THE PATH TO NATIONHOOD AND THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSFORMATION: POLITICS, EDUCATION AND LANGUAGES IN NEW CALEDONIA

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Master of International Studies

University of South Australia

2005

"We can't return to our tradition, that's just a myth. No people have ever actually done that. For me, the search for one's identity, one's model, that's ahead of me, never behind. And I'd say that our struggle now is about being able to include as many characteristics as possible of our own past, our own culture, in the human and social model we want to build. Our identity is before us." JM Tjibaou, Les Temps Modernes, March 1985 (cited in Besset, 1988: 159, Chesneaux 1987b: 10)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLATIONS iii

ABSTRACT 1

INTRODUCTION 2

1.1 Aim of study 4

1.2 Methodology 6

1.3 Chapter outline 8

UNDERSTANDING THE DISCOURSE 10

2.1 New Caledonia within the world 10

2.2 Theories of colonisation and decolonisation 14
- Colonisation 14
- Decolonisation 19

2.3 Nationalism and self-determination 24
- What is ethnic conflict? 24
- Nationalism 27
- The notion of change and nation-building 31

2.4 The question of education 34
- The goals of education 34
- Language and education 36
- How to measure failure in the education system? 40

CHAPTER 1: NEW CALEDONIA: FROM A FRENCH COLONY TO A FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORY 44

3.1 'Discovery' and first contact with Europeans 44

3.2 Annexation and French colonialism 46

3.3 A French Overseas Territory? The consequences of French policies 49

THE AWAKENING OF KANAK NATIONALISM 55

4.1 A change in the air? 55

4.2 'French' Kanaks, the yoyo effect and the rise of political consciousness ... 58
- The French stronghold on the island 61
-The experience of 1878- land: a recognition of identity 64
-Manifestations of Kanak nationalism and the importance of 'la coutume' 68

4.3 Towards the land of Kanaky? 73
- French immigration policy tactics 73
- The cultural meets the political 74
- Civil unrest, instability, and calls for international support 81

EDUCATION IN NEW CALEDONIA 89

5.1 Colonial education 89
- The impact of the Church 89
- Consequences of language policies on Kanaks 90

5.2 A new orientation- the 'inclusive' policy 92
- The new challenges 92
- Why are Kanaks failing in the system? 93
- Languages and identity 96

5.3 Protesting against the system 98
- Active boycotts 100
- The Ecoles Populaires Kanak 101

WITHER NEW CALEDONIA? A PROGNOSTIC ANALYSIS 104

6.1 Towards a breaking point 104
- Is New Caledonia indispensable to France? 104
- The consequences of Ouvéa 105

6.2 The miracles of Matignon and Noumea 106
- The Matignon Accords 106
- The Noumea Accord 108
- The political changes in store for New Caledonia 109

6.3 Education for the future 113
- New Caledonia as a bilingual and bicultural island 113
- The place of each language in the system 116
- Towards a consensus? 120

CONCLUSION 123

BIBLIOGRAPHY 125

ANNEXES 135
- **Constitution of the Fourth Republic (extracts)** 135
- **Constitution of the Fifth Republic (extracts)** 137
- **Statutes applicable to New Caledonia: 1956-1988** 144
- **The FLNKS Charter: Why the National Liberation Struggle (extracts)** 145
- **Charter of the United Nations- Chapter XI: Declaration regarding non-self governing territories (extracts)** 146
- **Resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly** 147
- **Cahier de revendication/Parti de Libéation Kanake (extracts)** 149
- **Matignon Accords** 150
- **Noumea Accord** 152

DECLARATION

I declare that the material used in the production of this thesis has been the result of my own research and has not been used for the work of any other degree or diploma unless otherwise referenced. To the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any materials previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:  Date: 21 December 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would especially like to thank my supervisor Dr Shamsul KHAN, who, despite many changes in topics and the obstacles of distance and time, has provided guidance and advice which have helped in the process of researching for and writing this thesis.

I would also like to express many thanks to Dr Peter BROWN, who took time out to proof-read and correct my French, and give me invaluable pointers on events in New Caledonia.

Thanks must also go to my family (Mum & Anthony), the FIGOUREUX family and to my family-in-law (Andrée, Georges, Yves, Gaël, Yann, Marion, Sophie, Dylan, Antoine, Héloïse) and of course, Gwenn.

I would also like to thank the following people for all their inspiration, ideas, support and encouragement (and sometimes a floor to sleep on!) throughout the production of this thesis (in New Caledonia, Australia and France).

Sylvain ADNET, Carlene ALBRONDA & Something for Kate (Stephanie ASHWORTH, Paul DEMPSEY, Clint HYNDMAN), Alliance Française de Canberra, Ambassade de France (Australia) and Richard MEYNIER DE SALINELLES, Australian Embassy (France), Ozen AGKUN, Centre Universitaire de Formation et de Recherche de Nîmes, CHAVANON family, Community Aid Abroad, staff & students at Collège Raymond Vauthier, Scott CAIN, Dr John CONNELL, Alicia CURTIS, Craig CUSSANS, Suzanne & Charles DAGSEVEN, DE LA VEGA family, Bronwyn DIXON, FASSIO family, GOLDIN-ODET family, Benoît GALLAY, Alana GLEESON, Lauren GULLOCK, Hayley JONES & family, Annette KASPAR, Dr Chantal KWAST-GREFF & family, Elsa LABOUCHE, Fiona LANGDON, Lucie LEMAGNEN, Natalie LEPSCHY, Valeria LILJESTROM, Dr David LUNDBERG, staff & students at Lycée Antoine Kéla, Ministère de l'Education Nationale (France), Natasha MARKOVIC, Lauren McMENEMY, Peter MYERS, Lilian NOBILET, Samantha NUNAN, OLIVIER family, Dr Peter POIANA, Kandy & Olivier POINT, POSTILLON family, Benoit SALLE, Florent SANSEIGNE, Mme Alberte SILES & Vice-Rectorat de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Guy & Sylvie RUIZ, Krystyna SMITH, Joanne STADDON, Jenni STEPHENSON, Stian THOMASSEN, Brian TRAN & family, UNESCO (Paris), Trystan & Bethwyn UPSTILL, UNISA Magill Campus Security, Ludovic VALET, David ZINK

My time in New Caledonia in 2002 was an amazing experience and one that I will never forget...

NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLATIONS

The word 'Kanak' is used by the native population of New Caledonia as an identity marker. Over the course of history this word has been used with alternative spelling, such as 'canaque' or 'kanak' (which is invariable in French), each with its own connotation, which is explained in the course of this thesis.

Kanaks are also identified as Melanesians (a term used to designate the native populations in the South-Pacific region). I have made the point of using the term 'Melanesian' when taking in a general sense, and 'Kanak', when specifically talking about New Caledonia.

There are debates surrounding the name of New Caledonia if it does achieve independence- for the Kanaks the land will be called 'Kanaky', with its own flag and currency.

Translated quotes which figure throughout the text are completely my own, unless otherwise referenced, and may therefore contain errors of syntax or grammatical errors- the main objective is to convey the author's ideas. The original French quotes are provided in the notes.

ABSTRACT

In this day and age New Caledonia can be considered a 'rarity'- the history of colonialism and of nationalism New Caledonia is a unique case- a French colony where the native Kanak population are fighting for political self-determination. As a result of this the question of education on New Caledonia has become the basis of intense discussions and heated debates, especially in relation to the future form the education system will take if the island opts for independence from France between 2013 and 2018. The issues at stake and the possible consequences of a political change have pushed many to analyse the pros and cons of the education system at present, as well as looking at solutions to combating the problems of academic failure that has been noted among students. Against the general background of colonialism and ethno-political conflict on the island, this thesis attempts to identify how New Caledonia's history has impacted on the present situation and how this needs to be taken into account in when drawing up future education policies, which will require imagination and a form or consensus among decision-makers. This thesis also intends to show that New Caledonia's history and its relationship with France will also play an important role in the new education system- given that the main objective of education, besides transmitting knowledge to the next generation, is that it must benefit of the country's population who will ultimately lead the country, education programme of New Caledonia needs to allow all students to grow and blossom, able to find their place in society.

INTRODUCTION

Since 1988, and especially since 1998, New Caledonia has opened a new chapter in its history. In a world where people theoretically have the right to self-determination under international law and United Nations principles, New Caledonia has remained a 'rarity' and has only recently started moving towards possible independence and self-government in the near future. However, contrary to former colonies where the lines between the colonisers and the colonised were clean cut in terms of majority/minority, the situation in New Caledonia is more complex and many aspects need to be taken into account with regard to the country's evolving political status. In this process of nation-building, the question of education in New Caledonia is one that needs to be addressed, not only because it is an identity marker and has been an issue at stake in Kanak demands for independence, but also because education is one of the most important (state) institutions and as a result can be at the centre of debate for politicians and education policy makers. This can pose numerous obstacles, particularly when questions about languages of instruction are concerned as it "often invokes contrasting and deeply felt positions. Questions of identity, nationhood and power are closely linked to the use of specific languages in the classroom."[1] With the official recognition of Kanak languages in New Caledonia as languages of culture and instruction on the same level as French, policy makers must draw their attention to finding out the place of each language within the education system. In addition to this, other factors also need to

[1] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003a: back page

be taken into account, owing to the *ethnic mosaic*[2] constituted by the population: New Caledonia is pluriethnic, pluricultural and multiracial[3].

At present, however, the major concern is the overcome the disparities that exist among the different populations on the island. Children from a Kanak background are not succeeding in the current education system, and calls on the part of Kanak leaders have been made to change the education system which is place, in order to reverse this trend and create the foundation for a harmonious society: "It is about resolving the painful question of education in order for the country to hopefully find a balance and a common identity."[4] If there is a large gap between the native Kanaks and the rest of the population, then this inequality could well be perpetuated into the future and put into jeopardy any form of peace- "and the foundation on which the social bond which is being created risks falling apart."[5] For this scenario to be 'avoided', policy advice would be to overhaul the system and completely recreate it, based on the Melanesian realities and in Kanak languages, as was the goal of the *écoles populaires kanak* (EPK) of the 1980s. But times have changed, and as Kanak leaders emphasise and this thesis argues, the only option is that the main language remains 'French', to the extent that the main language of communication on the island is French. However, it is the instruction of French as a language which must be adapted to the needs of island, in terms of its goals, priorities and modes of delivery. In this respect, the subject of New Caledonia is interesting. New Caledonia needs to be studied in terms of its historical and political

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[2] A popular term used by Ageron, 1991: 171, Besset, 1988:168, Turcotte, 1982: 35 to designate the 'mix' of ethnicities and cultures present on the island

[3] Christnacht, 1987: 28

[4] "il s'agit de résoudre la pénible question scolaire afin que le pays puisse espérer gagner un équilibre et une identité commune." Mokkadem, 2000. Mokkadem writes widely on the subject of education in New Caledonia and its possibilities for the future.

ties with France, of the French-Kanak relationships which led to the emergence of nationalism, the ensuing violence and the evolution towards the current situation. The most pressing policy advice now actually facing the territory is to develop, through education, a New Caledonian 'nationality' that reflects the realities and make-up of society through education. In addition, the island needs to implement a school curriculum based on how it wishes to educate its citizens, so that they may be able to participate in and contribute to the creation and administration of the island's new identity, culture and relations with wider world, when the inhabitants decide the political fate of the country by 2018.

1.1 AIM OF STUDY

The main problems confronting the island find their roots in the past, due to France's reluctance to grant the Kanaks of New Caledonia political independence and because, as the then French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius noted in 1985, France has always done "trop peu, trop tard".[6] With the signing of the Matignon Accords in 1988 and the Noumea Accord in 1998, New Caledonia is now forming people who will become the future nationals. The question of education is fundamental to this process, as is the issue of the language of instruction, which both need to be addressed within the broader context of independence generally:

> the gaining of victory over educational, cultural, spiritual and economic independence, the needs of the Kanak country in terms of cultural, economic and spiritual development brings leaders... to think together about the role and the characteristics of the education system and of a school for today and for tomorrow in a more free and independent Kanaky.[7]

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[5] "et le fondement sur lequel s'asseoit le lien social en train de se constituer risque d'éclater." Ibid.

[6] "too little, too late" as cited in Coulon, 1985: 31

[7] "La conquête de l'indépendance éducative, culturelle, spirituelle, l'indépendance économique, les besoins du pays kanak en matière de développement culturel, économique et spirituel amènent les responsables... à réfléchir ensemble sur le rôle et caractéristiques d'un système éducatif et d'une école pour aujourd'hui et pour

As New Caledonia is in search of its identity, this thesis seeks to understand how history, and specifically French colonial practices towards the Kanaks, have had a long-lasting effect and how they have played a part in creating the important issue facing the island in the independence struggle and which needs to be resolved as quickly as possible- the problem of the *échec scolaire*[8]. This problem is apparent mostly among the Kanak students, and may, many fear, be translated into a *échec social*[9] in the future, and thus putting in jeopardy the social foundations of society which are currently being laid. As Pineau-Salaün (2000) notes, this

> question of education is a fundamental stake in today's debates on the future of New Caledonia. For the will of those who presided over the signing of the Matignon Accords not go unheeded, and for a real political, economic and cultural 'rebalancing' to be achieved, the educational institution must offer to all children of the Territory, and even more so to the Kanaks, this 'equal opportunity' that will allow each to find his/her place in society.[10]

The thesis also analyses, as objectively as possible, the arguments regarding the possibilities for the education system on the island, with respect to FLNKS demands and the Noumea Accord. This forms the basis of the question that this thesis will address- *why* are Kanaks performing poorly in the education system and *how* can this be remedied? Which leads us to ask the following question: what language policy would be suitable for the education system for New Caledonia? In order to do this, we must elucidate the factors which have led to the present situation: what is and what has been the role of education? Is the education system currently in place fulfilling its mission?

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demain dans une Kanaky plus libre et indépendante." Gauthier, 1996: 10. Gauthier's work argue for a new education system that will reflect the needs for an independent 'Kanaky'

[8] academic failure

[9] social failure

[10] "'question scolaire' est un enjeu fondamental des débats qui ont lieu aujourd'hui sur le devenir de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Pour que la volonté qui a présidé à la signature des accords de Matignon ne reste pas lettre morte, pour qu'un véritable 'rééquilibrage' politique, économique et culturel s'opère à terme, l'institution scolaire doit offrir à tous les enfants du Territoire, et plus encore aux Kanak, cette 'égalité des chances' qui permettra à chacun de trouver sa place dans la société." Pineau-Salaün, 2000: 253

What are the determining factors of the system? What are (or should be) its priorities? Indeed, with the coexistence of French and Kanak languages and cultures, New Caledonia is a multilingual and multicultural island- the place of each language and the linguistic stability of the situation[11] and the *rapport de force*[12] that exists must be analysed in order to put forward possible solutions to resolving the problem. Within this general framework, the words of Kanak leaders take all their importance in this thesis's endeavour, demonstrating the challenges which education policy leaders on the island faced and are still facing. Given the importance of education in our lives, it must be addressed: "The challenge- to those in charge of education, to seriously take into account the actual stakes and make school a field of exchange, growth, justice and peace, so that a real equality can be achieved in our country"[13]. Mokkadem (2000) also notes: "School today can and must cultivate the values which will contribute to a [future] Caledonian citizenship... school creates links which are important to what I call the Caledonian societal link, that is to say the link which is being created by a country in search of its identity."[14]

1. 2 METHODOLOGY

The particular methodologies employed in this thesis will be interpretive and reflective analysis, putting the education system within the sphere of history and politics, exposing the parallel (and link) between the positions of Kanaks in society, and the goals of

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[11] Schooling, 1991: 97. Schooling analysed the linguistic situation on the island and its evolution, against the theories on language stability.

[12] dynamics

[13] "Relever ce défi: -aux responsables de l'éducation de prendre sérieusement en compte les enjeux actuels et faire de l'école un terrain d'échange, de croissance, de justice et de paix, pour que soit atteinte enfin une véritable égalité dans notre pays" Wapotro, 1994: 8

education from the time of colonisation up until the present moment. While it is possible to analyse education policies and test the efficiency of schools against a range of factors such as the student/teacher ratio, teacher training, the facilities, geography (urban vs. rural), public vs. private education and ethnic background and socio-economic measures as indicators to understanding the problem of the *échec scolaire*, this thesis is limited to looking at the historical, political and social aspects[15] of the education system, and the Kanaks' relationship/experiences with it.

In order to understand the present and bring out the dynamics of the situation in New Caledonia, there needs to be an analysis of the past- of the island's colonial past, and of the political evolution and relationship of New Caledonia vis-à-vis France. By using as a point of departure former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's words: "Today's problems have their roots in the past"[16], *causalité historienne*, *l'analyse systémique*[17] is employed as the main research paradigm. The aim of historic causality is to understand a situation in its totality- the focus is to relate past events to the present, by showing the causal interactions that exist between them: "Following never-ending interactions, rebounding from one register to another, the historian logic makes itself totalising, globalising, by a sort of genealogy of causes... The historian notices and constructs a causal entanglement."[18] Books, journals, articles and related texts, such as official

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[14] "l'école aujourd'hui peut et doit cultiver des valeurs contribuant à la [future] citoyenneté calédonienne... l'école créé des liens qui sont les amorces de ce que j'appelle le lien sociétal calédonien, c'est-à-dire le lien en cours de constitution d'un pays en quête d'identité." Mokkadem, 2000, op cit.

[15] Mokkadem, 1999: 16

[16] Address given in Noumea on the occasion of the signing of the Accord on New Caledonia, May 5, 1998. In Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 65

[17] historian causality, systematic analysis

[18] "Au jeu d'interactions sans fin, ricochant d'un registre à l'autre, la logique historienne se fait totalisante, globalisante, par une sorte de généalogie des causes... L'historien constate et construit un enchevêtrement causal." Mucchielli, 1999: 24

documents are examined for the historical/investigative aspects of the research. For information and statistics on Kanak achievement rates in the education system, books as well as the Internet have been consulted.

In order to make a prognosis and bring to light the present environment, a supplementary disciplinary paradigm is employed, futurology. Futurology is more concerned with projecting the dynamic aspects of the present into the future, in order to discover the possible images of the society of tomorrow- the objective of knowledge is not the future, but the present, in all its forms[19]. This is particularly important in order to answer the questions facing a country such as New Caledonia, as it seeks to find its identity and create institutions that will respond to its needs after being 'set free' from a former colonial power, if this is to occur:

> The independent state needs to give itself institutions, organise its political life... The question of the institutions of new States is at the heart of the analysis of the real influence of colonisation: in which sense they have implanted, or transplanted, the models of political life of the home country?[20]

For this aspect of the thesis information has been also been gathered from the Internet as well as speeches and conferences/debates, mostly featuring Kanak leaders.

1.3 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The first two chapters draw the parameters for analysis. Chapter one offers an overview of French colonisation on the island and seeks to bring out the dynamics of the relationship between the French colonisers and the colonised Kanaks. This chapter also argues that France's policies vis-à-vis the territory from the time of annexation were no

[19] Ibid, p 87

different to what they were in other colonies, and that despite the 'fine sentiments' motivating colonisation, the treatment of Kanaks by the French could only, over time, become a catalyst for a possible demand for change and for rebellion in the future. Chapter two analyses France's dealings with New Caledonia since it became a *territoire d'outre mer*[21], the birth of the Kanak nationalist spirit, and its reformist orientation of bringing Kanak culture back to its rightful place in New Caledonian society. This chapter also critically assesses the arguments for France's hold on the territory and the issues at stake, which have led France to stall in its dealings with Kanak nationalist demands. The chapter also analyses the evolution of the rise of subsequent tensions and reactions, as calls for outright independence appeared in the territory, and the international community's stance with respect to the situation. Chapter three specifically focuses on the question of education in New Caledonia, analysing its goals, evolution and the place of languages within the system from the time of colonisation. This chapter also examines the Kanak experiences, and assesses the protests and attempts at reforming the system from within the island. The last chapter is a prognosis, examining the effects of the Matignon and Noumea Accord and their implications for the island's process of nation-building, so that New Caledonia can avoid the fate of other former colonies of the region. The arguments put forward to curbing the problem of Kanak students and their 'échec scolaire' are also touched on in terms of the politics of language policy, and this thesis draws a possible conclusion for a future New Caledonian education system.

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[20] "L'Etat indépendant doit se donner des institutions, organiser sa vie politique... La question des institutions des nouveaux Etats est au coeur de l'analyse de l'influence réelle de la colonisation : dans quelle mesure a-t-elle implanté, ou greffé, les modèles de la vie politique de la métropole ?" Miège, 1973: 380

[21] French overseas territory

UNDERSTANDING THE DISCOURSE

2.1 NEW CALEDONIA WITHIN THE WORLD

Despite being one of our closest neighbours, New Caledonia and other French territories in the Pacific region remain virtually unknown for many scholars, both in Australia and in France, "*insulae incognitae*"[22]. In terms of research New Caledonia is largely "ignored and neglected"[23], no doubt due to geographical factors for the French as much as the linguistic barriers for Anglophone scholars. Merle (1990) notes concerning the lack of literature available, that New Caledonia remains a difficult subject which "does not attract sufficient academics to promote a real dynamic research"[24]. John Connell[25] also noted the same point, and which is still as valid today, notably that the available literature can easily be easily 'categorised':

> There are very few recent English publications on New Caledonia... too few studies of many aspects of New Caledonia for dispassionate analysis to prevail over speculation and bias but, more important, because there is no real background study to the current political situation in New Caledonia... one of the least known Pacific islands.[26]

The main problem scholars encounter, when dealing with subjects like New Caledonia (and with political events in general) is the speed of change which renders any possible interpretation quickly dated[27]. Consequently, in dealing with New Caledonia as a subject of academic reflection and debate one is limited to a few key fields, written mostly in French. Language has always been a barrier, thus making it hard to find

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[22] Newbury (1980) in Merle, 1990: 315

[23] "méconnus et négligés"- Ibid; De Dekker, 1990: 329- these terms are widely used by scholars when analysing the amount of literature available on the subject of New Caledonia.

[24] "n'a pas attiré suffisamment d'universitaires pour promouvoir une véritable dynamique de recherche." Ibid, p 326

[25] Australian geographer who wrote extensively on the subject in the 1980s, including collaborating on the collection New Caledonia: Essays in Nationalism and Dependency (1988)

[26] Connell, 1987: preface (xiii-xv)

[27] Merle, 1990, op. cit., p 324

objective information on the topic. However, by analysing the range of available English and French literature from different perspectives and from a cross-section of disciplines, one can retrace more 'objectively' the history of New Caledonia in order to bring to light the challenges that the island faces in finding its feet within the region and the world at large and the how this affects instruction on the island today and in the future. In this, the words of FLNKS minister Léopold Jorédie in June 1985, take all their meaning:

> If throughout his education the young Kanak child has learnt to know France through its history and geography, on the contrary the history of the Kanak people has remained unknown for the French, except for a few dozen Western historians and ethnologists... I sincerely hope that your conscience brings you to understand... that the history of the Kanak people truly deserves to be known.[28]

However, one must note that the projections of the future and independence put forward in this thesis are drawn from the discourse available, but that is limited to works written prior to 1988, as more recent literature do not focus as much on the topic.

Today, it is generally assumed that each and every person has the right to be governed by their own- that one's political and national 'roof' is one and the same. In New Caledonia, this is not the case, with the island still considered as French, one of the oldest remaining colonies of the French empire in the South Pacific[29]. Until 1988 France refused any forms of discussion and was not willing to let go of the island (for strategic, political and ideological reasons). As a result, a lot of the literature pertaining

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[28] "Si durant sa scolarité le petit kanak a appris à connaître la France à travers l'histoire et la géographie, par contre l'histoire du peuple kanak est restée une nuit sans lune pour les français, sauf pour une dizaine d'historiens et d'ethnologues occidentaux... J'ose espérer sincèrement que votre conscience vous amènera à comprendre... que l'histoire du peuple kanak mérite vraiment d'être connue." Léopold Jorédie (1985) as cited in Coulon, 1985: 15-16

[29] Connell, 2003: 126. New Caledonia has also been labelled as "one of the last colonial outposts in this modern world" (Guiart, 1982: 105), and a piece of 'confetti'- see also Colombani, 1985: 12); Guillebard, 1976 in Ward, Connell & Spencer, 1988: 11

to New Caledonia has focused on the fact that 'decolonisation' has not taken place, with arguments based on the French Constitution and the claim that the Republic is *undividable*. But New Caledonia has gained considerable autonomy vis-à-vis Paris since 1988, particularly since the Noumea Accord of 1998, whose preamble which contains a form of apology, a great step forward. The island is now involved in the process of nation-building, as the Noumea Accord (1998) point out: "These difficult times need to be remembered, the mistakes recognised and the Kanak people's confiscated identity restored, which equates in its mind with a recognition of its sovereignty, prior to the forging of a new sovereignty, shared in a common destiny..."[30]

The indispensable part of the independence requires that New Caledonia go through the process of nation building. Nation-building first and foremost requires the state to define what 'type' of citizens it wishes to form for the future, a scenario that many former colonies have faced. This means to create a society in which all people living on a delimited territory, regardless of their ethnic origin, can live in harmony, an endeavour which is far from easy:

> New Caledonia must accomplish one of the most delicate tasks: create viable communities from muddled ethnic situation where the legitimacy is demanded by more than one race. All of the Pacific as well as other parts of the world must buckle down to this task... one must show a great degree of understanding, of measure and diplomacy.[31]

[30] http://www.ambafrance-au.org/politics/pages/noumea.en.htm (informal translation of Noumea Accords). For extracts (French) see annex.

[31] "La Nouvelle-Calédonie [doit] accomplir une tâche des plus délicates: créer des communautés viables à partir de situations ethniques confuses là où la légitimité est justement revendiquée par plus d'une race. Tout le Pacifique ainsi que d'autres parties du monde doivent s'atteler à cette tâche... il faut faire preuve d'un grand degré de compréhension, de mesure et de diplomatie." Ward, Connnell & Spencer, 1988: 9

However, contrary to situations where natives are clearly a majority or minority in terms of numbers- a form of bipolarity[32], the situation in New Caledonia is rendered all the more delicate and 'complex' as in addition to the two ethnic groups of almost equal weight which are disputing the control of (political) power, the population of around 220 000 inhabitants in 1996, is a real the ethnic mosaic broken down as follows: "approximately 44% are Melanesian, 34% Europeans, 12% Polynesians, 3% Indonesians, and others (Vietnamese, ni-Vanuatu, Caribbean, Arabs etc.)"[33]. In defining a future New Caledonian nationality, there is the need to recognise and integrate these people of different ethnic backgrounds who have also 'contributed' to the history of New Caledonia: "The bonds of history have united on this land diverse Oceanic, French, Asian cultural elements. From this richness and this complexity must surge our identity."[34] It is unclear how interethnic relations in the future will be organised, for, as the FLNKS has always maintained, "independence has no sense unless it is liveable for non-Kanaks"?[35] These elements are all essential to making up one's identity, at the core of the processes of nation-building, the creation of the solid foundation of a future nationality. Indeed, as the Noumea Accord (1998) also note,

> through their participation in the construction of New Caledonia, the communities living in the Territory have acquired a legitimacy to live there and to continue contributing to its development. They are essential for its social balance and the operation of its economy and social institutions.

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[32] Term used by Chesneaux, 1989 in Spencer, Ward & Connell, preface (1988: 7) to describe the dynamic between colonisers/colonised on any given land.

[33] For statistics on population numbers see Brown, 1998: 4-5. See also Connell, 2003: 126; Roos, 1997: 2; O'Neill (2000), Bensa & Wittersheim, 1998 in Bensa, 1999: 132 . The breakdown given is based on population figures of 1997, however the population is currently estimated at around 220 000.

[34] "Le joug de l'histoire a réuni sur cette terre des éléments culturels diversifiés, océaniens, européens, asiatiques. De cette richesse et de cette complexité doit surgir notre identité." Douyère, Armand & D'Anglebermes, 1996: 119

[35] "l'indépendance n'avait de sens pour les Kanaks que si elle était vivable pour les non-Kanak" ? Chesneaux (1989) op. cit.

In this it is clear, as the UN states, that "the population is the main asset of the whole territory".[36]

An enterprise such as 'nation-building' in former colonies also needs to take into account many factors which will come into play and that will influence the future. For this, an understanding of the colonial power's 'effect' on society is crucial:

> to create a nation, we need solid men and women who can make a blueprint for a viable society. To make a society work or a project viable, the people must understand how it works and must be willing and able to make it work.[37]

For these reasons and with the aim of understanding the dynamics of the current situation, the subject of this thesis, which is concerned with education and politics, encompasses a variety of fields. In order to draw up the parameters for analysis and test the question this thesis addresses, the scope of reference to understand the current situation in New Caledonia is: colonisation and decolonisation goals and their implementation, ethnic conflict and nationalism and the goals of education and the place of language within it.

2.2 THEORIES ON COLONISATION AND DECOLONISATION

Colonisation

Colonisation and decolonisation are defined as opposing processes- there needs to have previously been colonisation in order for a form of decolonisation to subsequently follow[38]. Colonisation is essentially a European phenomenon, where countries sought to extend their power over the seas from the 16th century onward. A feeling of

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[36] United Nations, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1994: 11
[37] Hnanagan (1988) in Kohler, Hnangan, & Spencer, 1988: 229
[38] Sédillot, 1992: 15

superiority and invincibility, was fuelled by a desire to discover, conquer and bring 'civilisation', as Europe imposed Western culture and ways of life on native populations, 'westernising' the world, affecting in varying degrees the different continents as it made the world in its image. Colonisation is, without doubt, one of the most important facts in the history of humanity[39], bringing the 'light' to otherwise 'uncivilised people' of the world, but more to the benefit of the colonisers than of the colonised. As Borella (?) noted:

> Colonising, is to put oneself into relation with new countries to profit from all the resources of the country, to highlight them in the national interest, and at the same time bring to the primitive peoples the advantages of the intellectual, social, scientific, moral, artistic, literary, commercial and industrial culture of which they have been deprived, the prerogative of superior races. Colonisation is therefore an establishment founded in new countries by a race of advanced civilisation.[40]

Brookfield (1972) also provides a definition of colonialism, which he calls no less than a form of "invasion", a "revolutionary transformation of a society"[41], a form of 'takeover' so to speak, a

> thorough going, comprehensive and deliberate penetration of a local or 'residentiary' system by the agents of an external system, who aim to restructure the patterns of organization, resource use, circulation and outlook so as to bring these into a linked relationship with their own system.[42]

The goal of colonisation is then to create exclusive political and economic control and domination, bringing the colony into the coloniser's own image. The impact of colonisation cannot be ignored, more often than not the new possessions find themselves not only trying to live with this new status, but also trying to grasp it:

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[39] Grimal, 1996: 5. More than world wars, colonisation had a more widespread effect, touching men and women from all countries and continents.

[40] "Coloniser, c'est se mettre en rapport avec des pays neufs pour profiter des ressources de toute nature dans ces pays, les mettre en valeur dans l'intérêt national, et en même temps apporter aux peuplades primitives qui en sont privées les avantages de la culture intellectuelle, sociale, scientifique, morale, artistique, littéraire, commerciale et industrielle, apanage des races supérieures. La colonisation est donc un établissement fondé en pays neuf par une race à civilisation avancée", cited in Grimal, 1996: 6

[41] Brookfield, 1972: 18

[42] Ibid, pp 1-2

> The colonial system is a projection of external forces, and all kinds of controlling, transforming and restricting forces of external provenance are part of the total colonial impact... The colonized residentiary system does not merely receive innovations, adopting, adapting, resisting or restricting inputs of external origin. Its members seek constantly to comprehend and manage a total changing system which includes both their own complex and the impinging or invasive forces.[43]

The 'golden age' of colonisation is usually understood to have been set off by economic prosperity and the industrial revolution of the mid-19th century. Relative stability in terms of peace, as well as the demographic boom which Europe was witnessing at the time propelled the phenomenon. The need for new markets, and above all national pride, as well as desire for power and influence underlined the economic, political, diplomatic and strategic motives[44]. This type of colonisation, known as expansionism, was more encompassing than that of the 16th century, which Grimal (1996) calls "*la joie des conquètes*"[45]. This era saw Africa, Asia, America and Oceania fall under the domination of European powers, which had the time and the means to undertake such endeavours:

> As a general rule, the great powers had their hands free for exterior initiatives. They have at the same time the leisure and the money: they need to overcome their idleness, while at the same time feeding their appetites for greatness and glory, if not for profit.[46]

Colonisation is also a two-way process, beneficial also to the colonised countries by bringing civilisation to the 'natives' (or 'barbarians'- and thus, 'inferior'), as well as introducing God to the indigenous populations, to save peoples' souls. European powers believing they were acting justly conquered lands without prior consultation with or consent with the populations who already inhabited them, creating unequal relationships of power and authority, a *rapport de force*... and unconsciously setting the

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[43] Ibid, p 205

[44] Etemad, 2000: 16

[45] "the joy of conquests"- Grimal, 1996: 6

seeds for colonisation's future *remise en question*[47], "*germe de sa propre destruction*".[48] In some countries, a strong European immigration had the effect of submerging dispersed indigenous populations: the threat of a '*peril blanc*'[49], the white man who exterminated or crushed native populations[50]. The theory of social Darwinism, which was also very popular at the time, noted that weak cultures would disappear as they were pitted against the strong ones:

> the apparently universal law along which, through contact between peoples and the interaction of cultures, a community is brought to prevail, and the other to disappear. The imminent extinction of 'indigenous races' obviously seemed part of those natural laws such as that of gravitation.[51]

Indeed, this 'clash' of different cultures could only lead to conflict, reinforcing a process of *acculturation* of the natives. This concept of cultural integration was first used by North American anthropologists from the 1880s to define the "phenomenon of interpenetration of different civilisations"[52]. Acculturation is the encounter between a high and low culture, between a traditional and imperial culture, with profound impacts on all sectors of life[53]. In short, it is the very heart and core of the colonial problem[54].

