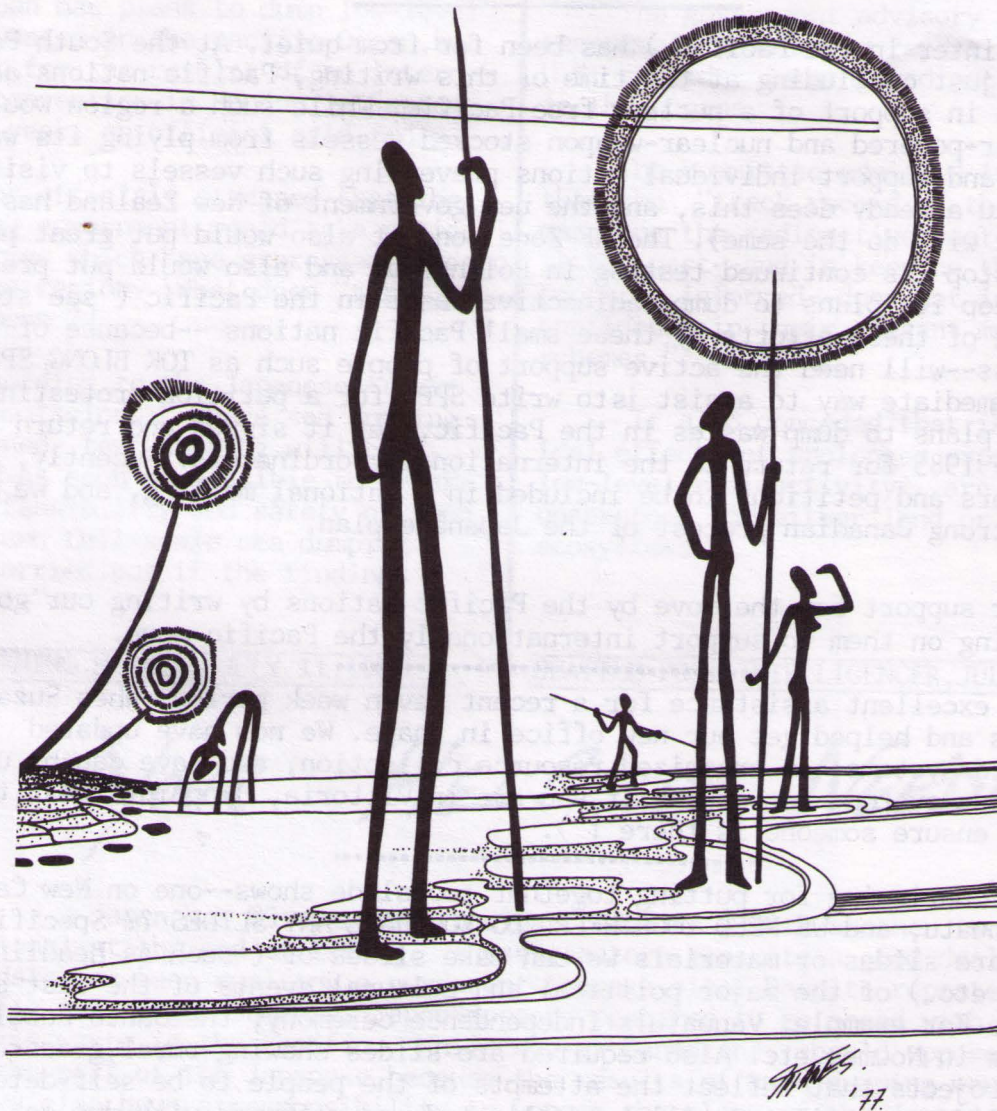


# Tok Blong SPPF

FALL 1984 #9



**ABOUT THE COVER:** This design is by Powesiu Lawes of Papua New Guinea, and is from his book *Wati Kui*, which was printed in November, 1978. For those of you not familiar with this PNG artist, we recommend it to you. Contact the Expressive Arts Department, Sogeri National High School, Sogeri, Papua New Guinea.



# South Pacific Forum Calls for Nuclear-Free Pacific.

The Summer ( Winter in the Pacific ) has been far from quiet. At the South Pacific Forum meeting just concluding at the time of this writing, Pacific nations as a group came out in support of a nuclear free Pacific. While such a region would not prevent nuclear-powered and nuclear-weapon stocked vessels from plying its waters, it does allow and support individual nations preventing such vessels to visit its ports ( Vanuatu already does this, and the new government of New Zealand has stated that it will do the same). The NF Zone concept also would put great pressure on France to stop its continued testing in Polynesia, and also would put pressure on Japan to stop its plans to dump radioactive waste in the Pacific ( see stories opposite). All of these efforts by these small Pacific nations --because of their very smallness--will need the active support of people such as TOK BLONG SPPF readers. An immediate way to assist is to write SPPF for a petition protesting the Japanese plans to dump wastes in the Pacific. Get it signed and return it to us by February 1985 for return to the international coordinators. Recently, SPPF sent 150 posters and petitions to be included in a national mailing, and we would like to get strong Canadian protest of the Japanese plan.

Also show your support for the move by the Pacific nations by writing our government and calling on them to support internationally the Pacific move.

.....  
SPPF had some excellent assistance for a recent seven week period, when Suzanne Rose joined us and helped get our new office in shape. We now have updated filing and card systems, an organized resource collection, and have caught up with much of our overdue networking. If you are in Victoria, drop in ( best to call first to ensure someone is there ! ).

.....  
Our plans are continuing for putting together two slide shows--one on New Caledonia and one on Vanuatu, and WE NEED YOUR HELP. DO YOU HAVE ANY SLIDES ?? Specifically what we need are slides or materials we can make slides of ( such as headlines, news stories, etc.) of the major political and cultural events of the last six or seven years. For example: Vanuatu's Independence ceremony, the Santo Rebellion, demonstrations in Noumea, etc. Also required are slides showing rural, grassroots development projects that reflect the attempts of the people to be self-determining. All slides contributed will be duplicated and returned with due care to the owners. Credit will be given. Please identify fully all slides ( dates, event, place, etc.). WE WOULD LIKE TO PUT THE SHOW TOGETHER IN NOVEMBER, SO WE NEED YOUR SLIDES RIGHT AWAY. THANKS TO ALL WHO CAN AND DO HELP.

.....  
SPPF hopes that you enjoy this, the ninth TOK BLONG . We welcome your comments and news clippings.

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The South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada is a not-for-profit registered Canadian charitable organization undertaking educational work in Canada and project support work in the South Pacific islands. We welcome donations to assist our work and can provide donors official receipts for income tax purposes (#0452177-09-28).

SPPF, 407-620 View Street, Victoria, B.C., Canada  
V8W 1J6 (604) 381-4131

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# Japan to dump?

Japan has plans to dump low-level nuclear wastes in the Pacific Ocean, but will wait for the results of an international convention in London in September next year, an official said today.

[The official] stressed that the [Japanese] government would take notice of countries which have expressed concern within the region. [What does "take notice" mean?]

According to the Japanese Atomic Energy Commission, "where sea dumping is concerned, test dumping will be conducted as soon as possible to determine the feasibility and safety of such dumping, and full-scale sea dumping will be carried out if the findings warrant it."

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, JULY 11, 1984

# U.S. too?

The government advisory panel... recommends in a major report that the U.S. consider dumping radioactive waste in the oceans.

The committee admitted in its study that the "track record of the experts in managing the radioactive waste problem in the past--and in keeping the public properly informed--does not instill confidence in their present management schemes."

It also conceded that the "ecological effects of prolonged exposure to low-level radioactivity...are not well understood for either land or water ecosystems."

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, JULY 23, 1984

# YOUR HELP IS NEEDED

Japan has 25 operating nuclear reactors [with another two due to be operational at the end of 1984]. These reactors generate a good deal of waste which to date has been awaiting a permanent storage site. Despite repeated opposition from Pacific island governments, Japan appears prepared to go ahead with its plans to dump this waste in the Pacific. While we, as Canadians, should oppose any such plans on the part of the Japanese because the results of such dumping would be unknown, we also have a responsibility to oppose the plans of the Japanese because it is partially our uranium which has helped generate these wastes. According to the Globe and Mail of March 13, 1984, Japan has been Canada's most important customer for uranium exports in the decade 1972-82, receiving 34% of exports over that period. Canadians have a responsibility that this waste is disposed of in a safe manner, and not dumped into the ocean.

An international petition drive is currently underway and needs your help. The petition is part of a campaign of church groups in Japan and the Micronesian islands. Signed petitions will be delivered to the Japanese Prime Minister and to the President of the United States on March 1, 1985. PLEASE WRITE US AND ASK FOR A PETITION AND GET SIGNATURES ON IT. THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN TRYING SINCE 1980 TO DUMP WASTES. THEY ARE STOPPED FOR THE MOMENT, BUT ARE TRYING TO MAKE ANOTHER MOVE. IF YOU AGREE THAT THIS IS POTENTIALLY SUICIDAL, PLEASE HELP. SPEAK UP!



# The Micronesian imbroglio

## — or the difficulty of calling a spade a spade

What is independence and what is development? These are the two fundamental questions now confronting American Micronesia, and the answers being given are by no means clear.

A few weeks ago at a school at Ilobang on the west coast of Babelthuap, Palau, an American Peace Corps volunteer was asked to address a group of high school students. Keen-eyed, barefooted, they wanted to hear what the expert had to say. She told them that Palau had gained its independence in 1981 and now faced post-independence problems like those of the Ivory Coast, her previous posting.

In fact, Palau did not gain its independence in 1981. It gained self-government. And, barring the unexpected, it will not gain independence for 50 years.

Was it a random case of ignorance on the part of a well-meaning volunteer? At first I thought so, but then I was told by an official from the Trust Territory Administration in Saipan that the Palauans would be "independent" once agreement was reached on the compact, that same compact which all along has conferred control of Palau's foreign alliances on the United States.

Misconceptions such as these are symptomatic of a wider problem in Micronesia, one which afflicts both Americans and Micronesians (though by no means all of them): the failure to call a spade a spade.

Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Marshall Islands, were and still are strategic colonies of the United States. Even when the Trust Territory is finally dissolved they will continue to be what the British in the days of the British Empire would have called "Protected States", self-governing countries under the

Dr STEWART FIRTH here presents a clear-cut and challenging viewpoint on the background to the present situation in Micronesia. Dr Firth recently toured the Trust Territory after completing a year teaching politics at the University of Hawaii. He has a career-long interest in Micronesian problems, having gained his PhD at Oxford with a study of aspects of the German colonial presence in the Pacific. He is at present senior lecturer in politics at Macquarie University, Sydney.

official suzerainty of a foreign power.

On the face of it, the reasons why the three Micronesian entities are not gaining independence seem obvious: they are too small; they are overwhelmingly dependent on the United States economically; and the Micronesians themselves voted for free association and do not

wish to be cast adrift from America.

But that interpretation of events leaves out the most crucial point, namely, that the United States has never been willing to lose its formal control over Micronesia and has therefore ensured that independence was never a real option for the Micronesians. American aid

offers have been tied to the status of free association, leaving the Micronesians with a choice that was not a choice: either opt for free association and keep your standard of living, or else take your independence and survive on fish from the lagoon. The third alternative — independence followed by generous post-independence aid — has never existed in Micronesia.

As for smallness, an independent Palau or Marshalls would not be the smallest nation in the Pacific; and the F.S.M., with 83,000 people, would be almost a middling power.

The origins of America's determination to stay in Micronesia go back to those desperate battles of World War II when hundreds of thousands of Japanese and Americans ended up as rotting corpses on the beaches and in the jungles of



Senator Moses Y. Uludong's office in Koror, Palau.



the islands. The reaction of the American joint chiefs of staff at the time was to demand that the U.S. simply annex the former Japanese possessions. President Roosevelt and other internationalists such as Cordell Hull wanted trusteeship. The solution was a compromise: strategic trusteeship.

Nowhere else in the Pacific Islands since World War II, with the possible exception of French Polynesia, has military influence been so significant as in the American Trust Territory; and now in the 1980s decolonisation itself continues to bear the military stamp.

As Ambassador Fred Zeder, head of the U.S. negotiating team, told a U.S. Senate hearing in December 1982:

"Mr Chairman, we work, of course, very closely with the Defense Department. As a matter of fact, about half my staff is from the Defense Department . . . One of the basics of this entire exercise is our defense posture in the Pacific. Again, I believe the Defense Department is very happy with the arrangements that have been spelled out in the Compact."

To seasoned observers of the Micronesian scene, Zeder's comment is a truism. But it is a truism worth emphasising, because it explains why decolonisation in Micronesia is such a special case, with no real equivalents in the South Pacific.

In the suzerain relationship which the Micronesians are entering, the U.S. will continue to operate the Kwajalein Missile Range and will control the entry and movement of people in that area of the Marshall Islands; the U.S. military will have free access to Micronesian waters and airspace and, at least in the Marshalls and the F.S.M., will be able to transport and store nuclear weapons; depending on the outcome of the unresolved dispute between the U.S. and Palau, the Americans may be permitted to occupy four separate defence sites in Palau, including a great swathe of 30,000 acres in Babelthup used for manoeuvres training.

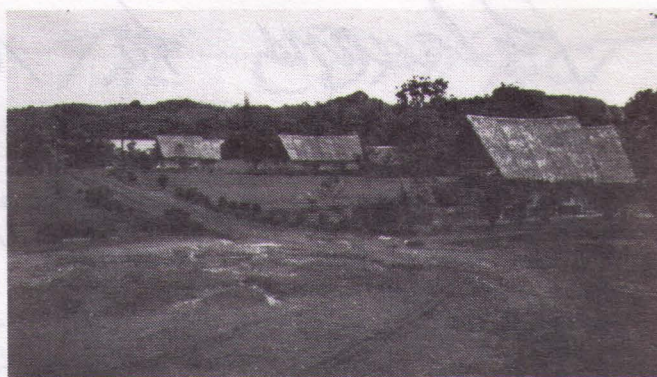
As Michael Somare realises now that Australia is talking about tied aid, there is no such thing as complete independence in the Pacific Islands. Yet

ence, and the effect of the American military requirements in the compact is that the freely associated Micronesian countries will be the least independent of all the decolonised Pacific nations. The U.S. armed forces in Micronesia will be a law unto themselves, exercising considerable powers of exclusive jurisdiction, and even civilian Americans employed by the U.S. Government will enjoy special privileges and protections from local law.

How could it be otherwise, I hear my American friends saying, when the financial dependence of Micronesia is so great? The F.S.M., for example, currently receive about 97 per cent of national and state government revenue directly or indirectly from U.S., and to a small degree Japanese, grants. At least in the district centres, Micronesia has an economy which has jumped straight from subsistence to mass consumption without the inconvenience of production. The disposable nappies, piles of Budweiser beer cans and rusting Japanese pickups attest to that.

Nor are the new Micronesian governments well known for scrupulous oversight of how all this money is spent. People on the government payroll in Koror or Kolonia, Ponape, or Majuro (and who isn't?) seem to be able to pay for things somehow — for trips in trucks, postage, airfares — by drawing on some huge unseen account. The government of President Haruo I. Remeliik in Palau has recently run out of funds for the fourth quarter of the current financial year.

It is on this question that the Micronesians, or some of them, are not calling a spade a spade. True, there is not much to show for the \$2 billion which the U.S. has spent in the Trust Territory since 1947. Water still fails to come out of taps; telephones squeak and go dead; roads are generally few and primitive for such small places. But the self-governing states now have the chance of showing what could have been done with the money by spending less on private consumption and more on public facilities. Instead, they are running into debt by continuing to use U.S. funds to sustain a massive system of



Student Dormitories at Ibolang School, Babelthup, Palau.

When the American warship *USS Peleliu* recently visited Peleliu Island in Palau, a small contingent of Palauans carried placards objecting to the visit. But the Navy was smart. Not only did it organise a huge free barbecue for the islanders; it also sent helicopters ashore to take people back to the ship. As the helicopter landed near the protesters, they threw down their placards and clambered aboard with everyone else for a free flight.

The incident is a symbol of the tension between principle and expediency in the Micronesians' attitude to the U.S. All along both sides have known that America will not leave Micronesia. There has been no deadline to concentrate Micronesian minds on *really* surviving on their own rather than mouthing the rhetoric of independence while waiting for the cash from Washington. And the Micronesians have negotiated in the correct belief that the U.S. will pay a high price to remain in strategic control of their islands.

So the Micronesians have traded what they have. The Marshalls traded their value to the U.S. as a site for the testing of ICBMs; the F.S.M. theirs as territory denied militarily to other powers; and the Palauans are still negotiating, some because they are opposed in principle to the Americans' attempt to make them abandon their nuclear-free constitution and to provide land to the U.S. military, others because they think they can make the Americans pay more.

Both sides have been corrupted in this process. The Americans have pretended that they have the interests of the Micronesians at heart and have

ship which is not new at all. The Micronesians, not having to ponder seriously what development might be, have demanded more and more cash.

Recently, however, the Palauans have been more determined than ever to protect their constitution and their land. Their November counter-proposal, which was supported by a united front of all Palauan factions, offered no military land options whatsoever and no authorisation of nuclear substances. It was rejected by the U.S. in Washington in December. Early in February the Palauan Council of Chiefs — admittedly only one factor in local politics — called upon the Palauan Government to negotiate for full independence.

Even the visit of the *USS Peleliu*, intended as a goodwill gesture by the Navy, has to some extent backfired now that Palauans are asking whether it was carrying nuclear weapons and was therefore in breach of the Palauan constitution. One thing that the Americans must wish the Palauans had not learnt so well is pride in their constitution.

The most recent development is a new tack in the U.S. negotiating position. Ambassador Zeder has agreed to eliminate designation of military land options from the compact with Palau. Yet the record of the U.S., which has never encouraged the political or economic independence of Micronesia, suggests that Zeder's offer is cosmetic. He will seek the same land options by some backdoor agreement.

The real question is: will the Palauans settle for a price? Will they jump aboard the helicopter? Or will they hold their



# Palauans to vote yet again!

## (will the nuclear-free constitution hold?)

With very little change, a new Compact of Free Association was initialed between negotiators for the United States and Belauan governments on May 23. While the changes are few in number, they are large in substance: this new agreement is written without any mention at all of U.S. desires or plans to use Belau for storage and transit of nuclear weapons. As well, fewer military sites are specified for U.S. use. However, it appears that under the newly written document, the U.S. has almost unlimited access to Belauan land.

While nuclear is not specified in the document, the Compact will need 75% to pass in a referendum in Palau, rather than simply a majority. Readers will remember that Palau has the first and only constitution in the world which expressly forbids nuclear substances without the approval of 75% of the voters in a referendum. Since the U.S. is granted full defence authority under the Compact, it appears that they are trying to get the blessing of the people of Belau for nuclear substances, yet are not outlining this to the people. This action follows the plebiscite of February 1983 where the people accepted the Compact by a majority, but would not grant the abrogation of the nuclear provision of their constitution. This caused the deadlock which Palau is currently in, its status being unclear.

The date for the newest plebiscite on the Compact is unclear at this writing. It is clear however that many in Palau will be pushing for a good deal of time prior to having the vote so that a full and complete educational campaign can take place.

The people of Palau have voted four times to uphold the nuclear provisions of their constitution. The U.S. continues to deny Palauans their democratic voice.

Letters supporting Palauans can be sent to Palau Pacific Center, P.O. Box 176, Republic of Palau (South Pacific), 96940.

### Article XIII, Section 6 of the Palau Constitution (or what the U.S. doesn't like):

"Harmful substances such as nuclear, chemical, gas or biological weapons intended for use in warfare, nuclear power plants and waste materials therefrom, shall not be used, tested, stored or disposed of within the territorial jurisdiction of Palau without the express approval of not less than three-fourths (3/4) of the votes cast in a referendum submitted on this particular issue."

