Tok Blong SPPF

April 1987 #19

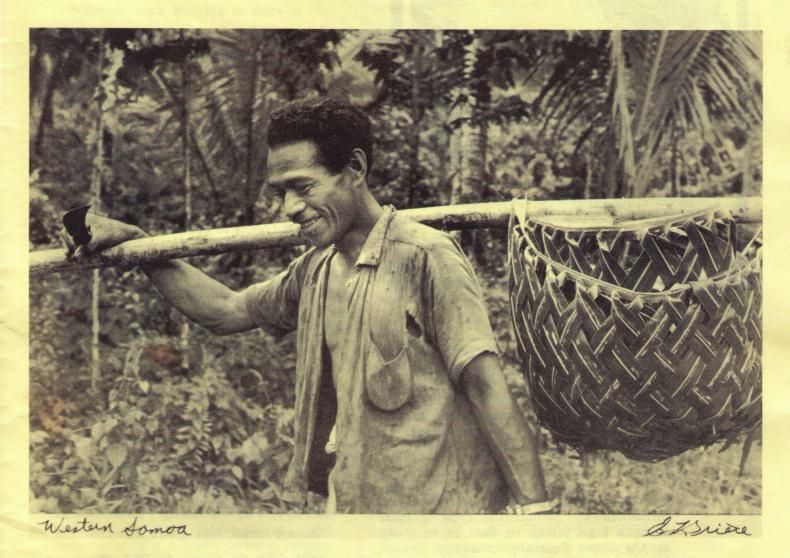


Photo by Elaine Briere

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.

Jean Marie Tjibaou: A Profile

By Donna Winslow, Université de Montréal

Who is this Ghandian style Kanak independence leader? He is known as a man of the middle path, a negotiator, an astute politician and above all a very private person.

I remember my first encounter with him in December 1984, just after several members of his family had been ambushed and killed by anti-independence pro-French settlers. I was struck by his enormous self-control and calm in the face of such a personal tragedy. He continued to negotiate with the French Government.

Now married and father of three, Jean Marie TJIBAOU divides his time between Nouméa, the capital of New Caledonia and the town of Hienghène of which he is the mayor. He also spends a considerable amount of time travelling abroad trying to sensitize the international community to the Kanak issues.

His formal education was heavily influenced by catholicism. From a local catholic high school he went on to study at the Lyons Seminary College in France and was ordained as a catholic priest. In 1971 he left the priesthood in order to begin a political campaign for Kanak independence. He was elected territorial counsellor and then vice-president of New Caledonia's Governing Council from 1982 - 1984. The most recent territorial elections nominated him President of the Northern Region.

Jean Marie TJIBAOU is also President of the Kanak Provisional Government and undisputed leader of the Independence movement. Even though he is often criticised he somehow manages to unify the diverse tendencies within the movement and bend them to his will. He is perceived as being a moderate with negotiation and dialogue constituting the cornerstones of his policies. It is he who convinced the F.L.N.K.S. (The National Kanak Socialist Liberation Front) to participate in the 1985 elections.

A great supporter of the system of Regional Government (since the '85 elections the F.L.N.K.S. controls three of the four Regions in New Caledonia) Jean Marie TJIBAOU believes that Independence needs to be rooted in local community development.

"Now our forms of mobilization have changed. We've left the road blocks for the Regional Councils. The building of tools, ranches, mechanics' shops, etc. requires another type of mobilization which takes a longer time. There isn't the same type of group dynamic you find on a road block. It's a result of the nature of the work but don't for a moment think that the taking regional responsibilities means demobilization...

Our representatives are now in place - an administration, a political bureau, offices - in each

Region. We've established a priority list of projects suggested by the tribes and have begun feasability studies on them. From these studies we've been able to establish tentative budgets for the small as well as the large projects (roads, habours, etc.). All this in spite of the fact that the local treasury is dragging it's feet in supplying the promised funds.

Many of my recent trips overseas have combined 'politics' and 'business' in that I have been soliciting funds for our regional development projects."

Encouraging local development has not prevented Jean Marie TJIBAOU from also working to internationalize the struggle. In August, 1985, he was at the South Pacific Forum meetings in Suva to ask the Forum countries to appeal to the United Nations for the reinscription of New Caledonia on the UN list of non self-governing territories. This successful effort was followed by a trip to the N.A.M. meetings in Harare where he again obtained unanimous support for reinscription.

