 2014 deadline. As a result, the Kanak people made up barely 50 percent of the electoral body. Because according to French law being registered on the electoral roll is voluntary, many Kanak people were not registered. Consequently, they would not be able to vote in the upcoming referendum. The new political compromise has been to register them automatically. Although this will be done by law, it does not mean that all of the enrolled people will go to the polls and vote. As a political counterpart, the pro-independence parties have agreed that the right to vote will be given to all people born in New Caledonia with only three years of permanent residence—in other words, including people traveling to and from France without close ties with the country. Theoretically, there should be three times more Kanaks benefiting from the new situation than non-Kanaks. However, these disputes about the electoral roll have sent a clear message: all the political parties, and the French government, expect a vote split along ethnic lines, Kanaks against all the others. Could anything good emerge from such a vote? The new law will only come into effect after the first revision of the electoral roll in March 2018. Consequently, the French government will open an addi-

tional period to register just before the vote. This late enrollment will make it very difficult for the pro-independence parties to make the people who never vote aware of the importance of doing so.

Finally, in October 2017, pro-independence and anti-independence parties, as well as the president of the New Caledonia government, took part in the debate about decolonization of New Caledonia before the 4th Commission of the 72nd UN General Assembly. This was most likely the last UN meeting before the 2018 vote (NC Presse 2017b).

On 16 and 17 March 2017, the very first meeting between the French diplomatic network for Oceania and the New Caledonian government took place in Nouméa (NC Presse 2017a). The aim of the talks was to define a shared international policy between the French government and New Caledonia in terms of regional integration—in other words, this would show that regional integration could take place without full sovereignty. The discussion between France and New Caledonia also focused on a concerted strategy for New Caledonia to work with both France and the European Union in Oceania. On the topic of bilateral cooperation, the French government has committed to go along with New Caledonia for the implementation of joint projects already signed with New Zealand, Vanuatu, and, in due course, Australia.

For New Caledonia, 2017 has been a diplomatic banner year. After New Caledonia joined the International Organization of Francophonie (IOF) in November 2016 (Government of New

Caledonia 2016), Philippe Germain, the president of the New Caledonian government, was in Vanuatu on 3 March 2017 to sign a joint cooperation framework. This framework is related to eleven activity segments, namely, tourism, biosecurity, customs, education, higher education, health, water conveyance, sanitation, transports, digital technology, and Francophonie (French language and culture). During this trip, the New Caledonian delegation—consisting of President Philippe Germain; Valentine Eurisouké, member of government in charge of health; Gérard Poadja, deputy-president of the Foreign Relations Committee of Congress; Karine De Frémont, director of the French Development Agency; Gaël Lagadec, president of the University of New Caledonia; and Bernard Pelletier, scientific director of the French Research Institute for Development—went to the IOF headquarters to sign an agreement with Vanuatu and the French Development Agency regarding the founding of the Vanuatu National University project.

Approved in September 2016 by the member states of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) (Moureaux 2016), the first participation of New Caledonia as a full member at a PIF summit took place in November 2017 in Apia (Sāmoa), along with French Polynesia (Government of New Caledonia 2017). The president of the New Caledonian government attended with the other leaders and also participated in the leaders' retreat, a confidential meeting limited to the leaders. Philippe Germain strongly emphasized that New Caledonia would be more actively involved in the PIF, drawing

on its privileged relations with the European Union.

Finally, on 30 October 2017, during the 39th session of UNESCO's General Conference in Paris, New Caledonia became a new associate member of the international organization (UNESCO 2017). This was the first time for the country to join a global international organization and also the first time for a French overseas territory to join UNESCO.

Despite international policy appearances, New Caledonia is still a part of France, so French political life has a strong influence on local events. In New Caledonia, there is a dual political calendar: the French national calendar, for elections in metropolitan France, which affects all French people living in the country, and the local one, for the provincial elections, which only involves New Caledonian citizens. During the French elections, political parties speak to all French citizens, while, during local elections, they only address New Caledonian citizens. As a result, political life can be complex and sometimes contradictory.

