

THE COOK ISLANDS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EXTERNAL  
AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT IN AN EMERGING MICROSTATE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES

~~OCTOBER~~ 1982  
DECEMBER

By

Jon Michael Jonassen

Thesis Committee

Michael Hamnett, Chairman  
Robert Kiste  
Norman Meller

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Pacific Islands Studies.

THESIS COMMITTEE

---

Chairman

---

---

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge the support given to my field research by the Prime Minister, Sir Thomas Davis, his Cabinet Ministers, the Leader of Opposition Geoffrey Henry, Members of the Cook Islands Parliament, the Auckland Consular Affairs Officer, Norman George, and various members of the Cook Islands population. I especially appreciate the help given by Joe Caffrey, James Gosselin, Aukino Ta'irea, Colin Brown and Rena Jonassen in finding source materials.

I wish to acknowledge the financial assistance given by East West Center towards my graduate studies and the funding provided for the field research. Much academic support was obtained from Open Grants and the Pacific Islands Development Program of East West Center, as well as the Pacific Islands Program of the University of Hawaii. Sumie Mackey, Rose Nakamura, James Makasiale, Bill Bodde, and Dr. Macu Salato have divested a wealth of work and diplomatic experience.

The advice and guidance of my Thesis Committee has refined the theme of this thesis. Dr. Michael Hamnett, Dr. Robert Kiste, and Dr. Norman Meller have all been helpful.

To my wife Diya Moana Nicholas-Taripo and our children Melina, Olivialani and Tamatoa, I express my gratitude for their love and patience while sharing the pressures of thesis writing. To Ralph Wari and Robert Worthington, I extend a special appreciation for previous debates on the subject of external affairs. In concluding, I acknowledge Freda Hellinger's expertise in typing this final manuscript.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. COOK ISLANDS SELF GOVERNMENT IN FREE ASSOCIATION WITH NEW ZEALAND	11
III. COOK ISLANDS EXTERNAL AFFAIRS	21
1. Historical Development	22
a. Amorphous Period	22
b. Division Created	26
c. Overseas Representation	29
2. Developments Under New Government	33
a. Auckland Office	35
b. Samoa Office	41
c. Tahiti Office	42
d. Hawaii Office	43
3. External Affairs Functions	48
a. Aid	48
b. Trade	51
c. Protocol	52
d. International/Regional	53
4. External Affairs Department in 1982.	54
IV. INTERNATIONAL and REGIONAL PARTICIPATION	60

V.	EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PERSPECTIVE	69
	1. Problems	71
	2. Purpose	72
	3. Utilization	74
	4. New Zealand's Role	75
	5. Overseas Representatives	77
VI.	CONCLUSION	80
	FOOTNOTES	86
	APPENDIX A. New Zealand Statement	102
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	104

LIST OF TABLES

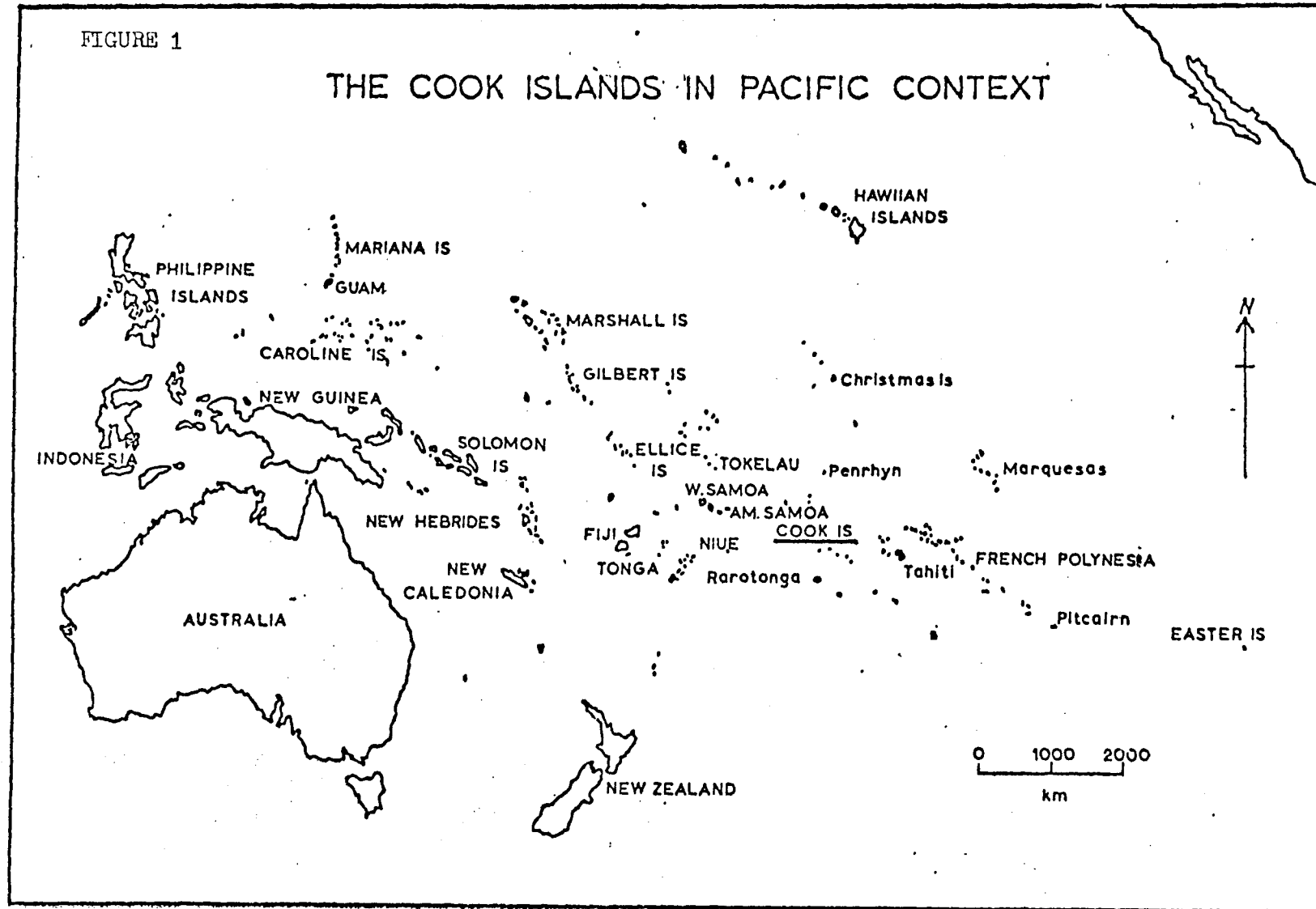
Table		Page
1	Population, Land Area, and Distance From Rarotonga .....	7
2	External Affairs at the Ministerial Level .....	32
3	Administrators of External Affairs .....	32
4	Receipts and Payments of External Affairs .....	47
5	Capital Expenditure 1980 and 1981 .....	47
6	New Zealand Aid 1975 to 1981 .....	49
7	Development Aid 1979-1980 .....	50
8	Program Summary (1981-82) .....	58
9	External Affairs Administration Expenditure (1981-82) .....	59
10	Cook Islands External Participation .....	67
11	Should the External Affairs Department Be Discontinued? .....	70
12	Contact Medium for Overseas Business .....	75
13	Should New Zealand Manage External Affairs? .....	77
14	Use of Overseas Representatives .....	78
15	Support More Representatives? .....	78

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1	The Cook Islands in the Pacific .....	viii
2	The Cook Islands .....	8
3	External Affairs Organizational Chart .....	55
4	Auckland Office Organizational Chart .....	56

FIGURE 1

# THE COOK ISLANDS IN PACIFIC CONTEXT



Source: Cook Islands Hawaii Office

## I. INTRODUCTION

In August 4, 1965, the Cook Islands emerged as a new microstate in the Pacific Ocean area.<sup>1</sup> Her unique political status of self government in free association with New Zealand was a new concept in international law.<sup>2</sup> It was not fully understood and observers focused on the external affairs and defense responsibilities that the New Zealand Government had "retained", rather than the rights gained by the Cook Islands in its new political status.<sup>3</sup>

The focus on external affairs usually alluded to section five of the Cook Islands Constitution Act of 1964:

Nothing in this Act or in the Constitution shall affect the responsibilities of Her Majesty the Queen in right of New Zealand for the external affairs and defense of the Cook Islands, those responsibilities to be discharged after consultation by the Prime Minister of New Zealand with the Premier of the Cook Islands.<sup>4</sup>

Some observers extracted the word "consultation" from section five of the Act and interpreted it in terms of a New Zealand Government prerogative.

In his legal and political analysis of the government of the Cook Islands, Arnold Leibowitz points to the ambiguity of the word "consultation" and strongly implied that the prerogative power for external affairs management was inherently vested in the New Zealand Government. He questioned the provision for external affairs in the Cook Islands Constitution Act of 1964 because it "limits the Cook Islands role to 'consultation'."<sup>5</sup> The Niue Constitution of "free association" which was based on the Cook Islands model is cited as containing more clarity in terms of New Zealand's role.

Political scholar David Stone also alludes to the ambiguity of "consultation" but in his discussion he underlines that "should legislation be necessary, the New Zealand Government has no legal power to ensure that its policies are implemented in Cook Islands law."<sup>6</sup> Thus the prerogative issue seems unsolved, but it is important to note that Leibowitz published his study in 1976 and Stone submitted his thesis in 1971. Much has happened since although the provision in the constitution has not been changed.

Official and public statements by New Zealand and Cook Islands officials have increasingly underlined a Cook Islands prerogative to participate in international affairs. Both Governments have indicated that the Cook Islands Government has a right to conduct its own external affairs. Historical developments have increasingly supported that official policy.

From 1965 to 1971, the Cook Islands Premier handled external matters on an ad hoc basis, with New Zealand assuming most of the external affairs responsibilities. After 1971, however, External Affairs evolved as a separate government department and gradually increased its involvement in regional, bilateral and multilateral matters. While New Zealand continued "caring" for international affairs, the Cook Islands Government took full control of its regional involvements and some of the responsibilities in international relations.

In 1976, the Cook Islands became a member of the Asian Development Bank and was approved as a member of the South Pacific Commission two years later.<sup>7</sup> Bilateral aid arrangements were negotiated successfully during these years and by 1981, assistance was coming from the Netherlands, Canada, Australia and the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>8</sup> Bilateral Fishing agreements were also negotiated directly with Korea,

Taiwan and Norway, and a Bilateral Delimitation Treaty was signed with the United States. Notably, the fishing negotiations with Taiwan continued despite the New Zealand Government's "disapproval".<sup>9</sup> By 1981, it was apparent that significant aspects of diplomatic relations were under the direction of the Cook Islands Government and that an External Affairs Department had evolved.

This thesis will focus on the historical development of the External Affairs Department during the period 1965 to 1981. It will trace the dynamics of relationships with other governments as well as examine the current structure of the External Affairs Department. The development of the department supports the argument that the Cook Islands Government is increasing its prerogative to manage its own external affairs.

The thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter two addresses the concept of Cook Islands self government in free association with New Zealand. Chapter three traces the historical development of External Affairs and intergrates it with the following chapter on regional, bilateral and multilateral relationships. In chapter five, contemporary views of Cook Islanders towards the External Affairs Department are presented, and this is followed by a summary chapter with which the thesis concludes. The views analyzed are based on surveys conducted during a three month visit to Rarotonga, the main island in the Cook group, and the seat of government.

The thesis will show a trend in the external affairs of the Cook Islands. What may have seemed to be a New Zealand prerogative in managing the Cook Islands external affairs at the advent of

self government has gradually been shifting towards a Cook Islands prerogative. Statements of the New Zealand and Cook Islands Governments, an increase in international and regional participation by the Cook Islands Government, and the very existence of an External Affairs Department are all indications of the external affairs powers of the Cook Islands.

The development of the External Affairs Department evidences a real capacity in the Cook Islands Government to deal with at least some aspects of her foreign relations. It illuminates the freedom to pursue appropriate foreign policy as expounded in the official interpretation of "self government in free association." Although New Zealand continues to manage much of the international relations of the Cook Islands, that role has been expressed by New Zealand officials as delegated authority with "obligations rather than rights of supervision and control."<sup>10</sup>

The Cook Islands Government has been cautious in developing an external affairs management system. This caution would seem understandable in view of the constraints imposed by the state's meager resources as well as Cook Islanders' wish not to strain the good working relationship with New Zealand. It has been the view in the Cook Islands that longstanding political and economic factors necessitate close ties with New Zealand: almost three fifths of the Cook Islands population lives in New Zealand, New Zealand continues to provide 89% of the microstate's aid which totaled \$NZ 8,575,600 in 1980, a significant proportion of the trade activities are committed to New Zealand, and indigenous Cook Islanders are beneficiaries of New Zealand citizenship.<sup>11</sup>

The task of expressing the microstate's own international views when the need arises has been burdened with many problems: seeking a balance between local aspirations and the anxieties of Cook Islanders overseas, taking into consideration the political policies of organizations and countries within the Pacific region, maintaining close ties with New Zealand, and developing a functional and satisfying system of dialogue with the outside world. These are all issues that are very basic to external affairs.

Given the ambiguous international status of free association, external affairs for the Cook Islands has been a difficult concept to formulate. Political scientist Dr. Norman Meller of the University of Hawaii made a comment that "any study of external affairs must consider all things occurring outside of the country which affect it."<sup>12</sup> A Cook Islands businessman alluded to external affairs as "foreign dollars, foreign pressures and foreign headaches."<sup>13</sup> Foreign affairs specialist Peter Boyce narrowly associated external affairs with power and called it "a capacity to negotiate treaties and a capacity to send and receive diplomatic agents."<sup>14</sup>

Undoubtedly, external affairs has various connotations for different people but there seems to be three interrelated viewpoints. External affairs could be viewed as:

- (1) occurrences overseas which have an effect on the country in question,

- (2) specific responses to overseas matters in the form of categorized functions or actions, and
- (3) a real or perceived bureaucracy that inherits the complicated task of undertaking dialogue with groups or individuals from other countries, states and organisations.

The External Affairs Department was the real "bureaucracy" that developed in the Cook Islands after 1970. From 1971, the department shared various functions of foreign relations with the Premier (title changed to Prime Minister in 1981) of the Cook Islands and his Cabinet Ministers. The New Zealand Government continued to assist the Cook Islands by maintaining responsibility for much of the islands' international relations. For the Cook Islands, the constraints of manpower, experience, money, and limited political clout often inhibited a clear demarcation of external affairs functions and responsibilities. Nevertheless, despite these problems and an international tendency to assume that external affairs was a New Zealand prerogative, the Cook Islands Government expanded the limits of the foreign policy which it wished to control. The development coincided with the expressed official policy of the Cook Islands and New Zealand Governments. Indeed, the Cook Islands Government claimed the right to its own external affairs, the theme which will be the major emphasis of this thesis.

Background

The Cook Islands is a group of fifteen small islands dispersed over 1.8 million square kilometers (850,000 square miles) of the Pacific Ocean. The fifteen islands are divided into two groups: the Northern Group which includes Pukapuka, Nassau, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Suvarrow, Penrhyn, and Palmerston, and the Southern Group consisting of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, Mitiaro, Takutea and Manuae. The seven islands of the Northern Group are low-lying coral atolls and are sparsely populated (see figure 1). The Southern Group are primarily volcanic islands and are more populated (see table 1).

Table 1. Population, Land Area, and Distance From Rarotonga

<u>Island</u>	<u>Distance from Rarotonga (km)</u>	<u>Land Area (hectares)</u>	<u>Population (1981 Estimate)</u>
Rarotonga	-	6,720	8,973*
Aitutaki	220	1,810	2,600
Mangaia	175	5,180	1,336
Atiu	185	2,690	1,179
Mauke	240	1,840	602
Mitiaro	225	2,230	260
Manuae	200	620	-
Takutea	190	120	-
Palmerston	470	200	61
Pukapuka	1,145	120	799
Nassau	1,075	120	130
Manihiki	1,040	540	372
Rakahanga	1,080	400	276
Penrhyn	1,180	980	582
Suvarrow	820	40	-

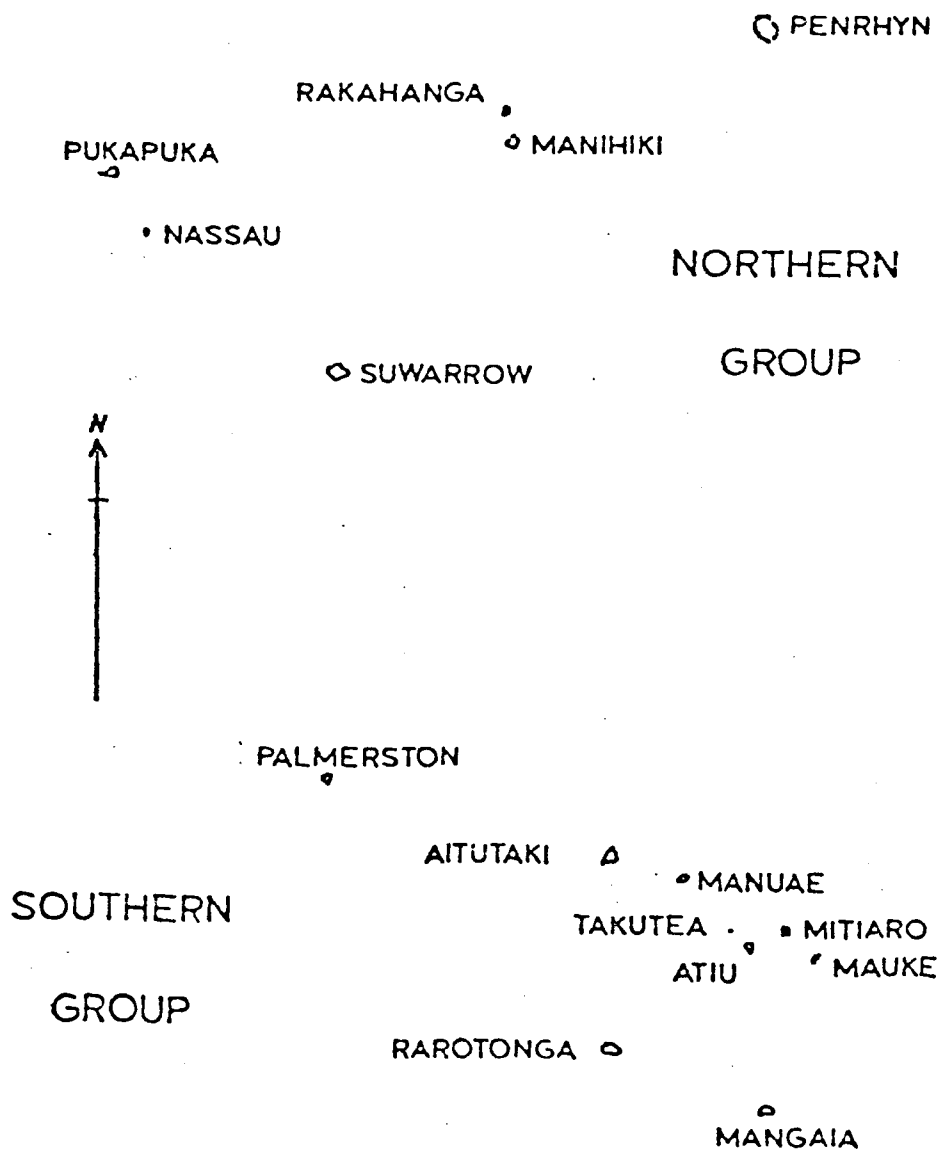
\* Excludes visitors and non-residents

Source: Department of Development Planning, Aug. 1981  
Rarotonga.

