

Political Reviews

*Micronesia in Review: Issues and Events, 1 July 2015
to 30 June 2016*

MICHAEL LUJAN BEVACQUA, LANDISANG L KOTARO,
MONICA C LABRIOLA, CLEMENT YOW MULALAP

*Polynesia in Review: Issues and Events, 1 July 2015
to 30 June 2016*

PETER CLEGG, LORENZ GONSCHOR, MARGARET MUTU,
CHRISTINA NEWPORT, STEVEN RATUVA,
FORREST WADE YOUNG

The Contemporary Pacific, Volume 29, Number 1, 93–188
© 2017 by University of Hawai'i Press

Development Report, 2014 Global Governance and Policy Space for Development. New York: United Nations.

FRENCH POLYNESIA

In the often-turbulent recent political history of French Polynesia, the year under review was a relatively calm one. Against all odds, Edouard Fritch consolidated his power as the country's president, transforming his tenuous tenure in office into one based on a comparatively solid majority, and uniting under his leadership all political forces that oppose both independence and Fritch's predecessor Gaston Flosse. Meanwhile, for the first time in over a decade, the country hosted a French presidential visit, which made some hopeful impressions, but at the same time the French government continues to stubbornly refuse to engage with United Nations institutions to work with them toward the country's decolonization.

The review period started with yet another unfortunate change in the local media landscape. In August 2015, at the end of the summer break (as one of its many anachronistic colonial absurdities, French Polynesia follows the French metropolitan calendar and is thus the only country in the southern hemisphere to have its long "summer vacation" during the pleasant austral winter and not during the very hot season at the beginning of the year), the formerly monthly news magazine *Tahiti Pacifique* (TPM) became a weekly, after having been sold by its founder and editor Alex W du Prel to local Chinese business tycoon Albert Moux, whose company

Fenua Communication already owns the weekday newspaper *Tahiti-Infos*. Unsurprisingly this change in ownership transformed TPM, once feared by local oligarchs for its investigative reporting and scathing editorials, into a more docile publication. While du Prel continues to write good editorials occasionally and the magazine still contains investigative articles, the publication has clearly become more mainstream and now contains a lot of trivia, missing some of the intellectual depth of the old monthly edition. Also, for outsiders, the both reliable and manageable chronicle of important political and social events that TPM provided is being missed.

What remained the dominant topic in local politics for the first half of the review period, however, was the ongoing power struggle between President Edouard Fritch and his predecessor, Gaston Flosse, until it was essentially won by the former in early 2016. In September 2014, when Flosse was removed from office because of a definitive conviction in a corruption case, his longtime confidant and former son-in-law Fritch had routinely taken over the presidency with the understanding that Flosse would continue to hold the reins of power from behind the scenes. Fritch, however, developed his own taste for political power, and tensions between the two soon become apparent. In May 2015, the majority party *Tahoeraa Huiraatira* split when Fritch formed his own caucus in the local assembly named *Tapura Huiraatira*, and on Flosse's order all members of the new formation were expelled from *Tahoeraa*. Fritch subsequently formed a minority coalition government with

the small anti-independence opposition party A Tia Porinetia (ATP), while Flosse's "rump-Tahoeraa" several times attempted to block the government by withholding support in critical budgetary votes. However, Flosse failed in efforts to enlist the support of the pro-independence Union Pour La Démocratie (UPLD), which would have been necessary to create a new majority and overthrow Fritch in a no-confidence vote.

Meanwhile, the process of formally splitting Tahoeraa into two mutually hostile organizations was far from over, as both factions attempted to gain control over the party as a whole. After an unsuccessful attempt by Flosse to oust Fritch from Tahoeraa, in which he continued to hold the vice presidency, in mid-August 2015, Fritch fought back and filed a complaint with the local courts asking them to declare Flosse removed from the party's leadership, arguing that as a convicted felon he cannot be Tahoeraa's chairman according to the party's statutes (*TI*, 15 Aug 2015).

The complaint dragged along through the notoriously slow and inefficient court system and hearings were several times postponed (*TI*, 12 Oct 2015), but it was soon rendered obsolete by more solid political maneuvers to consolidate Fritch's power outside of Tahoeraa. By mid-November, Assembly Speaker Marcel Tuihani, second-in-command within the Flosse loyalist "rump-Tahoeraa," opined in an interview in *Tahiti Pacifique* that between Fritch and his party, "reconciliation was no longer conceivable" (*TPM*, 13 Nov 2015).

