

*Pacific States and Development: The Role of the new
Good Governance Agenda*

*A Public Lecture under the auspices of the Law Faculty of Auckland University and the
Legal Research Foundation Inc*

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INTRODUCTION

It is always an honour to be back on the hallowed ground of Auckland University. I was one of the inaugural students in Professor Northey's Advanced Administrative Law course when it was launched in 1973.

We were set an assignment on the "fairness" debate, raging between Dr Northey and a then rather obscure Canterbury lecturer named Jim Farmer. I had the audacity to come down in favour of Dr Farmer, and I was persona non grata from then on. To Dr Northey's credit however, I did receive a B+ for the assignment. There was a smarter, more savvy student, who got an A and was published in the Law Review. Do not get me wrong, he probably wrote a better assignment, and he did come to the conclusion that Dr Northey was right.

What can I say? I was not a politician then. It was the late General Charles de Gaulle who said:

*"Comme un homme politique ne croit jamais ce qu'il dit, il est tout etonne
quand il est cru sur parole" (a)*

For those of you who may not understand my poor French accent:

*"Since a politician never believes what he says, he is quite surprised to be
taken at his word"*

Good governance, and since Enron, corporate governance, are the “flavours” of this era. Much has been written, and much has been said. It is not my intention in this lecture to bore you to tears with the regurgitation of old ideas. Since the World Bank defined good governance in 1992 as “*the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources*” there have been many more definitions, but it is, all about power.

Since Lord Acton pointed out that “*Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely,*” there has been growing scepticism about whether this grandiose objective of good governance is ever fully achievable in any country, let alone Pacific States.

The premise on which I base this lecture, I have used before. It is however unique to me, and it bears early emphasise. In order for good governance to thrive, there must exist in society a culture of integrity. Integrity is the glue that binds any effective good governance agenda.

INTEGRITY – THE GLUE THAT BINDS ANY EFFECTIVE GOOD GOVERNANCE AGENDA

At this point, I need to put this lecture in the context of my previous speeches. On 16 July 2001, I was honoured to be asked by my late colleague’s widow, to deliver the Inaugural Luagalau Levaula Kamu Memorial Lecture. Both Levaula Kamu, and Visekota Peteru, are distinguished alumni of this Law Faculty.

A single gun shot in Apia, on 16 July 1999, changed all of us, and the Samoan nation, forever. As Antoine de Sainte Exupery once said, “*A single event can awaken within us a stranger totally unknown to us.*”

The assassination of Levaula Kamu was a cataclysmic event that awakened a nation. In that lecture, I mourned the loss of my good friend and colleague. I also discussed the “Latimer House Guidelines for the Commonwealth.” Your Foundation President, His Honour Justice Rodney Hansen and I, are very proud to be signatories of that document.

The Latimer House Guidelines emphasised the importance of an independent judiciary, accountability mechanisms, a strong and independent media, an independent legislature, a strong opposition, Leadership Codes, and Accountability Principles. All these institutions assist in achieving good governance, however I conclude:

“These are but different parts of the good governance agenda, but without honesty, all these wonderful and lofty ideals, will count for nothing” (b)

This was the basic theme that I revisited in 2002, when I was privileged to be invited to deliver the Inaugural Peter Tali Coleman Lecture in Pacific Public Policy at Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, at Georgetown University, in Washington DC.

The late Governor Peter Tali Coleman was a distinguished alumnus of Georgetown, a double graduate in law and politics. Georgetown is still steeped in a strong Jesuit tradition, and its distinguished alumni include President Bill Clinton and some sixty per cent of the entire foreign service in the United States Government. I was told I was the third choice to deliver that lecture. I was rather flattered to be the third choice, at least on that occasion, since the first two choices, who were regrettably (sic) unavailable, were Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton.

In that lecture, I emphasised the point that the more serious problem facing the world was not the ever diminishing aid dollars, it was the amount of

that aid that was being wasted by endemic corruption in most of the third world. This was recognised in the Johannesburg Summit's (2002) Plan of Implementation, which states:

“Good governance within each country, and at the international level, is essential for sustainable development” (c.)

It should be noted, and this point cannot be emphasised enough, that corruption and greed waste away not only aid dollars, but the meager resources of developing countries as well. Corrupt societies tend not to be choosy whether they pillage their own people or aid funds.