FIGURE 2

# THE COOK ISLANDS

MERCATOR'S PROJECTION



Source: Cook Islands Hawaii Office

The total land area of the Cook Islands is 234 square kilometers (93 square miles) and the total population about 18,000 (1981). There are no known land mineral or energy resources. "The country has no natural resource base other than that represented by the fertile soil in the Southern Group and its marine resources".<sup>15</sup> With its widely scattered islands, the Cook Islands has an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of about 1.8 million square kilometers. Marine resources represent the greatest economic potential for these islands.

European discovery of the Cook Islands is generally credited to Captain James Cook although he sighted only some of the islands.

Rarotonga is believed to have been "discovered" by the famous Bounty mutineers in 1789. Captain Cook never sighted Rarotonga.<sup>16</sup> In 1823, the English missionary John Williams landed at Rarotonga and initiated the beginning of sixty years of missionary control over the islands. The English missionary influence and a petition presented to the British Foreign Office by Makea Ariki (a Paramount Chief of Rarotonga), resulted in a British Protectorate being proclaimed over Rarotonga and the surrounding islands on 27 September, 1888. Thirteen years later, on 11 June 1901, the traditional leaders that had assembled in Rarotonga signed a deed of cession to New Zealand.<sup>17</sup>

New Zealand control over the islands became more visible when a Cook Islands Act was passed by the New Zealand Parliament in 1915. The Act provided for the appointment by the Governor General of New Zealand of a Resident Commissioner for the Cook Islands. "The

powers invested in the Resident Commissioner under the provisions of the Act were wide and all-embracing, giving him sole responsibility for the administration of the Territory."<sup>18</sup> Progressively, the 1915 Act was amended to give Cook Islanders a greater role in their own affairs.

From 1901 to 1945, there was little interest expressed by New Zealand officials in the social, economical and political development of the Cook Islands.<sup>18</sup> In 1946, the first attempt to involve Cook Islanders in their local administration was brought about through an amendment to the 1915 Cook Islands Act. The amendment allowed for a Legislative Council of elected and appointed members. The Council was vested with powers to impose charges such as taxes and fines, while the governing of the Cook Islands remained under the Resident Commissioner.

In 1957, a further amendment to the Cook Islands Act of 1915 replaced the Council with a Legislative Assembly. The Assembly was made up of elected members and public servants. They were empowered to make laws, but they could not legislate on certain restricted subjects. Administration for the Cook Islands continued under the auspices of the Resident Commissioner until the advent of self government in 1965.

A major impetus to the advent of self government was the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Since the New Zealand Government firmly supported that declaration, it took steps to consult the Cook Islands people about its implementation.

## II. COOK ISLANDS SELF GOVERNMENT IN FREE ASSOCIATION WITH NEW ZEALAND

The evolvement of an External Affairs Department in the Cook Islands started after the birth of "self government in free association with New Zealand". "Free association" was intended to continue economic and social ties. However, the concept of free association was ambiguous internationally and often had to be explained to overseas inquirers. These explanations by Cook Islands and New Zealand officials usually reflected the response to implicit questions about the nature of free association. How did it start? What were the reasons for self government in free association? How should such a political status be interpreted? How does it relate to external affairs? These questions are discussed in this chapter.

In 1963, the New Zealand Minister of Island Territories Sir Leon Gotz addressed the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly and presented four options for political status: complete independence intergration with New Zealand, self government, or federation with other Polynesian islands. The choice made was self government but the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly decided to seek advice on the form which self government should take. In August of 1963, three constitutional experts visited the Cook Islands.<sup>1</sup> After discussions with Assembly members, the team made recommendations in a comprehensive report to the Legislative Assembly in September of 1963.

In November 12, 1963, the Legislative Assembly adopted the recommendations with some modifications. The Assembly's decisions included a request that "the conduct of the external relations of the Cook Islands should remain a responsibility of the New Zealand Government."<sup>2</sup> Six days later, the New Zealand Government approved the Assembly's decisions.

The Cook Islands Legislative Assembly passed other resolutions which were later accepted by the New Zealand Parliament:<sup>3</sup>

The Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands

Herein resolves that the Cook Islands shall be self governing in free association with New Zealand;

Requests New Zealand in consultation with the Government of the Cook Islands, to discharge the responsibilities for the external affairs and defence of the Cook Islands;

Approves the Constitution of the Cook Islands as amended in accordance with the wishes of the Assembly;

Requests that the Constitution be brought into force on the fourth day of August 1965.

Eventually, the New Zealand Parliament passed the Cook Islands Act 1964 "in accordance with the request of the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly."<sup>4</sup>

On the fourth day of August 1965, the Cook Islands emerged as a new self governing state in "free association with New Zealand."

The New Zealand Representative to the United Nations explained:

This new status is not sovereign independence in the the judicial sense, for the Cook Islanders wish to

remain New Zealand citizens and in the meantime they wish New Zealand to discharge the responsibilities in the field of external affairs and defense in consultation with them. But it means that the Cook Islanders have a continuing right to self-determination. Henceforth the legal links between the Cook Islands and New Zealand rest on consent. This is what we understand by free association.<sup>5</sup> (Emphasis added)

It would seem that from the beginning of "free association", the Cook Islands Government was not denied the opportunity to exercise responsibility for its own external affairs. New Zealand had assumed that responsibility at the request of the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly. While the New Zealand Government managed the foreign affairs of the Cook Islands in consultation with the Cook Islands Government, the "door" was left open for the Cook Islands Government to assume those responsibilities at a later date.

The Cook Islands Legislative Assembly decision for "self government in free association" was partially based on the promise of continued free access for Cook Islanders into New Zealand. Free access was considered important since it helped absorb an increasing island population in addition to creating employment and educational opportunities for Cook Islanders.<sup>6</sup>

Other advantages in the free association arrangement pointed to at the time were the continued social ties with New Zealand Cook Islanders and Maoris, New Zealand citizenship, and a guaranteed market

for agricultural produce. The most important factor in the association, however, was the needed cash subsidy from New Zealand for economic development. In his address at the United Nations in 1965, the new Premier of the Cook Islands Mr Albert Henry, underlined the importance of economics:

Unless the Cook Islands can be assured of economic independence, neither I nor my colleagues, nor the elected representative of the Cook Islands government felt that there is the possibility of political independence.<sup>7</sup>

The new constitution accepted by the 1965 Cook Islands Assembly, conferred full executive and legislative powers in internal matters on the Cook Islands, while preserving New Zealand's responsibility for defence and external affairs in consultation with the island government.<sup>8</sup> The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Keith Holyoake, declared "Control of their own affairs is now in the hands of the Cook Islands people."<sup>9</sup> In a letter to Albert Henry, the succeeding Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Norman Kirk, reiterated the New Zealand government view that there was "no legal fetters of any kind upon the freedom of the Cook Islands, which make their own laws and control their own Constitution." Kirk further pointed out that such a view was shared by the United Nations when they approved the Cook Islands Constitution as an act of self-determination.<sup>10</sup>

The advent of self-rule in the Cook Islands attracted a degree of international attention because of the country's small size, population, and resource base. To most observers there seemed little prospect for ever achieving economic viability. "We don't have to worry about any energy crisis," was one of Albert Henry's favourite quips to

informal questions about the economic viability of the Cook Islands. "Apart from a few other undeveloped resources, we have our own oil pipeline to Wellington."<sup>11</sup> As if to underline that limited economic base, a writer wrote years later that "many an experienced geographer needs a magnifying glass even to look for these tiny specks of civilisation."<sup>12</sup>

Self-rule in the Cook Islands also attracted the interest of the international community because "free association" was a new concept in international law. In his study Colonial Emancipation in the Pacific and the Caribbean, Arnold Leibowitz wrote:

Although the Cook Islands are small, they have been the pioneer in associated state thinking, especially influential in the Pacific but also important in the United Nations experience.<sup>13</sup>

The political scholar David Stone, pointed out that free association was a unique arrangement at the time because it meant that the Cook Islanders have the right to amend their constitution unilaterally, and hence the option of future independence should they desire it.<sup>14</sup>

The free association concept was interpreted by both the Cook Islands Premier and the New Zealand Prime Minister as "one of partnership, freely entered into and freely maintained."<sup>15</sup> Mr. Keith Holyoake once called it "a partnership of common interest."<sup>16</sup> Albert Henry sometimes referred to it as a one-sided affair with most of the benefits going to the Cook Islands and not to New Zealand.<sup>17</sup> It is "the most unusual, the most unique form of agreement or contact

established in the world between two countries."<sup>18</sup> Although this might be considered an overstatement on Premier Albert Henry's part, it nevertheless captures the spirit of true comradeship existing between the two societies. This close link of the Cook Islands with New Zealand has usually been attributed to **linguistic ties** and common Polynesian heritage of the two countries, the large number of Cook Islanders living in New Zealand, and the genuine **concern of the New Zealand Government for its Pacific** neighbors. The transition of the Cook Islands from colonialism to self government was noticeably achieved peacefully--an achievement seldom seen in world politics outside the Pacific Basin.

When "self government in free association" was being considered by the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly, a specific request was made to the New Zealand Government to conduct the external affairs of the islands. Assembly members realised that the management of foreign policy was expensive and it often required a high level of expertise in particular areas.<sup>19</sup> New Zealand's role was subsequently specified in section five of the Cook Islands Constitution Act, 1964:

Nothing in this Act or in the Constitution shall affect the responsibilities of Her Majesty the Queen in right of New Zealand for the external affairs and defense of the Cook Islands, those responsibilities to be discharged after consultation by the Prime Minister of New Zealand with the Premier of the Cook Islands.

In 1973, there was an exchange of letters between the Cook Islands and New Zealand Governments dealing with the capacity of the Cook Islands to assume its own external affairs. The New Zealand Government showed support for such a development as well as recognising the freedom of the Cook Islands to pursue its own foreign policy:

The Cook Islands can continue to rely on New Zealand's help and protection. To that end, the New Zealand Government has a statutory responsibility for the external affairs and defense of the Cook Islands. It is, however, also intended that the Cook Islands be free to pursue their own policies and interests - as they are doing, for example, through separate membership of the South Pacific Forum and other regional bodies.<sup>20</sup>

In 1974, the Prime Minister of New Zealand Rt. Hon. W.E. Rowling wrote to Albert Henry:

In future, all official dealings between the Cook Islands and New Zealand will be conducted in a way which reflects the relationship between two sovereign governments.<sup>21</sup>

That statement reinforced the "partnership" nature of free association and its ramifications set in motion ripples which were to effect international discussions between the Cook Islands and other countries. Although the Cook Islands Government gradually expanded its control over external relations, the island government continued to rely on New Zealand's assistance. It is that continued reliance which has often been misinterpreted by international observers as subservience.

Just two days prior to his death in 1981, Albert Henry was interviewed by Stephen Levine of Victoria University in Wellington, for the New Pacific magazine. During that last interview, Albert Henry described the Cook Islands tie with New Zealand as being

constitutionally two-fold in nature: the presence of a New Zealand/ High Commissioner and "free association." In that same interview Henry strongly protested against the misapprehension and misunderstanding of the foreign affairs and defense arrangements between New Zealand and the Cook Islands in the international community. He declared that the agreement "does not say that New Zealand controls our foreign affairs and defense. It says that New Zealand is responsible, but it is by consultation between the two countries."<sup>22</sup> Henry went on to compare the Cook Islands situation with that of Western Samoa and pointed out that except for the existence of a "Samoa Charter", there really was no difference between the foreign affairs and defense arrangements of the two states.

Dr. Thomas Davis, the Cook Islands Premier who took over from Albert Henry is even more positive: "The political relationship is one of complete freedom to carry out our own internal and external affairs. New Zealand has responsibilities for our defense, but no more so than the arrangement we have with the United States or Australia."<sup>23</sup>

In 1980, the New Zealand government made a presentation to the Lome Secretariat which underlined the Cook Islands government's scope of control of her external affairs:

All legislative and executive powers, whether in these fields or any other, are vested exclusively in the Government of the Cook Islands and the exercise by the New Zealand Government of any responsibilities in foreign affairs or defence must be preceded by full consultation with the Cook Islands. In carrying out these responsibilities the New Zealand Government is in effect acting on the delegated authority of the Cook Islands Government. These responsibilities are more in the nature of obligations on New Zealand's part rather than rights of supervision and control.<sup>24</sup>

The New Zealand Government's obligation to assist in Cook Islands' external affairs is part of the "free association" concept as understood by both countries. In those areas where the Cook Islands Government has expressed an interest and a capacity to assume its own international responsibilities, it seems that the attitude of the New Zealand Government has been encouraging. Such a development increasingly underlines the Cook Islands Government prerogative in external affairs. How long the New Zealand Government will continue to be supportive of this development is difficult to determine.

The Cook Islands Government is already exercising control of all of its regional activities as well as over some international interactions. Bilateral treaties have been directly negotiated by the island government. An External Affairs Department is in existence and a small network of overseas Representatives are now functioning. It is likely that the continued support of these developments by the New Zealand Government may depend on how much Cook Islands values coincide with those of New Zealand citizenship.

In that Exchange of Letters between the two governments in 1973, the New Zealand Prime Minister emphasized that the New Zealand citizenship creates "an expectation that the Cook Islands will uphold, in their laws and policies, a standard of values generally acceptable to New Zealanders."<sup>25</sup> Should the external affairs policies of the Cook Islands Government materially depart from these values, they are certain to engender the opposition of New Zealand, and ultimately to threaten the linkage between the two.<sup>26</sup>

The people of the two countries presently share similar values. The Cook Islands have a New Zealand education system. Cook Islanders continue to migrate to New Zealand and the social and economic ties between the two countries have not weakened over the years. With these considerations, it is likely that the "free association" tie between the two countries will continue and New Zealand will have little occasion to question further expansion in the Cook Islands management of its external affairs. More likely, restraint will be self imposed, and come from the Cook Islands Government itself.

### III. COOK ISLANDS EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

For seven years after self government in 1965, New Zealand administered Cook Islands international relations. Although a Cabinet portfolio was created within the Cook Islands, matters falling within External Affairs were essentially handled by the Cook Islands Premier himself. Gradually a bureaucracy charged with this function evolved as the microstate government realized a need for maintaining greater international communication. External Affairs eventually expanded to include representation in selected geographical areas. That extension was not expected by those international observers who still queried the Cook Islands external affairs capacity. The history of these changes and particularly the political overturn that occurred in the Cook Islands in 1978 throw light upon the evolvement of an External Affairs Department in the Cook Islands.

1. Historical Development. The management of external affairs in the Cook Islands can be divided into three periods: (a) an amorphous period from 1965 to 1972 when external affairs was handled largely by New Zealand, (b) the creation of an External Affairs entity during 1971 to 1977, and (c) an overseas representation period which began in 1978.

a. The Amorphous Period. In 1965, when the Cook Islands became a self-governing state in free association with New Zealand, a portfolio entitled "Minister in Charge of Overseas Affairs" was created and its responsibilities were assumed by the Premier Albert Royale Henry. No infra-structure was set up and any activities related with external affairs were actually channeled through the Premier's Department. By 1967, the portfolio had been changed to "Minister of External Affairs" and remained as such until 1972, when a slight alteration in title resulted in Albert Henry being the "Minister in Charge of External Affairs".<sup>1</sup>

During this 1965-1972 period, matters of external affairs related to the Cook Islands were administered primarily by the New Zealand Government.<sup>2</sup> When such work was referred to the Cook Islands Government, it was handled "on an ad hoc basis and in an administratively amorphous context. It was not until 1970 that the need for an External Affairs Division crystallised itself. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

One ingredient contributing to such crystallization was revealed in an article in the September, 1970 issue of the

Pacific Islands Monthly magazine:

Cook Islands government feelings were exacerbated in July when the New Zealand government raised shipping freight on the Moana Roa, without prior notice. Because of this and other matters there is a move to have a Cook Islander appointed permanent representative in New Zealand.<sup>4</sup>

But the reality of an organized system of representation was not achieved until four years after its first conception. From 1965 to 1973, the Premier in many ways constituted the entire External Affairs Department. While the government was consolidating internal matters under its new political freedom, external affairs was primarily ad hoc action taken in the form of special missions and responses to perceived threats.

One of the major concerns during that early period of self government was the growing number of reported unofficial visits by foreign fishing vessels. Protests were apparently made through the office of the High Commissioner to the appropriate New Zealand authorities. The Cook Islands Government was especially concerned about the threat of the rhinoceros beetle or other introduced diseases which could create havoc.<sup>5</sup> For the copra producing atolls of the Northern Group, where a fishing boat could make a landing well away from the governing center of Rarotonga, the threat was very real. In 1969 alone, twenty-one unauthorized visits to these islands were reported and official complaints were made to the governments involved or through the High Commissioner.<sup>6</sup> The same procedure was used later in complaining to the French Government about its nuclear testing in French Polynesia.

As already stated, External Affairs and the Premier were one and the same. In an early special mission in 1966, the Premier joined the New Zealand delegation to the South Pacific Commission's Conference in Noumea. The delegation was composed of Mr Quentin-Baxter (Assistant Secretary of External Affairs) as leader, Hon Albert R. Henry (Premier of the Cook Islands) as deputy leader, Hon Robert R. Rex (Leader of Government Business, Niue) as commissioner, Mr R. Atkins (Pacific Desk, External Affairs) as adviser, and Mr S. Wilson (Executive Officer, Island Territories) as a second adviser. Albert Henry interpreted the experience as "a cementing of goodwill between New Zealand and the Cook Islands."<sup>7</sup> He was especially pleased with a follow up discussion in Wellington with the New Zealand Government. That discussion underlined the "consultation" aspect of "free association" existing between the two countries. During the course of the mission, the Premier was away from the Cook Islands for thirty nine days.