The December 2nd, 1986 vote by the United Nations General Assembly supporting the reinscription of New Caledonia on the list of non self-governing territories and 'the inalienable right of the peoples of New Caledonia to self-determination and independence' was a great personal victory for Mr. TJIBAOU. It is the product of an international strategy that he has been developing for two years and as a result the F.L.N.K.S. has an international reputation and quasi-diplomatic status.

89 countries supported reinscription, 24 voted against and 34 (including Canada and the United States) abstained. Regarding the countries which did not support reinscription, particularly certain francophone African nations, Mr. TJIBAOU said:



Jean Marie Tjibaou (center) after the U.N. vote. With him are Francis Saemala (Solomon Islands Representative to the U.N.) on the left, and Yann Uregei (Foreign Affairs minister in the Kanak provisional government) standing at the right.

"I feel sorry for them because they have forgotten that they were once colonies. They made a choice between their interests and their principles."

He was hopeful that the U.N. vote will help the Kanak people.

Now we can deal directly with the Decolonization Committee, rather than dealing through other delegations and meeting with people in corridors. We will now be able to submit information directly to the Committee and get information directly from the Committee. We want the U.N. to participate in the decolonization process, for example send observers to the negotiations and the Referendum."

France has already indicated that she will ignore the United Nations' decision and not let any U.N. observer team into New Caledonia. France and most of the French press have been trying to downplay the importance of the vote nevertheless it is a clear statement on the part of the U.N. (and particularly by the Forum countries who sponsored the reinscription) which France cannot afford to ignore. Jean Marie TJIBAOU feels that reinscription is an important victory.

"Reinscripton is important so that we can be in a better position when we sit down at the bargaining table with France."

One of the important issues to be discussed with France is the question of who will vote in the upcoming Referendum on Independence. France maintains the position of 'one person one vote' which means that anyone resident in New Caledonia for more than six months has the right to vote. This would include then, the metropolitain civil servants and the 12,000 or so military personnel stationed in the Territory. In a Pacific Island nation of approximately 160,000 these numbers are significant.



From left: Tony Brown (member of New Zealand Mission to the U.N.), Yann Uregei, and Winston Thompson (Fiji's Representative to the U.N.) celebrate the successful U.N. vote.

On the other hand, the F.L.N.K.S. maintains that it is the Kanak people who should be consulted. It is possible that the Kanaks will also accept that other 'victims of history' (the descendants of the penal colony and early settlers) be allowed to vote. The Kanaks insist that those who vote have at least one parent born in the Territory.

"The referendum is just a date, marking a transition from one phase to another. On this day who will be consulted? Why should the French be asked whether or not they want to be French? One man one vote makes no sense in terms of Independence. Only the colonized should decide whether or not they wish to remain colonized. It's a question of sovereignty...

However before the Referendum it is possible, even necessary, to discuss how we will all live and work in an independent Kanaky. We need to explain what will happen after Independence so that people will not be afraid. It is the day after Independence that needs to negotiated."

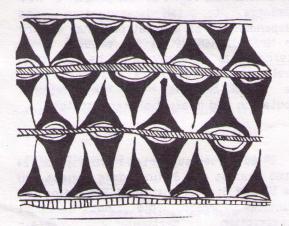


photo by Donna Winslow

Canada and New Caledonia - Part Two -

Department of External Affairs



Ministère des Affaires extérieures

OTTAWA, ONTARIO K1A OG2

March 4, 1987

Mr. Phil Esmonde
Executive Director
South Pacific Peoples Foundation
409-620 View St.
Victoria, B.C.
V8W 1J6

Dear Mr. Esmonde:

I regret the delay in responding to your letter of December 31, 1986, concerning Canada's vote on the resolution on New Caledonia at last year's United Nations General Assembly (Res. 41/41A). I would like to take this opportunity to set out in greater detail the context within which Canada's decision to abstain was taken, and to explain more fully the determinants of Canada's position on this issue. I read with interest your editorial in Tok Blong SPPF on our vote, but I would like to take issue with some of your conclusions.