In a recent report, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) concluded, “Weak Governance is a root cause of poverty and breeds instability.” The report goes on to conclude that “without effective governance institutions, structures and services, efforts to reduce poverty will not be effective, and more equitable development for all cannot be achieved.” (d)

THE SEVEN PREMISES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

In the Georgetown Lecture, I introduced seven major premises, all essential for any good governance agenda. I will mention them here with only brief comments because they are the foundation on which I base my personal theory of what drives the good governance agenda.

Premise 1: *Good governance, in any country, is only as good as the weakest link, in any of its component parts.*

Comment - all the Latimer House components must be strong, or there cannot be an effective good governance agenda. If a country has an independent judiciary, but a weak opposition and ineffective media, good governance cannot thrive.

This holistic approach to good governance, was supported in a recent statement by the new Secretary General of the Forum Secretariat Greg Urwin (e). The Samoan Prime Minister, Hon Tuilaepa S Malielegaoi also emphasised this point: *“it is always through the leadership of government, church, and our Samoan traditions that bring about solutions (f).*

Premise 2: *The success of any good governance agenda is directly related to a nation’s leaders’ level of integrity*

Comment – there must be a culture of integrity. If the seeds of corruption are endemic in society, it will take a long time, and resolute willpower, to assert a new culture of honesty in both government and society in general. The slow but steady progress currently being achieved in Solomon Islands is evidence of this fact.

In my analysis I referred to the then recently published book by the National University of Samoa (g). The editors conclude that because blind, unquestioning obedience is such a vital part of our “fa’a Samoa,” or Samoan custom, it was anathema to good governance.

I made this observation on this flawed analysis: “I recently reviewed this publication and I observed there was an interesting irony in all this. Why then has the fa’a Samoa survived so long, and indeed so successfully, in spite of this blatant non compliance with good governance principles? The answer proves my premise. The Samoan culture has not only survived, but thrived, because of the basic high level of integrity, at every level, of Samoan Society’s leaders” (h)

Premise 3: *“Strong leaders of integrity in a country can overcome the governance problems created by weak systems, but the strongest systems can be completely undermined when the leaders are dishonest.”*

Comment – corrupt leaders can contaminate the best of good governance institutions. There is a great deal of empirical evidence of this premise throughout both the developed and the developing world.

Premise 4: *“Accountability and transparency are greatly encouraged by leaders of integrity. The reason is quite simple: being honest, they have nothing to fear from complete and full disclosure, for it always confirms their honesty.”*

Comment – a free and independent press only poses a threat to corrupt leaders. A quote attributable to Voltaire (perhaps wrongly) is most appropriate here:

“I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.”

One of the clearest signs of a corrupt government is when there are significant attempts to silence the media.

Premise 5: *“For any good governance agenda to be successful, sensitivity must be shown to the particular country’s unique situation, and the appropriate time frame for necessary changes to occur must be provided for”*

Comment – I condemned pushing too many reforms, too quickly, on countries already under economic and/or political stress. I praised World Bank’s assistance under the LICUS program, helping “Low Income Countries Under Stress.” The main recommendation is that the World Bank should *“Increase the frequency and quality of its analytical and advisory services to countries with weak governance.”* (i) The alternative is chaos, pushing a good governance agenda in a country already under stress, either political or economic.

This insensitivity has led to scholars such as Professor Jane Kelsey of Auckland university questioning the motives and the procedures that are adopted:

“Its process (good governance) relies on coercive debt conditionalities, tied aid and multilateral regimes, negotiated in secret.”

She goes on to state:

“Its substance aims to limit the policy space and autonomy available to democratically elected governments to respond to their citizens”

Those of us here familiar with her work, can all confirm that this is vintage Kelsey. Even if we cannot all agree with her totally that good governance is “*totally undemocratic*” (j), we can accept with prominent Herald columnist Tapu Misa (k) that “*The constraints of geography, scale, infrastructure, significant transport costs and skills shortages, which made them (Pacific States) particularly vulnerable, were simply brushed aside or ignored.*” Pacific leaders, according to Kelsey, were “*worn down by a pattern of arrogance and intimidation.*”

I am going to have to issue a disclaimer here, because I will never allow myself to be worn down either by arrogance, or intimidation, but I will admit publicly that my colleague our Minister of Trade advised me that World Trade Organisation (WTO) officials have advised us that New Zealand and Australia are putting up the biggest obstacles to our WTO entry efforts.

