

Political Reviews

*Micronesia in Review: Issues and Events, 1 July 2013
to 30 June 2014*

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RAPA NUI

Rapa Nui decolonization politics during the review period have been consistent on the island and in Chilean state and international arenas. Highlights include: the reelection of Leviante Araki as president of Parlamento Rapa Nui in August; community marches for decolonization in September; political engagement against state plans to privatize and develop the Rapa Nui island territory of Fundo Vaitea; and advocacy by Santi Hitorangi for reenlistment on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories (NSGTs) during the 13th annual UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in May 2014.

Initially, there were four candidates running for president of Parlamento Rapa Nui: Mario Tuki, Ioni Tuki, Petero Cardinali, and Leviante Araki (the incumbent). However, as Ioni Tuki dropped out to focus on family responsibilities and Mario Tuki canceled his candidacy to concentrate on his work as a member of Easter Island Development Commission (CODEIPA), Petero Cardinali and Leviante Araki ultimately became the only two candidates. Public dialogues between the two candidates on Radio Manukena Rapa Nui, moderated by Joel Huckle (a leading member of Parlamento Rapa Nui), did not reveal significant differences between Araki and Cardinali on major social and political issues. Candidate answers to questions that Huckle posed about immigration—a problem the past three political reviews have highlighted as a focal concern of the community—stressed the value of continuing to “haito te me’e” (measure the thing), in

other words, continuing to study the actual extent of the problem. But both candidates also agreed that immigration had to be stopped. Cardinali stated that, ultimately, “He oho tātou, he ture ki te gobierno Tire, he hakapuru te me’e ‘i runga o te henua nei” (We go fight the Chilean government, and close this thing on this island). Araki similarly stated, “Ka puru te me’e; te me’e hanga!” (Close the thing [immigration]; [this is] the thing desired). In response to questions about the increasing problems of waste and pollution on the island from unsustainable tourism, both supported added regulation and continued study of the problem, stressing that current policies administered by Mayor Petero Edmunds were failing the island.

While the candidates clearly agreed on the basics of the substantive issues, there were subtle—yet critical—differences in their political philosophies. In response to questions about what generally the candidates should work toward, Cardinali stated in broad philosophical terms: “Ta’aku pahono mo te me’e nei, he ma’u te henua nei a runga, mai mu’a ‘ā ki te hora nei. Te anga nei, he hakatitika te hora nei; ka oho mai ‘ā te ‘ara. Tō matou hā’ū’ū te anga nei, ma’u a runga” (My answer to this, is to lead the island, from its past to its present. The job now is to make things straight; to bring forth our awakening. This work is cooperative work to lead). Araki, in contrast, articulated his goals in a more specific formal political register: “Ta’aku anga mo anga, he ma’u te Rapa Nui. He inscribe mo te me’e decolonización. Ka tahi” (My job is to work to lead the Rapa Nui. The number one thing is to inscribe decolonization). Araki,

in other words, enunciates his primary goal as not simply leading Rapa Nui or helping its cultural awakening but also leading processes for official political decolonization, starting with inscription on the UN NSGT list.

As leaders met to organize the logistics for the elections, they discussed broader aspects of some of the practices Parlamento Rapa Nui identified as part of “me’e decolonización” (decolonization things). Meetings emphasizing me’e decolonización involved such matters as the following: contesting the Chilean government’s desire to expand its control of Rapa Nui by administering its marine resources and reserves in addition to lands, all of which members see as violating Rapa Nui rights to self-determination; writing letters to Bolivian President Evo Morales to inform him of the ongoing colonial condition of Rapa Nui and to request information about the Bolivian International Court of Justice; and continuing correspondence with Oscar Temaru and other Mā’ohi leaders regarding how French Polynesia was inscribed on the UN NSGT list—a topic publicized in local island media (*MV*, July 2013). In their meetings, Parlamento Rapa Nui members also discussed me’e decolonización in terms of a general concern with the continued colonization of their island and other Pacific Island worlds. Parlamento Rapa Nui members believe Rapa Nui and other Pacific Island nations are victims of international discrimination and injustice; they believe they should have the opportunity to decolonize and exercise self-determination like the postcolonial nations of Africa and Asia.