You have stated that Canada's abstention on this vote is a "shameful" example of "diplomatic fence sitting", designed not to "upset" France, and furthermore "suggests a disregard for the feelings and wishes of the people and Governments of the region and underscores our total lack of policy toward the region". In fact, Canada's abstention and the accompanying Explanation of Vote (EOV) unlike a simple "yes" or "no" vote, accurately reflected the range of factors which determined Canada's position on this resolution. In my letter to you of December 19, I enclosed a copy of Canada's EOV which was delivered to the General Assembly following the vote on Res. 41/41A. As you may be aware, UN members may choose to make an EOV in order to provide the General Assembly with a clear understanding of its position on a particular resolution.

Our EOV sought first to remind the General Assembly of Canada's support for past resolutions (e.g. Res. 1541) designed to clarify and elaborate on the rather vague provisions of Article XI of the Charter. While Canada has consistently supported attempts to develop a consensus on the role of the UN in questions relating to non-self governing territories, we recognize that such a consensus has not been achieved. All nations which have administered non-self governing territories have been reluctant at some point to have their policies examined in the the highly

politicized environment of the U.N. As UN resolutions are "recommendatory" in nature, (that is to say they lack the force in international law to compel member states to comply with their conclusions) the General Assembly can only express concerns, and seek to censure the actions of an administering power. As the question of self determination is essentially a human rights issue, Canada remains understandably reluctant to support any action in the UN to censure an administering power without a clear indication that the right to self determination (or any other right) is being denied. The decision by the South Pacific Forum to bring resolution 41/41A forward was based less on actual evidence of French plans to frustrate self determination in New Caledonia than on a general sense of unease at the direction of the policy of the new French Government. In fact, the Forum originally reached a consensus last August that any UN resolution on New Caledonia should wait until after the 1987 referendum. The Committee of Twenty-four (C24) had, prior to the vote on Res 41/41A, already undertaken (on the basis of a petition from Fiji on the Forums behalf) to place New Caledonia on its agenda for 1987, and therefore no action was required by UNGA to ensure C24 consideration of the issue. However, Vanuatu chose to push an UNGA resolution forward in 1986, and the rest of the UN members of the Forum decided to lend their support, even if the effort was seen by some Forum members as premature.

While Canada was not prepared to support the resolution, our decision to make an EOV reflected our own uncertainty over French policy. Canada called on France to ensure that the referendum "provides a meaningful and representative basis for determining the course of New Caledonia's future political development" i.e. to seek to ensure that any referendum on self determination enjoys the full participation of all major groups in New Caledonia, under an agreed franchise. We would not consider a referendum which was boycotted by a major part of the New Caledonia population to be "representative".

Canada's vote on Res 41/41A was thus clear and unequivocal in reaffirming Canada's traditional support for a UN role in questions relating to non self-governing territories, noting our particular concerns about the situation in New Caledonia, and establishing the conditions under which Canada would support a UN resolution on New Caledonia. Had Canada wished to avoid "upsetting" France, we would likely have joined with most of the European Community in voting against the resolution, and if we were "sitting on the fence", we would not have chosen to make an Explanation of Vote. Furthermore, our position was arrived at following consultation at the UN and in capitals with the UN members of the South Pacific Forum, none of which have criticized Canada's position on this question.

I hope the foregoing has served to clarify Canada's position on this question. If I can provide further information on this issue or on any other aspect of Canada's relations with the South Pacific, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

H.G. Pardy Director Asia Pacific South Relations Division

Belau President Losing Support

A petition calling for the impeachment of PRESIDENT SALII is being drafted and may already be in circulation in Belau. This is the latest in a growing number of signs indicating a loss of public support for the President.

President Salii, as readers know, has been pushing hard for a Compact of Free Association which would see Belauan lands (at least one-third of the country and potentially all of it) used for U.S. military purposes in exchange for 15 years of monetary compensation. The monetary compensation (among other things) would help to satisfy Belau's fiscal needs to meet the programs Belauans now come to expect after being administered by the U.S. for 40 years. [Simply put, Belau has become dependent on the U.S..]

In other developments in Belau:

- * There are mounting allegations of corruption, including over \$23 million in illegal state projects; construction allegations of kickbacks on such contracts; improper use of government money for Salii's personal residence; investigation of an illegal purchase of a Manila hotel.
- It appears that Salii is losing support even with government, with the vice-

president and the secretary state distancing themselves.