In many cases the Church played a vital role in the European colonisation of the world, most notably in the area of education by instilling and propagating the Western model,

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[46] "En règle générale, les grandes puissances ont les mains libres pour des initiatives extérieures. Elles ont à la fois des loisirs et de l'argent: ce qu'il faut pour meubler leur oisiveté, tout en assouvissant leurs appétits de grandeur et de gloire, sinon de profit." Sédillot, 1992: 15

[47] questioning

[48] "germ of its own destruction"- Grimal, 1996, op. cit; p 7

[49] 'white peril'- Etemad, 2000: 262

[50] Ibid

[51] "la loi apparemment universelle suivant laquelle, dans le contact des peuples et dans l'interaction des cultures, une communauté est amenée à prévaloir et l'autre à disparaître. L'extinction imminente des 'races indigènes' semblait à l'évidence faire aussi bien partie des lois naturelles que celle de la gravitation." Campbell & Latouche, 2001: 200

[52] "phénomène d'interpénétration de civilisations différentes"- Miège, 1973: 370

[53] Ibid, p 237

[54] Ibid, p 370

complete with its social and material structures (the state did not care for the 'fate' of native populations) as well as through its Christianising mission:

> The missionary ascendancy was all the more important as it distributed, on the fringe of the school subjects, a 'Christian doctrine which represented the unique organised ideology liable to make the native populations internalise their submission' and to re-establish them in a profoundly transformed social and political context.[55]

Churches held up the inferiority/superiority dynamic between the colonised populations and the colonisers and unconsciously fostered nationalist sentiments among natives and future demands for decolonisation: "Their complete hold on a large part of education, the conversions contributed in countries where there was a strong national culture to crystallising against the missionaries the anti-European opposition."[56]

In the case of France, colonisation represented benefits according to the characteristics of the colonised land. Many different forms of colonisation existed, each one distinct, as Gallouédec et Maurette (1925) pointed out, but which of course all served the purposes of the home country:

> 1° First, they serve to establish emigrants from the home country, who fix themselves there, highlight it, make their langue, their customs and civilisation predominate...; these are settlement colonies. In order for this country to become a settlement colony, the emigrated people need to be able to live, that is to say that the country should not be too populated beforehand; and that it has a favourable climate.
> France has few such colonies, most of them being in the torrid zones, with a hot and humid climate... The exceptions: Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, New Caledonia, the zone of high planes of Madagascar.
> 2° Next, by the riches they possess (plant riches: precious wood, colonial products such as rice, sugar, coffee, cocoa; coal, or diverse minerals), and, if they are already populated, by the openings they offer to our commerce, they offer a more or less vast field of economic activity: these are colonies of exploitation.

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[55] "l'emprise missionnaire était d'autant plus grande qu'elle diffusait, en marge des matières scolaires, 'une doctrine chrétienne qui représentait l'unique idéologie organisée susceptible d'amener les populations autochtones à intérioriser leur soumission' et à se recomposer dans un contexte politique et social profondément bouleversé." David, Guillard & Pillon, 1996: 58

[56] " Leur mainmise sur une grande partie de l'éducation, les conversions contribuent dans les pays à forte culture nationale à cristalliser contre les missionnaires l'opposition anti-européenne." Miège, op. cit, p 259

> 3° Finally, some countries, besides the specific advantages they have, are situated close to very important economic regions that they enable us to access: these are colonies of penetration.[57]

From the onset, French colonisation was more a form of expansionism. Island resources exploited for the profit of France and not for the inhabitants, in the interests of foreign capitalism[58]. On the eve of World War II France possessed the second largest colonial empire (after Great Britain), covering an area of 12 million km²[59], ranging from Asia to Africa and the Pacific. The main consequence of course was to propagate the inequalities between populations, to "emphasise and solidify"[60] the already distinct socio-economic differences, the basis of future bitterness and contention between the colonised and the colonisers.

Decolonisation

The fact of colonisation itself, through acculturation and superposition[61] of different cultures, by depriving native populations of access to their own ways of life, customs and culture with the imposition of the Western model could only foster feelings of

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[57] 1° D'abord, elles peuvent servir à l'établissement d'habitants émigrés de la métropole, qui s'y fixent, mettent le pays en valeur, y font prédominer leur langue, les usages, leur civilisation [...]; ce sont là des colonies de peuplement. Pour qu'un pays devienne colonie de peuplement, il faut que les émigrés puissent y vivre, c'est-à-dire que le pays ne soit pas trop peuplé à l'avance; que le climat soit favorable. La France a peu de colonies de ce genre, la plupart étant dans la zone torride, au climat chaud et humide [...] Font l'exception: l'Algérie, la Tunusie et le Maroc, la Nouvelle-Calédonie, la zone des hauts plateaux de Madagascar.
2° Ensuite, par les richesses qu'elles renferment (richesses végétales: bois précieux, produits coloniaux tels que riz, sucre, café, cacao; richesses minérales: houille, or, minerais divers), et, si elles sont déjà peuplées, par le débouché qu'elles ouvrent à notre commerce, elles offrent un champ plus ou moins vaste à l'activité économique: ce sont là des colonies d'exploitation.
3° Enfin, certains pays, outre les avantages propres qu'ils possèdent, sont situées près des régions économiques très importantes qu'ils permettent d'atteindre: ce sont des colonies de pénétration. Gallouédec et Maurette, *Géographie de la France et de ses colonies*, Hachette, 1925, in Bourquin, 2004: 101

[58] Crouzet, 1994: 603

[59] Rizzo, 1999: 7

[60] Connell, 1987: 169

[61] Leca, 1995: 20

resentment and the consequent loss of identity markers: "the contact between two unequal and heterogeneous civilisations had the effect of devastating indigenous customs, their social frameworks and religious traditions, of ruining their age-old organisations, and engendering misery and intolerable chaos."[62] Is decolonisation then the opposite, or the end[63]- a process by which a colony sheds the links which tie it to the 'motherland' and no longer represents a weight, or, as Kipling (1899) calls it, a burden? Decolonisation is therefore taken to mean independence, the desire for a form of self-government, to no longer be governed by a foreign power, and consequently to be responsible for one's own actions and affairs with others. As Brookfield (1972) notes, it is a form of 'rebellion': "independence is here taken as the converse of [colonialism], as the whole reaction of the residentiary system with the object of either retraining or regaining control both of its own evolution and its relationships with other systems."[64] The process of decolonisation is therefore the "transition of a colony into a sovereign state."[65] This, for many populations, equates to a return to a pre-colonial life, and the time for the indigenous populations to regain a form of dignity and their place society.

Following World War I, anti-colonial sentiments were first expressed by Wilson in his 14 points, stating that the "day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by"[66] and that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty it rejects[67]. This idea was taken up in the Atlantic Charter of 1941, and inscribed the right of peoples to self-

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[62] le contact de deux civilisations inégales et hétérogènes ont eu pour effet de briser les coutumes indigènes, de bouleverser leurs modes de vie, les cadres sociaux et religieux traditionnels, de ruiner leur organisation séculaire, d'engendrer des misères et un chaos intolérables." Crouzet, 1994: 605

[63] Etemad, 2000: 261

[64] Brookfield, 1972: 2

[65] Aldrich, 1998: 166

[66] http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1918/14points.html

[67] Ageron, 1991: 9

determination, legitimising people's struggle from the colonial status. In addition to American President Roosevelt's anti-colonial stance, the USSR, for ideological reasons and with the influence of Marxism, was also firmly anti-colonial, "uninhibited in [its] hostility"[68]. The general wave of decolonisation which 'swept' through the world began first in Asia in 1945 and then moved through Africa from 1954 onwards. This movement was not only supported by the general mood of emancipation[69] of the post-war era but by the desire for a new world, free from conflict- "the governments, more than ordinary men and women, wanted the post-war world to be different from the old one"[70]. Many European countries, also ruined by the war preferred to spend their efforts on reconstruction and thus set their colonies free. It was the ideal time for European powers to rid themselves of the costly charge of maintaining overseas posts:

> the chance to get rid of the financial constraints of sovereignty. According to a theory in vogue during the 1950s, the European home countries, once freed of this burden, would be able to dedicate all their resources towards the modernisation of their economy, of improving their neglected regions and the aid to poor populations.[71]

The United Nations, the international body created in 1945 to maintain peace, international security and cooperation, was also firmly anti-colonial in its mission. The UN Charter specifically makes reference to the principle of equality among people and their rights to self-determination: "which will make people respect the fundamental freedoms of man, without discrimination and will favour social progress"[72]. Forcing

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[68] Calvocoressi, 1987: 102

[69] Fraser, 1988: 4

[70] "les gouvernements, plus que les hommes et les femmes ordinaires, voulaient que le monde d'après-guerre fût différent de l'ancien" Campbell & Latouche, 2001: 249

[71] "l'occasion de se débarrasser des contraintes financières de la souveraineté. Selon une thèse en vogue dans les années 1950, les métropoles européennes, une fois délivrées de ce fardeau, pourraient consacrer toutes leurs ressources à la modernisation de leur économie, à la valorisation de leurs régions déprimées et au soutien de leurs populations nécessiteuses." Etemad, 2000: 268

[72] "qui fera respecter les libertés fondamentales des hommes, sans discrimination et favorisa le progrès social" Crouzet, 1994: 388

colonial states to decolonise, it "places the whole of the colonial world into the domain of international responsibility"[73]. Indeed, as Ageron (1991) also notes,

> the Charter made it an obligation for colonial States to develop the capacity of their populations they administered towards an autonomous political life. They had to 'assure, by respecting their culture, their political, economic and social progress, as well as the development of their instruction.'[74]

The creation of the tribune for anti-colonialism- resolution 1514 (X) of December 14, 1952 clearly states that "all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development", also noting that "the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation" [75]. The UN also confirms peoples' rights to self-determination in situations where "geographically separated territories are governed by distant colonial powers"[76]. Each nation has the right to be independent, that is to say be a sovereign state. In this sense colonialism is taken to be an outdated phenomenon, given the United Nations *Declaration on the Eradication of Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*- resolution 43/47, 22 November 1988[77] extended with resolution 55/146 adopted on 8 December 2000, the *Second International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism* (2000-2100) where "at the dawn of a new millennium it

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[73] "plaçait en fait l'ensemble du monde colonial dans le domaine de la responsabilité internationale" Ageron, 1991: 51

[74] "la Charte faisait l'obligation aux Etats coloniaux de développer la capacité des populations qu'ils administraient à une vie politique autonome. Ils devaient 'assurer, en respectant leur culture, leur progrès politique, économique et social, ainsi que le développement de leur instruction.'" Ageron (1991: 51)

[75] www.un.org

[76] Berman, 2001

[77] resolution 43/47, 22 November 1988, www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/56/a5661.pdf

was inconceivable that there should still be vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism".[78]

Although different forms of 'decolonisation' exist, the most peaceful model can be represented through the image of the fruit coming to a form of maturity or 'ripeness' and falling from the 'mother tree' according to Turgot (?)'s biological law, an 'inevitable' process that cannot be stopped:

> the colonies, having reached a certain level of development and populated by citizens conscious of their rights, demand emancipation from the authority of the motherland. Because this fact was inevitable, it was a good policy to do so in a passive way, to conserve between the home country and its ancient colonies links other than those of authority.[79]

Decolonisation can also be achieved through political pragmatism (India), negotiation (Morocco, Tunisia), international pressure (Namibia, Zimbabwe) or a colonial war. The French experience on the whole, however, when compared to other decolonisation processes, has been more painful (for example Indochina and Algeria) than that of other colonial powers. For some French politicians a loss of 'overseas possessions' would affect France's standing in the world, and the Fourth Republic (1946-1958) was unable to satisfactorily put into place a coherent decolonisation program, stalling the evolution of many of its colonies that were fighting for independence (with the crisis in Algeria ultimately bringing about its downfall). As Calvocoressi (1987) notes

> [t]he governments of the fourth French republic were all coalitions which contained ministers who wanted to meet nationalist movements more than half-way and other ministers who did not want to make life unpleasant for the settlers. This was an impossible combination which rendered France ineffective... During these years French ministers and governors-general tried to temper the repression of nationalism with

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[78] United Nations, 2003: 15

[79] "les colonies arrivées à un certain stade de développement et peuplées de citoyens conscients de leurs droits, demandent à s'émanciper de l'autorité de la mère-patrie. Puisque ce fait était inévitable, il était de bonne politique de laisser se produire pacifiquement, pour conserver entre la métropole et ses anciennes colonies des liens autre que ceux de l'autorité." Grimal, 1996: 6

> economic advancement and democratic reform, but they failed to mollify the nationalists whose aim was not reform but independence.[80]

Indeed, with respect to New Caledonia, Berman (2001) notes that France has persisted in maintaining its form of 'domination', with demands for independence falling on 'deaf ears':

> The well-entrenched international legal right of all peoples to self-determination has facilitated a relatively tranquil passage from foreign subjugation and domination to independent statehood for the vast majority of former colonies. The actions of France in its former and current colonies stand out in sharp contrast to this trend... illustrated nowhere more clearly than in New Caledonia, where French actions continue to perpetuate the colonial dynamics of subjection and domination. New Caledonia represents one of a diminishing number of territories that continue to be classified as non-self-governing by the U.N. General Assembly... Remaining in New Caledonia has nurtured the French myth of historical global destiny and preserved links perceived as essential to project its status as a world power. Perpetuating the French myth of grandeur has historically overwhelmed any perceived international legal obligation to decolonize the Territory.[81]

As this statement clearly shows, France has always sought to maintain a stronghold on its territories, based on its desire to be a 'middle-sized' power and according to article 5 of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic, where no political evolution is possible under French law, unless the French State "facilitates the process"[82].

2.3 NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION

What is ethnic conflict?

These days many conflicts take place within nation-states rather than between them. A nation, according to Smith (1984, 1993) is a delimited territory with a common myth, an economic system, a mass culture and common rights and responsibilities[83]. The state system, on the other hand, relies on the following criteria: a permanent population within set frontiers, a strong and stable government, and sovereign independence on

[80] Calvocoressi, op. cit., pp 342-345
[81] Berman, op. cit.
[82] Dornoy-Vurobarav, 1994: x
[83] in Gutiérrez, 1997: 167

international affairs. With the establishment of the nation-state as a provider for its citizens, and as the concept of 'nation-state' implies, assimilation between different ethnic groups is at the heart of the foundation of this system. This requires a sense of conformity and cohesion between the different ethnic groups, embodied in the concept of 'imagined communities'[84] under the banner of a majority ethnic group- giving citizens their 'nationality'. The concept of sovereignty within the state system espouses the idea that the state possesses the absolute right to determine the internal fate of the nation, "the mechanism through which the values and interests of individuals are protected and enhanced".[85]

Ethnicity within this nation-state is a powerful mobilising force, as it becomes a rallying point for people- a form of identification against a common 'foreign threat' which can be "significant in a range of social, economic and political contexts"[86]. Every person is looking to find out who they are, and what their identity is: "Peoples and nations are forcing themselves to answer the most fundamental question for all humans: who are we?"[87] As the desire to belong to a group is a goal common to individuals, identity can be powerful when transferred onto a group, for within the modern state people can identify with other citizens, or simply with their ethnic kin[88]. Ethnicity can be based on different traits of similarity that unite people. Ethnic groups can be defined as "psychological communities"[89] whose members share a strong sense of identity and interest, through a mix of combined historical experiences, common cultural traits,

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[84] Anderson, 1983; Findlay, 1995

[85] Brown, 1997: 230

[86] Connell, 2003: 136

[87] "Les peuples et les nations s'efforcent de répondre à la question fondamentale entre toutes pour les humains: qui sommes-nous?" Huntington, 1997: 21

[88] Gurr and Harff, 1994: 2

customs, beliefs, language, and ways of perceiving and interpreting the world[90]. Culture, as Gellner (1983) argues, is a very important aspect of identity, as it regulates people's behaviour and norms, and gives us a sense of who we are, by regulating our actions. Mokkadem (1999), for his part, defines culture as a norm "made up of rules such as relationship, èxchange, but also the way of feeling the world. This ensemble inscribes codes in the individual".[91] If we expand on the German economist and sociologist Max Weber's definition of the state as the "institution which ha the monopoly of legitimate physical"[92] within a given territory, the state, according to Gellner (1983) is also the holder of the "legitimate culture"[93]. In this respect, nationalism is the desire to make one's political and cultural 'roof' the same. It is clear how identity becomes the core element of nationalism: the desire that ethnic boundaries do not cross political ones.[94]

Ethnic communities within a nation-state can theoretically live in harmony and pursue their goals peacefully through the established political channels. However, within the framework of the nation-state, ethnic conflict can be understood as a consequence of it. Ethnic conflict is influenced by and is a reaction to a particular time, place, and situation and possesses distinct properties. As Saideman (1998) notes, "the events and institutions within states' boundaries greatly shape the incentives of politicians and fears of ethnic groups."[95] Ethnicity has thus become an important way for people to rally and

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[89] Weber, 1998, Brown, 1997

[90] Weber, 1998 (Ibid), Gurr and Harff, 1994

[91] "Nous entendons par 'culture' une norme constituée de règles comme la parenté, l'échange, mais aussi une façon de sentir le monde. Cet ensemble inscrit l'individu dans des codes." Mokkadem, 1999: 48

[92] "L'institution détenant le monopole la violence physique légitime" in Von Busekist, 1998: 42

[93] Ibid, p 10

[94] Gellner, 1983: 3 in Connell, 1987: 424

[95] Saideman, 1998: 127

attempt to retain their distinctiveness and culture while at the same time expressing their frustration and insecurity in the face of modernisation. The state is a provider of resources, but when it becomes weak and is unable to guarantee either access to these resources or a fair and equitable distribution of rights and privileges, ethnic competition and conflict can ensue. As Lake and Rothchild (1996) note, "[b]ecause the state sets the terms of competition between groups, it becomes an object of group struggle."[96] In societies where ethnicity is a basis for identification, group competition for resources and privileges materialises along ethnic lines. If a group believes that it is being treated unfairly or unequally, they will vie for access to scare resources and seek to improve their condition. As Lake and Rothchild (1998) also note, "when ethnicity is linked with social uncertainty, a history of conflict, and, indeed, fear of what the future might bring, it emerges as one of the major fault-lines along which societies fracture."[97] As Lewis Coser (1985) notes, "ethnic conflict is a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously to neutralize, injure, or eliminate rivals."[98] Politics and economics are thus important catalysts for ethnic conflict.

Nationalism

Although ethnic conflict is ignited by 'rational' factors, it becomes all the more powerful when coupled with nationalism[99]. In such an environment, ethno-political conflict takes place, where groups seek to defend or promote their collective identity and interests, a reaction to the particular social, economic and political predicaments of ethnic groups. Nationalism is an ideology promoting a distinct virtue. It is the desire

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[96] Lake & Rothchild, 1996: 145
[97] Lake & Rothchild, 1998: 8
[98] in Horowitz, 1985: 95
[99] Psalidas-Perlmutter, 2000

for independence, the possession of territory and self-rule, which is stimulated by emotions and powerful memories of the past[100]. It is the rejection of the 'alien' or foreign power in favour of being governed by one's own[101]. As a result of this, it is easy to see why, as Horowitz (1985) points out,

> in their periodic emergence, ethnic sentiments have been supported by widespread diffusion of 'national self-determination'... and that control of the state, the control of *a* state, and exemption from control by others are among the main goals of ethnic conflict.[102]

Although nationalism can be based on collective fears of the future, it draws its power from memories of the past, and becomes effective through mass support and propaganda. Nationalist sentiments are, according to Geertz (1973), most vibrant where assimilation between different ethnic groups has failed. In the case of colonial possessions, nationalism is essentially a form of rebellion against the political domination and economic exploitation by the colonisers, the 'foreigners'. Nationalism is the "right to reject the state of dependence, which is directly responsible for the misery and injustice the natives suffer"[103]. Nationalism is therefore a "mechanism of adjustment and compensation, a way of living with the reality of [uneven] historical development"[104]. As a result of this dynamic, the divide between colonisers and colonised is drawn along ethnic or national lines[105] and demands for independence in these cases are usually formulated by the indigenous populations against the colonisers who exclusively developed their own economic power, by exploiting the riches of the country and thus making them vulnerable to the crises and variations of the market and not attending to the fate of the populations that they had supposedly come to save and

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[100] Smith 1984, 1993; noted in Gutiérrez, 1997: 167
[101] Gellner, 1983: 12; Lacoste, 1995: 63
[102] Horowitz, 1985: 5
[103] Grimal, 1996: 8
[104] Nairn, 1981 in Connell, 1988b: 245

civilise. Indeed, once a group of people, tied by ethnicity[106], becomes a distinct class or category within the state system a nationalist sentiment becomes apparent[107].

Although politics and economics are usually the issues at stake in a nationalist claim, education, as a resource provided by the state[108], can also be disputed. In the case of New Caledonia, the drama centres around the issues of land, politics and education, as it is education which helps mould an individual's personality and (sense of) identity:

> The education of a man is by far his most important investment. It confers unto him, in reality, his identity. A modern man is not loyal to a monarch, to a country or a faith, no matter what anyone says, but to a culture.[109]

Language is also connected to this question. Language is, according to UNESCO, in addition to being a "tool for communication and knowledge but also a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment".[110]

The main agents for propagating demands for independence are the educated elite:

> those who appear the most exposed to cultural breaks: the members of the intelligentsia, who draw their marginal position from the acquisition of a 'modern' knowledge in a society which is 'overtaken', and in which they cannot find their place as there are few professional openings offered to them.[111]

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[105] Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984: 24

[106] "people's sense of self remains bound up in the gross actualities of blood, race, language, locality, religion or tradition"- Geertz (1973) in Aldrich, 1998: 239

[107] Gellner, 1983: 172

[108] it is the only institution strong enough to handle such a charge, or 'burden'- Gellner, 1982

[109] "L'éducation d'un homme est de loin son investissement le plus précieux. Elle lui confère, en réalité, son identité. Un homme moderne n'est pas fidèle à un monarque, à un pays ou a une foi, quoiqu'il en dise, mais à une culture". Gellner, 1983: 58

[110] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003: 16

[111] "ceux qui apparaissent le plus exposés aux ruptures culturelles: les membres de l'intelligentsia, qui tirent leur position marginale de l'acquisition d'un savoir 'moderne' dans une société 'dépassée' où ils peuvent d'autant moins s'insérer que peu de débouchés professionnels leur sont offerts". Jaffrelot, 1995: 75

In the case of New Caledonia, these agents are educated Kanaks who have undertaken studies in the mother country of France, where they are exposed to the ideals of freedom and liberty.

In addition, access to the voting system can also bring about a political consciousness leading to a call for self-rule among people who now have 'channels' for their demands. This represents a nascent form of nationalism, where independence becomes the ultimate goal:

> Access by the native to the mechanisms of decision-making generally marks the beginning of a refusal of the forms of alienation and the birth of nationalism. This gives rise to protest against the relationship of colonial dependence and its symbol: the presence of the coloniser and his instrument of domination... According to O Mannoni: 'the indigenous population does not expect specific material or political advantages from independence, no more that they aspire to be individually free'.[112]

If, as according to Rothchild and Lake (1996), the main protagonists or the local governments are unable to manage or contain ethnic conflicts, then it is the duty of the international community to step in as mediator and facilitator[113], especially if a spread of the conflict poses a threat to the stability and security of others. This requires a form of conflict mediation and management, which entails "efforts to contain and reduce the amount of violence used by parties in violent conflict and engage them in a process to settle the dispute and terminate the violence"[114]. In order to end ethnic conflict, the key

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[112] "L'accès de l'indigène aux mécanismes de décision déclenche en général le début du refus de l'aliénation qui marque la naissance du nationalisme. Alors apparaît la protestation contre le rapport de dépendance coloniale et son symbole : la présence du colonisateur et de son appareil de domination... Selon O Mannoni [*Psychologie de la colonisation*, Paris, Seuil, 1950] les autochtones n'attendent pas de l'indépendance des avantages précis, matériels ou politiques, pas plus qu'ils n'aspirent davantage à être libres individuellement." Agniel, 1997: 45

[113] Lapidus, 1988

[114] Lund & Votaw West, 1997

to controling violence is to establish legitimacy via consent and support for the political institutions and the rule of law.[115]

The notion of change and nation building

As Zartman (1998) notes, "ethnic conflicts are not ended by some belated attention to the original grievances or discriminations... they require a new political system".[116] Many countries, once they have gained independence, find themselves faced with the task of either filling a void left by the departure of the colonial power, or building a post-colonial society and resolving the political and economic problems which will "render the freedom that has been won effective."[117] Where newly independent countries have to dismantle what has been left by the colonial power (if this was not built to answer the needs of the colonised society) this in itself is a complicated and delicate process, a "double enterprise". At the same time, these post-colonial societies have to restructure what they decide to keep, "in order to harmonise their needs to their character as people"[118]. Former colonies in the Pacific which have gained independence are seeking to re-establish their traditional culture and its values alongside the requirements of modernisation, an arduous task of adjustment[119]. This can be problematic in itself as such an enterprise poses numerous questions, the heart of the orientalist form of nationalism:

> In order to ensure the effective functioning of the new state, one needs to take a series of decisive measures... Whoever says a change of structure says new political institutions. What will be those that are the most appropriate given the heritage, and which would allow us to gain the best results? ... How to establish the balance between

[115] Kaldor, 1999: 114

[116] Zartman, 1998: 327

[117] "rendre effective la liberté conquise" Crouzet, 1994: 613

[118] "afin de l'harmoniser à leurs besoins et à leur caractère en tant que peuple" Mende (1963) in Gaillard, 2004: 125

[119] Dornoy-Vurobaravu, 1994: 28

> respecting the regional, ethnic or linguistic particularities, and centralisation imposed by the desire for superior efficiency?[120]

In such a situation the native populations who are now required to fill posts are, in most cases, have not been adequately trained in the required fields and areas of responsibility. In these circumstances independence acquired (too) quickly is fragile and can be the subject of further conflict such as political coups, dictatorships or civil wars, as leaders seek to impose their form of government.

At the centre of this process of nation building is the question of creating and defining the culture of the new society. In this, education and the question of the language of instruction can be at the centre of very heated debates. Indeed, as previously noted, although nationalism is a form of rejection of the alien power, it is also contradictory in that the values of a Western culture and education system are also 'valued'. They are usually perceived as being necessary for the international arena: "It puts at stake the question of 'recovering national authenticity... all the while conserving the use and the possibility of acquiring Western techniques', that is to say the relationships between national culture and universal culture".[121] Newly independent countries also find themselves with the task of redefining the education system with the question

[120] "Pour assurer le fonctionnement efficace du nouvel Etat, il convient de prendre toute une série de mesures décisives... Qui dit changement de structure dit nouvelles institutions politiques. Quelles sont celles qui conviennent le mieux à l'héritage reçu, et qui permettraient d'obtenir les meilleurs résultats? ... Comment établir l'équilibre entre le respect des particularités régionales, ethniques ou linguistiques, et la centralisation imposée par le désir d'une efficacité supérieure?" Mende (1963) in Gaillard, 2004: 125

[121] "Il met en jeu la question de la 'récupération de l'authenticité nationale... tout en pouvant conserver l'utilisation et la possibilité d'acquisition des techniques de l'Occident', c'est-à-dire les rapports entre culture nationale et culture universaliste." Miège, 1973: 371-2

formulated as follows: "What mixture of the original culture and Western ways is most appropriate?"[122]

In the case of former colonies, the lack of a strong structure able to take on such a role means that the education system post-independence usually remains that of the coloniser, especially if they are superior, in terms of numbers, compared to the native population. In addition to valuing the universal nature of a modern education, the most important task is to find the place of the traditional culture within this system. This is especially the case in countries that have at least two complementary languages in use, with each language fulfilling distinct social roles and communication purposes, in a form of functional bilingualism, or diglossia. The concept of diglossia was first used by Ferguson in 1959 to describe a complementary relationship between two or more varieties of languages, a definition extended to unrelated languages in 1967 by Fishman[123]. In order for a form of diglossia to occur, the sociological criteria put forward by Ferguson were as follows: the presence of a high language (which is usually standardised, prestigious, possessing a literary heritage) and a low language (which does not possess these features) and a form of stability in the relationship between the two. In addition, the low language is usually the mother tongue, while the high language is that learnt at school[124]. The conflictual relationship between two languages, two cultures and two goals of education means that one of the concerns for education policy is to organise a system that is best suited to the needs of a country "*en quête*

[122] Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984: 26
[123] in Schooling, 1991
[124] Ibid

d'identité"[125] and provide for this form of diglossia, which is at the core of the process of nation-building.

2.4 THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION

The goals of education

According to academic theory[126], the goal of education is to instil knowledge in the nation's inhabitants. This concerns the nation's history, culture and experiences, to "prepare men for the coming society"[127] for the following generation. Through a standardised and compulsory system, education enables people to develop, fulfil their duties as citizens and earn a living: the most important element of education is to prepare individuals for the social division of work, *reproducing* the social order. This double role of education is in a sense 'contradictory', as it seeks to homogenise and divide society at the same time, which in itself poses numerous problems as societies seek to find the right balance:

> Getting the balance right is tricky for society, between this 'homogenising' function of school, fundamental in terms of integration, and this need for differentiation, the division of work being as important as consensus. School must at once unite and diversify, and diversify without going as far as dividing![128]

As such an important and essential "burden"[129], education thus falls within the domain of state responsibility, whose duty it is to define the goals and objectives, as well as

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[125] in search of identity. Mokkadem, 2000

[126] Adler 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986 in Bertrand, 1998: 225

[127] "préparer les hommes de cette société à venir" Kanak, n° 50, 4-11 September 1981 in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 94

[128] "Le 'dosage' est délicat, au niveau d'une société, entre cette fonction 'homogénéisante' de l'école, fondamentale en terme d'intégration, et cette exigence de différenciation, la division du travail étant aussi nécessaire que le consensus. L'école doit donc à la fois unifier et diversifier, et diversifier sans aller jusqu'à diviser!" Durkheim 1922, 1938, cited in Duru-Bellat & Van Zanten, 1999: 72

[129] Gellner, 1982, op. cit. C.f note 108.

provide the financing of the education systems[130]. As Gellner indicates, the state alone can fulfil this role.[131]

As education is also the principal means through which a person receives instruction on the most important aspects of society and life, it is a social experience whereby students acquire a sense of who they are. It is thus the principal place for creating identity markers among children[132] and where one develops relations with others in line with Durkheim's view that "school's main role, as an institution, is to instil in children the moral values which make up the foundations of the society...."[133] Through socialisation, people learn acceptance and tolerance and respect of others in order to live together in peace and freedom under the banner of a common 'nationality': "we can expect from it [education], that it contributes to the development of a will to live together, which is the basic element of social cohesion and national identity."[134] The school system is thus the institution through which the common culture of the society is propagated and the values of the groups which control the society and education are related and is thus, a political instrument[135], "the education machine which is alone capable of offering the broad range of training required to found the basis of the common culture. This educational infrastructure is imposing, indispensable and

[130] United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2001: 13

[131] "Seul l'Etat peut remplir cette fonction" Gellner, 1983 : 60.

[132] Mokkadem, 2000

[133] "l'école, en tant qu'institution, a pour fonction essentielle d'inculquer aux enfants les valeurs morales qui constituent le ciment de la société..." cited in Duru-Bellat & Van Zanten, 1999: 71

[134] "[o]n peut cependant attendre [de l'éducation] qu'elle contribue au développement du vouloir vivre ensemble, élément de base de la cohésion sociale et de l'identité nationale." UNESCO, 1996: 33

[135] Bertrand, 1998: 190

costly."[136] By forming citizens who will be able to contribute to and integrate into society, to facilitate social mobility and enable communication through a 'national' language, education is essential to the "mutual legitimacy between the political roof, the State and the common culture"[137]. For Giroux and Freire (1985), schools are "social organisations whose function is the social, economic and cultural reproduction"[138], although Giroux (1985) puts more emphasis on the cultural reproduction aspect: "the imposition by school of cultural rules, by the dominant classes... schools... confirm the well-to-do in their privileges and excludes or insults the culture of the minority groups: their experiences, their histories, their dreams"[139].

Language and education

In culturally and linguistically diverse societies, UN stances on mother tongue education and indigenous language rights are clear. Each and every child has the right to instruction in his/her native language, as a fundamental element of growth. The World Conference on Education for All (5-9 March, 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand) reconfirmed the following:

> education is an indispensable key to... personal and social improvement... *recognizing* that traditional knowledge and indigenous cultural heritage have a value and validity in their own right and a capacity to both define and promote development.[140]

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[136] "une machine éducative qui seule est capable d'offrir le large éventail des formations requises pour fonder les bases de la culture générique. Cette infrastructure éducative est imposante, indispensable et coûteuse." Gellner, 1983: 59 (cf. note 108, 129)

[137] "légitimation mutuelle entre le toit politique, l'Etat et la culture commune." Von Busekist, 1998: 48

[138] "organisations sociales qui ont pour fonction la reproduction sociale, économique, culturelle" cited in Bertrand, 1998: 188

[139] "l'imposition par l'école, de règles culturelles, par les classes dominantes... les écoles... confirment les mieux nantis dans leurs privilèges et excluent ou insultent la culture des groupes minoritaires: leurs expériences, leurs histoires, leurs rêves". Ibid.

[140] WCEFA, 1990: 2

The 1951 UNESCO report on vernacular languages, which emphasises the "supreme importance of the mother tongue since it moulds a person's patterns of thinking and reasoning and forms his perception of the world"[141], is taken further by the Delhi Declaration and Framework for Action, adopted in 1993 at the "Education for All Summit". This Declaration and Framework for Action is important to note as it:

> takes an explicit stand on the issue of mother tongue instruction by supporting 'initial instruction in the mother tongue, even if it may in some cases be necessary for the students to subsequently master a national language or other language of wider usage if they are to participate effectively in the broader society of which they are part.'[142]

UNESCO notes that this is a fundamental right, as Article 28 of the 1989 ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries requires that

> children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong' and that 'adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country.[143]

Furthermore, article 29 of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child stipulates "the education of the child shall be directed to... the development of respect for the child's cultural identity, language and values"[144]. Indeed, arguments abound which note that language and culture are linked, a point many Kanak leaders have noted and taken up in their fight to have Kanak languages acknowledged and integrated into the education system: "A language relays a certain conception of life, of the world, of a state of mind."[145] In essence, the choice of a specific language is important in newly formed

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[141] Schooling, 1991: 66

[142] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003: 25

[143] Ibid, p 23

[144] Ibid.

