

Tok Blong SPPF

DECEMBER 1984 #10



Men of the OPM (Free Papua Movement) in a bush camp in West Papua. The OPM claims to have 35,000 members and is fighting Indonesian control in West Papua--mostly with bows and arrows and machetes. Fighting over the last few months has seen refugees entering PNG increase enormously.

(Photo by PNG Times, March 1984)

TOK BLONG SPPF is pidgin english as used in many parts of the Pacific. It might literally be translated as "this talk belongs to SPPF" or, SPPF Newsletter. **TOK BLONG SPPF** is published four times per year by the South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada, 407-620 View St., Victoria, B.C., Canada V8W 1J6, and is available to donors of SPPF (minimum \$10 yr.). SPPF exists to raise critical issues in the South Pacific to a Canadian audience through a variety of public education methods, and to assist in getting relevant Canadian financial, technical and other assistance into the South Pacific to assist islanders in their self-development. **TOK BLONG SPPF** is edited by Phil Esmonde.



UPDATE ON SPPF

The last few months have been busy in our tiny office in Victoria. We met with two knowledgeable "Pacific hands" as they passed through Victoria: Dr. Michael Hamnett of the Pacific Islands Development Program out of Hawaii, and Willis Moore of the Hawaii Geographic Society. It is always a pleasure to be in touch with those from the Pacific who are actively involved in developments in the Pacific. This is especially true given the difficulty in Canada of getting good information on the Pacific -- it just is not available at the newstand down the street.

Later in this issue of Tok Blong, readers will find excerpts from a talk Dr. Hamnett gave at the University of Victoria on "Critical Issues in Pacific Islands Development". You will also find a reproduction of the excellent map of the Pacific published by the Hawaii Geographic Society, and available from them. It is highly recommended.

Chris Plant of Lillooet spent a week with SPPF in November and churned out two excellent slide shows: one gives a background to the current situation in New Caledonia and the other looks at Vanuatu as a newly independent and developing Pacific country. Write SPPF for more details on these.

We hope to have Chris back sometime next year to give a hand on a general Pacific-wide slide show we would like to develop (it's one of those projects which has been on the backburner too long !).

Unfortunately, one of our hoped for projects - a tour of Canada by Father Walter Lini, Prime Minister of Vanuatu, following his planned trip to the U.N. in 1985 - fell through. In its stead, we are currently working on a tour by two islanders for a two week period in October 1985. More later on this.

SPPF helped as a resource for a four week CBC Radio "IDEAS" series on the South Pacific, which has just concluded. [Transcripts of the series are available for \$5 prepaid to CBC Transcripts, Box 500, Station A, Toronto M5W 1E6. The name of the series is, South Pacific: Identity and Independence. They will also supply a reading list if requested].

Three projects worked on now are an almost certain trip to Canada of Sanguma, a band from PNG; preparations for the second national meeting of the nuclear free and independent Pacific Canadian support network to be held in Vancouver Feb 28 and March 1; and coordination of the Western tour of Sr. Rosalie Bertell, a Catholic nun who, as an expert on the long term effects of low level radiation, was a keynote speaker at the NFIP Conference in Vanuatu in July, 1983. Sr. (and Dr.) Bertell has also visited the Marshall Islands and studied effects of the U.S. tetsing program, has appeared as an expert witness before U.S. Congress, and also was an expert witness at the Nurnberg Tribunal held in 1983 in Europe.

SPPF is also setting up the showing of First Contact and Strategic Trust -two excellent documentaries- at University of Victoria, as well as meeting a variety of speaking engagements.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR CONTINUING INTEREST AND SUPPORT OF SPPF'S WORK



The Magic Sounds of PAPUA NEW GUINEA

PNG MUSIC IN CANADA? LOOKS LIKE IT!

Negotiations are currently underway with Sanguma, an eight-member musical band from Papua New Guinea, to make several stops in Canada while on a commercial tour of the United States between April and October, 1985.

Sanguma has agreed to do several benefits in Canada: one as a fundraiser to assist SPPF, and two or three others to raise funds for a project -- yet to be decided upon -- in Papua New Guinea. SPPF is in discussions with CUSO to do a joint sponsorship of Sanguma's visit to Canada.

So far, strong interest has been shown by the Vancouver Folk Festival and the Winnipeg Folk Festival. Both of these events are in July and would give the group tremendous exposure in Canada. While such venues are small in terms of a guarantee, the exposure would help draw crowds for benefits later on. Concerts are being looked into for Vancouver, Victoria, and possibly Ottawa.

Sanguma has recently toured New Zealand, and have been invited to play at the New Orleans Jazz Festival this coming April. They have also been invited to play at Disneyland, where they appeared this past June.

Playing both traditional and modern instruments, Sanguma touches on jazz, rock, and traditional music. As one of the New Zealand press put it: they defy description. Sanguma has been together some 6 years now, and are well known in PNG and by Canadians who served with CUSO in PNG. As well as putting on a great concert, those who have seen the band say that they are also very entertaining.

If discussions with Sanguma on some Canadian dates prove successful (as they appear to be at time of writing) SPPF will be looking for help from its many friends. We may need billets in Vancouver and Victoria, help with transport, help getting posters up and out, etc. Please contact SPPF at 407-620 View St., Victoria, B.C. V8W 1J6 (604) 381-4131 if you are interested and can help in some way.

And if you can't help that way, at least come out to a good concert and bring your friends with you !



THANK YOU, THANK YOU, THANK YOU

SPPF would like to thank the United Church of Canada (both nationally, and the B.C. Conference) and the Development Education Department of CUSO for their financial contributions towards SPPF's work. Their contribution is vital to our continuing to raise Pacific issues and to undertake Pacific educational work in Canada. We are pleased to add them to our list of supporters.

SPPF currently has a donor base of 80 individuals and organizations. Given the lack of strong historical, cultural, political and economic ties in the past between Canada and the Pacific, we are buoyed by this response to our efforts. There are still many of you though who haven't donated to our work. Why don't you ? We can definitely make use of your contribution ! [It's also good for our psyche.]

Hail the cheese tree

IT tastes cheesy and it look cheesy. According to its creator, Fiji planter Brian Leonard, it's a good substitute for a certain world-renowned brand of spreadable cream cheese, and it's good in cheesecake. If you didn't know Leonard and his project, you wouldn't know where his cheese comes from ... It's *coconut* cheese, and it takes two or three decent-sized nuts to produce a pound of what he and fellow businessman-planter Mick Chapalia are calling Coconut Grove.

In his more optimistic dreams Leonard, an Australian food technologist who worked for years in the dairy business before moving to live on Fiji's garden island of Taveuni, believes his dreamchild could be the answer to the copra industry's worries. The industry is severely susceptible to world pricing and despite an uplift recently, it's still in the doldrums.

The first ten-tonne batch of coconut cheese should be on sale in Fiji some time this month, and Leonard and Chapalia hope eventually to be producing 2,500 tonnes a year — five tonnes a day. "All we have to do is get more coconuts," said Leonard. "It's not like dairy cheese-making where you have to increase the herd." The future of coconut cheese ultimately depends on whether people take to the taste. "But people who have tried it all say it's good," said Leonard.

Leonard's cheese will be produced in Fiji and in Western Samoa. The Taveuni project, on Chapalia's 2,000-acre estate, is being run by a company formed by Chapalia, with Leonard taking royalties and fees. He's got the same deal in Samoa where LGC Ltd, owned by Samoa-born entrepreneurs Richard Cook and Alan Grey, plan to produce the stuff.

Rewa Dairy Co-operative, effectively the dairy industry in Fiji, has agreed to help market the coconut cheese until the Taveuni company gets on its feet and can take over. Rewa is handling packaging and a recipe pamphlet for the product, and it's hoped later to export to Australia and New Zealand.

What's the secret of coconut cheese? Leonard isn't saying, although several people have approached him for his knowledge.

"It's not a complex process, but they don't seem to be able to get onto it," said Leonard. The cheese actually comes from the meat of the coconut, and like normal cheese, everything has to be just so. "It's got to be spot on. With cheese, unless conditions are perfect, you can start out with a hundred gallons of milk, and at the end you'll still have a hundred gallons of milk."

The coconut cheese, to be marketed in Fiji in 250-gramme packs, is also interesting news for health fanatics and vegetarians. Because it's made only from fresh coconuts, it contains no cholesterol, said Leonard. Dr Hans Kaunitz of Columbia University in the United States, has done extensive research on coconuts and supports the nutritive value of the natural coconut butter found in fresh coconut meat. He's suggested it be used to prevent hardening of the arteries and obesity. "Dr Kaunitz explains that the short or medium chain triglycerines content of the fresh coconut's fatty acids lowers serum and tissue cholesterol levels, produces less fat deposition and is beneficial in some stress conditions," Leonard told the *Fiji Times*. Natural coconut butter was recommended to weight-watchers because it rapidly metabolised in the liver, reduced deposition of neutral fat and lowered body weight. If it tastes as good as it sounds, there'll be an awful lot of Coconut Grove heading for Australia and New Zealand. □

The big blow exercise

IT's going to happen, say the vulcanologists. The only question is, when? Rabaul, the Papua New Guinea town surrounded by volcanic peaks, will one day this century feel the wrath of nature, and it will probably mean the end of Rabaul. Late in September the whole town went on emergency alert. Hundreds were evacuated from their homes. Police and Defence Force vehicles, private transport and government vehicles rushed them clear of the "danger" area to evacuation centres at Vunakanao, Keravat and Kokopa. As it turned out it was only an exercise for what might have been. In general, the day-long exercise was a success, but there were areas that needed tightening up, chief co-ordinator Nason Paulias admitted. □

(FROM: ISLANDS BUSINESS, NOVEMBER 1984)

A LETTER TO THE JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER

SOUTH
PACIFIC
PEOPLES
FOUNDATION
OF CANADA

October 4, 1984

Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone
Prime Minister of Japan,
Nagatacho 2-3, Chiyodaku
Tokyo, JAPAN

Dear Prime Minister Nakasone,

It is with a great deal of dismay and concern that we hear of your government's continuing efforts and plans to dump low level nuclear wastes into the Pacific Ocean north of the Mariana Islands.