On 23 April and 7 May 2017, the French presidential election caused a surprise in France with the success of Emmanuel Macron. In the first round, in New Caledonia, Macron (leader of a new centrist party, *En Marche*) came in third with only 12.75 percent of the votes, behind François Fillon (*Les Républicains*, 31.13%) and Marine Le Pen (the far-right *Front National*, 29.09%). In the second round, Macron won 52.57 percent of the votes in New Caledonia versus 47.43 percent for his challenger Marine Le Pen. Philippe

Gomès (Calédonie Ensemble) called on people to vote for Macron, while Pierre Frogier (Les Républicains) spoke in favor of their adherents not voting for either Macron or Le Pen; Sonia Backès (Les Républicains calédoniens, a rebel faction of the party) did not give any instructions in the second round of the presidential election. On 11 and 18 June 2017, the French parliamentary elections quickly followed the presidential campaign. New Caledonia has two members of the French National Assembly and, as a result of gerrymandering in 1986, no pro-independence representative could be elected. The electorates had been changed to astutely mix the votes of people living in the urban conglomeration of Nouméa with the Kanak votes in the Loyalty Islands or the Northern Province. An indicator of the inconsistencies in political life was the Caledonian Union's refusal to take part in the French national legislative elections, despite the fact that Palika (Kanak Liberation Party) decided to participate. Therefore, only the anti-independence parties were involved. In the first constituency (the city of Nouméa and the Loyalty Islands), where Deputy Mayor Sonia Lagarde did not seek reelection due to holding multiple other offices, Philippe Dunoyer (Calédonie Ensemble) was elected with 59.15 percent of the votes against Sonia Backès (Les Républicains Calédoniens). In the second constituency (the suburbs of Nouméa and the main island, Grande Terre), Philippe Gomès (Calédonie Ensemble) was reelected with 54.95 percent of the votes against Louis Mapou (National Union for Independence–Palika). The latest agreement between

four anti-independence political movements boosted this double victory: Philippe Gomès (Calédonie Ensemble), Pierre Frogier (Le Rassemblement-Les Républicains), Gaël Yanno (former member of the French Parliament who leads the Mouvement Populaire Calédonien, a rebel faction of the party Le Rassemblement), and Pascal Vittori (Tous Calédoniens) signed “a joint statement for New Caledonia in France and in peace,” which sent Sonia Backès to the opposition. This strife between the anti-independence parties paved the way for a new government crisis.

Following the resignation of the political group Calédonie Ensemble from the government, as a result of the election of Philippe Dunoyer as member of the National Assembly, the New Caledonian collegial government itself had to resign. There was no other member on the reserve list to join the government. Thus, a new election of the government by Congress was mandatory. On 24 August 2017, the first meeting of the New Caledonia Congress determined the number of members of government, keeping it at 11. Six votes out of 11 were necessary to elect the president of government. On one side, there were 5 who had signed the joint statement, on the other side, there were 5 pro-independence members, and the eleventh member was Sonia Backès, who did not sign the joint statement. The situation remained deadlocked for three months until 1 December 2017, when the pro-independence parties finally gave their votes to the president, Philippe Germain, who was reelected with 10 votes out of 11. This happened just before the visit of the

French prime minister to New Caledonia. On 22 December 2017, the newly elected president made his general policy statement to Congress.

In March 2017, the French National Assembly Information Committee “on the future institutional framework for New Caledonia” made its last visit to New Caledonia prior to the parliamentary elections. The chairman was Dominique Bussereau (*Les Républicains*) and the rapporteur was René Dosière (*Parti Socialiste*), two men who know the country very well. One key event during this visit was the meeting with students at the University of New Caledonia, which was celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. On 28 March 2017, the committee submitted its report (*National Assembly of France 2017*), analyzing various possible futures for the country. This report will be very useful to the new elected successors, who will have to take charge of the next committee. On 3 October 2017, Manuel Valls, former prime minister of France, was elected as the new chairman of the committee, whose rapporteurs are now Christian Jacob (*Les Républicains*) and Yaël Braun-Pivet (*En Marche*), the newly elected chairman of the Legislation Committee of the National Assembly. In December, Dominique Bussereau, former chairman of the committee, and Jean-Jacques Urvoas, former minister of justice, came for a final visit to New Caledonia, having been invited by the University of New Caledonia to contribute to the symposium on the future institutional framework for New Caledonia (*University of New Caledonia 2017*).

