

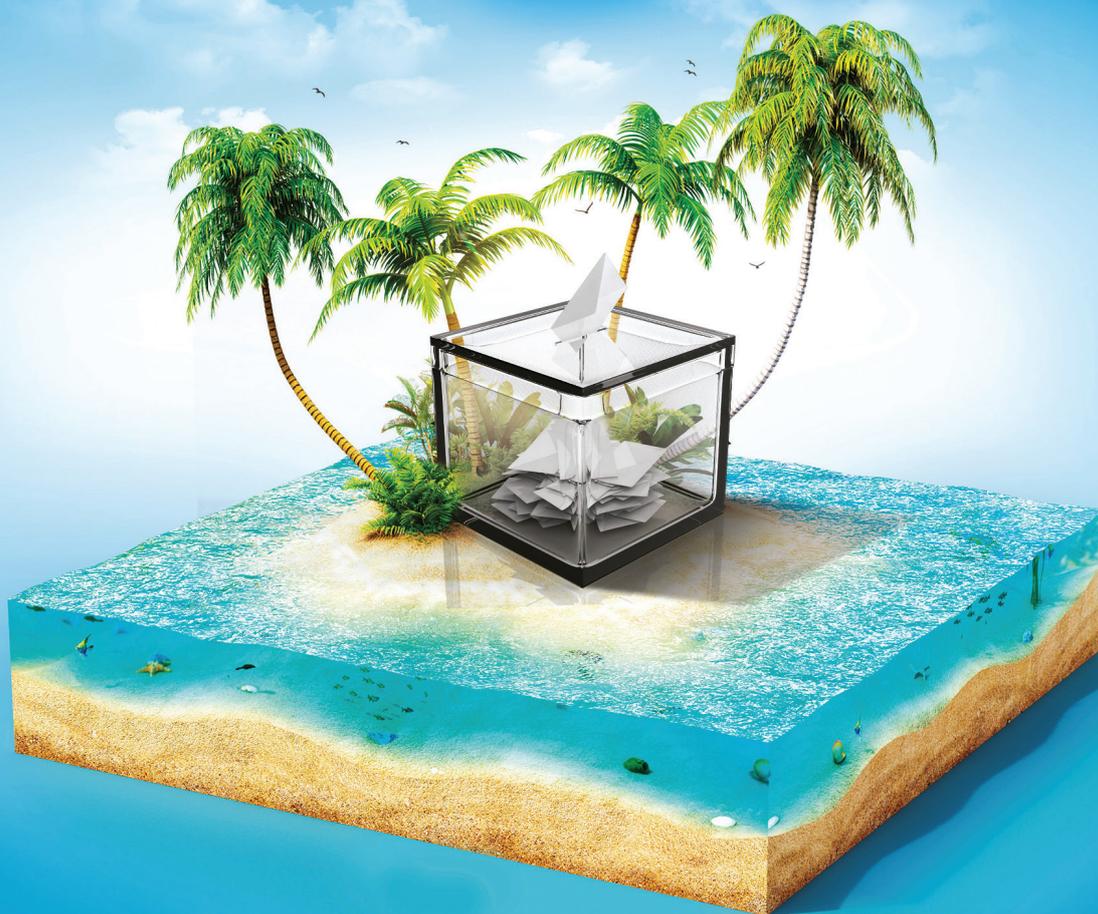
Association d'études politiques du Pacifique PIPSA (Pacific Islands Political Studies Association)

DÉMOCRATIE SOUVERAINETÉ

25^{ET} 27
JUIN 2019

& AUTODÉTERMINATION DANS LE PACIFIQUE

📍 Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie



 Department of Pacific Affairs

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*Pacific Islands Political Studies
Association (PIPSA)*

2019 Conference

25 - 27 JUNE 2019

University of New Caledonia, Noumea

Democracy, Sovereignty and
Self-Determination in the
Pacific Islands

From 25 – 27 June 2019, the Australian National University Department of Pacific Affairs and the University of New Caledonia LARJE Centre will be co-convening the PIPSA (Pacific Islands Political Studies Association) under the theme of ‘Democracy, Sovereignty and Self-Determination in the Pacific Islands’.

In 2019 this theme has particular resonance following the New Caledonian referendum, the relisting of French Polynesia on the UN list of Non-Self-Governing Territories, the forthcoming referendum in Bougainville, violence in West Papua, as well as the existential threats to the Pacific region posed by climate change and rising sea levels. Conference sessions will be in English and in French, covering topics including evolving forms of sovereignty in the Pacific; climate change; security; decolonisation; international relations; land rights and natural resources; and gender and politics.

Day 1 - Tuesday, 25 June

8:00-8:30

Registration – Tea and coffee
Amphi 400 (Entry Hall)

8:30-10:00

Opening Session (Amphi 400)

8.30am-8.45am

Welcome by UNC President, Gaël Lagadec

8.45am-9am

Welcome by PIPSA President, Stephanie Lawson

9am-10am Keynote Address:

Self Determination and Development in the Pacific Islands - who is driving the agenda?

Colin Tukuitonga, Pacific Community Director-General

10:00-10:30

Morning Tea - Amphi 400 (Entry Hall)

10:30-12:00

Parallel Sessions 1

Gender and Politics (Room L30)

Chair: Iati Iati (VUW)

Geejay Milli (UPNG) – Middle Class Women and Political Participation in Papua New Guinea

Kerryn Baker (ANU) – Political Participation through Market Vendors' Associations: A Case Study from Luganville, Vanuatu

Charles Hawksley (Wollongong) & Nichole Georgeou (Western Sydney) - Food security and asset creation in Solomon Islands: gender and the political economy of agricultural production for Honiara Central Market



10:30-12:00	<p>Les modèles expérimentaux d'auto-détermination kanak (Room L31)</p> <p><i>Chair: Hamid Mokaddem (EXPRESSIONS) (UNC) - La forclusion systémique</i></p> <p>Luc Énoka Camoui - Modèle d'auto-détermination kanak à Pweevo. Pays kanak du Nord.</p> <p>Georges Waixen Wayewol - Modèle d'auto-détermination kanak à Nengone. Pays kanak des Îles Loyauté</p>
12:00-13:00	Lunch (Forum)
13:00-15:00	Parallel Sessions 2
13:30-15:00	<p>Politics of Western Melanesia (Room L30)</p> <p><i>Chair: Kerry Baker (ANU)</i></p> <p>Jerry Begg Siota (USP) - Re-thinking New Public Management: An inquiry into Public Service Reforms and service delivery in Solomon Islands</p> <p>Elfira Rumkabu (Cenderawasih) - Revisiting Jokowi's Development Approach for Conflict Resolution in West Papua</p> <p>Michael Kabuni (UPNG) - Do Policies Matter in PNG Politics? Assessing the 2017 post election coalitions</p> <p>Julian McKinlay King (Univ. Wollongong) - Kanaky and West Papua: Independence derailed by global 'greed' and the emergent paradigm of 'indigenous anarchism'</p>

<p>13:00-15:00</p>	<p>Dealing with multiculturalism and universalism in the political and social context of Kanaky-New Caledonia (Room L31)</p> <p><i>Chair: Caroline Graille (Univ. Montpellier 3, UNC)</i></p> <p>Françoise Cayrol (UNC) - Nouvelle-Calédonie, la communauté de destin, cet « impensé » des « années accords »</p> <p>Eddie Wadrawane (UNC) - À l'heure des revendications de souveraineté kanak, d'avenir partagé, et de définition d'une « identité pays », que reste-t-il de l'école de « Nos ancêtres les Gaulois » ?</p> <p>Patrice Godin (UNC) - Universalisme et interdépendances : la souveraineté kanak selon Jean-Marie Tjibaou</p> <p>Eddy Banare (UNC) - Dialogismes politiques dans les récits de Déwé Gorodé : une affirmation de la souveraineté</p> <p>Caroline Graille (Univ. Montpellier 3, UNC) - Merging Kanak sovereignty together with Caledonian cultural diversity : a double bind.</p>
<p>15:00-17:00 Parallel Sessions 3</p>	
<p>15:00-17:00</p>	<p>Land, Development and Democracy (Room L30)</p> <p><i>Chair: Lorenz Gonschor ('Atenisi)</i></p> <p>Nathalie Angele-Halgand and Akila Nedjar-Guerre (UNC) - Public Action and Climate Change in the Pacific Islands: Post-New Public Management Based on Empowerment</p> <p>Lili Song (Univ. Otago) - Who Owns the Minerva Reefs: History, Law and Politics</p> <p>Iati Iati (VUW) - Development and democracy in the Pacific: Can land reforms in Samoa undermine its democratic system?</p> <p>Ponipate Rokolekutu (SFSU) - Articulating a politics of the dispossessed, the Excluded and the Marginalized: The Case of Land Dispossession in Fiji</p>



15:00-17:00	<p>Décolonisation et citoyenneté de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (Room L31)</p> <p><i>Chair: Nic Maclellan (Islands Business)</i></p> <p>Caroline Gravelat (UNC) - Le droit international au service du processus d'émancipation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie</p> <p>Stéphanie Graff (UNC) - Décolonisation et droit de vote en Nouvelle-Calédonie</p> <p>Etienne Cornut (UNC) – La transformation de la citoyenneté calédonienne selon l'issue du processus référendaire prévu par l'accord de Nouméa</p> <p>Hugues Fulchiron (Univ. Lyon) – Citoyenneté calédonienne, nationalité française et citoyenneté européenne : quels équilibres pour quels droits ?</p>
17:00-17:30	Afternoon tea - Amphi 400 (Entry Hall)
17:30-19:00	Plenary Session (Amphi 400)
	<p>Rétrospective des échéances de l'Accord de Nouméa <i>(This session will be translated into English)</i></p> <p><i>Chair: Caroline Gravelat</i></p> <p>Isabelle Leblic (CNRS) - Colonisation, souveraineté et auto-détermination en Nouvelle-Calédonie? Lignes de fractures et déséquilibres toujours flagrants.</p> <p>Pierre-Christophe Pantz (UNC) - Auto-détermination et géographie électorale en Nouvelle-Calédonie : cristallisation politique ou indépendance ?</p> <p>Sylvain Brouard (Sc Po Paris), Samuel Gorohouna (UNC) - Déterminants du comportement électoral au referendum de 2018.</p>

Day 2 - Wednesday, 26 June

8:00-8:30

Registration – Tea and coffee
Room L33

8:30-10:00

Parallel Sessions 4

New Models of Governance (Room L30)

Chair: Karin von Strokirch (UNE)

Lorenz Gonschor ('Atenisi) - Norfolk Island: Model for a neo-colonial Oceanian dystopia?