In July and August 2013, commu-

nity politics concentrated on organizing elections for the president of Parlamento Rapa Nui and discussing the official listing of Rapa Nui among the UN NSGTs. Logistical preparations for the 4 August 2013 election were organized in multiple weekly meetings by one dozen to two dozen leaders of Parlamento Rapa Nui during each week of July. At meetings, leaders discussed and developed materials and methods for registering voters and collecting and counting votes. Supervisory and organizational responsibilities were allocated among members: making vote cards, organizing voting rooms, checking identification, monitoring voting, and so on. Public announcements of the election were coordinated on the radio and local television, and fliers were distributed to key social groups, municipal institutions, and in central locations throughout the town of Hanga Roa. Written correspondence with the mayor and governor authorized holding the elections at the local public school, with the support of Chilean police to manage traffic problems.

On Sunday morning, 4 August 2013, Parlamento Rapa Nui leaders raised the Reimiro flags of the Rapa Nui nation outside the Chilean-administered public school, Lorenzo Baeza Vega, in Hanga Roa. Ma'eua Ika, a local journalist documenting the events, characterized the election as illustrating the democratic "transparency" of Parlamento Rapa Nui, and voters repeatedly expressed the view that the process was very well organized. Following an identification check, voters entered private booths in gender-segregated rooms to inscribe their votes for either Araki

or Cardinali. Voters then placed their folded slips in locked boxes and signed their names in a supervised log book, registering who cast votes among the approximately 1,800 registered Rapa Nui voters. Joel Huckle coordinated a process of vote certification by international observers from Argentina, France, and the United States as well as Chilean attorneys, as the votes were publicly counted after the elections closed Sunday evening.

Ultimately, Araki was reelected president for the next four years, having received 250 votes compared to 68 for Cardinali. Though the numbers fell short of the total possible votes, local journalist Moises Hereverí emphasized that key leaders participated. He stated, "I tu'u rō atu te nu'u o te Mata o te Rapa Nui" (The people that lead the Rapa Nui clans came [to vote]) (*Tāpura Re'o*, Aug 2013). As one of the international observers, I was impressed by the diversity of voters, including not only elder leaders but also significant numbers of youth and women. At least 122 votes by women were registered, compared to 160 votes registered by men (36 votes were registered under a booth for the elderly that was not distinguished by gender). Moreover, as the numbers resemble the results of another important election discussed below, this may be more or less the kind of turnout one can expect currently in Rapa Nui elections. On Monday, hundreds of Rapa Nui gathered to hear Araki's acceptance speech and celebrate his election with Reimiro flags, traditional songs, and a feast prepared from an umu (a Polynesian underground oven) in an inauguration ceremony staged confrontationally in front of the office

of the island governor, who is colonially selected by the Chilean president rather than the Rapa Nui people.

Regarding the significance of the election, Erity Teave Hey, a regular representative of Parlamento Rapa Nui at the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and other international forums, emphasized that the votes demonstrate that Rapa Nui people have “not only consciousness, but conviction, decision, and vision for the future of the Rapa Nui children.” The elections, for her, signify that Rapa Nui people will continue the process of “self-determination, decolonization, and demilitarization; this is basically the right for freedom.” President Araki stressed that the elections were an “important historic moment,” as they mark the first time the Rapa Nui people have democratically elected the president of the organization. Araki sees the current goals of the organization as centered on work that will facilitate the development of “Rapa Nui based laws” for the administration of island resources and the Rapa Nui nation. Concurrent with the meetings and preparations for the election, over twenty Rapa Nui leaders from many of the leading *hua‘ai* (extended families, clans) and organizations, including Parlamento Rapa Nui members, met weekly in a private forum independent of Parlamento Rapa Nui in July and August to discuss and learn about Rapa Nui opportunities for decolonization at the United Nations. Coordinating discussion with UN decolonization materials gathered by Santi Hitorangi, a Parlamento Rapa Nui member based in New York and longtime UN representative of Rapa Nui, meetings