Premise 6: *“The worst thing America and the West (we can insert here Aid Donors and Institutions such as World Bank /IMF) can do is try to impose the same agenda of good governance on all countries”*

Comment – we need a culturally sensitive good governance agenda tailor made for each individual country. This Premise is developed more fully later in this lecture.

Premise 7: *“Do not impose a standard system of democracy that may not be the model that will work successfully for each State”*

Comment – the successful examples I cited were matai suffrage in Samoa from 1962 – 1991. Change occurred only when the national will wanted it changed. (l) The traditional elections of Senators in American Samoa, a credit to the late Governor Coleman, is another good example of culturally sensitive democracy at work. (m)

I can now tell you, unsuccessful examples include Fiji; the long hard road to its present racially weighted constitution. Why could this political reality not have been recognised from the beginning? It would have prevented a lot of political upheaval and economic hardship.

I consider it important here, to establish the importance of the seven premises, without actually repeating my Georgetown lecture. I feel this is important, given that this forms the foundation of where I believe the good governance agenda, will stand or fall, in all our Pacific States.

PACIFIC STATES AND DEVELOPMENT

The new economic thinking is that GDP per capita, is no longer an accurate indicator of how well a country is performing economically. Indeed the new Human Development Index combines adult literacy, combined gross school enrollments, life expectancy at birth, as well as GDP per capita; to determine a country's Human Development Index (HDI) ranking.

The Human Development Report 2004 was launched last week (27 July 2004), and Samoa was the best performer of all the Pacific States, except Tonga.(n) The rankings are as follows:

Australia	3	Solomon Islands	124
New Zealand	18	Vanuatu	129
Tonga	63	Papua New Guinea	133
Samoa	75	Timor-Leste	158 (worse performer in Asia/Pacific)
Fiji	81	Sierra-Leone	177 (worse performer in world)

I have written a letter to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (o) in which I question Samoa's ranking of 75, behind Tonga at 63. On the following table:

	Average Life Expectancy	Literacy	Average School Attendance	Place
Tonga	68.4	98.8	82	63
Samoa	69.8	98.7	69	75

It is clear that the figure of 69% for School enrolments is wrong. Samoa's Education Ministry is preparing an official statement correcting this figure, I am still waiting on a response to my letter.

The Human Development Report 2004 focuses on the important link between culture and human development. It is an important document, well worth closer scrutiny, and further confirms my Premises 5, 6 and 7 as discussed more fully earlier in this Lecture.(p)

It is encouraging to find such an important publication support my Georgetown premises. In the Introduction, the authors state that it is impossible to eradicate poverty without first meeting the challenge of "how to build inclusive, culturally diverse societies." This is because "allowing people full cultural expression is an important development end in itself"

For obvious reasons, Samoa fares much better in its HDI ranking than other Pacific States such as Fiji with higher per capita GDPs. It is important to note that countries that perform better on the HDI ratings, are generally countries with much more effective good governance provisions. The recent Forum Secretariat Stocktake (2004) tends to establish this fact beyond doubt. (q) This Stocktake was tabled at our recent Forum Economic Ministers' Meeting (FEMM) in Rotorua in June 2004. These biennial stocktakes will form the basis of the ongoing review of how successful Pacific States are faring in achieving good governance, and in particular adhering to the Forum Eight Principles of Accountability.

FORUM EIGHT PRINCIPLES OF ACCOUNTABILITY

At this point, I should introduce the Forum Eight Principles of Accountability (r). You will note that these eight principles are largely concerned with the need for complete transparency in the budget process, including the preparation and audits of government accounts.

These Forum Eight Principles of Accountability are extremely significant, and they bear repeating here.

Principle 1: *Budget processes, including multi-year frameworks, to ensure Parliament/Congress is sufficiently informed to understand the longer term implications of appropriation decisions.*

Principle 2: *The accounts of governments, state-owned enterprises and statutory corporations to be promptly and fully audited, and the audit reports published where they can be read by the general public.*

Principle 3: *Loan agreements or guarantees entered into by governments to be presented to Parliament/Congress, with sufficient information to enable Parliament/Congress to understand the longer term implications.*

Principle 4: *All government and public sector contracts to be openly advertised, competitively awarded, administered and publicly reported.*

Principle 5: *Contravention of financial regulations to be promptly disciplined.*

Principle 6: *Public Accounts/Expenditure Committees of Parliament/Congress to be empowered to require disclosure.*