[145] "Dans la langue transparaît une certaine conception de la vie, du monde, un état d'esprit." Léonard Sam, in Mokkadem, 1999: 104

states, as it designates the system that will be passed on to future generations, and the culture that goes with it: "the choice of language in the education system confers a power and prestige through its use in formal instruction. Not only is there a symbolic aspect, referring to status and visibility, but also a conceptual aspect referring to shared values and worldview expressed through and in that language."[146]

In former colonies, in order for UN positions to be put fully into effect, the way forward would be to design policies and programs which take into account the linguistic realities of the country[147]. This ideal usually poses a challenge, in the case of diglossia, given the diversity of languages and the need to find out the place and sphere of each language within the system. For all these reasons it is easy to understand how education becomes an issue at stake in a nationalist claim:

> Modern education... finds itself at the heart of the colonial problem, school being the main distributor of new values... After the sudden passion for school, which at one point takes hold of colonial society... its methods are challenged, with the demand for a larger or more exclusive use of the national language. Language, which is indissociably linked to ways of thinking and feeling the world appears as the possession to regain in order to escape the loss of national identity. The debate marks the early stages of a cultural policy of decolonised states.[148]

As UNESCO notes, in such a situation "the challenge is for education systems [in multilingual contexts] to adapt to these complex realities and provide a quality

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[146] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003, op. cit, p 14

[147] Schooling, 1991, op. cit., p 126

[148] "L'enseignement moderne... se trouve au coeur du problème colonial, l'école étant le principal diffuseur des valeurs nouvelles... Au brusque engouement pour l'école, qui à un moment s'empare de la société colonisée... s'ajoutent la mise en cause de ses méthodes, la réclamation d'un usage plus grand ou exclusif de la langue nationale. La langue indissolublement liée à des manières de penser et de sentir le monde apparaît comme le bien à retrouver pour échapper à la perte de l'identité nationale. Le débat marquera les premières étapes de la politique culturelle des états décolonisés." Miège, 1973, op cit., p 264

education which takes into consideration learners' needs whilst balancing these at the same time with social, cultural and political demands."[149]

Research has shown that once a maternal language is fully mastered, achievement in other subject areas such as in the acquisition of a second language is facilitated: "learners learn best in their mother tongue as a prelude to a complement of bilingual education policies."[150] UNESCO firmly supports bilingual and multilingual education, as an essential element in *intercultural* education and helps encourage "understanding between different population groups and ensure respect for fundamental rights"[151] and promote equality. Given the primacy of education in people's lives, it must give each and every one every possibility to succeed. And for this to occur, the education system must reflect the cultural and social dispositions of the students. The programs must also, first and foremost, take into account the cultural, social, racial and linguistic differences that exist[152] within the society. As Mokkadem (2000) notes, the school environment is the "*espace institutionnel*"[153] where students learn how to "*coexister ensemble*"[154]. In line with other theories on the goals of education, school is "the place where all chances, opportunities, even probabilities to develop, to acquire a critical state of mind..."[155] The education system, as well as being an integrating force, is a highly suitable environment for preventing exclusion[156] and avoiding further or future conflict: "Everyone knows that school is effectively the only path to success for children who can

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[149] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003, op. cit., p 12
[150] Ibid, p 7
[151] Ibid, p 30
[152] Bertrand, 1998, op. cit., p 180
[153] "institutional space", Mokkadem, 2000
[154] co-habitate together- Ibid.
[155] "[l]e lieu où les chances, les occasions voire les probabilités de se développer, d'acquérir un esprit critique..." Ibid

not count on any input from outside, that it is the main instrument that will lead to equal opportunity."[157]

How to measure failure in the education system?

Children's success in the education system can be analysed through their exam results, as well as against other "subgroup factors" such as the student's geographic location and socio-economic criteria (economic status and social class, family life, etc.), religion and sex[158]. In countries where there is an apparent form of acculturation, a clash of different cultures, these would appear to be the easiest forms of measurement[159]. Dardelin (1984) suggests that the best way to determine the role and function of school is to analyse the achievement (and, conversely, the failure rate) of students through their levels of schooling (where they drop out, for example), ongoing testing and their results in examinations. Most of data available specifically relevant to this area in New Caledonia dates from the 1980s, when education had become a point of contention in the Kanak nationalist struggle. More recent statistics are, however, available through the Vice-Rectorat's 2002 publication *Passerelles*. At the height of tensions on the island, in his analysis of the New Caledonian education system, Dardelin (1984) noted that Kanak students rated poorly compared to their European counterparts:

> For every one hundred Melanesian students in primary school, 2 will sit the *baccalauréat* and not even 1 per year passes (0,7), whereas for every one hundred Europeans entering the system, 22 sit the exam and more than 17 pass (17,7).[160]

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[156] High Commission of the Republic in New Caledonia, July 1992: 18, see also UN, 1994: 8, UNESCO 1996

[157] "Chacun sait en effet que l'école est l'unique voie de réussite pour les enfants qui ne peuvent pas compter sur un apport extérieur à elle, qu'elle est l'outil principal au service de l'égalité des chances." Michel Herland, Le Vice-Recteur de Nouvelle-Calédonie in *Passerelles*, 2002: 3

[158] Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984: 24

[159] De Deckker, in Mokkadem, 1999: 8. See also Mokkadem, 1999: 16

[160] "pour cent élèves mélanésiens de l'enseignement primaire, 2 sont candidats au baccalauréat et pas même 1 par année est reçu (0,7), tandis que pour cent élèves européens au départ, 22 sont candidats et plus de 17 deviennent effectivement bacheliers (17,7)" Dardelin, 1984: 19

The first Kanak to receive a high school certificate dates from the 1960s[161]. However, as the New Caledonian Vice-Rector, Michel Herland, noted in 2002, this percentage had not risen significantly in the intervening years, since then, and Kanaks continue to be 'under-achievers': "with the passing years, the performances of the education remain insufficient."[162] In order to understand why this is so, Mokkadem (1999) seeks to assess these '*échecs*', these 'failures', against cultural and ideological theories, largely showing that they can be based on a child's cognitive structure, the most important factor being ethno-linguistic, which can adversely affect how well a child performs in the education system.

In countries where more than one culture is present, ethnicity must also be taken into account in the development of education programs. This is important, as the language, with which the child communicates, lives, interacts with others and interprets the world (usually the maternal tongue) and the frames of reference which are attached to specific languages can also indicate how well a student performs in the education system. Indeed, the UN is also vocal on this point: "it is an obvious yet not generally recognized truism that learning in a language which is not one's own provides a double set of challenges- not only is there the challenge of learning a new language but also that of learning new knowledge contained in that language."[163] This idea is clearly taken up by Thomas & Postlethwaite (1984), who argue that we can find out who controls the education system:

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[161] It is unclear whether this high school certificate is the 'brevet', which students sit at end of 'collège' (Australian equivalent of Year 9), or the 'baccalauréat', which students sit at the end of the 'lycée', the end of high school certificate.

[162] "au fil des années, les performances du système éducatif demeurent insuffisants." Vice-Rectorat, 2002: 3

[163] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2003, op. cit., p 15

> If colonialism is defined as the control of people's affairs by outsiders, then one way to judge the degree of colonialism in a school system is to identify who carries power and responsibility at different levels of the educational hierarchy.[164]

If the education system is not adapted to the realities of life, the students face many challenges, as they are usually unfamiliar with the concepts presented to them, which can be seen as 'foreign', and this is noted by many critics of the education system in New Caledonia who view it as 'too European':

> The 'mother' tongue which certain linguists call the 'first language'... is the language in which representations of the world and the child's wishes will be constructe... All subjects are transmitted according to techniques and educational methods aimed at a student who evolves in the European educational institution... it's the educational approach which is not sufficiently adapted.[165]

If the education system in New Caledonia is still very French, and the Kanaks are 'different', then this would be the reason why there are calls to change the current system. Most of the literature on this aspect consists of research reports focusing on the 'inappropriateness' of the present education system the causes of Kanak students' academic failure and how to reverse these. These reports seemed to appear particularly at times when debates on identity and culture and criticisms against education become core issues in Kanak independence claims and when the nationalist movement was at its peak (1984-1988) and again since the Noumea Accords. Many have been hesitant to make projections on the subject of education, as it can become the source of disagreements, a point noted by Schooling (1991). In many instances, sociolinguists are

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[164] Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984: 23

[165] "La langue 'maternelle' que certains linguistes nomment 'langue première'... est la langue dans laquelle vont se construire les représentations du monde et les désirs de l'enfant... Toutes les disciplines sont transmises selon des techniques et des méthodes pédagogiques destinées à l'élève qui évolue dans une institution scolaire européenne... c'est l'acte pédagogique qui n'est pas suffisamment adapté." Mokkadem, 1999: 45-46

generally wary of making any type of prediction, as they can have far-reaching consequences for the future:

> This caution is well motivated for it recognizes that human behaviour is complex and not easily understood. It also implicitly recognizes the grave danger of making political or educational decisions that affect the lives of many people, decisions which might later be discovered to be based on inadequate understanding of the facts.[166]

However, in the case of New Caledonia, the question of a possible education system, especially in regards to language, needs to be addressed as soon as possible with a view to the future of the country as it forges its new identity and moves towards new relations with France and the world.

[166] Schooling, 1991: 99

CHAPTER 1: NEW CALEDONIA: FROM A FRENCH COLONY TO A FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORY

Introduction

This chapter examines French colonisation in the territory, and the relationship between the 'colonisers' and the 'colonised' as the basis of the dynamics of 'New Caledonian' society. It argues that French treatment of the Kanaks became the basis of future conflict.

3.1 'DISCOVERY' AND FIRST CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS

New Caledonia and its dependencies- the large island of *Grande Terre*, the Loyalty Islands (Lifou, Maré, Ouvéa and Tiga), the Isle of Pines and several small islands located in the Pacific Ocean, more than 20,000 kilometres from the European continent- were 'discovered' by Captain James Cook on September 4, 1774. Considered as one of the last "*terrae incognitae*"[167], exploration and expansion into this part of the world took place in the context of the general movement of European colonisation, and more specifically against the background of Anglo-French rivalry of the time. From the moment of arriving on the land, Cook and his men established amicable relations with the natives. Through their acknowledgment of and participation in traditional exchanges, customs and traditions Cook formed a positive image of the native Melanesian population as a peaceful and hospitable people: "We found the men strong, sturdy, active, kind, civil and peaceful"[168]. Within the framework of the humanistic

[167] Bachimon, 1990: 13

[168] "Nous y avons trouvé les hommes forts, robustes, actifs, bien faits, civils et paisibles" introduction of *Description de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Moeurs, Coutumes et Arts des Habitants*, as cited in Bensa, 1999: 18

aspect of colonisation these words helped propagate the myth of the *bon sauvage*[169], the 'good savage' in European consciousness. Indeed, while France of the 1700s was the time of the Lumières[170]- of tolerance, respect and equality, this new mood was greatly different.

At the time of the 'golden age' of colonisation a century later, the environment was vastly different. More than merely colonisation, this was more a form of expansionism, all in the name of national glory and supremacy- and no longer with a humanistic feel which valued differences between humans. The new colonisers, administrators and settlers belittled non-European cultures, condemning aspects and customs as either "primitive", "uncivilised", "heathen" or "barbarian"[171]:

> while the 18th century sought to understand, allowing for differences, the 19th century, more preoccupied with conquering and exploiting, considered any form of difference as inferiority, a fault, and pushed to normalise the world in its image.[172]

From the 1840s, Anglo-French rivalry took on another new dimension, that of a 'war of religion' with English Protestants and French Catholics arriving on the island of New Caledonia on evangelical missions, fuelled by the desire to civilise and bring God to the natives, commonly regarded as the 'last savages':

> Civilization and Christianity were regarded as inextricably interwoven and, throughout the Pacific, stimulated... moves to bring these two virtues to peoples who had never known the second and were universally believed to lack the first.[173]

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[169] Raluy, 1990: 10

[170] De Beer, 1983: 9

[171] Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 166

[172] "[a]lors que le XVIIIe siècle avait cherché à les comprendre, admettant les différences, le XIXe sicècle, plus préoccupé de conquérir et d'exploiter, considéra toute différence comme une infériorité, voire une tare, et s'efforcera de normaliser le monde à son image." De Beer, 1983, op. cit., p 10

[173] Connell, 1987: 28

However, this aspiration to save the native Kanaks consisted in negating them in order to dominate and eventually control them. Contrary to Cook's positive legacy, these Europeans began their relations with the Kanaks through oppression and subsequent segregation.

3.2 ANNEXATION AND FRENCH COLONIALISM

New Caledonia officially became a French possession, French *propriété nationale*[174] and outpost after being annexed on September 24, 1853 for strategic, economic and social reasons, for French military interests, naval and commerce links with the region as well as to serve as a penal colony for deported convicts, a place "to exile undesirable elements from metropolitan France"[175]. Although this *prise de possession* was a conscious move to occupy the island, in 'conjunction' with the Church, the French state did not worry itself about the fate of the native population as such, whom they ultimately thought would die out as a population. It was a state which "did not care in the least about the native populations and had no other goal but to administratively occupy a territory which is surely to serve as a prison".[176] From this point on, New Caledonia became linked to France, part of the "legend"[177] French colonial history, *pour le meilleur et pour le pire*[178]. This encounter between two very different, and in some respects opposing, cultures invariably brought New Caledonia into contact with all the elements of European culture, as French colonisation was bent westernising the Pacific

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[174] National property- Coulon, 1985: 61

[175] Saussol, 1988: 42

[176] "s'installe un Etat qui ne se soucie nullement des populations indigènes et qui n'a d'autre ambition que d'occuper de manière administrative un territoire qui doit servir de prison sûre." Maille, 1997: 29

[177] Léopold Jorédie, as cited in Coulon, 1985: 15

[178] "for better or for worse" Dardelin, 1984: 17

island. The Noumea Accord (1998) best summarises the overall aspects of this French colonisation:

> The colonisation of New Caledonia occurred as part of a broad historical movement which saw the European countries impose their domination on the rest of the world. In the 19th and 20th centuries, many men and women came, either with the conviction that they were bringing progress, or inspired by their religious faith, or sent against their will or seeking a second chance in New Caledonia. They settled and started families there. They brought with them their ideals, knowledge, hopes, ambitions, illusions and contradictions.[179]

One can say that 'real' colonisation in the territory, however, began two years later, in 1855 as the French administration became the *'maître des terres vacantes'*[180]. Initially merely a legal and administrative convenience, this quickly led to the actual and effective transfer in land ownership from the indigenous population to the settlers, the implications of which have been far-reaching. For the colonisers, the Kanaks, largely considered as 'savages', did not retain 'rights' or sovereignty to the land. In effect the French established control, 'justifying' their arguments along the following lines:

> The uncivilised inhabitants of a country have... only a limited right of domination, a sort of right of occupation... A civilised power on establishing a colony in such a country, acquires a decisive power over the soil, or, in other terms, she acquires the right to extinguish the primitive title. [181]

The Kanaks who only thought they were merely giving access to the clan land, had their property right effectively overridden by the French:

> all unoccupied land belongs to the domain of the State and that the chiefs and the indigenous peoples do not have the right to 'dispose of a part of or all of the soil that they occupy... in favour of individuals who are not part of their tribe'... The Melanesians thought they were therefore giving a right of usage and not a right of ownership, which the Europeans were unaware of.[182]

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[179] Noumea Accord, 1988, op. cit.

[180] "master of vacant lands"- Christnacht, 1987: 13

[181] French Ministry of the Navy and Colonies to the Foreign Ministry, 22 February 1854, as cited in Douglas (1980) in Connell, 1987: 42-43. Also in Ward, 1982:1, Winslow, 1989: 262. These comments reflect the mood of colonisation in the 1800s.

[182] "toutes les terres non occupées font partie du domaine de l'Etat et que les chefs et les indigènes n'ont pas le droit de 'disposer de tout ou partie du sol occupé par eux (...) en faveur d'individus qui ne font pas partie de

This form of land ownership as it was practised, completely contradicted Captain Tardy de Montravel's declarations in 1853 when he arrived on the territory and in which he stated that only 'unused' and 'unoccupied' land would be taken: "Do you want to be French? Do you want your country to be subjected to French domination? We will protect you, your lands are always yours, we will only take what is not necessary for you?"[183]

Given the 'expansionist' aspect of cruelty and brutality in the removal and confiscation, conquest and plunder[184] of Kanak land, colonisation in New Caledonia was no different than in other lands. If one were to describe in a few words French colonisation of the island, it would be as follows: "fierce: confiscation of a people's sovereignty, plunder of their lands, repression, massacres, deportations, discriminations, exclusions..."[185] The colonial idea on which the French "prided themselves"[186], of progress and civilisation[187] to save the souls of the 'last savages', was greatly lacking in New Caledonia and mainly consisted in negating the Kanaks, creating a "dehumanized"[188] population. This was fundamental to achieving absolute subordination of the natives to "French superiority"[189] through policies of repression. In such an environment, French occupation and domination on the island could but disrupt the very foundations of

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leur tribu'... Les Mélanésiens pensaient ainsi donner un droit d'usage et non un droit de propriété, ce que les Européens ignoraient". Christnacht, 1987: 13

[183] "Voulez-vous être français? Désirez-vous que votre pays soit soumis à la domination française? Nous vous protégerons, vos terres seront toujours à vous, on ne vous prendra que ce qui ne vous est pas nécessaire?" Bensa, 1990: 80

[184] Guiart, 1982: 107

[185] "féroce: confiscation de la souveraineté d'un peuple, spoliation de ses terres, répression, massacres, déportations, discriminations, exclusions..." Besset, 1988:7

[186] Bullard, 1998: 321

[187] "progrès et des bienfaits" Besset, 1988: 94

[188] Bullard, 1998: 321

[189] Ibid

traditional Kanak society by only allowing Kanaks to 'occupy' the land as 'tenants' only. In addition, no attempts were made to integrate the inhabitants. Kanaks were relegated to the fringes of society, completely cut off from the Europeans. One needs to emphasise once again that at no stage were Kanak considerations taken into account. This set the tone for future relations, and was the basis of future conflict. By not caring for the fate of the Kanaks, this treatment allowed for two parallel systems to coexist without any form of interaction: on the one hand were the Kanaks, and on the other, everyone else. As consecutive Administrations sought to appropriate themselves with more land to satisfy economic interests, Kanaks were forced off their lands and from their homes, moved to the east coast onto *réserves* through a policy of *cantonnement* (confinement), where the land was less fertile, welcomed by other tribes onto land they had no ties with. Uprooted from their ancestral lands, the parking of Kanaks in the artificially created and legally 'fictitious' tribes was a blatant and direct attack against Kanak identity and culture[190]. Any form of protestation, such as the uprising of 1878 was brutally reprimanded.

3.3 A FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORY? THE CONSEQUENCES OF FRENCH POLICIES

Through policies of negation, the French deliberately worked towards the extinction of Kanaks, largely relying on the theory of social Darwinism[191], according to which the Kanaks would eventually die out as a population- the *de facto*[192] colonial policy. As Coulon (1985) notes, "the colonial power did not stop believing, or even working

[190] Berman, 2001
[191] Kircher, 1986: 6
[192] Connell, 1987: 85

towards the disappearance of Kanaks"[193]. The implementation of this policy is supported by a letter dated October 23, 1856 in which Testard, who was responsible for the French colony at the time, noted (incidentally echoing the mentality and views of early colonisation): "'the Caledonian is intelligent, but is also a monster of perversity. We must start by destroying this population if we want to live in safety in the country...'"[194] Others have also expressed ideas in this vein, such as Father Rougeyron, who stated in 1867, that the Kanak

> will not take much longer to disappear, absorbed on the one hand by the settlers and on the other hand, removed by illnesses. In a certain number of years, not very long, there will be, at least on the Grande Ile of Caledonia, only whites.[195]

Indeed, as with any form of colonisation, it created more than simply a relationship, but a sort of rapport between the colonisers and the colonised, where hostility and conflict was inevitable, "the clash of contrasting and mutually unintelligible cultures."[196]

As previously noted, although New Caledonia originally served as a penal colony, in the 1890s Governor Feillet put an end to this orientation[197], transforming the island into a settler colony, the *France australe*, a *'terre d'accueil'*.[198] Free distribution or offers of land which could be bought at very low rates brought pioneers to the island. Under this particular scheme five hundred families, the 'colons Feillet' from metropolitan France, came to exploit the (natural) riches of the country. In addition to these French settlers,

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[193] "le pouvoir colonial n'a cessé de croire ni même d'oeuvrer à la disparition des Kanak" Coulon, 1985: 39

[194] "'Le Calédonien [le Kanak] est intelligent, mais c'est un monstre de perversité. Il faut commencer par détruire cette population si l'on veut vivre en sécurité dans le pays...'" http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca

[195] "ne tardera par à se fondre, absorbée par les colons d'une part, et enlevée par les maladies de l'autre. Dans un certain nombre d'années, pas très longues, il ne restera, au moins dans la Grande Ile de la Calédonie, que des blancs." cited in Merlo, 1986: 78

[196] Connell, 1987: 59, Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 101

[197] "'fermer le robinet d'eau sale'" "'turning off the tap of dirty water", is the expression used by Feillet, in Christnacht, 1987: 16

[198] 'welcoming land' Kohler, 1987: 9

contracted workers of *origine océanienne*[199] from the Loyalty Islands and the New Hebrides, as well immigrants from the neighbouring countries of Japan, Indonesia and Indochina[200], were also brought to New Caledonia, all in the aim of developing the country's economy. These people essentially worked the plantations (coffee and cattle especially), as well as the mines after the discovery of nickel in the 1863[201]. This migration, due in part to the demand for a *main d'œuvre*[202], as the Kanaks were considered as "not willing"[203].

Paradoxically, in New Caledonia one cannot really talk about a real fusion of cultures. Despite the 'accidents of history', which mean that we now find French and Kanak cultures existing side-by-side in society, a form of segregation still existed, even between the Kanak and the immigrant populations. This real diversity of cultures which now accounts for the current 'multicultural' make-up of society also helps to understand the conflict that followed on the land. In New Caledonia no single ethic group could claim superiority, in terms of numbers, over other populations:

> subsequent waves of Asians, Polynesians and others diversified the ethnic structure... with different races and cultures fused together in a single harmonious society, so that the accidents of history could be ignored and no ethnic group accorded a special status.[204]

As a result of all these actions, Kanak culture has been almost completely overshadowed by French culture, which largely explains why New Caledonia is considered as 'France in the South Pacific'[205] and 'New Caledonian culture', as such, does not really exist:

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[199] Rallu, 1990, 55

[200] Aldrich, 1992: 46, Winslow, 1989: 266

[201] www.outre-mer.gouv.fr

[202] 'a labour work force'

[203] Winslow, 1989: 264, Turcotte, 1982: 7, a 'stereotype that was created to define the Kanaks

[204] Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 123

[205] Lonely Planet Guide describes the island as a touch of France, on the other side of the world

> far from being homogenous, [New Caledonian culture] is not even a uniform amalgam of different cultures. It appears that two major social systems, European on the one hand and Melanesian (or Oceanic) on the other, exist side by side with only relatively limited influence on each other... As far as fundamental principles are concerned, the two systems are independent and autonomous. [206]

In this respect, a form of cultural 'segregation' between Kanaks and the rest of the population has became the rule rather than the exception: "it is a beautiful land... where two cultural traditions have been placed in opposition, rather than valued for the contribution they can make to a new emergent Oceanian society"[207]. This is a form of acculturation nonetheless, with French culture dominating over Kanak culture. This idea has led Reverend Apikawa to state that "New Caledonia is a country suffering a parallelism"[208], where "the ethnicities cross but never meet"[209] nor interact.

In this 'multicultural' society everyone 'benefited' from the *droit commun* apart from Kanaks, who, considered as "non-citizens"[210], were governed by different rules and denied many legal rights. They had a separate status, the *statut particulier*[211], outside of French common law. In 1887 Kanaks came under the *code de l'indigénat* which saw the introduction of curfews and the need for permission to circulate. In addition, a tax-levy applied to each person, meaning that Kanaks were forced to work the plantations, ranches and carry out public works as a free labour force for the settlers. Ultimately, however, the *code de l'indigénat* served to tighten and reinforce the Administration's control over Kanaks, according to their will and whims[212]. Indeed, the regime and the

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[206] Schooling, 1991: 83

[207] Ward, 1982: ii

[208] as cited in Clanché, 1999: 359

[209] "les ethnies se croisent mais ne se rencontrent pas" Besset, 1988: 71

[210] Winslow, 1989: 265. Kanaks were not considered as 'humans', or different, and to whom the laws that governed people were not applicable.

[211] Winslow, 1984: 8

[212] Winslow, 1989: 265

inhumane treatment involved "racist restriction"[213]. Kanaks were persecuted and exploited for economic gain, but were excluded from reaping the benefits of economic development. Politically, economically and socially marginalised and confined to the reservations, the Kanak' status and pride were "substantially eroded"[214] and eventually Kanak numbers fell, as a result of French colonial practises on island. The often cited declaration of the mayor of Noumea to the Protestant pastor and ethnologist Maurice Leenhardt upon the latter's arrival in New Caledonia in 1902 needs to be noted, as it clearly reflects this sentiment: "What are you doing here? In ten years, there will be no more Kanaks."[215] Indeed, according to statistics the Kanak population dropped from approximately 40 000- 45 000 in about 1850 to 28 000 in 1901[216], making them a minority in their own land. This 'inhumane' treatment of the Kanaks was considered 'normal', without any form of questioning (where this was brutally reprimanded). Such treatment continued until World War II, after which the island witnessed dramatic changes which would have a lasting impact on the course of New Caledonia's political history.

Conclusion

The consequences of French colonisation in New Caledonia- weapons, diseases, warfare- and its subsequent violent reactions, producing the syndrome of "retaliation, repression and exile"[217]- together with the arrival of the new inhabitants on the island and the Administration's conduct and policies towards the Kanaks could only disrupt traditional Kanak ways of life. As a result Kanaks began harbouring feelings of

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[213] Australian Council for Overseas Aid, 1990: 6

[214] Connell, 1987: 117

[215] "Que venez-vous faire ici? Dans dix ans, il n'y aura plus de Kanak!" cited in Coulon, 1985: 41

[216] Rallu, 1990: 52

resentment and bitterness against the foreigners, leading to demoralisation and apathy, and a decline in numbers: "The excesses of colonization provoked Melanesians to move from initial admiration of Europeans towards fear and then anger; the failure of widespread revolts produced and colonized and conquered people"[218]. This forms the essential dynamic that would generate a form of colonial nationalism and future demands of political independence.

[217] Connell, 1987: 84
[218] Ibid, p 91

CHAPTER 2: THE AWAKENING OF KANAK NATIONALISM

Introduction

This chapter analyses the birth and rise of a Kanak nationalist sentiment, showing how the 'yo-yo' status of New Caledonia vis-à-vis France impacted on calls for autonomy, that subsequently became demands for Kanak independence. This chapter also seeks to understand the main issues at stake in the conflict.

4.1 A CHANGE IN THE AIR?

As many scholars note, the beginning of change in New Caledonia was set in motion during the American GI presence on the territory during World War II, between 1942 and 1945. This produced a "major point of rupture"[219] from the colonial system. With their distinctly different customs, social relations and behaviour the GIs liberal and openly anti-colonial stances represented the first 'externally influenced' challenge to French authority[220]. This shook up local prejudices which had been in force for nearly a century. The American presence also introduced Kanaks to new concepts such as paid-employment, and exposed them to the notions (and possibility) of equality among people from different ethnic backgrounds, a form of *awakening*, that preceded the rise of a nationalist consciousness *per se*:

> The American presence shakes up the pre-war colonial regime where the Kanaks felt crushed... the Kanaks employed by the American army become conscious of their possible equality with the Whites, of their power of liberation. It is not a national consciousness, but the belief that the colonial regime can be overstepped: it's the KANAK AWAKENING.[221]

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[219] Saussol, 1988: 50

[220] The revolt of 1878 (and to a lesser extent, 1917) is explained in more detail further in this chapter.

[221] "La présence américaine ébranle le régime colonial d'avant guerre où les Kanak se sentaient écrasés...les Kanak employés par l'armée américaine y prennent conscience de leur égalité possible avec les Blancs, de leur pouvoir de libération. Ce n'est pas une conscience nationale, mais la conviction que le régime colonial peut être

The American influence was not simply limited to the social sector, but had a more long-lasting impact, another offshoot being the subsequent period of economic prosperity of the territory. Due to the effects of the massive inflows of cash, New Caledonia became more industrialised and outward-looking, urban-based and capitalist. Nickel became the island's main export industry, opening it up to the advantages and constraints of the modern world, subject to the influences of the demands of the external market. This economic boom also saw a large number of immigrants arrive from Europe and other parts of the French-speaking world, attracted by the good life, high salaries and the absence of direct taxation[222]. However Kanaks still remained excluded from the social, political and economic life and benefits generated by the country.

The idea of a liberalisation in the political status of the French (although mainly African) overseas possessions, while still remaining attached to France under a federal system[223] were first espoused by De Gaulle's 1944 inaugural speech in Brazzaville. De Gaulle pronounced the following words, giving people the allusion that "political autonomy" and independence from France was possible:

> "We do not believe that autarky will be desirable or even possible in the world of tomorrow... in French Africa, as in all the other countries where men live under our flag, no progress will be possible if the men and women on their native soil do not benefit materially and spiritually and if they are not able to raise themselves to the point where they are capable of taking a hand in the running of their countries. It is France's duty to see that this comes about. This is our aim."[224]

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dépassé: c'est le REVEIL KANAK" from *L'œvre d'Apollinaire Anova Ataba*, Burck, F., 1984, as cited in Coulon, 1985: 47

[222] Saussol, 1988: 51

[223] (but under which no form of evolution would be possible outside the *bloc français*[223]- Agniel, 1997: 44

[224] http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/article.php3?id_article=512

The 1946 Constitution[225] of the newly established Fourth Republic saw the creation the *Union Française*, made up on the one hand by France and on the other, by its "associated territories and states"[226] - the *départments d'outre mer* (DOM) which would still be considered as "French", and the former colonies such as New Caledonia, Wallis and French Polynesia, now defined as *territoires d'outre mer* (TOM). This new situation effectively "recast France's relations with the empire"[227]. The TOMs, on which a greater form of freedom within the *Union Française* was bestowed, were considered as projections of France across the world, according to Article 74 of the Constitution: "The Overseas Territories are a particular status, taking account of their own interests, within the French Republic as a whole".[228] Although geographically separated from France, the TOMs maintained a form of dependence on the home country, as defined by the Constitution:

> The classification of overseas territories... rests on certain broad principles. Firstly, territories are those overseas outposts that are, in some sense, recognised as constitutionally different from the 'mainland'. Secondly, they are sufficiently distant from metropolitan states for there to be no geographical basis for their attachment to a particular nation-state other than accidents of history... Thirdly, territories are politically dependent to the extent that they are ineligible for membership of the United Nations. [229]

In this respect, unlike the DOMs, the TOMs are *susceptibles d'évolution.*[230] This TOM status, inspired by concepts of liberty and freedom, also contained the seeds of decolonisation[231]- that is the granting of limited local autonomy would be a "provisional

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[225] See annex for extracts

[226] Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 66

[227] Ibid.

[228] "Les territoires d'Outre-Mer sont dotés d'un statut particulier tenant compte de leurs intérêts propres dans l'ensemble des intérêts de la République"

[229] Aldrich, 1998: 4-5

[230] liable to evolve- Auberon, 1997

[231] Saussol, 1988: 50, c.f note 48.

stage on the road to independence"[232]. This sentiment is also espoused in De Gaulle's Brazzaville speech and in the Constitution, with France's overseas role as follows:

> Faithful to its traditional mission, France intends to enable the people of which it has taken charge to achieve the freedom to govern themselves and to manage their own affairs democratically; excluding any system of colonisation based on arbitrariness, it guarantees to all equal access to public office and the individual or collective exercise of the rights and liberties proclaimed above.[233]

It is evident that, with no form of evolution in New's Caledonia's political status over time[234], France did not keep its word, and through its subsequent policies rendered the possibility for native populations to achieve this independence from French powers illusory.

4.2 'FRENCH' KANAKS, THE YOYO EFFECT AND THE RISE OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Up until the creation of the TOM status, and as explained in the previous chapter, French colonisation in New Caledonia was underlined by clearly distinct forms of segregation between the Kanaks on the one hand, and everyone else on the other. However, the *code de l'indigénat*, which regulated Kanaks in society, was effectively abolished and Kanaks obtained French citizenship under local decree n° 1273 of 12 October 1946, ensuring that Kanaks would also benefit from the application of basic human rights in general[235]. Kanaks were thus to be integrated and assimilated into New Caledonian society under the banner of 'French' nationality and would benefit from all the same rights and privileges as everyone else. This ignored the differences between Kanaks and the rest of the population, as the following statement shows: "New

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[232] Chesneaux, 1987a: 1

[233] in Alrich & Connell, 1992: 66

[234] see annex detailing the different statutes of New Caledonia

[235] Kurtovitch, 1996: 38

Caledonians are French citizens and enjoy all civil rights, without any distinction of origin, race or religion, and they are also 'free and equal before the law' of the Republic"[236]. The goal of this form of assimilation, which would override differences, would create "des 'Français de couleur'"[237]. As Saussol (1988) notes, this ideal was quite 'superficial' in its goal, and did not tackle the issue of integration from within: "'La France australe'... became pluri-ethnic while remaining mono-cultural and unquestioning of the superiority inherent in the colonial order. This new dream... sought to abolish difference rather than the inequalities."[238] Under the new French Republic, Kanaks were also given the opportunity to attend schools. This was important in itself, notably because this very fact exposed Kanaks to the effects of the modern, Western and capitalist society which was vastly different, and, at times, contradictory to traditional Kanak society.