Following one of the most basic "natural laws" of local politics—

namely, that assembly backbenchers are tempted to cross the floor toward whichever political formation is in power if some types of advantages or minor government positions are offered to them or their family members—Fritch was able to extend his majority throughout the remainder of the year. Starting off with 16 members in June, over the following months Tapura Huiraatira was able to woo 5 more Tahoeraa members into turning their back on Flosse and joining them. Finally, in the first week of December, even one of UPLD's members, Joëlle Frébault of the Marquesas Islands, defected to the government side, which, including the 8 seats of Tapura's coalition partner ATP, now added up to 29 seats—a bare but workable majority that no longer necessitated any tradeoffs to gain UPLD's tacit support in passing laws or making budgetary appropriations. Consequently, on 9 December Tapura and ATP merged into a common caucus named *Rassemblement pour une Majorité Autonomiste* (*autonomiste* in local political discourse meaning in support of the current political system but opposed to independence; *TI*, 7 Dec 2015; *DT*, 9 Dec 2015).

As the next step, Fritch and ATP leader Teva Rohfritsch prepared the merger of the parties themselves, implying that the president had definitively given up any attempts to wrest control over Tahoeraa from Flosse. As Fritch's group and ATP were essentially identical in terms of their platforms—opposing both Flosse and independence—the merger was less an issue of harmonizing political ideas than of trading offices and posts within the hierarchy of the new

party. Finally, on 20 February 2016, the merger was formalized during a founding convention in the Aorai Tini Hau congress hall in Pirae, Fritch's home municipality, where he is the mayor. Attended by at least 8,000 people, the convention confirmed the new party's name as Tapura Huiraatira, its logo and color (red), as well as its basic platform. The party claims to stand for more transparency and honesty in politics and to support innovation and reform (*TI*, 20 Feb 2016).

While the latter sounds good, it seems rather doubtful whether the party seriously stands for these values, as Fritch's tactics of majority formation in the assembly are virtually indistinguishable from those of earlier majorities under former presidents Flosse, Temaru, and Tong Sang. Furthermore, the leading team of Tapura Huiraatira consists almost exclusively of former Tahoeraa cadres—unsurprisingly so, since just like Tapura, ATP and its predecessor parties are virtually all earlier splits from Tahoeraa arising from personal differences with Flosse. A truly innovative political movement that seriously aims at political reforms has been needed for many years but currently seems nowhere in sight.

But Fritch's success in wresting power from Flosse should not be misinterpreted as a definitive defeat of Tahoeraa, as the "Old Lion" and his party are far from having sunk into obscurity. With eighteen members, Tahoeraa still has the second largest caucus in the assembly, and in Faaa on 28 November, Tahoeraa held its party convention, which was also well attended by thousands of delegates (*DT*, 30 Nov 2015). With his crude but electorally successful populist

discourse appealing to nostalgia of the "good old times" when Flosse was president (occasionally laced with Tahitian nationalist and anticolonial rhetoric to woo voters who would otherwise support UPLD), the octogenarian but vital Flosse might well have yet another comeback in the next elections in 2018.

On the other hand, the more consistently anticolonial, "sovereignist" UPLD (the term *independence* having been increasingly replaced by *sovereignty* in their discourse) is now only the third-ranked political force, holding ten assembly seats. But despite having lost significant numbers of votes in the last territorial election as well as several municipalities in the town council elections that followed, UPLD still has large numbers of core supporters, among rural and working-class Tahitians as well as urban intellectuals, along with an unbreakable, broad popular majority in the city of Faaa, the country's largest municipality, where Temaru has been mayor since 1983. The triumph of having succeeded in mobilizing the majority of UN member states to the country's reinscription on the list of non-self-governing territories (NSGTs) in 2013 was certainly no small achievement and has helped to consolidate support among the party's followers. While many youths see UPLD as just as dominated by a fossilized oligarchy of old-generation political leaders as the pro-French parties, there are also some rising stars within the sovereignist movement, including Moetai Brotherson, a young intellectual gaining prominence as a confidant and possible successor to Oscar Temaru.