" UNDER THE [U.N.] TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS THE BELAUAN'S DUE, NOT SOMETHING TO BE GAINED IN EXCHANGE FOR MILITARY RIGHTS "

Ibedul Yukata Gibbons, Paramount Chief of Southern Belau and Mayor of Koror



# 7 "QUOTES ON THE COMPACT"

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" For Belau, obviously a special brand of democracy is applied by the Government of the United States: repeat a vote until you get the desired result. That's what is happening with the vote on the Compact of Free Association as it has happened before with the nuclear free constitution."

Belau Bulletin ,May 18,1984

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".....this Compact is WORSE than ever. Does the U.S. think the Belauans are stupid natives ?? Even the public employees here, who have their salaries on the line ( or so they are told and so they believe ) laughed in [ Belauan negotiator ] Salii's face when he said that this Compact does not include nuclear. They hadn't even read it and still they laughed. After thirty-five years of U.S.Administration, Belauans understand the American Government VERY well.... especially when it comes to what they will and will not do for Belau . "

excerpt from a private letter from Palau, July 11,1984

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"... [in February 1983] a ballot proposition reconciling the provisions of the Compact and the Palau Constitution on the nuclear issue did not receive the 75% approval margin required by the Palau Constitution. As a result approval of the Compact by the Government of Palau was not completed. Upon approval by the people and Government of Palau the newly signed agreement will overcome the problem of Compact and constitutional compatibility." [Emphasis added]

Press Release, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations,Washington,May 23,1984

## From the May 23 press release:

" By contrast to the previous Compact.... the new documents designate only three areas for potential U.S.land use requirements. ....If the U.S. should require other defense sites [not specifically designated] in the future, Palau could propose alternatives which the U.S. has agreed to consider."

## From the Compact:

"Section 322 (b): With respect to any site not specifically identified in the separate agreement referred to in Section 321, the Government of the United States shall inform the Government of Palau, which shall make the designated site available to the Government of the United States for the duration and level of use specified, or shall make available one alternative site acceptable to the Government of the United States. If such alternative site is unacceptable to the Government of the United States, the site first designated shall be made available after such determination."



8

## A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF BELAUN SELF-DETERMINATION 1979-84

1979

A popularly elected 38-member Palau Constitutional Convention convenes in Koror for 55 days , starting on January 28.

April 2: Ignoring last minute U.S. objections, 35 of 38 Constitutional Convention delegates sign the constitution of the Republic of Palau. Shortly after adjournment, U.S. Ambassador Rosenblatt flies to Palau to meet in a closed session with the Legislature, restating the US Government's opposition to the Constitution, asserting: "The proposed language of the nuclear ban would create problems of the utmost gravity for the US". Hundreds of Palauan citizens demonstrate peacefully outside in protest against this pressure.

June: The Palau Legislature, under pressure from the US and boycotted by pro-Constitution Legislators, meets without the 25 quorum required by its charter, and votes to nullify the constitution on the grounds that it is incompatible with the Compact, and to cancel the July 9 referendum.

July 9: Despite the Legislature's action, the referendum goes ahead under U.N. observation and the constitution is ratified by an unprecedented margin of 92% to 8% .

August 21: A re-drafted version of the constitution is submitted to the Palau Legislature. Provisions objectionable to the US such as those restricting nuclear weapons and waste and imposing stringent controls on military land use are deleted. The Legislature sets a referendum on the "revised" constitution for October 23.

October 23: Palau voters reject the revised constitution by an 80% margin, reaffirming their support of the original constitution.

1980

July 9 One year after the first constitution referendum, Palau voters support the original constitution by a 78% margin. The constitutional Palau government will be formed in January, 1981.

November 17: President Remeliik of Palau and Ambassador Rosenblatt initial the Compact of Free Association and three of the subsidiary agreements in Washington DC. The agreements initialed are : Military Land Use and Rights; Radioactive, Chemical and other Harmful Substances; and Law of the Sea. The terms of the Military Use Agreement are almost identical to the 1976 draft Compact, although more specific. The radioactive agreement permits nuclear powered ships and submarines and nuclear weapons into Palau under certain circumstances, thus conflicting with the intent of the constitution ban. It will have to be approved by 75% of the voters.

The Palauans would have to give up 30,000 acres of their lands for a jungle warfare training base ( meaning 1/3 of the main island of Babeldaob), 2,000 acres for the storage of conventional and nuclear munition and 40 acres of their harbor for the navy, possibly to be used as a forward staging area for the Trident submarine.

1981 January 7: The Constitution goes into effect.



1982 August 26: The final version of the Compact is signed in Washington by US and Palauan representatives.

1983

February 10: A referendum on the Compact of free association is held. The US Government has supported the Palauan Government with \$500,000 for voters' education. Two questions are on the ballot : the first asks the voter to approve or reject the Compact as a whole ; the second seeks approval or rejection of the Radioactive agreement. According to the Constitution, the nuclear provisions of the Compact have to be approved by 75% of the voters . The outcome however is 52% in favor of the nuclear activities and 62% in favor of the Compact. Consequently the whole Compact is rejected.

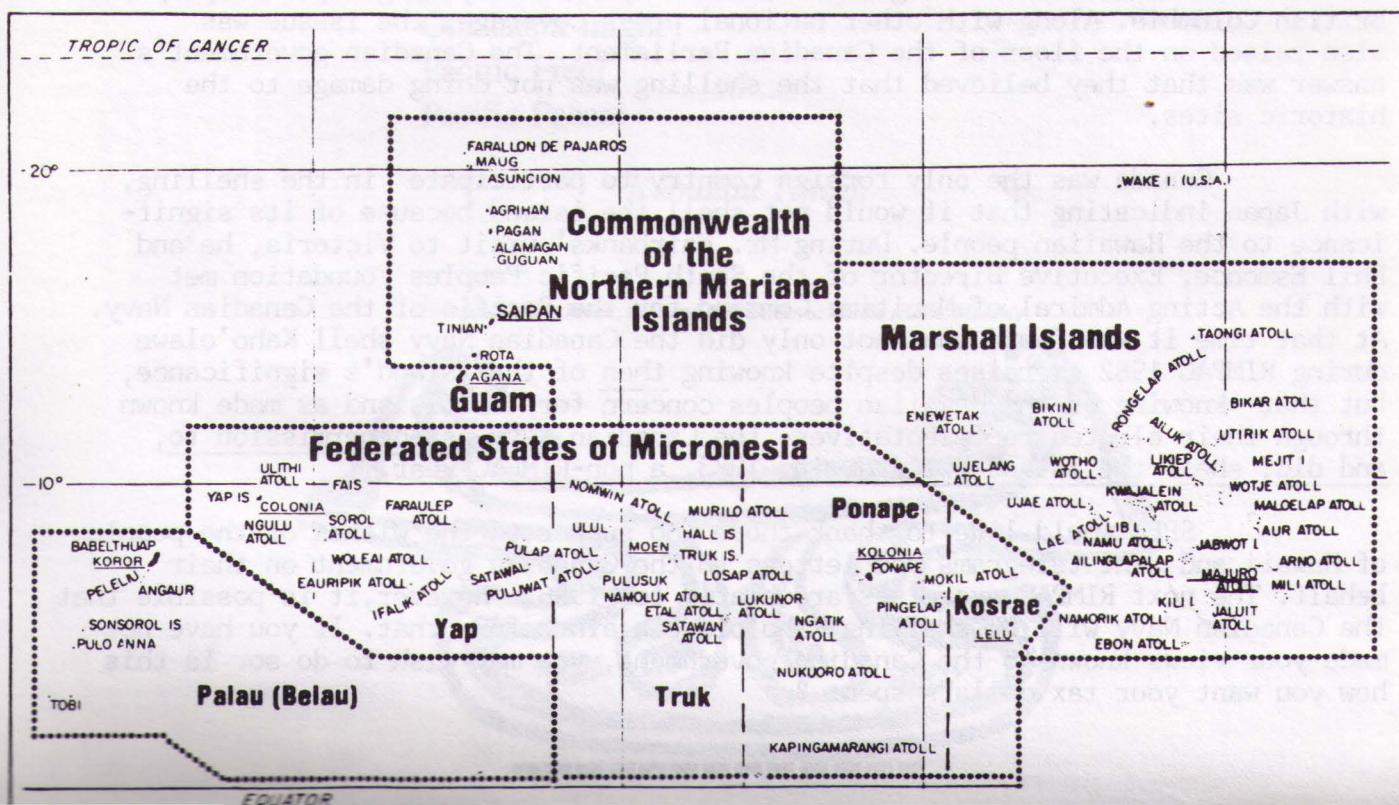
August 5: The Supreme Court of Palau rules that the Compact of Free Association was defeated in the February plebiscite . This judgement has become necessary because it was and still is the position of the government of the U.S. that Palau has to find a way to reconcile the Constitution with the provisions of the Compact.

October-December: negotiations on a redrafted but essentially same Compact take place.

1984

May A reworded Compact , dropping specific references to nuclear weapons or waste, is initialled by the Palau and U.S. governments. The Compact is to be put to the people in another plebiscite and will require 75% to be approved ( The same amount needed to override the nuclear provisions in the Constitution, even though nuclear provisions have been removed).

FROM: BELAU BULLETIN





10  
CANADA

SNUBS

HAWAII'...

Despite requests from the Hawaiian Senate and House of Representatives, as well as the Republican Mayor of Maui, the Canadian government turned a cold shoulder and proceeded to allow the Canadian Navy to use the Hawaiian Island of Kaho'olawe as a shelling target during Canada's participation in the joint navy exercises known as RIMPAC. The shelling took place in late May/early June during the tour of Canada of Keoni Fairbanks of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, the native Hawaiian group which has done tremendous work in trying to retain the historical nature of the island.