As a Canadian organization, we are concerned because according to our national newspaper of March 13 this year, between the decade 1972-82, your country was the leading export market for Canadian uranium, taking 34% of our total uranium exports. Thus , part of the wastes you are dumping from your operating twenty-five nuclear reactors is to be from Canadian uranium.

We are concerned, as an organization doing educational work in Canada concerning issues of concern to Pacific Islanders, that your plan to dump 1-2 million barrels of nuclear wastes per year into the Pacific would be against the wishes of all island Governments as expressed continually through individual statements and through regional fora such as the South Pacific Forum (as recently as August) and the South Pacific Commission. Requests that your Government not dump its nuclear wastes into the fishing and life source of Pacific islanders has also been expressed by the Pacific Conference of Churches, Pacific trade unionists, fisheries associations, and student associations.

As you are only too well aware, the London Dumping Convention placed a moratorium on ocean dumping because of growing opposition to Japan's plan to dump in the Pacific, as announced in 1980. They were also concerned about the effects of this dumping to the marine environment. They were swayed no doubt by studies in California which found that dumping had caused serious pollution from broken drums which had corroded, spreading radioactive waste and with no way to retrieve it. They may have also been swayed by the mounting scientific evidence that low-level radiation exposure over long periods of time is in many ways more damaging than brief exposure to high levels of radiation. Dr. Rosalie Bertell , a Canadian scientist internationally known for her research on the effects of low-level radiation, has called your Government's planned move to dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific a " suicide move ". Dr. Bertell's studies have shown that such wastes would enter the plankton level should the cans erode,

and that the wastes would eventually work their way through the food chain, eventually ending up on our dinner tables. In this regard it is of importance to note that 80% of the world's tuna comes from the Pacific islands region.

What guarantees can your Government give to the world, and especially the people of the Pacific who rely so much on the ocean, that any barrels you dump in the Pacific will remain undamaged for hundreds - if not thousands - of years? What guarantees can you give your own National federation of Fishermen's Cooperative Association [Zengyoren] that one of Japan's richest fishing grounds will not be totally destroyed?

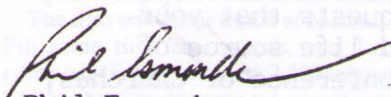
If your plan to dump wastes in the Pacific is so safe, why Sir do you not dump the wastes in Tokyo harbour? If you face strong pressure in Japan to not store them on mainland Japan, or to dump the wastes in Tokyo harbour, does this give you the right to dump these wastes at others' backdoors? Because the Pacific Island nations are so small does this negate their strong objections to your plans?

I understand that the Science and Technology Agency, which is promoting the dumping plan, has stated that it will disregard the opposition of Pacific nations. This is totally unacceptable to us. I understand that the STA will assume that if the London Dumping Convention in September 1985 accepts Japan's desire to dump, then Japan has the concurrence of the Pacific nations because two of them -- Kiribati and Nauru -- are members of the Convention. This thinking defies logic, and is unacceptable.

Japan has been an important power in the Pacific, and is increasing its influence and reach in the Pacific. By the plan of your Government--as pushed by the STA -- to dump low-level nuclear wastes despite total opposition of Pacific nations you will show yourself to be an arrogant and uncaring power which denies the safety and concern of others. Each country should follow the basic moral imperative of not forcing others to suffer the harmful consequences of its nuclear power policy.

On behalf of our membership, newsletter readers, and the agencies we work with here in Canada, I urge you to re-evaluate your Government's plan, and to decide not to continue this plan.

Yours sincerely,



Phil Esmonde
Executive Director

cc- Mr. Shintaro Abe, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Michiyuki Isurugi, Director of the Science and Technology Agency; the Secretary-General of the London Dumping Convention; Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada; Honourable Joe Clarke, Minister of External Affairs; Editors of the Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, Victoria Times-Colonist, Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun, Edmonton Journal, Calgary Herald, Ottawa Citizen, Montreal Gazette, Financial Times.

CANADA SUPPORTS CONTINUED MORATORIUM ON WASTE DUMPING

Following are some excerpts from a November 28th letter to SPPF from the Right Honourable Joe Clark, Minister of External Affairs, concerning the possibility of Japan dumping nuclear wastes:

- " I can assure you that the Government is monitoring this serious issue and that we share many of the concerns which you have expressed .
- "The Government of Canada's position at the London Dumping Convention Consultative Meetings continues to be in favour of the moratorium which a majority of the contracting parties to the Convention supported in 1983.
- " Canada is participating in the ongoing scientific review of the issue and is monitoring the situation so that timely action can be taken should the need arise.

ARE YOU PETITIONING?

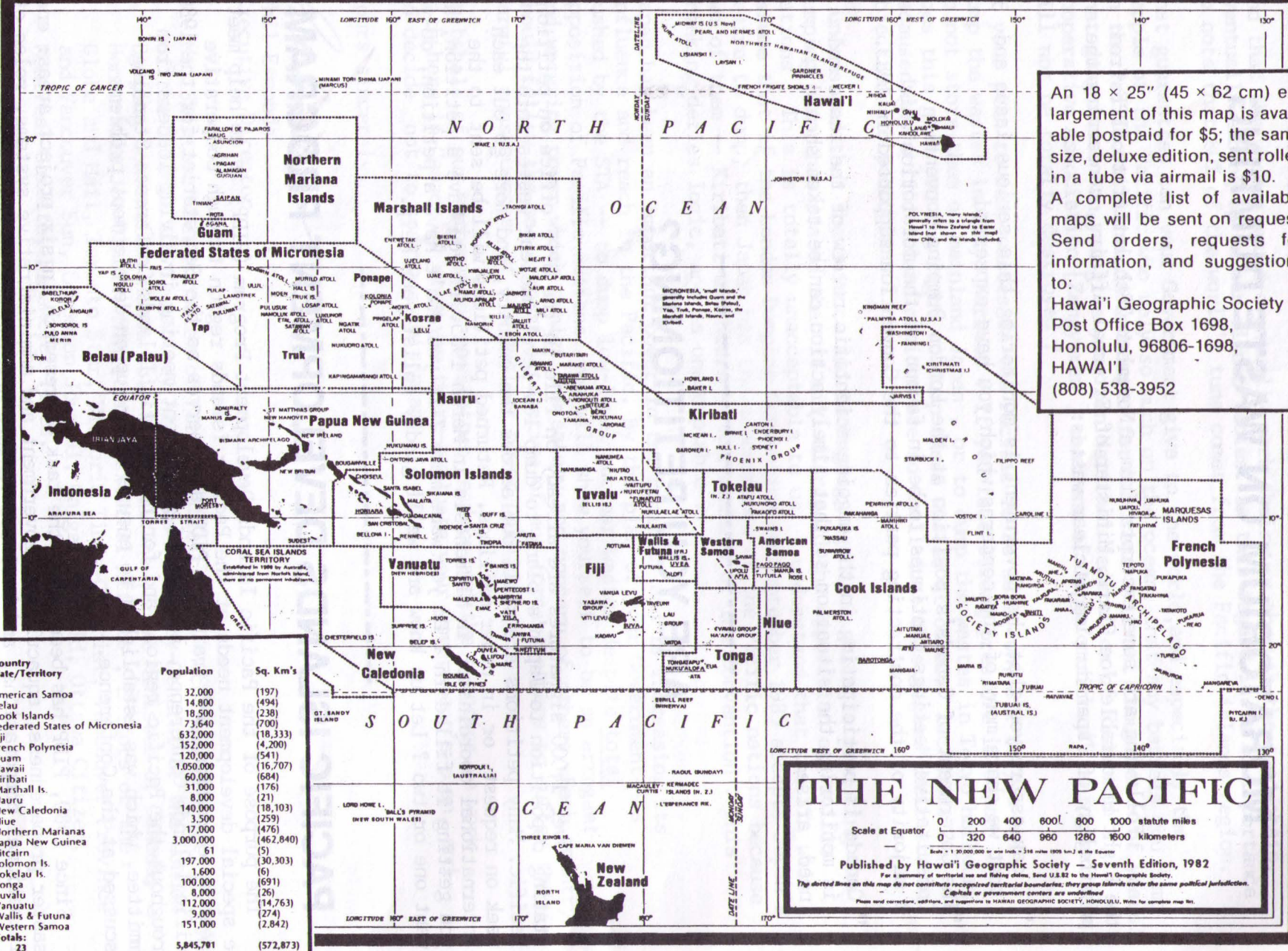
Over 1,000 signatures are already on file in the SPPF office on petitions stating opposition to Japan's plans to dump low-level nuclear wastes into the Pacific. Many petitions are still out across the country, and more go out each week on request, or in other mailings. Returned petitions will be sent to the international coordinator in Micronesia in March 1985. If you have a petition, are you getting it filled in ? Do you want more ? If you don't have a petition, do you want one or two ? Let us know and we'll gladly enlist your help.

PACIFIC ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The purpose of the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP) is to help meet the special development needs of the Pacific Islands region through cooperative research, education, and training. PIDP also serves as the Secretariat for the 1980 Pacific Islands Conference, a heads of government meeting involving leaders from throughout the Pacific region, and for the Pacific Islands Conference Standing Committee, which was established to ensure follow-up on development problems discussed at the Conference.

Since 1980, PIDP has been given the task of research in six project areas: energy disaster preparedness, aquaculture, government and administrative systems, roles of multinational corporations, and business venture development and management.

A brochure and more information is available from PIDP, East-West Center, 1777 East-West Road, Burns Hall, Room 4028, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848.



An 18 x 25" (45 x 62 cm) enlargement of this map is available postpaid for \$5; the same size, deluxe edition, sent rolled in a tube via airmail is \$10. A complete list of available maps will be sent on request. Send orders, requests for information, and suggestions to:

Hawai'i Geographic Society
Post Office Box 1698,
Honolulu, 96806-1698,
HAWAII
(808) 538-3952

KWAJALEIN AND THE ARMS RACE

— A REVIEW

Collision Course At Kwajalein: Marshall Islanders in the Shadow of the Bomb is the title of a 71pp booklet published by Pacific Concerns Resource Center at the end of this October. Written by Giff Johnson, a founder of the Micronesian Support Committee and someone who has travelled and written extensively on the Pacific, and especially nuclear and militarization in the Pacific, this booklet is meticulously researched, and brings into clear light of day the U.S. military's use of Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands as the premier testing range for the U.S. part of the global arms race, and its current importance in President Reagan's "star wars" program. And, as the book starkly proves, all at the expense most immediately and directly of the Marshall Islanders, pushed into living in slum conditions after forcibly being removed from their home islands in the Atoll to make way for the high-tech which is the explosive, expensive and, as Johnson shows here, unrealistic world of ABM, BMD, DOT, HOE, LOADS, ASAT and SPADATS to name but a few. And, if you don't know what these stand for (as I didn't for most of them before reading this booklet) then you have no true appreciation for Kwajalein's role in the global race to destruction, and you should do yourself the favour of reading this booklet to get a full understanding of the world according to the Pentagon vocabulary.