Albert Henry's special missions took him all over the Pacific. In 1968, the University of Guam bestowed on him an honorary degree of Doctrate of Laws, in formal recognition of Albert Henry's work in the Pacific, "especially for the American Trust Territories and Guam."<sup>8</sup> He was a Pacific oriented man and he flourished in the South Pacific Commission "because firstly, he attended more meetings than other Pacific Island government heads, and secondly, everyone noticed him when he was around."<sup>9</sup> But it was probably more than mere charisma that produced results, for while originally New Zealand had a tight control on the Cook Islands external affairs, during the period 1968 to 1973, New Zealand control loosened gradually. "Initially, we had to go through New Zealand for South

Pacific Region affairs, but during the [Prime Minister] Kirk period, we dealt directly with the Pacific."<sup>10</sup> Mr Sadaraka "Cookie" Sadaraka, Premier Henry's secretary from 1968 to 1973, supplemented that statement by adding that Albert Henry had a strong hand in setting up the South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation. "Albert and I are probably responsible for the first initiation of the Bureau. We presented two papers to Wellington on the concept of cooperation."<sup>11</sup>

Albert Henry was very experienced in external affairs related to the Pacific, having been associated with most important Pacific projects for more than thirty years. In 1950 he attended the South Pacific Commission Conference in Fiji. Dating from that time, he established some strong friendships with other Pacific Islands leaders.<sup>12</sup> He often saw his role as a "mediator" for his Pacific neighbors "We are very small and we are no threat to anybody. We are in the middle of the Pacific and besides we love our neighbors."<sup>13</sup> The historical link of the Cook Islands with all her surrounding neighbors probably helped make Albert's mediator role easier. But above all, his gift for oratory was often extremely effective-- that gift won him a standing ovation at a United Nations Law of the Seas conference a number of years later.<sup>14</sup>

Towards the end of 1970, the establishment of an External Affairs Division in the Cook Islands executive branch was proposed to the Legislative Assembly. The Division was perceived as having three areas of responsibility:

- (1) All relations with international and regional organizations such as the United Nations organisations and the South Pacific Commission. (Exception: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association).

- (2) Tapping and coordinating foreign aid.  
Focus on technical assistance. Working in conjunction with the planning unit in meeting developmental needs of the Cook Islands.
- (3) All other general matters of external affairs such as visits by overseas dignitaries and foreign vessels.<sup>15</sup>

While the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly was still reviewing the advisability of authorising an External Affairs division, the South Pacific Forum was established and the 1947 Canberra Agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission was amended. Both regional developments enhanced the need for an External Affairs unit within the Cook Islands Government. The Canberra Agreement amendment allowed the Cook Islands full participation in the South Pacific Commission as a member, and the Forum underlined the need for maintaining close communication with the Pacific neighbors.<sup>16</sup>

b. External Affairs Division Created. During April of 1971, Geoffrey Henry, with the assistance of Tamari'i Pierre, set up an informal External Affairs Section in the Premier's Department. They then initiated an investigation into Australia's aid program, and the possibility of the Cook Islands being included aegis, which apparently raised the ire of some officials in New Zealand. The latter took the view that the New Zealand aid to the Cook Islands might be perceived as being inadequate, thus reflecting negatively on New Zealand.<sup>17</sup> That particular problem was eventually resolved when it was realized that aid from Australia would be only supplemental and could be but beneficial to the Cook Islands.<sup>18</sup>

As the 1972 Cook Islands General Elections approached, Geoffrey Henry resigned from government to enter the elections as a candidate for the island of Aitutaki. He was successful, and was

given a Cabinet post. His responsibilities were not directly connected with External Affairs, but nevertheless, he maintained an active interest in them.<sup>19</sup> However, that special interest was not particularly visible to the general public until 1976, when he assumed the new portfolio of "Associate Minister of External Affairs" and held that position until the change of government in 1978.

Meanwhile in 1974, four years after its first proposal, an official External Affairs Division was created. The stimulus to push ahead probably arose out of Albert Henry's<sup>20</sup> experience when he attended the celebrated 1974 Law of the Sea Conference at Caracas. An observer of Pacific politics, Kathleen Hancock, reported that "the necessity for the Premier to be introduced by New Zealand at Caracas emphasized the fact that the Cooks couldn't speak on their own account at an international meeting, and this was an embarrassment to both the Premier and New Zealand. As Sir Albert passed through New Zealand he said, 'It's time for the Cooks to take their place with other nations. Our right to identity is stifled by the place we hold in the international community.'"<sup>21</sup>

In 1974, the Premier's Department was reorganized to encompass three divisions: External Affairs Division, Outer Islands Affairs Division, and a Central Administration Division. To the External Affairs Division, was assigned the function of assisting the Premier in any external matter affecting the Cook Islands. Its administrative head was given the title "Director of External Affairs",<sup>22</sup> and the appointment went to Tamari'i Pierre. Later, Albert Henry's grandson, Howard Henry, was recruited into External Affairs to make a total staff of two.

Howard <sup>Henry's</sup> appointment was criticized as an act of nepotism especially when he became the Acting Director in 1975, after Tamari'i Pierre had been seconded to the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC) in Fiji.<sup>23</sup> There was a general feeling that Tamari'i Pierre had been "pushed upstairs" to make way for Howard Henry, which Pierre strongly denied. The latter's decision to move on was his own, and it was based both on the opportunity to widen his experience as well as the higher compensation being offered by SPEC.<sup>24</sup>

As the new administrative head of External Affairs, Howard Henry concentrated his efforts in following up on Forum and South Pacific Commission activities. Mr Colin Brown was recruited as his assistant. Among their various information gathering activities, they attempted to make a list of treaties signed by the New Zealand Government which might have some application to the Cook Islands. Despite several requests to the New Zealand Government for assistance, such a list was not completed during Howard Henry's term in office.<sup>25</sup>

In 1977, the External Affairs Division became part of the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs which consisted of four parts: the Planning Division, the Statistics Division, the External Affairs Division, and "such divisions as Cabinet may establish".<sup>26</sup>

Albert Henry attributed the move to an overall strategy of legally combining department groups into one ministry. Albert Henry pointed out that for seven years, seventy six separate government departments had been run by no more than six Ministers and a Premier, and the grouping of departments was more realistic.<sup>27</sup>

Under the new changes, the functions of the External Affairs Division were redefined:<sup>28</sup>

- (a) to administer, coordinate and direct the government's foreign relations;
- (b) to provide Government's channel of communications with all other governments and all inter-governmental organizations; and
- (c) to advise Government on all matters relating to its external affairs, including matters of protocol.

The first secretary of the new Ministry of Planning and External Affairs was Mr James (Jim) Gosselin, a UNDP sponsored expatriate who was a citizen of Canada. Mr Gosselin capably responded to Government desires to strengthen External Affairs and in his proposals he included personnel training as a priority. Three young Cook Islanders were later encouraged to pursue tertiary degrees in Pacific Universities: Colin Brown, Aukino Ta'ireia and Tai Manuela. Howard Henry had already been sent off to England for tertiary training in international relations and the future of External Affairs looked promising.<sup>29</sup>

c. The Period of Overseas Representation. The External Affairs Division's capacity to deal with external affairs was expanded in 1978 by a Legislative Act establishing a Trade Commissioner to New Zealand. The Act also provided for other overseas representatives.<sup>30</sup> Sir Albert attributed the Act to a particular event which underlined Cook Islands needs. He pointed out that when the New Zealand Department of Maori and Island Affairs was replaced by the New Zealand Department of Foreign Affairs in handling Cook Islands responsibilities, "they [the latter] did not want to carry out business such as ordering, buying, shipping, so the Cook Islands

Government had to do it for the Cook Islands."<sup>31</sup>

Geoffrey Henry, the Associate Minister of External Affairs and the presenter of the Overseas Representation Bill before the Legislative Assembly, hinted at some of the Bill's origins:

The real beginnings of this development began in April 1973 when there was an exchange of letters between the New Zealand Government and the Cook Islands Government . . . Sir Norman Kirk made it plain to the world that the New Zealand Government recognises the sovereignty of this nation and all this . . . notwithstanding the provisions of the Constitution which specifically lays the responsibility for our external affairs with the New Zealand Government. The setting up of the Cook Islands Office in New Zealand can be seen as a venturing into the field and the sphere of external affairs.<sup>32</sup>

Geoffrey Henry felt that there was a need for an office in Wellington to which the New Zealand Government could more easily channel its aid.

The new Cook Islands Government office attested to that need since its birth was the result of the long transition of Cook Islands affairs from the purview of the New Zealand Department of Maori and Island Affairs to that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As a matter of fact, the new bill represented a move to give legal status to the Cook Islands Office which had been established in Auckland

two months earlier. "In a matter of two months," commented Hon Geoffrey Henry, this office purchased "\$NZ 306,000 worth of goods, materials and equipment for the Cook Islands."<sup>33</sup> The implication was that the office could do more with the Legislature's sanction. Promotion of trade, the promotion of good relations between Cook Islanders and the people of New Zealand, and assistance in the welfare and well being of Cook Islanders in New Zealand were all perceived as some of the

important functions of this Government Office. Apart from legalizing the existence of the Cook Islands Government Office in New Zealand, the new bill which eventually became an Act of the Legislative Assembly also allowed for the appointment of government representatives in Hawaii, Fiji, Tahiti and other areas.<sup>34</sup>

Honorary representatives had already been selected for Tahiti and Hawaii before the bill was even passed. When it became an official Act, Judge G.J. Donne, Chief Justice of the Cook Islands, formally appointed Mr. Robert Worthington as the Hawaii Representative.<sup>35</sup> Other activities of Sir Albert's government pertaining to the implementation of the Overseas Representatives Act of 1978 were interrupted by a sudden change of government. Albert Henry and his party were ousted from office by the courts.

The new Premier, Dr. Thomas Davis, immediately assumed control of the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs. Although the new government was primarily concerned with other pressing matters of state, the External Affairs Division was able to continue defining its role in assisting government. Developments under the new administration enhanced the potential of External Affairs.

Table 2. External Affairs at the Ministerial Level

YEARS	PORTFOLIO	CABINET MINISTER
1965-1966	Minister in Charge of Overseas Affairs	Albert Henry (Premier)
1967-1971	Minister of External Affairs	Albert Henry (Premier)
1972	Minister in Charge of External Affairs	Albert Henry (Premier)
1973-1974*	??	
1975	Minister of External Affairs	Sir Albert Henry (Premier)
1976-1977	Associate Minister of External Affairs	Geofrey Henry
1978	Minister of External Affairs	Sir Albert Henry (Premier)
	Associate Minister of External Affairs	Geofrey Henry
1978-1981	Minister of External Affairs.	Sir Tom Davis (Premier/Prime Minister)

\* Curiously, External Affairs was not mentioned in the Legislative list of Portfolios, especially since the External Affairs Division actually came into existence during that period.

Source: Cook Islands Legislative Debates Official Report.  
for years 1965 to 1980.

Table 3. Administrators Who Directed External Affairs

Title	Person	Period
Premier	Albert Henry	1965 - 1968*
Premier	Albert Henry	1968 - 1973
Research Officer	Geofrey Henry	1971 - 1972
External Affairs Officer	Tamari'i Pierre	1972 - 1975
Director of External Affairs	Howard Henry	1975 - 1977
Secretary of External Affairs	James Gosselin	1977 - 1981

\* The New Zealand Government was handling all external affairs during this period.

Source: External Affairs

2. Developments Under a New Government. On 24 July, 1978, Chief Justice Donne of the Cook Islands High Court handed down a historic verdict. He disallowed election votes that were "tainted by bribery and corruption" and therefore unseated eight of the fifteen Assembly Members. As a result, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, a court ruling changed the Government, and Albert Henry and his Cook Islands Party were ousted from power.<sup>36</sup> Under the new Democratic Party Government of Dr. Thomas Davis, a proposal for Constitutional changes was presented to the Legislative Assembly. They redefined the Legislative Assembly as a Parliament, and the title of the Premier was altered to Prime Minister. A controversial term of extension of the legislators from four to five years was added, as well as an increase in Parliamentary seats from twenty two to twenty four.<sup>37</sup> The whole package was finally passed as Constitution Amendment (No 9) which included several provisions that encompassed a variety of seemingly insignificant topics. The Cook Islands Ensign was redefined--a ring of fifteen gold stars on a green background was replaced by a ring of fifteen white stars on a blue background. A Union Jack was added to the left top corner of the new flag. The Governor General's power to make regulations in the Cook Islands was also abolished and a National Anthem was adopted.<sup>38</sup>

When approved, all these provisions had definite implications for External Affairs. The new titles implied an increase in status for the External Affairs Division. The Minister of External Affairs was no longer the "Premier". It was now the "Prime Minister", who commanded the majority of a "Parliament". That enhanced visibility in international

interactions. The provisions relative to the National Anthem, the revised Ensign, and the reduced powers for the Governor General all promoted the impression that a greater degree of sovereignty had been established. The ensign change, however, did create some negative reactions internally. Some Cook Islanders felt that it would be regarded as an international signal of internal instability. Others were worried about the new precedent set, since it allowed any new government in power to bring in its own flag, and the costs of promoting new flags would become overbearing. For the External Affairs Division, the matter of a new flag was certainly an important issue. Flags played a visible role in the international promotion of the Cook Islands.

The extension of legislative office from four to five years suggested that foreign policy would be more stable under a Minister who has a longer term. The other Constitutional change, allowing for an increase in the number of parliamentary seats, involved adding a new seat for Cook Islanders overseas. This implicitly raised a question about the role Representatives were to play in General Elections.

The real encouragement of External Affairs under the new Government came at the establishment of a consular office in New Zealand in 1980. During that year, Sir Thomas Davis<sup>39</sup> revealed plans to establish offices in American Samoa and Tahiti, and upgrade the Hawaii Representative to a consular status.<sup>40</sup> In 1981, the Planning Division was separated from External Affairs and absorbed into the Ministry of Trade, Labor and Transport. The External Affairs Division subsequently became identified as the Department of External Affairs or simply the External Affairs Department.

a. Auckland Office. Since its inception, the Cook Islands Government Office in Auckland had been run as a trade commission type of operation. The Office was a channel for establishing business contacts in the Cook Islands and New Zealand. Government purchasing of building materials and machinery was also carried out by the Office staff. Other staff functions included the promotion of good relations between Cook Islanders and the people of New Zealand, and assistance in the welfare and well being of Cook Islanders in New Zealand. Trade promotions of Cook Islands products were held in Auckland but the operations of the Office was interrupted by a change of Government in the Cook Islands. The Office had operated for less than nine months under Albert Henry's Government. At the time of change in 1978, staff had consisted of a Trade Commissioner (Mr Michael Walsh), secretary/accountant, purchasing officer, receptionist/typist, welfare officer, and a part-time accounts/purchasing officer. After the new Government took over in the Cook Islands, the Auckland Office staff was changed.

Mr Norman George, a Cook Islander with much experience in the New Zealand Police Force, was installed as head of the Auckland Office and he sought to overcome the charge of political bias that had clouded its former operations.<sup>41</sup> The government-owned building in Parnell (Auckland), where the Office was located, was renovated and he proposed a staffing pattern similar to that under his predecessor: Cook Islands Representative, purchasing officer, liaison officer, receptionist/typist, and an accounts clerk. Whereas the former head of the Office took the title of Trade Commissioner, the new "supervisor" was proposed to assume the official title "Cook Islands Representative".

The change of title reflected the inclusion of ~~diplomatic~~ diplomatic functions. It was soon apparent, however, that the New Zealand authorities viewed the designation of a Cook Islands Representative in the Auckland Office as somewhat inappropriate because of its location outside of the capital city of Wellington. Officers performing diplomatic or political functions are normally based in the capital city. The problem was resolved when a "Consular Affairs Officer" title, rather than that of "Representative", was proposed and agreed upon by both the New Zealand and Cook Islands Governments.<sup>42</sup> The physical location of the Office, however, was not moved.

The Consular Office of the Cook Islands was officially so designated in June, 1980, and the head of the office assumed the title "Cook Islands Consular Affairs Officer". Norman George was appointed. To a large extent, the changes had been initiated by George, himself, because of what he perceived as a need for the Cook Islands Office to attain recognition, higher status, practical concessions and diplomatic immunity.<sup>43</sup> These benefits were not being given to a trade commission type of operation.

Almost as soon as the changes in the Auckland Office were made, the New Zealand Herald newspaper ran an article expounding on the privileges of the new Consular Affairs Officer: parking is free, liquor is duty free, and his office and files cannot be raided. "The arrangement between New Zealand and the Cook Islands sets an interesting precedent, since it creates an official diplomatic link between two people of two countries sharing the same citizenship."<sup>44</sup>

This uniqueness of the office had been envisioned by government leaders, and questions of precedence, dual citizenship, constitutionality, and universal acceptance had plagued the preparatory discussions. But then the free association concept had been unique right from the beginning.

In 1980, the Auckland Office was separated into two functional units: the Consular Division headed by the Cook Islands Government Representative, and the Commercial Division headed by the Purchasing Officer. Although there was a distinct separation, the "Consular Affairs Officer" acted as the "overall head" of the Office. The Commercial Division continued the activities that had been initiated under the previous administration. Purchasing of equipment, machinery, and miscellaneous materials for the Cook Islands Government was the major role of the Commercial Division. Since a bulk of the developmental aid came from New Zealand, much of the government's purchasing was carried out in that country. Other activities included the monitoring of open market prices of products which the Cook Islands growers had a vested interest in. Although their annual budget has continued to be allocated under the title of "External Affairs", the Commercial Division has worked directly with other government departments in the Cook Islands.

The Consular Affairs Division of the Auckland Office has a more direct link with the External Affairs Department in Rarotonga. The Consular Affairs Officer serves as the official Cook Islands Government Representative in New Zealand and acts as a liaison with the New Zealand

Government. Consular activities include the issuing of Cook Islands visas, preparation of entry permits, permit exemptions, and passports, dissemination of information about the Cook Islands, and the promotion of the social welfare of Cook Islanders in New Zealand. Of the total number of visitors who have visited the Cook Islands, over 50% have been from New Zealand. In 1979, the total number of visitors to the Cook Islands was 19,722. About 69% were from New Zealand. The following year 59% of the total 21,051 visitors were from New Zealand.<sup>45</sup> The movement of Cook Islanders to New Zealand has also been tremendous and the declining population in the Cook Islands is indicative of that. The estimated population of 18,500 in 1979 dropped to 17,900 in 1980.<sup>46</sup> Although most of these New Zealand tourists to the Cook Islands and migrating Cook Islanders to New Zealand do not use the services of the Auckland Office, they nevertheless underline the high volume of work facing the office.