Principle 7: *Auditor General and Ombudsman to be provided with adequate fiscal resources and independent reporting rights to Parliament/Congress.*

Principle 8: *Central Bank with statutory responsibility for non-partisan monitoring and advice, and regular and independent publication of informative reports.*

It is not necessary to deal with these eight principles in detail here. I do note that in the recent FEMM Stocktake, only Samoa is considered as either fully or at least substantially fully compliant, with all eight of these principles. Samoa also fared exceptionally well in the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) Country Governance Assessments (CGAs). The ADB's ultimate goal is to link lending to governance. This needs to be carefully monitored to avoid hardship, as I point out earlier in this lecture.

In terms of Principle 4, as Chairman of Samoa's Tender's Board, I can assure you of our compliance. All bidders are invited to attend tender openings,

which are done publicly in the presence of two Ministers, the Attorney General, and other officials, and posted on a Board. All bidders are invited to ask questions, after the tender opening process. The proof of the system's effectiveness, is that tenderers are very competitive, and compete aggressively for work.

Our Controller and Chief Auditor continues to publish hard hitting reports (Principle 7) and our Central Bank independently manages monetary policy within a totally deregulated banking system (Principle 8).

Compliance with the Forum Eight Principles of Accountability is good for the economy, not just for the good governance agenda. Samoa's economy has grown an average of 4% each year, which is against the present trend, of an average 1% - 2%, Pacific wide. Inflation has been kept down at an average of 3.5% a year.(s) Social indicators show adult literacy exceeding 98%, and the latest average life expectancy is 67 for men and 72 for women. I am sorry gentlemen, but the international trend is that the women outlive us by at least 3 – 7 years across the globe.

Samoa's tourist industry is about to expand significantly with the construction of three new luxury resorts. The economy is expanding as was recently reported in Islands Business Magazine after the recent FEMM Meeting in Rotorua in June 2004.(t)

Currently our economic policy initiatives are directed towards the lower echelons in our economy. We are pushing small loans, and small businesses; with the efficient operations of the micro-credit organisation SPBD Foundation, and the Small Business Enterprise Centre (SBEC). SBEC is backed by a US\$3 million Asian Development Bank (ADB) project encouraging micro projects and cottage industries.

We need to obtain better data such as Lorenz Curves and Gini coefficients, but there is now an increased emphasis on the distribution of income as the focus of economic policy, rather than just economic growth per se.

I am not an economist, and it is almost 35 years since I won the Kelliher Economics Scholarship, in 1969, here in New Zealand, but common sense tells me if the Samoan economy is growing at an average rate of 4% a year, then I want that growth to benefit the lower echelons of our social structure. I can honestly say that I would rather have no growth, than to announce that there was 5% growth, but only to the top 5% of the economy. That is a real case of the rich getting richer, and the poor getting poorer. I can also assure you all, without strong pro-active economic policies to ensure the fair distribution of wealth, there will be no “trickle down” of growth to the poorer sectors. The trickle down theory was shot down in flames by eminent economists such as Michael P Todaro, and the theory has never fully recovered any real credibility since. The fact is that not all growth, if any at all, “trickles down” to the poor. (u)

Good Governance – The Way Forward

The Forum Leaders have formally adopted this Vision (v). *“Leaders believe the Pacific region can, should and will be a region of peace, harmony, security and economic prosperity, so that all its people can lead free and worthwhile lives. We treasure the diversity of the Pacific and seek a future in which its cultures, traditions and religious beliefs are valued, honoured and developed. We seek a Pacific region that is respected for the quality of its governance, the sustainable management of its resources, the full observance of democratic values and for its defense and promotion of human rights. We seek partnerships with our neighbours and beyond to develop our knowledge, to improve our communications and to ensure a sustainable economic existence for all.”* (Underlining mine)

There are four main focuses of this vision:

- i. **economic growth** (I would add the words “with equity” – growth that benefits all sectors of an economy)
- ii. **security** (The focus of Australian and Forum initiatives in Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and throughout the region)
- ii. **sustainable development** (All development must be sustainable, if resources are not to be totally depleted, such as is happening in the “plunder of our forests” in some Pacific nations)
- iv. **governance** (All resources, aid and local, spent on the people, and not wasted on corruption)

The intention of the Forum Secretariat is that from this Vision will emanate the Pacific Plan, which will focus on the three pillars of sustainable development:

- i. **economic growth** (with equity)
- ii. **social development** (life expectancy, education rates, literacy rates, infant/maternal mortality rates are some of the indicators).
- iii. **environmental protection** (indicators include reforestation levels, marine/wild life reserves, preservation of water catchment areas, fish/bird/animal species protection).