In all these political developments,

women play an increasingly important role, a role that was certainly never as pronounced during the last century and a half or so. As in other Eastern Polynesian societies, women in leadership positions were quite prevalent during the nineteenth century in several of the islands that are now part of French Polynesia. Queen Pomare IV of Tahiti (who reigned 1827–1877) is quite well known, but many of the monarchs of the smaller kingdoms in the Leeward and Austral Islands prior to their colonization by France were female as well (Gunson 1987). While in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries all these monarchies were formally dissolved and replaced with the patriarchic colonial regime of France, some aspects survived far into the 1900s, and matriarchs of prominent local families, usually of chiefly descent, retained influence in local politics throughout the twentieth century. One such example was Tuianu Le Gayic (1922–1995), a descendant of the Teva chiefly family, who as mayor of Papeete on Tahiti's southern coast during most of the 1980s and 1990s was one of the first women to lead a local municipality. Nonetheless, such public political careers were the exception for women, and electoral politics on the territorial level remained fairly exclusively men's domain until the turn of the twenty-first century.

In 2000, however, the French national legislature passed a gender parity law that radically changed that situation. From that year on, all party lists for the election of assembly members were required to alternate between male and female candidates (Government of France 2000), based on an older law requiring the same for

French regional elections. As French Polynesia has an electoral system of proportional representation, the new law resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of female assembly members, from only a few to almost 50 percent after the 2001 election, the first conducted under the new law. That year, the new assembly also elected its first female speaker, Lucette Taero (Tahoeraa, in office 2001–2004).

Of course, being enforced by a law from the outside, the new situation did not at first correspond to real distributions of power, and a male candidate headed virtually every party list in 2001. With the small number of overall seats in the assembly and the fragmentation of the political landscape, this meant that the actual proportion of women in the assembly was still significantly less than half. In the long run, however, a trickle-down effect could be observed, and the gender parity law has contributed to raising the profile of female participation in politics. For the 2004 elections, a significant number of party lists had female head candidates, and there have been two small political parties created and led by women—Nicole Bouteau's *No Oe E Te Nunaa*, and Sandra Levy-Agami's *Te Mana Toa*—both founded in the first decade of this century and at one point each holding one assembly seat. Since the early 2000s, there has also been an increase in the number of municipalities headed by female mayors. However, as in most other Pacific Island societies, top leadership positions are still difficult for women to achieve, and none of the major political parties has yet had a chairwoman or a female

candidate for the country's presidency. Even Taero, who was not very popular as assembly Speaker, did not pursue a career of higher political offices afterward, and so far all her successors as Speaker have been male.

While gender parity is far from achieved, the country faces a variety of other statistical challenges as well. According to the most recent census, there are more than 271,000 inhabitants (*TI*, 31 Aug 2015). This figure makes one worry about the carrying capacity of the islands—less so on the outer islands, but certainly on Tahiti, where about two-thirds of the population lives. While the return of outer-island people from urban Tahiti to their home archipelagos has been increasing, the process of urbanization of more and more parts of the coastal plain of the main island as well as some of its valleys and ridges is continuing as well. Since fertility rates have lowered to an average of fewer than two children per woman, the ongoing population increase (up from about 250,000 a decade ago) is most likely due to increasing French immigration, even though the statistics say that more people are leaving the territory than moving in. The absence of ethnic statistics since 1988 makes it hard to clarify, but it appears the out-migrants are mainly indigenous Tahitians while the immigrants are chiefly French. In comparison, independent or fully self-governing Polynesian countries like Sāmoa or the Cook Islands have either a stable or a decreasing population, because out-migration of Islanders there is balanced only by natural growth of the domestic population and not by any significant foreign immigration. The worries

that have been expressed by pro-independence activists for many years about the country being “invaded” by French settlers are thus most likely justified to some degree.