Ron Levy (ANU) - Designing Referendums for Peacemaking: The Case of Bougainville

Stephanie Lawson
(Macquarie/ANU) - Contending Security Interests in Oceania

Politics of the French Pacific (Room L31)

Chair: Jeanne Adrian (UNC)

Jean-Marc Regnault (UPF) - La démocratie en Polynésie française

Florence Mury (UPF) - L'affirmation d'une autochtonie macro-régionale en Océanie : l'exemple ambivalent de la Polynésie française

Adrian Muckle (VUW) - Words, Values and Actions: Reading the Lives of Kanak Leaders

10:00-10:30

Morning Tea - Room L20



10:30-12:00

Parallel Sessions 5

Sovereignty in the Pacific (Room L30)

Chair: Jack Corbett (Southampton)

Melania Napa'a (Univ. Otago) - Influences of Tongan Sovereignty within Tongan Government and the Function of the Royal Prerogative

Karin von Strokirch (UNE) – Implications of climate change for Sovereignty in Pacific Island States

Min Yen Ong (Univ. Nottingham) - "Where are My Brothers?": Promoting Sovereignty Through Hawaiian Online Collaborative Music Videos

The Political Economy of Resources (Room L31)

Chair: Nathalie Angele-Halgand (UNC)

Jeanne Adrian (UNC) - Le nickel, vecteur d'indépendance ou de dépendances ?

Romain Lebreuilly and Nicolas Rigaux (Univ. Lorraine) - Analyse discursive d'un conflit de représentations sociales au secours d'une identité de lieux : la forêt de Kouaoua

Rudy Bessard (UPF/Bordeaux) - Democracy through Environmental Stakes in French Oceania

12:00-13:00

Lunch (Forum)

13:00-14:30

Parallel Sessions 6

Diplomacy and Transnationalism in the Pacific (Room L30)

Chair: Stephanie Lawson (Macquarie/ANU)

Paul Charles Wea (La Trobe) - L'indépendance de la NC, Bougainville et West Papua constitue une nouvelle renaissance du Groupe Fer de Lance Melanésien

<p>13:00-14:30</p>	<p>Mililani Ganivet (UH) - Mapping the /s/Pacific n/oceans between us: the struggling political legacies of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement</p> <p>Rieko Hayakawa (Univ. Otago) - Self-Determination of SIDS creates Transnational Crime and Global Disorder</p> <p>Everyday Politics (Room L31)</p> <p><i>Chair: Kerryn Baker (ANU)</i></p> <p>Andrew Murray (Sydney College of Divinity) – Principles of Pacific Life</p> <p>Roannie Ng Shiu (ANU) - “No thanks, not for me”: Young Pacific women and political aspirations</p> <p>Dion Enari (Bond Univ.) - Fa’a Saymore from promised land to dreamland. Perceptions of Fa’a Samoa by New Zealand born Samoans in Brisbane, Australia</p>
<p>14:30-16:00 Parallel Sessions 7</p>	
	<p>Small Island States in International Organisations (Room L30)</p> <p><i>Chair: Mathias Chauchat (UNC)</i></p> <p>William Waqavakatoga (USP) - Evaluating the New Pacific Diplomacy: A case study of West Papua</p> <p>Jack Corbett (Southampton), Patrick Weller (Griffith) & Xu Yi-Chong (Griffith) – Small States and the ‘Throughput’ Legitimacy of International Organisations</p> <p>Jack Corbett (Southampton), Patrick Weller (Griffith) & Xu Yi-Chong (Griffith) – Norm entrepreneurship and diffusion ‘from below’ in international organisations: How the competent performance of vulnerability generates benefits for small states</p>



14.30 - 16:00	<p>Pathways to Resilience: Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Room L31)</p> <p><i>Chair: Elatiana Razafi (UNC)</i></p> <p>Thierry Xozame (Department of Work & Employment, New Caledonia) - The plurality of the Custom pathways in the field of law</p> <p>Anne-Laure Dotte, Elatiana Razafi & Fabrice Wacalie (UNC) - From Insecurity to Empowerment: Languages as a Pathway to Resilience</p> <p>Sylvia C Frain (Univ Otago & Univ Guam) - Art as Self-Determination and the Art of Self-Determination</p> <p>Thierry Bain & Véronique Bain (MAADO) - Dancing pathways as the cultural expression of both diversity and community</p> <p>Mathurin Derel (Demain en Nouvelle-Calédonie) - Decolonizing the media in a process of decolonization</p>
16:00-16:30	Afternoon Tea / PIPSA General Meeting (Room L20)
16:30-17:15	PIPSA Closing Session (Amphi 400)
	<p>Panel of Young Scholars on the Key Issues of the Contemporary Pacific</p> <p><i>Chair: Roannie Ng Shiu (ANU)</i></p> <p>Geejay Milli (UPNG)</p> <p>Elvira Rumkabu (Cenderawasih)</p> <p>Michael Kabuni (UPNG)</p> <p>William Waqavakatoga (USP)</p>

17:30-19:00

Plenary Session (Amphi 400)

Prospective sur la sortie de l'Accord de Nouméa

This session will be translated into English

Chair: Catherine Ris (UNC)

Séverine Blaise (UNC), Carine David (UFA) et Gerard Prinsen (Massey University) - For a re-appraisal of the triptych "decolonization, independence, sovereignty" to the prism of the New Caledonian experience

Mathias Chauchat (UNC) - Quel avenir institutionnel partagé pour la Nouvelle-Calédonie ?

Nic Maclellan (Islands Business) – Colonialisme français et souveraineté partagée dans le Pacifique

Day 3 - Thursday, 27 June

10:00-12:00

Writing Workshop – Early Career Researchers & Higher-Degree Research Students (Room L30)

10:30-12:00

Discussion of Conference Publications

PIPSA Committee

13:00-16:00

Visit to Tjibaou Cultural Centre

(please register)

Tuesday 25 June

10.30am – 12pm

Parallel Sessions 1

Gender and Politics (Room L30)

Chair: Iati Iati (VUW)

Geejay Milli (UPNG) – Middle Class Women and Political Participation in Papua New Guinea

The emergence of a middle class in Papua New Guinea (PNG) is an interesting phenomenon of research. Particularly for a country that is politically young, it has developed characteristics of class strata that have become uniquely Papua New Guinean; distinct in comparison to the rise of the middle class in other countries within the Pacific region and also in comparison to the generalized concept and discourse of the middle class in Western countries.

This paper looks at the role of middle class Papua New Guinean women and their participation in politics; particularly investigating how their awareness of, and active participation in politics, directly or indirectly could potentially influence the landscape of Melanesian bigman politics. With the widening disparity of women in national politics, actively participating in decision making, more women are using alternate approaches to ensuring their participation. Thus this investigation uses current middle class indicators to study women in past and contemporary Papua New Guinea politics; and how these women are responding to the agenda of gender equality and participation and using platforms available to them to raise attention, regarding the discrimination and injustices of women at all levels.

Looking at the gender component of the emerging middle class is important for PNG women and other stakeholders interested in increasing women's equal participation in the socio-economic and political aspect. It is inevitably predictable that women in this rising class hold to a great degree the key to mobilizing and strategically elevating women to that level where there is equal footing in areas that are predominantly male oriented - such as elections, political representation and a voice in matters of public and national interest.

Kerryn Baker (ANU) – Political Participation through Market Vendors' Associations: A Case Study from Luganville, Vanuatu

To properly evaluate political participation in Pacific states, it is necessary to look beyond formal political institutions such as party systems and examine how other organisations are facilitating individual and collective participation. This paper focuses on one such organisation: the Northern Islands Market Vendors' Association, based in Luganville, Vanuatu. Markets are of significant importance to Pacific economies. They provide links between urban and rural areas, and economic opportunities for informal sector workers – predominantly women – from both urban and rural communities. The association, among its activities, lobbies for better working conditions for its 2200 members; contributes to discussions on market management; and builds linkages with government at both local and national level. As it grows in strength, the Northern Islands Market Vendors' Association is being recognised as a vehicle for substantive collective action by others. This case study will examine how the association has facilitated the political participation of market vendors both individually and collectively, and evaluate the potential for market vendors' associations to act as vehicles for collective action more broadly.

Charles Hawksley (Wollongong) & Nichole Georgeou (Western Sydney) - Food security and asset creation in Solomon Islands: gender and the political economy of agricultural production for Honiara Central Market

This paper presents data from a 2017 survey of vendors selling fresh produce at the Honiara Central Market (HCM). The study aimed to understand the economic contribution of vendors to their communities, and in particular of producer-vendors. Detailed geospatial mapping of the origin of produce sold at HCM illustrates the scope of production for market. It shows that while around 70% of all produce comes from villages on Guadalcanal to the east of Honiara there is also intensive production for market to the west of Honiara, and engagement in Central Province (Savo, Nggelas), as well as important trade from parts of Malaita and New Georgia, with limited engagement from as far away as Choisul and Temotu. The data indicates that the majority of producer-vendors at the HCM are women, and that the sale of fresh produce on one day (Fridays) generates amounts of income that are higher than the minimum daily wage. We discuss these findings in terms of the concept of asset creation, an important component of food security. Despite the economic benefit, it appears market selling for women tends to involve lower value crops of leafy greens, nuts, fruits and root vegetables, while men are more dominant in the lucrative cash crops such as melon.

Tuesday 25 June

10.30am – 12pm

Parallel Sessions 1

Les modèles expérimentaux d'auto-détermination kanak (Room L31)

Chair: Hamid Mokaddem (EXPRESSIONS)

Hamid Mokaddem - La forclusion systémique

Luc Énoka Camoui - Modèle d'auto-détermination kanak à Pweevo. Pays kanak du Nord.

Georges Waixen Wayewol - Modèle d'auto-détermination kanak à Nengone. Pays kanak des Îles Loyauté.

La conférence propose de clarifier les conflits entre une souveraineté revendiquée par la majeure partie du peuple kanak – souveraineté désignée par le nom de pays de « Kanaky » – et la souveraineté nationale de la France, dont le reste des populations intéressées composées des autres groupes ethniques, qui veulent être gouverné par la France tout en se gouvernant elles-mêmes. Le concept central du dispositif politique est celui de « souveraineté partagée » (entre la France, puissance administrante, et la Nouvelle-Calédonie, collectivité sui generis de la République française). Nous communication soutient la thèse que la souveraineté partagée suppose la forclusion de la souveraineté revendiquée par le peuple kanak, autrement dit, une mise en orbite de la Kanaky par la France et en conséquence par la Nouvelle-Calédonie. C'est en analysant ce procédé que les possibles constitutions et/ou régimes politiques sont à concevoir.