During an otherwise successful tour, Mr. Fairbanks was able to bring directly to Canadians the significance of Kaho'olawe, which is on the U.S. List of Historical Places, and has no less than 544 archaeological sites, and is the only link left to pre-contact culture. Amongst others, Mr. Keoni appeared on a national morning television interview show, a national radio news program, and met and got the support of the Moderator of the United Church of Canada ( the largest Church body in Canada ) and the Mayor of Vancouver, B.C. , both of whom sent telegrams to the Prime Minister. Other telegrams were sent by a variety of groups and people in British Columbia. Along with other national press coverage, the issue was also raised on the floor of the Canadian Parliament. The Canadian government's answer was that they believed that the shelling was not doing damage to the historic sites.

Canada was the only foreign country to participate in the shelling, with Japan indicating that it would not shell the island because of its significance to the Hawaiian people. During Mr. Fairbanks' visit to Victoria, he and Phil Esmonde, Executive Director of the South Pacific Peoples Foundation met with the Acting Admiral of Maritime Command for the Pacific of the Canadian Navy. At that time it was found that not only did the Canadian Navy shell Kaho'olawe during RIMPAC 1982 exercises despite knowing then of the island's significance, but that- knowing of the Hawaiian peoples concern for this island as made known through their elected representatives- the Canadian Navy asked permission to, and did, shell the island twice during 1983, a non-RIMPAC year.

SPPF would like to thank those who supported the wishes of the people of Hawaii and sent telegrams and letters to the Canadian government on their behalf. The next RIMPAC exercises are slated for 1986. However, it is possible that the Canadian Navy will be shelling Kaho'olawe again before that. If you have not made your views known to the Canadian government, you may wish to do so. Is this how you want your tax dollars spent ?

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# Pacific Tingting

Not the thoughts of Chairman Mao  
Not the genius animality of Stalin  
Not the evil calculation of Marx's dialectics  
Not the piousness of soft clericals  
Not the rationalization of scientists  
and philosophers of immorality  
Not the greed of capitalist inhumanity  
Not the sentimentality of detente  
Neither the nihilism of intellectuals  
Nor the brutality of fascism  
But the dynamism of quietness  
In the hearts of our people  
Checking each fault  
Calming each fear  
Speaking as the ocean breeze at sunset  
Of shedding greed  
Of shedding hate  
New men, new women  
Our latent might  
Pacific Free!  
Pacific Peace!

*Kumalau Tawali*

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First published in *Mana*; reprinted with thanks to *Pacific Islands Monthly*.





# etc

## The citizens flow out

FIJI is suffering something of a braindrain. Figures for last year showed that 2,752 Fiji citizens left the island nation's shores, compared with 2,672 emigrants in 1982 and 2,754 in 1981. And more than 700 of the 1983 emigrants were professional, skilled and semi-skilled workers, the bureau of statistics said. Most of those who left were Fiji Indians — 2,213 of them. Fijian emigrants stood at 202, compared with 162 in 1982 and 165 in 1981. There were 104 European leavers, 69 Chinese, 17 Rotumans, 91 part-Europeans and 56 others. Most migrants resettled in the United States, Australia and Canada. □

### SOLOMONS TO THE POLLS IN NOVEMBER

The Solomon Islands Parliament will be dissolved in August in preparation for general elections to be held in November. Opposition Leader Sir Peter Kenilorea had sought to have the parliamentary dissolution brought forward so that the elections could be held in August, but lacked the numbers in the House to do so. No precise dates have been fixed for either the dissolution or the elections. — *George Atkin in Honiara.*

### BULK-BUY PLAN BY CO-OPERATIVES

A group of seven Pacific Island countries have agreed to go ahead with a major regional scheme, under which their national co-operative societies will place joint orders for a wide range of consumer goods. Approval for the bulk purchasing scheme followed a week-long meeting of co-operative officials in Suva. Countries represented were Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Tonga, Western Samoa, Tuvalu and Kiribati. A statement issued at the end of the conference said a committee of three, chaired by Fiji, had been set up to co-ordinate the scheme. The statement added that delegates had agreed that the committee should be operating effectively by July, with an initial working period of one year. A follow-up meeting with the managers of the seven co-operatives is to be held in Fiji later this year to review the committee's progress.

### COCONUT CHEESE A SAMOA EXPORT?

Taveuni Island (Fiji) copra planter Brian Leonard, who has carried out successful experiments in making cheese from coconuts, has taken over an old dairy farm near Western Samoa's capital, Apia, and is producing samples of the cheese for prospective buyers in Australia, New Zealand and the United States. He hopes to export about 200 tonnes of the cheese by next year. His request for help for his novel venture from the Fiji Development Bank was turned down. A dairy technologist in Australia for 15 years, Mr Leonard predicts that the manufacture of coconut cheese will revolutionise the coconut industry.

### PNG TO TAKE TV PLUNGE

The Papua New Guinea Cabinet has approved the calling of tenders for establishing a commercial television service and will adopt legislation to allow its introduction next year. The independent Newcastle (Australia) station NBN3 has already submitted proposals to the PNG Government.

Climbing aboard Solair's speedy Metroliner turboprop, officials who whizzed out from Honiara to investigate returned with convincing photographic evidence. One set of photographs showed the purse seiner Lone Wolf fishing 45 miles from Sikaiana. Reported to be using bases in Pago Pago, American Samoa, Hawaii and Guam, Lone Wolf is registered in Micronesia. The other intruder, Bold Adventurer, formerly called Sea Treasure, was spotted 90 miles from Sikaiana and began moving off at 10 to 15 knots after being circled. She was reported to be owned by P.S. Fishing Co Inc, of San Diego, California. Neither ship was licensed to fish in the Solomons' 200-mile zone. After getting a report on the sightings, prime minister Solomon Mamaloni said fishing laws would be tightened to deal severely with any poachers caught.

The Solomons cabinet will soon make a decision on whether to buy a Pioneer 150 fast patrol boat, which an Australian company has been demonstrating to it for the last three months. The Solomons has one Australian-supplied patrol ship, but this has proved unsuitable and too complex for local use. According to the *Solomons Star*, Australia is to supply another patrol vessel in late 1985 or early 1986. But the government wants means to catch poachers immediately. Mamaloni said there was a possibility of getting a patrol boat from Taiwan. □

## The cheeky choppers

WHEN the clatter of a helicopter is heard overhead, Pacific islanders are now apt to jump for the nearest radio telephone to report the machine's presence to authorities in their capital city. The reason: as likely as not the chopper is on a fish scouting mission from an American purse seine ship, illegally fishing for tuna without a permit in a country's 200-mile zone.

Tuvalu and Kiribati have been irritated by having their outer remote islands buzzed by such helicopters. Not only do they buzz islands, they also land illegally, breaking immigration and health rules as well as fishing laws. Since they haven't the means to police their fishing zones, the two Central Pacific countries are rarely able to spot intruding fishing vessels, let alone identify or arrest them. But the Solomon Islands has now at least the satisfaction of identifying some culprits, whose names will go down on a register that amounts to a regional blackball list of foreigners who won't bet a fishing licence from any South Pacific Forum country on any terms. In late May, two foreign fishing vessels were reported to be busy in Solomons waters, one close to Sikaiana island and the other near Lord Howe atoll. One ship got its helicopter aloft for a cheeky flight round Sikaiana.

FROM: ISLANDS BUSINESS &  
PACIFIC ISLANDS MONTHLY.





# Pandanus Periodical



## The Great Tourism Debate: Does the Host Nation Benefit?

by Cynthia Z. Biddlecomb

The Pacific Islands hold an image in the minds of Europeans the world over which began at the return from the Pacific of the first European explorers. The islands have since been thought of as idyllic tropical isles where the people are friendly and live free of the social restraints of European society. Sailors, traders, beachcombers and artists have continued to promote this image of the Pacific over the centuries. Building on similar images taken from the stories and experiences of World War II servicemen, today's travel industry keeps the "Paradise" image of the Pacific alive in the dreams of Americans and Europeans.

Tourists of today travel to the Pacific in response to these dreams. They want a vacation in an exotic place, as different from home as possible, with tropical sun, white sandy beaches and a relaxed atmosphere. But along with the image of the exotic so different from home the tourist is assured they will be comfortable staying in Pacific resorts; they will have airconditioned rooms, maid service, tours and transportation, and a menu that looks much like they are used to with a few island foods added for local color. They are assured that the island people are glad they are coming to visit and they expect to find a smile on the face of every waiter, maid, gardener and doorman they meet.

Island tours mostly give the European history of the islands,

**In all the imagery of travel advertisements about the Pacific, very little is said about the island people of today, their way of life or the expectations they will have of the tourist.**

since their "discovery" by Europeans. When island life is experienced by the visitor it is usually only through an island night at the hotel where local dancers come in to entertain them after a feast of local foods, with dances whose meaning and origins they can not appreciate.

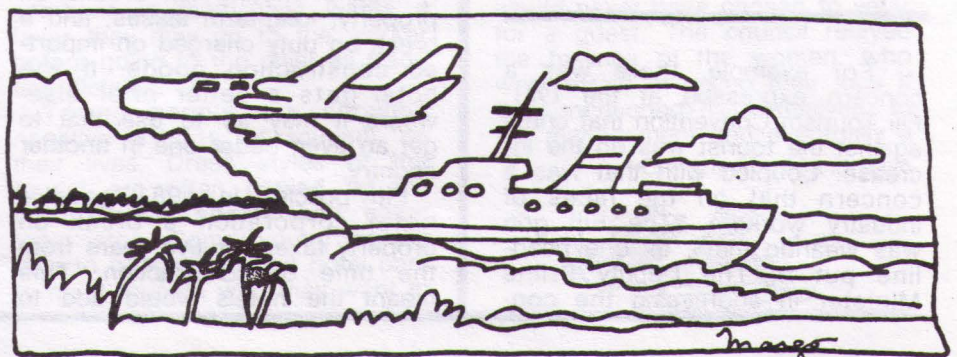
The rare tourist who does want to get to know the life of Pacific people today has a hard time getting away from resort and tour itinerary to meet people. Opportunities for cultural and personal

interaction between tourist and host are either non-existent in the tour program or are so programmed that they are commercialized, paying village groups to entertain or giving the tourist a few hours to shop in local stores.