focused on the importance of joining the UN list of NSGTs and organizing a cohort of Rapa Nui to attend the 13th UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York City. A central local concern motivating the meetings was a heightened sense that Chilean state-based institutions and political offices, as well as the people occupying the offices—whether they were genealogically Rapa Nui or not—were, more often than not, serving Chilean rather than Rapa Nui interests and self-determination. Meeting participants lamented that in general the Rapa Nui community is “*mauiui*” (sick) because of “*te manera o te Tire*” (the Chilean ways on the island). Chilean institutions and people administering them were characterized in meetings as, respectively, “*me‘e mai haho*” (things from outside) and “*paihenga o te Tire*” (Chilean dogs). Alberto Hotus, who holds the Chilean-created office of president of the Council of Elders that replaced the Rapa Nui organized Council of Elders, was especially targeted in discussions. Meeting participants, who referred to him by the derogatory name “Kete” (pockets—as in the pocket of the Chilean government), hoped to remove him from the office or eliminate the office entirely, given that it was not created by Rapa Nui. Members stated, “*Ta‘e o tātou; o te Tire*” ([He] is not of us; [he] is of Chile). In other words, Kete is not seen by actual councils of family elders as their representative but rather is considered a representative of Chile. The expression “*paihenga o te Tire*” is a particularly interesting one: *paihenga* (dog) is metaphorically used in Rapa Nui to refer to Chilean

police. The metaphor recalls French critical philosopher Jacques Rancière's view that the everyday administration of society is a policing of the normalized status quo that must be distinguished from the real political acts of "dissensus" that redistribute a social order (Rancière 2010, 92). Instead of following the policing *paihenga* of Chilean institutions, meeting participants emphasized governing the island in terms of Rapa Nui traditions by "*hakatere hai hua'ai*" (governing through family clans)—a tradition the participants saw themselves practicing within the meetings.

While these UN-focused meetings were being held, some of the Rapa Nui leaders present also began organizing a political march to protest the annual Chilean state commemoration of the 9 September 1888 signing of a treaty between Rapa Nui chiefs and Policarpo Toro, representing the Chilean state. This treaty, or "Agreement of Wills" was never officially ratified by the state (IWGIA 2012, 5–11), and it remains of strongly contested significance among Rapa Nui (Delsing 2009, 245–246), despite a recent state truth commission designed to stabilize its meaning (Gobierno de Chile 2003). On 9 September 2013, as state government and military officials staged a rally at Plaza Atamu Tekena to celebrate the purported treaty and strategically modulate its affective significance in positive state terms, hundreds of Rapa Nui people, coordinated by Rapa Nui-determined organizations (such as Makenu Re'o Rapa Nui and Parlamento Rapa Nui) as well as Rapa Nui-influenced CODEIPA, engaged in a tactical "line of flight" (Deleuze and Guattari 1985, 9) and marched