- * Salii has cut funding to the House of Representatives in a move to thwart opposition. Belauans responded raising \$10,000 in one day to assist in informing the public of the President's increasingly coercive attempts to push the Compact through.
- * A bill proposing yet another plebiscite for April 1987 failed to pass the House of Delegates. It is thought that the President will try to set a plebiscite by "executive order", or try to implement a change in the constitution in order to ease the Compact vote. Salii wishes to have an approved Compact before the meeting of the U.N. Trusteeship Council in May 1987.

THREATS TO PEOPLE MOUNT

At the end of March President Salii cut off power (and thus running water) from 11 PM to 6 AM, stating the country was running out of fuel and could not afford to buy more. He threatened to cut off power completely by the first ten days of April. The opposition members responded by asking the President what happened to the \$1,000,000 each put up by Shell and Mobil as a guarantee of good faith and for use in purchasing fuel. Questions are now being asked about a possible "slush fund".

In Belau, the President's tactics are not only isolating him from his people, but there is mounting concern that he will declare a state of emergency to push through a plebiscite

vote. As Belau is still a U.N. Trust Territory, the United Nations and its members still have an important role to play in easing the situation and in censuring the U.S. for its administration of the territory. The U.N. also has a responsibility to insist that Belau's constitution be honoured.

Canadian Mission United Nations has been keeping in touch with the issue, but feels it can do little. While the deck is stacked against the U.N. members (because the Pacific Trust Territory is "strategic" and the U.S. retains a veto over actions in the area) it can't be more stacked than it is against the people of Belau who have had to vote on their constitution 7 times in 8 years. the people of Belau feel strongly enough to resist such tremendous pressure by the U.S., surely U.N. members can go against the odds and propose some action. We hope the Canadian Mission will look alternatives and raise them at the Why not give Belau an economic package for its future development and give it a vote for independence? U.S. promised, and "was trusted", to help the country to develop, but has truly done little in this regard. Now the people must allow military use of their land in exchange for development funds they should have been getting all these years. We must, in close unison with the people of Belau, assist in finding a solution.

PLEASE WRITE AMBASSADOR STEPHEN LEWIS at the Canadian Mission, 866 UN Plaza, Suite 250, New York, NY 10017, USA urging Canada to more actively seek and propose solutions to this issue. More than a principle is at stake, and YOUR LETTERS DO COUNT. (Please send a copy to SPPF.)



A Referendum replay in Belau?

President Salii introduced legislation in the Belau Congress (OEK) to hold another referendum on or before April 14th on the same Compact of Free Association which was not approved in the December plebiscite. Although the bill was blocked by the House of Representataives, Salii has the power to issue an Executive Order to hold a referendum. If this happens, it will be the fifth plebiscite on the Compact.

Salii has set the stage for this new vote by applying economic pressure in Belau. According to the January 20, 1987 issue of The Palau Gazette (weekly publication of the Executive Branch of the Belau government,) Salii has issued an Executive Order requesting all government employees to voluntarily continue working 40 hours per week, but to receive pay for only 32 hours. The hours not compensated are to be documented and repaid at a later date when money is available. So far approximately 1100 employees have "voluntarily" agreed to this plan. In addition, the Belau Senate has laid off 15 employees. According to the the Gazette, "The President ... noted that the failure of the voters to approve the Compact of Free Association has left the Republic in a grave financial crisis."

While there may well be problems with the Salii Administration's budget, recent documents gained under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that they likely stem from expenditures in the last plebiscite, not the lack of a Compact agreement. According to a letter to Salii from Richard Montoya, Assistant Secretary of Territorial and International Affairs in the Department of the Interior, dated 10-28-86, Salii was offered an advance of \$250,000 out of the current operating budget to pay for the December election costs. In the plebiscite, \$175,000 was used in an "education" campaign to convince voters in Belau, Guam, Hawaii and the U.S. to approve the Compact. Montoya also said in the letter that, "If for some reason the plebiscite is not successful, and the Compact cannot be implemented, Palau would still have nearly ten months remaining in the fiscal year to reduce government expenditures or obtain additional reve-

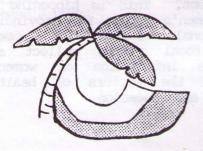
Salii's budget cuts may be intended to have a two-fold effect. First, they help make up for the deficit that appears to have been caused by the last plebiscite. (The total costs may be greater than \$250,000.) Second, they can be interpreted as a financial withhold and then a pay-back for government employees tied to approving the Compact. On the second issue, however, the Compact does not provide a larger budget, but less money for Belau than the Trusteeship Agreement. Futhermore, the lack of a Compact should have nothing to do with a budget crisis since the U.S. Congress has legislated that Belau remains under the Trusteeship budget until political status is resolved.