From 1978 to 1981, the Auckland Office was not without problems. There were unofficial reports of dissatisfaction expressed by some members of Cook Islands sports groups visiting New Zealand. It also seemed that the political biases that had shadowed the operations of the Office under the previous government were still being perceived by some Cook Islanders as inherent in the new regime.<sup>47</sup>

Salary was another troublesome matter. Since the Cook Islands Government paid the Auckland staff, the difference in wage scales between the two countries had to be considered. Financial compensation had to be in line with the living conditions of New Zealand. At the same time it had to be compatible with the limited resources of the island government.

Salary thus was a problem for both the staff members and the Government. An estimated \$NZ 55,000 was paid out in 1979 to six specialized staff members, and apparently they encountered much difficulty in pushing for increases. In view of the continuing inflation in New Zealand, this probably will be a continuous problem for both the Cook Islands Government and the staff of the Consular Affairs Office.

The enormous task of tending to the needs of the Cook Islands government, as well as responding to the requests from the estimated 30,000 Cook Islanders in New Zealand, has placed much pressure on the small staff in the Cook Islands Auckland Office. The Liaison Officer in the Auckland Office estimated that in 1981 an average of twenty Cook Islanders approached her each week. Their problems ranged over housing, social welfare, the obtaining of information, to serious legal difficulties. Most requests came from Cook Islanders who had just arrived in New Zealand, and usually, these Cook Islanders only needed advice. Interestingly, a large proportion of contacts were by Northern Group Cook Islanders who had travelled directly to New Zealand without having stayed in Rarotonga for more than a week or two. This suggests that their problems arose out of the acculturation they were undergoing in the more urbanized New Zealand.

To assist in meeting the needs of Cook Islanders in New Zealand, a volunteer workers program was initiated with forty five unpaid volunteers spread throughout Otara, Mangere, Central Auckland, and Wellington, and there were plans to extend the program to other areas of New Zealand.

The problems of incoming Cook Islanders often proved easy to remedy. This engendered the suggestion that Cook Islanders planning to travel or migrate to New Zealand ought to be processed through an orientation program in Rarotonga before departure. Such a program would dramatically reduce the drain on the limited resources of the Auckland Office of the Government of the Cook Islands. However such a program has yet to be implemented.

Another area of responsibility for the Auckland Office staff has been catering to the needs of government officials passing through New Zealand. That responsibility remains a continuous one, and must be met on top of routine daily consular and commercial activities.

The greatest challenge for the Auckland Office will probably be raised by the approaching 1983 Cook Islands General Elections. The Constitution Amendment (No 9) creates an overseas constituency. A parliament member will represent all Cook Islanders living overseas who still qualify as voters in Cook Islands elections. This unprecedented provision partially fulfills the incoming government's campaign promises. However, many cynics label it as the seat for the rest of the world, since it encompasses an eligible Cook Islander living anywhere in the world. But most Cook Islanders live in New Zealand and it is

realised by many observers that actual representation will more than likely center there.

With that prospect in view, it has been expressed by some Cook Islanders that the coming election will be a test on the neutrality of the Cook Islands Office. Well aware of that problem, Norman George declined requests for the holding of political party meetings in the Office.<sup>49</sup> The continuity of such a policy of political neutrality would certainly enhance the capacity of the Auckland Office to meet the needs of all Cook Islanders.

In 1979, the cost of the Auckland Office was \$NZ 100,046 and by 1980 they had increased to \$NZ 111,532. The increase reflected inflation as well as salary readjustments and the addition of new programs. A staff exchange program with personnel in Rarotonga was envisaged during the development of the Auckland Office, and it was well underway by the end of 1981. The obvious benefits of exposure to and the gaining of experience with handling the problems of islanders in New Zealand showed great promise in improving staff from the Cook Islands. In addition, it gave the Auckland staff an opportunity to become familiar with the changes occurring in the Cook Islands.

b. American Samoa Office. As early as 1975, some form of Cook Islands representation in Samoa was being considered, but by 1982 no actual arrangement had been finalised. A proposal for a liaison officer there was one idea that has been suggested.<sup>50</sup>

American Samoa is considered important because of the opportunities for trade between the two countries: the Cook Islands possibly providing fresh fruits, bananas, pearl shell, artifacts, and pineapple, while American Samoa reciprocates with American products

as well as those originating in Samoa. The importance of having a Cook Islands Representative in American Samoa has been enhanced by the treaty with the United States which was signed on 11 June, 1980. The United States - Cook Islands Bilateral Treaty allows for a transshipment arrangement between American Samoa and the Cook Islands, which has increased the trade opportunities for the Cook Islands.

c. Tahiti Office. Tahiti has been an important point of contact with many Cook Islanders, especially migrant workers, entertainment groups, and those wanting to make a home in Tahiti. In fact, one whole tract of land was acquired by the Atiu people on Tahitinui. Located in Patuto'a, the land was purchased in 1895 in the name of the three Arikis (High Chiefs) of Atiu.<sup>51</sup> Ever since, many Atiuans have made their home in Tahiti. Other Cook Islanders have also made similar migrations but not in such an organised manner as the Atiuans. French Polynesia is considered by some as having the largest concentration of overseas Cook Islanders after New Zealand. One estimate of 20,000 Cook Islanders (1982) probably is too high, including some Tahitians.<sup>52</sup> With the close Tahitian association, some form of government representation was long deemed by many Cook Islanders as necessary.<sup>53</sup>

By 1975, Alfred Estall, a Cook Islander resident in Tahiti and with some strong interests there, accepted the role of Honorary Cook Islands Representative in Tahiti. His activities mainly centered around the onerous task of caring for the Cook Islands dancing groups visiting Tahiti. It was actually a task he and his wife, Tauariki, had carried out in previous years without official acknowledgement.<sup>54</sup>

As an Honorary Representative, Estall also received visiting Cook Islands sports teams and government officials. However, Estall's position somehow had not been formally recognized by the Cook Islands Government. With the overturn of the Henry Government in 1978, the incoming government took the position that there was no representative in Tahiti and proceeded to make plans accordingly. However, it was not until after fiscal year 1981 that representatives in Tahiti were officially appointed, one concentrating on tourism and the other on trade.<sup>55</sup>

d. Hawaii Office. A Government plan to have a representative in Hawaii evolved as a result of difficulties encountered by Cook Islanders residing or on educational training programs in the state of Hawaii, or travelling through the state. In June of 1977 Geoffrey Henry the Associate Minister of External Affairs, approached Mr Robert E. Worthington, a Hawaiian with strong ties to the Cook Islands, to look after Cook Islands interests in Hawaii.<sup>56</sup>

Mr Worthington was not unfamiliar with the Government's needs. He had worked in the Cook Islands as a businessman between 1965 and 1968. After his return to Hawaii in 1968, he was aware of the continued and steady increase of Cook Islanders having contact with the state of Hawaii. In his report to the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs in 1979, Mr Worthington outlined some of the services that he had offered since 1977:

Negotiating with U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services resident status and extensions of visas.

Acquiring educational grants and extensions for training and educational programs.

Negotiating the retention of Cook Islanders in training programs when training agencies wished to prematurely terminate the training.

Finding new employment for new arrivals from the Cook Islands.

Arranging itineraries and lodging for Cook Islands Government officials and private individuals with government agencies and private enterprise.

Housing Cook Islands travelers who became stranded and loaning money to those who ran short of funds.

Extracting Cook Islanders from entanglements with law enforcement agencies. <sup>57</sup>

In his role as a Cook Islands Government emissary, until 1978 there were two major difficulties encountered by Mr. Worthington: (1) he had no portfolio and therefore no legal status with the Cook Islands Government, and (2) there had been "no monetary compensation in any form for reimbursements, operating expenses or otherwise".<sup>58</sup>

The official appointment of Mr Worthington was probably one of the last acts of the Henry Government before it was ousted by the Courts. It was made in March 6, 1978, by Judge G.J. Donne, Chief Justice of the Cook Islands in accordance to the Overseas Representatives Act of 1978, Section 8.<sup>59</sup> Four months later, the High Court of the Cook Islands handed down its historic decision projecting the Democratic Party of Dr. Thomas Davis into Office. After reviewing what had occurred under the previous Cook Islands Party Government, members of the new Democratic Party Government expressed surprise at finding that the Hawaii Representative had not received any pay.<sup>60</sup> A budget allocation was quickly made and it steadily increased over the years. In 1978, a budget was augmented by estimating the amount expended by Worthington. A 1978 budget of \$NZ 8,000 increased to \$NZ 10,119 in 1979. By 1980, the cost of the Hawaii Office was \$NZ 12,580. (See table 4)

The usefulness of the Hawaii Office has often been questioned by some leaders of the Democratic Party Government and this has been especially true after the direct air link between Honolulu and Rarotonga was terminated in 1980 by Air New Zealand.<sup>61</sup> A review of the services of the Hawaiian Representative for one year (1979) revealed that he greatly assisted an Aitutaki Dance Team consisting of fifty members, the Cook Islands Taakoka Dance Company of twenty two members, and three exchange students. Through the efforts of the Representative, the Kamehameha Schools of Hawaii had taken up sponsorship of those visiting Cook Islanders.<sup>62</sup> The estimated value of that sponsorship was \$US 76,520.

It would seem from the continuous use of the reported services of the Hawaiian Representative that a lack of that the lack of a link between Honolulu and Rarotonga has not negated the usefulness of the Hawaii Office.

However, its establishment would undoubtedly enhance those services. The great potential of Hawaii as a market for Cook Islands products and the opportunity of tapping some of the Hawaiian tourist market can only be realised through better direct transportation links.

The advantages of continued representation has been noted to the Cook Islands government:

1. Geographically, Hawaii is the nearest USA state to the Cook Islands and a transportation gateway to the Pacific.
2. The nearest New Zealand consulate who [sic] acts for Cook Islanders is located in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Not precluding the importance of representation in Washington D.C., branches of the U.S. Federal Government agencies are located in Hawaii for quick contacts and access.
3. The State of Hawaii has more attributes that are similar to the Cook Islands thereby affording Hawaii as a pertinent meaningful resource . . .<sup>63</sup>

However, it is doubtful that the Cook Islands Government will increase the representation in Hawaii beyond the present arrangement. The lack of direct transportation link would be the major consideration, and contributing would be the minimal ongoing trade activities and the movement of Cook Islanders to Hawaii.

Table 4. Cook Islands Government: Receipts and Payments  
by the Treasury Department for External Affairs

	1979 - 80 Period *		1980 - 81 Period	
	Receipts (\$NZ)	Payments (\$NZ)	Receipts (\$NZ)	Payments (\$NZ)
C.Is. Office - Auckland	-	100,046	-	111,532
C.Is. Office - Hawaii	-	10,119		12,580
External Affairs - Cook Is.	445	193,079	2,264	185,353

\*Each financial year goes from April 1 to March 31

Table 5. Capital Expenditure on External Affairs

	1979-1980	1980-1981
C.Is. Office - Auckland	5,262	2,085
C.Is. Office - Hawaii	-	-
External Affairs - Cook Is.	8,961	4,628

SOURCE: Government of the Cook Islands Report of the Audit Office and the Accounts for the Year Ended 31 March 1980, also Government of the Cook Islands Report of the Audit Office and the Accounts for the Year Ended 31 March 1981.

3. External Affairs Functions A network of overseas representatives was probably not envisaged in 1974 when External Affairs gained official status as an office in the Cook Islands Government structure. The original small staff of two had as its immediate task the defining of the functions of the new division. Initially, they focussed on four areas: overseas aid, trade contacts, protocol and international/regional relations. For the ensuing years, and until 1981, External Affairs became identified directly or indirectly with those functions.<sup>64</sup>

a. Aid. Sir Thomas considered aid as an important catalyst in economic development. In 1976, he wrote:

Let us examine ourselves. We have become a region of consumers of imported goods. In the Cook Islands the value of goods coming into the country is more than twice as much as the value of goods going out. We are therefore living in a depletion economy which has to be bolstered by aid. This is to one degree or other true of most, if not all, of us in the region. . . . At this stage in our development we need outside help. We need sound advice and hard cold cash.<sup>65</sup>

The Cook Islands aid assistance has come overwhelmingly from New Zealand, and it has basically been divided into budgetary support, project aid, manpower assistance and training.<sup>66</sup> In 1965, total aid from New Zealand was \$NZ 1.8 million, and increased to \$NZ 2.3 million four years later, reflecting government moves for greater self sufficiency through developments in its infrastructure.<sup>67</sup> By 1981, New Zealand aid was \$NZ 8.4 million, but the significance of this increase must be partially discounted, for as Michael Bellam pointed out in his study of the Cook Islands-New Zealand relations, the major beneficiaries of New Zealand aid has

often turned out to be New Zealand consultants, contractors and exporters.<sup>68</sup> The fact that just under 50% of 1981's budget was geared towards development programs underlined the important role that the consultants and contractors played.<sup>69</sup>

Table 6 : NEW ZEALAND AID 1975 TO 1981<sup>70</sup>

1975/76	\$NZ 6,204,339
1976/77	5,895,622
1977/78	6,158,814
1978/79	5,913,202
1979/80	6,400,000 *
1980/81	8,400,000 *
1981/82	9,200,000

\*See table 7 for official development aid for 1979 and 1980.

The part that the Cook Islands External Affairs has played in the New Zealand Aid program has been minimal, and has never really developed beyond the role of serving as contact medium and sharpening informational awareness. It has taken a more active role in the establishment of other channels of assistance. The Australian aid potential which was first explored by Geoffrey Henry and Tamarii Pierre in the early seventies resulted in securing several aid projects.<sup>71</sup> By 1980, through the efforts of various government Ministers, and more particularly Sir Thomas Davis, aid assistance had expanded to include several countries and organisations (see table 8).

Table 7: Sources of Official Development Aid to the Cook Islands 1979-80

	1979 (\$NZ)	1980 (\$NZ)
Australia	333,540	212,280
Canada	-	39,440
West Germany	-	19,720
New Zealand	6,731,840	9,043,360
Netherlands	-	119,480
Asian Development Bank (ADB)	26,160	51,040
United Nations Development Project (UNDP)	382,590	636,840
TOTAL	7,474,130	10,122,160

Source: South Pacific Commission Statistical Summary for 1979 and 1980

In 1981, the Cook Islands received \$NZ 8.4 million of aid from New Zealand and \$NZ 4.34 million from ten other sources: Australia, Asian Development Bank, United Nations International Human Assistance Programme, World Health Organisation, UNICEF, Netherlands, South Pacific Commission, Germany, International Labor Organisation and Commonwealth Fund For Technical Cooperation (CFTC).<sup>72</sup>

During Jim Gosselin's term as head of the External Affairs Department from 1977 to 1981, he was instrumental in pursuing some of the Prime Minister's goals although it was clear by 1981 that the association of aid with External Affairs had diminished considerably.<sup>73</sup> Aid had now been absorbed into the Planning sector of the government and a more visible

and productive Planning Department was receiving the approval of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.<sup>74</sup>

b. Trade. Basically, trade has not been a designed External Affairs function. Government purchases have often been handled directly by the departments concerned with the transactions channeled through the Treasury Department. Cook Islands Commercial activities have been linked with the Ministry of Trade, Labor and Transport. The External Affairs Department has played a supportive role as a medium of contact. However, the association of External Affairs with trade activities has been historical particularly through the use of the overseas government representatives for information, purchasing, or marketing. Indeed, when the Cook Islands Government Office was first established in Auckland, the primary function was to act as a Trade Commission. Even after the addition of Consular status in 1978, commercial activities were retained. The two sections of the Auckland Office however have gradually attained distinctly different identities, each with its own role to play.<sup>75</sup>

The Commercial Division of the Auckland Office deals directly with many government departments in the Cook Islands. Since the bulk of the Cook Islands Government's material needs are purchased in New Zealand, the importance of the Commercial Division is underlined. In 1981, the Cook Islands Government purchased \$NZ 6,495,000 worth of materials.<sup>76</sup> Over 60% of that was acquired from New Zealand.

The general administration office staff of the External Affairs Department in Rarotonga has not had much involvement in trade activities. Their role has usually been restricted to information, assistance in making overseas contacts, and support in ensuring that travel documents and arrangements are in order. In 1981, the Cook Islands Government spent \$NZ 949,200 on government travel costs. Of that sum, \$NZ 81,400 was on persons travelling for trade related reasons.<sup>77</sup> Almost all travel was channelled through the External Affairs Department.

An overwhelming percentage of the Cook Islands trade has been with New Zealand, but almost all of it handled by traders with little External Affairs input.<sup>78</sup> The purchasing sector of the Cook Islands office in Auckland has concentrated mostly on filling Cook Islands government material orders but this is probably reflective of the limited number of requests received from the business and other productive sectors of the economy. The four economic sectors of the Cook Islands (agriculture, marine, manufacturing and tourism) have been more in contact with External Affairs through overseas travel arrangements or educational program assistance.<sup>79</sup>

c. Protocol. Protocol was assigned to External Affairs by the Legislative Assembly in 1977 and that function was carried out in collaboration with other government departments. However, for awhile no protocol officer was appointed in External Affairs. Rather, as the

need for one was envisaged in Internal Affairs, the department most closely working with visiting dignatories, a position was created and filled in 1981. The following year, the Protocol Officer, Mr Gordon Sawtell, was shifted into External Affairs.<sup>80</sup>

As a part of External Affairs, the Protocol Officer has the advantage of the Department's direct communications overseas. It has been pointed out, however, that the Protocol Officer still has a need to be able to call on the manpower resources that are available within Internal Affairs. External Affairs has no such resources available.

d. International and Regional Relations

Regional and international relations have constituted the most stable and visible involvement of External Affairs. The development of External Affairs has coincided with increasing activities involving membership in the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC), the Forum Fisheries Agency Agreement, the South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement (SPARTECA) and the Canberra Agreement.<sup>81</sup>

Under the leadership of Sir Thomas Davis, the Cook Islands has also signed a bilateral maritime boundary delimitation treaty with the United States as well as fishing agreements with the Republic of Korea and Taiwan.<sup>82</sup> Arrangements for "experimental fishing" has also been made with Norway.<sup>83</sup>

Although the Cook Islands has noticeably restricted itself in the past within the scope of "nations bordering the Pacific", there are indications as evidenced by the Norwegian interests and the obtaining of European financial aid (see table 7) that direct external affairs relationships will be expanded to other nations with Pacific interests, wherever their location.