Half of the booklet sets the stage for the solid and mounting U.S. presence in the Atoll : " The Peace Corps was dispatched to the islands in the mid-1960's and at its high point there were 900 volunteers in the less than 100 populated islands- the per capita equivalent of the U.S. having 5 million volunteers in India at one time talks about the calousness of the U.S. concerning the testing program in the 50's : "One month before the Bikinians learned the fate of their atoll, U.S. government officials publically announced that Bikini had been chosen ..."; gives some data on the results of the testing : " .. 19 out of 29 children (65.5%) who were under 10 years of age when exposed on Rongelap have developed thyroid nodules requiring surgery ."; and gives a history of the buildup of Kwajalein as a vital testing range for U.S. arms programs and the resulting marginalization of the Marshall Islanders.

The second half of the booklet goes into great and clear detail about the various anti-ballistic missile tests and the recent "star wars" test at the range. And , to show how ludicrous this continued use of Kwajalein is --especially as it is only adding to insecurity--Johnson looks at a mini "star wars " experiment over Johnson Island in 1962, where a nuclear device was exploded some 240 miles in the atmosphere. Known as "starfish", the explosion, "disrupted trans-Pacific radio communications for some months, permanently changed the earth's Van Allen belts and destroyed the solar panels on one British and two U.S. satellites.. " " 'The results of Starfish', observed Atomic Energy commission Chairman Glenn Seaborg, ' should have a sobering effect on any who believe that the earth's outer environment could emerge from a full nuclear exchange without severe damage' ". Johnson also notes U.S. use of Kwajalein for a deadly "cat and mouse " game: "When the Soviet Union tested some of its ICBM's near Kwajalein in the mid-1960's, the Army used the Soviet warheads for ABM target practice, although it carefully adjusted aim points to avoid a direct hit."

.....continued.....

While going into detailed explanation of Reagan's "star wars" program in the second part of the booklet, Johnson spices the copy with fascinating and informative 'sidebars' which reveal the ongoing and historical administrative debate about Ballistic Missile defence programs. On the one hand there is ex-Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's view : "We believe that... the Soviet Union would be forced to react to a U.S. anti-ballistic missile deployment by increasing its offensive nuclear forces still further..." (stated by McNamara in 1967), and on the other there are the cold and calculating views of the State Dept. consultants: "... the United States should plan to defeat the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would prohibit U.S. recovery. Washington should identify war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a postwar world order compatible with Western values.... a combination of counterforce offensive targeting, civil defense and ballistic missile and air defense should hold U.S. casualties to approximately 20 million, which should render U.S. strategic threats more credible." (quote from Colin S. Gray, 1983). This booklet leaves one with no doubt about which argument is winning the day, and at whose peril.

Perhaps it is best summed up in Johnson's own words: " It is a bitter commentary on American government policies that in the name of 'national security', weapons under development at Kwajalein are in fact placing the world at greater risk than any other time in history".

Read this book.

[Available from PCRC, P.O. Box 27692, Honolulu, Hawaii 96827. Cost to Canada is \$U.S. 7.95 Airmail]



BELAU SAYS NO AGAIN

Another referendum in Palau was held on September 4th, and the Belauans again rejected the Compact of Free Association. While references to nuclear issues were removed from the reworded Compact document (of which less than 50 copies existed and none in Belauan), the people obviously were wondering why the Compact needed 75% approval to pass rather than 51% (75% is necessary to overturn the nuclear free aspects of the Constitution). Out of sight did not make out of mind !

This is the fifth time the people have upheld their Constitution, and the second time they have rejected the Compact. The final vote was 66% in favour and 34% against.

Belauans must surely be wondering when the U.S. will listen to them. They might also be wondering how the U.S. defines democracy.

EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

Teresa Ainsworth spent two years in Papua New Guinea in 1976-77 with CUSO, the largest Canadian non-government organization working overseas. Teresa was a teacher at Kainantu High School in the Highlands. Following are some thoughts Teresa wrote based on her experience in PNG and in keeping in touch with friends.

Like most developing countries PNG has a lot of problems; limited financial resources, little or no secondary industry, few jobs, what sources of income they have are mostly based upon primary materials which return a varying amount of cash depending on world market prices at the time, and over which people have no control. But these issues can and have been debated at length. Here I'll focus mainly on the direction of educational policies and issues.

The first question that has to be resolved is -Education for what? What sort of educational system do you set up; what goals are you trying to achieve? These questions were not considered by the colonial administrators and missionaries who set up the first schools. They went ahead and set up the traditional academic system of the western societies from which they came. Automatically assuming that their way was best, they have left a legacy of values and expectations that are causing and will cause disappointments and unfilled hopes in the future.

The independent government of PNG is now starting to address the inadequacy of the previous educational policies and to gradually take into account the limited opportunities and jobs for highly educated people. They now have a policy of education for return to the village and an agricultural life. This is only partially successful. Education, for the villager who sees educated friends earning money to buy cars, western clothes, etc., is a means to an end: status and material wealth. Thus the traditional way of life is looked down upon and children are encouraged to want and to expect wage-earning jobs, especially white-collar jobs. There are very few jobs however, and many of the very top ones are still held by ex-patriots. This breeds resentment, frustration, and anti-white feelings. The potential exists for major social and political upheavals as the disenchanted populace starts to grow more bitter.

Even though the schools try to preach a doctrine of "village life is best" and to point out the advantages of living a reasonable traditional lifestyle, the message is not being accepted. How do you make the people realize that their expectations and desires are unrealistic, and to make them accept it? Even if such acceptance were possible, is it desirable?

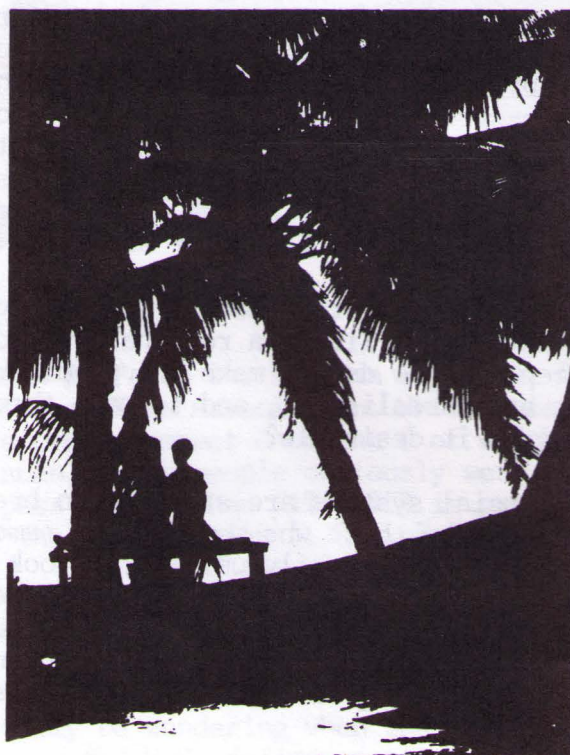
The traditional social systems are starting to break down. The "wantok" (one talk) social system whereby those who were of the same village and spoke the same language acted as an extended family unit which took care of their own in times of trouble, is weakening. Now, those who have jobs or money are expected to support other members of the group and to share their material possessions, but the idea of reciprocity is no longer there. This is causing resentment and loosening ties to home and family. The weakening of traditional ties is hastened by the educational system.

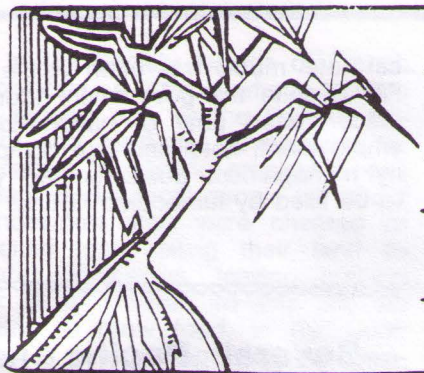
Formerly, everyone who wasn't your wantok was your enemy, but now students are leaving their own areas to go to school and forming new ties. The students no longer feel a sense of belonging to their community and the community no longer feels the student belongs to it. By the nature of the education system, whereby the students must compete for a few places in the high schools by writing exams at the end of primary school, those students who succeed develop an attitude of superiority over those who do not. This is naturally resented by the villagers, and when the student returns home, if he has not found a job, the resentment can make a young person's life miserable. So he or she heads for the city and --without means and a job--faces a bleak future.

What is the solution? Is there a solution? Do you stop formal schooling at primary school at a basic literacy level, and concentrate on practical education such as basic health, appropriate technology, improved agricultural technology and basic improvements in lifestyle? Do you limit higher education to a very small elite--just enough to keep the mechanics of government and business functioning--while you bring up the standard of living of the whole population? Is such a system possible once the process of development "western industrial society style" has been started?

Who knows. I certainly don't. I hope that PNG, with the bad examples of some of the former colonies--especially in Africa--can avoid some of the traps and pitfalls of trying to become rich and powerful in hurry. It will hopefully not discard all the traditions of centuries in order to fit in with the western mode.

Like many CUSO volunteers, I returned home with the feeling that I gained much more from living in PNG than they got from my being there. I didn't feel comfortable imposing my values and attitudes on them, even though I only did it passively as a symbol of western lifestyle: in clothes, manners and possessions. As a volunteer I was paid local wages, yet I had so much more than they did that it was no wonder they thought my life was better. This may have been the most valuable result of my CUSO experience, the ability to recognize the fact that my way is not always the best, and that best is relative.





Pandanus Periodical

Number Six

August, 1984



The Great Tourism Debate: Does The Host Nation Benefit? PART II

by Cynthia Z. Biddlecomb

The responsibility for initiating tourist industry development falls on the shoulders of the government of the host nation. Many Pacific island nations have invested energy and financial resources into developing a tourist industry which they hope will be a major foreign exchange-earning industry for their economy. But before investing too much, a nation's leaders must ask some hard questions about what this responsibility entails.