Population increases on comparatively small islands lead to an increased scarcity of land, and thus inevitably to conflicts about land titles. For many years, the local court has been inundated with land cases, many of which take years or decades to be resolved, if at all. In the hope of speeding up some of these cases, the French Ministry of Justice announced the creation of a separate land court in January 2015, after the idea had been contemplated for quite a while (*TI*, 12 Jan 2015). Later in 2015, it became clear that this time the land court was indeed a serious project, as the French state acquired the property of the former psychiatric hospital complex at Vaiami in western Papeete (*TI*, 23 June 2015), and later it was officially announced that the land court would be headquartered there (*TI*, 15 Sept 2015). Construction and remodeling is to begin in September 2016 and the court is to be operational in early 2017.

The land court is a controversial project, however, since many Tahitian land rights activists dispute whether French law and French courts have jurisdiction over the matter in the first place. Indeed, when King Pomare V and several district chiefs of Tahiti signed the annexation agreement between the Kingdom of Tahiti and France in 1880, a clause explicitly exempted land matters from the transfer of authority and reserved these to be judged by Tahitian courts. Unsurprisingly, in reaction to the land

court announcement, heir apparent of the Pomare dynasty Teriihinoiatua Joinville Pomare, speaking for many like-minded activists, reiterated his long-standing demand for the creation of customary councils to deal with land disputes under Tahitian customary law instead (TI, 13 Jan 2015).

The intrusion of French colonial legislation into local society and its harmful effect on Polynesian ways of living was nowhere as evident as in a French metropolitan law made applicable to the country in August 2015. This law, which prohibits payments in cash over 119,300 CFP francs (US\$1,115) immediately created a variety of problems on the outer islands, where most people have no bank accounts—as on many of the smaller islands there is no bank—and receive their wages or salaries in cash, which they keep at home. These people typically need to pay more than 119,300 CFP francs in cash occasionally, for example, to purchase larger items such as vehicles, agricultural and fishing machinery, or boats, or to pay for their repair (TI, 31 Aug 2015). Ostensibly passed as a measure against money laundering, the law might make some sense in France, but it clearly is an absurdity in French Polynesia, or any Pacific country with small outer islands, for that matter.

Another example of the effects of colonial policies (both French and local) is the negligent way the authorities deal with the new mosquito-borne viral diseases that increasingly ravage the Pacific Islands. Dengue fever, the oldest of those, coming to the country in repeated epidemics since the 1980s, has been researched for several decades, and in 2015 a vaccination

finally became available. The vaccine has been authorized in Mexico, but not yet in French Polynesia, because the French permit for the product is still pending (TI, 9 Dec 2015). Prevention of a tropical disease like dengue is a low priority for French health bureaucrats, even though it is a high priority for the tropical overseas territories, which once again get the short end of the deal.

One of the more recently introduced mosquito-borne infections, the Zika virus, became a global pandemic in 2015–2016, to the point of raising concerns at the United Nations and the World Health Organization. When the epidemic hit French Polynesia in 2013–2014, it was considered rather harmless compared to dengue and to chikungunya, the other new virus, as symptoms were milder and no fatalities occurred. But later a correlation was established between an unusually high occurrence of microcephaly (smaller-than-normal heads) among babies born during the French Polynesia Zika epidemic, which alerted health authorities worldwide to the danger of the disease (*Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, 2 Feb 2016).

Overall, with the repeated epidemics and their often-fatal effects, the continuous laxity and ineffectiveness of mosquito eradication programs and other protective measures in the country is astonishing. Governmental authorities are not the only ones to blame. To this day, in contrast to several other Pacific Island countries, barely any house in Tahiti, even of wealthier people who could easily afford it, is equipped with screens in its doors and windows.

In February 2016, attention turned

again to the uneasy relationship between Papeete and Paris, as French President François Hollande visited the country for several days, the first French head of state to do so since Jacques Chirac in 2003. Hollande has had a rather lukewarm relationship with Papeete's political class. The local pro-French leaders are allied with Hollande's right-wing opponents, and he had betrayed the local allies of his French Socialist Party, the pro-independence Tavini Huiraatira party (which is the main component of UPLD) by opposing their ultimately successful bid for reinscription on the UN decolonization list despite having previously promised in writing to support it.