U.S. negotiators have insisted all along that their role in Belau is to end the trustee-ship in accordance with the democratically—expressed wishes of the Belauan people. What this has meant in practice is one referendum after another on the same basic document. Belauans first voted on the Compact in 1983, on a "Revised Compact" in 1984, on an "Improved Compact" in February 1986 and again on the same document in December 1986, retitled the "New Improved Compact." In the four referendums, the Compact has never received the constitutionally-required 75% voter approval.

With Salii's initiatives, Belauans are gearing up for another go around. Word from Belau is that while there may be another referendum or even a challenge to the constitution, traditional leaders, community and women's groups and political leaders are prepared to stay firm in their support for the constitution in spite of the economic pressures and even death threats.

By Paulette Wittwer, AFSC Staff

[Reprinted with permission from ASIAN-PACIFIC ISSUES NEWS (October 1986), a publication of the American friends service Committee, Portland, OR, USA.]



Prime Minister Lange On French Testing

The Prime Minister of New Zealand, the RT. HON. DAVID LANGE, reiterated on December 8, 1986, the Government's opposition to the French nuclear testing programme in the South Pacific. He was commenting on the report by the DSIR of another French test at Mururoa Atoll. The test, at 0610 hours (NZ daylight time) on December 7 was detected by the Seismological Station at Raratonga, Cook Islands. Its yield is estimated to have been about 10 kilotonnes.

"This is the 80th explosion we have recorded at Mururoa Atoll since underground testing began there in July 1976," said Mr. Lange. "According to our calculations the cumulative yield of those tests is in excess of 15000 kilotonnes: That is equivalent to 1 1/2 million tonnes of TNT, or 100 Hiroshima bombs. The French Government has to expect regional opposition if it continues to conduct such a testing programme in the South Pacific. I am greatly saddened that France refuses to hear this deep-seated and strongly-held opposition. France is well aware what a constructive and welcome action a cessation of testing would be."

Development in the Pacific:

What Women Say

Throughout the Pacific, women are experiencing a decline in status and power as dependency on the cash economy and imported political and social systems becomes more entrenched in Pacific island societies. Pacific women often held a prestigious place in traditional society; they economically active as producers, manufacturers, market managers healers. Now women are increasingly marginalised. They are the least educated or consulted in the community. Their work is poorly paid (if at all) and often unrecognised in government non-government research and development planning.

Rural women in many Pacific countries carry out the majority of agricultural and production work. They often marginalised in formal education and excluded from training which would enable them to benefit from new labour saving technologies. Their access to the rural cash economy decreases as more emphasis is placed on such technology. In cities, women are often found in highly exploited sectors of the labour force, such as the tourist industry and the service sector, where their contribution to the development of the national economy is rarely reflected in statistical reports.

Pacific islanders face a number of health problems related to rapid economic and social transition. Alcoholism is a serious problem, women suffer the consequences of the increased violence and financial difficulties alcoholism brings into the home. Dependency on imported foods has led to health problems such as anaemia, malnutrition and dental caries. For women, the cycle of poor health is

perpetuated by poor eating habits, lack of information about either traditional or western medicines and the stresses of many pregnancies and hard physical work.

In the past decade Pacific women have consistently identified health, education, employment and alcoholism as areas of priority concern. Neocolonialism, economic exploitation and foreign domination, drug dumping, nuclear testing and the basic decline in the living standard of Pacific island communities are seen to be interconnected.

In the region where millions are spent on aid and development, women's basic needs remain invisible and therefore unmet. There is no shortage of information about development and women in the Pacific but rather a lack of real commitment by governments to recognise women's views and experience in development planning.

There have always been active women's groups in the Pacific. such rapid socio-economic change facing Pacific people, there has been a growing awareness that these groups must link up and form networks to support women's work. Only when women themselves organise to voice their needs and rights can there develop an effective lobby for the support of and government non-government organisations. This is happening in village women's groups and provincial and national councils of Regional focal points collect disseminate information on status in the sectors of health, employment and education.