The tourist industry is set up to give the customer a safe comfortable adventure for a price. The tourist is taken care of so well they haven't any time for deviating from the program, while the travel industry makes its profit from packaging the product (the tour) for mass consumption. The concern for profit overrules any interest in the needs and concerns of the population to be visited. In this scheme, the islander is a potential hotel worker or cab driver or hostess and is thought of as little more than that.

Certainly tourists do not intend on the whole to cause social problems in the host country.

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Bali Hai Hotel, Huahine ('French' Polynesia). Sign reads: "The pool is reserved exclusively for guests of the hotel." Photo by Cynthia Biddlecomb.

However, the few who want to "let themselves go" are often the ones indulging in illegal activities. In addition, the strain caused by hosting affluent people in a non-affluent country can lead to increased crimes against the tourist committed by Pacific islanders. The same is true in most 'Third world' nations with major travel industries.

**Statistics from Pacific governments have begun to show that with an increase in tourist visits each year there is also an increase in social problems; crimes such as robbery, rape, drug pushing and prostitution often result from tourism.**

For example, there was a concern expressed at the 1981 Fiji Tourism Convention that crime against the tourist was on the increase. Coupled with that was a concern that on the faces of industry workers "The Fiji grin was wearing thin", as one headline put it. The Deputy Prime Minister in addressing the con-

vention pinpointed the reason for this turn away from traditional politeness and hospitality toward visitors when he stated that the benefits of tourism were not being distributed enough to the host population.

A look at the growth of tourism in a Pacific nation will show how this is true. When a country's development planners decide to start encouraging tourism they have to think about what the country has to offer the tourist in the way of facilities. Usually the airport needs upgrading, roads must be paved to the cities and hotels must be provided. Local capital resources are rarely adequate for fronting money to build hotels. The only other way to turn is to the large hotel companies, usually headquartered in Australia or the U.S., and try to strike a deal with them. Getting a transnational hotel company to invest means making it a better offer than the next country. This usually means offering tax breaks on property, long-term leases, and a break on duty charged on imported construction goods. If the hotel gets a better offer elsewhere it may try to use that to get an even better one in another country.

Fiji policies in 1981 gave a hotel corporation a break on property taxes for five years from the time of construction. This meant the hotels would add to

# The P Tourism D

their facilities every five years so the tax breaks would continue. Fiji also gave them a cut in duty at the docks, charging only half the usual duty on imported construction materials to get the hotel built.

**In 1970 less than 45% of the foreign exchange earned by the tourist industry in Fiji actually stayed in the Fiji economy.**

If the hotel is getting so many tax breaks, how do the roads get paved and the other infrastructure like electricity, sewer system and piped in water get provided? Unfortunately the cost of infrastructure rests on the host nation, requiring huge sums of money to be diverted from other projects which might more directly serve the needs of the people. Fiji found water and electrical needs of hotel zones and cities required a more sophisticated hydroelectric dam. Money for the dam and for



A Fijian spear dance performed in Suva. Photo by



# Pacific Debate . . .

another project, a sealed highway leading from the airport in Nadi past the Coral Coast hotel zone to the capital of Suva, had to come from aid programs through the World Bank and other foreign sources. Much of the money was in the form of long-term loans which Fiji will owe for a long time. It must be considered whether such loans and aid could have been used for local development needs rather than to support an industry from which foreign corporations profit so much more than Fiji does.

Village communities are perhaps more aware of another level of social problems, specifically those directly affecting their people. Most of these social problems are due to the economic differences between tourist and host. From the local host's perspective all tourists appear to be equally wealthy. In a luxury hotel it is hard to tell who has saved for years for their vacation and who travels several times a year. None of the tourists is working when they are vacationing so it may appear that they are rich and never work, making the society they



Women display handicrafts for sale to a tour group visiting a village in the Yasawa Islands, Fiji.  
*Photo by Cynthia Biddlecomb.*

come from more appealing to the host people.

**If the hotel worker who makes other people's bed, cleans gardens for the pleasure of the visitor or serves visitors drinks everyday in the luxury of the hotel, lives in a village without the amenities of the hotel (hot water, air conditioning, plenty of fancy foods, a sewer system, etc.) then they may find their own village much less satisfying.**

Village members who are not happy with their lifestyle and have some money from the hotel job often are the first to turn against village authority structures. When someone in the village wants a favor they may go to the worker before going to the chief as tradition dictates.

Young people are showing negative effects of tourism on their lives. Dress styles of the tourist are often copied by the youth (short shorts and halter tops, etc.). Some young people take to hanging around hotel bars to meet tourists who may want to

pay them for favors or who could take a liking to them and pay for their education overseas. Cases of drunk youths returning to the village making noise and fighting were reported in Fiji, and in Tahiti some cases of young people turning occasionally to prostitution to help out their family financial situation were also common. In all, the behavior of the "get away from it all" tourist cannot be said to be a positive example for village youth.

The council of deacons of the churches on Bora Bora started meeting a few years back with the management of the local hotel to iron out some issues of concern to local hotel workers. The issue that touched off the need for communication between them was the announcement by the hotel management that its women workers would have to wear what they thought were more Polynesian outfits than those which the women were wearing to work. The best Sunday dresses of the women were to be replaced by what they normally would wear to do housework or to relax in and would never have chosen to wear for a guest. The council relayed the feelings of the women, who were afraid of losing their jobs if they mentioned it themselves, to the management and eventually a

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*Cynthia Biddlecomb.*



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Continued . . .

mutually acceptable form of dress, a sleeveless shift, was agreed upon. In this way the modest tradition of the women was for the most part preserved and the hotel got a more "Polynesian" form of dress; both parties were satisfied. Since then other issues relating to the behavior of tourist and the affect of the hotel have been dealt with through this arrangement. Not only the villagers are happy but the hotel now has a way of gauging the attitudes of local people to the tourists, perhaps preventing ill feelings and future incidents.

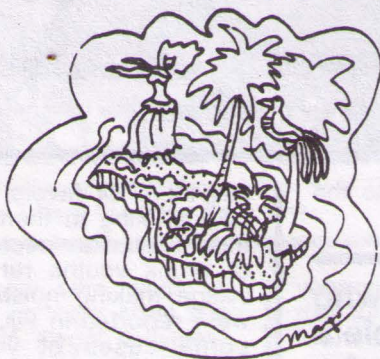
Tourism offers many financial rewards for the host country that invests in it. But the negative im-

pact is severe. In Part 2 of this article we will take a look at some important questions to consider when an island government plans tourism into the nation's development plan.

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**One village community in Bora Bora is a good example, however, of how a group can try to work with the existing tourist industry on their island and try to minimize the negative influence of it on village life.**

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Cynthia Z. Biddlecomb is currently working on the staff of the U.S. Nuclear Free Pacific Network office in San Francisco, California, USA. She worked for 14 months in Suva, Fiji, for the Pacific Conference of Churches, for whom she wrote the book *Pacific Tourism: Contrasts in Values and Expectations*. (Lotu Pasifika, 1981.)

## HISTORY CONFERENCE

The Pacific History Conference, organized by the Pacific History Association in association with the University of the South Pacific and other institutions, will be held in Suva from 27 June to 2 July, 1985. The programme will include contributions in archaeology, oral history, ethno-history and related subjects. This will be a major meeting with significant numbers of people expected from many countries.

There is a registration fee of US\$10 and all interested persons are welcome. PHA membership is \$10 per year.

The programme includes visits to historic centres, with symposia actually taking place at those centres. In Suva while the main focus will be of the University of the South Pacific, some symposia will be held at the Fiji Museum, the Pacific Theological College and other locations.

There will be group discount fares available from Australia and New Zealand, and possibly Papua, New Guinea, and if there is sufficient interest from Canada, group discount fares could also be arranged from Vancouver or at least from Hawaii to Fiji. Further information can be obtained from members of the convening committee (Mr. Malama Meleisea, Dr. David Routledge or Dr. Robbie Robertson at the School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, Box 1168, Suva, Fiji) or from the President of the Pacific History Association (Prof. Ron Crocombe, Director, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Box 1168, Suva, Fiji).



# WHAT FUTURE FOR PACIFIC TOURISM?

"Once, not so long ago, it was only Fiji and Tahiti (in the Pacific) that actively courted tourists. Some countries, like Western Samoa, decided they didn't want to be polluted by them. Others felt they were too small and out of the way to offer anything to visitors."

Thus begins an article on tourism in the March edition of "Islands Business" magazine. If the envisioned action, summarized below, takes place, the consequences for Pacific Island people are likely to be far beyond their expectations. Regular readers of "Contours" will be aware of an audio visual on the development at Nusa Dua in Bali. That resort centre and several other countries' tourism development plans owe their concept and success to a man who is now involved in turning tourism into a major revenue earner for 13 Pacific island countries: Mr. Edward Inskeep.

These countries have called on the World Tourism Organization, a UN agency, to help plan at various levels for the growth of tourism. Funded by the UN Development Programme, the WTO's \$US 180,000 year-long project began last October. Headquarters for the project are at Port Vila, Vanuatu. It is managed by Edward Inskeep, an Ohio-born, long-time resident of Hawaii and a town and country planner by profession. The work covers the Cook Islands, Micronesia, Western Samoa, Fiji, the Solomons, Kiribati, Tonga, the Marshall Islands, Tuvalu, Niue, Vanuatu, Palau and Papua New Guinea.

Some countries are being advised on the technicalities of preparing comprehensive tourism master plans. Others want to be briefed on tourism education and training. Eight of the countries have asked for courses for mid-level and top-level hotel and catering staff. Fiji wants recommendations on initiating a hotel and tourism management course at the Univer-

sity of the South Pacific. Vanuatu is also seeking a hotel training school and ideas on mitigating the impact of visitors' foreign ways on local culture.

Twenty-five participants will be brought together for a 2 to 3 week course later this year on techniques of tourism planning, development and marketing.