Tuesday 25 June

1pm – 3pm

Parallel Sessions 2

Politics of Western Melanesia (Room L30)

Chair: Kerryn Baker (ANU)

Jerry Begg Siota (USP) - Re-thinking New Public Management: An inquiry into Public Service Reforms and service delivery in Solomon Islands

As a paradigm of public service reform, New Public Management (NPM) has risen in popularity over the past three decades. While academic and policy literature on NPM has also flourished, there are relatively few studies on the impact of NPM on the public service and service delivery in Solomon Islands.

The key objectives of NPM reforms include: (i) de-bureaucratizing government services by reducing the size and cost of government; (ii) stimulating local-market competition to provide quality and affordable services; and (iii) adopting performance measurement for greater accountability and transparency. With its apparent success in countries such as UK and USA, it has been promoted in developing countries such as Solomon Islands.

Drawing on quantitative and qualitative research recently conducted in Solomon Islands, this paper will argue that the adoption of NPM reforms in Solomon Islands has resulted in services becoming worse-off and more expensive. Moreover the reforms have also, to a certain extent, contributed an environment ripe for corruption. The paper suggests that these outcomes have occurred because the host environment is uncondusive. Whilst the reforms can be seen as a 'technical fix' – primarily instigated and funded by external donors – the 'problems' that they have sought to address can be interpreted as more political, behavioural and cultural in nature. There is a mismatch between the reforms and 'real problems'.

Ultimately the research focuses on the manner of NPM's 'transfer' to Solomon Islands. The study concludes that NPM-inspired reforms have resulted in unintended and perverse outcomes. Aid donors are more concerned with what the reforms should look like, without actually diagnosing the host environment for 'real problems'. This results in 'paper-based reforms': reforms are implemented but the host lacks the institutional and resource capacity to sustain them. Therefore, despite extensive NPM reforms, service delivery in Solomon Islands has actually worsened.

Elfira Rumkabu (Cenderawasih) - Revisiting Jokowi's Development Approach for Conflict Resolution in West Papua

In dealing with self-determination aspiration, Jokowi takes a prosperity based-approach that is focusing on developing infrastructure and improving connectivity in West Papua. The 4330km of Trans Papua Road that connects isolated regions in the highlands will be concluded this year. Jokowi also promoted the opening of new Special Economy Regions in Papua to support the distribution of goods and services to and from Papua. Building roads, bridges, airports, and ports has become his priority to promote West Papuan people's welfare.

However, putting the development project in the context of conflict resolution raises questions of how effective this approach is. The campaign for self-determination inside and outside Papua is getting stronger. Whilst there are some armed resistances conducted by TPN-OPM, there are some peaceful civil resistances which are also mobilised with larger supporters. KNPB, AMP and GARDA are some of the organizations that openly put a referendum as their campaign platform. Even though they have same agenda as TPN-OPM, they promote peaceful ways in promoting political aspirations. In the middle of the political spectrum, there is the struggle of people asking for self-determination in the wider context. This civil resistance brings the issues of endangered indigenous Papuans' identity, natural resources exploitation, land grabbing, and democracy. This movement is initiated by culturally based organizations and local NGOs. These armed and civil resistances are stronger than before, even though the massive development project being done in the region. This paper, therefore, has two purposes. Firstly, it evaluates the effectiveness of Jokowi's development project on West Papua conflict resolution. Secondly, it analyses indigenous Papuan responses to this development project.

Michael Kabuni (UPNG) - Do Policies Matter in PNG Politics? Assessing the 2017 post-election coalitions

Coalition governments are a popular feature of parliamentary democracy. Since 1972, PNG has had coalition governments. Coalition politics is intended to minimise the bargaining cost of parties with different policies, where parties with the smallest ideological differences tend to form a coalition. Another reason is to form a winning coalition with the goal of securing a majority of the portfolios and access to resources. This second group would restrict the number of political parties in an attempt to maximize their portfolio numbers.

However, if MPs from a few parties are not sufficient to form the government, numerous parties can combine, with the major party in the coalition negotiating and controlling the distribution of portfolios and resources.

This paper surveys the policy documents and constitutions of the political parties currently in opposition and the government coalitions, to ascertain whether parties with similar policies are in the same coalition. The findings show that coalitions are not based on common policies. Comments from politicians and portfolio distributions in the government suggests are formed based on desire to access ministerial portfolios and resources (discretionary funds) and are not necessarily driven by policy ideologies.

Julian McKinlay King (Univ. Wollongong) - Kanaky and West Papua: Independence derailed by global 'greed' and the emergent paradigm of 'indigenous anarchism'.

The Melanesian territories of West Papua and New Caledonia are yet to attain independence. This presentation revisits the history of these territories and argues that the rich mineral resources of these lands is the primary motivation for occupation by other powers preventing these peoples rightful 'complete independence and freedom' to which they are entitled under the 1960 United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The paper will review West Papua's legal status and argues it remains a Non-Self-Governing Territory of the Netherlands – albeit abandoned – where indigenous Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) freedom fighters are at war with the Indonesian state. At the core of West Papua's problems is global economic 'greed' parallel to the case of New Caledonia. Although listed as a Non-Self-Governing Territory, the 'complete independence and freedom' of the Kanak people has been derailed by the colonial power's covert and overt tactics of murder, propaganda, manipulation, and colonial migration. While the umbrella FLNKS movement appears to have stalled, the indigenous revolutionary movement Groups Revolutionnaires Koutumiers Kanaks (MGRK) represents an alternative that refuses to engage with the colonial power. Like the OPM, MGRK is pursuing a policy of 'struggle by all necessary means' against what they consider an occupying power as authorised under United Nations General Assembly resolution 2621 (XXV) Programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The unique decentralised system of representation adopted by both the OPM and MGRK and their rejection of the Western-styled centralised governments represent an alternative system of political representation – 'indigenous anarchism' – which will be presented and compared in light of other decentralised systems of indigenous representation similarly emerging in opposition to globalisation.

Tuesday 25 June

1pm – 3pm

Parallel Sessions 2

Dealing with multiculturalism and universalism in the political and social context of Kanaky-New Caledonia (Room L31)

Chair: Caroline Graille (Univ. Montpellier 3, UNC)

Françoise Cayrol (UNC) - Nouvelle-Calédonie, la communauté de destin, cet « impensé » des « années accords »

Eddie Wadrawane (UNC) - À l'heure des revendications de souveraineté kanak, d'avenir partagé, et de définition d'une « identité pays », que reste-t-il de l'école de « Nos ancêtres les Gaulois » ?

Patrice Godin (UNC) - Universalisme et interdépendances : la souveraineté kanak selon Jean-Marie Tjibaou

Eddy Banare (UNC) - Dialogismes politiques dans les récits de Déwé Gorodé : une affirmation de la souveraineté

Caroline Graille (Univ. Montpellier 3, UNC) - Merging Kanak sovereignty together with Caledonian cultural diversity : a double bind

In November 2018 an international conference directed by TROCA (Trajectoires d'Océanie) laboratory and gathering social sciences specialists took place at the University of New Caledonia. Discussions largely pointed out the paradox of dominant political discourse : it praises Caledonian multiculturalism that painfully emerged from French settlement colonization in this former Kanak land, and at the same time, advocates for “putting the Kanak identity on top of the agenda” and restoring the Kanak sovereignty. Earlier that month the first popular referendum (planned by the 1998 “accord de Noumea”) was organized, which gave a 43,3% score in favour of political independence and mainly revealed strong ideological and ethnical splits between the Kanak and the non-Kanak populations.

Our panel will focus on how the question of both Kanak identity and Caledonian cultural diversity have long been fundamental issues in the prospect of a “common destiny”, and how they may influence the next upcoming votes. Caledonian citizens will indeed get a second, then a third chance to decide whether or not they want to become a new independent nation, capable of merging together universalist values as well as prevalent Melanesian and Oceanian cultural features.

Tuesday 25 June

3pm-5pm

Parallel Sessions 3

Land, Development and Democracy (Room L30)

Chair: Lorenz Gonschor ('Atenisi)

Nathalie Angele-Halgand (UNC) and Akila Nedjar-Guerre (UNC) - Public Action and Climate Change in the Pacific Islands: Post-New Public Management Based on Empowerment

Pacific Islands are the most exposed part of the world to face climate change with the predicted loss of territories within the next 50 years including Kiribati, Tuvalu or Marshall Islands. In October 2018, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change issued a summary for policymakers putting forward the likely impact of global warming on human health in terms of increased morbidity and mortality, stressing the risks from some vector-borne diseases such as malaria and dengue fever, as well as adverse consequences on indigenous peoples and local communities depending upon agricultural and coastal livelihoods. This is expected to add another 100 million poor people by 2030 and several hundred million by 2050.

Facing these challenges requires public policymakers to design strategies to both rescue and accompany people. Wildavsky identified two main types of strategies: anticipation and emerging or resilient strategies. The anticipation strategies cover all the planification and action engaged to avoid tragic situations. The resilient ones correspond to building capacities to react once the unavoidable event happens. It includes rescuing people and displacing them in emergency. The French military forces have developed an expertise in this domain and have gained a solid reputation for their resilience capacity. The paper aims at addressing the conditions under which the French military forces could carry out successful interventions on a greater scale to face the increasing demand induced by climate change.

Lili Song (Univ. Otago) - Who Owns the Minerva Reefs: History, Law and Politics

The Minerva Reefs (MRs) are two uninhabited coral reefs between Fiji and Tonga. Whereas Tonga claims ownership of the MRs as well as the waters within a 12 nm radius around the MRs in a 1972 Royal Proclamation, Fiji claims that the MRs are located within its Exclusive Economic Zone. This paper examines the historical origin of the Tongan and Fijian claims over the MRs and analyses the legal and political issues surrounding the competing claims by these two South Pacific neighbours.

lati lati (VUW) - Development and democracy in the Pacific: Can land reforms in Samoa undermine its democratic system?

Samoa is a leading economic and political reformer in the Pacific, particularly since the mid-1990s, when it adopted neo-liberal reform policies very similar to those introduced by the World Bank into development orthodoxy in the late 1980s, namely the good governance agenda. The Land Titles Registration Act (LTRA) 2008 is perhaps the most controversial policy to emerge from these efforts. Although the LTRA will lead to the alienation of customary lands and is probably unconstitutional, the Samoan government has relentlessly pushed forward with its implementation, passing several subsequent pieces of complementary legislation, such as the Customary Lands Advisory Commission Act (CLAC) 2013. In addition to issues of alienation and constitutionality, there is speculation that this will also undermine the traditional foundations of the Samoa's social-political framework, the fa'aSamoa, or more precisely, the fa'amatai. If so, this will have implications for the national political framework; membership of the democratically elected legislative assembly is limited to matai (heads of families). This paper examines the extent to which this argument is valid; does the LTRA affect the fa'amatai and fa'aSamoa, if so how, and to what extent are there implications for national level politics? It is argued that because matai (chiefly) titles are directly connected to customary lands, interference with customary land tenure will undermine the fa'amatai, and the fa'aSamoa. This issue is important for a region comprising developing countries, where development is critical but democracy is fragile, and where Samoa is widely regarded as having one of the more enduring and stable democratic political systems.