Local women's groups confront the daily pressures of raising cash for school fees, producing adequate and nutritious food for their families, caring for livestock and maintaining the home environment.

Provincial Councils of Women are concerned with the creation of village development groups, organising transport and accommodation for women on village exchange projects, the development of small scale resource materials for the projects they are involved with and co-ordinating village women's activities in joint projects.

National Councils of Women meet to discuss the problems Pacific women face on a national level and to develop and document long term strategies to effect positive changes in the lives of rural and urban women. They also act as focal points for large-scale projects in which women are involved and as lobby groups to Pacific governments.

Despite the heavy constraints of time and resources, there are many hard working and active women's organisations in the Pacific. Pacific women are aware of their problems and of the importance of clearly defined organisational structures. Women are actively lobbying for more resources that cater for their needs, for more health centres, for more specific research and documentation of women's status and for more recognition of the important economic, social and political role that Pacific women can and do play in the overall development of their countries.

[The above is the introduction to Development Dossier Number 18, published by ACFOA (Australian Council for Overseas Aid) with the same title as the headline. Interested readers should contact ACFOA, GPO Box 1562, Canberra, ACT 2601, Australia to purchase a copy]

Half Life Distributed In Canada

This award winning film is now available in Canada from:

Creative Exposure 2236 Queen Street E. Toronto, Ontario M4E 1G2 (416)690-0667

We are told that the rental price for non-profit groups is \$150 per showing. Perhaps your group, school, service club might be interested?

Crossroads To Fiji

MORNA MCLEOD of Vancouver has been chosen by Canadian Crossroads International (CCI) for a 4 month work posting in FIJI. CCI sends Canadian volunteers overseas partially as a way to educate Canadians to the reality of other countries. As part of their commitment, volunteers must raise some of their airfare and must do 100 hours of community work upon their return. Morna will be assisting SPPF during her trip and upon her return. If you can assist Morna in her fundraising needs (tax receipts available, please send a cheque to: Canadian Crossroads, Crossroads House, 31 Madison Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 2S2 and indicate "for Morna McLeod".

Unsung Heroes

Health Assistants of Micronesia

By Graham Conway, M.D.

The young woman is exhausted after being in labor 24 hours. The pain continues and she has made little progress toward bringing her child into this world.

But amidst all the pain, she does not cry out. In her culture, that would be unthinkable. She is a Micronesian.

With her in the small, palm-thatched hut are at least 15 of her relatives, including infants. Two old women sit closest to her in the glow of a single kerosene lantern murmuring quietly to each other.

A middle aged Micronesian man with a stethoscope intrudes, yet again, to listen for the heartbeat of the unborn child then walks outside to tell the waiting men and village chief that he needs to call for the ship. He is not a doctor or nurse, he is the "health assistant" for the island and is certain complications will develop during delivery.

The government's field trip ship may be hundreds of miles away; it may even be inoperable and docked somewhere awaiting parts. There was recent talk it may need a complete refitting in Japan.

But first things first.

The health assistant must act fast to contact the Micronesian atoll's district center. As he attempts the call over the static-ridden shortwave radio, he questions his ability to convince authorities for the need to dispatch the ship on a 1,000-mile mercy mission. Such a voyage can cost \$10,000 and throw off the ship's schedule for weeks. It could also cause students living on other

islands to be a month late starting high school at the district center. And it could very well affect the economies of many of the islands which are waiting for their only cash crop, copra, to be collected.

He makes the radio call but is told to stand by for half-an-hour while they try to locate a doctor. The phone patch to the hospital is not working again, so the doctor will have to come to the radio. He hopes they find a Micronesian medical officer because time was very precious now - it would be too difficult to talk to an American physician who does not know his language.

While he waits, the health assistant mentally goes through his supplies. There are only two bottles of intravenous fluid left. Several cases of diarrhoea and dehydration among infants used up too many bottles. The ship that came two months ago did not bring more and the hospital had none to spare. He remembers that he had also better ask for more medicine for patients with high blood pressure and for the children with bad coughs. He also notes the tuberculosis patient who should leave for treatment. Then there's the boy with epilepsy who ran out of medication last week. wishes he could obtain something more effective than aspirin to give his patients for the pain they suffer, but the hospital will not issue codeine or injectable narcotics to health assistants.