The visit of the new French president, Emmanuel Macron, is awaited

in May 2018. Édouard Philippe, appointed French prime minister in April 2017, came to New Caledonia from 1 to 5 December. On 5 December 2017, Philippe gave an important speech before the New Caledonia Congress (*Government of France 2017*). He played down the impact of the referendum, calling it “a sidestep in the march toward dialogue.” He used the term “Caledonian people,” going beyond the terms of the *Nouméa Agreement*, which had recognized the “Kanak people” alongside the “French people,” sharing for a while the same nationality and joining together in “a common destiny.” He seemed to have borrowed the vocabulary from Member of the National Assembly Philippe Gomès. Philippe confirmed that, to implement the recommendations of the Signatory Committee of the *Nouméa Agreement* beginning in November 2017, the changes concerning enrollment to vote on the Organic Institutional Law will be effective in 2018.

Philippe initiated the establishment of a new restricted group, nicknamed the “Group of Ten,” which will have the responsibility of discussing the future. This Group of Ten has four pro-independence members: Roch Wamytan, Daniel Goa, Paul Néaoutyine, and Victor Tutugoro; and six anti-independence members: Philippe Gomès, Philippe Michel, Gaël Yanno, Sonia Backès, Thierry Santa, and Bernard Deladrière. Philippe also initiated the establishment of a second committee, named the “Group of the Wise,” which will “ensure [that] the campaign rhetorics won’t hurt the Caledonian society in its values, those coming from the Declaration

of the Rights of man and of Citizens, those coming from the customary Kanak society, those coming from the religious heritage and those from the preamble of the Nouméa Agreement.” This Group of the Wise is composed of the former mayors of Bourail, Nouméa, and Koumac, Taïeb Jean Pierre Aïfa, Jean Lèques, and Robert Frouin; Father Rock Api-kaoua; a Wallisian customary chief, Sosefo Falaeo; Deputy President of the Economic, Social, and Environmental Council Jean-Pierre Flotat; the president of the association sos sexual violence, Anne-Marie Mestre; the president of Human Rights League, Elie Poigoune; Marie-Claude Tjibaou, the widow of Jean-Marie Tjibaou; the former director of the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture, Octave Togna; the very first Kanak magistrate, Fote Trolue; and the former director of the Protestant Church School, Billy Wapotro.

MATHIAS CHAUCHAT

References

All websites accessed 20 March 2018.

- Caprais, Gilles. 2018. L'idée d'un report de la TGC divise syndicats et patrons. *Les Nouvelles-Calédoniennes*, 24 Jan. <http://www.lnc.nc/article/pays/politique/l-idee-d-un-report-de-la-tgc-divise-syndicats-et-patrons>
- Chauchat, Mathias. 2017. La Calédonie et sa réponse à la crise. In *Kanaky Nouvelle-Calédonie, situations décoloniales*, a special issue of *Revue Mouvements* 91 (2017/3): 46–54. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-mouvements-2017-3.htm>
- Delamarque, Myrtille. 2016a. A Nouméa, Manuel Valls s'engage aux côtés de la SLN.

L'Usine nouvelle, 29 April. <https://www.usinenouvelle.com/article/a-noumea-manuel-valls-s-engage-aux-cotes-de-la-sln.N389105>

———. 2016b. Après la SLN, l'Etat français vole au secours de Vale Nouvelle-Calédonie. *L'Usine nouvelle*, 8 Nov. <https://www.usinenouvelle.com/article/apres-la-sln-l-etat-francais-vole-au-secours-de-vale-nouvelle-caledonie.N461192>

———. 2016c. Crise dans le nickel calédonien. *L'Usine nouvelle*, 17 March. <https://www.usinenouvelle.com/article/crise-dans-le-nickel-caledonien.N382901>

Dussy, Dorothée. 2015. La mémoire kanak de Nouméa. In *En pays Kanak: Ethnologie, linguistique, archéologie, histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, edited by Alban Bensa and Isabelle Leblic, 147–168. Open online edition. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme. Original published in 2000.