The major responsibility of tourist industry development is that of building infrastructure. Infrastructure is the term used to refer to roads, airports, and sewage, water and energy systems, all necessary for the comfort of visiting tourists. In many countries these structures are not even available to the local population. And yet to make the industry prosper, comfort and ease must be accentuated for the tourist.

Because tax breaks are offered by host nations to attract hotel corporations, very little money comes from the tourist industry to help the government pay for costly infrastructure improvements and maintenance. Host nations end up paying for it all with loans and aid program funds from overseas. This diverts capital from projects more directed at local needs and puts the nation in debt, diverting more funds for years to come. Such a diversion of funds supports an industry which profits foreign corporations more than host nations.

Another consideration is for in-

Because tax breaks are offered by host nations to attract hotel corporations, very little money comes from the tourist industry to help the government pay for costly infrastructure improvements and maintenance.

vestment in the industry: Who will be major investors? In Pacific nations with substantial investments in tourism, the majority of the money invested comes from foreign corporations. This is due to the limited private funds available in small island nations. Older island hotels were built by colonials with capital, not by islanders who have limited financial resources. Counting on these foreign corporations to build up a nation's tourist industry creates greater economic dependency on outside sources.

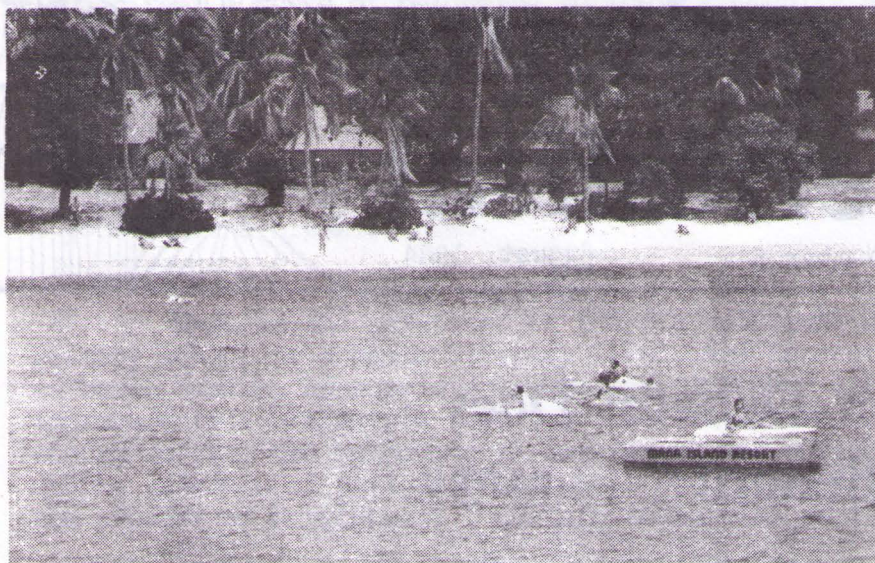
In fact, dependency on tourist is in itself a risk. Tourist visits per month vary as the seasons change. But more importantly, tourist visits each year vary due to world economic problems. Host nations have no control over actual numbers of arrivals and have less ability to predict how well the industry will do in

a given year. Such variables put governments at the mercy of international economic crises.

Governments are also often at the mercy of the whims of the foreign corporations which they have come to depend on. This can be especially vexing when one corporation has exclusive rights to an airport, as in the case of the Cook Islands. In 1981 the Cook Islands government faced a crisis when the airline with exclusive rights to the airport decided to cut back the number of flights per week. This not only threatened the struggling tourist industry which counted on a certain number of seats on each aircraft bringing Cook Island-bound passengers, but it threatened the even more important agricultural export industry with a decrease in cargo space in which to export their crops. The two major industries of the country were threatened with ruin because the airline decided to cut back its flight schedule.



Continued on next page



Mana Island Resort in Fiji. Photo by Cynthia Biddlecomb

The most important question, therefore, is how much control will the host government have over the industry? How much money can they count on the hotel corporation contributing to the nation's foreign exchange earnings (which are used to pay off foreign debts)? How much of those earnings will have to be channelled into infrastructure just to keep the industry attracting tourists? In addition, governments will have to ask about the social effects they can expect from building up an industry geared to the needs of outsiders rather than islanders. These social effects include the impact tourist demands have and the industry's impact on employment and land use.

The tourist industry's most attractive promise is that of employment. Many governments justify their hope in the industry by stating that the industry requires people to serve people and this means jobs. There is reason to question this justification when the importance of the industry is compared to how many people it actually employs. In Fiji in 1979, for instance, tourism was the number 3 industry but it employed only 4% of the working population. Less costly industries employed more.

Employment might also mean that only the most skilled people available would be employed, including expatriates more skilled

than local people. If the nation does not have the labor force required for all levels of skilled jobs, will local people have access to training so they can get hotel and tourist industry jobs? In most Pacific countries the majority, indigenous population will get only the most menial jobs in a hotel. These are the lowest-paying yet most visible jobs: the doormen, waitresses, housekeeping staff and other maintenance personnel. Because they are the most often seen by the tourist they are nearly always islanders. Tourists expect to be taken care of by the host people, which means islanders do the service, or most menial jobs.

The most important question, therefore, is how much control will the host government have over the industry?

The people doing the accounting, cooking and program planning are usually immigrants or mixed-race. Management jobs are primarily filled by expatriate personnel sent by the company's head office in Australia or in the U.S. This typi-

cal hotel model was often visible in Fiji. Despite the government tourist office stated goal of nationalizing employment, hotel and tour company management positions had yet to be filled by full-bodied Fijians.

Several Pacific nations have hotel and catering schools but few have management training available. Classes may be offered at universities in management training, but most local people will not have access to them due to cost.

Several Pacific nations have hotel and catering schools but few have hotel management training available. Classes may be offered at universities in management training, but most local people will not have access to them due to cost. They will have to accept low-paying jobs, often receiving less per month than a tourist pays per day in the hotel, and face little prospect for advancement in the company.

Accounting and management training at hotel and catering schools would be an answer to this dilemma, allowing local people to eventually take over higher level positions from expatriates. Islanders as hotel managers tend to be much more sensitive to the concerns of the local population most affected by the presence of the hotel. Of course, even then the foreign-owned corporation profits more than the hotel employees or their government and community.

Another consideration for governments regards land tenure and the question of which lands will be made available for tourism development. What benefits will local landholders derive from leasing out land to hotels? Here it may be helpful to compare land tenure systems in Polynesia.



In the Society Islands of French Polynesia, a nation where tourism is second only to the French military and territorial government for numbers of people employed, one hears stories local people tell about landowners who were cheated or tricked into selling their land to hotel companies, leaving nothing for their children to live on, no place to grow food. In the Cook Islands people who marry landowning families can gain title to their lands, a policy which encourages expatriates marrying into island families to own land and develop it for tourism.



In Fiji the vast majority of the land (82%) is owned by clans. Only 12% is freehold land, available for sale and ownership by anyone. (The remaining 6% is Crown or government land.) This has meant that hotel corporations must lease land from mataqali (land-owning clans.) In the past mataqali had to deal directly with the corporations' lawyers and often gave up more than they gained in the resulting land lease deals. In 1981 a new land use policy for tourism went into effect requiring all land lease deals to be negotiated through legal staff of the government's Native Land Trust Board (N.L.T.B.) N.L.T.B. lawyers ensure that the mataqali receive a percentage of the gross receipts from the hotels rather than a percentage of whatever the hotel claims is profit after paying their bills and making improvements. Mataqali now have legal expertise available to guarantee they get what they want from

the land deal—money, employment of villagers in the hotel, access to the oceanfront for fishing, etc.

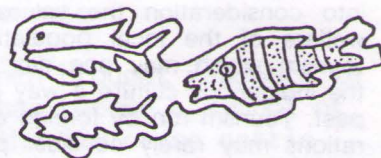
Fiji's land policy regarding tourism also takes into consideration availability of infrastructure already in place when approving proposed hotel locations. United Nations researchers have suggested Fiji restrict available sites to those near infrastructure already available and have designated four zones. These tourist zones are now part of the official policy, specifying to hotel corporations areas where hotels can be built, with the approval of local mataqali.

These considerations are important ones for government development planners to have in mind when they dream about all the money tourist receipts contributes to island economies. Several villages in the Pacific have decided to try to benefit more directly from those receipts.

A few villages around the Pacific have begun taking in tour groups for a few days at a time. They provide tourists a chance to live in a real village, experiencing village life, learning about farming, cooking and other daily activities in a culture very different from their own. The village receives approximately \$20 per person per night directly from the tour, enabling the village to pay for some of their most cost-

ly projects. Such an alternative improves the distribution of benefits from tourism in the host country. As long as the village does not become so dependent on the tours for their financial survival, a few tour groups per year can supplement traditional methods of self-sufficiency. As previously stated, heavy dependency on tourist dollars can be risky and cause groups to lose touch with their traditional ways.

In 1981 a new land use policy for tourism went into effect requiring all land lease deals to be negotiated through legal staff of the Fiji government's Native Land Trust Board.



Fijians greeting the tourists.

Photo by Cynthia Biddlecomb

Continued on next page

Some countries establish cultural centers where traditional arts and crafts are displayed for tourists. This can cause exploitation of dances and crafts if they are not fully explained so that their uses and the people who created them are appreciated. Otherwise dances performed perhaps once a year traditionally are presented out of context and lose their meaning. Crafts produced quickly for tourist purchase rarely receive the care and attention to detail which traditionally was highly valued. Money becomes the more important consideration.

Alternative cultural centers have sprung up around the islands where local craftspeople can market their arts and crafts to tourists directly rather than through a distributor. It often becomes a place where local young people learn traditional crafts and are enabled to follow in the footsteps of their elders at a time in the world when traditional ways are often lost or worse, prostituted for the tourist dollar.

In short, island governments are advised to proceed with caution when planning for tourist development. Tourism which does not take into consideration the values and welfare of the local population is tourism which may one day make the indigenous culture a way of the past. Tourism run by foreign corporations may rarely consider people in their pursuit of profits. When Pacific people are used to serve the comfort and needs of the tourist rather than taking tourists in as their guests, then tourism has degenerated from an exchange between people to the "new colonialism".