During his visit, however, Hollande sent out two important positive signals. Very significant was his gesture to place a wreath on the tomb of Pouvanaa a Oopa (1895–1977), the country's early nationalist leader who had been imprisoned on trumped-up charges by the French colonial administration in the 1950s and whose descendants have repeatedly asked for a formal rescinding of his unjust criminal conviction. Hollande's act was all the more significant as he breached the normal order of protocol by honoring Pouvanaa first, before laying another wreath at the cenotaph in downtown Papeete to honor the local soldiers fallen in French wars (*TI*, 22 February 2016).

Second, Hollande acted in stark contrast to his predecessors by being responsive to the demands made on him by representatives of Moruroa e Tatou and other nuclear-test-victim associations. Without reservation, he admitted to the heavy environmental,

sanitary, social, and economic consequences of the atomic weapons tests conducted in the territory from 1966 to 1996, and he agreed that France owed the country redress for these consequences. In his speech, Hollande also admitted that the 2010 Morin Law providing for the compensation of nuclear-test victims had been virtually of no consequence, as only very few individuals have actually received compensation, and he announced that the law would be modified by decree within the current year in order to enable all victims of radiation-caused health problems to receive appropriate compensation. Furthermore, the president announced the appropriation of financial and technical resources to continue the cleanup of irradiated or otherwise polluted former test sites and military support bases, as well as the creation of an information and documentation center on the tests in Tahiti and French government subsidies for the oncology section of the territorial hospital in Taaone in Pirae so that radiation-induced cancer patients can be treated locally (*DT*, 23 Feb 2016).

Nonetheless, the president's speech also contained inaccuracies about Tahiti's history, since Hollande grossly exaggerated the historical depth of the islands' political ties to France, claiming that "in the eighteenth century the destiny of your people became united with that of France" (*TI*, 26 Feb 2016). In fact, the first islands of what is today French Polynesia were not taken into possession by France until 1842, and it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that all its islands came under French rule.

The Moruroa e Tatou associa-

tion remained skeptical (*TI*, 22 Feb 2015), since as of August 2016 the promised modification of the Morin Law has yet to be enacted. Nonetheless, Hollande's plans found fertile soil in Fritch's government. After more detailed discussion with Paris, Fritch announced in early June that the country's government would make a formal agreement with Paris before the end of 2016 to redefine mutual relations, which he dubbed the "Papeete Accords" in the style of the 1998 "Nouméa Accords" of New Caledonia. A central point of these accords will be a formal recognition of the damages done by nuclear-weapons testing and of France's obligations to provide redress, as Hollande outlined in his February speech. Furthermore, the accords are to contain pledges by Paris to provide for the improvement of the country's infrastructure and telecommunications systems, as well as for the support of Polynesian culture. The candidacy of the classical Polynesian temple complex of Marae Taputapuatea on Raiatea to be listed as a world heritage site with UNESCO is to be officially promoted by France. Generally, all areas in which the country lags behind France in socio-economic terms are to be gradually raised to French standards—a policy that resonates with Hollande's program to eliminate inequalities between the "mother country" and the overseas territories (*TI*, 9 June 2016).

The planned accords are clearly part of Fritch's grand strategy of leaving a permanent mark on the political landscape and thereby raising his profile as a local statesman, stepping out of the shadow of his predecessors Flosse and Temaru,

respectively the "father figures" of the "autonomist" and "pro-independence" political ideologies and now advocates of a further political evolution toward either free association (Flosse) or full sovereignty (Temaru). Where Fritch's and Hollande's interests coalesce is that both would like to create a "new deal" that looks good but does not call into question the current political framework of French Polynesia being an overseas political entity within the French Republic. Both hope that such a "deal" could be used in making a claim to the United Nations that the 2013 reinscription as a non-self-governing territory was unnecessary.

As part of this master plan, Fritch has also been very active in regional politics, especially within the Polynesian Leaders Group (PLG), in which he is emerging as the second-most important leader after Sāmoa Prime Minister and PLG founder Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi. In July 2015, Fritch hosted a special PLG meeting in Raiatea on Marae Taputapuatea itself, where the PLG leaders solemnly signed the Taputapuatea Declaration on Climate Change—a significant contribution to raising Fritch's profile in the region (*RNZI*, 16 July 2015). Later during the review period, Fritch traveled to Sāmoa to sign partnership agreements, mainly concerning tourism development (*Samoa Observer*, 24 April 2016), and made a demand to the Pacific Islands Forum demanding full membership for French Polynesia, for which he apparently received support from New Zealand (*PIR*, 3 May, 26 May 2016). The signing of the Taputapuatea declaration was followed up by another PLG meeting

in Papeete in late June 2016 (PIR, 29 June 2016).