Kanaks acquired voting rights in 1951 (and universal suffrage from 1956) giving them a political voice in the running of affairs of the country. This point is very important when trying to understanding nationalism, as voters become aware of issues that affect them, and acquire channels for expressing their frustration. In this particular case, voting rights made the Kanaks, as a distinct ethnic group, conscious of their situation as being marginalised in society, the seeds for a future demand for independence. More than anything, however, Kanaks were also introduced to traditional Republican values- the ideals of liberty, equality, human rights, democratic participation and the rule of

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[236] "les Néo-Calédoniens sont citoyens français et jouissent de la plénitude des droits civiques, sans distinction d'origine, de race ou de religion; ils sont tous pareillement 'libres et égaux devant la loi' de la République." Kohler, 1987: 11

[237] "French of colour" Ward, Connell & Spencer, 1988: 14

[238] Saussol, 1988: 38-9

law[239]. The political party which appealed most to Kanak voters was the multi-racial *Union Calédonienne* (UC), created in 1953 by Maurice Lenormand, a French born left-wing autonomist and Roch Pidjot, a Kanak chief, and made up of Kanak members of both the catholic Union des Indigènes Calédoniens Amis de la Liberté dans l'Ordre (UICALO) and the protestant Association des Indigènes Calédoniens et Loyaltiens Français (AICLF)[240]. At first, the UC espoused a moderate policy of social and economic reforms, such as educational opportunities for the Kanaks, and was "*assimilationist*"[241], in the sense that the party worked under the slogan 'Deux couleurs, un seul peuple'[242] for the advancement of Kanaks in society, but within the framework of French institutions. The UC, as a political party representative of Kanak interests

> offered scope for aspirations of both main races to be channelled into normal political-administrative processes. [In its programs] society would have become in time more and more Melanesian in character, but with legal adjustment of issues like land, with racial tolerance, and with continued link, with France.[243]

One has to note that other Australian scholars also follow this idea, stating that the UC, if it had continued along its policy lines, would have avoided the future rise of demands for independence and of conflict:

> The UC, created in 1951, was a multi-racial party campaigning in favour of a better integration of Melanesians in the economic and political life of the Territory... It is most probable that if the tendencies of the UC programs had been developed towards a sort of independence in a free association with France, the racial confrontation could have been avoided.[244]

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[239] Chesneaux, 1988a: 5

[240] both parties created in 1947 and whose main mission was to fight the 'Red Menace', (Kermel, (1986) in Winslow, 1989: 268) and "'to slow down the decolonisation movement in New Caledonia and work towards integrating the Blacks and Whites, a necessary precondition for the continued colonisation on the island'" Anova Ataba, a Kanak priest quoted in Kermel, 1986: 24, in Winslow, 1989: 268

[241] Winslow, 1989: 268

[242] two colours, one people

[243] Ward, 1982: 61

[244] "L'Union Calédoninne, créée en 1951, était un parti multiracial militant en faveur d'une meilleure intégration des Mélanésiens dans la vie économique et politique du Territoire... Il est fort possible que si les tendances du programme de l'UC avaient pu se développer à une sorte d'indépendance dans une association libre avec la France, la confrontation raciale eût pu être évitée." Ward, Connell, Spencer, 1988: 20

The French stronghold on the island

The 1956 Deferre *Loi Cadre* (framework law), introduced as a way of decentralising the administrative power in all the French overseas territories, and as a "prelude to independence"[245] granted New Caledonia further autonomy and its own Territorial Assembly and a Governing Council, a form of local government. With the Fifth Republic established in France in 1958, the territory was faced with the decision of: either becoming a DOM, retaining its status as a TOM within the *Communauté Française* (French Commonwealth) or gain outright independence by rejecting the new Constitution and, with it, all forms of French aid. At that particular point in time such a move would have been 'suicidal', as it would have left New Caledonia, owing to its economic and demographic attributes, as a micro-state or a third-world country, given that French aid at the time accounted for almost half of the territory's expenditure.[246] Indeed, as Calvoressi (1987) notes, refusal to adopt the new Constitution was "a polite term for expulsion into a franceless world."[247] Up to 1988, the UC, with strong assurances from the government, could only, opt to maintain the *status quo* as a TOM. For the next thirty years, the island was subjected to many different statutes[248] and different levels of self-government and autonomy vis-à-vis France. As suggested by Agniel's very illustrative metaphor of a yo-yo, New Caledonia is ultimately controlled by France, who 'plays' the country according to its own needs (never taking into account the needs of the TOM as a 'country'). This treatment eventually led to acute frustration on the part of Kanak political leaders regarding the evolution (or lack thereof) of their demands towards further autonomy. The first of these 'yo-yo' measures to be

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[245] Winslow 1989: 268

[246] 47% according to Australian Council for Overseas Aid, 1990: 15; Chesneaux, 1987b: 19

[247] Calvocoressi, 1987: 345

[248] C.f note 229

implemented, and which tightened France's political grip, the Jacquinot laws of 1963 coincidentally coincided with Mururoa in French Polynesia becoming the new French nuclear testing site, denouncing the *loi cadre* framework law as "'unsuited to a territory that is an integral part of France.'"[249]

France had deliberately sought to maintain a hold on the island, basing its justifications on political and social rather than economic arguments, such as article 1 of the French Constitution which states that France is an *undividable* French Republic. New Caledonia possesses the world's second largest nickel deposits[250], the main economic strength of the island, as nickel strategic metal[251] indispensable for high technology. Strategically, New Caledonia is considered as a *trump card*, vital to France's internal and foreign policy and its ambition of being a 'middle-sized world power' on a political, military and cultural scale. The island's position in the South Pacific fulfils certain roles: a presence and passage for France into the Asia-Pacific region, as well as allowing France to be part of the nuclear club with Mururoa as a testing site. Furthermore New Caledonia is the only French island in an otherwise predominantly Anglophone environment (where 95% of the region speaks English), putting it in a privileged position. New Caledonia presents France's the *sine qua non*[252] condition for presence and promotion of *la francophonie*[253] in the area. In addition, from the 1980s theories in vogue postulated that the Pacific would become the new centre of the world, and France

[249] Thompson and Adloff, 1971 in Connell, 1987: 252
[250] Aldrich, 1998: 263
[251] www.outre-mer.gouv.fr. New Caledonia also possessed "vast reserves of nickel, a strategic metal, as well as other minerals."- Henningham, 1989: 11
[252] Kohler, 1987: 25
[253] collective entity grouping French people and countries throughout the world- Chesneaux, 1988a: 3

wanted a piece of the action, with New Caledonia representing a "window"[254], a gateway for a more prominent role in the international arena as a major player in the region. But most important of all is the emotional attachment, given that all inhabitants are 'French', as they all hold French nationality, including the Kanaks. For all these reasons New Caledonia

> is one of the actual and potentially rich countries of the region. She occupies a very central position... geographically and culturally... that is why we want, at all costs, to keep the people that we have tried to deny for more a century, French.[255]

This of course reinforces the fact that France, after a century of exclusion and negation, was pushing to 'assimilate' the Kanaks in New Caledonian society as 'French'. These following arguments have always been used to deny the Kanaks the right to political independence, which they are entitled to under international law and the United Nations Charter: "The right of nations to self-determination has always come up against the State reasoning. The state has always tried to find superior justifications in order to maintain the domination."[256]

As a result of this, France has also greatly feared Kissinger's domino effect theory[257], that by granting further autonomy (and independence) to New Caledonia this would "infect" French Polynesia, putting into question France's political aspirations: "If France lost New Caledonia, she would then lose all her possessions in the Pacific until she

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[254] "vitrine"- Christnacht, 1987: 64

[255] "la Calédonie est un des pays actuellement et potentiellement les plus riches de la région. Elle occupe enfin une position géographique, culturelle... très centrale... voilà que l'on veut tout à coup et à tout prix, garder français des gens dont on a tout fait pendant plus d'un siècle pour les en empêcher." Coulon, 1985: 100-112

[256] "Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes s'est toujours heurté à la raison d'Etat. Celle-ci s'est toujours efforcée de trouver des justifications supérieures au maintien de sa domination." Besset, 1988: 22

[257] Besset, 1988: 20, Spencer, 1985: 40, Connell, 1987: 255, see also Christnacht, 1987: 64, Kircher, 1986: 16

became stunted"[258]. After the Jacquinot law the 1969 Billotte laws gave France complete control of the mines,- to reap benefits of the nickel boom of 1969-1972, which effectively blocked New Caledonia's political evolution towards independence by reinvesting power and all control in Paris, doing "marche arrière"[259]. At the same time, the influx of immigrants between 1969 and 1974 as part of a deliberate policy to 'populate the island' was a direct cause to the rise of Kanak demands for self-determination from this period on, based on the experiences of a century earlier.

The experience of 1878- land: recognition of identity

But this is not something new, as Kanaks have always resisted the French forms of domination from as early as annexation and colonisation. This fact has been espoused by Kanak political leaders on many occasions to pinpoint the presence of a form of 'nationalism' from the start:

> "The rebellions and bloodshed that dot our history bear witness to the fact that the Kanak people have never accepted either that depravation of their sovereignty or the policy of assimilation of which they were victims." [260]

The inhumane treatment and hardships, from the brutal removal from their own land experienced by Kanaks at the hands of French colonialism to the failure of assimilation between the different ethnicities, are the basis of 'past memories' on which to pin responsibility for their misery, a direct trigger for conflict. Concrete 'manifestations' of such a nationalist spirit appeared as early as 1878, as a reaction of "anger, hostility and frustration"[261] to French encroachment on Kanak land (as put forward in Chapter I). This attempt at overturning the system led by the Great Chief Ataï, although severely

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[258] "Si la France perdait la Nouvelle-Calédonie, elle perdrait ensuite toutes ses possessions du Pacifique jusqu'à en devenir rabougrie" Chaban-Delmas in Besset, 1988: 12

[259] "going backwards" De Dekker, 1990: 284

[260] Roch Wamytan, FLNKS president, in an address given on the occasion of the Matignon Accords, in Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 56

reprimanded, is widely regarded as the first concerted and organised revolt, as Ataï succeeded in rallying mass support for the uprising by appealing to questions of land, "a moment nascent of Kanak nationalism"[262]. Land was, has been and still is the main issue at stake and the central argument for political self-determination, given its importance: land constitutes the foundation of Kanak society. French presence violates Kanak freedoms and the Kanaks' right to live according to their customs and traditions: "Listen all... The White man is the ruin of our people... All our lands are in their hands. Their beasts with their horns are trampling on the tombs of our ancestors. Can we put up for much longer with such insults, such dishonours?"[263] More specifically, however, the uprising, as the quote also points out, is clearly directed against the "*Blancs*", White men, who are clearly responsible and the root of all problems. Under French colonial rule, the division between the Kanaks and the rest of the population highlighted the "main distinction between the rulers and the ruled is that of ethnic or national background".[264] When talking about the 1878 revolt, a naval officer noted at the time: "... the main cause of the uprising, one might say the sole cause, was the antagonism that one always finds between a conquered people and the conquerors. The conquered must either be absorbed, or disappear"[265]. The Kanaks, by living under the *statut particulier*, were relegated to the periphery of New Caledonian society, "the beginning of the development of a collective identity on the part of the Kanak of a common

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[261] Connell, 1987: 62.

[262] Dousset-Leenhardt, 1976; Guiart, 1968; in Bullard, 1998: 341

[263] "Ecoutez tous... Le Blanc est la ruine de notre peuple... Toutes nos terres sont entre leurs mains. Leurs bêtes à cornes piétinent les tombes de nos ancêtres. Pouvons-nous supporter plus longtemps de tels outrages, de telles infamies?" Ataï in Apollinaire Anova Ataba, cited in Coulon, 1985: 42

[264] Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1984: 24

[265] Rivière, 1881 in Brookfield, 1972: 45

colonial experience."[266] Kanak nationalism is essentially a form of colonial nationalism, created by the colonial situation and dynamic that came along with it:

> Colonial rule emphasised- or, in some cases, created- ethnic nationalism by strengthening and enlarging cultural allegiances, centralising administration, bringing ethnic groups into wider fields of interaction and exposing them to the various facets and resources of modernism.[267]

Indeed, this has been amplified by the fact, that after first being excluded from society, Kanaks were to be assimilated after being granted French citizenship under the Fourth Republic, but through a form of uneven development in terms of geographical and socio-economic terms, of Noumea (the urban South) versus "*la brousse*" (the rural areas). As Nairn (1981) notes, Kanak nationalism is "a mechanism of adjustment and compensation, a way of living with the reality of [uneven] historical development".[268] Kanaks have remained a distinct ethnic group, and found themselves in the process of becoming a class in their own right. It is the apparent disparities among the ethnic groups which eventually translated over time into social cleavages[269] and created a feeling of frustration while building desires to overturn the system, which in turn amplified "tenfold the spirit of revolt"[270]. Ethnicity and identity therefore form the basis of Kanak nationalism, whereby Kanaks seek to retain their distinctiveness and maintain their traditional society, while at the same time expressing the Kanaks "frustration and insecurity in the face of modernisation, of their sense of self- the realisation that 'imported' ideals from the colonisers do not answer to the needs of the population"[271]. As Connell (1988) also notes: "[t]he claims to unity that have characterised Kanak

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[266] Winslow, 1989: 264

[267] Aldrich, 1998: 239

[268] cited in Connell 1988: 245

[269] Ibid, p 3

[270] "qui déculpe l'esprit de révolte" Crouzet, 1994: 611

[271] Connell, 1988: 239

nationalism are... ethnicity (colour), values, territory, language and history... colour emphasises similarity in opposition to the colonial state."[272]

It is important to note that Kanak nationalism *per se* and subsequent demands for autonomy and eventually self-determination did not coincide with the general world movement of independence which was in full swing in the 1950s and early 1960s. In addition, the composition/make-up of the island's population has put it in an original position when compared to decolonisation processes around the world. In addition, France, in its dealings with the island, came under international criticism for its actions and the way it handled the situation, as it could have taken its cue from the examples of history, as Fraser (1988) notes:

> the Kanak push for independence did not coincide with similar developments in other French colonies or the South Pacific regional decolonisation moves of the 1970s. The slow growth through the 1960s and 1970s of the Kanak demands for sovereignty and political power meant that by the early 1980s the Kanak people were calling for independence in a world that thought decolonisation was no longer an issue... [273]

In 1968, a joint delegation from New Caledonia and French Polynesia was sent to Paris seeking further reforms, but were denied an audience with General Billotte. This further fostered feelings of frustration and bitterness against the French government, making demands more pressing and instilling a more important nationalist spirit among Kanak leaders:

> "The demand for autonomy by the Polynesians and ourselves is due to our disgust with the ill-will and stupidity of a colonial administration... which dates from the age of sailing ships and kerosene lamps. The Polynesians, like the Melanesians, feel immensely frustrated... Neither of us wants independence, which is too illusory... but a new contractual relationship that will give us full internal autonomy".[274]

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[272] Ibid, p 244

[273] Fraser, 1988: 1

Manifestations of Kanak nationalism and the importance of 'la coutume'

The presence of a real and very conscious Kanak nationalist spirit (and the propagators for future demands of self-determination) appeared after the first educated Kanaks returned to the island after undertaking studies at university in France and experiencing the student revolts of 'mai 68' against colonialism and capitalism[275]. The programs of these Kanak youths were more 'radical' than the moderate UC and sought to reassert their Kanak identity by campaigning for access to Melanesian languages and culture in education and the media, to which they had been denied (a point which will be analysed in more detail in the following chapters). They also demanded a wholesale return[276] of land. Given that Kanaks had been excluded from all elements of society under the forms of segregation (the *code de l'indigénat*) they had no option, but to draw back into themselves, in order to survive, which ironically reinforced Kanak culture: "By refusing to assimilate them, colonisation paradoxically favoured the longevity of Kanak customs as a coherent life system."[277] Kanak culture has been extremely resistant despite the forms of acculturation on the island and moves by the French authorities to negate and extinguish it under colonialism[278]. Although linguistically diverse or *fragmentés*[279] into 28 different language groups, Kanaks form a culturally homogenous and distinct ethnic group through a common culture and identity- *la coutume* and the place of land as the central element within it. *La coutume* is not simply limited to the 'cultural sphere'[280]. It

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[274] Roch Pidjot, 1971 in Thompson & Adloff, 1971 in Connell, 1987: 254

[275] Ward, 1982: 18. The events of 'May 68' refer to the vast movement of political, cultural and social protest which began in France and then spread through Europe.

[276] Ward, 1983: 14. This term means the full return of all Kanak lands

[277] "En refusant à les assimiler la colonisation a paradoxalement favorisé la pérennisation de la coutume kanak comme système de vie cohérent" Besset, 1988: 155

[278] "La force et la singularité de sa culture ont permis au peuple kanak de traverser sans trop de dommages les tempêtes de la colonisation." Besset, 1988: 62. See also Aldrich, 1992: 182

[279] "fragmented" Bensa & Rivièrre, 1982: 21

[280] Christnacht, 1987: 29

is a set of non-written laws which govern all social, economic, and political relations as well as family and land in Kanak society, a philosophy about the Kanak way of life[281]. This 'traditional' culture is still very present and practised by many Kanaks in New Caledonian society today- an *art de vivre*[282].

The newly-created, radical, post 'mai-68' and youth-led political parties such as the *Foulards Rouges*[283] praised their Kanak identity and culture, by taking the word hitherto used to designate them in a derogatory manner by the colonisers, *canaque*, transforming it into *Kanak* (from Polynesian origin meaning 'human being') giving it a positive connotation, a "militant meaning"[284]. As Tjibaou (1981) notes as a form of explanation:

> "Quite simply the Melanesians designated by the Europeans as 'Kanak' have chosen this name to assert themselves as people, by calling on France to carry out a real decolonisation, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. This real decolonisation passes by the return of land to clans and a return to Kanak patrimony". [285]

This move full of symbolism, of *assertion*, can be seen as "the transition from a state of basic submission to French rule, to a stage of active demand for Kanak political recognition."[286] From this point Kanaks also sought to regain full control of the territory, in order to become a sovereign nation.

As noted before, 'land' for Kanaks is more than a source of livelihood; it is the very foundation of *la coutume* and basis of Kanak identity. With this in mind, Kanak self-

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[281] Besset, 1988: 56, Merlo, 1985 in Coulon, 1985: 68

[282] Kohler, 1988: 201

[283] Marx-inspired party created in 1969 by young, educated Kanaks,

[284] Winslow, 1989: 274

[285] "Tout simplement les Mélanesiens désignés par les Européens comme 'Kanak' ont choisi ce nom pour s'affirmer en tant que peuple, en faisant appel à la France pour qu'elle réalise une réelle décolonisation, conformément à la charte des Nations Unies. Cette réelle décolonisation passe par la restitution des terres aux clans et un retour à la patrie kanak'" J-M Tjibaou, Le Monde, 22 October, 1981, cited in Coulon, 1985: 63

[286] Chesneaux, 1987b: 9

determination is the right to exert their *droit d'accueil*[287], of welcoming (and, conversely forbidding) entry. Any attack on land is thus seen as an assault on Kanak identity, of which French colonisation has been the main perpetrator[288]. As Besset notes: "Because they are issued from the land, they respect and honour it: 'Land is a part of them. Today the return of land and consequently that of national sovereignty is founded on it".[289] In previous manifestations of Kanak 'nationalism' in the form of revolts and rebellions, land has been the core issue (with the policies of *cantonnement*), as well as opposition to French colonial rule and a way of 'holding on' to what Kanaks hold dear: "Land alienation and the recasting of land ownership not only displaced tribes, but fundamentally broke them up... It is... the whole universe that is shaken up; the network of relations... with the pertaining protocol which finds itself plunged into general confusion."[290] As Ranger (1968) has also pointed out, there is a distinct link between the present struggle and that of 1878, its precursor:

> It is the legitimacy of the struggle for land that closely ties... 1878 to the contemporary nationalist movement. Ataï and other Melanesians of that era were, in many respects, traditionalists seeking to re-establish a disrupted order and recapture the past rather than look towards the future.[291]

Put simply, Kanak nationalism, in its reformist orientation, is the attempt to link the past (traditional) culture with the modern (Western and capitalist) one in a form of

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[287] "welcoming right" Merlo, 1985 in Coulon, 1985: 63

[288] This idea is best expressed by the following remark by Besset: "chasser un Kanak de sa terre... c'est non seulement le priver de sa ressource essentielle, mais c'est aussi lui retirer son identité, l'arracher à lui-même" Besset, 1988: 58

[289] "Puisqu'ils en sont issus, ils la respectent et la vénèrent. La terre fait partie d'eux. C'est elle qui fonde aujourd'hui la revendication des terres et par conséquent de la souveraineté nationale'." Ibid, p 57

[290] "L'aliénation des terres et les remaniements fonciers n'ont pas seulement déplacé les tribus, mais les ont fondamentalement désagrégés... C'est tout... [l]'univers qui est ébranlé, [le] réseau de relations..., avec le protocole afférent qui se trouve plongé dans une confusion générale." Tjibaou, 'Recherche d'Identité Mélanésienne et Société Traditionelle', Société des Océanistes, n° 53, December 1976, pp. 281-292 in Tjibaou, 1996: 69

[291] in Connell, 1987: 82

coexistence for the future, an "appeal to both progress and tradition, modernity and a 'Melanesian way combined"[292]. This essentially means that after independence New Caledonia would be a more Melanesian-based society and economy, which would allow for a fuller expression of Kanak identity, "the hope of achieving the restoration of a 'degraded' community to its rightful status, dignity and authority."[293] As Connell (1987) also notes:

> Melanesian identity can be reclaimed and, through modernity, reinvested with vitality and relevance... Nationalism promises a new social order, based on customary legal precepts, in which a better life could be achieved free from European or other alien administration. Tradition is the ideological arm of those who seek to revert to a real or imagined past where 'tradition' prevailed alone.[294]

The basis for Kanak nationalism is not motivated by economic advantages, but by more cultural and political reasons, as the symbol of identity (as noted above), with arguments based along the following lines: "We are asking to be respected... and that full expression be given to our culture, which is linked with our fundamental demands of independence and cultural recognition... the cultural is capital, it is what gives meaning to existence"[295]. As with other nationalist movements, Kanak nationalism is specific, and typical of the region in that it is a 'Melanesian movement' (as in neighbouring countries such as Vanuatu) that seeks to reinvent history, and is largely influenced by external factors. This of course entails a complete overhaul of the current system: "We do not want to go backwards; we want to find a new orientation. Our main goal is to find and express through institutions the Kanak way of life... One needs to reconsider

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[292] Connell, 1988b: 236

[293] Connell, 1987, op. cit., p 422

[294] Connell, 1988c: 296

[295] "Nous demandons d'être respectés... et que la plénitude soit donné [à notre culture] à son expression qui s'identifie aux revendications fondamentales d'indépendance et de reconnaissance d'identité... le culturel est capital; c'est lui qui donne la saveur à l'existence" Walles Kotra, interview broadcast on Radio France-Océane in Noumea on 30 September 1988 and published by *La Dépêche Kanak* in Bensa, 1990: 179

the organisation of life itself."[296] Kanak nationalism is of course based on land problems, as well as the development of cooperative and communitarian systems, a return to *la coutume* and an adapted mode of education to the needs of the island. In essence, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, who was most prominent and dynamic figure in New Caledonian politics until his death in 1989, summarised the challenges of the Kanak struggle for self-determination as follows:

> "That's our problem: how to come to terms with this enormous change and yet remain ourselves while feeling comfortable in this new environment. But we are not decolonised. If today I can share what French culture I have with a non-Kanak in this country, he on the other hand can't share with me the universal part of my own culture. The reconciliation of town and country must therefore be preceded by recognising the peculiar features of the Melanesian character and a total reinvestment of our value system."[297]

Self-determination has always been viewed as a 'liberalisation' from French colonialism and never as a direct attack on France, which many Kanak leaders are quick to stress: "'Kanak independence is... thought in terms of liberation, of rehabilitation, of the affirmation of a cultural identity and not in terms of revenge against a lived or subjected history.'"[298] Kanaks, even if they do gain independence, wish to retain links with France, given the history and culture that ties the two together and which cannot be 'thrown away' lightly. This is because many elements of French culture and practises are widely in use, and form a link between all the cultures on the island:

> the Kanaks maintain, despite the tears, a privileged relationship with France... Paradoxical as it seems, they love France and do not expel her presence given they have already adopted many of elements of her culture. But they do not want to renounce

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[296] "'Nous ne voulons pas revenir en arrière, nous voulons trouver une nouvelle orientation. Notre premier but, c'est de trouver et d'exprimer au niveau des institutions l'art de vivre kanak... Il faut réconsidérer l'organisation même de la vie...'" J.M Tjibaou, private interview, Poindimié, May 1981 cited in Chesneaux, 1988b in Spencer, Ward & Connell, 1988: 103

[297] unpublished interview with J.F Dupon, Noumea, 1984, cited in Chesneaux, 1988b: 65, 1987b: 10

[298] "'L'indépendence des Kanak est... pensée en termes de libération, de réhabilitation, d'affirmation d'identité culturelle et non en termes de revanche sur l'histoire vécue ou subie'" Gabriel Païta, Rock Pidjot, Jean-Marie Tjibaou, declaration in *Le Monde*, 22 October 1981, as cited in Besset, 1988: 167, Coulon, 1985: 63

> being themselves and insist that their singular culture be recognised as such, as a matrix of men and women different from the French and from Westerners.[299]

For Kanaks to regain their place within society and for this venture to gain its full importance, sovereignty, which equates to land, needs to be returned to the Kanak.

4.3 TOWARDS THE LAND OF KANAKY?

French immigration policy tactics

The influx of immigrants between 1969 and 1974 under the French government's deliberate and renewed policy to demographically 'drown out' the Kanaks and tip the political scales[300], saw the arrival of 25 000 people, the equivalent of a quarter of the country's population[301]. With a strong new conservative electorate, Kanaks became an ethnic minority in their own land as they only accounted for 42 per cent of the population[302]... and held no weight in political decisions. The government's 'justifications' of the immigration scheme clearly reveal the underlying motives, as French Prime Minister Pierre Messmer wrote in a letter in 1972 to Mr Deniau, his Secretary of State of DOM-TOMs:

> "...It is necessary to seize this last chance to create another Francophone country so that French presence in New Caledonia could only be threatened by a world war and not by nationalist claims from indigenous people supported by allies from other Pacific communities".[303]

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[299] "les Kanak entretiennent, malgré les déchirures, un rapport privilégié avec la France... Aussi paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, ils aiment la France, ils n'excluent pas sa présence d'autant qu'ils ont intégré déjà maints éléments de sa culture. Mais ils ne veulent pas renoncer à être eux-mêmes et ils exigent que leur culture singulière soit reconnue en tant que telle, c'est-à-dire comme matrice d'hommes et de femmes différents des Français et des Occidentaux." Besset: 1988: 53-54

[300] "dampen nationalist sentiments" Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 127 is the best expression to show the underlying motive for the immigration policy

[301] Kircher, 1986: 7 in Winslow, 1989: 274

[302] Winslow, 1989: 274

[303] cited in Connell, 1987: 218, Coulon, 1985: 231 (French version), also in Winslow, 1989: 274

Following the nickel collapse in the early 1970s, economic stagnation and decline, all consequences of the 1973-75 petrol shocks, the disparities between Noumea and "*la brousse*", and thus between the Kanaks and the Europeans, could only become more evident. With a large concentration of Kanaks remaining on the periphery of the socio-economic structure, unsuccessfully assimilated into New Caledonian society, in addition to the rise in unemployment and the lack of action on the part of the French government to answer Kanak calls for the return of land, these issues became the breeding ground for demands for outright independence. The Kanak struggle is thus an ethno-political conflict, where groups seek to defend or promote their collective identity and interests, and eventual control of the state, not only as a right but an obligation, to reverse the present situation. Coupled with past memories of the hardships experienced by Kanaks and the identity crises experienced by many Kanak youth, these were all a direct result of French colonial practises:

> the pressures of the French colonial system have created a nation where one had never existed before... Nationalism engendered the state, returned tradition and history to Melanesians, legitimised the struggle for independence and provided an identity in an alien world.[304]

From this point on a truly 'nationalist' spirit and struggle began to appear in New Caledonia.

The cultural meets the political

The UC, along with the Kanak-led Union Multiraciale de Nouvelle Calédonie (UMNC) political party created in the early 1970s started pressing for a form of responsible self-government (*autonomie interne*). The 'Melanesia 2000' cultural festival organised by Jean-Marie Tjibaou in 1975, which sought to present Kanak culture not only to the

[304] Ibid, p 413-416

French but the world at large, was a landmark in New Caledonia's history, an "important milestone in reasserting Kanak culture and identity"[305], as it represented the official 'demand' for a form of recognition. This singular event was symbolic as it gave a 'political' stance to the cultural demands for the return of land, and a public form of 'rejection' of the alien, 'foreign' and imported power of France:

> Denied by the system (school, economic, social) in their humanity, in their hierarchy and right to their space, the Kanaks [conceived Melanesia 2000], as a demand of recognition, the refusal at once of the white mask, and of subordination.[306]

Calls for outright political self-determination appeared the same year, first pronounced by Celene Uregei, head of the Front Uni de Libération Kanak (FULK). Dispossessed of land and with no possibility of winning the elections through the ballot box, the Kanaks changed their focus, from autonomists they became independence fighters. PALIKA, The Parti de Libération Kanake (PALIKA, formed out of the *Foulards Rouges & Groupe 1878* in 1976) started demanding the wholesale return of land.

The question of Kanak self-determination became a serious issue facing both New Caledonia and France from 1978 when the UC, still a multiracial and the most representative party for Melanesians[307], invested with new vitality and members such as Tjibaou, Yéweiné Yéweiné, Eloi Machoro, Roch Pidjot, Léopold Jorédie shifted policy, joining the band-wagon and aligning with the more radical parties such a PALIKA. Demands for 'Cuban-style socialist society'[308] and Kanak independence surfaced shortly

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[305] Maclellan, 1999

[306] "Niés par le système (scolaire, économique, social) dans leur humanité, dans leur hiérarchie et jusque dans leur espace, les Kanak [ont conçu Melanesia 2000] comme la revendication d'une reconnaissance, le refus à la fois du masque blanc et de la subordination." 'Renaissance du Pacifique', in *Ethnies*, n° 8-9-10, p 76-80, produced March 1984 by J.F. Dupon in Tjibaou, 1996: 151-2

[307] see Ward, 1983: 17, 1982: 23

[308] Aldrich, 1998: 122

after, voiced by the UMNC and PALIKA. Shortly after the French government's refusal to conduct talks, the Kanak Territorial councillors opted for outright independence:

> considering that the French government did not want to dialogue with the Kanak delegates... that by this act, the Kanak people are once again stunned by French colonialism... and have unanimously declared for Kanak independence... once the decision is taken, it cannot be reversed.[309]

As FLNKS President Roch Wamytan noted: "The Kanak movement for independence is an established and irreversible fact, an inescapable reality."[310]

At this time the surrounding global political environment was ripe for such moves with many of New Caledonia's Melanesian neighbours almost independent or on the brink of becoming so- Fiji (1970), Papua New Guinea (1975), the Solomon Islands (1978) and Vanuatu (1980), none of which, however, (with the exception of Vanuatu) had previously been under French rule:

> The time had come for independence to become a major political goal. It was a goal which seemed realistic enough in the context of a Pacific whose Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian nations, with the important exceptions of French-controlled and American-controlled territories, had all achieved, or were on the verge of achieving, independence.[311]

History has shown that once a people start demanding political self-determination, they usually succeed in achieving it, making it appear "inevitable", even if it takes time and can be quite a long and painful process. This also legitimises the Kanak struggle, as Nidoish Naisseline, founder of the *Foulards Rouges* noted, in the same vein as Wamytan's declarations: "I do not know of any population which, while fighting for

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[309] "considérant que le gouvernement français n'a pas voulu dialoguer avec les élus kanak... que, par cet acte, le peuple kanak a été bafoué une fois de plus par le colonialisme française... se déclarent à l'unanimité pour l'indépendance kanak... quand la décision est prise, elle est irréversible." Coulon, 1985: 128

[310] Chesneaux, 1987b: 20

[311] Ibid, p 10

their liberation, has failed".[312] Indeed, many independence fighters use this argument to support their claims, basing them on historical reasons and examples taken from elsewhere: "Kanak independence is founded with regard to history and the right of a people"[313], and that France, as a world leader, cannot deny this right as it is contradictory to the course of history:

> Whether she wants to or not, France would not be able to escape for very long the laws of history. There is no example on earth of an independence movement, largely supported by a people at the same time strongly based on its legitimacy as the first occupant and by its radically different culture, which has not succeeded in, one day in gaining independence.[314]

Indeed, this idea is founded on the principle that, as the original people (first inhabitants) of the country, the Kanaks have a legitimate and moral right to regain sovereignty, as a *birthright*[315]. The Kanaks are entitled to political self-determination under international law and the principles of the UN charter, given that France represents an alien power on the island. Indeed, if New Caledonia had been allowed to 'follow its course' towards further autonomy (and thus independence) in the 1960s, the whole conflict could have been avoided altogether:

> In 1953, the government of the territory was already autonomist... If the repressive policy ... did not put an end to the peaceful evolution of the territory, it would have been independent long ago, and that almost imperceptibly... the Caledonian complexity... is... due in large part to a series of political errors, a lack of understanding and a part of indifference on the part of French governments and governors or High Commissioners since the war.[316]

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[312] "je ne connais pas un peuple qui, lorsqu'il a lutté pour sa libération, a échoué" in Besset, 1988: 136

[313] "l'indépendance kanak est fondée en regard de l'histoire et du droit d'un peuple". Ibid, p 137

[314] "Qu'elle le veuille ou non, la France ne saurait échapper très longtemps aux lois de l'histoire. Il n'y a pas d'exemple au monde d'un mouvement indépendantiste, majoritairement appuyé par un peuple à la fois fort de sa légitimité de premier occupant et de sa culture radicalement différente, qui ne soit parvenu, un jour, à arracher l'indépendance" Besset, 1988: 26, see also Besset, 1988: 136

[315] Ward, 1983: 15

[316] "En 1953, le gouvernement du territoire était déjà autonomiste...Si la politique répressive... n'avait mis fin à l'évolution paisible du territoire, il aurait été indépendant il y a longtemps, et cela presque imperceptiblement...la situation calédonienne... est une complexité issue en grande partie d'une série d'erreurs politiques, d'un manque de compréhension et d'une part une indifférence de la part des gouvernements et gouverneurs ou haut-commissaires français depuis la guerre." Spencer, 1988 in Spencer, Ward & Connell, 1988: 299

However, in the case of French territories, gaining independence is not easy, as, according to the French constitution (given that even as a geographically distant TOM, New Caledonia is considered as 'French' and that the Republic is 'indivisible'), the island can only become independent if the majority of the population decides so. Therein lies the problem and the basis of the political '*impasse*', as any person of French nationality living on the territory, regardless of how short the time, is eligible to vote in elections. For this reason alone it has always been up to France to grant the territory its independence as the Kanaks, in terms of numbers, cannot win through the ballot box: "the indigenous population is outnumbered by settlers, so that 'one man, one vote' yields results unacceptable to those with long ancestral memories."[317]

With rising instability on the island the French minister of the DOM-TOMs Paul Dijoud, implemented a new land reform scheme in 1979 which respected Kanak historical rights and supported Melanesian agricultural development, but on the condition that New Caledonia remained attached to France, concluding with the words "Live in France in New Caledonia".[318] The Dijoud plan also sought to promote Kanak culture and the advancement of their socio-economic status. According to Ovington (1988) the plan "promised greater efforts to preserve and develop Melanesian cultural traditions; basic educational and vocational training programs were also to be adapted to take better account of local cultural backgrounds."[319] Indeed, Dijoud sought to find a solution to the mounting tension, to "tackle the intensifying divisions in New Caledonia by an integrated programme of reform designed at once to repair the blighted economic

[317] Crozier, 1989
[318] cited in Ward, 1982: 36
[319] Ovington, 1988: 109

fortunes of New Caledonia and to outbid and isolate the *indépendantistes*".[320] Although the plan with its measures was clearly important, the Kanaks wanted more and the independence parties, ironically strengthened by measures originally implemented to weaken them (such as raising the minimum eligibility threshold political parties needed to attain in elections), banded together and formed the *Front Indépendantiste* (FI) in a collective move to force France to decolonise. The FI campaigned for socialist and Kanak independence and self-governance, and was clearly anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. Other FI demands included the "immediate and unconditional return of traditional lands to the clans and the 'territorialisation' of the mines."[321] It is ironic that Dijoud, instead of 'undermining' the independence movement, gave it greater impetus.