"David Stanley I presume"

Over the past nine months Islanders around the Pacific have been wondering about the intense young man with the reddish hair and blue eyes wearing jeans and black leather, safety boots.

He would appear walking up and down the main streets of their villages and towns or hitchhiking on the unpaved backroads.

Stanley, who carries his home (a tent) and his traveling gear in one pack, was gathering his island by island research for the third edition of his book. It is scheduled for release in mid-1985.

His continuous habit of asking questions and making notations in a fat green notebook drew some unwanted attention on more than one occasion.

In the Solomons he was briefly detained when he was suspected of being an undercover journalist who had slipped into the island to report the visit of Pope John Paul.

But with Stanley it is all in day's work—one more intrepid chronicler of some of the earth's most beautiful, out-of-the-way corners. A man very much in the tradition of yesteryear's celebrated, British duo of Stanley and Livingston. He has well earned the greeting, "David Stanley, I presume."

[STANLEY—A CANADIAN—IS AUTHOR OF THE
SOUTH PACIFIC HANDBOOK]

PACIFIC MAGAZINE

Terror of the depths

TWO Kiribati men are believed to have suffered the kind of horrific death normally associated only with horror films. They were apparently grabbed by big octopuses in Tarawa lagoon and held in an embrace until drowned. Kiribati's Minister for Natural Resources, Babera Kirata, told ISLANDS BUSINESS of the deaths and also of his government's alarm at the rising rate at which fishermen are being swept away from Kiribati's atolls to arrive weeks or months later as far away as Indonesia after epic feats of survival in their small craft.

Horror films usually portray giant octopuses as monster with tentacles 20 or 30 metres long. In fact a specimen longer than three metres is extraordinary. The usual length of one taken for the pot is about a metre.

It is Kiribati tradition to catch them by diving to spear them. Some divers allow a small octopus to grab them and then surface to kill the creature with a bite behind its eyes, where the central nervous system is located. "Of late, there's been a big increase in

the number of octopus at Tarawa," said Kirata. "We don't know the reason for it."

The two dead men had apparently gone after big octopus at least three metres long and with tentacles the circumference of a strong man's arm. "We're going to have to find another way of killing octopus," he said.

The minister said outriggers were going missing at the rate of about three a month, a far higher number than before. One reason for this was that more people were going fishing to earn cash and another was that more people were putting too much reliance on unreliable outboard motors instead of their canoe paddles and sails. Other fishermen were adopting aluminium-built boats which couldn't be sailed back home if the engine broke down, as a canoe could be.

Drifters sometimes reached an island in the Kiribati group, if they were lucky.

But they were more likely to be carried away to the west, never to be seen again, or to end up in the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, or perhaps Indonesia, has had happened in one recent instance. "It is a big bill, \$80,000 a year for search and more for fares to get these people home," Kirata said. □



NEW CALEDONIA: BEHIND THE HEADLINES



Recent press coverage of the violence in New Caledonia has failed to inform newspaper readers of the reasons for the violence and the emergence of a liberation front.

New Caledonia has been a colony of France since 1853 when military power was used to take over the four islands--the largest of which is approximately the size of Vancouver Island in British Columbia. Through imported disease and military repression, the indigenous Melanesian population--known as Kanaks--was cut from 60,000 to 30,000 between 1850 and 1920.

After taking over New Caledonia, France moved the Kanaks onto 'reserves': small plots of infertile land isolated either close to the sea or in the mountains in the interior. Until 1946, Kanaks were not allowed to leave the reserves without permission, and it was only in 1952 that Kanaks were allowed to vote.

While the Kanaks were moved off their land, the French brought ranchers in to set up cattle farms on the fertile land. Beef cattle has become a symbol of European domination in New Caledonia. Until most recently, the 900 or so cattle ranchers had as much land as the total Kanak population.

A consistent immigration policy on the part of France has led to the Kanaks--still the largest ethnic group in the territory--being a minority in their own country.

There have been three major waves of immigrants to New Caledonia since 1853. First were French convicts in the 1800's. Next came ranchers from 1900 to the end of WWII. The final major influx came between 1950 and 1975 when labourers from other French Pacific territories came to work in the nickel mines.

New Caledonia has the third largest production of nickel in the world, after Canada and the Soviet Union, thus making the territory both economically and strategically important to France. Results of the nickel mining has been massive pollution of rivers and parts of the shore, as well as scarred land. The imported labour for the mines also assisted in making the Kanaks a minority.

Of the 140,000 people currently in New Caledonia the Kanaks number some 60,000 or 43 %, while Europeans make up 37 %. The rest consist of Vietnamese, Indonesians, and Polynesians for the most part.

Kanak resistance to French control is not new. In 1878 a massive uprising by High Chief Atai was put down with much bloodshed, with over 1,000 Kanaks killed. In 1917, Chief Noel refused to allow his people to be conscripted to fight in WW I. The French beheaded him.

....continued....

With the insensitivity they have come to be known for in New Caledonia, the French erected statues to commemorate having put down these two Kanak rebellions. These have become constant reminders to the Melanesians of their colonization.

Many of the immigrants to New Caledonia wish it to remain a territory of France-- both because of ties to the mother country and because of fear of a Kanak-led country. Most militant of the immigrants are extremists who worked with the French either in Algeria or Vietnam: they are well-trained in trying to stop independence movements. This group has led the organizing of counter-demonstrations and marches, and a few years ago led an attack on the Territorial Assembly, dragging out and beating independence leaders.

For their part, the independence movement (consisting of several political parties) has tried over the years to work within the political and legal framework allowed by France, and at the same time push for more and quicker independence.

This push led to an extremely important round-table discussion between France and the independence parties in July, 1983. A major outcome of the talks was French recognition of the Kanaks' innate and active right to independence.

Based on these discussions, the French drafted a statute of transition aimed at leading the colony to more autonomy and to a vote on self-determination in 1989. It is this statute -- which was presented to the Territorial Assembly in February this year and rejected by both left and right -- which is the immediate cause of the current violence.

While critical of the statute on many points, the Kanaks have two major areas of concern. First, the statute does not contain electoral reform measures, and second, the vote on self-determination is not until 1989, five long years away.

The Kanaks insist on electoral reform. They state that French troops and those labourers brought in in the 60's and 70's should not have a say on the future of the territory. The Kanaks state that they are willing to recognize what they call the 'victims of history' -- those with one parent born in New Caledonia -- as having a legitimate right to be involved in a vote on self-determination, but no more. Currently, anyone in the territory for six months can vote. Given this Kanaks would be outnumbered, and independence would not even be an option let alone a possibility. Under the Kanak demand, they would again revert to being a majority of voters.

On the second point, the Kanaks say 1989 is too long to wait. They well remember previous reforms under a previous French government: when a new government came in the reforms were stripped away. Given the possibility that Mitterand could lose in the next French national elections, the Kanaks say that a vote in New Caledonia should take place in 1985, and at the least before French elections in 1986. The Kanaks are sensitive to the fact that history can repeat itself.

To rub salt in the Kanak wounds, the statute they are critical of was passed in the French Parliament this past July with only 17 of 488 Assemblymen deeming it important enough to be in attendance.

The current violence in New Caledonia is a direct result of successive insensitive and stubborn French governments. The Kanak frustration has also mounted from the lack of any concrete Pacific support outside of Melanesia. The Kanaks have been calling for years to be inscribed on the United Nations Decolonization Committee agenda, and each time the South Pacific Forum has rejected their plea, feeling more could be done informally.

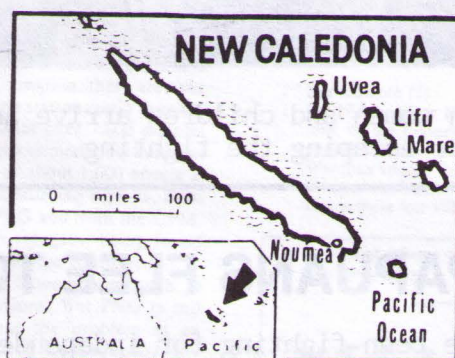
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As a result , the political parties in New Caledonia calling for independence disbanded the Independence Front; four of the five parties reformed as the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front in September; elections called for under the French statute were boycotted on November 18, and a provisional government for the country of "Kanaky" was proclaimed on December 1. Given the background, violence inevitably erupted.

France has appointed a commissioner to try to resolve the dispute. He will meet with all sides on December 15 , make public his recommendations January 5 for feedback and discussion by the parties, and will report to President Mitterand February.

Whether the violence in New Caledonia will continue to escalate in the future depends on the French response, as well as that of the extreme rightist elements amongst the European settlers.

One thing is definite however: the Kanak population will no longer accept second-class citizenship in their own home.



NEW CALEDONIA SLIDE SHOW

AVAILABLE FROM SPPF

While Kanaks were boycotting elections in New Caledonia on November 18, Chris Plant was bending over a slide sorter in a Victoria basement producing a slide show on New Caledonia for SPPF. Produced in record time, this slide show (approx 70 slides) is available for use and /or purchase. The slide set looks at some key aspects of New Caledonia's ongoing and turbulent road to independence. To our knowledge, this is perhaps the only audio-visual produced on New Caledonia, and we would like it to get wide use. Please write us if you wish to show it to a community group, classroom, or discussion group. For those in the Victoria area, we would be happy to show it to a group you are involved with. Please contact us: SPPF, 407-620 View St., Victoria, B.C. Canada V8W 1J6 , (604) 381-4131.

(Photo by PNG Times, March 1984)



West Papuan women and children arrive as refugees in PNG after escaping the fighting.

WEST PAPUANS FLEE TO PNG

Insurgent rebels have been fighting for independence in West Papua since 1962, when the territory was ceded to Indonesia without the consultation of the people of West Papua. The Indonesian government is carrying out forced resettlement of native Papuans, the granting of lands to transmigrant Indonesians (eventually resulting in the Papuans becoming a minority in their own country), and a campaign designed to wipe out native Papuan culture in favour of Indonesian ways. Recent fighting has resulted in over 10,000 refugees fleeing across the border into Papua New Guinea since February.

The refugees are trying to escape conflicts between Indonesian troops and West Papuan pro-independence rebels. Over 100 refugees died of starvation and disease during the five-day march through the bush to neighbouring PNG.