for the decolonization of Rapa Nui. While Chilean media dampened the significance of the march by depicting it merely as a march for "autonomy" (BB, 9 Sept 2013), Rapa Nui-based media displayed images and expressions that highlighted the march as promoting decolonization for independence in flags, banners, and even bumper stickers (*Tāpura Re'o*, Nov 2013; SR, 9 Sept 2013). Trini Ferdinand, a key photographer of the event, emphasized that Rapa Nui are protesting the Chilean government's "lack of respect and misinterpretation of the Treaty of 1888" (SR, 9 Sept 2013). Mata U'iroa Atan, a Rapa Nui lawyer and politician, represented the march as symbolic of a growing Rapa Nui social movement toward "*un proceso decolonización*" (a process of decolonization) that he sees as critical in an era in which Rapa Nui still lack governance by Rapa Nui people acting in terms of Rapa Nui-determined laws. Recognizing variable forms as possible, including free association with another state that is not necessarily Chile, he encourages decolonization leading to the independence of Rapa Nui from Chile (U'iroa Atan 2013). Moises Hereveri reflected that this march for "*independencia*" (independence) was about "*he ture tuai era 'ā te ŋa henua*" (a long-standing fight for the island lands). He emphasized that the Rapa Nui must continue to recognize that it is important to "*kī ō'ou i tu'u mana'u, 'ina ko hakari'ari'a*" (speak your precious thoughts, do not be afraid) (*Tāpura Re'o*, Nov 2013).

In January 2014, Rafael (Rinko) Tuki Tepano, Hanga Roa community-elected Rapa Nui leader of the Cor-

poración Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas (CONADI), spearheaded local, national, and international political efforts against a state plan established under departing Chilean President Sebastián Piñera's administration to privatize the lands of the state-claimed territory of Fundo Vaitea. Since 1980, Chile had indirectly managed the land under the private company Sociedad Agrícola y Servicios Isla de Pascua Limitada (SASIPA) through a plan initiated by the administration of former Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet, who began imposing neoliberal policies in Chile nationwide in 1973 (Munck 2005, 65). SASIPA management followed fourteen years of direct Chilean control under the state agency Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (CORFO), which governed the territory following the 1996 passage of Ley Pascua, which established some civil rights for Rapa Nui (Gonschor 2011, 181). Piñera's plan had been reportedly organized in response to Rapa Nui political occupations that resulted in internationally condemned state violence against Rapa Nui in December 2010 (Young 2012). The plan proposed to distribute the 1,052 hectares of land of Fundo Vaitea among 264 families in plots of 2.5 hectares (EC, 26 Jan 2014; BB, 6 Jan 2014). On 1 January 2014, the Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales (Ministry of National Goods) tried to finalize the plan through actions the state considered as part of an official consultation process with the Rapa Nui community (LT, 5 Jan 2014). The process was to conclude on 26 January 2014 with community workshops to further inform and discuss the process of returning the land and a

plebiscite the same day for the community to register votes that would voice their opinions about the process. President Piñera's appointed governor of Easter Island, Rapa Nui Islander Carmen Cardinali Paoa, emphasized that the plebiscite was an important part of the "legal process" (BB, 6 Jan 2014). Minister of Housing and National Assets Rodrigo Pérez also saw the plan in very positive terms. He characterized it as explicitly complying with International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 on free, prior, and informed consent and an "unprecedented" return of land—the largest in ten years. Government "dramatizations" of the events in terms of a story of honoring Rapa Nui social goals in compliance with international law "overcode" the critical content of CONADI leader Rinko Tuki's publicized reports (Deleuze 2004). In January 2014, Tuki, in a report cosigned by other leading grassroots organizations of Rapa Nui—Parlamento Rapa Nui, Makenu Re'o Rapa Nui, Asamblea de Clanes, Autoridades Tradicionales de Rapa Nui—emphasized that Rapa Nui political rights had been violated by the development of the plan and the organization of the plebiscite. Rather than engaging Rapa Nui in an official ILO 169 consultation mechanism, Tuki represented the state as having only applied a "reporting mechanism" (CR, 25 Jan 2014). As Tuki understands ILO 169, Rapa Nui generally, and particularly leaders of CODEIPA and CONADI, should have been involved in the processes of developing the plan. However, Rapa Nui were not given "access to technical inputs" that resulted in the plan; they were simply given a folder