Ponipate Rokolekutu (UH) - Articulating a politics of the dispossessed, the Excluded and the Marginalized: The Case of Land Dispossession in Fiji

Fiji is often perceived as an exceptional case in critical colonial discourses. That is, despite ninety-six years of British colonial rule, indigenous Fijians, or the iTaukei, featured distinctively in the post-colonial space. Contrary to colonial experiences of land dispossession, the loss of indigeneity, and economic marginalization faced by indigenous peoples, the iTaukei of Fiji, constitutes an incomparable case in the colonial space. Despite British colonialism, iTaukei rights to native land was protected, their traditional socio-political structure preserved, and their indigeneity intact. However, in this research the author makes the contention that the colonial land legislations which protected indigenous rights to land, and the institutions that define iTaukei indigeneity, are part and parcel of the colonial projects of land dispossession, economic exclusion and marginalization. The study examines the question: Why is it that the vast-majority of iTaukei landowners are perpetually economically marginalized despite owning almost ninety per cent of the land in Fiji? Drawing from a variety of primary, secondary and archival sources, the study makes the contention that the socio-political structure of iTaukei society articulated under the Vanua, and the institutional arrangement that regulates the rights of access to iTaukei land under the trusteeship role of the iTaukei Land Trust Board (TLTB), have created land dispossession, economic exclusion, and marginalization. Be that as it may, such legislative and institutional structures were camouflaged under notions of native protection and indigeneity articulated under the illusion of British colonial benevolence.

Tuesday 25 June

3pm – 5pm

Parallel Sessions 3

Décolonisation et citoyenneté de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (Room L31)

Chair: Nic Maclellan (Islands Business)

Caroline Gravelat (UNC) - Le droit international au service du processus d'émancipation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie

Utilisée par le FLNKS en 1986 pour faire entendre sa voix et contraindre la France à oeuvrer en faveur de la décolonisation, ignorée, voire vilipendée par le camp non indépendantiste, l'ONU a su s'affirmer au fil des décennies, comme acteur incontesté du processus d'émancipation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Deux missions de visite du comité de décolonisation dit C24, un accompagnement technique de l'UNOPS sur la constitution des listes électorales, une présence non observatrice du Secrétariat Général pendant et autour de la consultation d'autodétermination du 4 novembre 2018 : plusieurs outils juridiques à disposition de l'ONU auront été mobilisés pour contribuer à la sincérité et à la sérénité, donc à la légitimité du scrutin et du processus d'autodétermination calédonien.

En faisant appel aux dispositifs intervenant dans le domaine du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes ainsi qu'à ceux, créés plus récemment en vue de la promotion de la démocratie, la situation calédonienne est particulière au regard du droit international. Un entre-deux original dans lequel a su s'inscrire la France dans un esprit de transparence pour légitimer à la fois son action et son positionnement de neutralité.

L'organisation aura non seulement été présente mais aura finalement eu un rôle d'objectivation face à des prétentions contradictoires des mouvements indépendantistes et non indépendantistes, contribuant ainsi à l'apaisement général. Le papier se propose de traiter du sujet de l'accompagnement par les instances de l'ONU de la mise en oeuvre du premier referendum d'autodétermination prévu par l'Accord de Nouméa, des cadres juridiques de celui-ci, de leur réception par la France et de l'impact sur le processus global pour conclure sur les perspectives et les limites.

Stéphanie Graff (UNC) - Décolonisation et droit de vote en Nouvelle-Calédonie

Colonie de peuplement de la France depuis la prise de possession en 1853, la Nouvelle-Calédonie est engagée dans un processus de décolonisation depuis la signature des Accords de Matignon-Oudinot en 1988 et la signature de l'Accord de Nouméa en 1998 par l'Etat français, le Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste (FLNKS) et le Rassemblement Pour la Calédonie dans la République (RPCR). En novembre 2018, une consultation sur l'accession du pays à la pleine souveraineté a eu lieu donnant 43,33% des voix en faveur de l'indépendance contre 56,67% des voix en faveur du maintien de la Nouvelle-Calédonie dans la France. Selon les termes de l'Accord de Nouméa deux autres référendums pourraient avoir lieu entre 2020 et 2022.

Dans un contexte de revendications d'indépendance et d'autodétermination, le droit de vote peut être aisément considéré comme étant « la mère des batailles ». En effet, trente ans après la réinscription de la Nouvelle-Calédonie sur la liste des territoires non autonomes des Nations Unies, la question du droit de vote est toujours extrêmement sensible.

Ma présentation s'intéressera à cette question de droit de vote, de décolonisation et d'autochtonie dans le contexte de colonisation de peuplement de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, ainsi que les enjeux actuels autour de cette question, notamment les récentes missions des Nations Unies chargée d'observer la consultation référendaire ainsi que l'établissement et la révision des listes électorales.

Etienne Cornut (UNC) – La transformation de la citoyenneté calédonienne selon l'issue du processus référendaire prévu par l'accord de Nouméa

La Nouvelle-Calédonie est caractérisée par un pluralisme juridique relativement complexe, qui découle de la reconnaissance de multiples identités : identités calédonienne et kanak, et de vecteurs juridiques de ces identités : citoyennetés et statut coutumier kanak. Ces personnes ont en commun une nationalité et une citoyenneté françaises, ainsi qu'une citoyenneté européenne. Reconnu par l'accord de Nouméa du 5 mai 1998, le peuple kanak cohabite avec le peuple français – le premier étant une composante du second – et les discussions sur la transition institutionnelle de sortie de l'accord de Nouméa ont été marquées par l'émergence de la notion de « peuple calédonien ».

Se pose dès lors la question de la coexistence de ces vecteurs juridiques identitaires dans le cadre de cette évolution institutionnelle, de leur évolution conceptuelle, de la définition des sujets de ces identités et des conséquences de cette appartenance en termes de droits et d'obligations, selon les hypothèses de « sortie » de l'accord de Nouméa (accès à la pleine souveraineté, maintien dans la France ou autre voie). Les thèmes abordés porteront notamment sur : le contenu de la citoyenneté calédonienne au regard de l'évolution de la notion même de citoyenneté ; les liens entre la nationalité française et les citoyennetés (calédonienne, française et européenne) ; l'utilisation de la citoyenneté en tant que facteur de rattachement du droit calédonien ; la transformation de la citoyenneté en nationalité et la question du maintien dans la nationalité française en cas d'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie à l'issue du 2e ou du 3e référendum.

Hugues Fulchiron (Univ. Lyon) – Citoyenneté calédonienne, nationalité française et citoyenneté européenne : quels équilibres pour quels droits ?

Le processus de transition que vit la Nouvelle Calédonie a de fortes incidences sur le statut juridique des personnes qui vivent sur le territoire. Si la voie choisie est celle de l'indépendance, se posera la question de la construction d'un droit de la nationalité calédonienne, ce qui conduit à s'interroger sur les problèmes de double nationalité et leurs incidences sur la citoyenneté européenne. Si la Nouvelle-Calédonie reste rattachée à la France, se posera la question de l'évolution de la citoyenneté calédonienne dont les particularités actuelles sont étroitement liées au processus de transition, ainsi que de son articulation avec la nationalité française. Ces différentes questions doivent notamment être examinées au regard des droits et libertés fondamentaux, tels que garantis par les textes européens et internationaux, et au regard des droits de libertés de l'Union

Tuesday 25 June

5.30pm – 7pm

Plenary Session

Amphi 400

Rétrospective des échéances de l'Accord de Nouméa

This session will be translated into English

Chair: Caroline Gravelat

Isabelle Leblic (CNRS) - La possible décolonisation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et l'accès de Kanaky Nouvelle-Calédonie à la souveraineté ?

On entend souvent que, grâce à la méthode Rocard, la France décolonise la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Mais peut-on décoloniser en contexte colonial? N'est-ce pas plutôt une façon de recoloniser le territoire? Ce sont des questions que nous aborderons. Cela fait plus de quarante ans que les va-et-vient institutionnels subis par la NC la font osciller, dans le cadre de la république française, entre plus ou moins d'autonomie. Les derniers en date, avec les accords de Matignon-Oudinot (1988) et de Nouméa (1998), reprennent dans l'esprit certains de ceux passés pouvant aboutir ici à la souveraineté grâce aux trois possibles référendums sur la question jusqu'à 2022. Le 4 novembre dernier a eu lieu le premier, riche d'enseignements et d'espoir pour nombre de citoyens de ce pays, dont les résultats ont surpris l'ensemble de la classe politique calédonienne. Ces votations pour l'indépendance ne correspondent pas pour certains à ce qui est prévu par le comité de décolonisation de l'ONU qui a réinscrit la Nouvelle-Calédonie sur la liste des territoires non autonomes en 1986. Pourtant, elles ont été acceptées dans l'esprit par le Front de libération nationale kanak et socialiste, mouvement de libération nationale. Pourquoi ce choix?

La Nouvelle-Calédonie est toujours une colonie française et seul son accès à l'indépendance par voie de référendum pourra transformer ce statut en État souverain. Néanmoins, de quelle indépendance parle-t-on? Les indépendantistes prônent la «souveraineté partagée», mais une fois seulement l'indépendance et la souveraineté obtenues par le vote, afin de pouvoir discuter sur un pied d'égalité, d'État à État, un partenariat entre Kanaky Nouvelle-Calédonie et la France. De leur côté, les loyalistes, la force conservatrice au sens propre, qui représentent le troisième partenaire des accords, veulent depuis toujours que l'idée d'indépendance soit «purgée», «écrasée» ou «dépassée». Nous ferons le point sur ce débat post-référendum. Pierre-Christophe Pantz (UNC) - Auto-détermination et géographie électorale en Nouvelle-Calédonie : cristallisation politique ou indépendance ?

Six mois à peine après le premier référendum d'autodétermination, les électeurs néocalédoniens ont de nouveau rendez-vous avec les urnes pour une élection provinciale (12 mai 2019) qui s'annonce décisive à plus d'un titre pour l'avenir de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. A la suite d'un premier référendum historique remporté par les non-indépendantistes (56,7% contre l'indépendance), et même s'il ne s'agit pas exactement du même électorat, cette élection provinciale constitue donc l'ultime baromètre avant les deux derniers référendums.

Pour ce scrutin décisif, le camp indépendantiste, galvanisé par le résultat du « OUI » au référendum (43,3%) déjouant l'ensemble des sondages les annonçant lourdement perdants, espère surfer sur cette dynamique afin d'inverser les équilibres politiques au sein des institutions de l'archipel. Face à un paysage politique qui semble cristallisé depuis près de trente ans, cette contribution propose d'interroger la cartographie électorale de cette élection provinciale afin de déterminer la probabilité d'un changement de rapport de force aux prochains référendums.