Despite the false promises made by François Mitterrand prior to his election as President in 1981, according to which independence would no longer be denied to the Kanaks, the newly elected Socialist government was faced with the dilemma that on the one hand, the Pacific is an important trump-card for France in the nuclear race and, on the other, it had an obligation to act on its word. Caught in the middle, the government retreated from its previous statements. This underlined Mitterrand's intentions to reinforce the link between the overseas territories and France, proving that it was no different from previous administrations: "As to the French government, it is in a pickle. It would like to 'keep its socialist engagements with regards to Kanak independence, but what it really wants, is to guarantee French presence in Caledonia."[322] Amidst mounting radicalism and violence on the island, such as the death of UC secretary Pierre Declerq

[320] Independence fighters- Ward, 1982: 34
[321] Winslow, 1989: 276

(who was killed in 1981), a round table was organised in Nainville-les-Roches in 1983. The Lemoine statute of Nainville-les-Roches, concerning the evolution of the territory and the end of colonialism, contained provisions for a transitional period of *autonomie interne* followed by a referendum on self-determination to be held in the following five years. The document also recognised the "innate and active right of the Kanak people- as the first inhabitants of the Territory- to Independence"[323]. This claim was, however, ambiguous as this 'right' was also open to others who had also made New Caledonia their home: "also of all other settlers; the right to auto-determination within the framework of the French Constitution and the common desire of all signatories to end colonialism".[324] Nonetheless, the statute had been drawn up under a 'common will' to end French control. Of course, with no indication in the Lemoine statute of electoral reform, and thus little hope for Kanaks of gaining independence 'democratically' (and diplomatically) through the ballot box the FI opposed the statute. The statute was, however, decided in Paris, once again underlying the fact that France ultimately controlled the island's political destiny:

> The statute was unanimously opposed by the New Caledonian Territorial Assembly, but the government continued to turn a deaf ear and the statute was adopted... As usual, the fate of New Caledonia was decided in the Metropole, with little consideration being given to local opinion.[325]

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[322] "Quant au gouvernement français il est bien embêté. Il 'voudrait bien' tenir les engagements socialistes à l'égard de l'indépendance kanak, mais il veut surtout, à son tour, garantir la présence française en Calédonie" Coulon, 1985: 131

[323] cited in Kircher, 1986: 10 and Winslow, 1989: 277, French version in and in Christnacht, 1987: 22

[324] Trente Jours, n°17, August 1983, pp 19-21, in Spencer, 1985: 30

[325] Winslow, 1989: 278, see also Chesneaux: 1988b: 13- "The real locus of political power in New Caledonia rests with Paris

Civil unrest, instability, and calls for international support

In September 1984 the FI reformed as the *Front de Libération Nationale Kanak Socialiste* (FLNKS) coalition, whose Charter[326] is quite clear in accusing France of deliberately maintaining the Kanaks' 'colonised' status. The Charter employs words such as "accomplice"... "have effectively not been put into practise", "rejecting measures", "imposing on us the Lemoine statute with all its restrictions", "directly threatening the Kanak people with the prospect of disappearing" (a clear outcry against Messmer's immigration policy in the 1970s), "making it a minority", "oppressed and injured by the colonial situation", which showed the gravity and the profound impact of France's actions, not only from the colonial past, but also on-going (a form of neo-colonialism, of indirect control). The Charter also notes that in the face of such a situation the Kanaks reaffirm their legitimate right to self-determination with powerful and optimistic expressions pertaining to freedom: "a phase of struggle for Kanak independence: the liberation struggle" with emphasis on the word RIGHT, such as the right to "dignity and freedom" (to be restored after it was taken away from them) on their "own homeland"- arguments formulated around the Kanak experience. The FLNKS, however, did not forget the other ethnic groups, the 'victims of history' who are also invited to join the FLNKS in its struggle for national liberation "because only solidarity in the liberation struggle will legitimate their citizenship in tomorrow's socialist Kanak independence"[327] to build a new society based on Kanak values and *la coutume*. As noted in the literature review above, nationalism has external influences, and this is clearly evident in the FLNKS Charter, which is, according to Chesneaux (1987, 1988) "full of formulations reminiscent of French classical Republican values:

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[326] See annex

[327] FLNKS Charter in Gabriel and Kermel, 1985 in Winslow, 1989: 278

liberty and freedom, self-determination, and the 'sacred and inalienable character of Kanak rights'"[328], that is, clearly taken from French values.

The FLNKS's declaration of a provisional government for an independent state of Kanaky on December 1, 1984, demanding freedom from French rule and Kanak Socialist Independence, had very important repercussions. Not only did it lead to conservative reaction among settler communities on the island and the subsequent Hienghène massacre (where a group of 10 Kanaks were attacked and killed in an ambush, 2 of whom being Tjibaou's brothers, but also brought the 'critical' aspect of the situation to the world's attention. In such an unstable and highly volatile situation, the French state sent in Edgar Pisani as the new French High Commissioner with the mission to "produce a new plan for self-determination within two months- and one that would gain the assent of all sides..."[329] Within the framework of article 88 of the French Constitution, Pisani invited the island's inhabitants to vote for a form of *independence in association* with France, with "firm economic and political guarantees" for the Europeans so that they would still be allowed to stay on the island. He also proposed a referendum on self-determination for July 1985 and the transfer of sovereignty to the Kanaks and an independent country on 1st January of the following year, but with France retaining control of defence and security[330]. As Christnacht (1987) noted, Pisani intended to come up with a solution in which, in a sense, everyone would be a 'winner':

> The constitution of the new State incorporated a 'communitarian pact' on the rights of each of the ethnic communities. France and the new State would conclude a treaty of

[328] Chesneaux: 1987b: 5 (also in English version of Essays in Nationalism, 1988: 60)
[329] Spencer, 1985: 33
[330] Kirchner, 1986: 11

> association guaranteeing the communitarian pact, the interests of France and organise the cooperation.[331]

What set Pisani apart from predecessors like Dijoud was that he understood the dynamic and undeniable nature of the Kanak nationalist sentiment, recognising that independence was *inevitable* and needed to be dealt with rather than ignored. Indeed, a form of independence-in-association was an original approach to the situation, a proposal that would, to a certain extent, reconcile three conflicting interests with advantages and benefits for all everyone involved: Kanak claims to independence, the right of the settlers to remain, and France's strategic interests. By differing from previous proposals, the Pisani plan was "a refreshing approach... [Pisani] decided against the habitual search for a compromise between pro- and anti- independence forces, and instead to take the non-negotiable aspects of the two positions to their logical extremes"[332]. Although Kanaks would gain political control over the land, France would still retain a presence, in a mutual, reciprocal relationship, according to Pisani: "France would guarantee independence, and independence would guarantee continued French presence"[333]. Pisani also emphasised in his address to the populations of New Caledonia that to vote otherwise would lead to further instability and unrest, stating: "Change is necessary... there is no other way which leads to internal peace and security. The past 40 years in the world teach us that from the moment when plans for sovereignty are expressed by an authentic people, they can only finish with

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[331] "La constitution du nouvel Etat incorporerait un 'pacte communautaire' sur les droits de chacune des communautés ethniques. La France et le nouvel Etat concluraient un traité d'association garantissant le pacte communautaire, les intérêts de la France et organisant la coopération." Christnacht, 1987: 23

[332] Helen Fraser, The Age, 9 January 1985 cited in Fraser, 1988: 29

[333] Ibid

independence"[334], again showing that from the point of view of history, Kanak self-determination is given as a *natural* course of history.

However, the Pisani plan as it was presented was not implemented. Rather, it was modified into the Pisani- Fabius plan (named after the French Socialist Prime Minister Laurent Fabius) in mid-1985 with slightly different proposals, although there was to still be a referendum before the end of 1986 on the question of independence-in-association. The Territory would also be divided into four provinces, each with their own council. Each council would be responsible for social, economic and cultural reforms such as primary education, culture, local language and extensive regional development, to better tackle and "remedy the economic and social inequalities of the Territory"[335], between Noumea and the rest of the island, between *la ville* and *la brousse*. This form of rebalancing would be the process of "redressing perceived imbalances"[336] in terms of infrastructure, social services and employment possibilities between the regions. Although criticised for its (neo)-colonialist aspects, the FLNKS accepted the basis of the Pisani-Fabius plan, turning its attention away from violence and towards developing a more self-reliant Melanesian society and economy, through the creation of agricultural cooperatives and *écoles populaires kanak* (EPK). Following the regional council elections in Septmber 1985, the FLNKS won control of three out of the four provinces, giving the Kanaks their first taste of politics and the opportunity to show that they would be capable of running the country if they achieved independence.

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[334] Ibid

[335] Fabius/Pisani Plan, as cited in Winslow, 1989: 279

[336] United Nations, 2003: 10

The remaining dispositions of the Pisani-Fabius plan were never fully implemented as the right regained power after the legislative elections in France in 1986. The Pons statute (named after the new Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's Minister for the DOM-TOMs, Bernard Pons) or law of 17 July 1986 froze funds to New Caledonia, removed all control from the regions, and dismantled all the Kanaks' previous achievements and reforms. The Pons statute also reinforced links between New Caledonia and France, through the latter's new economic measures, only 'delegating' responsibility to the Kanaks in fields that they were 'competent' to administer, but that had nothing to do with holding political power- areas pertaining to Kanak culture and its promotion and development. As Pons noted:

> "The statute I'm proposing leaves the regions jurisdiction over the areas they are best adapted to handling, that is: reflection on regional development; realisation of local development projects; realisation of local infrastructure development; promotion of vernacular languages and cultural animation".[337]

The statute also changed the referendum date to mid- 1987 as well as the terms, to one of either outright independence or continued attachment to France: "the interested populations of New Caledonia will be consulted on the ascension of the territory to independence or its maintenance within the French Republic on a statute founded on autonomy and regionalisation"[338], which Pons also called "an act of democracy".[339]

The terms of the Pons statute were, as many critics have noted, a drastic blow against the Kanak people, completely omitting Kanak demands and reversing all previous acknowledgments made at Nainville-les-Roches concerning Kanak identity and their

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[337] quoted in *Le Monde*, 16 May 1985

[338] "les populations intéressées de la Nouvelle-Calédonie seront consultées sur l'accession du territoire à l'indépendance ou sur son maintien au sein de la République française avec un statut fondé sur l'autonomie et la régionalisation" quoted in Agniel, 1997: 51

place in society. Effectively the statute put Kanaks on the same level as all other citizens in the territory, bringing into question their rights as the first inhabitants of New Caledonia (and thus, their rights to political self-determination). Indeed, as Chesneaux (1988) notes, it was a deliberate move to undermine and completely refuse Kanak identity: "Pons only sought to strike at the Kanaks, to humiliate them, to strike 'blows' against them, to ideologically and politically annihilate them by denying their historical rights and their cultural identity."[340] Besset (1988) offers the most cutting argument against the statute when he notes that it reverted back to the government's policy of negation of Kanak culture under colonisation and the *de facto* policy of letting the Kanaks die out as a population, while at the same time "assimilating" the Kanaks under the banner of French nationality:

> The policy of negation reaches its apogee in 1987 under the Pons statute... which programs no less than [the disappearance of Kanaks] as people. This in effect removes the particular rights that assured the natives the recognition of their native singularity... under the pretence of placing the Kanaks, on the level of common right, like any other French citizen, the government dissolves the Melanesian identity. The Kanak community becomes a community like any other, drowned within the French ensemble. Their specificity as the original people is erased. The intended outcome: the dissolution, within one or two generations, of traditional Kanak society which forms the basis of this population.[341]

Against such a situation and a sense that their culture and identity were completely threatened, the Kanaks vowed that they would not give in and would always resist. As

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[339] Communiqué du Quai d'Orsay, 4 December 1987, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères in Dornoy-Vurobaravu, 1994: 5

[340] "[Pons] ne cherchait qu'à frapper les Kanak, à les humilier, à monter des 'coups' contre eux, à les annihiler idéologiquement et politiquement en niant leurs droits historiques et leur identité culturelle." Chesneaux, 1988 in Spencer, Ward & Connell, 1988: 102

[341] "La politique de négation des Kanak atteint son apogée en 1987 dans le statut Pons... qui programme rien moins que leur disparition en tant que peuple. Celui-ci supprime en effet les droits particuliers qui assuraient aux autochtones la reconnaissance de leur singularité indigène... sous prétexte de placer les Kanak au niveau du droit commun, comme n'importe quel citoyen français, le gouvernement dissout l'identité mélanésienne. La communauté kanak devient une communauté parmi d'autres, noyée dans l'ensemble français. Sa spécificité de peuple d'origine est gommée. Conséquence espérée: la dissolution, en une ou deux générations, de la société traditionnelle kanak qui constitue le ciment de ce peuple." Besset, 1988: 122-123

Tjibaou noted, for as long as Kanaks were alive, "France would continue to have problems and... the unequal struggle would continue"[342]. Tjibaou also claimed that the Pons statute "would mark the end of the Kanaks as a people"[343], a form of "cultural genocide"[344]. In such a position, after the failure of diplomacy, the only option left for Kanaks was to take concrete measures (and moves toward direct action) in order to secure independence and bring their plight to international attention. Many of the arguments show that this was a 'last resort': "What remains for the Kanaks except turning to violence if they still want to exist? They have no other alternative but to fight or disappear."[345] The political instability and civil unrest which reigned over the territory since the 1984 Hienghène massacre, "*les événements*", as the country was on the brink of civil war, with society divided along two antagonistic, ethnic lines, between the pro-independence FLNKS and the conservative, pro-France integrationist Rassemblement pour la Calédonie dans la République (RPCR- formed in 1978). With much lobbying and support from regional political movements such as the Melanesian Spearhead Group and the South Pacific Forum, in favour of independence, New Caledonia was inscribed on the U.N list of non self-governing territories in December 1986. This followed a vote, approved 89 to 24 (with 34 abstentions), as New Caledonia satisfied all the criteria to be classified as a country under 'alien/colonial' rule according to Chapter XI articles 73 and 74 of the United Nations Charter as well as under resolution 1514 (XV) on the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (adopted 14 December 1960). From the point of view of

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[342] Quoted in Connell, 1987: 445, also in Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 225

[343] cited in Aldrich, 1992: 225

[344] Connell, 1988a: 12

[345] "Que reste-il aux Kanak hors le recours à la violence s'ils veulent encore exister? Ils n'ont d'autre alternative que se battre ou disparaître" Besset, 1988: 123. Tjibaou maintained that "France would continue to have problems, and vowed that the unequal struggle would continue".

international law, the Kanaks have a right to political self-determination- despite French protestations. Given such a dynamic, the situation on the island rapidly deteriorated, as ethnic relations on the island became very tense and hostile. Indeed, by 1988 the situation was critical.

Conclusion

France has largely controlled the country's political relationship, and the demands for independence, when analysed against history, can be seen as 'inevitable' and almost 'expected', given the surrounding environment where many Pacific countries had gained independence, and also due to the actions of France in delaying the 'course of history'. In order to achieve results and gain international support for their claims, the Kanaks had no choice but to resort to violence to show the legitimacy of their struggle for political self-determination.

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION IN NEW CALEDONIA

Introduction

This chapter analyses New Caledonia's education system since the colonial period- its goals, 'effectiveness' as well as its evolution until 1988. It also discusses moves towards reforming the system and why education on the island has become an issue at stake in the Kanak struggle for independence.

5.1 COLONIAL EDUCATION

The impact of the Church

Since the beginning of French colonisation in New Caledonia Kanaks have had access to a form of education, even if this was relatively limited at first. The responsibility for dispensing an education fell to the Church and the missionaries implanted on the island. Education only focussed on a few main aspects, in line with French colonisation's 'civilising' mission. The very 'elementary' education program consisted in teaching the Kanak students the basics of French language and literacy, simple numeric skills and catechism, to form good, civilised French Catholics (and as a consequence remove their Kanak 'essence'), but with no adaptations of the instruction to local realities. Mgr A. Frayse, in a letter dated 2 July 1904, explained the logic behind such a policy as follows, that, as part of France, the inhabitants should be taught to be 'French':

> "The natives belong to a French colony, and we must, without withdrawing them from the indigenousness from which their existence stems, to give them a social and French education, that is to say to detach them from their Kanak ways and behaviour, which are contrary to a good civilisation, to instil in them real rules of morality of etiquette, done as accordingly as possible with the use of French."[346]

[346] "Les indigènes appartiennent à une colonie française, il faut, sans chercher à les tirer de l'indigénéité où doit s'écouler leur existence, leur donner une éducation sociale et française, c'est-à-dire les détacher des usages et allures canaques, qui sont contraires à une bonne civilisation, pour les inculquer les véritables règles de morale

In addition, the Kanaks were required to work the fields as part of the day-to-day maintenance and running of the mission.

The Church, even if it was the only establishment which 'cared' for Kanaks, was instrumental to keeping up the ideals and forms of segregation and subordination indispensable to maintaining separation between Kanak and the rest of the population. Kanaks were also required to accept their status as 'inferior'- "the inculcation in the natives of perceptions and values inherent in colonial domination"[347]- "the place of all deprivations, of all prohibitions"[348]. Indeed, within such a restrictive environment, in an institution where *a priori* a child socialises with others and learns, school was the first area where Kanaks experienced exclusion and negation. This was reinforced, due to the fact that Kanak languages were 'banned' from 1863, and French became the official language of education on the island from 1919[349].

Consequences of language policies on Kanaks

In order for French to be effectively implanted as the language of communication in New Caledonia, Kanaks were denied access to their own culture and languages, which were subsequently banned, considered as just mere noises and treated as "sub languages". Father Rougeryron, in a letter dated 3 September 1846, wrote to his supervisor the following:

> "This language is as barbaric as are the inhabitants. Even the keenest ear cannot hear but a whisper which exits from its lips. We stayed a few weeks among these people

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et de bienséance, mises autant que possible, en accord avec les usages français" as quoted in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 50

[347] Kohler, 1988: 164

[348] "lieu de toutes les privations, de tous les interdits" Pineau-Salaün, 2000: 267

[349] Turcotte, 1982: 22

> without being able to distinguish a single syllable. It occurred to me that these people did not talk, but murmured a few sounds, like birds". [350]

From the start of colonisation, and as Father Rougeryron's letter points out, French and Kanak languages have maintained a conflicting and unequal relationship, to the detriment of the mother tongue, creating a *rapport de force* between the high and low languages. This language dynamic put young Kanak children, who found themselves caught, involuntarily, in a bilingual environment, in a contradictory situation. This is not uncommon to many children exposed to two languages at an early age as they became 'bilingual' and 'bicultural':

> when two languages are in contact, and one is more prestigious than the other, the bilingual person who has as a mother tongue the language that is less prestigious is confronted with a double contradiction: on the one hand this person feels admiration and hostility for the prestigious language (fear of assimilation) and of the other, is affectively attached to the first language that is devalued.[351]

Over time, through the process of *acculturation* French became the high language and the Kanak languages the low languages, which inevitably, for the Kanaks themselves, reinforced their domination by the colonisers and put into question their rights as the first inhabitants and their rights to independence, as Gauthier (1996) notes: "their legitimacy as the first occupant becomes contestable, consequently leading to a

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[350] "Cette langue est aussi barbare que le sont les habitants. L'oreille la mieux exercée et la plus prompte n'entend qu'un chuchotement qui vient expirer sur les lèvres. Nous sommes restés plusieurs semaines au milieu de ce peuple sans pouvoir distinguer une seule syllabe. Il m'est convenu en idée que ce peuple ne parlait pas, mais qu'il murmurait quelques sons, comme des oiseaux." http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca

[351] "lorsque deux langues sont en contact, dont l'une est plus prestigieuse que l'autre, le bilingue qui a pour première langue celle qui est de la moins prestigieuse est confronté à une double contradiction : d'un côté, il éprouve de l'admiration et de l'hostilité pour la langue prestigieuse (peur de l'assimilation) et de l'autre, il est attaché affectivement à sa première langue qu'il dévalorise." _____, 2002: www.ac-noumea.nc/caleduc/mml/axe3.htm

questioning of their exclusive right to self-determination as a colonised people in the country."[352]

5.2 A NEW ORIENTATION- THE 'INCLUSIVE' POLICY

The new challenges

As the earlier chapters have shown, after almost a century of being excluded or relegated to the periphery of society under colonisation, when Kanaks gained citizenship in 1946 they were to be integrated and assimilated into New Caledonian society as any other French national. Kanaks had access to the state education system that was already in place- that of metropolitan France which had been transplanted to the island (and had previously been available only to the children of settlers). Kanaks children were to be educated in such an environment, with no account taken of differences which exist between students, such as those already noted in the literature review. The goal of education on the island can be summed up as follows: to aid in creating the 'français de couleur', or 'culturally' French Kanaks in a French New Caledonia, perfectly integrated and assimilated into society. This ideal was widely supported and propagated by the press, notably the bi-weekly journal, *Le Calédonien* which states that such a policy:

> "insisted in promoting their education with the goal of integrating them into the work force and Caledonian society generally... Metropolitans and Caledonians should work together to 'make New Caledonia a land which has the right to claim to want to remain French because its population, its riches, its exploitations and its internal economy allow it to."[353]

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[352] "[s]a légitimité de premier occupant lui devient attaquable, entraînant en conséquence un questionnement de son droit exclusif à l'autodétermination en tant que peuple colonisé dans ce pays". Gauthier, 1996: 10

[353] ""insista pour promouvoir leur éducation dans le but de les intégrer au marché du travail et à la société calédonienne en général... Les Métropolitains et les Calédoniens devraient travailler ensemble pour 'faire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie une terre qui aura le droit de prétendre vouloir rester française parce que sa population, ses richesses, ses exploitations et son économie intérieure le lui permettront." *Le Calédonien*, le 8 mai 1951; joint au courrier d'Anderson au Secrétaire, 9 mai 1951, EA 226/7, Pt 1, in Ward, 1988 in Spencer, Ward & Connell, 1988: 120

This widespread 'access' to education posed many obstacles from the onset- everyone now had a right to receive an education. Geographical constraints are the most obvious, as most of the schools were in the capital and port of the island, Noumea. However, most Kanaks live outside the urbanised and developed town, in their tribes, which are located in more remote areas, 'en brousse'. This resulted in 'inequalities to access', due to large time spent n commuting, in addition to the already long school hours. What also became apparent at this time was that low levels of Kanaks were succeeding in the French education system which prides itself on achieving excellence. As previously noted, the first Kanak graduated from high school in 1962 and the first Kanak received a diploma in higher education in 1972.[354]

Why are Kanaks failing the system?

Although the factors previously mentioned can play a large part in understanding this issue, another obvious and likely explanation for Kanak failure in the education system comes down to culture and language, the ethno-linguistic theory. The 'imported' education programs, such as they are implemented in New Caledonia, follow to the letter[355] those of France. This curriculum in place on the island was and is, at its basis, designed in France, to answer French society's needs, yet is transported to an island where it presents concepts foreign to the Kanak student's learning and living environment, and which are a far cry from the needs of a 'traditional' society. The fundamental differences between the two forms of education, Kanak and European, are ones that reflect the traditional versus modern/Western education dichotomy. As noted in Chapter 2, Kanak society, which is more 'traditional', can almost be 'opposed' in

[354] AISDPK, 1985:6, Connell et al. 1985: 8, Kircher, 1986: 15 in Winslow, 1989: 271

[355] *"strict sensu"* Conseil de Gouvernement, secteur de Jeunesse et des Sports, 1961 (?): 17

many respects to the European/Western world. Kanak society, based on 'la coutume', is hierarchical and communitarian, where a person is defined by their social relations. It is at odds the Western concepts of competition and individualism where everything is ruled by economic considerations. as Jean-Marie Tjibaou noted in 1984: "Being just an anonymous individual, having to struggle every day in order to be somebody, having to find your own niche, having to seek paid employment in order to live- all these things are unknown in rural society."[356] The education system, as it existed in New Caledonia, was not adapted[357], unsuited in 'forming individuals' for New Caledonian society.

The modes of delivery were also often put forward as a cause for Kanak failure in the education system as Kanak students learn French in a 'brusque' manner, plunged headfirst (or in the deep end) into the language as soon as they attend school and this, at a very young age. The Kanak students are not instructed the French language as one would when 'learning' a new language, but are forced to adopt it and thus 'pick it up' as they go along, as it is assumed that, as French citizens, they have the same language skills as the French in France. In this instance, the language bases of both the mother tongue and the second language for the children are neither stable nor solid, setting the students up for a difficult time- not only dealing with a language they are unfamiliar with, but the 'world' linked to it, and all the while trying to grasp their own language: "in learning French, it is not only the encounter between the mother language and French, it is also the clash of two models of reality each linked to a language and

[356] J-M Tjibaou, unpublished interview with J.F Dupon, Noumea, 1984, cited in Chesneaux, 1987b: 9
[357] Gauthier, 1996: 9 uses the term "pas adaptés"

different socio-cultural contexts."[358] Instead of Kanak students encountering success (by European, Western standards and according to the goals and aims of education of preparing students for the workforce), education led more a "breakdown of Melanesian society"[359] perpetuating the exclusion and marginalisation of Kanaks from the socio-economic life of the island and reinforcing the disparities between the ethnic groups. This further translated into social inequalities as many Kanak students dropped out and did not continue with higher education:

> school gives access to paid jobs and conditions by this fact the social ascension which works to serve the established order: it reproduces and legitimises the inequalities between the ethnicities (and the social classes). As the school level progresses, the number of Melanesian students decrease a lot more than that of European students.[360]

As a result, Kanaks are at a disadvantage, and are subsequently unable to attain high level or 'prestigious' jobs in the future. Indeed, by the time demands for self-determination and specifically that of Kanak social independence had surfaced, many Kanaks no longer believed in attending French school nor in gaining a European education in order to accede to a 'better life'. This point is supported by the following statistics: in the late 1970s, although there was one Kanak secondary-school teacher, no Kanaks worked as doctors, lawyers, economists or engineers. In addition, Kanaks only represented 2 per cent of New Caledonians to have finished higher secondary education and only seven Kanaks had graduated from university.[361] This trend was also notable in the early 1980s, with:

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[358] "dans l'apprentissage du français, ce n'est pas seulement la rencontre de la langue maternelle et du français, c'est aussi le choc de deux modèles de la réalité liés à chacune des langues et des contextes socioculturels différents." _____, 20002. www.ac-noumea.nc/caleduc/mml/axe3.htm

[359] Connell, 1987: 167

[360] "l'école qui donne accès aux emplois salariés et conditionne de ce fait l'ascension sociale fonctionne au service de l'ordre établie: elle reproduit et légitimise les inégalités entre les ethnies (et classes sociales). A mesure que le niveau scolaire s'élève, l'effectif des élèves mélanésiens décroît beaucoup plus que celui des élèves européens." Kohler, 1987: 19-20

[361] AISDPK, 1985: 6, Connell et al. 1985: 8, Kircher, 1986: 15 in Winslow, 1989: 271

> 91 per cent of the top supervisory and professional positions and 73 per cent of the intermediate professional positions were held by Europeans, compared with 4 per cent and 18 per cent for the Kanaks. Similarly, Europeans comprised 91 per cent of the engineers and managers in the private sector, and the Kanak 1.6 per cent. In the public sector, Europeans occupied 87 per cent of the administrative positions and the Kanak 8 per cent.[362]

This again shows that Kanaks did not hold 'important' jobs in New Caledonian society.

Languages and identity

Demands for a change in education surfaced following the collapse of the nickel boom in the mid-1970s, when many Kanaks, faced with rising unemployment, returned to the tribes, experiencing the feeling of 'uprooting', of *'déracinement'*: a form of identity crisis, seeing this as the root of society's problems. The forms of education began to be questioned, given that a "large number of Kanaks do not believe in the prestige of colonial schools and hold it responsible for the crisis of traditional values and of the social imbalance".[363] After the Melanesia 2000 festival, which openly sought a form of recognition and acceptance of Kanak culture, a revival in the appreciation of Kanak languages (through the *Foulards Rouges*) was also apparent, as language and culture are linked, as they basis of one's identity. Torn between the traditional Kanak and the modern French languages and culture, it is this 'encounter' between two very different and opposing cultures which means that students have trouble 'situating' themselves in society, as Tjibaou noted in 1981:

> "I notice today that there is, perhaps, a certain identity crisis... or is it because we go to school, because we are trying to become the model put forward by Europe, and by not being able to attain this model that we end up, one day, asking ourselves: but who are we? Where do we come from? And so there is a return to our sources, to try and soak ourselves in it, to try and find ourselves through something... Not turning back to the

[362] Wacquant (1985), in Winslow, 1989: 271

[363] "une bonne partie de la masse kanak ne croît pas au prestige de l'école coloniale et la rend responsable de la crise des valeurs traditionnels et du déséquilibre social." Gauthier, 1996: 10

past to stay, but to draw the strength and the references capable of holding up our word in the present and in the future."[364]

Despite the 'bans' imposed from colonial times, Kanaks continued to use the vernacular language in everyday life, not only as a means of communication, but also as a powerful source of identity. Kanaks had, according to Schooling (1991), "a strong, positive attitude toward it, being consciously aware of their roots and their socio-cultural identity and of the importance of their language in connection with that identity."[365] Over time, however, some Kanak languages disappeared, from an estimated 36 to now stand at only 28 official Kanak languages. In addition, this attitude to language has shifted, according to the 1996 census, where 33 222 out of 86 788 Kanaks no longer spoke their mother tongue[366], which equates to 38% of the Kanak population who do not use it anymore. These figures are quite high but steady, given the observations noted by Schooling in 1991 about the changing status of stable bilingualism in the country. Linguists such as Haudricourt and Capell in the 1950s and Bazinet in 1970 predicted that the vernacular languages would all but be replaced by French, owing to certain factors present at the time: the wide availability of primary education dispensed in French (1950s) or the industrialisation and urbanisation of the Kanak populations (1970s). But, on the other hand, as Schooling points out, "the reality of the 1980s, however, is that these predictions have not been fulfilled"[367], due of course to the strong support of Kanak

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[364] "Je constate qu'aujourd'hui il y a, peut-être, une certaine crise d'identité... ou est-ce à force d'aller à l'école, à force d'essayer de devenir le modèle proposé par l'Europe, et ne pas pouvoir atteindre le modèle, on finit, un jour, par se poser la question: mais qui sommes nous? D'où venons-nous? Alors il y a des retours aux sources, pour essayer de se retremper, de se retrouver dans quelque chose... Non pas retourner vers le passé pour y rester, mais pour y puiser la force et les références capables de soutenir notre parole dans le présent et pour l'avenir." Tjibaou, (1981), *Etre Mélanésien Aujourd'hui* in Esprit, n° 57, September 1981 as cited in Merlo, 1986: 98

[365] Schooling, 1991: 2. Refer also to chapter 2

[366] "langue d'origine" - Sam, 2002: 9

[367] Schooling, 1991: 62

languages and their continued use over time and introduction in the education scheme[368].

5.3 PROTESTING AGAINST THE SYSTEM

Owing to the importance of education in people's lives, where "the maintenance of the cultural-linguistic space has, in our days, become the main role of education"[369], it is easy to understand why the question of education has become an issue in the Kanak nationalist struggle. This is due to the fact that the Kanaks, in the orientalist form of nationalism, are looking to mix the traditional with the modern, to bring together two very different systems and the worlds related to them. For many Kanak leaders at the heart of the debates in the 1980s, the axis of the struggle emphasised the differences of the goals of education in each system:

> School aims for the success of the individual in competition or even in opposition with others: while education in Kanak culture aims at the knowledge of the roots which allows them to maintain the harmony between the social groups and among all the individuals themselves. It is for this reason that School, in its present form, remains a place of friction and sometimes even conflict.[370]

As Gellner (1983) notes, the education sector is the essential domain over which the state maintains control, as the state sets up the education system (goals and programs) of a particular country and which became the core issue in any nationalist claim: "In general, each state develops, maintains and identifies itself to a type of culture and a way

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[368] C.f chapter 4

[369] "la maintenance de l'espace culturo-linguistique est, de nos jours, devenu la fonction majeure de l'éducation" Gellner, 1983: 98

[370] "l'Ecole vise à la réussite de l'individu en compétition ou même en opposition avec les autres: alors que l'éducation dans la culture kanak vise à la connaissance des racines qui permet de garder l'harmonie entre les groupes sociaux et tous les individus entre eux. C'est la raison pour laquelle l'Ecole, dans son expression actuelle, reste un lieu de frictions et parfois même de conflits." Wapotro in KANAK, 1994: 7. See also, SELEC, "Compte-rendu des Journées de Reflexion" of SELEC-CRMEC, of 21-23 December, 1982, p 12 in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 68, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, 1990: 39

of communication which is dominant within its borders and depends, for its perpetuation, on a centralised education system that the State controls and often steers."[371] Herein lies the problem in New Caledonian society, as there is no dominant population, in terms of numbers, that can claim their language as the main one employed throughout the island. There is only French, the language of the colonisers, which touches all inhabitants of the island; the *lingua franca* among the ethnic mosaic. French is also the main language of the education system which is, of course, controlled by the French state.

Given that the Kanak students had been failing in the education system, the most logical solution would therefore have been to create schools tailored for them, specifically answering the needs of Kanak society and which would lead to self-sufficiency in the modern world. Suggestions and propositions at changing the education system by adapting the curriculum to fit more closely with the reality of life on the island, but also outward looking at the same time (the orientalist position on nationalism) were already apparent from as early as the 1960s:

> With reference to New Caledonia, it seems that the best way forward is the following: 'go from what the child knows, from what they love and understand in order to bring them to acquire the notions that are necessary to tackle by analogies and successive extensions the narrow circle of their experience and understand life of the modern world.[372]

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[371] "En général, chaque Etat coiffe, entretient et s'identifie à un type de culture et à un mode communication qui est dominant à l'intérieur de ses frontières et qui dépend, pour sa perpétuation, d'un système éducatif centralisé que l'Etat contrôle et souvent dirige" Gellner, 1983, op. cit., 197

[372] "En ce qui concerne la Nouvelle-Calédonie, il semble que la ligne de conduite générale souhaitable soit la suivante: 'Partir de ce que l'élève connaît, de ce qu'il aime et comprend pour l'amener à acquérir les notions qui lui sont nécessaires pour déborder par analogies et extensions successives le cercle étroit de son expérience et comprendre la vie du monde moderne." Conseil de gouvernement, secteur de l'éducation de la jeunesse et des sports, 1961 (?): 19

This would build upon what was already available, and adding elements of Kanak culture to the existing French model, enriching it through adaptation.