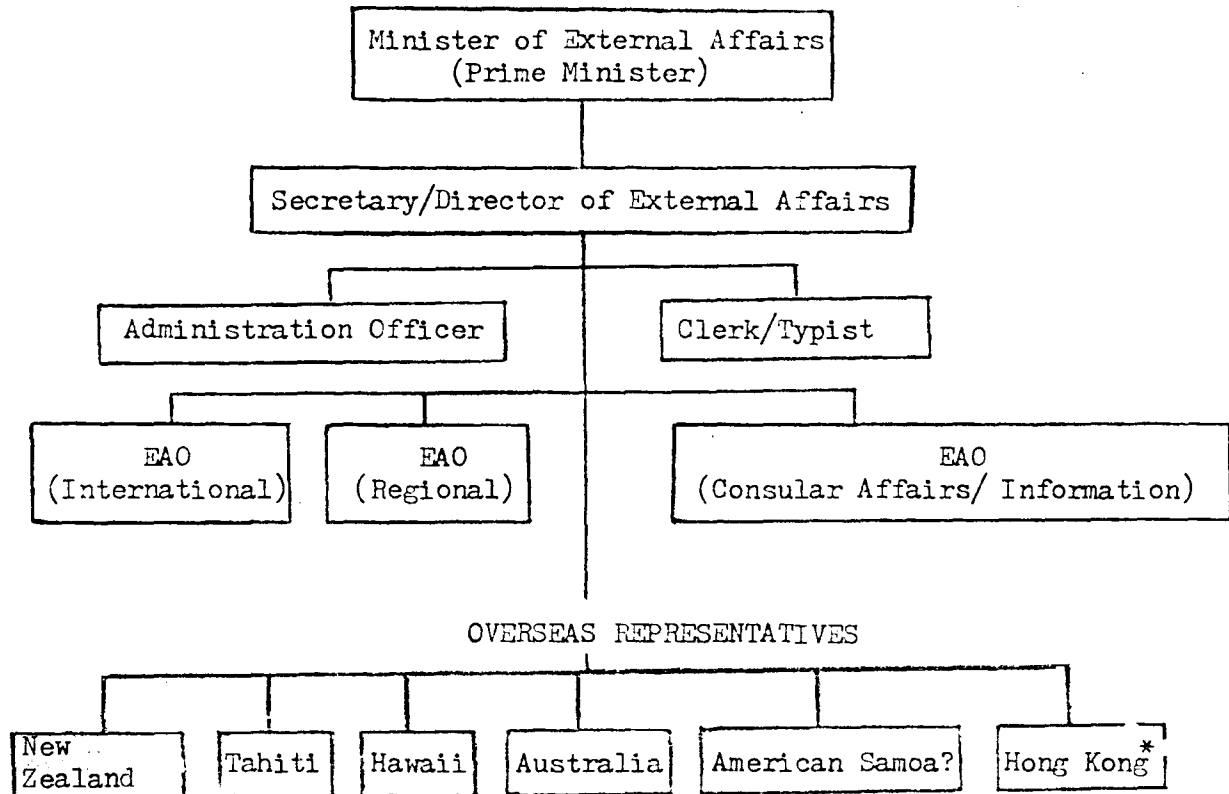
4. The External Affairs Department in 1982. In August, 1982, the External Affairs Department consisted of a total of six persons in the Administration Office in Rarotonga: a Secretary/Director, a clerk typist, an administration officer and three external affairs officers (EAO). The overseas staff included two persons in Tahiti, one each in Australia and Hawaii, and seven staff members in Auckland (New Zealand).

While the representatives in Tahiti, Australia and Hawaii serve on a part time basis, the Auckland Office is a full time staff. The Auckland Office is organized into two divisions: consular and commercial. The responsibilities of the Auckland Office personnel are actually much broader than signified by these titles, and ranges from welfare to government purchasing (see figure 4).

The Cook Islands Government is still contemplating appointing a representative in American Samoa, this in view of the increase in trade related activities. It is, therefore, more than likely that a Samoa Representative will be selected on a similar basis to that of Tahiti and Hawaii. It is notable that governmental concern for economic development now includes Offshore Banking. This enhances the need for a Samoa Representative because of the potential of providing banking services for American businessmen.

The Cook Islands Government has also recognised the need for a representative in Hong Kong. In May of 1982, an Honorary Consul was designated for Hong Kong. The major attention of the new Cook Islands Honorary Consul, Mr Kai-Bong Chau, has been associated with the Offshore Banking developments. The position has no monetary compensation arrangements at this point in time.

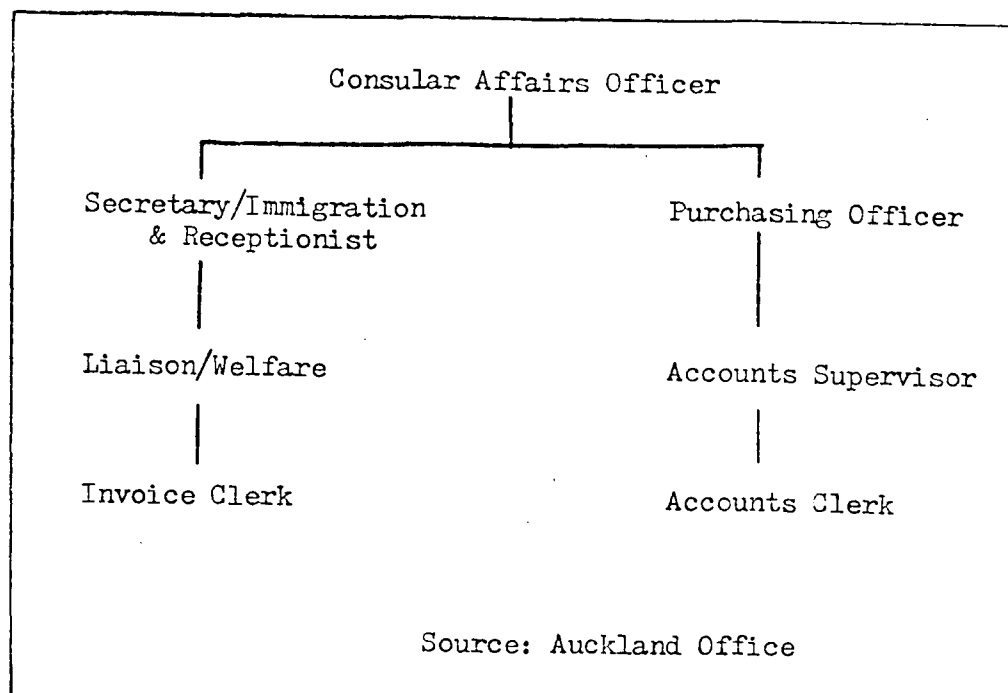
Figure 3. External Affairs Organization Chart, 1982



\*A Cook Islands Honorary Consul (Designate) to Hong Kong was named 1 May 1982. He is Mr Kai-Bong Chau. That Government action reflects the Offshore Banking development in the Cook Islands.

Source: External Affairs Department

Figure 4. Cook Islands Auckland Office Organization Chart  
(Auckland - 1982)



The total expenditure on personnel for External Affairs in the 1981-82 period was \$NZ 131,100: Auckland \$NZ 99,900 (Consular Division \$NZ 66,400 and Commercial Division \$NZ 33,500), Tahiti and Australia \$0, Hawaii \$NZ 5,500 and Administration in Rarotonga \$NZ 25,700. It is apparent that the Auckland Office is the most expensive to maintain and it cost almost four times more than the operation in Rarotonga.

External Affairs has other costs including travel, maintenance, materials and operating funds (see table 8). The relatively high cost of External Affairs and the lack of visibility of the benefits accrued from its operations have tended to dampen its growth. The benefits have apparently been unnoticed by a major proportion of the business sector which probably accounts for their lack of support for External Affairs (see Chapter V).

The present goal of the External Affairs is essentially to assist in improving the well being of Cook Islanders through operational goals which are coordinated into the overall responsibilities of External Affairs:

- (a) assessing overseas events and their significance for the Cook Islands;
- (b) proposing policies and initiatives to protect the Cook Islands interests and enhance its standing overseas;
- (c) implementing the Government's foreign policy decisions;
- (d) assisting as appropriate Government departments in identifying and securing overseas development assistance and providing the formal channel of communications regarding such assistance;
- (e) negotiating and advising on the negotiating, conclusion and interpretation of treaties and international agreements as well as general international law matters;
- (f) advising on cultural and scientific relations with other governments;
- (g) coordinating and overseeing Cook Islands participation in international organisations (SPEC, SPC, ESCAP, etc) and at international conferences, particularly those affecting the Cook Islands national interests;
- (h) assisting, as appropriate, Cook Islanders overseas;
- (i) operating the Cook Islands overseas posts . . . ;
- (j) maintaining for library use by the Department and Government as a whole a reference Library of documents and other publications in relevant areas of international relations; and
- (k) providing and operating the official channel of communications between the Cook Islands Government and other governments and international organisations. <sup>84</sup>

Table 8 External Affairs: Program Summary  
(1981-82 Actual)

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS : PROGRAMME SUMMARY - COMPARATIVE FIGURES (\$000)

<u>CODE NUMBERS</u>	01	02	03	04	05	06	07		
<u>CODE DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Travel</u>	<u>Maintenance</u>	<u>Materials</u>	<u>Other Operating</u>	<u>Grants</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Revenue</u>
<u>Division/Programme</u>									
24/03 General Administration	25.7	22.3	1.7	46.3	4.9	83.2	—	184.1	-
24/07 Auckland Office - Consular Division	66.4	13.6	6.0	3.6	3.7	6.9	0.8	101.0	-
24/08 Auckland Office - Commercial Division	33.5	9.9	2.9	9.0	1.7	0.4	0.5	57.9	-
24/09 Hawaii Office	5.5	2.4	0.4	0.2	1.2	—	—	9.7	-
24/10 Tahiti Office	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-
24/11 Australia Office	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-
<u>TOTAL: EXTERNAL AFFAIRS</u>	<u>131.1</u>	<u>48.2</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>59.1</u>	<u>11.5</u>	<u>90.5</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>352.7</u>	<u>-</u>

Source: Estimates of the Expenditure and Revenue of the Government of the Cook Islands for the Year Ending 31st March 1983.

Table 9: External Affairs: Administration (Rarotonga) Expenditure  
( \* 1981-82 Period)

CODE:	EXPENDITURE:	1982-83	1981-82 *	
		Estimate	Voted	Expended
01	<u>PERSONNEL</u>	<u>33,100</u>	24,100	25,700
	Salaries	32,900		
	Wages	200		
02	<u>TRAVEL, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS</u>	<u>21,100</u>	31,400	22,300
	Overseas Travel	9,050		
	Inter-Island Travel	250		
	Communications	11,800		
03	<u>MAINTENANCE OF PROPERTY AND EQUIPMENT</u>	<u>1,100</u>	1,700	1,700
	Buildings	500		
	Equipment	600		
04	<u>MATERIALS, SUPPLIES AND SERVICES</u>	<u>41,800</u>	45,600	46,300
	Stores	300		
	Printing and Stationery	3,500		
	Electricity	1,400		
	Prof and Specialist Services	36,600		
05	<u>OTHER OPERATING EXPENDITURE</u>	<u>3,000</u>	4,300	4,900
	Subscriptions	2,000		
	Entertainment	1,000		
06	<u>GRANTS, CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSIDIES</u>	<u>118,500</u>	84,800	83,200
	SPC	35,000		
	SPEC	33,000		
	UNDP	25,000		
	FFA	20,000		
	CFTC	1,500		
	PIDP	4,000		
07	<u>CAPITAL</u>	<u>NIL</u>	NIL	NIL
	<u>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</u>	<u>218,600</u>	191,900	184,100
		Planned Level	As At	As At
	<u>STAFF NUMBERS</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>31.1.82</u>	<u>31.3.81</u>
	Salaried	5	5	8
	Wage Worker	1	1	1
	Aid	-	-	-
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>

Source: Estimates of the Expenditure and Revenue of the Government of the Cook Islands for the Year Ending 31st March 1983

#### IV. INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL PARTICIPATION

When the Cook Islands attained self government in 1965, most observers were agreed that external affairs for the islands was a New Zealand Government's responsibility outside the prerogative of the Cook Islands Government. They pointed to the heavy dependence on the foreign affairs services of New Zealand, the lack of activity in the "External Affairs" portfolio of the Cook Islands, and the ambiguous wording of the Cook Islands Constitution on the subject of external affairs. Indeed, from 1965 to 1972 the New Zealand Government handled almost all foreign affairs for the Cook Islands.

During that amorphous period, the Cook Islands Government participation in regional and international activities was usually at the New Zealand Government's invitation. Thus it was that in 1966 Albert Henry joined the New Zealand delegation to the South Pacific Conference in Noumea.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, however, as a result of self government, the Cook Islands now had a more direct involvement with the South Pacific Commission. To ease her former colonial master's concern, Albert Henry promised New Zealand that he would forward copies of Cook Islands communications with the South Pacific Commission.<sup>2</sup>

The Cook Islands Government also channelled protests through the New Zealand Government concerning illegal visitors to the Cook Islands and the French nuclear tests in French Polynesia.<sup>3</sup> Cook Islands direct involvement in international affairs from 1965 to 1971 was limited to the Pacific region. As there was no clear policy within the Cook Islands on external affairs management, the prerogative of New Zealand's role seemed supreme.

In 1971, the South Pacific Forum was formed with Albert Henry playing a major role. Henry consistently argued for the inclusion of New Zealand and Australia in the new forum. "They are our friends," he would often state.<sup>4</sup> New Zealand and Australia were finally accepted as a necessary and intergral part of the region and their support was subsequently enlisted. The establishment of the Forum institutionalised the periodic meeting of Heads of government in the Pacific.

The Forum initiated a turning point in the regional participation of the Cook Islands Government. Albert Henry thereafter established himself as a consistent contributor in all regional meetings that he attended. Stuart Inder of the Pacific Islands Monthly often underlined Albert Henry's contributions to the Pacific region:

Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and (Sir) Albert Henry are the two men who have done most to create today's South Pacific - to give it an entity, authority, direction.<sup>5</sup>

From 1972 to 1978, Albert Henry increased the participation of the Cook Islands Government in regional organisations and the creation of the External Affairs "Department" in 1974 marked the beginning of direct international participation.

When in 1978 Dr. Thomas Davis (Sir Thomas after 1978) took over the leadership of the Cook Islands Government, he maintained the momentum which Albert Henry had initiated for regional participation. On the international front, such involvement was increased. Noticeably, however, the Cook Islands Government was selective in its push for direct international negotiations. The Law of the Sea, Lome, and bilateral negotiations were the island government's areas of interest.

New Zealand generally took a supportive role as the Cook Islands moved into undertaking bilateral negotiations. A Bilateral Boundary Delimitation Treaty with the United States was signed in June 11 of 1980. The Treaty released the United States claims on some of the islands in the Northern Cook Islands,<sup>6</sup> as well as clearly establishing the boundary between American Samoa and the Cook Islands. Other aspects of the Treaty underlined assistance projects: the United States Peace Corps program, book distribution, and a transshipment arrangement between American Samoa and the Cook Islands. While all Cook Islands politicians fully supported the friendly overtones of the Treaty, some were quick to point out that in releasing their rights over the Cook Islands, the United States did not give anything away.<sup>7</sup>

The Treaty, however, did benefit the Cook Islands more than simply by the settlement of outmoded U.S. claims; it set an important precedent in expanding the capacity of the Cook Islands to sign their own treaties. It should be noted that the United States approached the New Zealand Government first before it negotiated with the Cook Islands Government.<sup>8</sup> It is doubtful that the United States officials would have pursued the matter with the Cook Islanders had New Zealand

protested. However, it is also questionable that the Cook Islands Government would have accepted the notion of New Zealand signing for the return of territory belonging to the Cook Islands. The Cook Islands Government was also especially anxious to define its borders, for that was important in the development of the microstate's marine resources. The Bilateral Treaty did not relieve New Zealand from its responsibilities for the external affairs of the Cook Islands. It signalled a visible shift in the managing of those affairs. It was now recognized that the Cook Islands had capacity to sign its own bilateral treaties.

With the boundary of the Cook Islands set, the Cook Islands Government next pursued the advantages gained by granting Rights of Access to its economic Zone. Successful discussions were held with the governments of Taiwan, Korea and Norway. In a one year agreement with Taiwan for the October 1981-October 1982 season, a \$NZ 90,000 accord was signed.<sup>9</sup> Korea's \$NZ 100,000 agreement of 1980 was expanded to \$NZ 110,000 for 1981.<sup>10</sup> Unlike the agreement with Taiwan and Korea, the arrangement made with Norway involved exploratory fishing, the success of which has yet to be measured.

All of these fishing agreements have not been without problems. In 1981, a Korean vessel ran aground on Penrhyn in the Northern Cook Islands and caused severe pollution damages. It was only after aggressive negotiations by the chief fishing officer, Julian Dashwood, that the Koreans agreed to pay \$NZ 57,000 compensation for reef pollution.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly by the end of 1981, the involvement of the Cook Islands Government in international matters had increased. All Pacific regional affairs and some international relations were being managed by the island government. The Cook Islands Government had long stopped forwarding copies to New Zealand of Cook Islands dealings with the South Pacific Commission.<sup>12</sup> In place in the island government was an External Affairs Department supported by a small network of overseas representatives. Bilateral treaties had been signed with several countries, one of which was a major power, the United States. The others were aid and fishing agreements. The New Zealand Government approved of the Cook Islands Government involvement in these negotiations, and often encouraged it. The exception was the Cook Islands fishing negotiation with Taiwan. That, was not favourably viewed by New Zealand.<sup>13</sup>

The Taiwan fishing negotiations continued and the Cook Islands Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Iaveta Short, pointed out that Taiwan was already taking more fish from the Cook Islands fishing zone than any other country. His emphasis on priorities carried a ring of defiance:

We have no dealings with Mainland China-New Zealand has. The Cook Islands cannot continue to mark time because of the New Zealand problem. It is necessary in our fishing negotiations and to our economic development that we talk to the nation taking most of our fish.<sup>14</sup>

The Cook Islands Government continued to talk with the Taiwan officials, and a bilateral fishing agreement with Taiwan was signed in 1981. The incident served to emphasize previous statements by the New Zealand Government that the Cook Islands Government had a capacity to manage its own external affairs.<sup>15</sup>

The New Zealand Office in the Cook Islands has also shown visible changes in representation. From 1965 to 1975, the New Zealand High Commissioner in the Cook Islands acted as both the Head of State and the New Zealand Representative. A mutual agreement in 1975 by both the New Zealand and Cook Islands Governments recognized that "it was no longer appropriate for the High Commissioner, appointed under the Constitution, to exercise both the powers of Queen's representative and responsibilities as diplomatic representative of the New Zealand Government."<sup>16</sup> After 1975, the New Zealand Government appointed "a 'Representative' rather than a High Commissioner", leaving the Chief Justice of the Cook Islands High Court to exercise the functions of Queen's representative in the Cook Islands.<sup>17</sup> In 1982, a Head of State took over those functions as queen's representative and the New Zealand Representative focused on diplomatic representation.