with the plan on 1 January 2014 and informed to trust the government (CR, 22 Jan 2014). Instead, Tuki and other Rapa Nui leaders immediately recognized that the plan coded the territory in ways designed to avoid the need to complete an environmental impact statement. After scrutinizing the plan, Rapa Nui leaders and groups concluded that settling the territory with hundreds of new houses would further endanger the already unstable water supply, hasten increasing problems of waste management, and amplify questions of sustainability. As the area is rich in cultural heritage sites, Rapa Nui also noted that the plan could be severely destructive of their patrimony. Conceiving the Piñera plan as “colonial” and as violating international legal conventions on consultation, Tuki wrote to UN Special Rapporteur James Anaya (CR, 22 Jan 2014) and the director of the Chilean National Institute of Human Rights, Señora Lorena Fries (CR, 23 Jan 2014) to request their help to fight Piñera’s plan in general and to support Rapa Nui desires to delay any plebiscite until the Islander groups could study and discuss the plan more thoroughly on their own.

On 26 January, on-the-ground, active protests were staged by the Rapa Nui community, in particular members of Parlamento Rapa Nui and Makenu Re’o Rapa Nui, and community leaders such as Rinko Tuki and Marisol Hitorangi. But the Chilean government, coordinated by “a heavy police contingent,” proceeded with the plebiscite that day (EC, 28 Jan 2014). Voters were asked three questions: whether the Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales should continue to

administer land restitution to Rapa Nui people; whether the lands of Fundo Vaitea should be distributed to the proposed 262 Rapa Nui families in agricultural plots of 2.5 acres each; and, if the voter voted no to the first two questions, which of a set of five other options he or she recommended for use of the land and its governance (CM, 26 Jan 2014). While voters approved of the plan to continue to restore lands to the Rapa Nui people (329 votes in favor, versus 41 against), the community rejected the state plan to return the Fundo Vaitea lands to the families by a margin of 192 to 168 votes (PU, 10 Feb 2014). Chilean officials, had mixed responses to the results: Minister Perez saw the plebiscite as “a success” because it revealed “the real feelings of the Rapa Nui people,” while the mayor of Hanga Roa, Petero Edmunds Paoa—who has promoted development projects in the past against Rapa Nui will and resigned from being governor in 2010 amid accusations of corruption (Young 2012, 2014)—predictably called the results “a setback” to state policy (PU, 10 Feb 2014). Rinko Tuki extended his critique of the process. He challenged the “cultural relevance” of the plebiscite questions “since they were imposed in Santiago, which prevented their full understanding.” And he accused Chile of violating Rapa Nui rights to self-determination. He stressed, “This Sunday we witnessed a serious violation of our political rights, a process where the government has decided the questions, the polling station, and used government officials from the mainland” (EC, 28 Jan 2014).

With the departure of the Piñera

administration and the April inauguration of the new president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, the Fundo Viatea plan appears to be dead. President Bachelet, who attended the first CODEIPA meeting under her administration on 9 April, promised “the full inclusion of indigenous peoples” in her administration (IP, 25 April 2014) and a “new relationship between the State of Chile and Rapa Nui” (BN, 28 April 2014). Her Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, Victor Osorio, said that he hopes to “advance the resolution of outstanding issues on the island” in terms of the values of the new administration (LT, 28 April 2014). As the new government attempts to distinguish itself from past Chilean regimes, however, it is likely Rapa Nui will remain skeptical of profound difference. They will anticipate state dramatizations that simulate “difference” through “a displacement and a disguising within repetition” (Deleuze 1994, xx). International human rights organizations have been repeatedly challenging Chilean state policies toward indigenous peoples. In May, Amnesty International encouraged President Bachelet to pursue a different policy for the indigenous peoples of Chile so that “human rights do not remain on paper” (ME, 16 May 2014). Of particular concern to Amnesty International, amplifying the struggles of Rapa Nui against Chilean administration of Fundo Vaitea, is Chile’s lack of implementation of ILO 169 conventions of free, prior, and informed consent, but also its application of a Pinochet-era anti-terrorist law that the Piñera administration applied in conflicts with indigenous peoples including Rapa Nui. Amnesty International’s