Sylvain Brouard (Sc Po Paris), Samuel Gorohouna (UNC) - Déterminants du comportement électoral au referendum de 2018.

The paper presents and tests several hypotheses about the effect of socio-demographic characteristics as well as attitudinal preferences on electoral behaviour at the 2018 New Caledonian referendum. The paper investigates particularly the interactive effects of community belongings, status, income, age and gender. It also analyses preferences about independence, cost-benefits perceptions of independence and identification as a French citizen. The paper relies on new data from the first electoral survey on the New Caledonian electorate.

Wednesday 26 June

8.30am – 10am

Parallel Sessions 4

New Models of Governance (Room L30)

Chair: Karin von Strokirch (UNE)

Lorenz Gonschor ('Atenisi) - Norfolk Island: Model for a neo-colonial Oceanian dystopia?

In 2015, Australia unilaterally abolished Norfolk Island's partially autonomous territorial government and restored an authoritarian colonial system of administration on the island, even though a two-thirds majority of the islanders had previously rejected any such moves in a plebiscite. This unprecedented recolonization of an island territory by its administrative power without the territory's consent not only goes against the trend towards decolonization or at least granting of self-governance of the past six decades, but also blatantly violates the principle of democracy. Yet the international community, including Pacific Island governments that have normally been vocal on decolonisation matters in the region, have remained remarkably silent on this issue. Recently, however, the Norfolk Island community has gained the support of key international decolonisation experts and initiated a process that may lead to inscription on the UN list of non-self-governing territories. At the same time, the release of an internal memorandum has exposed very disconcerting motivations for the takeover, aiming at the suppression of the islanders' indigenous identity. Even more disturbing is a recent blog post by a former Australian prime minister, who identified the current colonial regime on Norfolk Island as a blueprint for the takeover of independent Pacific Island states by Australia in the future. Contrary to some recent trends towards accelerated decolonisation in the region, Norfolk Island hence offers a contrasting, dystopian model of neo-colonialism that deserves to be watched closely.

Ron Levy (ANU) - Designing Referendums for Peacemaking: The Case of Bougainville

The specific question we explore in this article is what can be done to improve deliberation in the course of the Bougainville referendum. The pathologies of standard referendums are well-recognised, and in our view these must be explicitly addressed if any referendum is to be useful – and especially if a referendum is to avoid derailing efforts at subsequent settlement. Even a marginal improvement in its deliberative quality may help to reconstruct the referendum from a potential destabilising factor (deepening rather than ameliorating divisions) to an effective peacebuilding tool (encouraging the search for common ground, final settlement, etc). We explore how a deliberative referendum might help to impel the Bougainville peace process toward successful resolution. We also consider the referendum's hazards.

More specifically, we outline the key impediments to deliberation in conflict societies generally, and in Bougainville more particularly. Then we turn to the role that a deliberative referendum could play in a process of conflict settlement by addressing such deliberative deficiencies. Thus we describe the deliberative referendum model's objectives and design features, and also suggest how the model could be deployed in the Bougainville case. If designed carefully, a deliberative referendum could potentially improve the upcoming referendum's prospects of achieving a sustainable peace settlement.

A/Prof Dr Ron Levy is the proposed presenter for this paper originally written by Levy along with Amelia Simpson, Ian O'Flynn and Georgina Flaherty.

Stephanie Lawson (Macquarie/ANU) - Contending Security Interests in Oceania

The small island states of Oceania are enmeshed in a multifaceted security scenario involving not just their own immediate concerns, concerning basic human security issues and the ever-increasing threats posed by climate change, but also the strategic interests of larger actors bordering the region - mainly the US, Japan, China, Australia and New Zealand. The EU, too, has a considerable interest in the region, although it is less directly concerned with traditional security matters. Specific French interests add a further dimension to the security scenario, as does Indonesia. This paper provides an overview of the contending and intersecting interests of the various actors involved and their impact on the outlook for Oceania's small island states in the new security environment. It suggests that while non-traditional actors in the region – China in particular – may have much to offer in the way of development assistance, the island countries of Oceania are likely to remain oriented to traditional partners for both developmental and security reasons.

Wednesday 26 June

8.30am – 10am

Parallel Sessions 4

Politics of the French Pacific (Room L31)

Chair: Jeanne Adrian

Jean-Marc Regnault (UPF) - La démocratie en Polynésie française

Sous les apparences d'une vie démocratique à l'occidentale (élections à échéances normales, sans irrégularités notables, liberté d'expression formelle, partis politiques structurés, éducation civique...) des mécanismes issus à la fois de la culture polynésienne pré-européenne, de la période coloniale, de la non application de la loi de 1905 (la séparation de l'État et des Églises) et de la période des essais nucléaires, la démocratie polynésienne est originale.

La Troisième République chercha à imposer un système de domination tout en se prétendant un modèle de démocratie dont les peuples d'outre-mer auraient dû s'inspirer.

En 1946, le mot colonie disparaît en droit interne français. Cependant, le système s'est prolongé lorsqu'une raison d'État a fait de la Polynésie le Centre d'expérimentation nucléaire. Survint alors une longue période pendant laquelle, de l'aveu d'un amiral, « On a acheté la paix sociale ». La France chargeait alors une élite de la maintenir, grâce à un apport financier considérable.

Les essais arrêtés, la vie politique a continué à se dérouler avec les pratiques héritées : clientélisme, népotisme, profusion de moyens de propagande pour les adversaires de l'indépendance, leaders charismatiques et électeurs enclins à suivre ces derniers.

Les partis indépendantistes ont voulu conquérir la souveraineté par la voie démocratique, donnant à celle-ci un contenu culturel hérité de la période pré-européenne, largement fantasmée.

Cependant le modèle politique traditionnel tend à atteindre ses propres limites : le clientélisme ne dure que tant qu'il a suffisamment à distribuer.

Il en résulte que la démocratie reste difficile à garantir, d'autant que la France peut à tout moment estimer qu'une raison d'État rend le contrôle de territoires indispensables pour sa géopolitique ou sa géostratégie.

L'exposé expliquera la complexité de la greffe d'un système politique hérité de l'histoire de la France sur un pays qui a une autre culture, une autre histoire et d'autres objectifs.

Florence Mury (UPF) - L'affirmation d'une autochtonie macro-régionale en Océanie : l'exemple ambivalent de la Polynésie française

L'Océanie offre l'exemple rare d'un espace de dimension macro-régionale dans lequel se développe depuis quelques dizaines d'années un récit affirmant une autochtonie commune à la quasi-totalité des sociétés qui en font partie (Australie exceptée). Ce récit a été co-construit par une grande diversité d'acteurs relevant des champs de la tradition, de la littérature mais aussi du monde scientifique. En effet, l'hypothèse de la proximité historique et culturelle entre les sociétés insulaires du Pacifique est de plus en plus étayée par les travaux universitaires [Guillaud, 2003] archéologiques et linguistiques qui documentent l'origine commune austronésienne de ces populations.

Alors que le régionalisme océanien avait d'abord été initié de l'extérieur dans un contexte de guerre froide et selon des logiques néocoloniales, on assiste aujourd'hui à son renouvellement, initié de l'intérieur [Leslie & Wild, 2018], non seulement par les gouvernements des petits États indépendants et des territoires autonomes ou associés mais aussi par les acteurs de la société civile impliqués dans des stratégies identitaires de redécouverte des savoirs et savoir-faire précoloniaux. Aux côtés d'autres grands récits comme celui sur la vulnérabilité des îles face au changement climatique, l'autochtonie océanienne apparaît donc comme l'un des leviers de la coopération régionale dans le Pacifique, permettant aux petits États insulaires de gagner en visibilité dans la mondialisation.

La Polynésie française joue un rôle ambivalent dans ce processus. En tant que territoire rattaché à une métropole, elle peine à être reconnue dans la région comme un acteur ayant opéré le tournant postcolonial : ainsi, elle n'est membre à part entière du Forum du Pacifique que depuis 2017. Cela ne l'empêche pas de mettre en œuvre des stratégies payantes visant tout d'abord à renforcer son influence culturelle dans le Pacifique. Papeete accueille ainsi chaque année le Festival International du Film Océanien (FIFO).

Et, en obtenant très récemment le classement à l'UNESCO du site de Taputapatea (Raiatea), le territoire parvient également à faire reconnaître mondialement la fonction historique de centre politique et religieux qu'il a pu jouer, lors du peuplement de la partie la plus orientale de l'Océanie. La Polynésie française apparaît donc

comme un territoire qui peine encore à trouver sa place dans les « retrouvailles familiales postcoloniales » [Bessard & Mrgudovic, 2015] qui animent actuellement l'Océanie alors même que de nombreux acteurs locaux participent directement à l'affirmation du récit sur l'autochtonie régionale.

Adrian Muckle (VUW) - Words, Values and Actions: Reading the Lives of Kanak Leaders

The last two decades have seen a small explosion of academic writing about auto/biography in Pacific islands history and political studies. This has occurred in the context of renewed historical interest in the era of decolonisation and the adequacy of what was or was not done to build nations in preparation for independence in the Pacific and elsewhere. Increasingly, light has been thrown on the lives of the participants in that process (as actors of decolonisation and the "End of Empire") as well as the writing about them. This has been driven in part by the desire to recuperate and preserve the history of a generation of aging leaders, but interest also has been sustained by the desire to better understand the conditions and dynamics of political leadership in Oceania, especially in the atmosphere of crisis that engulfed the Melanesian states and their leaders at the beginning of this century.

Examining writing from the last three decades about the lives of Kanak leaders in New Caledonia, this paper contributes to the developing conversation on the relationship between self, nation and auto/biography in decolonisation and resistance in Oceania. In seeking to evaluate how Kanak political leaders have been represented and assessed in mainly biographical genres of writing, the discussion addresses a tension between the idea that efficacy of action is a key yardstick in indigenous evaluations of leaders and the idea that the study of modern leaders must not be limited to the evaluation of their actions and must also take into account their biographies and styles of thinking. The exploration of this tension helps make sense of some of the critical tensions, silences and challenges in writing about Jean-Marie Tjibaou and other leaders of the Kanak independence movement.

Wednesday 26 June

10.30am – 12pm

Parallel Sessions 5

Sovereignty in the Pacific (Room L30)

Chair: Jack Corbett (Southampton)

Melania Napa'a (Univ. Otago) - Influences of Tongan Sovereignty within Tongan Government and the Function of the Royal Prerogative

In this research I will be discussing the influence of the Tongan sovereignty within the Tongan Government and the constitutional right the King had to use his royal prerogative power to dissolve the Tongan parliament in 2017 and call the Prime Minister to resign effective immediately.