Inskeep worked on drafting the 1973 Fiji Tourism master plan and has been involved in similar master plan projects in Malaysia, Burma, Bali and Zanibar. He has a major role in planning for Bali which is now a major resort destination. His work there led to World Bank finance and the creation of a large resort centre at Nusa Dua. It may be that the lessons of Nusa Dua will remain unobserved in these newest activities. In "Islands Business" Inskeep reports that the region's governments can "see that tourism can support cultural traditions that might otherwise die out". One may ask how this might happen. Moreover the difference between a "tradition" that is maintained for its own sake and one that is maintained for the sake of the tourist dollar is often substantial. In this other sense, tradition can still die, and is often degraded.

WTO and Inskeep will plan the facilities to the finest detail. Local industry including farmers and fishermen, will be "brought into position" to soak up the tourist's funds. Says Inskeep, "We will recommend logical tour patterns in an area, down to the length of a tour and where it goes. We'll look at how many facilities can be built in an area without causing an environmental problem". We gained the impression that WTO is after a saturation level of tourist facilities.

FROM CONTOURS: ECUMENICAL  
CONCERN FOR TOURISM.



# KANAK FRUSTRATION MOUNTS

The Independence movement in New Caledonia has called for complete independence from France by September 1985. France proposes independence by 1989. The Kanak response has been to step up demonstrations, and the movement appears to be gaining more and more public support. France has never given up a colony without a fight, and if the current direction continues, it will be the same in New Caledonia. The Kanaks (indigenous people) want the issue placed on the agenda of the U.N. decolonization committee, to bring pressure to bear on France--which has recognized the right of the Kanaks to independence--to follow through its words with action.

Following is a brief overview of the situation in New Caledonia since 1983, as put out in a press release by the Independence Front when one of its leaders, Yann Celene Uregei, lobbied in New York on June 11, 1984.

## May 1983

First visit of the new Minister for Overseas Territories, Mr. Georges Lemoine, to New Caledonia.

In Noumea, the rightist colonial party RPCR, assembled 30,000 colons (French settlers) to demonstrate against Kanak independence; the Independence Front assembled more than 15,000 independence supporters in a counter demonstration. Mr. Lemoine, in an ambiguous speech, presented an outline of the French government's status proposal for political autonomy.

## July 1983

The roundtable of Nainville-les-Roches brought together the French government and the political parties represented in the Territorial Assembly to discuss the political status of New Caledonia, with the Independence Front having agreed to dialogue with the French government regarding independence for New Caledonia. The French government recognized for the first time the innate and vital right of the Kanak people to independence, a right which is inalienable and not invented by the French government. Despite the fact that the right of the Kanak people to determine the extent of their hospitality has yet to be recognized, the Independence Front has indicated its willingness to accommodate the "victims of history", i.e., the first colons or "Caldoches" who have already resided in New Caledonia for several generations.

## September 1983

The South Pacific Forum, which represents all the independent nations of the Pacific, assembled in Canberra, Australia, and took a position in favor of an autonomy status as a transition towards independence. At its next meeting, scheduled for Tuvalu in August 1984, the Forum will re-evaluate its position regarding the placing of New Caledonia on the list of the Committee of 24 at the United Nations.

## October 1983

Five nations of the South Pacific Forum (Vanuatu, Papua, New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Western Samoa and Fiji) officially introduced the demand of the Kanak



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people for independence at the General Assembly of the United Nations, stating that New Caledonia will be the next country in the region to achieve independence. This was well received in the general debate of the UN Assembly.

#### November 1983

Mr. Georges Lemoine travelled to New Caledonia to explain to the political parties and the population of New Caledonia the status proposal of the French government, which stipulates self-determination in 1989. The Independence Front refused this status project and submitted to Lemoine its own status proposal, which had already been introduced in the Territorial Assembly. This proposal includes an electoral reform which takes the "victims of history" into consideration, a schedule for independence by September 24, 1985, and the gradual transfer of power based on a series of contracts and agreements. The Independence Front indicated to Lemoine that it will continue the dialogue with the French government until the final vote on the political status of New Caledonia by the French parliament.

#### December 1983

At the 15th Congress of FULK (United Front for Kanak Liberation), the political parties of the Independence Front, the unions, the students, and the League of Human Rights, after careful examination, rejected Lemoine's status proposal, which they called a "treaty of occupation drafted by an occupying power".

#### January, 1984

The Independence Front dispatched a delegation to the Pacific to ask the member nations of the South Pacific Forum to take the initiative to present the case of New Caledonia to the Committee of 24 of the United Nations before the final status vote by the French parliament.

At its Convention, the Independence Front refused the status project of the French government and declined to participate in the elections for the Territorial Assembly unless the electoral reform they propose is accepted. The Independence Front decided to mobilize the Kanak people to occupy land in all regions of the Kanak country.

#### March 1984

At another Convention of the Independence Front the following decisions were made:

1. To call for a general occupation of land all over New Caledonia on March 24,
2. to draft a charter for the struggle of the Kanak National Liberation Front (FLNK),
3. to draft a constitution of the Kanak nation, and
4. to name the Coordinating Committee the Executive Committee of the Front.

#### April 1984

The French Secretary of State suddenly visited New Caledonia. The Independence Front actively boycotted his visit, which they believed was aimed at dividing the Kanak people. In Noumea, the Secretary was greeted by a demonstration comprising many activists, in which the FLNK repeated its proposals regarding the future political status of transition towards independence.

The status proposal of the French government had been submitted for comment to the Territorial Assembly. After the debate, the 32 members present unanimously rendered an unfavorable opinion regarding the proposal.



May 1984

A delegation of the Independence Front was dispatched to Paris to reaffirm and defend its proposals before the Administration, the National Assembly, and the Senate prior to the final status vote by the parliament.

On May 16 and 17, the Commission on Constitutional Bills of the National Assembly adopted the status proposal presented by the French government and rejected the proposal of the Independence Front.

On May 28 and 29, the National Assembly discussed the political status project for New Caledonia. Of the 488 representatives of the National Assembly, only 17 were present, showing the lack of consideration towards New Caledonia on the part of the elected representatives of the French people. The result of the vote following the debate was: 7 for the government proposal, 6 against, and 3 abstentions. The status project will be debated in the Senate towards the end of June and then will be resubmitted to the National Assembly for its final adoption during the month of July.

After the rejection of its proposals by the National Assembly, the Independence Front took the following initial actions:

- Assemblymember Roch Pidjot resigned from his Socialist-affiliated group.
- The Independence Front decided to boycott the European parliament elections scheduled for June 17 in New Caledonia.
- The Independence Front vowed to continue with all possible means to work towards a unilateral decolonization of New Caledonia.

June 1984

The Independence Front dispatched a delegation to the United Nations to update the member nations of the United Nations on the latest developments regarding the political status of New Caledonia. The Independence Front hoped to make UN representatives, especially the members of the Committee of 24, aware of the gravity of their situation and to arouse their concern.

July 1984

Next Convention of the Independence Front scheduled. The program will include:

- the establishment of true political representation of the Kanak people,
- a scenario for the proclamation of independence on September 25, 1984,
- plans to boycott the elections for the Territorial Assembly,
- discussion of further actions to be taken on a national, regional, and international level, and
- adoption of a charter and a constitution.





# Irian Jaya: the issue that won't go away

In the past month over 300 refugees have fled the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya for Papua New Guinea. Melanesians are particularly upset by the government's transmigration scheme whose aim is to have Asians outnumber the local populace within five years. ROBIN OSBORNE reports.

**I**N mid-1982 the then Deputy Prime Minister (and now Opposition Leader) of Papua New Guinea, Iambakey Okuk, wrote an article in The National Times predicting that Indonesia's mass settlement of "transmigrants" in Irian Jaya would create enormous tension both in the province and in PNG.

Calling the transmigration program an "inhumane act against the Melanesians," Okuk said that "more and more West Papuans (as the people refer to themselves) will cross into our country seeking refugee status."

Events of the past month have supported Okuk's view.

Following the attempted raising of the OPM (Free Papua Movement) flag in the

provincial capital, Jayapura, in early February, and the ensuing clashes between guerrillas and Indonesian troops, more than 300 refugees fled to Papua New Guinea.

While many of the refugees have said that they left Irian Jaya to escape the consequences of an army "black-list," it is clear that the root cause of the Papuans' rebelliousness, and thus of their flight abroad, is transmigration.

Most have come from the Indonesian-PNG border region, which is a prime focus for the scheme, and many

complain that the forced acquisition of their customary land had left them with little choice but to join the OPM guerrillas in the bush.

Under the latest Indonesian five-year development plan (Repelita IV) the transmigration target for Irian Jaya from 1984-89 is set at one million people.

Although this is only one-fifth of the national target, it far outweighs the 60,000 transmigrants who have already been resettled in Irian Jaya. More importantly it would render the West Papuans — who now number 800,000 — a minority in their own land.

The transmigration targets are no government secret and the Melanesians are well aware of the demographic plan for their territory. They are not impressed by the argument that their sacrifice will help to alleviate population pressure on Java.

They are even less keen about remarks such as the one made by President Suharto that 13 million poor farmer-families (averaging five members) should be moved from Java to the outer islands in order to give the scheme a chance of success.

More than half the people living in Java's villages have no land at all, while another third live on holdings too small to support themselves.

So far the scheme has fallen well short of its targets. But even if the planned 500,000 families have been transmigrated in the five years to 1984 they would have removed from Java only one-fifth of its increase in population.

The main reasons for the shortfalls are the inefficient Indonesian bureaucracy and the difficulty encountered in acquiring land. The latter problem has occurred in several locations but nowhere has resistance been as dramatic as in Irian Jaya.

Traditionally, land in Melanesian cultures — as in black Australia — is considered to be hereditary and thus inalienable. Locals insist that clan land encompasses tracts of jungle beyond the village and its nearby food gardens.

Transmigration officials in the province often complain that the "Irianese" have no right to lay claim to land which is not being "used." Obviously they do not consider the hunting of game and the collecting of wild food to be productive pastimes.

In order to acquire land for the huge transmigration camps, the Government uses tactics ranging from cash payments through legal chicanery to forced eviction.



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Indonesia's concern to maintain an image of legality about the scheme was highlighted in a recent paper on transmigration by Heinz Arndt of the ANU. Professor Arndt, who travels to Indonesia frequently and has connections in government circles, wrote that "it is now acknowledged that the development of a legal framework for transfer of title from local people to transmigrants represents an urgent task."