I must now put renewed emphasis on my perspective of all these objectives:

This Pacific Plan will require good governance themes as the binding factor, necessary to achieve all these diverse if interwoven development objectives.

In terms of the Pacific Forum Secretariat, the wounds have healed over the bruising encounters leading to the recent election of Greg Urwin as the new Director General of the Forum Secretariat. Our recent Forum Economic Ministers' (FEMM) Meetings in Rotorua affirmed the support of Pacific States for the Forum Eight Principles of Accountability, and we also supported the Forum Principles of Good Leadership (w).

These Principles of Good Leadership were adopted by Forum Leaders in 2003. I will only refer to a few principles that I consider pertinent to my analyses.

Principle 6

Economy and Efficiency

Ensuring that public resources are not wasted, abused, or used improperly or extravagantly.

This is political speak for "not wasted on corruption."

The only other two Principles that I would emphasise in this Lecture are:

Principle 2

Respect For Cultural Values, Customs and Traditions

Respect for cultural values, customs, traditions and indigenous rights and observation of traditional protocols in the exercise of power.

This affirms my premise that to be effective, good governance provisions, must be culturally sensitive. This Principle also receives further support from the Human Development Report 2004 discussed previously.

Principle 4

Respect for People on whose Behalf Leaders Exercise Power

- i. Proper use of official powers;
- ii. Honesty in dealing with the people and Parliament, with any misleading information corrected at the earliest practical opportunity;
- iii. Publicising information on legal wrongdoing, ethical lapses and false or misleading statements;
- iv. Giving priority to official duties over private interests;
- v. Performance of public duties uninfluenced by fear of personal cost or any hope of personal benefit;
- vi. Public and private conduct that does not lead to a conflict of interest, or in which the fair and impartial exercise of duties might be compromised;
- vii. Ensuring that public facilities are used only for public purposes, and not for personal purposes, unless authorised by legislation or by a public decision of Cabinet

It should be emphasised that these three principles are already encapsulated in my previously enunciated Premises of Good Governance, and affirm the general premise that integrity is the glue, essential to effectively and cohesively binding any successful good governance initiative.

HOLISTIC APPROACH TO GOOD GOVERNANCE-THE NECESSITY FOR MULTI-DISCIPLINARY AND MULTI-SECTORAL INITIATIVES

The new Forum Secretary-General, Greg Urwin recently stated (x):

"I cannot emphasise enough how important it is for principles of good Pacific governance to be nurtured and supported by all sectors of society. This is not something that should only be expected of Forum Leaders. We all stand to gain, if we work together. There is much more that can be done to promote good governance by civil society, the media, the private sector, and other public

institutions. It is not only a matter of holding our Leaders to a high standard, but for civil society and other groups to also hold themselves to higher standards. Good governance, in all its aspects, is one of those core values that add not only to a nation's development, but also to individuals' sense of themselves and of their value as citizens."

This statement affirms several of my premises, in particular that there needs to be a culture of integrity, permeating throughout all sectors, in any society, or the best intentioned good governance initiatives will fail.

Not only governments and government leaders, but all of civil society, including institutions such as the Judiciary, the Media and the Ombudsman, have a vital role to play.

CONCLUSION – THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE IN DETERMINING PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT AGENDAS

Principle 2 of the Forum Principles of Good Leadership states "*Respect for cultural values, customs, traditions and indigenous rights and observation of traditional protocols in the exercise of power.*" Every Pacific State is culturally unique, and every Pacific State is proud of its cultural heritage. This means that all initiatives, including good governance initiatives, will fail, if they are not culturally sensitive. The latest Human Development Report 2004, launched last week on 27 July 2004, puts a renewed emphasise on culture, and the vital role it plays in the development agenda.

It was the late Reverend Martin Luther King, who said, "*We must learn to live together as brothers, or perish together as fools.*" Ralph Emerson once wrote. "*The real death of the United States will come when everyone is just alike.*" When we celebrate other peoples' cultures, we get a better appreciation of our own cultures. Let me illustrate this point with a famous son of Samoa, the

Rock, Dwayne (Rock) Johnson, who is a champion wrestler and now also an internationally acclaimed movie star. In the July 2001 Ebony magazine, in her cover story, Zhondra Hughes wrote:

“.....throughout his career , the Rock has managed to uphold and celebrate both his Black and Samoan heritages simultaneously.”