concerns build on those of UN Special Rapporteur James Anaya, who also continues to challenge these policies of the Chilean government (ME, 16 May 2014; RU, 14 April 2014), as well as the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2013). The issues stem from Decrees 124, 66, and 40 that the Chilean state legislated to implement ILO convention 169 following government ratification of the convention in 2008. Decree 124, implemented by Bachelet in her first presidential administration (2006–2010), was found by indigenous peoples of Chile, UN officials, and international nongovernmental organizations to violate ILO 169; its supplemental replacements, Decrees 66 and 40, issued during the Piñera administration, remain similarly contested at indigenous, state, and international levels (*Americas Quarterly* 2014). Despite her promises for difference, President Bachelet’s administrative history does not suggest much hope for real change.

At the 13th UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, held on 13–14 May 2014, Santi Hitorangi advocated for the political decolonization of the Rapa Nui nation from the state of Chile during the “Decolonization Dialogues” at the UN Church Center in New York City. The dialogues were addressed to an audience of over a hundred participants of the UN Permanent Forum and were sponsored by the General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church, the World Council of Churches, United Methodist Women, and members of the Decolonization Alliance organization housed at UN Plaza. Emphasizing that decoloniza-

tion must engage cultural minds, social bodies, and state governments, both political and theological decolonization were discussed during the dialogues. Hitorangi, a panel speaker, was joined by fellow Decolonization Alliance members of the Pacific Islands: Menase W Kaisiepo and Rosa Moiwend advocated for the political decolonization of West Papua, and Leon K Siu advocated for the political decolonization of Hawai'i. While engaged with the theological discussions of church panel members that criticized the historical and ongoing institutional role of Christianity in the destruction of indigenous peoples' cultures, lands, and natural resources worldwide (UMW, May 2014), Hitorangi's presentation articulated more with the concerns of moderator Reverend Liberato Bautista (United Methodist Church representative to the United Nations) that the three Pacific Island nations represented by members of the Decolonization Alliance were, in a sense, "political prisoners." Hitorangi traced Chilean colonial history in Rapa Nui to late nineteenth and early twentieth century violations of the terms of the aforementioned 1888 political treaty, which Rapa Nui see as having been drafted, wrongfully translated, and signed under fraudulent and duplicitous circumstances. In light of the internationally documented 2010 state violence of Chile against Rapa Nui people (IWGIA 2012), Hitorangi stressed that it is clear that "Chile keeps Rapa Nui by guns" and that Rapa Nui "remains a colony of Chile."

As a founding member of the Decolonization Alliance, Hitorangi emphasized that the organization is

striving to develop a "coordinating structure" to access the UN decolonization process. In part, this structure would assist colonially occupied nations with the process of becoming listed as NSGTs by the United Nations. Alliance members see themselves developing the coordinating structure in response to recent UN reports and resolutions: the "Study on the Decolonization of the Pacific Region" presented at the 12th UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues by Pacific Caucus leader Valmaine Toki and submitted to the UN Economic and Social Council (2013); the May 2013 UN General Assembly adoption of a resolution asserting the right of French Polynesia to self-determination and decolonization; and the July 2013 UN Human Rights Council Report of the Independent Expert authored by Alfred-Maurice de Zayas on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order. Consistent with the concerns of Parlamento Rapa Nui members as noted in the beginning of this review, Toki's study stresses that "decolonization in the Pacific does not follow the precedent set by Asia, Africa and the Caribbean" and encourages the United Nations to consider "convening an expert group meeting on the decolonization of the Pacific." The study offers detailed reasoning for considering the decolonization of New Caledonia, Hawai'i, West Papua, and French Polynesia and explicitly problematizes the colonial status of Rapa Nui. It stresses that "Chile maintains control over Easter Island (Rapa Nui)" and highlights that Rapa Nui people have recently become criminalized as "terrorists" in contexts of "peacefully

demanding that their human rights be respected.”