Conditions in PNG were miserable. Most of the refugees were put up in isolated Catholic mission stations, where food supplies soon dwindled. Fifty-four people--mostly young children and elderly--died from hunger in Komokpin, a makeshift camp of 2,000 refugees camped in an area which normally supports 150 people. The PNG health department confirmed that the incidence of refugee malnutrition was high; a nearby church hospital took in 94 refugees whom the sister in charge described as "the worst malnutrition case(s)" she had ever seen in her 11 years of work in the region.

The PNG government originally pledged not to repatriate the West Papuan refugees against their will, but recently decided to send them all back (with the exception of about 60 dissidents) under a repatriation agreement with Indonesia.

There is widespread fear that some refugees may face retaliation upon returning, based upon the Indonesian foreign minister's promise that those considered to be "criminals" will be "subject to discipline".

West Papua

Many border villages deserted

Thousands more refugees have fled to Papua New Guinea because of continued Indonesian army operations in villages in West Papua. International aid agencies have become concerned over the welfare of refugees who have arrived in remote parts of PNG along the border, many of whom may be receiving little or no assistance. There are reports that some refugees have been forced to go back into West Papua because food and shelter are not available for them at the small mission stations on the PNG side of the border.

The number of West Papuan refugees in PNG has continued to increase since they first started arriving in February, and there are now over 10,000 camped all along the 700km border. It has also been suggested by the UN High Commission for Refugees that there may be more refugees in the forests who have not yet been accounted for. The greatest number have arrived in PNG since April, when the total began to rise dramatically; most of these are located just south of the central mountain range. In this district, around the mission station of Komopkin, there are over 6,000 refugees, far more than any mission station could possibly support. The Indonesian press admits that over 7,000 people¹ left their villages in the area of West Papua immediately adjacent to Komopkin. This means that the fate of about 1,000 people is still unknown. There have been other disturbing reports, from the UNHCR, from mission sources in PNG and from the OPM, of numbers of bodies, presumed to be refugees, being found near the border, although these have yet to be confirmed.

The refugees present the PNG Government with a humanitarian problem of major proportions. But PNG is still under pressure from Indonesia to treat the problem as an internal matter between the two countries. Consequently, the UNHCR has not been permitted to visit areas of PNG which have received the majority of refugees (the UN agency is only allowed a presence in Vanimo, on the north coast) and there has been no assessment of the conditions in which most are having to live. The UNHCR has not been able to get aid to these remote parts of the border, and although the missions are now requesting assistance through their parent organisations, this may be too late to help many of the refugees.

Refugees returning, claim military officials

The first reports of refugees returning to West Papua came in the Indonesian press, which for the first time is reporting developments in West Papua almost every day. There is no independent confirmation of these reports. The papers have been covering a series of publicity campaigns by the Indonesian authorities which are trying to create the impression that there are no serious problems in West Papua. The campaign has been notable for the prominent role of the military commander of the region, General Sembiring, and the Deputy-Governor, General Sugiyono. Both men are East Timor veterans with experience of population control. Sugiyono has made several well reported visits to areas from which refugees have fled, and his statements have been quite open about the numbers of people involved in the mass exodus. *Sinar Harapan* (29 June), reporting Sugiyono's visit to the areas of Merauke province adjacent to Komopkin, said that in Waropka District, out of a population of 6,094, 4,350 people had fled, and nine villages out of fourteen were deserted; 456 people were said to have returned. In the sub-district of Mindiptanah, 3,290 people had fled, out of a total population of 8,506, and 1,846 had apparently returned.² Other observers who have visited the area recently confirm that large numbers of villages are completely deserted.

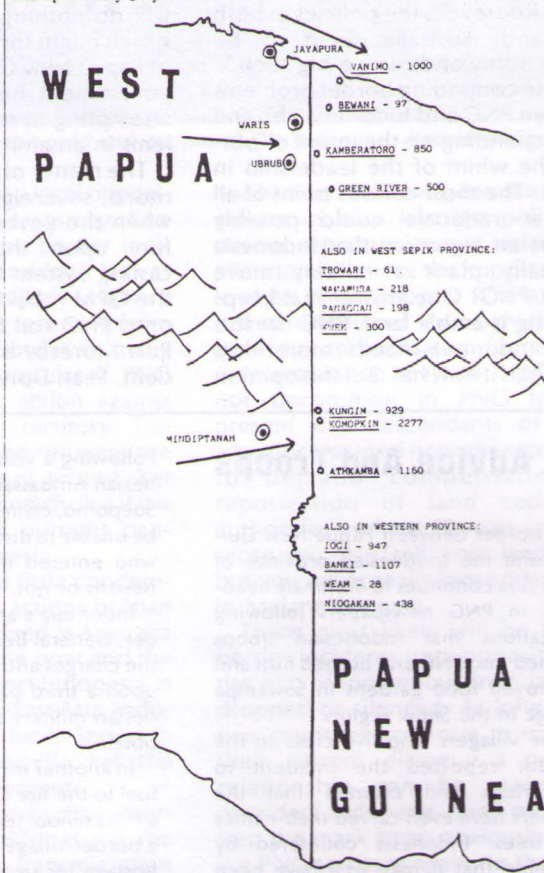
Sugiyono has made much of the plans to relocate people in this area to new, controlled population centres with amenities such as markets, co-operatives and schools. This is ostensibly because many of the deserted villages were destroyed, for which

the authorities blame the OPM although evidence suggests it was the work of the Indonesian Armed Forces. But the publicity is doubtless meant to give the impression that returning refugees will be well treated, so that attempts to accord West Papuans in PNG refugee status and give them the choice not to return will be weakened. Such widespread destruction of villages with immediate plans for replacing them with new population centres may also be evidence of attempts by the military to relocate people strategically, in order to deny support to the OPM and tighten control in the border area. This part of Merauke province will not be ready for transmigration sites for some years, so the forced absorption of local people into Javanese transmigrant communities is not yet possible there. It is worth noting that these developments are comparable with the strategic hamlet programme in East Timor during the late 1970s, which aimed to deprive Fretilin of its popular support base.

1 See footnote (2)

2 On 19 July, *Sinar Harapan* reported another trip to these areas, this time by the Governor, Isaac Hindom. This report said that 5,032 people had deserted Mindiptanah villages, and 4,358 had fled from Waropka villages for a total of nearly 9,400. This report said nothing about any villagers returning from PNG, only that "efforts to find and return these lost villagers" were under way.

The location of refugee camps in PNG and the number of people in each one up to early July.



PNG Land Possible Prize For Indonesia

(Editor's Note: This report was prepared by Pacific Magazine on the basis of observations of people who have recently been in Papua New Guinea and news reports by Radio Australia.)

Eventually Indonesia will move its military forces against Papua New Guinea. A PNG defense chief was fired earlier this year by Prime Minister Michael Somare for voicing that opinion.

A leaked Australian defense study has recommended that the Australian Air Force be ready to interdict any Indonesian invasion of Papua New Guinea. Again such a warning was promptly muted, this time by the Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke.

Apparently following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, the policies in both PNG and Australia seem to be "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

So the continuing border problems between PNG and Indonesia ebb and flow depending on the intent or possibly the whim of the leadership in Jakarta. The most curious point of all is what rationale could possibly support an argument that Indonesia eventually plans a military move against PNG? One answer that keeps surfacing is arable land. PNG has lots of it. Indonesia needs more—lots more than it now has. But this opinion

is not widely held. And it is not openly discussed.

In Papua New Guinea few people outside the educated 'elites' as they like to call themselves, are much concerned about the border issues arising between PNG and Indonesian held Irian Jaya. It's hard to get excited about such things at the village level when other more pressing needs provide enough to worry about on a day to day basis.

However, the 'elites' are becoming more active in expressing their concern—the number of quite vocal letters to the editor in the nation's newspapers are on the increase. The major worry amongst this group seems to be the fate of their Melanesian brothers on the other side of the border and the morality or lack of it in not moving to help these people free themselves from Indonesian control.

The Prime Minister, Michael Somare, has made it quite clear that his prime responsibility is to Papua New Guinea and that while he may feel concern for the indigenous Melanesian people in West Irian he will do nothing to create a situation which might threaten the sovereignty of Papua New Guinea. To that end his government has taken the stand of attempting to solve the border problems in an amicable way.

The matter of respect for PNG's territorial sovereignty was testily raised when the government unleashed its fury upon the Australian Broadcasting System for allegedly enticing the OPM rebel leader, Joseph Nyaro, onto PNG soil for an interview. The Port Moresby based ABC correspondent, Sean Donery, has been told his

visa will not be renewed after September when his current contract ends and special restrictions on ABC journalists have been introduced.

■ **Refugees:** Meanwhile some 9,000 refugees remain in PNG while negotiations take place for their repatriation to Irian Jaya. The OPM remains active and the Indonesians who are interested in capturing known OPM rebel leaders continue to insist they did not cross the border either on foot or by air. Their denials ring somewhat hollow in PNG ears for the witnesses to both events seem quite reliable and Indonesia lost a lot of credibility when it built part of a border road on the PNG side of the border.

The border is a ticklish issue—for a start it is rather hard to find in places where it is not clearly delineated. Surveyor's markers are difficult to spot in the bush and it seems they have a tendency to move around at times.

Like many artificial boundaries the border has separated families and clans and there is considerable quiet movement back and forth by indigenous people visiting family and friends. Such things are commonplace and of little concern to either PNG or Indonesia. Both recognize that the artificial division of families presents certain problems.

The OPM and its supporters in Irian Jaya and PNG believe sincerely that Indonesia's transmigration policy will destroy the Melanesian culture and heritage of the indigenous people. They fear the military and claim the highway currently being built in Irian Jaya to assist in transmigration and resettlement of Indonesians is only a

On Advice And Troops

The border between Papua New Guinea and the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya continues to dominate headlines in PNG newspapers following allegations that Indonesian troops crossed into PNG and burned huts and destroyed food gardens in Sowampa village in the Sepik region.

The villagers who live close to the border reported the incident to authorities and claimed that the soldiers have even carved their names on trees. Indonesia countered by claiming that it may well have been OPM rebels disguised as Indonesians.

Following a visit to the site, the Indonesian Ambassador to PNG, Mr. Imam Soepomo, claimed the villagers would be unable to distinguish whether those who entered the village were Indonesians or not.