Not a bad achievement for a Samoan who manages to earn over US\$20 million a year from movies, wrestling, and other promotions. The Rock will return to Samoa on August 8 to find his roots and visit with his people.

My point is that all Pacific States are multicultural, and even within the international community, we must recognise and accept their unique cultural differences. Any economic or other measures taken by international institutions, or foreign countries, which do not take full cognisance of this reality, will fail, no matter how well intentioned.

Political systems in the developed world are also still evolving, such as in New Zealand where the recently adopted Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) Representation form of government is still experiencing implementation problems. Our systems of government in the Pacific have to be adapted to the Pacific way, as defined by our own unique cultures.

The message to the Forum Secretariat, and indeed to all our development partners, is walk beside us and be our friend. We do not expect you to feed blatant corruption in the developing world, but we would ask you to show more understanding. Good governance objectives cannot be achieved over night, especially where, as has been stated, elements of corruption are endemic in a society.

The true significance of this important need to work together, was recognised a few days ago in John Kerry's Speech to the Democratic Convention in Boston (NZ Herald 31/07/2004). In that important speech, he said: "*We (America) need to be looked up to and not just feared.*" He went on to say "*In these dangerous days, there is a right way and a wrong way to be strong*".

If we can all work together to implement the good governance agenda, with a mutual respect and compassion for each other, we can begin to make real progress. It will be a difficult task in any situation, but mutual respect and understanding will determine whether it is successful.

I conclude with another quote from Rev. Martin Luther King:

"Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that."

The light comes with understanding and compassion. Love is the natural condition of the human heart.

Where can we find this light?

We can find it in the new Captain of the All Blacks. It is a cause of great national pride for we Samoans, when the announcer says: "*And now Tana Umaga and the All Blacks.*" A Samoan is running out, leading the greatest rugby team in the World. His full name is Ionatana Umaga – named after David's beloved friend Jonathan in the Bible. He was schooled and received his spiritual grounding care of the Samoan Congregational Church in Porirua.

We can find it in the Pacific Rugby Team, a very good application of regional cooperation, one that has failed so often in other areas such as regional airlines.

We can find it in that joint war dance choreographed by a Samoan dancer, Dominic Fonoti, before the Pacific Team plays. This war dance combines the Samoan “Siva Tau” , the Togan “Haki Tau” and the Fijian “cibi.”

We can find it when our Pacific Island Leaders all serve our various peoples with compassion and an unswerving commitment to integrity. There can never, ever be any justification for causing our people deprivation and suffering, through any deliberate acts of greed and corruption. Only Nero could fiddle while Rome burned.

We can find it in the smiling, contented faces of our Pacific youth. Their faces are filled with hope, of a better tomorrow.

We can find it in ensuring we look after our children’s future, by protecting scarce resources. As a tribe of Canadian Indians say – “You do not inherit the land from your forefathers, you borrow it from your children.”

We can find it by ensuring every man can live with dignity, put food, on his table, so he does not have to steal from his neighbours.

We can find it by celebrating our cultures, and respecting other peoples’ cultures.

We can find it in taking pride in our history, and planning for a better future.

We can find it, as in my Waiata, by taking real pride in who we are!

May God Bless you all

Misa Telefoni Retzlaff
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER and
MINISTER OF FINANCE - SAMOA

Notes:

- a. Quoted in Ernest Mignon *“Le Mots du General (1962) p.67*
- b. Misa Telefoni Retzlaff *“Inaugural Luagalau Levaula Kamu Memorial Lecture” p.1*
- c. Introduction to the Johannesburg Summit’s Plan of Implementation
- d. ADB, 2003. Staff Analysis: Background Papers for Asian Development Fund IX Donors’ Meeting, Tokyo, November 2003

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has placed its new emphasis on poverty reduction. Indeed ADB has executed poverty reduction agreements with all member countries. ADB considers good governance to be an essential prerequisite for poverty reduction.