Hitorangi depicted both Toki’s study of decolonization in the Pacific Islands and the resolution adopted on the right of French Polynesia to self-determination as positively articulating with de Zayas’s report. That report notes that a “spirit of international solidarity” is increasingly being undermined by state governments that are more responsive to “special interests such as the military-industrial complex, financial bankers, and transnational corporations” than to the peoples of the world. In contrast, indigenous people “maintain that the right of self-determination cannot be exercised against the will of the population concerned, and that self-determination referenda should only allow the indigenous to vote and not the colonizers” (UN General Assembly Human Rights Council 2013, 5, 6, 11). Reform of UN instruments of self-determination is highlighted in this report by de Zayas as generally critical for the development of a more democratic and equitable international order, particularly for indigenous peoples.

Santi Hitorangi’s advocacy for the Rapa Nui decolonization alliance is the second time he has engaged the United Nations in 2014 as an advocate for Rapa Nui rights. On 7 February, he provided a statement of intervention at the Eighth Session of the Open Work Group on Sustainable Development Goals of the UN Millennium Development Goals Forum (SR, 10 Feb 2014). The intervention highlighted the lack of consultation of Rapa Nui in the Trans Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (TPP) neoliberal

free-trade agreement being developed between Chile and other signatories (Australia, Brunei, Canada, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, Vietnam, and the United States). Hitorangi fears the TPP will result in the further “opening of the door for privatization of our natural resources without our consent.” In speaking at the UN Church Center and the UN Millennium Development Goals Forum, Hitorangi is fundamentally seeking to strengthen Rapa Nui capacity for realizing their human rights to self-determination at an official international level. Yet, at an abstract level, Hitorangi’s interventions on behalf of the Rapa Nui nation articulate with universal concerns for improving global social justice. The movement for indigenous rights is part of a general “international program to advance human rights” (Anaya 2009, 1). As UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay has recently noted, the rights of indigenous peoples are “essential for the promotion and protection of all other human rights” (Barkan and Pillay 2014).

As the review period closes, international media report that the ecological and social sustainability of Chile’s development of Easter Island is facing increasingly severe problems (BBC, 17 April 2014). While Rapa Nui remain, in Reverend Bautista’s words, “political prisoners” subject to unsustainable state policies, armed plebiscites determined by the Chilean Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, and international TPP projects without reliable access to internationally legal forms of free, prior, and informed consent, their decolonializing everyday practices and key political acts during

the year in review have been constant. Rapa Nui engagement illustrates an increasing trend in international indigenous politics: social movement beyond state politics of recognition and toward a “politics of refusal” of what settler colonial states consider officially settled (Simpson 2014, 11–12). While Rapa Nui refusal is, in part, necessarily reactive, an affective and affirmative “politics of hope” is manifest in the ways Rapa Nui are “navigating movements” within global and Chilean assemblages of power (Massumi and Zournazi 2002). While Rapa Nui leaders like Rinko Tuki react to Chilean plans by working in part within Chilean-determined institutions, Tuki’s consultation with UN Special Rapporteur James Anaya illustrates Rapa Nui capacity to affirm rights through alternative international discourse networks. The democratic and internationally transparent election of Leviante Araki as president of Parlamento Rapa Nui discloses—powerfully—not only that Rapa Nui are building capacity for self-determination but also that they are already affirming government by their own democratic institutions. Santi Hitorangi’s interventions at the United Nations for official decolonization of Rapa Nui, grounded in New York coordination of Rapa Nui-based meetings for UN representation, illustrate that Rapa Nui are not only building capacity for international diplomacy but are also already affirming pathways of international political engagement. Rapa Nui hope is growing across these multiple lines of me’e decolonización.

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