Between Hollande's new commitment to provide redress for past wrongs and to set relations between Paris and Papeete on a new course, and Fritch's increasingly proactive regional diplomacy, one could indeed get the impression that the country is on a positive postcolonial trajectory. However, a deeper analysis shows that this is not so, and any resemblance to the Nouméa Accords for New Caledonia is symbolic at the most. Unlike the latter, the planned Papeete Accords would not include any upgrade in the degree of self-government granted to the country government. Second, unlike in New Caledonia, there is no attempt to reach a consensus among the main political parties of French Polynesia, but instead there would merely be a convention between Paris and the majority of the day in the Papeete assembly. Finally, there is no timeline leading to a self-determination referendum on the political status of the territory.

Unsurprisingly, institutions of the United Nations and UN-affiliated experts have been far from impressed by France's efforts in dealing with the territory, or rather with the absence of such efforts. During its seventieth session, the UN General Assembly once more noted France's lack of cooperation with UN authorities regarding the territory, French Polynesia being for the second time in a row the only one of the seventeen territories on the NSGT list about which the administrative power refused to transmit information as obligated under article 73e of the UN charter (United Nations 2015b). This prompted the

General Assembly to adopt another resolution reminding administrative powers to submit the information requested on their respective NSGTs without delay (United Nations 2015a). Before the annual meeting of the UN Decolonization Committee on 24 June, international decolonization expert Carlyle Corbin testified that French Polynesia's so-called "autonomy does not meet international standards" (OTR, 30 June 2016), echoing similarly critical testimonies presented to the committee by UPLD representatives Richard Ariihau Tuheiaiva and Moetai Brotherson (OTR, 27 June, 28 June 2016).

A month earlier, new French High Commissioner René Bidal assumed office, succeeding Lionel Beffre (*TI*, 30 May 2016). While the replacement of the high commissioner every few years is routine, it is indeed remarkable that since 1977, when the title of the French government's representative was changed from governor to high commissioner, almost all officeholders have been white metropolitan Frenchmen, the one exception being a white metropolitan woman in the early 2000s. If indeed Hollande's government is insisting on full equality of the overseas territories within the French Republic, one might wonder why his government is not appointing a person of color from one of the other overseas territories to this position.

Given all these pieces of evidence, decolonization indeed still has a long way to go in French Polynesia. Yet, like others in the Pacific, the country is in a process of transition in this regard, as there has been an increased interest in looking back on and appraising the colonial past, from

the nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth—an assessment enlarged on in a recently published book by Tahiti-based French anthropologist and political scientist Bruno Saura (2015; *TPM*, 11 Dec 2015).

Several important people joined the ancestors during the review period. In early December 2015, Jacques-Denis Drollet passed away at age ninety-two. Through the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, Drollet was an important local political figure in Pouvanaa's Rassemblement Démocratique des Populations Tahitiennes party, although he later joined other local politicians in opportunistic switches of allegiance. He also became known to the tabloid press as the father of Hollywood actor Marlon Brando's son-in-law, who was murdered by one of Brando's sons in the 1990s (*TPM*, 11 Dec 2015). Another important twentieth-century Tahitian politician from Pouvanaa's entourage, Daniel Millaud, died on 21 June at age eighty-seven. Millaud had succeeded Pouvanaa as French Polynesia's senator in Paris and held the Senate seat from 1977 until succeeded by Gaston Flosse in 1998 (*TI*, 23 June 2016).

Among the deceased was also an important descendant of Tahitian royalty and, to return to the theme of this year's reviews, a powerful female community leader. On 31 December 2015, Geneviève Moeterauri Tetupaia i Hauviri Salmon-Pomare departed this world at the age of ninety-one. The princess was the great-great-granddaughter of Queen Pomare IV and the adopted granddaughter of Queen Marau, King Pomare V's consort. With many local political leaders descendants of the old arii (chiefly) class, the funeral was prominently

attended by both Oscar Temaru and Senator Lana Tetuanui of the pro-Fritch camp (*TI*, 5 Jan 2016).