The purpose of this research is to provide a better understanding of the Tongan cultural influences such as the monarchy within their political realm. I will use New Zealand as an example to compare and contrast how the royal prerogative was successfully used in 2017, and what consequences it may have caused for the present government of Tonga and the possible future of Tonga as a democratic nation.

My main focuses will be on the use of prerogative power in Tonga and the influence of the sovereign if Tonga is to progress into becoming fully democratic. As a nation that is built on a Christian foundation, I will also discuss the religious influence of Tonga's culture if Tonga were to continue without the Monarch and function as democratic society.

Karin von Strokirch (UNE) - Implications of climate change for sovereignty in Pacific Island states

It is a tragic irony that in the late 20th century, the era when Pacific Islands were among the last colonies acceding to independence, science confirmed anthropogenic climate change that was to imperil the sovereignty of microstates. Due to their diminutive size, theoretical notions of independence and equality were heavily qualified by great differentials in political, economic and military power compared to other states. Yet climate change impacts are taking challenges to Pacific Island sovereignty to a new order of magnitude. Three scenarios warrant analysis.

Basic needs are at risk of not being met. Acidification, warming and coral bleaching undermine coastal fisheries vital to subsistence, while on atolls salination of soil is incompatible with crops. Extreme droughts and cyclones damage agriculture, infrastructure, and dwellings. Tourism is deterred by all these trends. As a result, Pacific Island states are becoming even more dependent on external aid for adaptation to, and recovery from, slow and sudden onset disasters exacerbated by climate change.

State borders and revenue are threatened by rising sea levels. In 1982 fledgling microstates gained rights over exclusive economic zones (EEZs) under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. They became custodians over vast tracts of ocean and tuna stocks for which they levy lucrative access fees on distant water fishing nations. Some markers defining borders are coral atolls or reefs and rocks which are already being submerged. Later this century, as entire low lying atoll nations slip below the rising seas, questions will intensify as to who controls resources in EEZs.

Mass emigration will cast further doubt on sovereignty over land and maritime claims in whole or in part. Atoll dwellers will relocate to higher islands within their country, migrate in a dispersed manner to associated metropolitan powers, or states may make lasting arrangements to resettle the national community en masse in another state. In the case of states where the whole populace has migrated, there will be debate as to the degree of autonomy they exercise within the host state and whether they can legitimately retain membership in international organisations.

Min Yen Ong (Univ. Nottingham) - "Where are My Brothers?": Promoting Sovereignty Through Hawaiian Online Collaborative Music Videos

The past five years have seen a trend towards the creation of native Hawaiian online collaborative music videos in Hawai'i, and in particular, the production of these videos with initiatives such as Mana Maoli and Project Kuleana. At the core of these projects lies the concept of aloha'aina (love of the land) and the fostering of kuleana (the bestowing of responsibility, right or privilege). These videos, with their high-quality recordings, soothing vocal melodies and beautiful scenery capturing meaningful places in Hawai'i, have gone viral owing to their popularity on social-networking sites, such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube. These initiatives have helped to build solidarity between Hawaiians as they utilize music and iconic places to empower them by connecting with their language and culture, as well as raising awareness of native histories for viewers. In this paper, I explore the semiotics of these music videos, both through the visual narrative and the messages that lie within the lyrical content. Through the use of place (Massey 1994; Cresswell 2015) and strategic choice of songs, I demonstrate how these collaborative music videos, as mobilizing

structures, foster kuleana (Warner 1999; Young 2006; Goodyear-Ka'opua 2011), reclaim land, educate future generations, sustain cultural traditions and promote sovereignty. This study explores the complexities at work and the hermeneutical strategies (Dibben 2009; Przybylski 2017) that are at play in the production of these videos. In doing so, I argue that these online collaborative music videos form part of a growing platform for Hawaiian cultural-political expression in promoting indigenous rights and the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Wednesday 26 June

10.30am – 12pm

Parallel Sessions 5

The Political Economy of Resources (Room L31)

Chair: Nathalie Angele-Halgand (UNC)

Jeanne Adrian (UNC) - Le nickel, vecteur d'indépendance ou de dépendances ?

Le nickel fait traditionnellement partie des éléments clés des discussions autour de l'avenir statutaire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Considéré comme un vecteur d'émancipation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, et plus spécifiquement des provinces, il est envisagé comme un outil majeur du rééquilibrage de la Nouvelle-Calédonie voulu par les principaux accords qui ont scellé son destin. Considérée à maints égards comme un enjeu de souveraineté, d'indépendance nationale d'un Etat, la compétence sur cette ressource naturelle est d'autant plus significative au regard de l'affirmation du principe de souveraineté permanente des États sur leurs ressources naturelles par Résolution 1803 (XVII) de l'ONU en 1962 qui s'est depuis imposé comme un principe de droit international.

La Nouvelle-Calédonie s'est d'ailleurs emparée avec force de cette compétence. Une politique minière a été adoptée dans un Schéma de mise en valeur des richesses minières ainsi qu'une réglementation détaillée dans le cadre d'un Code minier. Elle a parfois même adopté des mesures très originales et novatrices visant à la valorisation locale de ses ressources (création de réserves techniques provinciales, de réserves géographiques métallurgiques).

Outre sa compétence en matière minière, elle dispose aujourd'hui de compétences larges et variées qui lui confèrent une possible appréhension et maîtrise globales du secteur minier. Ainsi, dispose-t-elle de la compétence en matière de droit du travail, de l'environnement, de droit fiscal, du commerce extérieur...

Toutefois, cette compétence est également soumise à de nombreuses contraintes tant externes (contexte international, présence des multinationales) qu'internes (sensibilité de l'écosystème, attachement à la terre des populations...) L'intervention se proposera d'étudier en quoi la compétence minière peut être vue tout à la fois comme facteur d'indépendance de la NC mais également de dépendances au vu de ces contraintes multiples qui s'imposent à ce secteur.

Romain Lebreuilly (Univ. Lorraine) and Nicolas Rigaux (Univ. Lorraine) - Analyse discursive d'un conflit de représentations sociales au secours d'une identité de lieux : la forêt de Kouaoua

Cette étude analyse le discours public des populations locales exprimé dans le conflit lié à l'exploitation du site minier de Méa en Nouvelle-Calédonie. Ces populations issues de tribus kanaks, qui pour pouvoir réclamer leur droit à la consultation préalable sur l'usage du territoire, étayent leur discours sur un double mécanisme d'identité sociale et de représentations sociales. Depuis quelques années, différentes initiatives ont été prises, parfois en collaboration avec des ONG, pour faire entendre leur voix : participation à des reportages audiovisuels, réalisation d'articles de presses, alimentation de pages Facebook... autant de matériaux constituant des corpus lexicaux pertinents pour étudier la manière dont se construit un conflit de représentations sociales liées à l'environnement et à la modification des espaces forestiers.

Etant entendu que les acteurs de la production de discours sur un territoire local compris en tant qu'objet-enjeu se basent sur un ensemble de représentations qui participent à la régulation des conflits intergroupes, et qui s'insèrent dans le processus de prise de décisions dans le cadre d'une gestion durable de l'environnement. Et qu'il est désormais admis que le territoire est à la fois une condition écologique, un construit social sujet aux jugements de valeur et un phénomène politique polarisant, l'analyse discursive de ce conflit nous permet de concilier la théorie des représentations sociales avec celle du cadrage afin de pouvoir dépasser le concept de résonance culturelle. Nous montrons ainsi que le concept d'utilisation non voulue de territoire locale gagnerait en profondeur en articulant celui-ci avec la théorie des représentations sociales et la théorie des cadres. Cette étude démontre l'importance de la prise en compte de l'expression discursive des représentations sociales dans l'émergence du consensus au sein d'un conflit territorial et communicationnel.

The evolution of environmental stakes call for political instruments to think and act adequately in a democratic way. Complexified and exponential data basis of knowledges on nature's inventory and human societies interrogate the institutional and political authorities to articulate imperious environmental stakes with geopolitical and public policies strategies. The strategic mobilization of political resources related to environment represent a source of renewed relationship between France, its collectivities in the Pacific, the Pacific countries and more globally, the Indo-Pacific area. The diplomatic narrative of "climate change", completed by the "ecological transition" public policy referential, drawn a political way towards adaptation to extensive environmental stakes. How democracy could be revitalized by such a process in French Oceania ? Since the land-sea continuum environment is at the roots of Oceanian culture, political tools for environmental stakes appropriation shall use a bottom-up experience based on insular environmental knowledges, collective practices and ancient way of managing the natural resources (rahui), as it has been analysed in French Polynesia for example (Bessard, 2019).

Wednesday 26 June

1pm – 2.30pm

Parallel Sessions 6

Diplomacy and Transnationalism in the Pacific (Room L30)

Chair: Stephanie Lawson (Macquarie/ANU)

Paul Charles Wea (La Trobe) - L'indépendance de la NC, Bougainville et West Papua constitue une nouvelle renaissance du Groupe Fer de Lance Melanesien

Depuis sa création, le Groupe Fer de Lance Melanesien a connu un développement considérable dans son existence en tant qu'organisation sous-régionale dans le Pacifique. La dimension régionale et Internationale de l'Organisation a permis de répondre aux enjeux majeurs que traversent les Etats et pays de la Melanesie en matière économique, sociale et culturelle. Créé à l'origine pour soutenir l'indépendance de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, le GFLM a malgré tout fonctionné convenablement malgré quelques difficultés rencontrées notamment sur les sujets aussi sensibles comme la question de West Papua qui continue à fragiliser la cohésion du groupe. Mais au-delà des positionnements politiques des Etats sur la question de West Papua, il n'en demeure pas moins que la question de l'auto-détermination de West Papua, Nouvelle-Calédonie et Bougainville reste un sujet diplomatiquement stratégique qu'il convient de traiter avec beaucoup d'intelligence, dans une perspective géopolitique, et qui va nécessairement déterminer l'avenir du GFLM et de ces Etats Melanesiens. Le référendum de Bougainville est prévu pour le mois d'octobre 2019, celui de la Nouvelle-Calédonie l'année prochaine 2020 et West Papua en campagne pour un référendum organisé éventuellement par l'ONU. L'éventualité des indépendances de ces nouveaux Etats va fondamentalement impacter l'organisation du GFLM en la propulsant ainsi vers une dimension internationale sans précédente en devenant au même titre que le Forum du Pacifique une organisation incontournable. Pourquoi et comment le GFLM sera perçue et considérée dans les relations internationales? Est-ce que le renforcement du GFLM par l'arrivée de la Kanaky-Nouvelle-Calédonie, West Papua et Bougainville va booster le développement des sociétés Melanesiennes et créer un nouveau rapport de force dans le Pacifique. Quelles seront les relations et les nouvelles relations entre le GFLM et l'Australie comme les pays asiatiques?. A partir de ces questions, il sera intéressant de projeter vers l'avenir la vision du GFLM en termes de rapport de force dans les relations internationales, car bien que ces pays continuent de rencontrer des difficultés sociales et économiques, il est pourtant probable qu'en dépit de leur richesse en matières premières (mines, pêche, tourisme etc...) le GFLM sera dans les décennies à venir une véritable force stratégique et géopolitique dans la région Asie-Pacifique ou Indo-Pacifique.