But it remains to be seen how an amicable framework can be worked out, given the Melanesians' relationship with their land. Even the concept of a title is unknown, let alone the idea of being able to transfer ownership.

From the viewpoint of the transmigrants it is true to say, as did Arndt, that the program is the "largest voluntary land settlement scheme in the world."

The hitherto-landless peasants receive 3.5 hectares of land. One hectare is for food crops, 0.25 hectares for a house and the remainder for tree or other cash crops.

For the first year, settler families are supported by the Government; then they are expected to be self-sufficient.

Not surprisingly, most transmigrants report that they are happy with their new situation. But they are less pleased by the necessity to exist in a seige environment on a hostile frontier.

The army is ever-present and access roads through the jungle are subject to strict security. After dark the surrounding bush looms with menace.

Most of Irian Jaya's 40 transmigration sites have experienced attacks or suspected infiltrations by OPM guerrillas since the scheme began in the mid-1960s.

As a result, relations

between transmigrants and the "hostile natives" tend to be strained. This even applies to the few Papuans who have been offered places in the new locations.

Some of the projects have a local component ranging between 10 per cent and 20 per cent. However, a close watch is kept on their loyalty to the Republic. Official suspicion of Melanesians, especially those holding government jobs, can be expected to intensify after recent desertions by low-ranking soldiers.

While this is transmigration in practice, the theory is far more optimistic, involving, as it does, extensive financial and technical assistance from several world bodies.

The UN Development Program, the FAO and the World Food Program have together promised \$US70 million

worth of help over the next five years. Tonnes of food such as milk powder and tinned fish are being air-dropped into new sites that surveyors are exploring.

The World Bank has approved a \$A130 million "soft" loan to assist Indonesia identify the best locations.

In Indonesia and overseas, transmigration is touted by interested parties as a grandiose experiment that is succeeding. For instance the Lockheed company, whose Hercules aircraft provide most of the transport for the settlers and their meagre baggage, boasts in its corporate ads about the "spacious, comfortable room" for passengers.

"Because of Hercules," one ad says, "Indonesians can be settled in their new homes the same day they leave Java." It adds that because the program

has been "so successful ... the Indonesian Government has doubled its fleet."

Apparently the company has not suffered from the disclosure in the US Senate's "Lockheed scandal" hearings that President Suharto personally intervened to direct the Lockheed agency for Indonesia towards a company run by a family associate.

If each Papuan family were given the \$15,000 which — excluding infrastructural costs — it is estimated that each transmigrant family costs, local development could take on new meaning.

But Indonesia will not entertain criticism of the scheme. Official attitudes are encapsulated by the sentiments in a recent newsletter issued by the Indonesian Embassy in Port Moresby: "Transmigration is the Gov-

ernment's project, and that is Indonesia's business," the embassy stated. "There is no reason why the people from other parts of the country should not be allowed to settle in the area (Irian Jaya) that is a part of Indonesian territory."

Successive PNG governments have believed they have no choice but to accept Indonesian rule over Irian Jaya and thus the idea that transmigration is an "internal affair." But as the latest wave of refugees shows, the issue is unlikely to vanish.

Rather, the refugees are externalising events in the province, much to the delight of PNG-based journalists who are refused visas to go there. And, of course, to the OPM which is finding transmigration to be its most potent recruiting aid.

\*Robin Osborne has travelled through Irian Jaya, was press secretary to PNG's former Prime Minister, Sir Julius Chan, and later to the present Deputy PM, Paias Wingti.

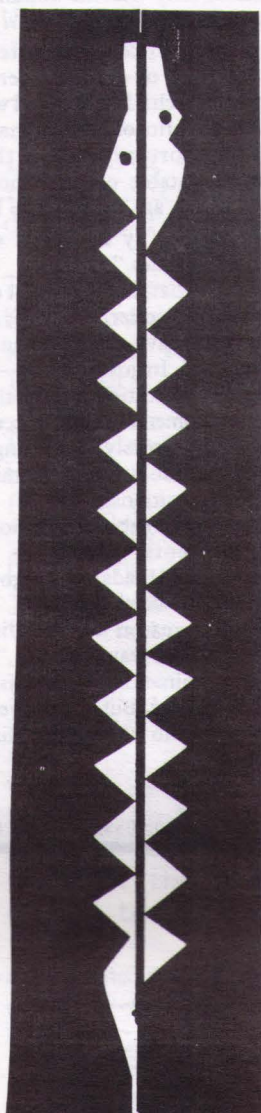


### BIKINIANS PLAN NEW LEGAL MOVE

Former residents of Bikini Atoll say they will take new legal action in an effort to force the United States Government to clean up radioactive material from atomic bomb tests so they can resettle their central home island. The Bikinians were removed in 1946 to enable the U.S. to conduct a series of nuclear tests. Their lawsuit, to be filed in the federal court in Honolulu, seeks an injunction to require the government to make the atoll safe for human habitation. Last November, a committee of scientists reported that decontamination of the atoll was technically feasible. In March, the House of Representatives Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs recommended that \$US10 million be spent annually, beginning in the 1985 fiscal year, to clean up the atoll. The Bikini Atoll Rehabilitation Committee, which was funded by Congress, estimated it would cost up to \$130 million to decontaminate Bikini's two main residential islands — Bikini and Eneu. American Associated Press said the nearby atoll of Enewetak, the site of 43 nuclear tests, was cleaned up and rehabilitated in the late 1970s at a cost of \$150 million. The U.S. returned the Enewetak people to their atoll in 1980.

### Cannery town

A new town centred on a fish cannery and a copra crushing mill is to be developed by the Solomons government at Noro, in Western Province. The cannery will be built by Solomon Taiyo, a Solomons/Japanese joint venture company. Noro town will initially have 200 housing commercial and factory sites and a deep-water wharf able to handle large ocean-going ships. According to the government's national planning department, total investment will be about \$s18 million and building should begin early next year.



Inlay design from a Santa Catalina food bowl

## WOMEN

# A female revolution

By DAVID ROBIE

A MOBILE training unit teaches Kanak village women on the east coast of New Caledonia about family planning, nutrition and how to make smokeless stoves. East Sepik women in Papua New Guinea are shown how to make ferro-cement tanks so they can teach other villagers how to create safe water supplies.

The Vanuatu government bans the importation and use of depo-provera, a controversial injectable contraceptive being "dumped" in the country, in response to a campaign by the Vanuatu Council of Women. Radio broadcasts in Wallis and Futuna advise women on how they can improve their home life — and future programmes will discuss topics such as contraception and environmental hygiene.

In Hawaii, a milk bank provides hospitals with mother's milk and it is provided free for premature babies and those with critical feeding problems. Throughout the Pacific, women are reasserting themselves, regaining lost traditional skills and discovering new ones. The creation of a Pacific women's resource bureau in the New Caledonian capital of Noumea is encouraging existing women's networks and fostering the establishment of national women's

councils.

"The term *feminism* is virtually unknown in the South Pacific," says Hilda Lini, first programme development officer of the two-year-old bureau. "Pacific women have strong and firm beliefs on the subject — but not in the terminology of the Western world. My understanding of the concept *feminism* is an activity organised by women to care for women's rights and interests."

Lini believes such activities include women speaking out where their lives are affected by traditions, social structures and laws; women initiating projects to improve their basic needs in the home, in food and water supplies; and women taking a role in planning and building development projects in their community. The bureau was founded after a series of women's meetings in the Pacific, since the first women's conference was held in 1975 and it was decided a coordinating centre was needed. A Pacific women's resource centre was set up in Suva that year but only lasted for 18 months because of lack of funds. However, another bureau became top priority in a Pacific action plan for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women (1981-85) meeting in Suva which called for women's involvement at all stages in the drafting of national develop-

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ment plans and planning processes.

About the same time there was a South Pacific conference in Papua New Guinea in 1980 where the role of women in the region was discussed — by men delegates. A group of women from PNG marched into the conference room and demanded that women be included in the talks. "There was no reason why the Pacific women should have been excluded and only men discussing women," recalls Lini.

All of these meetings set the stage for a crucial Pacific women's seminar in Tahiti in 1981, which worked out details about the role and function of the bureau. Seven priorities were decided on:

- The establishment of a resources bureau and information centre.
- Evaluation of a communication education training centre in Fiji to develop new curricula concentrating on health, education, business management and awareness raising.
- A health survey of women in the Pacific, especially on issues such as child-bearing. The survey was to determine what types of diseases were causing the deaths of women and what sort of programmes were needed to counter them.
- Women and child health nutrition.
- A socio-economy survey of Pacific women.
- A project cooperating with the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme, which deals with village, town and factory pollution and environmental damage caused by road-building or mining and other development of resources. There was also strong opposition to nuclear-testing in the South Pacific and proposals for nuclear waste-dumping in the region.

The bureau was set up attached to the South Pacific Commission in Noumea to coordinate and sponsor these activities for women in the South Pacific and it is being funded by aid agencies. One of the important roles of the bureau is to coordinate a joint SPC-United Nations Development Programme project for the



Lini, left, Beccalossi: up-front

planning and implementation of national women's programmes. So far, this project has helped seven countries — Belau, Kiribati, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa.

Former journalist Lini, 29, of Vanuatu, became the bureau's first officer for English-speaking countries, and last year she was joined by Marie-Claire Beccalossi, of New Caledonia, to work with the French Pacific. After graduating from the University of Papua New Guinea with a degree in journalism, Lini founded and edited Vanuatu's first independent newspaper. During Vanuatu's drive for independence in the 1970s, she was a member of the ruling Vanua'aku Pati's executive council, editor of the party newsletter, and coordinator of the women working for independence.

Beccalossi, a 40 year-old mother of three, is a former leader of the Christian Agri-

culture Association. She has wide experience in Melanesian youth and women's development. She has also run programmes for the sick and elderly in villages. Beccalossi wasted no time in launching a programme in villages in New Caledonia and Wallis and Futuna. She also organised courses in French Polynesia. "One of my first tasks was to make people here in villages aware of our programme," she says. "It seems amazing, but although the SPC and our bureau is based here in New Caledonia, hardly anybody had realised our presence."