In June, 1982, the first diplomatic office accredited to the Cook Islands, aside from that of New Zealand, was established by the Republic of Nauru.<sup>18</sup> In the same year, the Cook Islands Government was also given the right by the United Nations to be a signatory to the Law of the Sea<sup>19</sup> and the island government announced the designation of a Cook Islands Representative for Hong Kong.<sup>20</sup>

This trend in increasing international and regional participation continues. New Zealand's support of that development only substantiates the argument that a Cook Islands prerogative for its own external affairs does exist.

In table 13 a listing of the participation of the Cook Islands in bilateral or multilateral relationships is presented. It focuses on membership in organizations and major agreements. While the list is not exhaustive, it does show an obvious trend. Cook Islands Government is very active in the Pacific region and is increasing its limited participation in international affairs.

Table 10: Cook Islands External Participation  
(Major focus: Membership and Agreements)

Year		Bilateral	Multilateral	
			Pacific Region	International
1964	South Pacific Games		X	
1965	Pacific Islands Producers Association (PIPA)		X	
1966	University of the South Pacific (USP)		X	
	South Pacific Commission Conference		X	
1971	South Pacific Forum		X	
	Telecommunications Center		X	
1972	South Pacific Arts Festival		X	
	** Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ESCAFE)			X
1973	Agreement Establishing the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC Agreement)		X	
	United Nations Development Project (UNDP) Aid			X
	**Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)			X
	South Pacific Regional Shipping Council		X	
	Separate Representation in Law of Sea Conference accepted			X
	Committee for Coordination of Joint Prospecting for Mineral Resources in the South Pacific Offshore Areas (CCOP/SOPAC)		X	
	Agricultural Requisite Scheme for Asia and the Pacific (ARSAP)			X

\*\* ESCAFE later changed to ESCAP

Year		Bilateral	Multilateral	
			Pacific	International
	Regional Coordination Center for Research and Development of Coarse Grains, Pulses, Roots and Tuber (CGPRT) Crops in the Humid Tropics of Asia and the Pacific.			X
1976	Asian Development Bank membership			X
1977	Pacific Forum Line		X	
1978	South Pacific Trade Commission		X	
	South Pacific Commission Canberra Agreement Amended		X	
1979	South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency		X	
1980	Lome Application			X
	Boundary Treaty with the United States	X		
	Peace Corps Program with the United States	X		
	Fishing Agreement with South Korea	X		
1981	Fishing Agreement with Taiwan	X		
	Fishing Agreement with South Korea	X		
	Exploratory Fishing Agreement with Norway	X		
	Oil Pollution Agreement with South Korea	X		
1982	Right to sign Law of the Sea recognized by the United Nations			X
	Nauru Diplomatic Office in the Cook Islands established	X		

V. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PERSPECTIVE

This chapter looks at the attitudes toward external affairs of a portion of the Cook Islands population. Their perception is viewed concerning the purpose and function of the External Affairs Department and the depth of the New Zealand Government's continued involvement in the external affairs of the Cook Islands. The intention is to find out how Cook Islanders relate to the development of an External Affairs Department. The methodology employed involved structured questionnaires supplemented by personal interviews conducted by the author.<sup>1</sup>

A survey of three sectors of the Cook Islands community on Rarotonga was conducted in June, July and August of 1982: politicians, government administrators and businessmen. The sectors were selected on the assumption that of all possible groupings, they would have had the most contact with the External Affairs Department. To measure the responses of other sectors of the community would not have been as fruitful, for their knowledge of External Affairs is probably minimal or naught. The politicians' sector consisted of all 22 Members of the Cook Islands Parliament of whom 21 responded. The names of businessmen on Rarotonga were randomly selected from the Cook Islands Chamber of Commerce membership list. The Chamber of Commerce represents only about 60% of all businesses in Rarotonga and about 45% of all businesses in the Cook Islands. It is however, the medium with which the Cook Islands Government makes direct contact to the business community. The External Affairs Department channels relevant business information to the Chamber of Commerce. Therefore, although it does not directly represent all

businessmen, it does consist of persons who have had the most opportunity to make contact with External Affairs. From the listed 87 businessmen, 29 were selected, but only 15 responded. The poor response may suggest either a lack of knowledge or minimal interest in the External Affairs Department. Administrators were drawn from various government departments and were usually the most senior officials. A list of 34 senior officials was acquired from the secretary to the Prime Minister. The list was checked by two other senior government officials. Of the 34 administrators contacted, 29 responded.

The results of the survey showed that the External Affairs Department is perceived by the persons responding as an important part of government operations. When the question of discontinuing the External Affairs Department was posed, the majority of administrators and politicians felt that the department was indispensable. The distribution of the businessmen responses suggested a similar, but not as strong, support for the department (see table

Table 11: Should the External Affairs Department be Discontinued?

	Yes	No	Don't Know	TOTAL
Businessmen	3	9	3	15
Administrators	—	27	2	29
Politicians	3	17	1	21
TOTAL	6	53	6	65

The strongest support for the External Affairs Department came from the administrators, with none suggesting that the department be absorbed into another sector of government or simply abolished. On the other hand, a minority of businessmen and politicians did make that suggestion. They

pointed to the lack of visible productivity, the ability of other departments to assume external affairs functions and the \$NZ 100,000 to \$NZ 200,000 that could be annually saved.<sup>2</sup> Some respondents who expressed awareness of departmental weaknesses nevertheless supported its continued existence, emphasizing that the department was still young and the staff simply needed experience. "After all," commented one administrator, "there was an expatriate running the department for years, so how can you expect locals to learn without assuming the position".<sup>3</sup> Mr Pomani Tangata, Research Officer to the Prime Minister's Department, and included in the sample, explained it less parochially: "The problem is External Affairs was never established properly from the start. We cannot correct the branches unless we correct the roots".<sup>4</sup>

1. The Problems. Visibility, credibility, mobility, personnel (staff development), and unclear goals were all alluded to as constituting problem areas for external affairs. Mr Tangata's reference to roots<sup>5</sup> was most appropriate in describing the lack of a clear delineation of authority and responsibilities in relation to other departments which were engaged in overseas programs. Unclear responsibilities and authority probably contributed to the lack of visibility, and credibility, and to the existence of unclear goals. The absence of well defined areas of responsibility at the time of the survey was essentially due to a mutually reinforcing chain of events: the celebrated change of government in 1978 and the subsequent preoccupation of the new government with other pressing areas of administration,<sup>6</sup> the separation of the Planning Division from External Affairs<sup>7</sup> accompanied by the

former's assumption of the aid function removed from the latter, and the disruption caused by the relatively sudden departure of the Secretary of External Affairs.<sup>8</sup> The External Affairs Department also suffered a rapid turn over of staff, and this contributed to the problems as seen by all sectors of the survey.

It would appear that the cited problems of External Affairs are not insurmountable. Such solutions as the employment of contracted advisers, mounting of training programs, and the establishing of a clear cut functional policy with well-defined goals and priorities can relatively easily be adopted. However, what is unclear is how Sir Thomas Davis' government would react to any plans that will propose spending more money on the department, especially since it is Sir Thomas' view that "diplomats is for rich people".<sup>9</sup> In any case, changes in the department ought to reflect the needs of both the government and the people of the Cook Islands. As pointed out by a local businessman, "it depends on what we expect from External Affairs. If its a clearing house only, then they're doing a great job".<sup>10</sup>

2. Purpose of External Affairs. So an important question is, "What do Cook Islanders expect from the External Affairs Department ?" "What do they perceive as the purpose of the External Affairs sector of the government." There is no single answer.

The Prime Minister, Sir Thomas Davis, believes that it should involve or promote trade.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Leader of the Opposition, perceives two purposes: "First, to negotiate overseas aid for development plans. Second, to keep government abreast of political, economical,

and other world trends, and providing government with reliable intelligence information."<sup>12</sup> The Minister of Tourism and Internal Affairs, Mr Iaveta Short, expresses a slightly different view about the purpose of External Affairs: "Firstly, to project the Cook Islands image overseas. Secondly, to have its voice heard in the international forum. Thirdly, to marshall a coordinated approach in our dealings overseas."<sup>13</sup>

Unlike these politicians, some businessmen interviewed were not as incisive about the purpose of the External Affairs Department. One businessman wrote: "I perceived the Cook Islands External Affairs as a unit gathering information from overseas. At the moment, I don't know

what they're doing."<sup>14</sup> Another explained the purpose of External Affairs as:

- (1) To keep time with New Zealand.
- (2) To check our government protocol moves while on overseas trips, and
- (3) To pretend we have international class.<sup>15</sup>

The purpose of the External Affairs Department was posed as a question to all sections of the population that was surveyed. Responses included:

Liaison and communication overseas  
 Aid  
 Observation of international events  
 Publicity  
 Advice to government  
 Negotiating Assistance  
 Trade Commission  
 Welfare for overseas Cook Islanders  
 Government purchasing  
 Protocol  
 Travel  
 Liaison with New Zealand Foreign Affairs  
 Employment  
 Assist in the planning of national development  
 General information  
 Visible image as an educational tool in the school system

Almost all of the respondents in each sector referred to liaison and communication overseas as a function of the External Affairs Department. There was no comparable concurrence on any other function served.

### 3. Utilization of the External Affairs Department.

It appeared in the survey that the presumed purpose attributed to the External Affairs Department by individuals in a sector correlated with the actual use made of the department by that sector. Those who identified the purpose of the External Affairs Department as travel, liaison, or protocol, tended to report the department for those purposes.

The External Affairs Department tended to be used mainly by politicians and administrators while the businessmen were more apt to use their own business or personal contact (see table 12).

Table 12 Contact Medium for Overseas Business

Medium	Administrators	Businessmen	Politicians	TOTAL
External Affairs	13	4	14	31
Personal *	11	15	12	38
New Zealand Rep	4	1	2	7
Other Govt Depts:				14
Internal Affairs	1	-	3	
Devlp Planning	1	2	-	
Tourist	1	1	-	
Agriculture	-	1	1	
Treasury	1	-	-	
Health	-	1	-	
Premier's	-	-	1	

Note: Some individuals reported more than one medium of contact.

\* Includes personal and business contacts.

It is also apparent that activities pertaining to other countries were often being channelled at least in the initial stages, through other government departments.

4. New Zealand's Role. The survey showed that the administrators and politicians responding supported the continued existence of an External Affairs Department (see table 11). It also indicated utilization of the department for overseas contacts was mostly by administrators and politicians (see table 12). The expressed support for an External Affairs Department within the Cook Islands administration raised a related issue: "What role did the

sample population perceive for New Zealand?" or rephrased "How much of the Cook Islands external affairs should New Zealand manage?" Although all of the respondents were emphatic about continued consultation between the two countries in the event that New Zealand acts on behalf of the Cook Islands, no defining of a general position was apparent. That probably was a reflection of the cost involved in the Cook Islands conducting its own external affairs and the reality of possessing minimal political clout.

"Who do we think we are in the world political line up?" questioned one businessman. "The money to date has been wasted. My information is that these trips abroad has [sic] been just that. Ego and holiday trips."<sup>16</sup> Another businessman focussed on the lack of local expertise and experience in international diplomacy: "No greenhorn should go in there and be done and don't know he's being done."<sup>17</sup>

Administrators generally took a stance different from that of the businessmen (see table 13). Reflecting that, Mr Tony Utanga, Secretary of Internal Affairs, stated that "New Zealand should do as little as possible because it's our nation and our welfare. We know what we want and need."<sup>18</sup> Former Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Tupui Henry made a similar statement: "New Zealand has done much on our behalf and we appreciate it. New Zealand should be solicited to continue to assist us while we take the bull by the horns and gradually take it over ourselves."<sup>19</sup>

Table : 13 How Much of the Cook Islands External Affairs Should the New Zealand Government Manage?

	RESPONSES			
	Administrators	Businessmen	Politicians	TOTAL
All	-	1	-	1
Much As Possible	8	9	11	28
Little As Possible	13	3	7	23
None	3	1	3	7
No Comment	5	1	-	6

It is interesting to note that the ratio of support for more New Zealand involvement showed the politicians to be closer to businessmen than administrators (see table 13):

	<i>FAVORING</i>	<i>DISAPPROVING</i>
Administrators	8	16
Businessmen	10	4
Politicians	11	10

5. Overseas Representatives. The subject of attitudes toward Cook Islands Government representatives in Auckland, Honolulu, Papeete and Canberra was another focus of the survey. In each sector of the sample population, a few individuals who were interviewed expressed unawareness about the existence of overseas representatives. Most respondents knew of the program and some had utilized it for information, travel arrangements, or assistance in contacting third parties.

Table 14: Use of Overseas Representatives

	No	Yes	Overseas Offices Used			
			Auckland	Hawaii	Tahiti	Australia
Administration	11	18	17	8	3	1
Businessmen	8	7	5	3	-	-
Politicians	3	18	16	11	3	-
TOTAL	22	43	38	22	6	1

Table 15: Do You Support More Representatives?

	No	Yes	Don't Know
Administration	11	15	3
Businessmen	8	7	-
Politicians	4	17	-
TOTAL	23	39	3

The support expressed for the setting up of more overseas representatives almost coincided with the utilization of present services. Almost the same number did not support any increase of present services (see table 15) as those who had not used the services of overseas representatives (see table 14). One politician who had used the services expressed no support for any increase of overseas representatives. Nevertheless, in analyzing the individual responses, there was a clear trend of support from those who had utilized the program.

In summarizing the results of the structured questionnaires,  
five points are evident:

- (1) There is general support by all three sectors for the continued existence of the External Affairs Department (see table 11).
- (2) All sectors recognized liaison and communication as a function of the External Affairs Department.
- (3) More administrators and politicians tend to use the External Affairs Office services than businessmen.
- (4) At least some continued managing of external affairs by New Zealand is favored by the majority of all sectors (see table 13) ✓
- (5) The overseas program is generally supported by those who have used it.

## VI. CONCLUSION

In 1965, self government in free association with New Zealand catapulted the Cook Islands onto the world stage. As an international audience pondered over this unprecedented political status, the Cook Islands and New Zealand governments defined their free association relationship as a form of partnership. The partnership opened up opportunities of international participation to the emerging microstate. Gradually, the Cook Islands Government developed an External Affairs Department and by the end of 1981, a network of overseas representatives was in operation. These links were in Tahiti, New Zealand, Australia and Hawaii. In 1982, Hong Kong was added on the list and the Government increased its efforts to establish a representative in American Samoa.

What had started off as a one man External Affairs Department comprised of the Premier is now a full fledged governmental department. As of 1982, staff members in Rarotonga are being supported by eleven personnel located overseas. Regional, bilateral and multilateral participation has been gradually increasing. The Cook Islands Government is now directly involved as a party in some bilateral treaties: Delimitation Treaty with the United States, which includes a bilateral Peace Corps agreement; fishing agreements with Taiwan, Korea, and Norway; and several aid arrangements. The Cook Islands is participating as a full member in various regional organisations and is a member of such multilateral organisations as the Asian Development Bank, and the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).

While the Cook Islands Government is pursuing much of its own external affairs needs, the "free association" relationship with New Zealand has remained "intact". The declared responsibility for the external affairs of the Cook Islands still rests with New Zealand, but a Cook Islands prerogative for assuming at least some part of those responsibilities has clearly been emerging. The New Zealand Government is publicly supporting that development, and that seems to have been the trend since 1965.

From 1965 to 1970, New Zealand managed almost all of the External Affairs of the Cook Islands. After 1970, Cook Islands regional responsibilities slowly shifted to the island government. By 1974, these changes were being manifested in the New Zealand Government's move to deal with the Cook Islands through their Foreign Affairs Office.

Increased international and regional participation, the continuing growth of an External Affairs Department, and the official New Zealand Government policy of recognising a Cook Islands capacity to deal with external affairs. This has also highlighted to deal with external affairs have all contributed to establishing the Cook Islands prerogative over its external affairs. This has also highlighted the island government's treaty making capacity, substantiated by the fact that such treaties have now been signed.

Despite all this, there are important political, economic and social considerations which face the Cook Islands Government and restrain its entering into a international agreements:

- (a) The priority of the subject matter in relation to the Cook Islands needs;
- (b) The ability of the Cook Islands Government to pursue foreign policies that can be supported by the microstate's limited resources;
- (c) Acknowledgement by other countries and organisations of the Cook Islands Government's right to adhere to treaties;
- (d) The potential effect of any international agreement on Cook Islands' trade, aid, security, overseas population, and New Zealand citizenship.

The existence of these restraints necessitates maintaining liaison with the New Zealand Government, the country that is most important to the Cook Islands, which continues the ambiguity surrounding the scope of the latter's governmental prerogatives.

If the Cook Islands Government does indeed possess such an unlimited prerogative, would it extend to signing a treaty with a country potentially unfriendly to New Zealand, such as the Soviet Union? In view of the completed treaties with the United States, Korea, and Taiwan the abstract answer would seem to be in the affirmative. However, political considerations of the Cook Islands' linkage with New Zealand far supersede any potential benefits of such a treaty. The trade, aid and citizenship ties of the Cook Islands with New Zealand are of basic importance. Consultation with New Zealand would undoubtedly be sought by the Cook Islands Government before embarking upon any such treaty. It would thus appear that the capacity to enter into such an agreement with the Soviet Union would really not become an issue, and the freedom to exercise that capacity would remain moot question.