The context of the quotes used is stated hereunder more fully:

“Weak governance hurts the poor disproportionately, through insufficient service delivery, insufficient levels of accountability, corruption, inequality and discrimination, lack of citizen participation, and empowerment, poor access to markets and support, including employment, and judicial systems. Weak governance is a root cause of poverty and breeds instability. ADB has recognized that without effective governance institutions, structures and services, efforts to reduce poverty will not be effective, and more equitable development for all cannot be achieved.”

ADB currently conducts Country Governance Assessments (CGAs) to assess the quality of governance in member countries, and to strengthen the link between lending and governance.

These are similar to, but not the same as the Forum Secretariat Stocktakes that I discuss later in this Lecture.

- e. Speech to Forum Speakers of Parliament – Tuvalu April 2004. This speech is quoted later in this lecture.
- f. Malielegaoi T S *“Peace through Responsible Leadership and Good Governance”* Delivered 4/8/2003.
- g. Governance in Samoa
Elise Huffer and Asofou So’o – Editors
Published by Asia Pacific Press (ANU) and the
Institute of Pacific Studies (USP) (2000)
- h. Misa Telefoni Retzlaff *“The Inaugural Peter Tali Coleman Lecture in Pacific Public Policy”* Georgetown University, (pp 4-5)
- i. Final Report on LICUS was discussed by the Executive Board of the World Bank on 30 July 2002, which meeting adopted this resolution
- j. All these quotes are from a Speech in June 2004 by Professor Jane Kelsey in Geneva at the World Council of Churches. The occasion was a Conference to prepare a Council Statement on Economic Globalisation Addressing People and Earth (AGAPE). This was a discussion concerning the PACER (Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations).
- k. Tapu Misa’s Weekly Wednesday Herald column published NZ Herald on 7 April 2004. This article discussed PACER and Professor Jane Kelsey’s Paper (note (h) on it).

- l. The Plebiscite that was held in 1991 endorsed universal suffrage by the narrowest of margins, and only because the proposition was universal suffrage but only “matai,” chiefs, could be candidates. The only exceptions being the two Individual Voters’ seats.
- m. The Upper House in American Samoa, the Senate, is voted by the traditional establishment of a consensus in village council meetings.
- n. Human Development Report 2004 – Cultural Liberty in Today’s Diverse World – Director and lead Author Sakiko Fukuda – Parr. Published by Oxford University Press
- o. This is attached as Appendix C
- p. The five chapter titles confirm the emphasis on Culture:
 - Chapter 1: Cultural liberty and human development**
 - Chapter 2: Challenges for Cultural Liberty**
 - Chapter 3: Building Multicultural Democracies**
 - Chapter 4: Confronting movements for Cultural domination**
 - Chapter 5: Globalisation and Cultural Choice**
- q. FEMM (Forum Economic Ministers’ Meeting) BEINNIAL STOCKTAKE 2004. This Stocktake was presented to the Finance Ministers in Rotorua in June 2004.
- r. Only the principles themselves are set out in the text. The Principles, with explanatory notes, are set out in full in Appendix A.
- s. Budget Speech 2004 (31 May 2004).
Economic data also published regularly in Central Bank of Samoa (CBS) reports.

- t. See Islands Business (July 2004) in an article by Robert Keith – Reid “Samoa’s tourism industry, for years stunted by an inadequacy of high-class accommodation, will be embellished by two new luxury resorts and possibly a third.

The family owners of a South Pacific icon, Aggie Grey’s hotel in Apia, have set a May 2005 opening for a 46 million tala 140-room beach resort and golf course under construction on a 220 acre site near Faleolo International Airport.

The government has approved a 54 million tala resort to be built on a small island it leased to a New Zealand developer, Gordon Taylor. The first phase of 40 rooms is due to open in 18 months to be followed by penthouse apartments and sports facilities.

In April, Richard Chiu, owner of the Warwick hotel chain which has properties in Fiji and Vanuatu visited Samoa to discuss a hotel proposal.

Misa has announced that a Japanese company, Yazaki, which employs more than 2000 people in an electrical component assembly plant in Samoa, has won a General Motors contract that guarantees it work until 2010.”

Full article attached as Appendix “D”

- u. Michael P Todaro is the author of numerous articles and one of the main texts used in the teaching of Development Economics.
- v. Forum Leaders’ Meeting Auckland – April 2004
- w. These Leadership principles were adopted by the Leaders in 2003 – Attached in full as Appendix B
- x. Speech to Forum Speakers of Parliament – Tuvalu April 2004.