Gorohouana, Samuel. 2017. Le coût des dépenses fiscales. Paper given at a symposium titled “La Nouvelle-Calédonie face à la crise des finances publiques,” 12–13 July, at the University of New Caledonia. <http://larje.univ-nc.nc/index.php/les-seminaires-et-conferences/colloques-et-journees-d-etudes/497-la-nouvelle-caledonie-face-a-la-crise-des-finances-publiques>

Government of France. 2017. Discours du premier ministre devant le congrès de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. <http://www.gouvernement.fr/partage/9799-discours-du-premier-ministre-devant-le-congres-de-nouvelle-caledonie>

Government of New Caledonia. 2016. La Calédonie membre associé de l'Organisation internationale de la francophonie. 28 Nov. <https://gouv.nc/actualites/28-11-2016/la-caledonie-membre-associe-de-lorganisation-internationale-de-la-francophonie>

———. 2017. La Calédonie au Forum des

Îles du Pacifique. 8 Sept. <https://gouv.nc/actualites/08-09-2017/la-caledonie-au-forum-des-iles-du-pacifique>

Moureaux, Caroline, with Isabelle Peltier. 2016. Intégration au Forum des Îles du Pacifique: Satisfaction pour Philippe Germain. La Première, 11 Sept. <https://la1ere.francetvinfo.fr/nouvellecaldonie/integration-au-forum-des-iles-du-pacifique-satisfaction-pour-philippe-germain-396145.html>

National Assembly of France. 2017. Rapport d'information 4596 sur l'avenir institutionnel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. 28 March. <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/rap-info/i4596.asp>

NC Presse. 2017a. L'État conforte la Calédonie sur la scène régionale. 20 March. https://www.ncpresse.nc/L-Etat-conforte-la-Caledonie-sur-la-scene-regionale_a6311.html

———. 2017b. La Calédonie aux Nations unies. 6 Oct. https://www.ncpresse.nc/La-Caledonie-aux-Nations-unies_a6684.html

———. 2017c. Le projet du FLNKS pour une Kanaky-Nouvelle-Calédonie souveraine. 2 Nov. https://www.ncpresse.nc/Le-projet-du-FLNKS-pour-une-Kanaky-Nouvelle-Caledonie-souveraine_a6742.html

Réné, Charlie. 2017. Marche à blanc de la TGC: C'est parti! Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, 3 April. <http://www.lnc.nc/article/pays/marche-a-blanc-de-la-tgc-c-est-parti>

UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 2017. Request for the Admission of New Caledonia as an Associate Member of UNESCO. 19 Oct. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002596/259629e.pdf>

University of New Caledonia. 2017. Colloque sur l'avenir institutionnel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Laboratoire de Recherches Juridique et Economique, 10 Nov. <http://larje.univ-nc.nc/index>

.php/15-analyses-arrets-decisions/droit-de-la-nouvelle-caledonie/501-colloque-sur-l-avenir-institutionnel-de-la-nouvelle-caledonie

Urvoas, Jean-Jacques. 2017. Nouvelle circulaire de politique pénale territoriale pour la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Direction Générale des Outre-Mer, 16 Jan. <https://documentation.outre-mer.gouv.fr/i-Record.htm?idlist=1&record=19134865124919520479>

Wéry, Claudine 2017. En Nouvelle-Calédonie, l'escalade de violence menace la paix. *Le Monde*, 13 Feb. http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2017/02/13/en-nouvelle-caledonie-l-escalade-de-violence-menace-la-paix_5078845_3224.html

PAPUA

Toward the end of 2017, during their annual meeting in Port Vila, Vanuatu, Papuan leaders elected new leaders for the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), who will serve the term of 2018–2021. There was also a significant change in the way they organize themselves. If the previous leadership was organized around the ULMWP secretary-general, suggesting the principle of first among equals, the new structure took on a more hierarchical shape. Benny Wenda is at the top of the pyramid as chair, with Octo Mote, the former secretary-general, as deputy; the position of secretary-general is now held by Rex Rumakiek. Jacob Rumbiak is tasked with the spokesperson role. The composition of personnel, however, remains largely the same. New faces are Paula Makabory as treasurer and Oridek Ap as an executive member; both are