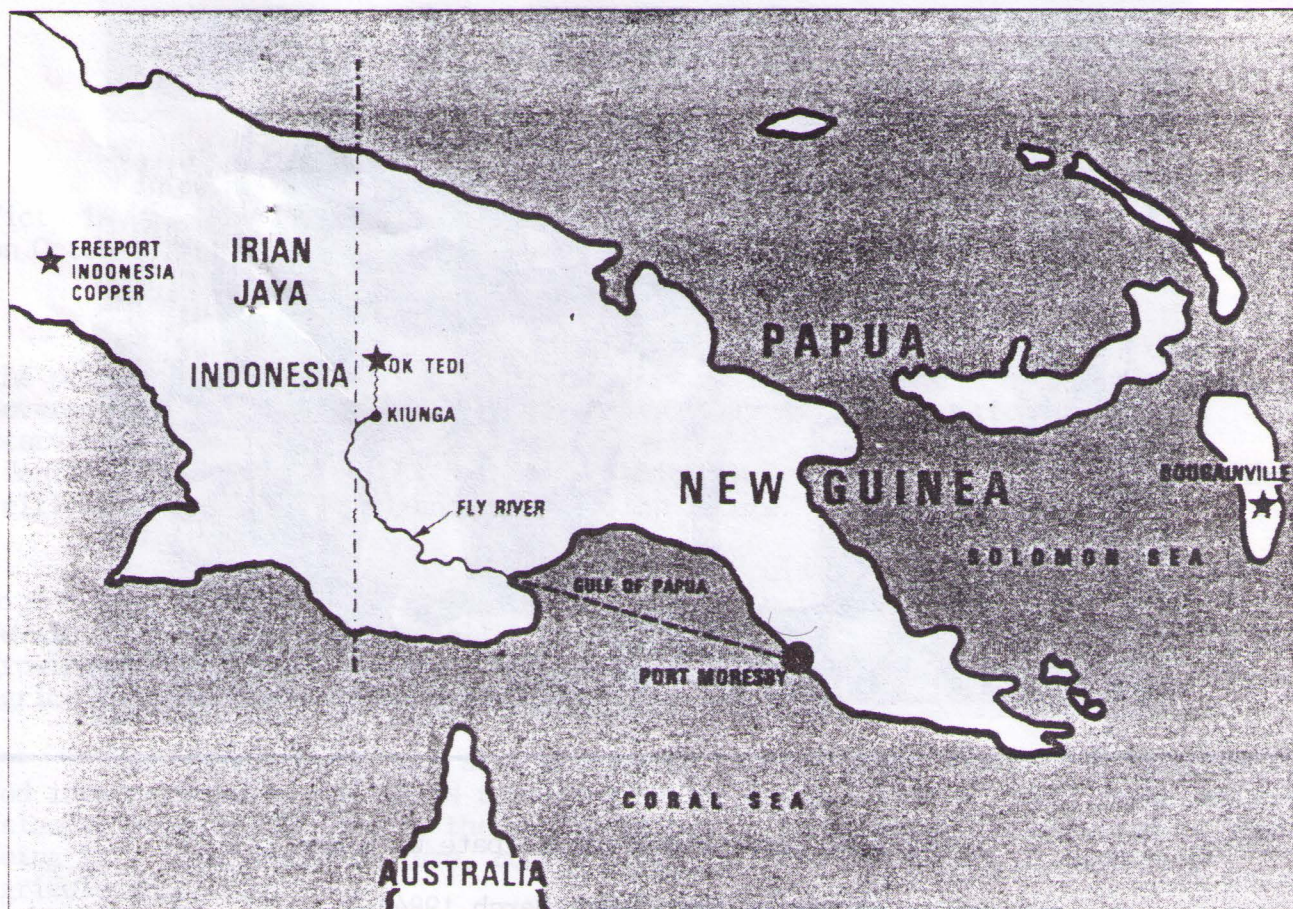
Indonesia's armed forces commander, General Benny Moerdani, denied the charges and laid blame for the raid upon a third party, stating that Indonesian military uniforms were easy to obtain.

In another incident which has added fuel to the fire OPM rebels kidnapped a PNG school teacher from his home in a border village recently and held him hostage for several days.

PNG's Ministry for Foreign Affairs

and Trade, Rabbie Namaliu, met with his Indonesian counterpart, Dr. Mochtar, to discuss the raid on Sowampa village as well as the repatriation of some 9,000 refugees presently in Papua New Guinea. Namaliu has stated publicly that his government is convinced that Indonesia troops were responsible for the raid and when addressing the meeting, he expressed his government's concern over the issue.

Namaliu also announced the deployment of PNG troops along the border when he met with General Moerdani and recommended that each country advise the other of any future movement of troops in the region.



The PNG/Indonesian border: Papua New Guinea, recognized for the gold and copper of Ok Tedi mine, also offers land

military ploy to control the interior of the country. Accusations of atrocities towards Melanesians seem to have some foundation and there is little doubt that the act of free choice which legalized Indonesia's takeover of the former Dutch colony was little more than a sham carried out with the blessing of the United States, the United Nations and Australia.

■ **Worry:** The real worry is that PNG residents, citizen and non-citizen alike, do not believe that Australia will do anything to protect the country in the face of a threatened Indonesian takeover. Defense documents leaked in Canberra indicate that Australia sees Indonesia as the only real threat to its sovereignty short of a third world war. The policy in the past has been one of pacification as in the case of Timor where Australia stood by and watched the takeover of this tiny island. Timor remains a thorn in Indonesia's side with the increased activity of Fretilin, the freedom movement which keeps raising embarrassing questions about the whole incident.

As long as there is any local opposition to Indonesia's transmigration problems there will be border incidents between PNG and Irian Jaya as the OPM rebels are unlikely to ignore the sympathy they are receiving from the PNG side of the border. In many circles it will be unpopular if PNG decides to take firm action against rebels who enter its territory. The moves to repatriate the refugees are already raising howls of protest. Yet the country may have no choice if it is to avoid any sort of outright confrontation with Indonesia.

It is anticipated that little condemnation of Indonesia's actions in Irian Jaya will be publicly raised as Australia is not about to rock the boat and the U.S. is known to support Indonesia as a buffer state in South-East Asia. Indonesia is also an oil producer. Secure in this knowledge Indonesia has the upper hand at the moment.

It seems as though the prime interest on the part of Indonesia is the carrying out of the transmigration policy. As long as this remains so Papua New Guinea has little to fear at present from its neighbor to the

north-west. However, for the Melanesians in Irian Jaya the policy has serious repercussions as Indonesia's plans totally ignore the importance of land to these people. It is a deep-seated emotional issue which even generous compensation for compulsory acquisition may not settle. It is not uncommon in PNG for the present day descendants of those who once owned now alienated land to demand compensation or repossession of land ceded to authorities perhaps 50 years ago. In a sense you may 'sell' your land today but you never really lose ownership in Melanesian eyes.

There most likely will be further border incidents until opposition on the part of indigenous Irian Jayans is dropped or silenced. As long as the two countries continue to maintain their current dialogue a peaceful relationship can be maintained provided Indonesia does not overstep the mark by so obviously entering PNG territory again. In the meantime the democratic powers—namely the U.S. and Australia—continue to look the other way. ■



OPM bush camp- women participate with men

(Photo by PNG Times, March 1984)

UNDERSTANDING WEST PAPUA

Enclosed with this issue of Tok Blong SPPF, you will have found a flyer for the book West Papua: The Obliteration of a People. The book is published by TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Defence of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia.

The book provides a searing indictment of Indonesian control of the territory since it was basically handed to it by the U.S. and the U.N. over opposition of the West Papuans. Using a variety of sources, but mostly hinging on the first-hand stories of West Papuans who have escaped Indonesian repression, the 122pp book covers the phoney "election" in West Papua from which Indonesia claims authority over the country, Indonesia's plundering of the oil and mineral resources, the forced movement of Papuans from their traditional lands, the Indonesian transmigration program, and the massive violation of human rights.

TAPOL's first edition was sold out in a year, and a second edition was printed this year and is updated to June, 1984. It is highly recommended reading for an understanding and background to the current refugee situation in PNG.

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CRITICAL ISSUES IN PACIFIC ISLANDS DEVELOPMENT

Following are some excerpts from a talk given at the University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C., by Dr. Michael Hammett of the Pacific Islands Development Program on October 1st.

By South Asian, African, Southeast Asian, and even Caribbean standards, the political, social, and economic problems facing the Pacific may appear small. Governments are stable, benign and relatively free from corruption. No one is starving and few people are landless. Nevertheless, Pacific governments have identified several critical issues with which they are grappling. And, some of these critical issues do not portend well for the future.

Population growth and redistribution. Population growth rates are relatively high by world standards. Land areas, especially in the atoll countries of Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tokelau and the Marshalls, are small and population densities are high. With growing populations, land parcels are becoming smaller and any hope of increased agricultural production is diminishing.

Most countries in the area are facing growing urban populations. Urban drift and international migration is resulting in the depopulation of rural areas and outer islands. Because all land in the region is owned, absenteeism has resulted in land being left idle, which in turn, contributes little to the growth of cash crop agriculture.

Food security and nutrition. Population growth and redistribution and changing tastes have made the quality and quantity of food a concern for Pacific governments.

The growth of cash economies has been accompanied by substantial increases in food imports. In Tuvalu, imported food constitutes about 30% of total imports. The most significant impact of imported food may be on the health and nutrition of Pacific people. And, governments are turning their attention to this problem through the development of national nutrition policies.

Another aspect of the food, health and nutrition issue is that export oriented cash crops are being promoted by some governments at the expense of the subsistence sector.

Deterioration of cash economies. Trade deficits in the Pacific are fairly large considering the size of the economies, and these deficits have grown over the past two years. Global inflation and the accompanying increases in the costs of imports, especially petroleum, have pushed gross imports up. Because prices for agriculturally based primary products have not increased proportionately, the trade deficit has increased.

Another growing imbalance in the region is the growing cost of government in relation to locally generated revenues. Locally generated government revenues in some countries constitute as little as three percent of the cost of government.

Governments in the area are trying to control increases in the cost of government and build a productive private sector (or quasi public sector) that can generate government revenues.