Other evidence pointing up the general trend of greater Cook Islands involvement in its own external affairs can be found in changes made in the process of consultation. From 1965 to 1978, the Cook Islands Government reliance on the New Zealand Government to act on the microstate's behalf resulted in a number of treaties signed by New Zealand which directly named or implicitly affected the Cook Islands.<sup>1</sup> The system observed was for the New Zealand Government to consult the Cook Islands Government before entering into such a treaty; the Island Cabinet would then make a decision which is passed on to New Zealand. The New Zealand Government then acts on that advice, and in depositing its instrument of accession/ratification, stated that the agreement would apply to the Cook Islands.<sup>2</sup>

After 1978, the new government in the Cook Islands expressed the view that the existing procedure did not appropriately reflect either the nature of the relationship with New Zealand nor the Cook Island's capacity to sign international treaties in its own right. It was further pointed out that the arrangement probably adversely linked the Cook Islands in the eyes of the international community to the New Zealand territories of Tokelau and the Ross Dependency.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of 1981, both the New Zealand and Cook Islands Governments were on the verge of approving a new format for consultation. It outlined the procedures for a Cook Islands input in international treaty negotiations being pursued by the New Zealand Government:<sup>4</sup>

- (1) New Zealand advises the Cook Islands Government when it is about to enter into negotiations which might result in an international agreement;

- (2) The Cook Islands is advised when the agreement is signed and a text is provided as quickly as possible;
- (3) The purport of the agreement and its effect on the Cook Islands will be studied;
- (4) The Cook Islands Government will submit to Parliament a resolution approving ratification, accession or adhesion. If Parliament is not in session, the decision will be made by Cabinet and submitted for confirmation in the next Parliament session;
- (5) Cook Islands will advise New Zealand of the decision of Parliament or Cabinet;
- (6) New Zealand will advise the Cook Islands Government when the agreement has come into force.

The most visible evidence of the trend towards a Cook Islands prerogative over its own external affairs, however, remains in the actual development of the External Affairs Department. Its founding and continued growth reflect a felt need for a government department specializing in foreign relations. Its existence helps the Cook Islands attain a higher profile as a credible party to international agreements. In addition, the External Affairs Department has become a channel for trade, foreign aid assistance, diplomatic relations and provision of services to overseas Cook Islanders, and has the potential for finding new markets for Cook Islands produce. Its development has enhanced clear and direct communication between the Cook Islands and the outside world. The External Affairs Department has become a direct "door" to foreign aid assistance which is vital to a microstate that is not blessed with many natural resources.

The high cost of directly managing all of the foreign affairs of a microstate is an inhibiting factor. With that realization clearly in perspective, the Cook Islands Government will continue to take advantage of New Zealand's assistance. It will continue to "consult" with the New Zealand Government on international matters and the New Zealand Government will reciprocate on matters affecting the Cook Islands. Since "consultation" will remain an intergral part of external affairs for the Cook Islands, it is doubtful that the ambiguity over where the prerogative rests will ever be completely resolved.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Former United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, defined microstate as a sovereign state "exceptionally small in area, population and economic resources". U Thant, United Nations Monthly Chronicle 4, No 9, 1967, pp. 135-37.

<sup>2</sup>The Cook Islands, (Rarotonga: Government of the Cook Islands, 1980)

<sup>3</sup>Thomas R Adam, Western Interests in the Pacific Realm, (NY: Random House, 1967) p. 159.

<sup>4</sup>Cook Islands Constitution Act 1964, section 5.

<sup>5</sup>Arnold H. Leibowitz, Colonial Emancipation in the Pacific and and the Caribbean, A Legal and Political Analysis, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976) p.143.

<sup>6</sup>David J. Stone, "Self Rule in the Cook Islands: the Government and Politics of a New Microstate," (Diss. Australia National University, 1971)

<sup>7</sup>Interview with Tamari 'i Pierre, South Pacific Commission Director, Hawaii, February 1982. Mr. Pierre was also a former SPEC Program Director and the first Director of External Affairs for the Cook Islands Government.

<sup>8</sup>"Financial Statement," Cook Islands News, 20 June 1981, p.1.

<sup>9</sup>"Hitches in Fishing Talks with Taiwan," Cook Islands News, 6 December 1979, p.1.

<sup>10</sup>"New Zealand Government Statement to the Lome Secretary," Excerpt from a Cook Islands External Affairs Department Paper, 1980-1981. p.11.

<sup>11</sup>Flows of Official Development Assistance by Major Source and Recipient, 1980 (\$A'000), South Pacific Commission, 1982. See also the: Population, Land and Sea Areas, South Pacific Commission, 1980. The South Pacific Commission population figure of 17,900 for the Cook Islands is far below the estimated 30,000 Cook Islanders (born in the Cook Islands) who live in New Zealand.

<sup>12</sup>Informal discussions with Dr. Norman Meller, Honolulu, 4 September 1982

- 13 Informal discussions with Tom Wichman, Rarotonga, August 1982.
- 14 Peter J. Boyce, Foreign Affairs for New States: Some Questions of Credentials, (Australia: Institute of International Affairs, 1977) p. 9.
- 15 A Brief Outline of the History, the Constitution, and the Economy of the Cook Islands with Particular Reference to the Transport Sector, (Rarotonga: Department of Planning, 1981) p. 3. See also B.L. Wood and R.F. Hay, Geology of the Cook Islands, Bull. NZ geology Survey, number 82, 1970.
- 16 Alphons Kloosterman, Discoverers of the Cook Islands and the Names They Gave, (Rarotonga: Library and Museum, 1976), Kloosterman gives detailed accounts of the discoveries of various islands in the Cook group.
- 17 Richard Gilson, The Cook Islands 1820-1950, (Australia: Victoria University Press in association with USP, 1980) Gilson gives a detailed history of the Cook Islands from 1820 to 1950.
- 18 A Brief Outline of the History, p.7.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER II.

<sup>1</sup>The experts were Professor C.C. Aikman, Professor of Constitutional Law at Victoria University, Wellington, Professor J.W. Davidson, Professor of Pacific History at the Australian National University, Canberra, and J.B. Wright, then High Commissioner for New Zealand in Western Samoa.

<sup>2</sup>Legislative Assembly Papers, 12 November 1963.

<sup>3</sup>Legislative Assembly Papers, 26 July 1965.

<sup>4</sup>"An Explanatory Note on Recent Cook Islands Constitutional Amendments," Cook Islands Government Paper, February 1981, p.7. See also C.C. Aikman, "Constitutional Development in New Zealand's Island Territories," pp. 336-337.

<sup>5</sup>Excerpt from "Statement made in the Committee of Twenty-Four by the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, Mr. F.H. Corner, on 23 August," External Affairs Review, 15, 8 (August 1965): 35.

<sup>6</sup>There are at present more Cook Islanders in New Zealand than in the Cook Islands. In 1981, the estimate was 30,000 in New Zealand to 17,900 in the Cook Islands. Interview with Ms Stella Brothers, Welfare Officer, Cook Islands Auckland Office, Auckland, New Zealand, August 1982.

<sup>7</sup>Cook Islands Government Special Review, 1981, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>New Zealand Parliament, Cook Islands Constitution Act, 1964, and the Cook Islands Constitution Amendment Act, 1965. The Cook Islands Constitution was modelled on Westminster lines. The Assembly was made up of 22 seats representing islands or districts. In a Cook Islands Legislative Assembly amendment in 1981, the number of seats were increased to 24 as well as changing the names of Premier and Assembly to Prime Minister and Parliament respectively. Although the other changes became effective, the filling of the seats was set for the forthcoming 1983 General Elections.

<sup>9</sup>"Statement by the Prime Minister (of New Zealand)," External Affairs Review, 15, 8. (August 1965): 13.

<sup>10</sup>Exchange of Letters Between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Cook Islands on the Constitutional Relationship Between the Two Countries, 1973. See also the Legislative Assembly Debates or Hansard 1978, pp. 31-32.

11 Informal discussion with Dr Macu Salato, former Secretary General of the South Pacific Commission, Honolulu, Hawaii, September 1982.

12 John B. Hart, "Cook Islands: Civilisation Discovered, in Tiny Specks," Pacific Islands Monthly, 53,3 (March 1982): 45

13 Arnold H. Leibowitz, Colonial Emancipation in the Pacific and the Caribbean, (NY: Praegar Publishers Inc, 1976), p. 132.

14 David Stone, "Self Rule in the Cook Islands: the Government and Politics of a New Microstate," (Thesis Australian National University, 1971). Also David Stone, "Political Resurgence in the Cook Islands; the Path to Self-Government, 1944-1965," (Thesis University of Auckland, 1967)

15 Exchange of Letters Between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Cook Islands , 1973, p.2.

16 External Affairs Review, 15,8 (August 1965): 13.

17 "Statement by the Premier of the Cook Islands at the Law of the Sea Conference," New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review, 24,7 (July 1974): 43-46.

18 "Its a Happy Marriage (albeit a tense one)," Pacific Islands Monthly, 41,9 (September 1970): 27.

19 A Brief Outline of the History, the Constitution, and the Economy of the Cook Islands with Particular Reference to the Transport Sector, (Rarotonga: Department of Planning, 1981) p. 10.

20 Exchange of Letters Between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Cook Islands, 1973, p.2.

21 Extract from a letter to Sir Albert Henry from Rt. Hon. W.E. Rowling via G.J. Brocklehurst, High Commissioner to the Cook Islands. Letter dated 11 November, 1974 and published in the Cook Islands News 12 November 1974, p.1.

22 Stephen Levine, "Interview: Albert Henry 1907-1981," The New Pacific, 6,3 (May/June 1981): 58.

23 "Interview: Premier Thomas Davis, Cook Islands," The New Pacific, 5,4 (July/August 1980): 62.

<sup>24</sup>Excerpt taken from a New Zealand Government Statement to the Lome Secretary, A Brief Outline of the History, p.11.

<sup>25</sup>Exchange of Letters p. 2.

<sup>26</sup>Any break in the free association linkage between the two countries would force the Cook Islands into a difficult "independent" status. The supply of funds from New Zealand would probably diminish. New Zealand citizenship would be denied to Cook Islands "citizens" and access into New Zealand would be difficult.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>There was no explanation for the for the last change in title, which lasted for only one year. See table 2.

<sup>2</sup>Pursuant to Article V of the Cook Islands Constitution, New Zealand assumed responsibility for the external affairs of the Cook Islands as well as her defense.

<sup>3</sup>Report on the Premier's Department for Year Ended 31 December 1971, p.4.

<sup>4</sup>"It's a Happy Marriage (albeit a tense one)," Pacific Islands Monthly, 41,9 (September 1970): 27.

<sup>5</sup>Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands (Official Report) Papers Presented 1968-1969, Paper No 19, p.6.

<sup>6</sup>Report of the Premier's Department for Year Ended 31 Mar. 1969, p.4.

<sup>7</sup>Report by the Premier, Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands Papers Presented 1966, Paper No 31.

<sup>8</sup>Ted Libby, "Sir Albert Royle Henry K B E," Cook Islands Politics, (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1979) p. 28.

<sup>9</sup>Interview with Sadaraka 'Cookie' Sadaraka, former secretary to Sir Albert Henry from 1968 to 1973, Rarotonga, July 1982.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Libby, pp 25-28.

<sup>13</sup>Sir Albert Henry, Village Meeting in Akaoa, March 1974, Rarotonga.

<sup>14</sup>New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review, 24,7 (July 1974): 43-46.

<sup>15</sup>Report on the Premier's Department for Year Ended 31 Dec. 1971, pp. 4-5.

<sup>16</sup>In a survey of Cook Islanders (See chapter IV), the Pacific Region was considered by all respondents as vitally important to the Cook Islands.

<sup>17</sup>Informal discussion with former members of the Premier's Department, January and August, 1982.

<sup>18</sup>Australian aid has never been significant relative to the amount that New Zealand contributes, but it has been viewed appreciatively by the Cook Islands government leaders. Discussions with government leaders, Rarotonga, June-August, 1982.

<sup>19</sup>Interview with Geoffrey Henry, Rarotonga, June 1982.

<sup>20</sup>Albert Henry was knighted personally by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of England in 1972. The international airport at Rarotonga was also opened during the period prior to 1974.

<sup>21</sup>Kathleen Hancock, "Sir Albert, a New Kissinger, Heats the Cook's Political Pot," Pacific Islands Monthly, 45,9 (September 1974): 9.

<sup>22</sup>Premier's Department, Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands Bills Presented 1973-74, Bill 41-1, p.3. Premier's Department Act 1973 - 74.

<sup>23</sup>Ron Crocombe, "Nepotism," in Ron Crocombe (ed.), Cook Islands Politics, Polynesian Press, 1979) pp. 38-39. Tamari'i Pierre became a Program Director for SPEC.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Tamari'i Pierre, Hawaii, February 1982.

<sup>25</sup>Howard Henry was "Acting Director" or "Director" of External Affairs for two years.

<sup>26</sup>Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands Bills Presented, 1977, Bill No 22-1.

<sup>27</sup>Legislative Assembly Debates or Hansard 1977, pp.1112-1119.

<sup>28</sup>Bill No 22-1, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>Informal discussion with Collin Brown, Acting Secretary of External Affairs, Rarotonga, June 1982.

<sup>30</sup>Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands Bills Presented 1978-79, Act No 1-1.

<sup>31</sup>Hansard Report 1978, p.2.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. p.4.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid. p.5.

<sup>34</sup>Overseas Representative Act, 1978, No 1.

<sup>35</sup>The Overseas Representative Act No 1 was passed in January of 1978. The Hawaii Representative was appointed a month later.

<sup>36</sup>See Cook Islands Politics for a candid discussion of the Cook Islands 1978 elections. See also the Court determination of Donne C.J. Over Various Petitions, (Rarotonga: Government Printers, 1978)

<sup>37</sup>"Constitutional Amendment (No 9) Invalid?," The Petitioner, Rarotonga, 25 March 1982.

<sup>38</sup>Cook Islands Constitution Amendment (No 9), 1980-81, No 24.

<sup>39</sup>Dr Thomas Davis was knighted after he became the second Premier of the Cook Islands. After the Constitutional Amendment, he became the Prime Minister.

<sup>40</sup>"Interview: Premier Thomas Davis, Cook Islands," The New Pacific, 5,4 (July August 1980): 60.

<sup>41</sup>Interview with Norman George, Consular Affairs Officer, Rarotonga, 1982.

<sup>42</sup>Cook Islands politicians and administrators who alluded to the problem often pointed to an ongoing inhibiting restraint by some Cook Islanders to remain closely tied with New Zealand.

<sup>43</sup>Interview with Norman George, Consular Affairs Officer, Rarotonga August 1982.

<sup>44</sup>"Parking without Trouble-by Order," New Zealand Herald, 22 December 1980, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup>South Pacific Economies 1979 : Statistical Summary, (New Caledonia: South Pacific Commission, 1981) p. 27. Also South Pacific Economies 1980: Statistical Summary, (New Caledonia: South Pacific Commission, 1982) p.27.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid. p.2.

- 47 Several Cook Islanders I talked in Auckland described the change of staff after the 1978 election as political in nature and that thereafter those who supported Albert Henry's party hesitated to use the Auckland Office.
- 48 Interview with Stella Brothers, Liaison/Welfare Officer, Auckland, August 1982.
- 49 Interview with Norman George, Rarotonga, August 1982.
- 50 Informal discussions with External Affairs staff, Rarotonga, Aug. 1982.
- 51 Interview with Papa Vainerere Tangatapoto, Member of Parliament for the island of Atiu, Rarotonga, July 1982.
- 52 Informal discussions with Tauariki Estall, Honolulu, 1978.
- 53 In the actual use of overseas representatives, (see V ) it is interesting to note that Tahiti was the least used by the segments of the population surveyed.
- 54 Informal discussion with Tauariki and Alfred Estall, Tahiti, 1973.
- 55 Alfred Estall continued assisting Cook Islanders in Tahiti as he had done prior to his "Honorary Representative" title. The subsequent lack of title apparently did not concern Estall.
- 56 Interview with Geoffrey Henry, former Associate Minister of External Affairs, Rarotonga, July 1982.
- 57 Robert Worthington, Report to the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs, May 16, 1979.
- 58 Interview with Robert Worthington, Cook Islands Representative in Hawaii, Honolulu, September 1982.
- 59 Hawaii Office.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Interview with Sir Thomas Davis, Hawaii, January 1982.
- 62 Robert Worthington, Report to the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs, May 16, 1979. Informal discussions with Ota Joseph, leader of the Aitutaki Dance Team, Hawaii, 1978.
- 63 Robert Worthington, Report to the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs, May 16, 1979.

64 Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands, Bills Presented 1977, Bill No 22-1.

65 Dr Tom Davis, "From the Other Side of the Ring," The Pacific Way, (Lotu Pasifica, 1976) p.73.

66 Interview with Paul Tipping, New Zealand Representative in the Cook Islands, Rarotonga, July 1982.

67 Interview with Tupui Ariki Henry, former Minister of Internal Affairs from 1965 to 1978, Rarotonga, August 1982.

68 Michael Bellam, The Citrus Colony, (Wellington: New Zealand Coalition for Trade and Development, 1980) p. 47.

69 "Financial Statement from PM Highlights Development," Cook Islands News, 20 June, 1981, p.1.

70 Some aid figures published in Bellam's The Citrus Colony and "NZ Increases Financial Assistance," Cook Islands News, 11 June 1981.

71 Interview with Tamari'i Pierre, Hawaii, January 1982. By 1976, Australian aid amounted to \$NZ 900,000 which was absorbed into several projects, including the building of bridges in Rarotonga. The Premier spoke on the effectiveness of External Affairs in increasing aid. See Hansard Report 1977, pp. 1113-1114.

72 "Financial Statement," Cook Islands News, 20 June 1981, p.1.

73 Jim Gosselin was particularly visible in his efforts to have the Cook Islands accepted in the Lome Convention. It was estimated that by acceding to the Convention, the Cook Islands could receive \$NZ 3 to \$NZ 5 million in development assistance over a five year period.

74 In informal discussions with Prime Minister Sir Thomas Davis, he emphasized that the most important thing was for the job to be done. External Affairs "had lost aid by default". Hawaii,

75 The Consular Affairs Officer also oversees the Commercial Division of the Auckland Office.

<sup>76</sup> Estimates of the Expenditure and Revenue of the Government of the Cook Islands for the Year Ending 31st March 1983, (Rarotonga: Government Printer, 1982) P. 10.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. pp. 8-9.

<sup>78</sup> The traders have tended to use their own agents and other resources. This would probably be welcomed by government as a healthy sign of continuing entrepreneurship.

<sup>79</sup> In June of 1982, a total of 89 government sponsored students were overseas in six different countries: New Zealand (48), Papua New Guinea (5), Western Samoa (3), Solomon Islands (2), Fiji (26), and Australia (5). Source: Manpower Training Unit, Rarotonga.

<sup>80</sup> There are still doubts as to where Protocol should be placed within the government bureaucracy. Of those who point to Internal Affairs, they cite New Zealand as an example where protocol is a function of Internal Affairs.