Active boycotts

'Concrete action' against the French education system dates from the 1980s, at the height of the 'événements' period, with the FLNKS boycotting a *colonial institution* and politicising the question of education on the island. PALIKA had already put forward a *revendication*[373] in 1981 condemning the French government by labelling the education system a *neo-colonial* construction whose aim was to maintain the differences between the Kanaks and the rest of the population, perpetuating the feelings of inferiority and domination of the Kanaks by denying them access to their own languages, culture, history and activities. These demands, the *revendications*, found support in many Kanak leaders, such as J-M Tjibaou as well as Tito Tikouré, president of the Administrative Council of the Melanesian Cultural Institute, and André Gopéa, Government Council, in Charge of Education, who stated:

> "our struggle is to rid ourselves of the vices within the current school system, and to conceive an education system free of the errors that we are complaining about. To prepare for the future, we need to, as of now, offer to our children a rigorous education system, where there will be no deceptions, no educational or cultural mystification".[374]

A reformation of the education system also found a voice in the independence newspaper Kanak, which published many articles on the subject, with arguments echoing those of J-M Tjibaou about the integrating and assimilating goal of education:

> "In New Caledonia [education's] role is to spread French culture and the bourgeois ideology. But do the Kanak people not have their own culture? Do we not have our

[373] See annex

[374] "... notre lutte consiste à nous débarasser des vices contenus dans le système scolaire actuel, et à concevoir un système scolaire dépourvu des erreurs dont nous nous plaignons. Pour préparer l'avenir, il faut dès maintenant proposer à nos enfants un système éducatif rigoureux, où il n'y aura pas de duperie, pas de mystification éducative et culturelle." in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: preface

> own customs, our own languages, which do not resemble French culture at all? All this has been established to integrate the Kanak and make him forget his position as the colonised, of the dominated, where his real interests in this society are."[375]

By questioning the education system Kanak leaders were also accusing the very Western model of society that had been imposed: "YES TO A POPULAR EDUCATION FOR THE PEOPLE, CREATED ON THE BASIS OF A COMPLETE CALLING INTO QUESTION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND ITS EDUCATION".[376]

The Ecoles Populaires Kanak

As a conscious move as part of the general movement aimed at 'destabilising' the established systems on the island, the goal of the Ecoles Populaires Kanak (EPK), created in 1985, was to instruct students in the Kanak *art de vivre*- the main emphasis being to re-plunge the young Kanaks into their culture- an education based on *la coutume* and the Melanesian way of life:

> With the articulation of the political and cultural project, the Melanesian school is invested by politics, on the one hand by its significance but also by its stakes: it is about underlining and reinforcing the difference and also to pull the Melanesian youth away from the integrating power of the actual school system.[377]

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[375] "En Nouvelle-Calédonie [l'enseignement] a pour rôle de diffuser la culture française et l'idéologie bourgeoise. Mais le peuple Kanak n'a-t-il pas une culture propre? N'avons-nous pas nos coutumes, nos langues, qui ne ressemblent en rien à la culture française? Tout ceci est établi pour intégrer le Kanak et ainsi lui faire oublier sa condition de colonisé, de dominé, ce qu'il est véritablement dans cette société et où sont véritablement ses intérêts." In Kanak n° 57, 22-29 nov. 1981,cited in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 92

[376] "OUI A UN ENSEIGNEMENT POPULAIRE AU SERVICE DU PEUPLE CONSTRUIT SUR LA REMISE EN CAUSE TOTALE DU SYSTEME CAPITALISTE ET DE SON ENSEIGNEMENT" Kanak, n° 50, 27 July-4 August 1981 in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 95

[377] "A l'articulation du projet politique et du projet culturel, l'école mélanésienne est investie par le politique, à la fois de par sa signification et de par ses enjeux: il s'agit d'une part de souligner et renforcer la différence, d'autre part d'arracher la jeunesse mélanésienne à la puissance intégratrice du système scolaire actuel." Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 57

In addition, the EPK also sought to develop Kanak people as 'humans', not just functional in an economically driven world, a total transformation of the French education system... through diversification. Néchéro-Jorédie (1988) also pointed out the EPK and FLNKS actions were not direct attacks on France itself (as argued in chapter 2) but a demand to be recognised on the same level as the French, so that the Kanak students may have the same chances as everyone else to succeed in life:

> "the EPK has given itself two tasks. The first, which is the fundamental cultural one, is to place young Kanak within their own culture... the EPK will work within the environment to give children roots within their own culture. The second task is... to give preparation for living in the modern world so that its techniques can be mastered, and the tool for this external knowledge, is French as a second language... We've decided that we'll no longer learn French like all the little French children whose mother tongue it is... We've never said that we didn't want the French language, but we've said no to the way in which it was imposed on us- so badly that the children didn't succeed in mastering it."[378]

Above all, the EPK had to be a beneficial institution for the people, whose role it is to serve: "The foremost aim of EPK, is that it be a 'profitable' institution. 'Profitable' in the sense that they want it to train, to produce citizens of this nation that we wish to build: citizens capable of protecting development of their country: cultural development, political and economic development."[379] Indeed, as the FLNKS leaders note, French is indispensable on the island for numerous reasons (despite the fact that most of the neighbouring environment is made up of English speakers), not least of which being the fact that French is the *lingua franca,* even among Kanaks, given the diversity of Kanak languages present in New Caledonia, as well as between all the inhabitants from diverse linguistic and cultural background. This is not to mention the years of shared history that binds the two countries together and the fact that French is an international

[378] Néchéro-Jorédie, 1987a: 200-202

[379] "la finalité première de l'EPK, c'était qu'elle soit une institution rentable... dans le sens... qu'elle forme, qu'elle produise des citoyens de cette nation que nous voulons construire; des citoyens capables de pourvoir

language and useful for the island on the world scene, an idea which is also summed up by Néchéro-Jorédie:

> "You might ask me why French when we're right in an anglophone environment. Because you can't take away a 130 years of French presence and in any case the English in which we are immersed has been poorly learnt, we hardly know it. So since there has not yet been a political choice of a national language, we might as well say in our schools: there's a language of communication available, let's use it but look for good tools with which to learn it... French enables us to communicate with the world."[380]

Conclusion

Education in New Caledonia, as in any situation where it is one of the main issues at stake in a nationalist claim, arouses strong reactions among Kanak independence leaders, who argue that the systems imposed on them during the colonial period, mostly imported without modification, do not answer their needs. Paradoxically, however, although the French education on the island was 'accused' of being the main cause of the hardships experienced by the native Kanaks, 'European' education is also indispensable, containing 'universal' concepts needed for the modern world. In New Caledonia this has not been ignored, and the goal is to combine both 'antagonistic' methods into a coherent formula which will lead to 'successes', in both the traditional and modern goals of education.

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au développement de leurs pays: développement culturel, développement politique et économique." Néchéro-Jorédie, 1987b: 248

[380] Néchéro-Jorédie, 1987a, op. cit., p 206

CHAPTER 4: WHITHER NEW CALEDONIA? A PROGNOSTIC ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the attempts at changing the system onshore, the island's evolution in terms of politics, education and language policies, and what is in store for New Caledonia in the future.

6.1 TOWARDS A BREAKING POINT

Is New Caledonia indispensable to France?

At the core of New Caledonia's political problems is how France and the Kanaks view the island. Many Australian scholars, who argue that Kanaks should be granted independence, question why France has held onto these overseas possessions- these far-flung outposts termed as pieces of "confetti"[381] which are on the other side of the world for France and are, at least according to Chesneaux (1988), "a liability rather than an asset"?[382] Indeed, the status of the DOM-TOMs themselves is at the basis of conflicting views and heated debates, and thus no form of real consensus. This was the case at least until 1988. The 'ties' which link the geographically separated lands leads many observers to ask why hasn't France let go of the island, given that colonialism officially ended with the processes of decolonisation that swept throughout the world in the aftermath of World War II and no longer has any justified or legal 'basis' and hangs only on France's world aspirations:

> "for French politicians and strategists the DOM-TOMs are *enjeux* (stakes) and *atouts* (trump-cards) for future *enrichissement* (enrichment) and *exploitation.* For *indépendantistes* they are homelands, increasingly occupied by colonialists... denying the local people their proper separate destiny in the modern world."[383]

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[381] C.f note 12

[382] Chesneaux, 1988: 2- France accounts for almost half of New Caledonia's expenditure. C.f note 241

[383] Aldrich, 1992: 287. C.f chapter 2

The UN's new resolutions 46/181 and 55/146 on the Eradication of Colonialism and New Caledonia's presence on the list of non-self governing territories[384] reinforce this point and France's 'arguments' for maintaining hold of the island simply do not hold true.[385]

The consequences of Ouvéa

The situation on the island, which had been rapidly deteriorating, was on the brink of becoming potentially explosive with the territorial elections (and the introduction of the Pons statute) scheduled at the same time as the French presidential elections set for April/May 1988. The secretary-general of the UC warned at the time that such a situation could lead to conflict, that "the 'government would have to face the consequence of what will happen in the territory'".[386] The FLNKS noted that they would continue fighting to the end, and that "'neither deaths, tears, suffering nor humiliation will stifle the cry for freedom'"[387], highlighting the resistance that the Kanaks have always displayed vis-à-vis the French. With the FLNKS boycotting the above-mentioned elections, everything came to a head with the Ouvéa hostage tragedy, which saw the death of 19 Kanaks and four French gendarmes, sending shockwaves at home and abroad, giving a sense of urgency to the already very fragile environment that

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[384] www.un.org

[385] "Political activists in France, and beyond, consider [DOM-TOMs] either as the vestiges of an outdated and rapacious colonialism or, conversely, trump cards which France can play to maintain its diverse political, economic, strategic and cultural influence in world affairs. For legal scholars the DOM TOMs provide interesting cases of sometimes contested sovereignty. A fundamental question which the existence of the DOM-TOMs poses for most observers is why France has held on to these small, scattered and expensive possessions while other colonial powers have granted similar colonies independence... The answer to continued dependent status lies in a complicated set of constitutional, socioeconomic, political and strategic considerations which are often part of more general questions about France's history and politics." Aldrich & Connell, 1992: 4-5

[386] cited in Aldrich, 1998: 134

[387] Ibid

a solution needed to be found. With Mitterrand re-elected (under the slogan "La France Unie" which effectively put an end to the Chirac's hard-line policies) this singular incident forced all parties concerned to take a step back and find a peaceful answer to the crisis to avoid further deterioration of the situation: "The moment was ripe for such a move, as the recent events had caused a general shock in New Caledonia, and there was a growing sentiment that some reconciliation was required to ensure "plus jamais ça"."[388] The French state, represented by the new Prime Minister Michel Rocard, stepped in not as an 'actor', but as a 'referee' or 'arbitrator', an "ombudsman to reconcile communities"[389] conflict mediator and facilitator[390] in order to terminate the violence and settle the dispute through diplomacy[391]. Given that the key to controlling violence is to establish legitimacy, that is to say consent and support for political institutions and the rule of law[392], by establishing more amicable relations and open channels of dialogue between the opposing FLNKS and RPCR, in essence Rocard put in motion a new process and the basis of a new society.

6.2 THE MIRACLES OF MATIGNON AND NOUMEA

The Matignon Accords

The 1988 Matignon Accords[393] illustrate the pragmatism and willingness of political leaders of the main opposing parties to come together with the French government, to devise a solution that would, to a certain extent, satisfy the (opposing) ideas and views of where each saw New Caledonia with regards to its inhabitants, neighbours, France

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[388] 'never again'- Brown, 1998: 2

[389] United Nations, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1994: 17

[390] Lapidus, 1998

[391] Lund & West, 1997

[392] Kaldor, 1999: 114

[393] For full text (in French) see Annex

and the world at large. This form of reconciliation (symbolised by the now famous handshake between Tjibaou and Lafleur) has been labelled by some a "miracle"[394] and by others a "compromise"[395]. This suggests that some had to make concessions in the bid for peace. However, on the whole many believe that the Accords put the island on "the path of peace, solidarity and prosperity together"[396], turning a page in New Caledonia's history. Indeed, as the French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin noted in 1998, the Matignon Accords recognised "the urgent need to contribute to the establishment of law and order and establish conditions under which the populations can choose freely and, assured of their future, take control of their own destiny".[397] The Matignon Accords also put in motion concrete measures and programs to redress and rebalance the perceived inequalities between the Kanaks and the rest of the population, with new economic strategies and increased financial support to train Kanak bureaucrats (the '400 Cadres Program'), as well proposing a second referendum on independence ten years later, under a different, and restricted, electoral system.

In July 1989, after one year of direct rule from France, the territory was divided into 3 autonomous regions, with the FLNKS gaining control of the North and Loyalty Islands Provinces, and the RPCR the Southern Province (and, consequently, Noumea). Rocard described this act of transferring power as: "'decolonisation within a framework of French institutions'"[398], giving the Kanaks the chance to prove their abilities and effectiveness in power. That same year, however, J-M Tjibaou and his deputy Yeiweiné

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[394] Tanham, 1990: 7, see also titles in Le Monde

[395] Ibid, p 6

[396] Noumea Accord

[397] Prime Minister Lionel Jospin in an address given at the Hotel de Matginon, 24 February 1998, Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 43

[398] in Aldrich, 1998: 135

Yeiweiné were killed by a dissident FLNKS supporter, but the provisions of the Matignon Accords were implemented, demonstrating the desire of all to move forward and work for the future. Despite worries of the 1998 referendum, predicted by some as 'dividing' or serving as a '*couperet*'[399] and which could have posed further unrest and polarise society once again,[400] such fears did not crystallise and the advancements made under Matignon have been consolidated with the Noumea Accord of 1998.

The Noumea Accord

The Noumea Accord clearly shows a commitment to a form of decolonisation and to possible self-government in New Caledonia, to the principle of the island's "eventual accession to full sovereignty if the populations involved so decide at the end of the process"[401]. Although some may feel they have made even more concessions than before as the Accord 'set back' the proposed referendum on self-determination until 2013-2018, it has opened the possibility for all the ethnic communities of the country to work together to build the future New Caledonian society, should independence be voted in any case:

> This founding pact will allow all New Caledonians to renew their desire to live together. The Matignon Accords had laid the foundations of that common will, and the Noumea Accord will consolidate that foundation and complete the final architecture of a people associated in a shared destiny.[402]

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[399] Lafleur called it a "référendum-guillotine", in Brown, 1998: 3

[400] see Brown, 1998 who talks about the period 1991-1998 and the proposals put forward by the RPCR of a 'pacte trentenaire' for "emancipation" as well as proposals by the FLNKS in order to avoid the referendum. The different proposals put forward by each of the parties has been documented in other works which deal with the history of New Caledonia

[401] Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 6

[402] Roch Wamytan, FLNKS president, in an address given in Nouméa on the occasion of the signing of the Accord on New Caledonia, May 5, 1998, in Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 70

While it is true that, as analysts have noted, even if any language regarding self-determination and independence are 'conspicuously absent'[403], the Noumea Accord do put down the "political organisation of New Caledonia and the arrangements for its emancipation over the next 20 years". Words such as a "solution consensuelle"[404], a 'compromise"[405] and titles in Le Monde: "broad autonomy which will be increased over the years"[406] and "New Caledonia will become a State associated with France"[407] take up again expressions and sentiments used in the press ten years earlier. This negotiated solution and the progressive autonomy as prescribed by the Noumea Accord lead one to hope that independence, the "cherished and magical goal"[408] of the Kanaks, is within reach.

The political changes in store for New Caledonia

The preamble of the Noumea Accord officially recognises the ills suffered by the Kanaks at the hands of the French under colonisation (the "shadows") and attests that the French did not enter into agreements with the Kanaks when they took control of the land: "It did not establish legally formalised relations with the indigenous population. The treaties entered into with the customary authorities in 1854 and subsequent years did not represent balanced agreements but were, in fact, unilateral instruments."[409] This acknowledgment, a clear form of apology, also paves the way for new relations between the two countries for the future: "These difficult times need to be remembered, the

[403] See Berman, 2001, Maclellan, 1999. "studiously avoid"- Brown, 1998: 7

[404] "consensual solution", term used by Levallois, Le Monde, 17 May 1997, Madoeuf, Le Monde, 18 April 1996. Another term used has been "negotiated" by Auberon, 1997: 273.

[405] Maclellan, 1996: 3, Maclellan & Chesneaux, 1998: 172. C.f note 389

[406] 'Une large autonomie qui ira en s'accentuant au fil des ans'- Jean-Louis Saux, 23/04/1998

[407] 'La Nouvelle-Calédonie va devenir un Etat associé à la France'- Franck Madoeuf, 23/04/1998

[408] Tanham, 1990: 26

[409] Noumea Accord

mistakes recognised and the Kanak people's confiscated identity restored, which equates in its mind with a recognition of its sovereignty, prior to the forging of a new sovereignty, shared in a common destiny"[410]. What can be understood from the Accords is that France has more than a duty, a moral obligation "in the name of its historic responsibility"[411] to aid New Caledonia in its evolution and development, in every sense, be it economic, social and cultural, to bring the country to a form of 'maturity' before letting go[412]. In this respect, New Caledonia also needs France as it has adopted (and adapted) many of the colonial institutions and models, and also if it is to avoid the 'fate' of other former colonies of the region and not become a 'micro-state' if independence is chosen, like its neighbours Papua New Guinea or Vanuatu, owing to the island's human and geographical characteristics[413]. Indeed, this point is crucial, as it is the only way to 'deal' with the past and set the tone for the future. Only through decolonisation a lasting social bond can be created between the different communities living there. The island is therefore currently in the process of nation-building, which first and foremost requires the state to define and train the people who will run the country. New Caledonia must also create a society in which each and every person, regardless of their ethnic origin, can live in harmony, based on the foundations of the Kanaks, the original inhabitants of the land, as espoused by the Accord:

> a new process needs to commence, entailing the full recognition of the Kanak identity, as a pre-requisite for rebuilding a social contract between all the communities living in New Caledonia, and entailing shared sovereignty with France, in preparation for full sovereignty... The past was the time of colonisation. The present is the time of sharing, through the achievement of a new balance. The future must be the time of an identity, in a common destiny. [414]

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[410] Ibid

[411] Roch Wamytan, president of the FLNKS in an address given on the occasion of Matignon 1998, cited in Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 57

[412] c.f Turgot and the analogy of the fruit becoming 'ripe' and falling from the mother tree. Cf note 78

[413] Dormoy & Touboul, 1997: 113. Many of New Caledonia's neighbours are now receiving aid funding in order to survive, as does New Caledonia itself.

[414] Noumea Accord

With the currents of immigration over time, the country of just 200,000 inhabitants according to the 1996 census, is a veritable 'ethnic mosaic'.[415] It is important to emphasise yet again that the Kanaks have claimed that independence, for it to make sense, will not exclude anyone and that the FLNKS will work with the 'victims of history': "Independence, for us, is not synonymous with exclusion, injustice, poverty and suffering. Independence means solidarity, brotherhood, and equality."[416] As noted in previous chapters, unlike in many countries where there are only two main ethnicities present, that of the colonisers and the colonised, there is also a need to integrate elements from these cultures into a future New Caledonian identity and nationality: "The objective of a Kanak society means the construction of a multi-racial, fraternal society which sticks together."[417] The Noumea Accord (as did Nainville-les-Roches) also recognises this fact: "Through their participation in the construction of New Caledonia, the communities living in the Territory have acquired a legitimacy to live there and to continue contributing to its development. They are essential for its social balance and the operation of its economy and social institutions."[418] Given this, a New Caledonian identity and future 'nationality' can be established through "a commitment to share cultural and political perspectives as an enrichment of the community as a whole"[419]. Indeed, it is a complex and delicate task at hand owing to the complexity of trying to integrate different aspects of different cultures into a single, unifying culture.

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[415] see 'Understanding the Discourse'- c.f note 33. The current population is estimated at around 230 000 inhabitants.

[416] Roch Wamytan, in an address given on the occasion of the Matignon cited in Deputy Ministry of Overseas Departments and Territories, 1998: 58

[417] "L'objectif d'une société kanak signifie la construction d'un peuple multi-racial solidaire et fraternel" P.Declerq in Kohler, 1987: 28

[418] Noumea Accords

[419] Maclellan, 1996: 7, see also Maclellan, 1999

Indeed, as Jean-Marie Tjibaou noted, the task is to put the past behind them in order to move forward: "The most important day, is not the referendum, it's the day after".[420]

By recognising and acknowledging the past, the Noumea Accord represents an unparalleled answer to a claim to sovereignty and to the phenomenon of decolonisation. In addition, the gradual and irreversible devolution of power from Paris to Noumea is unprecedented in the history of French colonisation (which had been, in the case of Algeria, for example, bloody and traumatic). In this respect, the course to nationhood undertaken in New Caledonia is original, unique, a drawn-out process which has, more importantly, paved the way for stable development and progress, between a colonial power and its former colony; in short it is a peaceful model for other UN listed 'non-self governing territories': "This innovative solution opens up a new and unprecedented break with the way of the usual catastrophe-scenario of French colonisations".[421] These moves, which are legally binding, have necessitated a change in the French Constitution, such as Titre XIII "Dispositions transitoires relatives à la Nouvelle-Calédonie"- constitutional law n° 98-610, 20 July 1998[422]. Since 2000 and the start of the power transfer, New Caledonia is no longer a TOM (as per article 74 of the Constitution), but holds a unique position, a "community *sui generis* that has institutions designed for it alone and to which certain powers of the State will gradually be transferred and will be non-revocable"[423], a *pays d'outre-mer* (POM)[424]. Set against a timetable, further powers and responsibilities will be transferred to Noumea, and following the outcome of the

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[420] "'le jour le plus important, ce n'est pas celui du référendum, c'est le lendemain'." in Brown, 1998: 18

[421] "Cette solution innovante ouvre une brèche sans précédent dans l'habituel scénario-catastrophe des colonisations françaises". Bensa, 1999: 127, see also Bensa & Wittersheim, 1998

[422] see annex

[423] United Nations, 2003: 2; www.outre-mer.gouv.fr

possible referendum on independence, the residual powers inherent in statehood, the *compétences régaliennes* (finance, defence, justice, public order and foreign affairs) will grant New Caledonia the status of state: "its achievement of full international responsibility status and the conversion of citizenship into nationality, will be voted upon by the people concerned. Their approval would mean full sovereignty for New Caledonia."[425] In other words, between 2013 and 2018, New Caledonians will either "opt for full independence or a form of associated statehood."[426]

6.3 EDUCATION FOR THE FUTURE

New Caledonia as a bilingual and bicultural island

Since 1976 and the revision of the basic Territorial statute, primary education came under the Territory's power, and although the Pons law of 17 July 1986 left the regions in charge of the instruction of local cultures and the promotion of vernacular languages, the Territory "maintains the possibility of bringing, by convention with the State or the territory, 'eventual adaptations to local specificities in the school programs'"[427]. Since 1988 the Provinces have responsible for primary education and, since 2000 the French state no longer has a role in primary education- the island has complete control.[428] Given the place of Kanak languages and their preservation, the linguistic situation in New Caledonia is of stable and functional bilingualism[429], with French and the vernacular languages each fulfilling distinct social roles and modes of communication, a

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[424] There are debates as to this fact. No legal texts assert this, but in any case it is clear that New Caledonia is no longer a TOM.

[425] Noumea Accord

[426] United Nations, op. cit., p 20

[427] "a conservé la possibilité d'apporter, par convention avec l'Etat ou le territoire, 'les adaptations éventuelles des programmes scolaires aux spécificités locales.'" Christnacht, 1987: 117

[428] *Passerelles*, 2002: 4

[429] Schooling, op. cit., p 126

form of diglossia. Through colonisation, New Caledonia has become a francophone country with many of its inhabitants, including the Kanaks, being bilingual, even if awkwardly[430], and in a certain respect, bicultural. With regards to the question of an education system for New Caledonia for the future, in theory the EPKs would have appeared as a solution for Kanaks to regain a hold on their culture and identity as well as their place in society. However, 'dans l'absolu'[431], these EPKs were purely utopia[432] and would not have been able to function, owing to the diversity of people (and consequently of languages, given that there 28 Kanak still being spoken on the island[433]). In addition, the "hazards of history"[434] have also made New Caledonia industrialised, and very much a part of the modern world, and many Kanak leaders, such as Tjibaou were quick to point out that an education system based purely on the traditional Kanak way of life is just not possible:

> "Today we live in a modern society. We are no longer in autarky. It is impossible for us to keep the traditional discourse based exclusively on a Kanak education. Quite honestly I don't believe in it. I believe in an education which gives a base to Kanak culture, but which also gives it [Kanak culture] the tools of the modern world... We still have a utopian vision of education. Education is inscribed in the problematic that is to know how our tradition can be integrated into modernity".[435]

For this to become a reality, the education system must remain French, given the influence and *mainmise* (hold) of French language and culture on the island. Indeed, as many analysts show, regardless of the political future of New Caledonia, it is highly

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[430] at the 1983 census 86% of Melanesians claimed to be able to speak French.. Ibid, p: 29

[431] in definitive

[432] The term used by many is "chimérique", Kohler & Wacquant, 1982 in Connell, 1988b, 282

[433] There are hardly any EPKs still functioning in New Caledonia

[434] "aléas de l'histoire" Besset, 1988: 168

[435] "aujourd'hui, nous vivons dans une société moderne. Nous ne sommes plus dans l'autarcie. Il nous est impossible de tenir que le discours traditionnel basé exclusivement sur un enseignement kanak. Très sincèrement je n'y crois pas. Je crois à un enseignement qui donne une assise à la culture kanake, mais qui lui donne les outils qui sont ceux du monde moderne... Nous avons encore une vision utopique sur l'enseignement. L'enseignement s'inscrit dans la problématique qui est de savoir comment notre tradition s'inscrit dans la modernité." Tonga, 1999 in Mokkadem, 1999: 144

probable that French will remain very present: "French is admittedly strongly engrained in the region, whatever the political future of the TOMs. It will remain the language of education between the 28 Kanak linguistic groups"[436] and "[t]he great Caledonian linguistic hut must also assemble all the other populations which... can become mutually enriched in only one language: French".[437] French is the *lingua franca* that binds all the populations together and permeates all levels of life on the island, making New Caledonia what it is today. The only logical solution would therefore be a bilingual education program. As Togna (2000), General Director of ADCK, noted, this reality cannot be denied: "The facts are there: French is an integral part of our life and imposes itself onto all of us as of now... Bilingualism, as practised by a majority of the Caledonian population, is a real reality of our society".[438] Given this, it is evident that a New Caledonian nationality could be created on a solid base, echoing the orientalist form and goals of Kanak nationalism: "Our dream is of a modern and Francophone Caledonia, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural whose motto is: strong through our differences."[439]

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[436] "Le français est certes enraciné durablement dans la région, quelque soit l'avenir politique des TOM. Il restera la langue de communication entre les 28 groupes linguistiques kanaks." Chesneaux, 1986. See also Schooling 1991: 125, Vanmai, J., in Wénéhoua, 1996: 206, Turcotte, 1982: 36, Brown, 1998: 16 who argue that French will remain the *langue véhiculaire*, the common language of the island.

[437] "la grande case linguistique calédonienne doit aussi rassembler toutes ces autres populations qui... ne peuvent s'enrichir mutuellement que dans une seule langue: le français." Ponga, 2000: 15

[438] "Les faits sont là: le français fait partie intégrante de notre vie et s'impose désormais à nous tous... Le bilinguisme, pratiqué par une majorité de la population calédonienne, est une réalité concrète de notre société." Togna, 2000: 5- see also Turotte, 1982: 15 for the languages in use on the territory.

The place of each language in the system

However, within this linguistic "rapport de force"[440] on the island, one must remember that it is more in favour of French, to the detriment of the mother tongues. Indeed, as Sam and the New Caledonian Vice-Rectorat (2002) also note, fewer and fewer Kanaks speak their mother tongue properly: "we note that while there is a progression of French among the youth, this is accompanied at the same time by a distinct retreat of maternal languages"[441]. This is due, in addition to the reasons cited in chapter 3, to other factors, such as a longer time spent in school, and the influence of the media (newspapers, radio and especially television) on language use, but the use of French is "quantitative" rather than "qualitative"[442]. One must also recall that many Kanak languages have resisted, surviving through 150 years of French colonisation and negation. It is for this reason that Kanak languages need to find their place in the French education system of New Caledonia: "I agree to say that the French school is a colonial school, but we cannot push it aside as such. We can make a school starting from that... by seeing what is good within it and enriching it with the specific characteristics of what we have here."[443] The New Caledonian Vice-Rectorat also states that the current system needs to change: "We also put forward the principle of recognition and revalorisation of languages, of Kanak culture and traditions. It is in this spirit that the Noumea Accord has engaged New

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[439] "Notre rêve est celui d'une Calédonie moderne et francophone, multi-ethnique et multi-culturelle dont la devise pourrait être: 'forts de nos différences.'" Douyère, Armand & D'Anglebermes in Wénéhoua, 1996: 119

[440] Sam, 2002: 9

[441] "[o]n constate en même temps une progression du français parmi les jeunes qui s'accompagne d'un net recul des langues maternelles". Ibid.

[442] Ibid.

[443] "Je suis d'accord pour dire que l'école française est une école coloniale mais on n'a pas le droit de l'évacuer comme ça. On peut faire une école à partir de celle-là... en voyant ce qui est bon dedans et en l'enrichissant de ce que l'on a ici, de spécifique." Poigoune, 1999 in Gauthier, 1996: 66

Caledonia on the path of a reform of its education system."[444] First and foremost, there needs to be an acknowledgment of the areas specific to each language. Viratelle, Directeur de l'Enseignement de la Nouvelle-Calédonie in 2000, noted that the ultimate goal is to evolve towards a coherent system, which includes emphasising and accentuating the fact that New Caledonia is francophone, and its inhabitants, bilingual and bicultural, summing up what the Kanaks have been fighting for:

> "It is a matter of moving towards a bilingual education in each linguistic area and pushing towards a functional and by no means equal bilingualism. From very early on the child must understand that the 'language' is the language of the *coutume* and traditions, but also of the transmission of Kanak culture to future generations. On the other hand, the French language is the language of reason in a country which is looking forwards towards the globalisation of exchanges and modernism for the new millennium... It is also the language of 'sharing' with other communities living in New Caledonia, that of opening towards the outside world."[445]

What is clear is that there needs to be a re-evaluation and either an adaptation to local realities/context or even a complete transformation or overhaul of the education system, as Lecari (2000) notes. In essence, there are ways of achieving this through the different ways of language instruction:

> Two main tendencies seem to come through. The first considers Kanak languages within themselves and for themselves. We teach Kanak languages in Kanak languages... We start the second language when we've mastered the first. The child will then blossom and we will get better results... We need a project for Kanak languages independently of French. For the second tendency, the main objective is to master French the language of success, of integration. But when French isn't the mother tongue of the students, it must be taught differently to the way we currently do. Kanak languages are a means to gaining this command of French. We could say, by borrowing

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[444] "On met également en avant le principe d'une reconnaissance et d'une revalorisation des langues, de la culture et des traditions kanak. C'est dans cet esprit que l'Accord de Nouméa a engagé la Nouvelle Calédonie sur les voies d'une réforme de son système éducatif." Sam, 2002: 10

[445] "Il s'agit de s'orienter vers un enseignement bilingue dans chaque aire flinguistique en s'éfforcant de tendre vers un bilinguisme fonctionnel et en aucun cas égalitaire. Il faut que très tôt l'enfant comprenne que le 'langage' est la langue du c?ur, celle du clan, de la tribu, du respect envers les parents et les vieux, la langue de la coutume et des traditions, mais également celle de leur transmission de la culture kanak aux générations futures. En revanche, la langue française est la langue de la raison dans un pays qui regarde en face la mondialisation des échanges et la modernité du nouveau millénaire... C'est, enfin, la langue du 'partage' avec les autres communautés vivant en Nouvelle-Calédonie, celle de l'ouverture sur le monde extérieur." Viratelle, 2000: 58

> the words of educational sociologists, the first envisages a transformation of the education system while the second wishes an indispensable adaptation.[446]

The way to know which is best would be to test both methods, against the factors through which we can assess a children's 'successes' in the system, as noted in 'Understanding the Discourse'.

As a French territory, all metropolitan laws specifically regarding regional languages have been applicable to Kanak languages as well, tending towards a more bilingual form of education. Although many laws currently specify that French is the official language of instruction in the country (law n°94-665 of August 4, 1994), and this has been consolidated in the Noumea Accord the country also recognises that the Kanak are official languages, as is French, and are an integral part of the island's patrimony. Article 205 of law n°99-210 (March 19, 1999) concerning New Caledonia stipulates that Melanesian languages are recognised as languages of instruction[447] and "their place in school curricula and in the media should therefore be increased and extensive consideration should be given to how to achieve this."[448] The status and instruction of Kanak languages have in the past been officially recognised through numerous laws: Circular n°82-261 of June 21, 1982- the Savary law relative to the instruction of regional languages and cultures, which defines the "action plan destined to assure a

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[446] "[d]eux grandes tendances semblent se dégager. La première [tendance] considère les langues kanak en elles-mêmes et pour elles-mêmes. On enseigne les langues kanak et en langues kanak... On aborde la seconde langue quand on maîtrise la première. L'enfant sera épanoui et on obtiendra de meilleurs résultats... Il faut un projet pour les langues kanak indépendamment du français. Pour la seconde tendance, l'objectif premier est la maîtrise du français... la langue de la réussite, de l'intégration. Mais quand le français n'est pas la langue maternelle des élèves, il faut l'enseigner autrement qu'on ne le fait. Les langues kanak sont un moyen de parvenir à cette maîtrise... On pourrait dire, en empruntant à des sociologues de l'éducation, que la première envisage une transformation du système éducatif alors que la seconde souhaite une indispensable adaptation." Lercari, 2000: 62

[447] http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/index.shtml

better account is taken by the public service of National education of languages and regional cultures and has foreseen, to this effect, the implementation of means which will assure their instruction in the primary and secondary schools."[449] In addition, law n°88-1028 of 9-11-1988 on the "statutory and preparatory dispositions for self-determination of New Caledonia in 1998"[450] put the Provinces in charge of adapting the programs to the local linguistic and cultural specificities, while the State still retained competencies in the field of program definition, the contents of teacher training and the educational control of primary education and all aspects of secondary and tertiary education. Ministerial Circulars n°95-086 of 7-4-1995 (drawing direct reference from the law Deixonne 51 of 11 January 1951) reaffirmed the State's engagement in teaching regional languages and cultures as well as improving its diffusion. This has been extended through Circular n°2001-166 of 5-9-2001 (64). One must also note that laws have been passed for a bilingual education program, such as law of 31 July 2001[451], providing the "establishment of a bilingual education in regional languages".[452] In addition,

> At article 33 of this law [orientation law for overseas territories (or law 2000-1208 of 13 December 2000)] 'the State and its local authorities encourage the respect, protection and maintenance of knowledge, innovations and practises of the local native communities founded on their traditional ways of life and contribute to the conservation of the natural environment and the sustainable use of biological diversity' and at article 34 'the regional languages in the overseas departments are part of the linguistic patrimony of the Nation' and they 'benefit from the reinforcement of the policies in favour of regional languages in order to facilitate their use'. According to the *Overseas Orientation law*, law n° 51-46 of 11 January 1951 relative to the instruction of local languages and dialects is therefore applicable.[453]

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[448] Noumea Accord

[449] "programme d'actions destinées à assurer une meilleure prise en compte des langues et cultures régionales par le service public de l'Education nationale et prévu, à cet effet, la mise en oeuvre d'un dispositif qui assure leur enseignement dans les écoles maternelles et élémentaires, les collèges et les lycées." In *Passerelles*, 2002: 11

[450] "dispositions statutaires et préparatoires à l'autodétermination de la Nouvelle-Calédonie en 1998". Ibid.