The courses involve teaching self-sufficiency development skills, such as making smokeless stoves, and traditional skills that are being lost, like basket-making and weaving. "But although they start as women's classes they become community courses — everybody comes."

"Traditional practices which reduce women to the roles of domestic servant, family provider and child-bearer and which deny them the benefits of educational and employment opportunities are thinly disguised as immutable cultural mores," says Lini. "Women are confined to being second-class citizens by the social structures of Pacific societies."

Statistics show that, in every facet of the Pacific educational ladder, she says, fewer women than men have an opportunity to get to a higher level. In government — with the exception of education and health — men outnumber women workers, inaccurately reflecting and grossly distorting the qualifications and abilities of women to hold responsible positions.

Few women hold cabinet positions in Pacific governments — such as New Caledonia's Yvonne Hnada, who is government councillor for social affairs.

"Men say the reason for this is the custom, or traditional way of things," says Lini. "Closer examination reveals this to be a glib and false answer. But it is convenient for men who claim to be traditionalists to keep it that way." □

ISLANDS BUSINESS, AUGUST 1984

### SCIENTIST DOWNBEAT ON SEABED MINERALS

An Australian scientist says recent investigations have shown that the extent of manganese nodules on the Pacific seabed suitable for economic exploitation is much smaller than previously thought. Dr Robert Burne, an Australian government research scientist, said that essentially, the deposits suitable for exploitation were confined to areas close to the equator. He said these were mainly in the economic zone of Kiribati and possibly in the northern Cook Islands. The nodules are rich in deposits of copper and nickel. Dr Burne also said areas adjacent to Kiribati and the Cook Islands offered good prospects for the discovery of cobalt deposits. He said cobalt, which is important to the defence industry, had already been found in areas adjacent to Micronesia. Dr Burne was speaking in Canberra at the 54th congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science — ANZAAS.



# IMPRESSIONS OF A CREW MEMBER...

Anne Pask, 65, of Victoria, B.C. was the only Canadian crewmember of the Pacific Peacemakers recent voyage to the Pacific to protest nuclear testing plans to dump radioactive materials in the ocean, and the increase in Pacific militarization. Anne was on the Peacemaker between Hawai'i and the Marshall Islands. When she left the Marshalls--via the U.S. Missile Testing Range at Kwajalein Atoll--she handed a protest note to the Commander's representative. What follows is a few of Anne's impressions of the Marshalls, visited from June 9-20. Currently the Peacemaker is in Belau fixing a broken mast.

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In joining the crew of the Pacific Peacemaker, one of my major objectives was to communicate our concern to the people of the Marshall Islands, and to discover for myself what their living conditions were like.

The preceeding experience in Hawai'i--that of scrambling ashore on Kaho'olawe with a large group of Hawai'ians and their friends, and living with them three days outdoors--very much heightened my awareness of the islanders love of their land. I also encountered this in the Marshalls.

The sixteen days of sailing in immense isolation, with the tradewinds barreling the boat along in sometimes huge seas further prepared the crew for the new experience of the Marshalls. We sailed into Majuro (the capital) on a Saturday evening and on Sunday morning scattered to various churches, beginning our contacts. The capital is located on several very narrow islands joined together, so that one can travel over twenty miles in small shared taxis that cost 30¢ to \$2.

In Majuro, the population seemed a little reserved and not very interested in who we were or what we were doing. The previous day a liaison officer from the U.S. missile testing base at Kwajalein had been down--for a very rare visit-- to ask the government of the Marshalls not to allow the Peacemaker to sail to Kwajalein. Since we had no intention of disruptive action ( which we were told would mean that any disruptive time would be charged against the rent the Marshall Islanders get for the missile range )our passage was agreed to by the government.

A womens group on Majuro wanted us to meet with Senators--largely from outer atolls--who oppose the controversial Compact of free Association with the U.S. because Clause 177 limits the U.S. responsibility for the effects of the nuclear testing on Marshallese. These Senators were fighting for Commonwealth status with the United states. This was in opposition to the president who, I later found out, is also their traditional king, and receives a large portion of the American payments to the Marshalls.

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In the local nightspots some of the crew found young people drinking alone, discouraged with life. Evidence of the Americanization of this tiny area was everywhere: constant motor traffic, youths with radioearphones, a video shop, fast food, and soft drink cans all over. Water is in short supply and is not safe to drink. There were almost no fruit or vegetables available--the supply ship was late from Hawai'i. In the crowded laundromat the women were shy and had few questions. It seems that the people of Majuro did not experience the nuclear testing and are not intensely concerned about it. In spite of good contacts and promises to be there, the town meeting at Majuro was not like the large gathering we had later on Ebeye.

At the Majuro hospital Dr. Jane Pelzel, my cabinmate at sea, found the idea of medical staff exchanges and some possible equipment supplies to be welcome. But the director of services particularly stressed the need for well qualified nurses for the new hospital under construction. In making rounds it became evident that diabetes and gastroenteric infections were the most troublesome illnesses, with both closely related to the very poor diet and sanitation that prevails. The hospital--very old and decrepit--was very light and airy with entire louvered walls. The new hospital looked like a factory, with scant window space, apparently to be air conditioned.

The young Mayor of Ebeye, Alvin Jacklin, flew down to Majuro (about 240 miles) to meet the Peacemaker crew the day after we arrived, providing us a welcome and valuable information. We were also blessed to have Jinna Keju, the father of Darlene Keju, chose to travel with us to Ebeye, his home. A Dutch film crew, commissioned by their government to document the entire Pacific area, also came aboard at Majuro. They recorded on film the Peacemaker's approach to Kwajalein Atoll, the crew holding an early morning vigil, as a U.S. Army helicopter hovered. At 5 am that morning an MX missile from California--a brilliant six-rocketed thing--had splashed down, seen only by those on watch.

Our boat was watched by a military vessel during our whole stay at Ebeye, three miles from Kwajalein. The crew were not allowed as a group to deliver a protest note to the commander of the missile range.

On the crowded island of Ebeye, the new Mayor had had the sandy streets cleaned up recently. There was a lack of food in the stores. A supply ship anchored beside us did not have many vegetables or fruit, but much of the junk-food variety. On the young men I discerned the protruding tummies that go with malnutrition. I noticed several youth who appeared silent, withdrawn, and not joining in the sports. We had been told of the sadness of youthful suicides, one of which had just occurred among the Bikinians the day we visited some of them. On Ebeye I was sad to attend the funeral of the Mayor's mother, who died at 52 from hypertension. His father had died of diabetes two months earlier. The Mayor himself is in the little overloaded hospital with a high fever the day we depart.

Nevertheless, the visit to Ebeye was a warm and rewarding experience. The people really wanted to know what we were up to, what they could expect, and what they could do about their problems. They had some money, but little else. There were uncertainties about their future, and they expressed concern about the loss of genuine values. We need to keep in touch with them.





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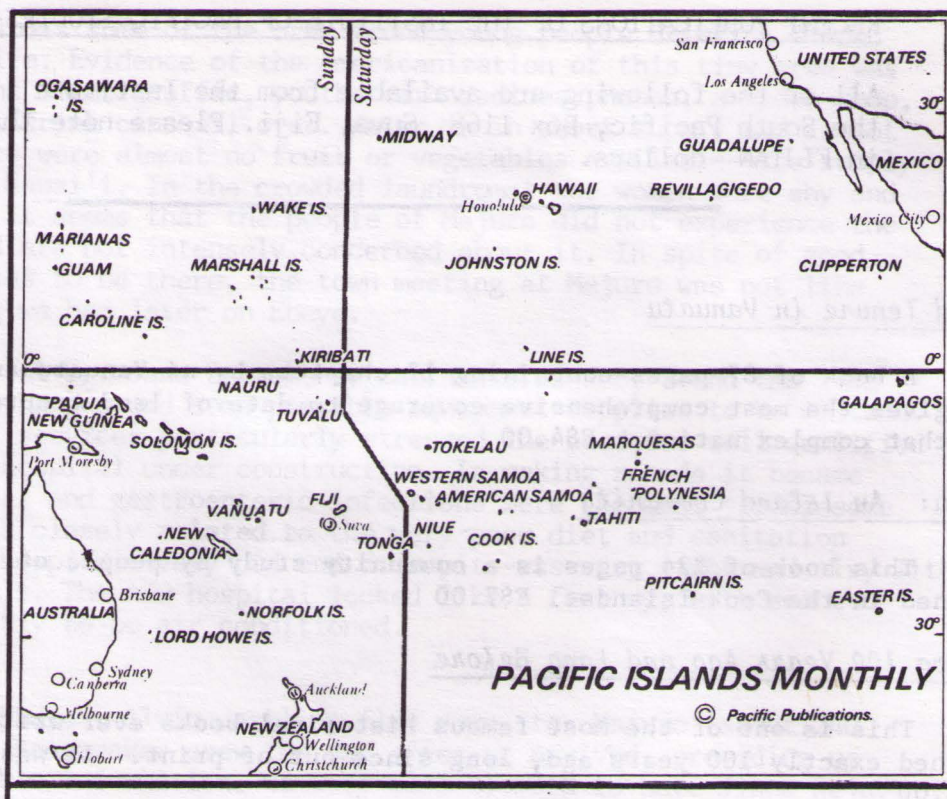
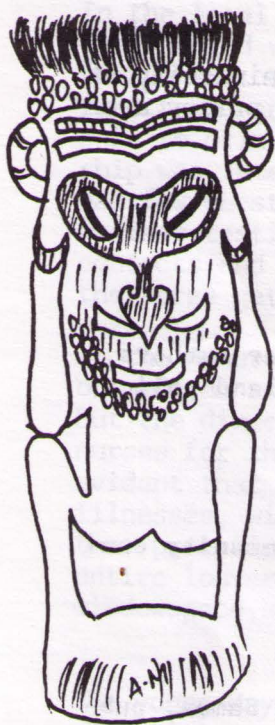
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