Mililani Ganivet (UH) - Mapping the /s/Pacific n/oceans between us: the struggling political legacies of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement

The Nuclear Independent and Free Pacific movement was both a transformative and transforming movement in the contemporary political history of our region. And yet although prominent, its study has been at best incomplete, at worst neglected, in the academic historiography of the Pacific. Given the loose nature of the movement, mapping a history of its nature is a challenging endeavour.

Nevertheless, this paper is an attempt to counteract this historiographical trend by providing an analysis of the

role played by grassroots activists involved in a non-governmental organization and whose influence played a significant role in the awareness raised to stop nuclear testings in French Polynesia and whose legacy is often undermined.

More specifically, I aim at mapping the contours and stakes of grassroots activists in French Polynesia and Hawai'i in specific localized struggles for independence and self-determination respectively and further explain how they are embedded in their broader advocacy for a free nuclear Pacific. The struggles to protect Kaho'olawe in Hawai'i is but one example I will resort to in order to map these bridges.

As a Tahitian graduate student currently studying in Hawai'i, I have a privileged access to archival documents held at the Pacific collection in the Hamilton library and to key players residing in Hawai'i and Tahiti. In that perspective, I intend to bridge community voices and archival resources to map the dynamics within a s/pacific place-based context.

From a broader perspective, looking at the salient role played by grassroots activists, this paper also purposefully aims at re-placing the political legacy of the NFIP movement in the current struggles for self-determination and independence in the Pacific and in French Polynesia in particular.

Rieko Hayakawa (Univ. Otago) - Self-Determination of SIDS creates Transnational Crime and Global Disorder

During the 1970s, small islands obtained large exclusive economic zones (hereafter EEZ) under the 3rd United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (hereafter UNCLOS). Most of these small islands obtained their sovereignty at the same time as their huge ocean areas and possible resources, which would have supported their economic independence. However, most of the small islands states could not manage their huge oceans, and invited all kinds of transnational criminal activities such as illegal drug trafficking, human trafficking, unreported and unregulated (IUU) and money laundering which comes with IUU fishing boats. Another problem for these small islands states is so the called "sovereignty business". One example of their well-known "sovereignty business" is their ship registry, which provides their flag to ships from all over the world, which includes North Korea or those who assist North Korea. The small island states never had any responsibility of their ship registry business, and even did not know who used their flags. Thus, the current ocean regime under UNCLOSIII tells us that small island states who have a huge EEZ created global crimes, disorders and

instability. This situation challenges us to re-visit the meaning of "Self-Determination", especially applied to the small island states in the Pacific. In this paper, I will firstly look at their capacity limits for of law enforcement and other management of resources. Secondly, I will address the weak and corrupted autocracy government mechanisms, especially those with connections of tax haven and money laundering which create fake marine protected areas and "Trust Funds". Thirdly, I will argue that the current BBNJ discussion in the UN, as well as being a meaningless slogan, could also even violate the UNCLOS principle - "Blue Pacific Continent" by the Pacific Islands Forum.

Wednesday 26 June

1pm – 2.30pm

Parallel Sessions 6

Everyday Politics (Room L31)

Chair: Kerry Baker (ANU)

Andrew Murray (Sydney College of Divinity) – Principles of Pacific Life

This paper will initiate an exploration of the ethical and political principles underlying the lives of Pacific Island peoples. The world at the moment appears to be dividing itself into the democratic regimes and the autocratic regimes, but there are far more subtle dividing lines. Modern European democracy is a four-hundred-year-old experiment, which, although under stress itself, can be dogmatic in its prescriptions and unreflective on its own principles. Pacific Island peoples have their own traditions, which endure despite significant change since European contact. What are the personal qualities (virtues) needed to live in small villages or on small islands? What is the broad spectrum of goods that people seek and how would they articulate these? This in turn will open questions about unreflective application of key Western principles such as 'democracy' and 'equality' and the rise of such movements as 'identity politics'.

The writer of this proposal is not a Pacific Islander and so cannot determine the directions Pacific Islanders might themselves take, but he hopes to carve out space in which they can reflect freely on their own destinies.

Roannie Ng Shiu (ANU) - "No thanks, not for me": Young Pacific women and political aspirations

During a recent women's leadership workshop, a prominent female Pacific politician spoke intensely about the need for encouraging more young Pacific women to run for parliament, particularly professional young women – and then pointedly directed the conversation at me. While I am a strong advocate for increasing the number of Pacific women parliamentarians, I have no such desire to be one myself. This is something that I share with many other young Pacific professional women who I know. This research proposal will investigate the reasons as to why young Pacific women choose not to engage in politics. Increasing women's political participation in the Pacific remains a key challenge and priority area for the region. There has been considerable research into structural barriers for women's political participation and subsequently a range of leadership and political participation initiatives and programs have been delivered across the region. Many of these programs target young women in particular, given that they face the double burden of age and gender. However, providing these programs is necessary but not sufficient to address women's political participation. Pacific young women must also be willing to become political leaders.

Dion Enari (Bond Univ.) - Fa'a Samoa from promised land to dreamland. Perceptions of Fa'a Samoa by New Zealand born Samoans in Brisbane, Australia

The constant navigating of the "in-between world" – from my local gym and lecture theatre to my le faitaga (formal Samoan male attire) singing in my Samoan church choir – moving from Western ways of interaction to Samoan ways of being, is not without its trials. This "in-between world" becomes a ground for searching, observing, improving and at times discarding. Each world is lovely, explicitly rich in meaning, yet not without its flaws. I write from the 'centre' not only looking forward but looking sideways and back. I write with the guidance and protection of my ancestors. I write as a proud man, embracing all that has allowed me to safely navigate the Palagi (white) and Samoan worlds in which I live.

This study is based in the literature and life narratives of New Zealand born Samoans, their journey through Brisbane and their relationship with fa'a Samoa. The culturally appropriate method of talanoa (Vaiotele, 2003) will be used to analyse this cohort's perceptions of the three main concepts of fa'a Samoa; fa'a Matai, aiga potopoto and faalavelave/fesuaiga (Sauni, 2011). The "Australia Multicultural Policy" released in 2013 reported 270 diverse ethnic cultures and 260 different languages spoken in Australia (Department of Social Services, 2013). Among these cultures are increasing numbers of Samoan peoples. Findings will be provided to policy makers, professionals and grass roots organisations who work with New Zealand-born Samoans to help encourage appropriate support systems and to equip this cohort and other minority groups with the necessary tools to successfully navigate the "two worlds".

Wednesday 26 June

2.30pm – 4pm

Parallel Sessions 7

Small Island States in International Organisations (Room L30)

Chair: Mathias Chauchat (UNC)

William Waqavakatoga (USP) - Evaluating the New Pacific Diplomacy: A case study of West Papua

In 1998, Indonesian President Suharto lost power, which also ended the policy of 'New Order'. This collapse created the setting for the short lived but intense 'West Papua Spring'. For the first time in decades, West Papuans sensed an opportunity in achieving self-determination aspiration. However, conservative hardliners in Jakarta would later put an end to this optimism. This paper examines the emergence of New West Papua Diplomacy and uses this emergence to evaluate the 'New Pacific Diplomacy'. This research paper has focused on the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) and Pacific Coalition for West Papua (PCWP) as an expression of a new diplomatic system in the 'New Pacific Diplomacy', and evaluated against the claims in the literature. Change in the "regional architecture is central to the 'New Pacific Diplomacy', but it remains an unfinished journey" (Fry & Tarte, 2016, p. 15). This paper endeavours to give an evaluation the 'New Pacific Diplomacy' by looking at West Papua's Freedom Movement's diplomatic activities in their

attempt to be legitimised and supported by Pacific Island countries in the changing 'regional architecture'. The paper examines three areas. Firstly, it explores the diplomatic strategies undertaken by the ULMWP and PICWP, and the implications of these strategies. Secondly, it examines and interprets what these strategies tell us about the 'New Pacific Diplomacy'. Lastly, it attempts to interpret what these diplomatic strategies tell us about Pacific agency. The formation of ULMWP as representative body for West Papua and creation of the grouping, PICWP, are new components of the 'New Pacific Diplomacy' discussed in this research. To what extent or degree these new components stress and strain 'regional architecture' provide an indication of if the 'unfinished journey' has been reached or not.

Jack Corbett (Southampton), Patrick Weller (Griffith) & Xu Yi-Chong (Griffith) – Small States and the 'Throughput' Legitimacy of International Organisations

Jack Corbett (Southampton), Patrick Weller (Griffith) & Xu Yi-Chong (Griffith) – Norm entrepreneurship and diffusion 'from below' in international organisations: How the competent performance of vulnerability generates benefits for small states

Most international organisations (IOs) were created by the initiatives of a few large and rich states that negotiated the rules of the game. The strength of this 'old club model' has since been eroded as the result of: the proliferation of membership of IOs; the impact of emerging powers; demands for 'democratic norms being applied to international institutions'; the willingness of IOs to help their smaller members build their multilateral capacities; and the determination of some of the world's small states to play an effective role in IOs. Taken together these changes have altered the dynamics of the IO world. But the literature has barely kept up with these developments, primarily because it is commonly assumed that no important decisions can be made without support of 'great powers'. While this remains the case today, it tells only part of the story.

This panel seeks to explore how small states matter in the IO world. While acknowledging well-documented asymmetries, we nevertheless seek to understand and analyse examples where small states have sought, and in some cases achieved, influence in IOs. Specifically, we want to know: How and why have IOs facilitated participation of their members, especially those small and/or poor ones? When and why have some small states decided to be active over what issues and in which IOs? When they have done so, how has their participation affected the operation of IOs and IOs' ability to achieve their mandate?

