

Cook Islands to host the next Festival of Pacific Arts, to be held in October 1992. A Ministry of Arts and Culture has been created, and a NZ\$20-million arts and culture center with seating for 2,300 is to be built.

A serious split arose over the question of leasing the uninhabited island of Manuae, which is jointly owned by about sixteen hundred Cook Islanders of Aitutaki origin. The company that has been pressing for the lease for some time, with the backing of the government, is Manuae Leisure, a Sydney-based firm whose alleged connections and motives concern many landowners. A government minister assured opponents that Manuae Leisure is not the Mafia. In April 1990, following long and acrimonious debate, a majority of the landowners decided against leasing.

A consignment of heroin with a street value of between NZ\$21 and \$31 million (or about half the national budget), arrived in Rarotonga in January 1990 from Thailand. It was not claimed, probably because the intended recipients had learned that police in various countries had been tracking it. It was seized by the Cook Islands police in April, but no arrests were made. For a nation of 17,000 people that is a lot of heroin, and questions were raised about the volume that has been or will be distributed from Rarotonga. On conviction, the offender would probably have been given the maximum fine allowed by law (NZ\$200—about US\$114) which allows some change from NZ\$21 million! Proposals for higher fines are being considered.

Overall, it was a year of very suc-

cessful international activity, significant national developments in several areas of policy, a sluggish economy, and economic projects with as yet unknown outcomes.

RON CROCOMBE

MARJORIE CROCOMBE

### FRENCH POLYNESIA

Pacific countries have been quite articulate about French political and military activities in French Polynesia, but rather less is known about internal developments in the territory. In part, this is because the Léontieff government—a coalition of parties of quite diverse political orientations—has been preoccupied with its own survival since it came to power in December 1987. Consequently the major topics in territorial assembly sessions and the local media were economic and social. With the exception of Oscar Temaru's *Tavini Huiraa* party, and to a lesser extent, Jacqui Drollet's *Ia Mana te Nunaa*, there was little discussion of either the independence or the nuclear issues.

Having established itself, however, the Léontieff government gradually began to adopt a more assertive stance. A first initiative was taken in June 1989 by a citizens' group that called for a government debate on the impacts of nuclear testing. Following this, the *Ia Mana* party, a member of the majority coalition, introduced a motion calling for the assembly to establish a commission on Moruroa to investigate the socioeconomic, ecological, and health consequences of nuclear testing. It also called for a public poll on testing (rather than a referendum, in which

metropolitan citizens would have overwhelmed the Polynesian vote). The result was a showdown within the coalition government during which Drollet was forced to withdraw his motion and resign as secretary general of *Ia Mana*, a post he had held since the party was established in 1975.

Oscar Temaru was in opposition and faced no such constraints. In early July, more than twenty members of the youth wing of *Tavini Huiraatira* began a week-long hunger strike at the Catholic cathedral in the heart of Pape'ete to protest nuclear testing. A delegation marched on the Territorial Assembly and the offices of Jean Montpezat, the French high commissioner, leaving letters of protest for Montpezat and President Mitterrand. They made almost daily headlines in the local press and threatened to disrupt the bicentennial celebration of the French Revolution. The strike ended five days later, but only after Léontieff promised to debate the issue publicly.

This debate, initially scheduled for 17 August 1989, was foiled by a series of adroit political maneuvers and never occurred. Louis Le Pensec, Minister of the French Overseas Departments and Territories (DOM-TOM), arrived in Pape'ete on 24 July, and announced that the debate would be replaced by a roundtable discussion chaired by Montpezat, and that this would be delayed because of the forthcoming visit of French Prime Minister Rocard. Local politicians were aware that the nature of the forum had been altered significantly by these maneuvers and that the issue would now be discussed by a carefully selected group.

In protest, *Ia Mana* called for

Rocard to stop acting paternalistically and allow the Tahitian people to claim their dignity, their identity, and their own destiny. Jean-Marius Raapoto, a member of the Territorial Assembly, called for decolonization of the consciousness, criticizing local officials trained in dependence-oriented colonial traditions. A more active stance was taken by Oscar Temaru, who demanded a public poll on the nuclear issue and initiated a further hunger strike on the main coastal road opposite the Tahiti-Faaa international airport. Rocard denied the request, arguing that French defense policy fell outside the jurisdiction of the territorial government.

In October 1989, four months after the first hunger strike was held, a roundtable discussion was held in Pape'ete. As a gesture to local politicians, Léontieff was named co-chairman, together with the high commissioner. Except for designated sessions, the doors were closed to the public and the press, although spokespersons met with journalists on a daily basis. The roundtable was to include three phases: preliminary discussions in October, a period of reflection, and final discussions in December. Oscar Temaru declined to participate, charging that the roundtable was designed to divert the open debate that had been promised earlier.

The October sessions included an expedition to Moruroa by visiting French military officials, territorial government ministers, majority coalition and opposition members of the Territorial Assembly, members of the territory's Economic and Social Committee, labor union and business repre-

sentatives, the Peace and Development Committee, the Human Rights League, the Catholic Church, and members of the local news media. François Seners, technical adviser with the French government's DOM-TOM, described the work of the roundtable as a complete checkup.