LORENZ GONSCHOR

References

- DT, *La Dépêche de Tahiti*. Daily. Tahiti. <http://www.ladepeche.pf>
- Government of France. 2000. Loi organique no 2000-612 du 4 juillet 2000 tendant à favoriser l'égal accès des femmes et des hommes aux mandats de membre des assemblées de province et du congrès de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, de l'assemblée de la Polynésie française et de l'assemblée territoriale des îles Wallis-et-Futuna [Organic Law No. 2000-612 of 4 July 2000 to facilitate equal access by women and men to the positions of provincial assembly and congress member of New Caledonia, of assembly member of French Polynesia, and of territorial assembly member of Wallis and Futuna] <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000216538&categorieLien=i> [accessed 24 July 2016]
- Gunson, Neil. 1987. Sacred Women Chiefs and Female "Headmen" in Polynesian History. *The Journal of Pacific History* 22 (3): 139-171.
- Honolulu Star-Advertiser. Daily. Honolulu. <http://staradvertiser.com>
- OTR, Overseas Territories Review. Blog. <http://overseasreview.blogspot.com>
- PIR, Pacific Islands Report. Daily Internet news. Honolulu. <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport>
- RNZI, Radio New Zealand International. Daily radio and Internet news. Wellington. <http://www.rnzi.com>
- Samoa Observer. Daily. Apia. <http://www.samoobserver.ws>
- Saura, Bruno. 2015. *Histoire et mémoire*

des temps coloniaux en Polynésie française. Pirae, Tahiti: Editions Au Vent des Iles.

TI, *Tahiti Infos*. Weekday newspaper and Internet news. Tahiti. <http://www.tahiti-infos.com>

TPM, *Tahiti-Pacifique Magazine*. Formerly monthly; weekly from August 2015. Tahiti. <http://www.tahiti-pacifique.com>

United Nations. 2015a. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 2015. A/RES/70/94. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/94 [accessed 27 Sept 2016]

———. 2015b. Question of French Polynesia. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December. UN General Assembly, 70th session. A/RES/70/100. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/100 [accessed 27 Sept 2016]

MĀORI ISSUES

Over the past year we lost a number of leaders who spent their lives fighting for justice for Māori. In September 2015, Lady Emily Latimer of Whakatōhea passed away. She was a staunch supporter of Māori in her work with the Māori Women's Welfare League and Māori Wardens and was a tireless supporter of her husband, Sir Graham Latimer, who died nine months after his wife in June 2016; he had chaired the New Zealand Māori Council for many years. September 2015 was a particularly sad month. Two of our best-known clay artists, Manos Nathan and Colleen Waata Ulrich, passed away within a

fortnight of each other. Of Te Rōroa, Ngāpuhi, and Ngāti Whātua, Manos had an extensive background in woodcarving and sculpture, having carved the meeting house of his Matatina Marae in Waipoua Forest (Tamati-Quennell 2015). Colleen, of Te Popoto o Ngāpuhi ki Kaipara and Te Rarawa, was world renowned for her clay work, which has been exhibited throughout New Zealand and in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada (Tamati-Quennell 2015; Creative New Zealand 2015). Te Rarawa lost a greatly loved leader, Gloria Herbert. She was the chair of their iwi authority, served on the Waitangi Tribunal, and was well known as being caring and gentle but also very determined. Ngāreta Mete Jones of Te Rarawa was a lifelong worker for change for Māori. She was one of the founders of Kawariki, the movement that brought out a new generation of northern youth in the 1980s to protest the Crown's failure to honor Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori-language treaty between Māori and the queen of England (Waatea News 2015b). Waereti Pōpata (Walters) of Te Paatu, Ngāti Kahu, was a fearless Māori rights advocate and one of the first Māori community health workers.

In November 2015, we lost Dr Bruce Gregory of Ngāti Te Ao, Te Rarawa. He was the member of Parliament (MP) for Northern Māori from 1980 until 1993. He dedicated his life to Māori health and the sovereignty of his hapū (group of extended families) (Collins 2015b). In January 2016, it was Andy Sarich of Ngāpuhi. He was dedicated to the retention of the Māori language in Te Taitokerau (the