[451] for a complete chronology of the evolution of regional language recognition see *Passerelles*, 2002: 11-12

[452] "mise en place d'un enseignement bilingue en langues régionales" *Passerelles*, 2002: 11

[453] "À l'article 33 [***Loi d'orientation pour l'outre-mer*** (ou loi 2000-1207 du 13 décembre 2000)]... «l'État et les collectivités locales encouragent le respect, la protection et le maintien des connaissances, innovations et pratiques des communautés autochtones et locales fondées sur leurs modes de vie traditionnels et qui

Towards a consensus?

While only time will tell how these efforts to create a bilingual system venture, it is true to say that whilst a complete overhaul of the education system, has not been undertaken, emphasis has now been put on the importance of students mastering French, in line with the traditional goals of education: forming people for the workforce and socialisation, as Sam (2002) argues:

> "What we want now is that school participates in this bilingualism and biculturalism. To form individuals who are competent in both languages, feel good in both cultures, natural. Real bicultural bilinguals, but formed within the framework of school. Success at school is important for all." [454]

Although programs such as the very short-lived 'AFVP'[455] and their *'soutien scolaire'* and now the 'AGIR' Programs[456] have been put into place, their impact needs to be analysed fully, as at this current stage there is nothing to say that this will effectively aid the Kanaks students to overcome the problem of *échec scolaire*. What would probably need to occur then would be an adaptation of the way French is taught in schools to people for whom French is not the mother tongue, as studies have also proven that once a mother tongue is mastered then it is easier for a student to learn other languages:

> The pursuit of the mastery of French hoped for must integrate the fact that it cannot be done without, that is to say, to the detriment of the maternal language. The results of research carried out on bilingualism have for a long time shown an interaction and even

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contribuent à la conservation du milieu naturel et l'usage durable de la diversité biologique» et qu'à l'article 34 que «les langues régionales en usage dans les départements d'outre-mer font partie du patrimoine linguistique de la Nation» et qu'elles «bénéficient du renforcement des politiques en faveur des langues régionales afin d'en faciliter l'usage»." http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/index.shtml

[454] "Ce qu'on veut, maintenant, c'est que l'école participe à ce bilinguisme et à ce biculturalisme. Former des individus qui soient compétents dans les deux langues, qui soient bien dans les deux cultures, dans leur peau. De vrai bilingues biculturels, mais formés dans le cadre de l'école. La réussite à l'école est important pour tous." Léonard Sam, in Mokkadem, 1999: 102-3

[455] *Association Française des Volontaires du Progrès.* See www.afvp.org for the program of the association- the work of the volunteers on the island was very short-lived, from September 2001- December 2002.

[456] this is a new program where retired teachers offer 'after-school support' (soutien scolaire) to students in difficulty.

> an interdependence of languages. But for this interdependence to 'play' positively, the first language must be perfectly mastered.[457]

In this case, French would be taught in a *français langue étrangère* (FLE) format, as a second language. At present, however, (according to most recent studies), Dahlem (1996) has noted that the education system had not changed, with no visible signs of an instruction in FLE.[458] Indeed, as Sam (2002) notes, "[b]ilingual education has never been a policy of the French education system. On the contrary, we have always taught French to non-Francophone students- and this right from the start. This must change. And if we put in the effort, we will succeed."[459] While this would be ideal, until the future society is defined, one cannot come up with a satisfactory solution given the goals and aims of school, as Wapotro noted back in 1993 and which is still in many ways valid today (although a pessimistic, or maybe even more realistic observation?):

> "The question is to ask: we are here, school is supposed to be the extension of the society but, one must understand that in our situation here in Caledonia, we have not said what type of society we want, to define what type of school, what type of education and its contents... We will never find a solution, an ideal instruction with regards to the cultural realities."[460]

For now, the current education system is still French, but with four Kanak languages available for study in high school: Nengone, Drehu, Paicî and Ajië. It is only a small step in the right direction. A lot of research and time are needed before the benefits of

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[457] "La poursuite de la maîtrise du français souhaitée doit intégrer le fait qu'elle ne peut se faire sans, c'est-à-dire au détriment de la langue maternelle. Les résultats de recherches sur le bilinguisme ont depuis longtemps mis en évidence une interaction et même une interdépendance des langues. Mais pour que cette interdépendance 'joue' positivement, il faut que la langue première soit bien maîtrisée." Vice-Rectorat de la Nouvelle-Calédonie www.ac-noumea.nc/caleduc/mml/index.htm

[458] in Mokkadem, 1999: 124

[459] "L'enseignement bilingue n'a jamais été une politique du système éducatif français. Au contraire, on a toujours enseigné le français aux enfants non-francophones. Dès le départ. Il faut que ça change. Et si on donne les moyens, on y arrive." Léonard Sam, in Mokkadem, 1999: 101

[460] "La question est de dire: nous sommes là, l'école est censée être le prolongement de la société or, il faut comprendre que dans notre situation ici en Calédonie, nous n'avons pas dit quel type de société nous voulons,

these changes are felt and the current problems of Kanak students in the education system are remedied. As Brown (1998) remarks:

> "despite the fine sentiments expressed in the Accords de Nouméa document concerning the importance of Melanesian languages and the need to foster research and education on and in them, it is unlikely that this will filter down very far towards the fundamental years of compulsory education... But for the foreseeable future this is not going to have any impact on the failure rate amongst children in the bush, other than the amorphous one of giving them perhaps a revitalised sense of the worth of their culture. But is this likely to be enough to change the social situation of such children in the educational system, which will continue to be in French and indeed, despite some local adaptations, French".[461]

However, as Schooling (1991) rightly remarks, it is understandable why many sociolinguists are hesitant to make any type of predictions about education, as the theories can have far-reaching consequences for the future[462]. But it is something that is being addressed in New Caledonia.

Conclusion

From a crisis situation to that of peace and evolution, the shock of the tragedies of 1988 forced all actors involved to come up with a solution and plans for a future. Debates are still very current as to the future of education on the island and many Kanak leaders argue for a bilingual form of education. However, given the status of French in the country as well as the need to fully introduce Kanak languages into the education system, this goal is a long way off until a consensus can be reached concerning its format, and on how this can be integrated into the current French system, or whether or not a new education plan needs to be created from scratch.

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pour définir quelle école, quel type d'enseignement et quel contenu nous voulons... On ne trouvera jamais de solution, une pédagogie idéale par rapport aux réalités culturelles." Wapotro, 1993: 33-38

[461] Brown, 1998: 16-17

[462] C.f note 166

CONCLUSION

The road travelled by the Kanak since 1853 is unique in French colonial history. While France is helping New Caledonia on its path of political evolution, it is ultimately up to the inhabitants themselves to make this process work:

> The main responsibility falls on France to force the different communities in New Caledonia to come to an agreement by the progressive retreat of its own authority... there can be no accord between the race and the cultures within New Caledonia if the populations do not accept to share the powers and the responsibilities.[463]

One cannot ignore history and its impacts and over time many other people have settled on the island and for whom New Caledonia is also "home". This ethnic mix means that within the view of Kanak independence, each and every person will have their place in society, and that the education system needs to reflect this, and the political leaders are clearly aware of what is ahead of them, "we need to show imagination as much with the programs as with the methods of instruction".[464] Education policy makers must always keep in mind the fact that education must answer the real needs of New Caledonian society. As the Noumea Accord note, Kanak languages have reclaimed their place as official languages of culture and instruction. Realistically, and all possibilities analysed, it seems that the best way forward would be for school to be more adapted over time to respond to the needs of the students (the future citizens), towards the local reality and become more and more bilingual- for, as Schooling points out in 1981, and this is true and relevant today:

> "such a distinct complementarity between the two sets of functions and no indication that French is likely to replace the vernaculars as Mother tongue- it seems likely that

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[463] "La responsabilité essentielle incombe néanmoins à la France d'obliger les différentes communautés de la Nouvelle-Calédonie à arriver à un accord par un retrait progressif de sa propre autorité... il ne peut y avoir accord entre les races et les cultures à l'intérieur même de la Nouvelle-Calédonie que si les peuples eux-mêmes acceptent de se partager les pouvoirs et les responsabilités." Ward, Connell & Spencer, 1988 in Spencer, Ward & Connell, 1988: 31

[464] "il faut faire preuve d'imagination tant au niveau des programmes, que des méthodes d'enseignement." Vice-Rectorat de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 2002: 8

> French and the Melanesian vernaculars... will continue to exist side by side for the foreseeable future."[465]

To start from scratch and re-create a new system is an idea which appears far from anyone's mind. One thing is certain, regardless of the political outcome of the referendum on independence in 2013 or 2018, the country will always retain links to France, and French will remain an important element in the New Caledonian education system. This willingness on the part of all parties and actors to work together shows that if the process of nation-building is successful, it could serve as an example for the last remaining colonies, as the UN still fights for a world free of colonies: "The experiment- which could serve as an example and maybe even a model for the future- of a progressive and concerted transition towards sovereignty- makes New Caledonia the testing ground for an original approach to emancipation. All that remains is to put it into practice so that it succeeds."[466]

[465] Schooling, 1991: 67

[466] "L'essai- qui fera date et peut-être école- d'une transition concertée et progressive vers la souveraineté fait de la Nouvelle-Calédonie le laboratoire d'une modalité originale d'émancipation. Reste à tout mettre en ?uvre pour que l'expérience réussisse." Bensa, 1998: 127

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ANNEX

CONSTITUTION OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC (1946) (extracts)

http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/textes/constit.htm

Constitution du 27 octobre 1946

Section III : Des départements et territoires d'outre-mer

Article 73

Le régime législatif des départements d'outre-mer est le même que celui des départements métropolitains, sauf exceptions déterminées par la loi.

Article 74

1) Les territoires d'outre-mer sont dotés d'un statut particulier tenant compte de leurs intérêts propres dans l'ensemble des intérêts de la République.

2) Ce statut et l'organisation intérieure de chaque territoire d'outre-mer ou de chaque groupe de territoires sont fixés par la loi, après avis de l'Assemblée de l'Union française et consultation des assemblées territoriales.

Article 75

1) Les statuts respectifs des membres de la République et de l'Union française sont susceptibles d'évolution.

2) Les modifications de statut et les passages d'une catégorie à l'autre, dans le cadre fixé par l'article 60, ne peuvent résulter que d'une loi votée par le Parlement, après consultation des assemblées territoriales et de l'Assemblée de l'Union.

Article 76

1) Le représentant du gouvernement dans chaque territoire ou groupe de territoires est le dépositaire des pouvoirs de la République. Il est le chef de l'administration du territoire.

2) Il est responsable de ses actes devant le gouvernement.

Article 77

Dans chaque territoire est instituée une assemblée élue. Le régime électoral, la composition et la compétence de cette assemblée sont déterminés par la loi.

Article 78

1) Dans les groupes de territoires, la gestion des intérêts communs est confiée à une assemblée composée de membres élus par les assemblées territoriales.

2) Sa composition et ses pouvoirs sont fixés par la loi.

Article 79

Les territoires d'outre-mer élisent des représentants à l'Assemblée nationale et au Conseil de la République dans les conditions prévues par la loi.

Article 80

Tous les ressortissants des territoires d'outre-mer ont la qualité de citoyens, au même titre que les nationaux français de la métropole ou des territoires d'outre-mer. Des lois particulières établiront les conditions dans lesquelles ils exercent leurs droits de citoyens.

Article 81

Tous les nationaux français et les ressortissants de l'Union française ont la qualité de citoyens de l'Union française qui leur assure la jouissance des droits et libertés garantis par le préambule de la présente Constitution.

Article 82

1) Les citoyens qui n'ont pas le statut civil français conservent leur statut personnel tant qu'ils n'y ont pas renoncé.

2) Ce statut ne peut en aucun cas constituer un motif pour refuser ou limiter les droits et libertés attachés à la qualité de citoyen français.

CONSTITUTION OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC (1958) (extracts)

http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/textes/constit.htm

Préambule

Le peuple français proclame solennellement son attachement aux Droits de l'homme et aux principes de la souveraineté nationale tels qu'ils ont été définis par la Déclaration de 1789, confirmée et complétée par le préambule de la Constitution de 1946.

En vertu de ces principes et de celui de la libre détermination des peuples, la République offre aux territoires d'Outre-Mer qui manifestent la volonté d'y adhérer des institutions nouvelles fondées sur l'idéal commun de liberté, d'égalité et de fraternité et conçues en vue de leur évolution démocratique.

Article 1 :

La France est une République indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale. Elle assure l'égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens sans distinction d'origine, de race ou de religion. Elle respecte toutes les croyances. Son organisation est décentralisée.

Titre I - De la Souveraineté

Article 2 :

La langue de la République est le français

L'emblème national est le drapeau tricolore, bleu, blanc, rouge.

L'hymne national est la Marseillaise.

La devise de la République est Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.

Son principe est : gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple.

Article 3 :

La souveraineté nationale appartient au peuple qui l'exerce par ses représentants et par la voie du référendum.

Aucune section du peuple ni aucun individu ne peut s'en attribuer l'exercice.

Le suffrage peut être direct ou indirect dans les conditions prévues par la Constitution. Il est toujours universel, égal et secret.

Sont électeurs, dans les conditions déterminées par la loi, tous les nationaux français majeurs des deux sexes, jouissant de leurs droits civils et politiques.

La loi favorise l'égal accès des femmes et des hommes aux mandats électoraux et fonctions électives.

...

Titre XII - Des Collectivités Territoriales

Article 72 :

Les collectivités territoriales de la République sont les communes, les départements, les régions, les collectivités à statut particulier et les collectivités d'outre-mer régies par l'article 74. Toute autre collectivité territoriale est créée par la loi, le cas échéant en lieu et place d'une ou de plusieurs collectivités mentionnées au présent alinéa.

Les collectivités territoriales ont vocation à prendre les décisions pour l'ensemble des compétences qui peuvent le mieux être mises en oeuvre à leur échelon.

Dans les conditions prévues par la loi, ces collectivités s'administrent librement par des conseils élus et disposent d'un pouvoir réglementaire pour l'exercice de leurs compétences.

Dans les conditions prévues par la loi organique, et sauf lorsque sont en cause les conditions essentielles d'exercice d'une liberté publique ou d'un droit constitutionnellement garanti, les collectivités territoriales ou leurs groupements peuvent, lorsque, selon le cas, la loi ou le règlement l'a prévu, déroger, à titre expérimental et pour un objet et une durée limités, aux dispositions législatives ou réglementaires qui régissent l'exercice de leurs compétences.

Aucune collectivité territoriale ne peut exercer une tutelle sur une autre. Cependant, lorsque l'exercice d'une compétence nécessite le concours de plusieurs collectivités territoriales, la loi peut autoriser l'une d'entre elles ou un de leurs groupements à organiser les modalités de leur action commune.

Dans les collectivités territoriales de la République, le représentant de l'Etat, représentant de chacun des membres du Gouvernement, a la charge des intérêts nationaux, du contrôle administratif et du respect des lois.

Article 72-1 :

La loi fixe les conditions dans lesquelles les électeurs de chaque collectivité territoriale peuvent, par l'exercice du droit de pétition, demander l'inscription à l'ordre du jour de l'assemblée délibérante de cette collectivité d'une question relevant de sa compétence.

Dans les conditions prévues par la loi organique, les projets de délibération ou d'acte relevant de la compétence d'une collectivité territoriale peuvent, à son initiative, être soumis, par la voie du référendum, à la décision des électeurs de cette collectivité.

Lorsqu'il est envisagé de créer une collectivité territoriale dotée d'un statut particulier ou de modifier son organisation, il peut être décidé par la loi de consulter les électeurs inscrits dans les collectivités intéressées. La modification des limites des collectivités territoriales peut également donner lieu à la consultation des électeurs dans les conditions prévues par la loi.

Article 72-2 :

Les collectivités territoriales bénéficient de ressources dont elles peuvent disposer librement dans les conditions fixées par la loi.

Elles peuvent recevoir tout ou partie du produit des impositions de toutes natures. La loi peut les autoriser à en fixer l'assiette et le taux dans les limites qu'elle détermine.

Les recettes fiscales et les autres ressources propres des collectivités territoriales représentent, pour chaque catégorie de collectivités, une part déterminante de l'ensemble de leurs ressources. La loi organique fixe les conditions dans lesquelles cette règle est mise en oeuvre.

Tout transfert de compétences entre l'Etat et les collectivités territoriales s'accompagne de l'attribution de ressources équivalentes à celles qui étaient consacrées à leur exercice. Toute création ou extension de compétences ayant pour conséquence d'augmenter les dépenses des collectivités territoriales est accompagnée de ressources déterminées par la loi.

La loi prévoit des dispositifs de péréquation destinés à favoriser l'égalité entre les collectivités territoriales.

Article 72-3 :

La République reconnaît, au sein du peuple français, les populations d'outre-mer, dans un idéal commun de liberté, d'égalité et de fraternité.

La Guadeloupe, la Guyane, la Martinique, La Réunion, Mayotte, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, les îles Wallis et Futuna et la Polynésie française sont régis par l'article 73 pour les départements et les régions d'outre-mer et pour les collectivités territoriales créées en application du dernier alinéa de l'article 73, et par l'article 74 pour les autres collectivités.

Le statut de la Nouvelle-Calédonie est régi par le titre XIII.

La loi détermine le régime législatif et l'organisation particulière des Terres australes et antarctiques françaises.

Article 72-4 :

Aucun changement, pour tout ou partie de l'une des collectivités mentionnées au

deuxième alinéa de l'article 72-3, de l'un vers l'autre des régimes prévus par les articles 73 et 74, ne peut intervenir sans que le consentement des électeurs de la collectivité ou de la partie de collectivité intéressée ait été préalablement recueilli dans les conditions prévues à l'alinéa suivant. Ce changement de régime est décidé par une loi organique.

Le Président de la République, sur proposition du Gouvernement pendant la durée des sessions ou sur proposition conjointe des deux assemblées, publiées au Journal officiel, peut décider de consulter les électeurs d'une collectivité territoriale située outre-mer sur une question relative à son organisation, à ses compétences ou à son régime législatif. Lorsque la consultation porte sur un changement prévu à l'alinéa précédent et est organisée sur proposition du Gouvernement, celui-ci fait, devant chaque assemblée, une déclaration qui est suivie d'un débat.

Article 73 :

Dans les départements et les régions d'outre-mer, les lois et règlements sont applicables de plein droit. Ils peuvent faire l'objet d'adaptations tenant aux caractéristiques et contraintes particulières de ces collectivités.

Ces adaptations peuvent être décidées par ces collectivités dans les matières où s'exercent leurs compétences et si elles y ont été habilitées par la loi.

Par dérogation au premier alinéa et pour tenir compte de leurs spécificités, les collectivités régies par le présent article peuvent être habilitées par la loi à fixer elles-mêmes les règles applicables sur leur territoire, dans un nombre limité de matières pouvant relever du domaine de la loi.

Ces règles ne peuvent porter sur la nationalité, les droits civiques, les garanties des libertés publiques, l'état et la capacité des personnes, l'organisation de la justice, le droit pénal, la procédure pénale, la politique étrangère, la défense, la sécurité et l'ordre publics, la monnaie, le crédit et les changes, ainsi que le droit électoral. Cette énumération pourra être précisée et complétée par une loi organique.

La disposition prévue aux deux précédents alinéas n'est pas applicable au département et à la région de La Réunion.

Les habilitations prévues aux deuxième et troisième alinéas sont décidées, à la demande de la collectivité concernée, dans les conditions et sous les réserves prévues par une loi organique. Elles ne peuvent intervenir lorsque sont en cause les conditions essentielles d'exercice d'une liberté publique ou d'un droit constitutionnellement garanti.

La création par la loi d'une collectivité se substituant à un département et une région d'outre-mer ou l'institution d'une assemblée délibérante unique pour ces deux collectivités ne peut intervenir sans qu'ait été recueilli, selon les formes prévues au second alinéa de l'article 72-4, le consentement des électeurs inscrits dans le ressort de ces collectivités.

Article 74 :

Les collectivités d'outre-mer régies par le présent article ont un statut qui tient compte des intérêts propres de chacune d'elles au sein de la République.

Ce statut est défini par une loi organique, adoptée après avis de l'assemblée délibérante, qui fixe :

- les conditions dans lesquelles les lois et règlements y sont applicables ;

- les compétences de cette collectivité ; sous réserve de celles déjà exercées par elle, le transfert de compétences de l'Etat ne peut porter sur les matières énumérées au quatrième alinéa de l'article 73, précisées et complétées, le cas échéant, par la loi organique ;

- les règles d'organisation et de fonctionnement des institutions de la collectivité et le régime électoral de son assemblée délibérante ;

- les conditions dans lesquelles ses institutions sont consultées sur les projets et propositions de loi et les projets d'ordonnance ou de décret comportant des dispositions particulières à la collectivité, ainsi que sur la ratification ou l'approbation d'engagements internationaux conclus dans les matières relevant de sa compétence.

La loi organique peut également déterminer, pour celles de ces collectivités qui sont dotées de l'autonomie, les conditions dans lesquelles :

- le Conseil d'Etat exerce un contrôle juridictionnel spécifique sur certaines catégories d'actes de l'assemblée délibérante intervenant au titre des compétences qu'elle exerce dans le domaine de la loi ;

- l'assemblée délibérante peut modifier une loi promulguée postérieurement à l'entrée en vigueur du statut de la collectivité, lorsque le Conseil constitutionnel, saisi notamment par les autorités de la collectivité, a constaté que la loi était intervenue dans le domaine de compétence de cette collectivité ;

- des mesures justifiées par les nécessités locales peuvent être prises par la collectivité en faveur de sa population, en matière d'accès à l'emploi, de droit d'établissement pour l'exercice d'une activité professionnelle ou de protection du patrimoine foncier ;

- la collectivité peut participer, sous le contrôle de l'Etat, à l'exercice des compétences qu'il conserve, dans le respect des garanties accordées sur l'ensemble du territoire national pour l'exercice des libertés publiques.

Les autres modalités de l'organisation particulière des collectivités relevant du présent article sont définies et modifiées par la loi après consultation de leur assemblée délibérante.

Article 74-1 :

Dans les collectivités d'outre-mer visées à l'article 74 et en Nouvelle-Calédonie, le Gouvernement peut, dans les matières qui demeurent de la compétence de l'Etat, étendre par ordonnances, avec les adaptations nécessaires, les dispositions de nature législative en vigueur en métropole, sous réserve que la loi n'ait pas expressément exclu, pour les dispositions en cause, le recours à cette procédure.

« Les ordonnances sont prises en conseil des ministres après avis des assemblées délibérantes intéressées et du Conseil d'Etat. Elles entrent en vigueur dès leur publication. Elles deviennent caduques en l'absence de ratification par le Parlement dans le délai de dix-huit mois suivant cette publication.

Article 75 :

Les citoyens de la République qui n'ont pas le statut civil de droit commun, seul visé à l'article 34, conservent leur statut personnel tant qu'ils n'y ont pas renoncé.

Titre XIII - Dispositions transitoires relatives à la Nouvelle-Calédonie [Loi constitutionnelle n° 98-610 du 20 juillet 1998]

Article 76 :

Les populations de la Nouvelle-Calédonie sont appelées à se prononcer avant le 31 décembre 1998 sur les dispositions de l'accord signé à Nouméa le 5 mai 1998 et publié le 27 mai 1998 au Journal officiel de la République française.

Sont admises à participer au scrutin les personnes remplissant les conditions fixées à l'article 2 de la loi n° 88-1028 du 9 novembre 1988.

Les mesures nécessaires à l'organisation du scrutin sont prises par décret en Conseil d'Etat délibéré en conseil des ministres.

Article 77 :

Après approbation de l'accord lors de la consultation prévue à l'article 76, la loi organique, prise après avis de l'assemblée délibérante de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, détermine, pour assurer l'évolution de la Nouvelle-Calédonie dans le respect des orientations définies par cet accord et selon les modalités nécessaires à sa mise en oeuvre :

- les compétences de l'Etat qui seront transférées, de façon définitive, aux institutions de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, l'échelonnement et les modalités de ces transferts, ainsi que la répartition des charges résultant de ceux-ci ;

- les règles d'organisation et de fonctionnement des institutions de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et notamment les conditions dans lesquelles certaines catégories d'actes de

l'assemblée délibérante pourront être soumises avant publication au contrôle du Conseil constitutionnel ;

- les règles relatives à la citoyenneté, au régime électoral, à l'emploi et au statut civil coutumier ;

- les conditions et les délais dans lesquels les populations intéressées de la Nouvelle-Calédonie seront amenées à se prononcer sur l'accession à la pleine souveraineté.

Les autres mesures nécessaires à la mise en oeuvre de l'accord mentionné à l'article 76 sont définies par la loi.

STATUTES APPLICABLE TO NEW CALEDONIA: 1956- 1988

http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca

- la loi-cadre du 23 juin 1956 conférant une certaine autonomie;
- le décret-loi du 22 juillet 1957;
- la loi du 21 septembre 1963 renforçant la tutelle de l'État;
- la loi du 30 décembre 1965 rétablissant la mainmise de l'État dans l'enseignement;
- la loi du 3 janvier 1969 confirmant la centralisation;
- la loi du 28 décembre 1976 restaurant les pouvoirs du Conseil du gouvernement;
- la loi du 4 février 1982;
- la loi du 6 septembre 1984 conférant une véritable autonomie;
- la loi du 23 août 1985 définissant un statut provisoire, statut d'État indépendant associé à la France et prévoyant un référendum;
- la loi du 17 juillet 1986 prévoyant une consultation auprès des populations;
- la loi du 22 janvier 1988 accentuant l'autonomie accordée au territoire.

- the blue-print law of 23 June 1956 conferring a certain autonomy;
- the statutory order of 22 July 1957;
- the law of 21 September 1963 reinforcing the guardianship of the State;
- the law of 30 December 1965 re-establishing the seizure of education by the State
- the law of 3 January 1969 confirming centralisation;
- the law of 28 December 1976 restoring the powers of the Government Council
- the law of 4 February 1982
- the law of 6 September 1984 conferring real autonomy;
- the law of 23 August 1985 defining a provisional status, the status of an independent State associated with France and anticipating a referendum
- the law of 17 July 1986 anticipating a consultation with the populations;
- the law of 22 January 1988 accentuating the autonomy granted to the territory

THE FLNKS CHARTER: Why the National Liberation Struggle
(extracts, in Ounei, 1985: 8-9)

Declaring:

a That the French government is a firm accomplice of the colonial status, which it maintains;
b That François Mitterand, elected President of the Republic by the mandate of 10 May 1981, has not kept his promises
c That the declarations of Nainville-les-Roches on our innate and active right to independence have effectively not been put into practise
d That the French government, rejecting all measures proposed by the Independence Front to prepare the steps to Kanak and socialist independence
   - Is imposing on us the Lemoine statute with all its restrictions (elections to Territorial Assembly, State-Territory Committee, refendum in 1989, etc)
   - Is directly threatening the Kanak people with the prospect of disappearing, by decisively making it a minority in its own land.

The Independence Front has judged that the Kanak people are entering a phase of struggle for Kanak independence: the liberation struggle.

The sacred and inalienable rights of the Kanak people, oppressed and injured by the colonial situation, are the following:

a The right to be recognised as a single people;
b The right to dignity and freedom
c The right to be considered as the only legitimate people in the Kanak land and to have their own homeland
d The right to practise self-determination
e The right to obtain restoration of all lands so as to set up the Kanak country as an integral whole

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS- CHAPTER XI: DECLARATION REGARDING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES (extracts)

http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/chapt11.htm

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/decolonization/docs/res1514.htm

United Nations General Assembly

Fifteenth session

1514 (XV). Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence.

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace.

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations.

Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic cooperation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace.

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law.

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, and end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith.

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the incresingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence.

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory.

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

947th plenary meeting,
14 December 1960.

CAHIER DE REVENDICATION/ PARTI DE LIBERATION KANAKE (extraits)

(amené à Emmanueli par une manifestation le 8 août 1981)

VII: L'Enseignement

Le PALIKA dénonce:

- Le contenu colonial raciste et bourgeois de l'enseignement
- Le contenu inadapté qui tend à la négation du Kanak, de sa culture et de son histoire
- Le caractère selectif de l'enseignement

...

- Conditionnement idéologique des fils de Kanaks d'exploités au mode de production capitaliste
- Le caractère obscurisantiste de l'enseignement
- Les atteintes aux libertés e travail, d'expression et d'opinion dans l'enseignement.

La PALIKA revendique:

- Unique enseignement
- Suppression de l'enseignement à rabais

...

- Une école au service du peuple Kanak et des travailleurs en Nouvelle-Calédonie où sera totalement remis en cause l'idée colonialiste et impérialiste de la mission civilisatrice de la France Occidentale, où les valeurs Kanakes seront réellement prises en compte.

Kanak, n° 51, 21-28 août 1981, as quoted in Kohler & Pillon, 1982: 96

ACCORDS DE MATIGNON

http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/pacifique/ncal-Matignon_1988.htm

Les accords de Matignon du 26 juin 1988

Le texte de la déclaration commune de Matignon est le suivant :

Les communautés de Nouvelle-Calédonie ont trop souffert, dans leur dignité collective, dans l'intégrité des personnes et des biens, de plusieurs décennies d'incompréhension et de violence.

Pour les uns, ce n'est que dans le cadre des institutions de la République française que l'évolution vers une Nouvelle-Calédonie harmonieuse pourra s'accomplir.

Pour les autres, il n'est envisageable de sortir de cette situation que par l'affirmation de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance.

L'affrontement de ces deux convictions antagonistes a débouché jusqu'à une date récente sur une situation voisine de la guerre civile.

Aujourd'hui, les deux parties ont reconnu l'impérieuse nécessité de contribuer à établir la paix civile pour créer les conditions dans lesquelles les populations pourront choisir, librement et assurées de leur avenir, la maîtrise de leur destin.

C'est pourquoi elles ont donné leur accord à ce que l'État reprenne pendant les douze prochains mois l'autorité administrative sur le territoire.

En conséquence, le premier ministre présentera un projet dans ce sens au Conseil des ministres du 29 juin 1988.

Les délégations se sont, par ailleurs, engagées à présenter et à requérir l'accord de leurs instances respectives sur les propositions du premier ministre concernant l'évolution future de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Ce texte porte la signature du premier ministre, M. Michel Rocard, de sept délégués du RPCR, MM. Jacques Lafleur, Maurice Nenou, Dick Ukeiwé, Jean Lèques, Henri Wetta, Pierre Frogier, Pierre Bretégnier, de quatre délégués du FLNKS, MM. Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Yeiwéné Yeiwéné, Mme Caroline Machoro, M. Edmond Nékiriaï et du représentant du LKS, M. Nidoish Naïsseline.

On peut résumer les accords de Matignon aux points suivants:

- la reprise de l'autorité administrative directe de l'État français sur le territoire pour une année;
- un référendum national à l'automne suivant portant sur les nouvelles institutions à mettre en place;
- la libération des prisonniers kanaks;
- la création de trois provinces: Sud, Nord et Îles;

- l'organisation d'un scrutin d'autodétermination en Nouvelle-Calédonie dans les dix ans (1998).

Dès l'adoption de la loi no 88-1028 du 9 novembre 1988, le gouvernement français et les trois administrations calédoniennes ont mis tout en place pour réorganiser complètement le territoire. Les institutions administratives néo-calédoniennes furent réparties en trois provinces: la province Nord, la province Sud et la province des Îles-Loyauté. Depuis lors, Nouméa n'est plus l'unique centre du pouvoir; il faut compter maintenant avec Koné, le chef-lieu de la province Nord, et Wé, celui de la province des Îles-Loyauté. L'État français conserve les compétences qui sont liées indissolublement à la souveraineté nationale et celles qui lui permettent d'exercer sa fonction d'arbitre.

ACCORD DE NOUMEA

J.O n° 121 du 27 mai 1998 page 8039

Accord sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie signé à Nouméa le 5 mai 1998

NOR: PRMX9801273X

Préambule

1. Lorsque la France prend possession de la Grande Terre, que James Cook avait dénommée « Nouvelle-Calédonie », le 24 septembre 1853, elle s'approprie un territoire selon les conditions du droit international alors reconnu par les nations d'Europe et d'Amérique, elle n'établit pas des relations de droit avec la population autochtone. Les traités passés, au cours de l'année 1854 et les années suivantes, avec les autorités coutumières, ne constituent pas des accords équilibrés mais, de fait, des actes unilatéraux.

Or, ce territoire n'était pas vide.

La Grande Terre et les îles étaient habitées par des hommes et des femmes qui ont été dénommés kanak. Ils avaient développé une civilisation propre, avec ses traditions, ses langues, la coutume qui organisait le champ social et politique. Leur culture et leur imaginaire s'exprimaient dans diverses formes de création.

L'identité kanak était fondée sur un lien particulier à la terre. Chaque individu, chaque clan se définissait par un rapport spécifique avec une vallée, une colline, la mer, une embouchure de rivière, et gardait la mémoire de l'accueil d'autres familles. Les noms que la tradition donnait à chaque élément du paysage, les tabous marquant certains d'entre eux, les chemins coutumiers structuraient l'espace et les échanges.

2. La colonisation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie s'est inscrite dans un vaste mouvement historique où les pays d'Europe ont imposé leur domination au reste du monde.

Des hommes et des femmes sont venus en grand nombre, aux xixe et xxe siècles, convaincus d'apporter le progrès, animés par leur foi religieuse, venus contre leur gré ou cherchant une seconde chance en Nouvelle-Calédonie. Ils se sont installés et y ont fait souche. Ils ont apporté avec eux leurs idéaux, leurs connaissances, leurs espoirs, leurs ambitions, leurs illusions et leurs contradictions.

Parmi eux certains, notamment des hommes de culture, des prêtres ou des pasteurs, des médecins et des ingénieurs, des administrateurs, des militaires, des responsables politiques ont porté sur le peuple d'origine un regard différent, marqué par une plus grande compréhension ou une réelle compassion.

Les nouvelles populations sur le territoire ont participé, dans des conditions souvent difficiles, en apportant des connaissances scientifiques et techniques, à la mise en valeur minière ou agricole et, avec l'aide de l'Etat, à l'aménagement de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Leur détermination et leur inventivité ont permis une mise en valeur et jeté les bases du développement.