<sup>81</sup> See chapters IV, for more discussion on regional and international involvements.

<sup>82</sup> "Fishing Deal Fixed with Koreans," Cook Islands News, 28 April 1980, p.1. See also "\$90,000 Fishing Agreement Signed with Taiwan," Cook Islands News, 19 October 1981, p.1. The Bilateral Treaty with the United States was signed in June 11, 1980, in Rarotonga.

<sup>83</sup> "Norwegians Arrive for Fishing Talks," Cook Islands News, 7 October 1981, p.1.

<sup>84</sup> James Gosselin, "Responsibilities of the Department of External Affairs," Paper prepared for the Department of External Affairs, 27 January 1981.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER IV.

<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note that Albert Henry's personal involvement with the South Pacific Conference went back as early as 1950 when he participated in the Fiji session as a nominated adviser to the Cook Islands delegation.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with previous staff members of External Affairs, Rarotonga, August 1982.

<sup>3</sup>Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands (Official Report) Papers Presented 1966, paper No 31.

<sup>4</sup>Informal discussion with Dr. Macu Salato, Hawaii 1982. Dr. Salato was a former Secretary General of the South Pacific Commission (1975-79). He had previously been Director of the Fiji Medical Services from 1965-74 and Mayor of Suva in 1970.

<sup>5</sup>"Stuart Inder's Pacific," Pacific Islands Monthly, 52,2 (February 1981): 17.

<sup>6</sup>United States claims were based on their Guano Act of 1856.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with 21 members of the Cook Islands Parliament, August 1982.

<sup>8</sup>Interview with William Bodde, Ambassador for the United States to Fiji (1978-81), Honolulu 1982.

<sup>9</sup>Rights of Access to its Exclusive Economic Zone were made possible by the Cook Islands Assembly in 1977, through its passing of a Territorial Sea and Exclusive Economic Zone Act. When the Boundary Delimitation Treaty with the United States was signed, this facilitated the granting of fishing rights.

Cook Islands News, October 19, 1981, p.1. discusses the 1981 Taiwan treaty.

<sup>10</sup>Cook Islands News, April 28, 1980, p. 1. Also November 27, 1981, p.1.

<sup>11</sup>Cook Islands News, December 7, 1981, p.1.

<sup>12</sup>The practice had been stopped "due to the constraints of cost and time." Interview with previous External Affairs staff members, Rarotonga, August 1982. Increasing confidence on the part of both the New Zealand and Cook Islands Governments is probably another factor.

13 Due to the lack of readily available resources, it has been difficult to develop the so called "Taiwan issue". Except for that public outcry by the Cook Islands Minister of Fisheries Iaveta Short, there does not seem to be any other public statement made on the subject. In personal communication with Cook Islands officials, they have chosen not to review the issue at this time. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the New Zealand Government did not favor the Cook Islands negotiations with Taiwan. The fact that the Taiwan fishing agreement was signed two years after initial negotiations may be indicative of some difficulties which the Cook Islands officials were experiencing with New Zealand.

14 "Hitches in Fishing Talks with Taiwan," Cook Islands News, December 6, 1979, p.1.

15 Exchange of Letters Between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Cook Islands, 1973. New Zealand Government Statement to the Lome Secretary, Cook Islands External Affairs Department Paper, 1980-81.

16 A Brief Outline of the History, the Constitution, and the Economy of the Cook Islands with Particular Reference to the Transport Sector, ( Rarotonga: Department of Planning, 1981) p. 10.

17 Ibid.

18 "Nauru Establishes Consul in Rarotonga," Cook Islands News, June 22, 1982, p.1.

20 Cook Islands News, May 1, 1982, p.1.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER V

- 1 Questionnaires were prepared before going to Rarotonga,
- 2 In the 1981-82 period, External Affairs expended over \$NZ 3000,000. See table 8, on page 58.
- 3 Interview with a senior administrator of government, Rarotonga August 1982.
- 4 Interview with Mr Pomani Tangata, Research Officer to the Prime Minister's Department, Rarotonga, July 1982.
- 5 The use of symbolisms is common in the Cook Islands. Mr Tangata's connotation of roots describes something that is basic yet unseen.
- 6 A full coverage of the 1978 General Elections in the Cook Islands is found in Cook Islands Politics , (Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1979)
- 7 It is not clear when the actual division took place.
- 8 Mr Gosselin left abruptly for Australia in February, 1982, for educational reasons. During the author's field research in Rarotonga in June, it was apparent that several members of the population being surveyed were unaware of Gosselin's absence
- 9 Interview with Sir Thomas Davis, Hawaii, January 1982.
- 10 Interview with a prominent businessman, Rarotonga, June 1982.
- 11 Interview with Sir Thomas Davis, Hawaii, January 1982. Sir Thomas: "I perceive External Affairs involved with trade, fighting hard for transportation, especially shipping."
- 12 Interview with Geoffrey Henry, Rarotonga, August 1982.
- 13 Interview with Iaveta Short, Rarotonga, July 1982.
- 14 Interview with a prominent businessman, Rarotonga, August 1982.
- 15 Interview with a prominent businessman, Rarotonga, August 1982.

- 16 Interview with a prominent businessman, Rarotonga, June 1982.
- 17 Interview with a prominent businessman, Rarotonga, August 1982.
- 18 Interview with Tony Utanga, Secretary of Internal Affairs, Rarotonga, August 1982.
- 19 Interview with Tupui Ariki Henry, Member of Parliament for the island of Mauke, former Minister of Internal Affairs, Rarotonga, August 1982.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup>From 1965 to 1978, New Zealand signed 20 bilateral treaties that expressly applied to the Cook Islands. There were 12 other bilateral treaties that implicitly bound the Cook Islands by international law. New Zealand also signed 57 multilateral treaties. Most of the treaties were trade or science technology based. See "Application of New Zealand's Treaty Obligations to the Cook Islands," an External Affairs Department Paper, 1981.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with a high ranking official of government who has been involved with External Affairs, Rarotonga, July, 1982.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>"International Agreements," Cook Islands Government Paper, 2 June, 1981.

EXTRACTS FROM A 'STATEMENT ON THE COOK ISLANDS MADE IN THE FORTH  
COMMITTEE BY THE NEW ZEALAND UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE  
MR F.H. CORNER, ON 17 NOVEMBER 1965'.

LEGISLATIVE AUTONOMY:

"The New Zealand Parliament having legislated away New Zealand's power unilaterally to pass laws or make regulations having force in the Cook Islands, the Parliament of the Cook Islands has legislative autonomy and the Government of the Cook Islands is master in the country."

CITIZENSHIP:

"Perhaps I should also make it clear that being a New Zealand citizen does not put a Cook Islander under the authority of the New Zealand government when he is present in the Cook Islands- for the writ of New Zealand no longer runs in the Cook Islands; there the Cook Islands Government is supreme; but when he comes to New Zealand he is treated like any other New Zealander."

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE:

"At the request of the Cook Islands Parliament New Zealand has agreed that it will discharge the responsibilities for external affairs and defence; but the condition is that it will do so only after consultation by the Prime Minister of New Zealand with the Premier of the Cook Islands. Note also these two more fundamental conditions: first, New Zealand has no unilateral power within the Cook Islands to pass laws or make regulations on external affairs or defence or anything else; therefore nothing New Zealand does on behalf of the Cook Islands in these fields can have practical effect there unless the Cook Islands Government takes whatever legislative, executive or administrative action is

required. Secondly, New Zealand can discharge these responsibilities only so long as the Cook Islanders so desire; the Cook Islanders have the power under article 41 of their Constitution, to change the free association arrangement and discharge these responsibilities for themselves."

SOURCE: "Statement on the Cook Islands made in the Forth Committee by New Zealand Representative Mr F.H. Corner, on 17 November 1965," New Zealand Mission to the United Nations

BIBLIOGRAPHYBOOKS and THESES

- Adam, Thomas R. Western Interests in the Pacific Realm.  
NY: New York University, 1967.
- Beaglehole, Ernest. Social Change in the South Pacific.  
England: Ruskin House, 1957.
- Bellam, Michael. The Citrus Colony, Wellington: New Zealand Coalition  
for Trade and Development, 1980.
- Belshaw, Cyril S. Island Administration in the South West  
Pacific. London: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950.
- Boardman, Robert and A.J.R. Groom (eds). The Management of  
Britain's External Relations, Great Britain: MacMillan, 1973.
- Boyce, Peter. Foreign Affairs for New States. New York: St Martin's Press,  
1978.
- Boyd, Mary (ed.) Pacific Horizons. Wellington: Prince Milburn,  
1972.
- Carter, John. Pacific Islands Year Book, 14th edition. Sydney:  
Pacific Publications, 1981.
- Chapman, Terry M. The Decolonisation of Niue. Wellington: Victoria  
University Press, 1976.
- Coplin, William D and M.K. O'Leary. Quantitative Techniques  
in Foreign Policy Analysis and Forecasting. NY: Praeger, 1975.
- Coplin, William D. Introduction to International Politics:  
Theoretical Overview. Chicago: Rand McNally College  
Publication, 1974.
- Coulter, John W. The Pacific Dependencies of the United States.  
NY: MacMillan Co, 1957.
- Crocombe, Ron. Land Tenure in the Cook Islands. Melbourne:  
Oxford University Press, 1964, 1969.
- Crocombe, Ron. The New Pacific. Wellington: Reed Education, 1973.

- Crocombe, Ron. The Pacific Way: An Emerging Identity. Suva: Lotu Pasifika Productions, 1976.
- Davis, David Howard. How the Bureaucracy Makes Foreign Policy. Massachussets: Heath , 1972.
- Davis, Tom et al. Cook Islands Politics: the Inside Story. Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1979.
- De Smith, Stanley. Microstates and Micronesia. New York: New York University Press, 1970.
- Dorrance, John C. Oceania and the United States. Washington: National Defense University, 1980.
- Drollet, Michael. Cook Islands Directory and Guide Book. Rarotonga: Rarotonga Publications, 1978.
- Epstein, A.L. et al. The Politics of Dependence. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1971.
- Fisk, E.K. The Political Economy of Independent Fiji. Canberra: Australian National University, 1970.
- Fry, G.E. "South Pacific Regionalism: the Development of an Indigenous Commitment." Thesis(MA) Australian National University, 1979.
- Gilson, Richard. The Cook Islands 1820-1950. Australia: Victoria University Press, 1980.
- Hancock, Kathleen. Sir Albert Henry. NZ: Methuen, 1979.
- Kent, George. The Politics of Pacific Islands Fisheries. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980.
- King, F.P. ed Oceania and Beyond. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- Kloosterman, Alphons. Discoverers of the Cook Islands and the Names They Gave. Rarotonga: Library and Museum, 1976.
- Leibowitz, Arnold H. Colonial Emancipation in the Pacific and the Caribbean. NY: Praegar, 1976.

West, Francis J. Political Advancement in the South Pacific.  
Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1961.

NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS - various issues.

Cook Islands News, Rarotonga: CIBNC

Cook Islands Photo News, Rarotonga: CIBNC

Cook Islands Weekender, Rarotonga; Weekender

Honolulu Star Bulletin.

New Zealand Herald.

New Zealand External Affairs Review or New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review.

Pacific Islands Monthly, Sydney: Pacific Publications

Pacific Perspective, Journal of the South Pacific Social Sciences  
Sciences Association.

South Pacific Bulletin, Quarterly Publication of the South  
Pacific Commission.

The New Pacific, Hawaii

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

A Brief Outline of the History, the Constitution, and Economy of the  
Cook Islands. Rarotonga: Department of Planning, 1981.

Cook Islands Government Special Review, 1965-1981.

Court Determination of Donne C.J. over various petitions, Rarotonga:  
Govt., 1978.

Exchange of Letters Between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Cook Islands,  
Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands Papers 1965-1978. 1978.

Legislative Assembly of the Cook Islands Bills Presented, 1973-80.

Legislative Hansard Papers, 1965-1980.

Legislative Assembly or Parliamentary Acts related to External Affairs.  
(Listed by the year)

Banking, No 13, 1969

Cook Islands Ensign, No 19, 1973

Premier's Department No 39, 1973-74

- Livingston, William S. and Wm Roger Louis ( eds ) Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands Since the First World War. Austin: Univ of Texas Press, 1979.
- McMillan, Hector Thomas. "The Administration of the Cook Islands Protectorate, 1888-1891," Thesis (MA) Univ. of Auckland, 1949.
- McDermott, John W. How to Get Lost and Found in the Cook Islands. Honolulu: Waikiki Pub Co., 1979.
- Oliver, Douglas L. The Pacific Islands. Honolulu: Univ Press of Hawaii, 1975,1977.
- Pacific Institutions, Fiji: ESCAP/USP, 1981.
- Pacific Islands Industrial Development Scheme, Wellington: Department of Trade and Industry, 1982.
- Proceedings of the "Pacific Islands Conference: Development the Pacific Way. Hawaii: East West Center, 1980.
- Ross, Angus. New Zealand's Aspiration in the Pacific. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- Ross, Angus (ed.) New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century. Auckland: Longman Paul, 1969.
- Satterthwaite, Lenore A. "New Zealand, Samoa, and the Cooks: an Analysis of New Zealand's Aspirations, 1889-1890." Thesis (MA) Univ of Otago, 1961.
- Simpson, Colin. Pleasure Islands of the South Pacific, Australia: Methuen. 1979.
- South Pacific Economies 1979: Statistical Summary. New Caledonia: South Pacific Commission, 1981.
- South Pacific Economies 1980: Statistical Summary. New Caledonia: South Pacific Commission, 1982.
- Stone, David J. "Political Resurgence in the Cook Islands; the Path to Self-Government, 1944-1965," Thesis (MA) Univ. of Auckland, 1967.
- Stone, David J. "Self Rule in the Cook Islands: the Government and Politics of a New Micro-State," Thesis- Australian National University, 1971.
- Strona, Paul Richard. "Self Government for the Cook Islands: a Challenge for Economic Development." Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1966.
- Syme, Ronald. Isles of the Frigate Bird. London: Michael Joseph, 1975.
- Trumbull, Robert. Tin Roofs and Palm Trees, Canberra: ANU Press, 1977.

- Overseas Exchange Fees, No 24, 1975
- Asian Bank, No 14, 1975
- Fisheries Protection, No 4, 1976
- Territorial Sea and Exclusive Economic Zone, No 16, 1977
- Ministry of Planning and External Affairs, No 20, 1977
- Development Investment, No 21, 1977
- Overseas Representative, No 1, 1978
- Overseas Exchange Fees Amendment, No 17, 1978-79
- The Exclusive Economic Zone (Foreign Fishing Craft) Regulations,  
No 14, 1979
- The Territorial Sea and Exclusive Economic Zone Act Commencement  
Order, No15, 1979
- Constitution Amendment (No 9) No 24, 1980-81.
- Offshore Banking, No 16, 1981
- Cook Islands Trustee Companies Act, No 27, 1981-82
- Cook Islands International Companies Act, No 26, 1981-82
- Offshore Insurance Regulations, No 19, 1982
- International Companies (Prescribed Fees) Regulations, No 15, 1982
- International Companies (Forms) Regulations, No 17, 1982
- Trustee Companies Regulations, No 18, 1982
- Report to the Ministry of Planning and External Affairs, 1979.
- Revenue and Expenditure Reports, Cook Islands Government.
- Statement on the Cook Islands made in the fourth Committee by the  
New Zealand Representative, Mr. F.H. Corner, 17 Nov. 1965.  
New Zealand Representatives Office, Rarotonga.
- The Cook Islands, Rarotonga: Government of the Cook Islands, 1980.

INTERVIEWS

- Akaruru, Inatio. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Pukapuka. Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Bodde, William. Ambassador for the United States to Fiji (1978-81), Honolulu, ~~Hawaii~~. Interview, May 1982.
- Brothers, Stella, Liaison/Welfare Officer in the Cook Islands Office, Auckland. Interview, June 1982.
- Caffrey, Joe. Secretary to the Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, June 1982.
- Dashwood, Julian. Chief Fisheries Officer, Rarotonga. Interview, August 1982.
- Davis, Sir Thomas. Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, ~~Honolulu~~. Interview, January 1982.
- Ellis, George. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Manihiki, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- George, Norman. Cook Islands Consular Affairs Officer in New Zealand, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Heather, William. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Puaikura, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Henry, Geoffrey, Leader of the Opposition and Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Aitutaki, former Associate Minister of External Affairs, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, June 1982, July 1982.
- Henry, Hugh. Manager of Union Citco, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Henry, Tupui Ariki. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Mauke, former Minister of Internal Affairs, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Mackegg, Neil. Businessman with <sup>^</sup>significant interest in the Cook Islands Trading Cooperation (CITC), Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Matenga, Dr. Teariki. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Takitumu, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, June 1982.
- Moeroa, Temangi. Senior Welfare Officer, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, June 1982.
- Napa, Harry. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Puaikura, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.

- Pierre, Tamari'i. Former Director of External Affairs, <sup>Honolulu</sup>~~Hawaii~~. Interview, February 1982.
- Pokino, Pa. Minister of Works and Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Mangaia, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Puna, Ngereteina. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Aitutaki, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Rere, Taira. Cook Islands Author, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Robati, Dr. Pupuke. Deputy Prime Minister and Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Rakahanga, Rarotonga. Interview, August 1982.
- Salato, Dr. Macu. Former Director of the South Pacific Commission, Honolulu, Hawaii. Interview, May 1982.
- Short, Iaveta. Minister of Tourism and Internal Affairs and Cook Islands Representing Takitumu, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Simiona, Tangata. Minister of Agriculture and Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Atiu, <sup>Rarotonga</sup>~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Strickland, Kura. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Aitutaki, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Strickland, Mana. Public Service Inspector, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Tama, Kato. Secretary of Agriculture, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Tangaroa, Nikau. Secretary of Justice, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Tangaroa, Tangaroa. Minister of Education and Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Penrhyn, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Tangata, Pomani. Research Officer in the Prime Minister's Department, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, August 1982.
- Tangatapoto, Vainerere. Cook Islands Member of Parliament Representing Atiu, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Tangi, John. Acting Director of Community Development, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Tipping, Paul. New Zealand Representative, Rarotonga, ~~Cook Islands~~. Interview, July 1982.
- Toru, Tutai. Immigration Officer, Rarotonga. Interview, August 1982.
- Utanga, Tony. Secretary of Internal Affairs, Rarotonga. Interview, August 1982.
- Wong, Chris. General Manager of the Tourist Authority, Rarotonga. Interview August 1982.
- Worthington, Robert. Cook Islands Representative in Hawaii, Honolulu. Interview, September 1982.