Toward the end of the discussions, the results of an unofficial public opinion poll were announced by Napoleon Spitz, minister of tourism, sports, employment, and job training. The poll was conducted in the Tuamotu and Gambier islands, the groups closest to the nuclear testing site, and indicated that the majority supported the presence of the CEP (*Centre d'Experimentation du Pacifique*). Spitz explained that he, as well as the population, supported the presence for practical reasons, but opposed the actual testing "philosophically." The implication was that despite concern over the ecological and social impact of the tests, opposition was muted because of the financial payoffs.

The final phase of the roundtable, which had been scheduled for December, was not held. Instead, metropolitan spokespersons announced that a written report would be distributed at an unspecified future date. In the following months, the normally militant parties of *Tavini Huiraaatira* and *Ia Mana* were unusually quiet. The initial momentum that had been mustered by the hunger strikers and the citizens' group had been successfully dissipated through a series of French official visits, strategic delays, financial aid, and reinterpretations of earlier political concessions.

By early 1990, news coverage was

back to the usual fare of beauty queens, canoe races, local festivals, natural hazards, and Japanese investors. Oscar Temaru, who is also mayor of Faaa—Tahiti's nuclear-free city—invited Montpezat on an official visit. The occasion was the inauguration of the new Faaa Municipal Hall, financed by a US\$2-million grant from France. *Ia Mana*, which had introduced the motion for debate the previous July, also appeared to have been placated, and Drollet was granted the new position of party president.

President Mitterrand arrived from France in May to attend the centennial celebrations of the city of Pape'ete and the inauguration of a \$14.5-million city hall. Instead of the hoped-for additional subsidies, Tahitian residents received a blunt economic diagnosis that noted the large trade deficit, mounting unemployment, lavish expenditures, and inequitable tax system. On Moruroa, Mitterrand promised that France would not be the last to disarm.

In local politics, Napoleon Spitz was required to take a leave of absence from his ministerial duties because of allegations of electoral fraud. Emil Vernaudon, formerly minister of postal services, telecommunications, and regionalization, was fired by Léontieff because of suspected collusion with Gaston Flosse. In reprisal, Vernaudon and Flosse introduced motions in the Territorial Assembly calling for the dissolution of the government a year in advance of the scheduled elections. The motions were easily defeated.

By the end of the period under review, political parties had already begun campaigning for the March 1991

territorial assembly elections. The Léontieff coalition faces the formidable opposition of Vernaudon, Flosse, and Temaru, mayors of the most populous communes outside Pape'ete. Considering the territory's history, it would be no surprise if radically different political alignments were to emerge.

MOSHE RAPAPORT

### NATIVE HAWAIIAN ISSUES

Theft, theft everywhere.

While the record sell-off of Hawaiian real estate continued in the year 1989-90 (over \$1 billion in land alone went to greedy Japanese corporations), a sleight of hand in the governor's office dispossessed Native Hawaiians of their largest land trust. This was the biggest story, or tragedy, for Hawaiians during the year under review.

A secret deal negotiated between the executive branch and the government-created Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) was announced on 8 February 1990 and went for first hearing in the state legislature just five days later. Hawaiian communities had barely heard of the agreement when they were asked to comment on it. Hawaiian legislators like Senator Mike Crozier hurried the bill through the political process, essentially rubber-stamping what amounts to the single largest land swindle since the Hawaiian government lost both domain and dominion when it was overthrown by the American military in 1893. In detail, the agreement is superficially complex; but in total effect, it is both simple and devastating.

A little background. Native Hawaiians are beneficiaries of two land trusts: the Hawaiian Homes trust (nearly 200,000 acres), created by the US Congress in 1921; and the "ceded lands" trust (1.4 million acres of public lands), created in the Hawai'i State Admission Act of 1959. Set up as a covenant between the State of Hawai'i and the federal government, the "ceded lands" trust has two beneficiaries: Native Hawaiians, defined as those of 50 percent or more Hawaiian ancestry, and the general public. Since 1959, neither the lands nor the revenues from the "ceded lands" trust have been segregated into Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian categories. As a result, Hawaiians have been dispossessed of the native portion of the trust.

In 1979, a State Constitutional Convention created an Office of Hawaiian Affairs in the form of a State agency to represent Hawaiians and to receive 20 percent of all revenues from ceded lands. The architects of OHA never intended it to receive lands from the trust, only a fifth of the trust revenues. At its birth, OHA was, like the Hawaiian nation itself, a landless entity.

By the mid-1980s, OHA was not receiving its share from the airport and other revenue-producing uses of ceded lands. Arguing that they were owed millions, OHA sued the state. The courts threw the issue back into the political arena, that is, the governor's lap. After two years of negotiations, a deal was struck that gave OHA about \$8.5 million a year, plus nearly \$100 million in back rentals. Exulting in the press and at the legislature, OHA and the governor hailed the agreement as