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Growing dependence on foreign assistance. Budgetary subsidies and project aid contribute large percentages of government budgets in the Pacific. In addition to the problem of increasing the gap between locally generated government revenues and costs, aid dependence has other implications. First, project aid is often very costly to plan for and administer. Second, aid agencies have their own substantive and political priorities. And third, governments can potentially be manipulated politically (though it is less of a problem in the Pacific than one might believe).

The over reliance on foreign assistance is a major concern of governments in the region. And, the ultimate solution is to build productive enterprises that can support government services. As for the management and priorities problem, the obvious answer is to educate donors about the management constraints and development priorities of the countries and territories of the region. In addition, building the indigenous capacity to locate, acquire and administer development assistance more effectively can greatly reduce the chasing the dollar syndrome.

The growing need for adequate transportation and communication systems. The Pacific Islands region, because of the geography with which it is blessed and the sizes of the populations concerned, has always been faced with high internal communications costs. However, as island economies expand, communication and transportation become more critical because island products have to be competitive on the world and regional markets.

Social problems that have accompanied "development". In recent years, Pacific governments have given increasing attention to growing social problems such as urban crime, prostitution, suicide, and alcoholism. There has been as sense for some time now that people in island countries and territories are experiencing a generation gap and that the authority of traditional leaders has declined. Along with growing unemployment and an increase in the number of educated young people, these factors have resulted in "youth problems". Governments have, only recently ,begun to face these problems head on.

Continued or growing foreign influence. Among those territories which remain territories of colonial powers, there are currently two independence movements which have not had such friendly relations with their colonial masters: the OPM or Free Papua Movement in Irian Jaya and the Kanak independence movement in New Caledonia.

In addition to the colonial rule question, Pacific countries are confronting other foreign control issues. The two which have received the most attention are the nuclear free Pacific question and the 200 mile exclusive economic zone tuna question.

Conclusions. There is a need in the Pacific for the indigenous capacity to identify, understand and resolve problems. Outsiders can assist, but that assistance should be provided in such a way that local capability is built. There is also a need for the development of productive enterprises.

Third, there is a need for policy research and policy development, which in the long run should be done by Pacific Islanders. And, fourth, there is a need for donors and assistance agencies to learn more about the Pacific and to be responsive to the needs and priorities of island governments.

The above is an edited and highly abbreviated version of Dr. Hamnett's paper. Due to space limitations we could not go into greater detail, and trust it reflects the major points.

FISHING

A squeeze on Honiara

By ROBERT KEITH-REID

Shades of the bad old days of the East-West cold war. An instruction from Washington DC has landed on the governor's desk in American Samoa. It told him to be sure that no fish from the Solomons is landed for canning by the Star-Kist and Van Camp factories there. Not for as long as the Solomons keep in custody the Jeanette Diana, the US purse seiner arrested on June 25 for fishing illegally 170 miles inside the Solomons' 200-mile zone.

The retaliatory trade embargo could hit the Solomons hard since tuna fishing is its number two export industry. Last year it exported 35,000 tonnes, of which 16,000 were sent to US canneries direct. Most of the rest was sold to Thailand canneries for canning and re-export to the US. Since

action could be taken to recover it. In these circumstances it was no surprise that no offers had been received for the controversial seiner and her helicopter when, on September 10, the tender period for her closed. The San Diego company which had the ship is reported to have withdrawn an appeal against the conviction of its captain and the confiscation order, and to have offered to buy the Jeanette Diana back, valued at \$4 million, for \$250,000.

In Honiara at the end of last month a figure of \$1 million was being mentioned in government circles. At the Forum meeting in Funafuti, all the support the Solomon Islands got for its plight were some consoling words. What it wanted was support in the form of a counter-ban on the admission of US fishing vessels to Forum

The answer, the Forum said, was for countries to jointly negotiate a fishing treaty with the US. Two weeks after the pronouncement fisheries officials from 11 island countries, all members of the Forum Fisheries Agency, were meeting at the SPE headquarters in Suva to decide whether a deal could be done with the US.

The meeting had been planned before the Jeanette Diana incident. After two days of talks among themselves, delegates decided that they could present a united front and invited a waiting US State Department team led by Edward Wolfe to join the talks. He is an ambassador dealing with ocean and fishing matters, a political appointee, and reportedly has tuna lobbying background.

Three days later the two sides announced that there was a basis for a treaty to allow American fishermen to fish in the region's 200-mile zones and ensure that the US accepted rights claimed by island states over their fisheries resources. The treaty would override the Magnuson Act, which requires the US government to ignore



Pago Pago canneries: closing the gate on Solomon tuna

canneries in Japan, Taiwan and the Philippines send a lot of their stuff to the US too, it means the Solomons will probably be unable to divert to Asia tuna normally bought by the Americans.

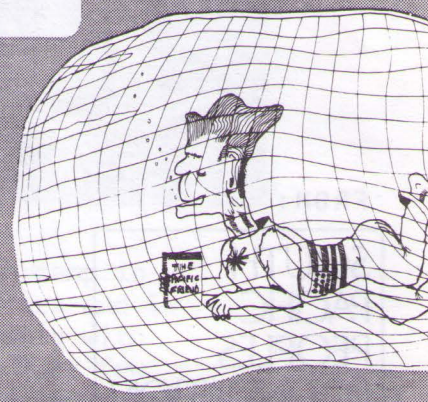
The fisheries department in Honiara reckons it wouldn't be possible to sell much more than 10,000 tonnes of the annual catch to other buyers without the risk of being hit by the American embargo. This year's catch is expected to reach 37,500 tonnes. If the embargo isn't lifted, 1,000 people could lose their jobs because fishing boats will have to be laid up and at least one of two canneries shut down. Since imposing the embargo, the US has backed it up with threats of trouble for anyone buying the Jeanette Diana, confiscated by a Solomons court order, and for which the Ministry of Finance has set a reserve price of \$3.5 million.

A US statement said the sale wasn't recognised. It was still US property and

ports and the cancellation of current US fishing licences for as long as the US-imposed embargo continued.

But the Solomons was asking the impossible from countries anxious not to be caught up so drastically in a row with the US, for various reasons of their own. Kiribati, for instance, sells fish to the Pago Pago canneries also. Fiji is building a \$4 million slipway hoping to attract \$40 million a year business from repairing American fishing vessels. Papua New Guinea is reviving its tuna fishery, which, like everywhere else, will rely mainly on the American market for sales. All the Solomons got from the Forum was an expression of regret "at the failure of the United States to recognise the applicability of the 200-mile EEZ to tuna, and at the fact that that country endeavoured to enforce its position on this issue through embargo legislation."

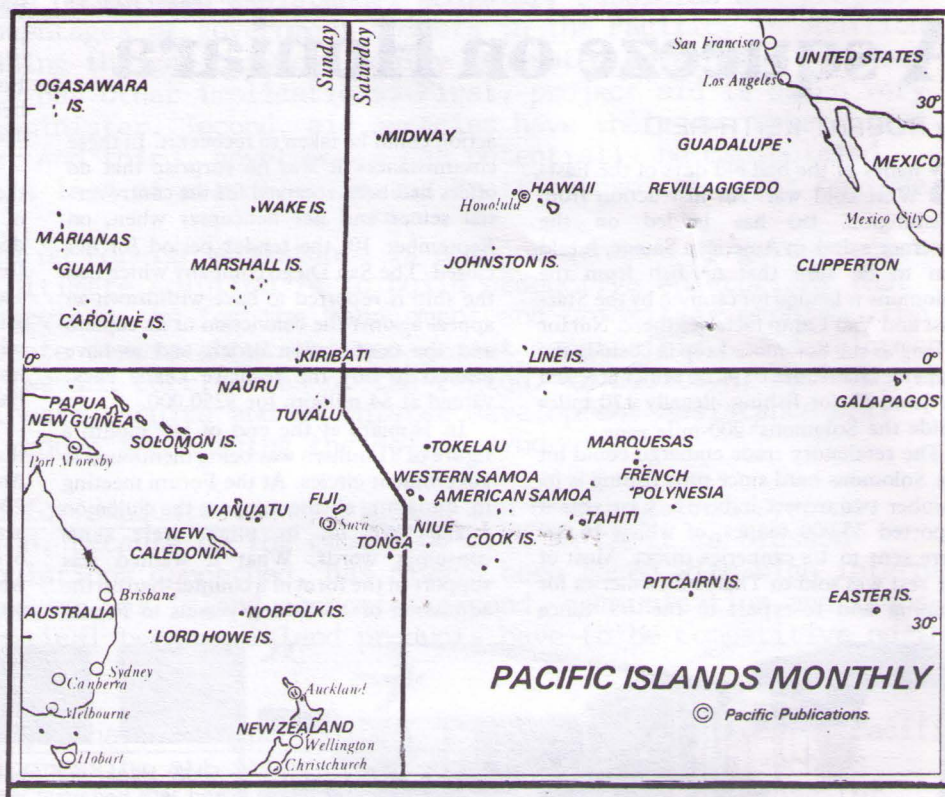
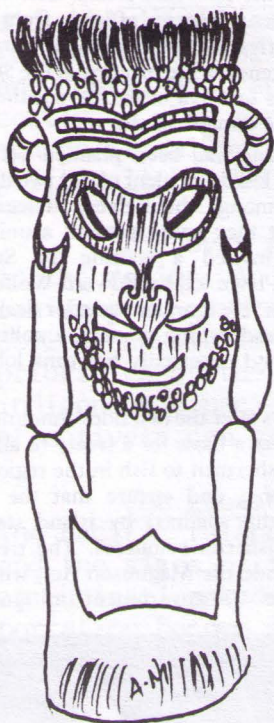
'Okay Hank, pull her up and let's see what we've got this time ...'



controls on tuna fishing so that if fishermen can poach to their heart's content in the knowledge that, if they get caught their government will back them up with economic sanctions. During the talks delegation from the American Tunabo Association was in town briefing the state department side. It was led by its president, August Felando, who wouldn't be interviewed by ISLANDS BUSINESS. The matter was "too delicate", he explained.

Treaty talks will resume in Suva in December. Everyone involved in them said they were determined that a treaty fair to all would be attained. But getting a treaty signed and then ratified by all the governments concerned, especially the United States, could take a long, long time. Possibly years.

Meanwhile, unless it can quickly do its own deal with the US over the Jeanette Diana, the Solomon Islands will have a awful lot of fish for sale.



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