La relation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie avec la métropole lointaine est demeurée longtemps marquée par la dépendance coloniale, un lien univoque, un refus de reconnaître les spécificités, dont les populations nouvelles ont aussi souffert dans leurs aspirations.

3. Le moment est venu de reconnaître les ombres de la période coloniale, même si elle ne fut pas dépourvue de lumière.

Le choc de la colonisation a constitué un traumatisme durable pour la population

d'origine.
Des clans ont été privés de leur nom en même temps que de leur terre. Une importante colonisation foncière a entraîné des déplacements considérables de population, dans lesquels des clans kanak ont vu leurs moyens de subsistance réduits et leurs lieux de mémoire perdus. Cette dépossession a conduit à une perte des repères identitaires.
L'organisation sociale kanak, même si elle a été reconnue dans ses principes, s'en est trouvée bouleversée. Les mouvements de population l'ont déstructurée, la méconnaissance ou des stratégies de pouvoir ont conduit trop souvent à nier les autorités légitimes et à mettre en place des autorités dépourvues de légitimité selon la coutume, ce qui a accentué le traumatisme identitaire.
Simultanément, le patrimoine artistique kanak était nié ou pillé.
A cette négation des éléments fondamentaux de l'identité kanak se sont ajoutées des limitations aux libertés publiques et une absence de droits politiques, alors même que les kanak avaient payé un lourd tribut à la défense de la France, notamment lors de la Première Guerre mondiale.
Les kanak ont été repoussés aux marges géographiques, économiques et politiques de leur propre pays, ce qui ne pouvait, chez un peuple fier et non dépourvu de traditions guerrières, que provoquer des révoltes, lesquelles ont suscité des répressions violentes, aggravant les ressentiments et les incompréhensions.
La colonisation a porté atteinte à la dignité du peuple kanak qu'elle a privé de son identité. Des hommes et des femmes ont perdu dans cette confrontation leur vie ou leurs raisons de vivre. De grandes souffrances en sont résultées. Il convient de faire mémoire de ces moments difficiles, de reconnaître les fautes, de restituer au peuple kanak son identité confisquée, ce qui équivaut pour lui à une reconnaissance de sa souveraineté, préalable à la fondation d'une nouvelle souveraineté, partagée dans un destin commun.
4. La décolonisation est le moyen de refonder un lien social durable entre les communautés qui vivent aujourd'hui en Nouvelle-Calédonie, en permettant au peuple kanak d'établir avec la France des relations nouvelles correspondant aux réalités de notre temps.
Les communautés qui vivent sur le territoire ont acquis par leur participation à l'édification de la Nouvelle-Calédonie une légitimité à y vivre et à continuer de contribuer à son développement. Elles sont indispensables à son équilibre social et au fonctionnement de son économie et de ses institutions sociales. Si l'accession des kanak aux responsabilités demeure insuffisante et doit être accrue par des mesures volontaristes, il n'en reste pas moins que la participation des autres communautés à la vie du territoire lui est essentielle.
Il est aujourd'hui nécessaire de poser les bases d'une citoyenneté de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, permettant au peuple d'origine de constituer avec les hommes et les femmes qui y vivent une communauté humaine affirmant son destin commun.
La taille de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et ses équilibres économiques et sociaux ne permettent pas d'ouvrir largement le marché du travail et justifient des mesures de protection de l'emploi local.
Les accords de Matignon signés en juin 1988 ont manifesté la volonté des habitants de Nouvelle-Calédonie de tourner la page de la violence et du mépris pour écrire ensemble des pages de paix, de solidarité et de prospérité.
Dix ans plus tard, il convient d'ouvrir une nouvelle étape, marquée par la pleine reconnaissance de l'identité kanak, préalable à la refondation d'un contrat social entre toutes les communautés qui vivent en Nouvelle-Calédonie, et par un partage de souveraineté avec la France, sur la voie de la pleine souveraineté.

Le passé a été le temps de la colonisation. Le présent est le temps du partage, par le rééquilibrage. L'avenir doit être le temps de l'identité, dans un destin commun.
La France est prête à accompagner la Nouvelle-Calédonie dans cette voie.
5. Les signataires des accords de Matignon ont donc décidé d'arrêter ensemble une solution négociée, de nature consensuelle, pour laquelle ils appelleront ensemble les habitants de Nouvelle-Calédonie à se prononcer.
Cette solution définit pour vingt années l'organisation politique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie et les modalités de son émancipation.
Sa mise en oeuvre suppose une loi constitutionnelle que le Gouvernement s'engage à préparer en vue de son adoption au Parlement.
La pleine reconnaissance de l'identité kanak conduit à préciser le statut coutumier et ses liens avec le statut civil des personnes de droit commun, à prévoir la place des structures coutumières dans les institutions, notamment par l'établissement d'un Sénat coutumier, à protéger et valoriser le patrimoine culturel kanak, à mettre en place de nouveaux mécanismes juridiques et financiers pour répondre aux demandes exprimées au titre du lien à la terre, tout en favorisant sa mise en valeur, et à adopter des symboles identitaires exprimant la place essentielle de l'identité kanak du pays dans la communauté de destin acceptée.
Les institutions de la Nouvelle-Calédonie traduiront la nouvelle étape vers la souveraineté : certaines des délibérations du Congrès du territoire auront valeur législative et un Exécutif élu les préparera et les mettra en oeuvre.
Au cours de cette période, des signes seront donnés de la reconnaissance progressive d'une citoyenneté de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, celle-ci devant traduire la communauté de destin choisie et pouvant se transformer, après la fin de la période, en nationalité, s'il en était décidé ainsi.
Le corps électoral pour les élections aux assemblées locales propres à la Nouvelle-Calédonie sera restreint aux personnes établies depuis une certaine durée.
Afin de tenir compte de l'étroitesse du marché du travail, des dispositions seront définies pour favoriser l'accès à l'emploi local des personnes durablement établies en Nouvelle-Calédonie.
Le partage des compétences entre l'Etat et la Nouvelle-Calédonie signifiera la souveraineté partagée. Il sera progressif. Des compétences seront transférées dès la mise en oeuvre de la nouvelle organisation. D'autres le seront selon un calendrier défini, modulable par le Congrès, selon le principe d'auto-organisation. Les compétences transférées ne pourront revenir à l'Etat, ce qui traduira le principe d'irréversibilité de cette organisation.
La Nouvelle-Calédonie bénéficiera pendant toute la durée de mise en oeuvre de la nouvelle organisation de l'aide de l'Etat, en termes d'assistance technique et de formation et des financements nécessaires, pour l'exercice des compétences transférées et pour le développement économique et social.
Les engagements seront inscrits dans des programmes pluriannuels. La Nouvelle-Calédonie prendra part au capital ou au fonctionnement des principaux outils du développement dans lesquels l'Etat est partie prenante.
Au terme d'une période de vingt années, le transfert à la Nouvelle-Calédonie des compétences régaliennes, l'accès à un statut international de pleine responsabilité et l'organisation de la citoyenneté en nationalité seront proposés au vote des populations intéressées.
Leur approbation équivaudrait à la pleine souveraineté de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Document d'orientation

1. L'identité kanak

L'organisation politique et sociale de la Nouvelle-Calédonie doit mieux prendre en compte l'identité kanak.

1.1. Le statut civil particulier

Certains kanak ont le statut civil de droit commun sans l'avoir souhaité.
Le statut civil particulier est source d'insécurité juridique et ne permet pas de répondre de manière satisfaisante à certaines situations de la vie moderne.
En conséquence, les orientations suivantes sont retenues :
- le statut civil particulier s'appellera désormais « statut coutumier » ;
- toute personne pouvant relever du statut coutumier et qui y aurait renoncé, ou qui s'en serait trouvée privée à la suite d'une renonciation faite par ses ancêtres ou par mariage ou par toute autre cause (cas des enfants inscrits en métropole sur l'état civil) pourra le retrouver. La loi de révision constitutionnelle autorisera cette dérogation à l'article 75 de la Constitution ;
- les règles relatives au statut coutumier seront fixées par les institutions de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, dans les conditions indiquées plus loin ;
- le statut coutumier distinguera les biens situés dans les « terres coutumières » (nouveau nom de la réserve), qui seront appropriés et dévolus en cas de succession selon les règles de la coutume et ceux situés en dehors des terres coutumières qui obéiront à des règles de droit commun.

1.2. Droit et structures coutumières

1.2.1. Le statut juridique du procès-verbal de palabre (dont le nom pourrait être modifié) doit être redéfini, pour lui donner une pleine force juridique, en fixant sa forme et en organisant une procédure d'appel permettant d'éviter toute contestation ultérieure. Le rôle de syndic des affaires coutumières, actuellement tenu par les gendarmes, sera exercé par un autre agent, par exemple de la commune ou de l'aire coutumière.
La forme du procès-verbal de palabre sera définie par le Congrès en accord avec les instances coutumières (voir plus bas). L'appel aura lieu devant le conseil d'aire et l'enregistrement se fera par le conseil d'aire ou la mairie.
1.2.2. Le rôle des aires coutumières sera valorisé, notamment en confiant aux conseils d'aires un rôle dans la clarification et l'interprétation des règles coutumières. Plus généralement, l'organisation spatiale de la Nouvelle-Calédonie devra mieux tenir compte de leur existence. En particulier les limites communales devraient pouvoir tenir compte des limites des aires.
1.2.3. Le mode de reconnaissance des autorités coutumières sera précisé pour garantir leur légitimité. Il sera défini par l'instance coutumière de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (voir plus bas). Notification en sera faite au représentant de l'Etat et à l'Exécutif de la Nouvelle-Calédonie qui ne pourront que l'enregistrer. Leur statut sera précisé.
1.2.4. Le rôle des autorités coutumières dans la prévention sociale et la médiation pénale sera reconnu. Ce dernier rôle sera prévu dans les textes applicables en Nouvelle-Calédonie en matière de procédure pénale.
Les autorités coutumières pourront être associées à l'élaboration des décisions des assemblées locales, à l'initiative des assemblées de provinces ou des communes.
1.2.5. Le Conseil coutumier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie deviendra un « Sénat coutumier », composé de seize membres (deux par aire coutumière), obligatoirement consulté sur les sujets intéressant l'identité kanak.

1.3. Le patrimoine culturel

1.3.1. Les noms de lieux

Les noms kanak des lieux seront recensés et rétablis. Les sites sacrés selon la tradition kanak seront identifiés et juridiquement protégés, selon les règles applicables en matière de monuments historiques.

1.3.2. Les objets culturels

L'Etat favorisera le retour en Nouvelle-Calédonie d'objets culturels kanak qui se trouvent dans des musées ou des collections, en France métropolitaine ou dans d'autres pays. Les moyens juridiques dont dispose l'Etat pour la protection du patrimoine national seront mis en oeuvre à cette fin. Des conventions seront passées avec ces institutions pour le retour de ces objets ou leur mise en valeur.

1.3.3. Les langues

Les langues kanak sont, avec le français, des langues d'enseignement et de culture en Nouvelle-Calédonie. Leur place dans l'enseignement et les médias doit donc être accrue et faire l'objet d'une réflexion approfondie.

Une recherche scientifique et un enseignement universitaire sur les langues kanak doivent être organisés en Nouvelle-Calédonie. L'Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales y jouera un rôle essentiel. Pour que ces langues trouvent la place qui doit leur revenir dans l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, un effort important sera fait sur la formation des formateurs.

Une académie des langues kanak, établissement local dont le conseil d'administration sera composé de locuteurs désignés en accord avec les autorités coutumières, sera mise en place. Elle fixera leurs règles d'usage et leur évolution.

1.3.4. Le développement culturel

La culture kanak doit être valorisée dans les formations artistiques et dans les médias. Les droits des auteurs doivent être effectivement protégés.

1.3.5. Le Centre culturel Tjibaou

L'Etat s'engage à apporter durablement l'assistance technique et les financements nécessaires au Centre culturel Tjibaou pour lui permettre de tenir pleinement son rôle de pôle de rayonnement de la culture kanak.

Sur l'ensemble de ces questions relatives au patrimoine culturel, l'Etat proposera à la Nouvelle-Calédonie de conclure un accord particulier.

1.4. La terre

L'identité de chaque Kanak se définit d'abord en référence à une terre.

Le rôle et les conditions de fonctionnement de l'Agence de développement rural et d'aménagement foncier (ADRAF) devront faire l'objet d'un bilan approfondi. Elle devra disposer des moyens suffisants pour intervenir dans les zones suburbaines.

L'accompagnement des attributions de terre devra être accentué pour favoriser l'installation des attributaires et la mise en valeur.

Les terres coutumières doivent être cadastrées pour que les droits coutumiers sur une parcelle soient clairement identifiés. De nouveaux outils juridiques et financiers seront mis en place pour favoriser le développement sur les terres coutumières, dont le statut ne doit pas être un obstacle à la mise en valeur.

La réforme foncière sera poursuivie. Les terres coutumières seront constituées des réserves, des terres attribuées aux « groupements de droit particulier local » et des terres qui seront attribuées par l'ADRAF pour répondre aux demandes exprimées au titre du lien à la terre. Il n'y aura plus ainsi que les terres coutumières et les terres de droit commun. Des baux seront définis par le Congrès, en accord avec le Sénat coutumier, pour préciser les relations entre le propriétaire coutumier et l'exploitant sur les terres coutumières. Les juridictions statuant sur les litiges seront les juridictions de droit commun avec des assesseurs coutumiers.
Les domaines de l'Etat et du territoire doivent faire l'objet d'un examen dans la perspective d'attribuer ces espaces à d'autres collectivités ou à des propriétaires coutumiers ou privés, en vue de rétablir des droits ou de réaliser des aménagements d'intérêt général. La question de la zone maritime sera également examinée dans le même esprit.

1.5. Les symboles

Des signes identitaires du pays, nom, drapeau, hymne, devise, graphismes des billets de banque devront être recherchés en commun pour exprimer l'identité kanak et le futur partagé entre tous.
La loi constitutionnelle sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie prévoira la possibilité de changer ce nom, par « loi du pays » adoptée à la majorité qualifiée (voir plus bas).
Une mention du nom du pays pourra être apposée sur les documents d'identité, comme signe de citoyenneté.

2. Les institutions

L'un des principes de l'accord politique est la reconnaissance d'une citoyenneté de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Celle-ci traduit la communauté de destin choisie et s'organiserait, après la fin de la période d'application de l'accord, en nationalité, s'il en était décidé ainsi.
Pour cette période, la notion de citoyenneté fonde les restrictions apportées au corps électoral pour les élections aux institutions du pays et pour la consultation finale. Elle sera aussi une référence pour la mise au point des dispositions qui seront définies pour préserver l'emploi local.
La loi constitutionnelle le permettra.

2.1. Les assemblées

2.1.1. Les assemblées de province seront composées, respectivement pour les îles Loyauté, le Nord et le Sud, de sept, quinze et trente-deux membres, également membres du Congrès, ainsi que de sept, sept et huit membres supplémentaires, non membres du Congrès lors de la mise en place des institutions. Les assemblées de province pourront réduire, pour les mandats suivants, l'effectif des conseillers non-membres du Congrès.
2.1.2. Le mandat des membres du Congrès et des assemblées de province sera de cinq ans.
2.1.3. Certaines délibérations du Congrès auront le caractère de loi du pays et de ce fait ne pourront être contestées que devant le Conseil constitutionnel avant leur publication, sur saisine du représentant de l'Etat, de l'Exécutif de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, d'un président de province, du président du Congrès ou d'un tiers des membres du Congrès.
2.1.4. a) Le Sénat coutumier sera obligatoirement saisi des projets de loi du pays et de délibération lorsqu'ils concerneront l'identité kanak au sens du présent document. Lorsque le texte qui lui sera soumis aura le caractère de loi du pays et concernera

l'identité kanak, le Congrès de la Nouvelle-Calédonie devra à nouveau délibérer si le vote du Sénat coutumier n'est pas conforme. Le vote du Congrès s'imposera alors.
b) Un conseil économique et social représentera les principales institutions économiques et sociales de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Il sera obligatoirement consulté sur les délibérations à caractère économique et social du Congrès. Il comprendra des représentants du Sénat coutumier.
2.1.5. Les limites des provinces et des communes devraient coïncider, de manière qu'une commune n'appartienne qu'à une province.

2.2. Le corps électoral et le mode de scrutin

2.2.1. Le corps électoral

Le corps électoral pour les consultations relatives à l'organisation politique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie intervenant à l'issue du délai d'application du présent accord (point 5) comprendra exclusivement : les électeurs inscrits sur les listes électorales aux dates des consultations électorales prévues au 5 et qui ont été admis à participer au scrutin prévu à l'article 2 de la loi référendaire, ou qui remplissaient les conditions pour y participer, ainsi que ceux qui pourront justifier que les interruptions dans la continuité de leur domicile en Nouvelle-Calédonie étaient dues à des raisons professionnelles ou familiales, ceux qui, de statut coutumier ou nés en Nouvelle-Calédonie, y ont eu le centre de leurs intérêts matériels et moraux et ceux qui ne sont pas nés en Nouvelle-Calédonie mais dont l'un des parents y est né et qui y ont le centre de leurs intérêts matériels et moraux.
Pourront également voter pour ces consultations les jeunes atteignant la majorité électorale, inscrits sur les listes électorales, et qui, s'ils sont nés avant 1988, auront eu leur domicile en Nouvelle-Calédonie de 1988 à 1998 ou, s'ils sont nés après 1988, ont eu un de leurs parents qui remplissait ou aurait pu remplir les conditions pour voter au scrutin de la fin de 1998.
Pourront également voter à ces consultations les personnes qui pourront justifier, en 2013, de vingt ans de domicile continu en Nouvelle-Calédonie.
Comme il avait été prévu dans le texte signé des accords de Matignon, le corps électoral aux assemblées des provinces et au Congrès sera restreint : il sera réservé aux électeurs qui remplissaient les conditions pour voter au scrutin de 1998, à ceux qui, inscrits au tableau annexe, rempliront une condition de domicile de dix ans à la date de l'élection, ainsi qu'aux électeurs atteignant l'âge de la majorité pour la première fois après 1998 et qui, soit justifieront de dix ans de domicile en 1998, soit auront eu un parent remplissant les conditions pour être électeur au scrutin de la fin de 1998, soit, ayant eu un parent inscrit sur un tableau annexe justifieront d'une durée de domicile de dix ans en Nouvelle-Calédonie à la date de l'élection.
La notion de domicile s'entendra au sens de l'article 2 de la loi référendaire. La liste des électeurs admis à participer aux scrutins sera arrêtée avant la fin de l'année précédant le scrutin.
Le corps électoral restreint s'appliquerait aux élections communales si les communes avaient une organisation propre à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.
2.2.2. Pour favoriser l'efficacité du fonctionnement des assemblées locales, en évitant les conséquences d'une dispersion des suffrages, le seuil de 5 % s'appliquera aux inscrits et non aux exprimés.

2.3. L'Exécutif

L'Exécutif de la Nouvelle-Calédonie deviendra un gouvernement collégial, élu par le

Congrès, responsable devant lui.
L'Exécutif sera désigné à la proportionnelle par le Congrès, sur proposition par les groupes politiques de listes de candidats, membres ou non du Congrès. L'appartenance au Gouvernement sera incompatible avec la qualité de membre du Congrès ou des assemblées de province. Le membre du Congrès ou de l'assemblée de province élu membre du Gouvernement est remplacé à l'assemblée par le suivant de liste. En cas de cessation de fonctions, il retrouvera son siège.
La composition de l'Exécutif sera fixée par le Congrès.
Le représentant de l'Etat sera informé de l'ordre du jour des réunions du Gouvernement et assistera à ses délibérations. Il recevra les projets de décisions avant leur publication et pourra demander une seconde délibération de l'Exécutif.

2.4. Les communes

Les compétences des communes pourront être élargies en matière d'urbanisme, de développement local, de concessions de distribution d'électricité et de fiscalité locale. Elles pourront bénéficier de transferts domaniaux.

3. Les compétences

Les compétences détenues par l'Etat seront transférées à la Nouvelle-Calédonie dans les conditions suivantes :
- certaines seront transférées dès la mise en oeuvre de la nouvelle organisation politique ;
- d'autres le seront dans des étapes intermédiaires ;
- d'autres seront partagées entre l'Etat et la Nouvelle-Calédonie ;
- les dernières, de caractère régalien, ne pourront être transférées qu'à l'issue de la consultation mentionnée au 5.

Le Congrès, à la majorité qualifiée des trois cinquièmes, pourra demander à modifier l'échéancier prévu des transferts de compétences, à l'exclusion des compétences de caractère régalien. L'Etat participera pendant cette période à la prise en charge financière des compétences transférées. Cette compensation financière sera garantie par la loi constitutionnelle.

3.1. Les compétences nouvelles conférées à la Nouvelle-Calédonie

3.1.1. Les compétences immédiatement transférées

Le principe du transfert est acquis dès l'installation des institutions issues du présent accord : la mise en place s'effectuera au cours du premier mandat du Congrès :
- le droit à l'emploi : la Nouvelle-Calédonie mettra en place, en liaison avec l'Etat, des mesures destinées à offrir des garanties particulières pour le droit à l'emploi de ses habitants. La réglementation sur l'entrée des personnes non établies en Nouvelle-Calédonie sera confortée.

Pour les professions indépendantes le droit d'établissement pourra être restreint pour les personnes non établies en Nouvelle-Calédonie.
Pour les salariés du secteur privé et pour la fonction publique territoriale, une réglementation locale sera définie pour privilégier l'accès à l'emploi des habitants.
- le droit au travail des ressortissants étrangers ;
- le commerce extérieur, dont la réglementation des importations, et l'autorisation des investissements étrangers ;
- les communications extérieures en matière de poste et de télécommunications à

l'exclusion des communications gouvernementales et de la réglementation des fréquences radioélectriques ;
- la navigation et les dessertes maritimes internationales ;
- les communications extérieures en matière de desserte aérienne lorsqu'elles n'ont pour escale en France que la Nouvelle-Calédonie et dans le respect des engagements internationaux de la France ;
- l'exploration, l'exploitation, la gestion et la conservation des ressources naturelles, biologiques et non biologiques de la zone économique ;
- les principes directeurs du droit du travail ;
- les principes directeurs de la formation professionnelle ;
- la médiation pénale coutumière ;
- la définition de peines contraventionnelles pour les infractions aux lois du pays ;
- les règles relatives à l'administration provinciale ;
- les programmes de l'enseignement primaire, la formation des maîtres et le contrôle pédagogique ;
- le domaine public maritime, transféré aux provinces.

3.1.2. Les compétences transférées dans une seconde étape

Dans une étape intermédiaire, au cours des second et troisième mandats du Congrès, les compétences suivantes seront transférées à la Nouvelle-Calédonie :
- les règles concernant l'état civil, dans le cadre des lois existantes ;
- les règles de police et de sécurité en matière de circulation aérienne et maritime intérieure ;
- l'élaboration des règles et la mise en oeuvre des mesures intéressant la sécurité civile. Toutefois, un dispositif permettra au représentant de l'Etat de prendre les mesures nécessaires en cas de carence ;
- le régime comptable et financier des collectivités publiques et de leurs établissements publics ;
- le droit civil et le droit commercial ;
- les principes directeurs de la propriété foncière et des droits réels ;
- la législation relative à l'enfance délinquante et à l'enfance en danger ;
- les règles relatives à l'administration communale ;
- le contrôle administratif des collectivités publiques et de leurs établissements publics ;
- l'enseignement du second degré ;
- les règles applicables aux maîtres de l'enseignement privé sous contrat.

3.2. Les compétences partagées

3.2.1. Les relations internationales et régionales

Les relations internationales sont de la compétence de l'Etat. Celui-ci prendra en compte les intérêts propres de la Nouvelle-Calédonie dans les négociations internationales conduites par la France et l'associera à ces discussions.
La Nouvelle-Calédonie pourra être membre de certaines organisations internationales ou associée à elles, en fonction de leurs statuts (organisations internationales du Pacifique, ONU, UNESCO, OIT, etc.). Le cheminement vers l'émancipation sera porté à la connaissance de l'ONU.
La Nouvelle-Calédonie pourra avoir des représentations dans des pays de la zone Pacifique et auprès de ces organisations et de l'Union européenne.
Elle pourra conclure des accords avec ces pays dans ses domaines de compétence.
Elle sera associée à la renégociation de la décision d'association Europe-PTOM.

Une formation sera mise en place pour préparer des néo-calédoniens à l'exercice de responsabilités dans le domaine des relations internationales.
Les relations de la Nouvelle-Calédonie avec le territoire des îles Wallis-et-Futuna seront précisées par un accord particulier. L'organisation des services de l'Etat sera distincte pour la Nouvelle-Calédonie et ce territoire.

3.2.2. Les étrangers

L'Exécutif de la Nouvelle-Calédonie sera associé à la mise en oeuvre de la réglementation relative à l'entrée et au séjour des étrangers.

3.2.3. L'audiovisuel

L'Exécutif est consulté par le Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel avant toute décision propre à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.
Une convention pourra être conclue entre le CSA et la Nouvelle-Calédonie pour associer celle-ci à la politique de communication audiovisuelle.

3.2.4. Le maintien de l'ordre

L'Exécutif sera informé par le représentant de l'Etat des mesures prises.

3.2.5. La réglementation minière

Les compétences réservées à l'Etat pour les hydrocarbures, les sels de potasse, le nickel, le chrome et le cobalt seront transférées.
La responsabilité de l'élaboration des règles sera conférée à la Nouvelle-Calédonie, celle de la mise en oeuvre aux provinces.
Un conseil des mines, composé de représentants des provinces et auquel assiste le représentant de l'Etat, sera consulté sur les projets de délibérations du Congrès ou des provinces en matière minière. Si son avis n'est pas conforme ou si le représentant de l'Etat exprime un avis défavorable, l'Exécutif de la Nouvelle-Calédonie se prononcera.

3.2.6. Les dessertes aériennes internationales

L'Exécutif sera associé aux négociations lorsque la compétence n'est pas entièrement confiée à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

3.2.7. L'enseignement supérieur et la recherche scientifique

L'Etat associera l'Exécutif à la préparation des contrats qui le lient aux organismes de recherche implantés en Nouvelle-Calédonie et à l'université, afin de permettre une meilleure prise en compte des besoins spécifiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie en matière de formation supérieure et de recherche. La Nouvelle-Calédonie pourra conclure des conventions d'objectifs et d'orientation avec ces institutions.

3.3. Les compétences régaliennes

La justice, l'ordre public, la défense et la monnaie (ainsi que le crédit et les changes), et les affaires étrangères (sous réserve des dispositions du 3.2.1) resteront de la compétence de l'Etat jusqu'à la nouvelle organisation politique résultant de la consultation des populations intéressées prévue au 5.
Pendant cette période, des néo-calédoniens seront formés et associés à l'exercice de responsabilités dans ces domaines, dans un souci de rééquilibrage et de préparation de cette nouvelle étape.

4. Le développement économique et social

4.1. La formation des hommes

4.1.1. Les formations devront, dans leur contenu et leur méthode, mieux prendre en compte les réalités locales, l'environnement régional et les impératifs de rééquilibrage. Des discussions s'engageront pour la reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes et des formations avec les Etats du Pacifique. Le nouveau partage des compétences devra permettre aux habitants de la Nouvelle-Calédonie d'occuper davantage les emplois de formateur.

L'université devra répondre aux besoins de formation et de recherche propres à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

L'Institut de formation des personnels administratifs sera rattaché à la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

4.1.2. Un programme de formation de cadres moyens et supérieurs, notamment techniques et financiers, sera soutenu par l'Etat à travers les contrats de développement pour accompagner les transferts de compétences réalisés et à venir.

Un programme spécifique, qui prendra la suite du programme « 400 cadres » et concernera les enseignements secondaire, supérieur et professionnel, tendra à la poursuite du rééquilibrage et à l'accession des kanak aux responsabilités dans tous les secteurs d'activités.

4.2. Le développement économique

4.2.1. Des contrats de développement pluriannuels seront conclus avec l'Etat. Ils pourront concerner la Nouvelle-Calédonie, les provinces et les communes et tendront à accroître l'autonomie et la diversification économiques.

4.2.2. Les mines

Un schéma de mise en valeur des richesses minières du territoire sera élaboré. Sa mise en oeuvre sera contrôlée par la Nouvelle-Calédonie grâce au transfert progressif de l'élaboration et de l'application du droit minier.

4.2.3. La politique énergétique contribuera à l'objectif d'autonomie et de rééquilibrage : recherche de sites hydroélectriques, programmation de l'électrification rurale tenant compte des coûts différenciés liés à la géographie du Territoire. Les opérateurs du secteur seront associés à la mise en oeuvre de cette politique.

4.2.4. Le financement de l'économie devra être modernisé :

L'Exécutif sera consulté sur les décisions de politique monétaire.

La Nouvelle-Calédonie sera représentée dans les instances compétentes de l'Institut d'émission.

Pour financer le développement, l'Institut calédonien de participation sera maintenu dans son rôle et ses attributions. Il sera créé un fonds de garantie pour faciliter le financement des projets de développement sur les terres coutumières.

Des objectifs d'intérêt public en faveur du développement seront fixés pour la banque calédonienne d'investissement. Les collectivités, dans la limite de leurs compétences, pourront soutenir le développement des entreprises en collaboration avec le secteur bancaire.

Un dispositif spécifique sera mis en place pour faciliter la restructuration et le redressement des entreprises.

4.3. La politique sociale

4.3.1. L'effort en faveur du logement social sera poursuivi avec le concours de l'Etat.

L'attribution des financements et les choix des opérateurs devront contribuer à un équilibre géographique. Une distinction sera effectuée entre les rôles de collecteur, de promoteur et de gestionnaire du parc social.
4.3.2. Une couverture sociale généralisée sera mise en place.

4.4. Le contrôle des outils de développement

La Nouvelle-Calédonie sera mise à même, au cours de la nouvelle période qui s'ouvre, de disposer d'une maîtrise suffisante des principaux outils de son développement.
Lorsque l'Etat détient directement ou indirectement la maîtrise totale ou partielle de ces outils, la Nouvelle-Calédonie le remplacera selon des modalités et des calendriers à déterminer. Lorsque la Nouvelle-Calédonie le souhaitera, les établissements publics nationaux intervenant seulement en Nouvelle-Calédonie deviendront des établissements publics de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.
Sont notamment concernés : Office des postes et télécommunications, Institut de formation des personnels administratifs, Société néo-calédonienne de l'énergie ENERCAL, Institut calédonien de participation, Agence de développement rural et d'aménagement foncier, Agence de développement de la culture kanak...
Lorsque les organismes n'interviennent pas seulement en Nouvelle-Calédonie, celle-ci devra disposer des moyens de faire valoir ses orientations stratégiques en ce qui concerne la Nouvelle-Calédonie par une participation dans le capital ou les instances dirigeantes.

5. L'évolution de l'organisation politique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie

Au cours du quatrième mandat (de cinq ans) du Congrès, une consultation électorale sera organisée. La date de cette consultation sera déterminée par le Congrès, au cours de ce mandat, à la majorité qualifiée des trois cinquièmes.
Si le Congrès n'a pas fixé cette date avant la fin de l'avant-dernière année de ce quatrième mandat, la consultation sera organisée, à une date fixée par l'Etat, dans la dernière année du mandat.
La consultation portera sur le transfert à la Nouvelle-Calédonie des compétences régaliennes, l'accès à un statut international de pleine responsabilité et l'organisation de la citoyenneté en nationalité.
Si la réponse des électeurs à ces propositions est négative, le tiers des membres du Congrès pourra provoquer l'organisation d'une nouvelle consultation qui interviendra dans la deuxième année suivant la première consultation. Si la réponse est à nouveau négative, une nouvelle consultation pourra être organisée selon la même procédure et dans les mêmes délais. Si la réponse est encore négative, les partenaires politiques se réuniront pour examiner la situation ainsi créée.
Tant que les consultations n'auront pas abouti à la nouvelle organisation politique proposée, l'organisation politique mise en place par l'accord de 1998 restera en vigueur, à son dernier stade d'évolution, sans possibilité de retour en arrière, cette « irréversibilité » étant constitutionnellement garantie.
Le résultat de cette consultation s'appliquera globalement pour l'ensemble de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Une partie de la Nouvelle-Calédonie ne pourra accéder seule à la pleine souveraineté ou conserver seule des liens différents avec la France, au motif que les résultats de la consultation électorale y auraient été différents du résultat global.
L'Etat reconnaît la vocation de la Nouvelle-Calédonie à bénéficier, à la fin de cette période, d'une complète émancipation.

6. Application de l'accord

6.1. Textes

Le Gouvernement engagera la préparation des textes nécessaires à la mise en oeuvre de l'accord, et notamment du projet de loi de révision constitutionnelle en vue de son adoption au Parlement. Si cette révision ne pouvait être menée à bien et si les modifications constitutionnelles nécessaires à la mise en application des dispositions de l'accord ne pouvaient être prises, les partenaires se réuniraient pour en examiner les conséquences sur l'équilibre général du présent accord.

6.2. Consultations

Des consultations seront organisées en Nouvelle-Calédonie auprès des organisations politiques, coutumières, économiques et sociales sur l'accord conclu, à l'initiative des signataires.

6.3. Scrutin de 1998

Un scrutin sera organisé avant la fin de l'année 1998 sur l'organisation politique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, objet du présent accord.
La loi constitutionnelle pour la Nouvelle-Calédonie permettra que ne se prononcent que les électeurs admis à participer au scrutin prévu à l'article 2 de la loi du 9 novembre 1988.

6.4. Elections aux assemblées de province et au Congrès

Des élections aux assemblées de province et au Congrès auront lieu dans les six mois suivant l'adoption des textes relatifs à l'organisation politique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. Les mandats des membres des assemblées de province prendront fin à la date de ces élections.

6.5. Comité des signataires

Un comité des signataires sera mis en place pour :
- prendre en compte les avis qui seront formulés par les organismes locaux consultés sur l'accord ;
- participer à la préparation des textes nécessaires pour la mise en oeuvre de l'accord ;
- veiller au suivi de l'application de l'accord.

Les documents ci-dessus, préambule et document d'orientation, ont recueilli l'approbation des partenaires des accords de Matignon, traduisant la fin de la négociation, qui s'est déroulée en présence de M. Dominique Bur, délégué du Gouvernement, haut-commissaire de la République.
A Nouméa, le mardi 5 mai 1998.

Le Premier ministre, Lionel Jospin
Le secrétaire d'Etat à l'outre-mer, Jean-Jack Queyranne
Pour le FLNKS : Roch Wamytan, Paul Neaoutyine, Charles Pidjot, Victor Tutugoro
Pour le RPCR : Jacques Lafleur, Pierre Frogier, Simon Loueckhote, Harold Martin, JeanLeques, Bernard Deladriere