Wednesday 26 June

2.30pm – 4pm

Parallel Sessions 7

Pathways to Resilience: Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Room L31)

Chair: Elatiana Razafi (UNC)

Langues, politiques, arts et médias, couramment acceptés en tant qu'outils institutionnels de l'ordre social, contribuent à la construction des sentiments d'appartenance autant que de différenciation. À travers eux, les individus comme les sociétés donnent forme à la pensée critique, à une créativité activiste et résistante. Dans ce panel, une diversité de voix (disciplinaires, professionnelles, langagières) explorera de façon collaborative la tension qui existe entre ces outils publics et le concept d'« auto-détermination ». Il abordera comment ces outils peuvent potentiellement devenir des postures politiques. Quels chemins linguistiques, juridiques, esthétiques, médiatiques empruntent les acteurs sociaux dans leur démarche d'émancipation ? Quelles en sont les conséquences ? Qui sont-ils capables d'atteindre ? Peut-on décoloniser ces sphères et outils publics et le corps politique y répond-il ?

Thierry Xozame (Department of Work & Employment, New Caledonia) - La pluralité des chemins de la Coutume dans le domaine juridique

La Coutume sur le territoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, est un art de vivre du peuple kanak qui traverse son temps, son espace et ses comportements. Bien plus qu'une pratique génériquement dénommée dans le langage ordinaire " us et coutume ", la Coutume s'imprègne d'une philosophie fondée sur la relation à l'Autre et à son environnement. Et cette altérité est plurielle, d'une part dans la diversité du mode de vie de la culture kanak notamment par son approche linguistique, et, d'autre part dans le mode de vie des autres communautés. Ce sont ces pluralités de chemins qu'emprunte la Coutume dans le domaine juridique, véritable socle d'un vivre ensemble dans une pluralité sociale.

Anne-Laure Dotte, Elatiana Razafi & Fabrice Wacalie (UNC) - De l'insécurité à l'émancipation : les langues comme chemin vers la résilience

À partir de projets de recherche en (socio)linguistique et didactique des langues, nous examinerons comment les répertoires plurilingues peuvent devenir des outils stratégiques dans la déconstruction de l'hégémonie linguistique. 2019 a été déclarée année internationale des langues autochtones. Plus que jamais, nous devons reconsidérer comment les locuteurs de langues autochtones (du Pacifique) investissent leurs répertoires plurilingues, passant de l'insécurité à l'émancipation linguistique, de langues qui s'éteignent à des discours créatifs. Nous verrons comment des approches plurilingues et pluri-artistiques permettent de dessiner de nouveaux chemins vers la résilience.

Sylvia C Frain (Univ Otago & Univ Guam) - L'art comme auto-détermination & l'art de l'auto-détermination

Je traiterai de l'utilisation d'expressions artistiques locales et de la manière dont sont partagées via les plateformes électroniques au sein du mouvement actuel d'auto-détermination à Guåhan. Bien que les résidents soient des citoyens américains, ils demeurent sans représentation démocratique entière et n'ont ni représentant électeur au Congrès, ni le droit de vote aux élections présidentielles américaines. Les activistes utilisent les instances internationales (comme les Nations Unies) pour appuyer leur demande d'auto-détermination, ou encore des modèles américains de gouvernance locale (comme la 9ème cour d'appel), tout en produisant des formes artistiques qui promeuvent les droits autochtones et l'indépendance politique.

Thierry Bain & Véronique Bain (MAADO) - Danser des chemins comme expression culturelle diverse et commune

La compagnie MAADO de Nouvelle-Calédonie, de par sa trajectoire, présente la diversité de la danse, un composé de classique, au contemporain en passant par l'expression de la culture kanak. C'est un chemin de Vie ou fusionne la pleine expression de la diversité du Pays, qui donne sens au vivre ensemble.

Mathurin Derel (Demain en Nouvelle-Calédonie) - Décoloniser les médias dans un processus de décolonisation

Les médias jouent un rôle important dans le processus de décolonisation. Un processus complexe qu'il est parfois difficile d'aborder pour les journalistes au sein de rédactions bien souvent marquées politiquement, d'autant qu'il ne se limite pas à la question institutionnelle. Le rapport de force en défaveur du peuple Kanak, hérité de la colonisation, se retrouve dans le paysage médiatique et complique le traitement du processus d'émancipation. Pour les journalistes, il est parfois difficile de proposer un traitement juste et équilibré, d'autant qu'ils sont soumis eux-mêmes aux grandes questions qui traversent la société calédonienne.

Wednesday 26 June

4.30 – 5.15pm

PIPSA Closing Session

Amphi 400

Panel of Young Scholars on the Key Issues of the Contemporary Pacific

Chair: Roannie Ng Shiu (ANU)

Samantha Marley Barnett (Mills College)

Michael Kabuni (UPNG)

Geejay Milli (UPNG)

Elvira Rumkabu (Cenderawasih)

William Waqavakatoga (USP)

Wednesday 26 June

5.30pm - 7pm

Plenary Session

Amphi 400

Prospective sur la sortie de l'Accord de Nouméa

This session will be translated into English

Chair: Catherine Ris (UNC)

Séverine Blaise (UNC), Carine David (UFA) et Gerard Prinsen (Massey University) - For a re-appraisal of the triptych “decolonization, independence, sovereignty” to the prism of the New Caledonian experience

As part of New Caledonia's process of negotiated decolonization, the Noumea Agreement has explored the voice of a new model of sovereignty, recognizing that the sovereignty of the Kanak people is a prerequisite for the founding of a “new sovereignty, shared in a common destiny” (Preamble of the Noumea Agreement, 1998). In the aftermath of the referendum on the transfer of the last sovereign powers, it seems important to analyse the emergence of this “shared sovereignty” and to question its content and its links with the notions of “decolonization” and “independence”. For a decolonizing territory, accession to independence is considered as synonymous with accession to “full sovereignty”: but what exactly do these notions mean in the globalized world of the beginning of the twenty-first century? At the time of the injunctions of supranational organizations with growing power (World Trade Organization, European Union, United Nations, ...), of the strategic role of transnational companies which impose themselves as the “new masters of the world”, of the neoliberal reforms imposed through official development assistance's conditionality (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, ...), “preventive” wars and the principle of “responsibility to protect”, does the Nation-State still have the means to assert its power independently? To answer these questions, we will first analyse the theoretical foundations of the concepts of “decolonization”, “independence” and “sovereignty”, for some very old, which are now quite widely questioned and revisited. In a second step, following on from earlier work (Prinsen and Blaise, 2017), we suggest that the situation in New Caledonia illustrates the renewal of these notions and the emergence of a new form of sovereignty that seems partly specific to non-autonomous island territories. The originality of our approach lies in its multidisciplinary nature, combining law, politics and economics.

Mathias Chauchat (UNC) - Quel avenir institutionnel partagé pour la Nouvelle-Calédonie ?

La Nouvelle-Calédonie est engagée dans le processus improprement appelé de « sortie » de l'Accord de Nouméa. La 1ère consultation sur la pleine souveraineté a eu lieu le 4 novembre 2018 ; il en sort un pays divisé sur le plan politique, ethnique et géographique entre provinces, côtes, villes et même quartiers. Les élections provinciales se sont tenues le 12 mai 2019.

Philippe Gomès avait résumé ainsi la situation paradoxale du pays : « C'est l'histoire de la seconde de souveraineté. (...) Tu me l'as prise en 1853, tu me l'as volée cette souveraineté, je ne t'ai pas donné mon consentement pour cette souveraineté. Tu as occupé mon pays, rends-moi ma souveraineté, redonne-la-moi une seconde (...), je te la rends tout de suite, dans la seconde qui suit. Et on passera ainsi d'une souveraineté française subie à une souveraineté française consentie. On passera ainsi d'un territoire de la République à un État associé ou un territoire en libre association avec la France, peu importent les mots (...). Le peuple calédonien dans sa diversité n'en veut pas. Et (...), on en restera au stade où on en est aujourd'hui » in L'avenir institutionnel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, actes du colloque des 17 et 18 novembre 2017, Éditions PUNC, 2018, p. 266.

Le cas de la Nouvelle-Calédonie relève de l'étude des processus de transitions constitutionnelle dans les sociétés divisées et multiculturelles (A.Regan ANU, M.Brandt Interpeace, notamment), ainsi que des processus de décolonisation.

Cette communication questionnera l'avenir institutionnel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie sur le triple plan de la reconnaissance du peuple calédonien, comme formulé le Premier Ministre dans son discours au Congrès le 5 décembre 2017, le maintien d'un lien constitutionnel et institutionnel avec la France et l'ébauche d'un partenariat entre les deux pays.

Nic Maclellan (Islands Business) – Colonialism français et souveraineté partagée dans le Pacifique

New Caledonia and French Polynesia joined the Pacific Islands Forum as full members in 2016, and Wallis and Futuna upgraded its membership from observer to associate member status in 2018. The presence of non-self-governing territories in an organisation of independent and sovereign nations poses new challenges for Pacific regionalism. The French state has been promoting the concept of "shared sovereignty" with governments in its three Pacific dependencies, but what does this mean at a time France is seeking to entrench its colonial presence in the Pacific?

This paper will outline problems facing Forum member countries arising from France's ongoing sovereignty in its three dependencies, including uncertainty over legal standing in the Forum; the capacity to sign treaties; policy making on security in the Forum; policy issues on fisheries and climate in other member agencies of the Council of Regional Organisations of the Pacific; relations with other Forum dialogue partners; resource exploitation by the colonial power; and disputes over maritime boundaries.

NAME	SURNAME	AFFILIATION	PIPSA RESEARCH TOPIC
Jeanne	Adrian	Université de la Nouvelle Calédonie, Nouméa	Le nickel, vecteur d'indépendance ou de dépendances ?
Nathalie	Angele-Halgand	Université de la Nouvelle Calédonie, Nouméa	Resilient Public Action and Climate Change in the Pacific Islands: the Case of the French Military Forces.
Thierry	Bain	Compagnie Maado	Dancing pathways as the cultural expression of both diversity and community.
Veronique	Bain	Compagnie Maado	Dancing pathways as the cultural expression of both diversity and community.
Kerryn	Baker	Australian National University, Canberra	Political Participation through Market Vendors' Associations: A Case Study from Luganville, Vanuatu.
Eddy	Banare	Université de la Nouvelle Calédonie, Nouméa	Dialogismes politiques dans les récits de Déwé Gorodé : une affirmation de la souveraineté.
Rudy	Bessard	Université de la Polynésie Française, Punaauia	Democracy through Environmental Stakes in French Oceania.
Severine	Blaise	Université de la Nouvelle Calédonie, Nouméa	For a re-appraisal of the triptych "Decolonization, Independence, Sovereignty" to the prism of the New Caledonian experience.
Sylvain	Brouard	SciencesPo. Paris	Déterminants du comportement électoral au referendum de 2018.
Luc Énoka	Camoui	Expressions	Modèle d'auto-détermination kanak à Pweevo. Pays kanak du Nord.
Francoise	Cayrol	Université de la Nouvelle Calédonie, Nouméa	Nouvelle-Calédonie, la communauté de destin, cet « impensé » des « années accords » .
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