At least his small suturing kit is sterile, boiled over a fire of coconut husks because his kerosene stove has rusted away like much of the equipment in his small two-room dispensary. The salt air eats metal very fast.

At last, the doctor is on the radio and queries him about the expectant mother. Questions about breech, length of pregnancy, fetal heart rate, maternal blood pressure, cervical dilation and size of pelvis rang through. He wishes he knew more about obstetrics but when a complicated case developed during his training days, nurses and doctors always took charge and he could barely see the procedures being taken. Of course, everyone spoke English during the ensuing discussions and he was too timid to say that he did not understand many of the words. Nowadays, the only time he ever hears English spoken is when his replacement arrives about every three years so he can go for a few weeks training in public health.

The doctor instructs him to re-examine the patient and report back in four hours. Meantime, they will check for the location and availability of the ship and forewarn the governor.

throughout Health assistants Micronesia find themselves in the most precarious situations when handling such emergency cases. A "Catch-22" scenario confronts them everytime. If a patient is recovered by the time the ship docks, he stirs trouble with the government over an "unnecessary referral". patient dies, however, he faces the burden of the entire community for requesting assistance too late. Oftentimes, health assistants expected to have the medical judgement of specialists although they are placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. He has worked hard to gain his people's trust but a misjudgement can cause a rapid loss of that trust.

The ship is 50 hours away so, at best, the patient is 100 hours from the nearest hospital. He fears the woman will not survive four more days.

Such critical situations often occur on the outer islands of Yap, Truk, Ponape and the Marshalls. Pneumonia, meningitis, severe dehydration and trauma from fishing and boating accidents are other frequent reasons which require

evacuation. Hospital policy allows for women to come to the district center for delivery of their first-born but ship schedule changes and the reluctance of some to leave their families and journey, perhaps for the first time, to a distant place often means these higher-risk patients choose to stay at home.

Larger atolls, with populations ranging from 200 to 600, are served by a nurse or physician assistant but smaller far-flung islands cared for by health assistants are faced with the inability to reach medical help on time.

The Marshalls and a few other islands have airstrips with weekly or more frequent air service, but emergency flights are expensive, authorities reason. An air strip can occupy up to 20 percent or 30 percent of an entire island that supports only 300 to 400 people. They are beyond helicopter range and seaplanes were abandoned as being "too dangerous" following a tragedy and several "close calls" in the 1960s. Airdrops of much-needed supplies are sometimes made, but they too have been known to break and scatter over the reef when heavy tradewinds blow.

Improvement has come with the increased rotation of health assitants in some areas and the installation of some solar-powered radios on most islands. Most people believe that much more is needed to insure adequate and reliable drug supplies and continuous updating of health assistants in the indications, dosages and effects of various drugs.

Health assistants frequently face medical cases alone that would terrify an American medical school graduate who is used to instant specialist consultation and patient transport, and whose local pharmacy and emergency room never run out of antibiotics, bandages, sutures and the many appurtenances of modern medicine.

Perhaps someday the health assistant of this article will be at ease with the knowledge that help will arrive in time.

The above article is published with permission of the author, Dr. Graham W. Conway, and Sanchez Publishing House (Guam), publishers of "Glimpses of Micronesia" where this article first appeared (Summer 1986). Dr. Conway, a Canadian from Vancouver Island, B.C., has worked in the Pacific Islands for several years, and until recently was working in the Marshall Islands.

Copra Wars

Life on the Outer islands

By Kevin Hart

Outer Islanders were sorely disappointed by the recent Government announcement that the price of copra during 1987 would be only 8 cents per pound. On Ailinlaplap, copra producers had unanimously agreed to 'strike', not selling a single bag of copra during the field trip ship service in early January when the price was still 6 cents per pound. The rise to 8 cents is much less than was anticipated and it remains to be seen whether the 'strike' will continue.

Most producers had been led to believe that prices would be increased substantially "once the Compact is enacted". Copra makers who have patiently endured economic hardship because they accepted the alleged need for sacrifice in the short term, trusting promises of eventual relief once compact funding was available, have begun to wonder how and when their legitimate expectation of assistance will be met. The question is particularly pressing at this time because their perception of the disparity between the prosperity which has emerged so rapidly in Majuro contrasts ever more sharply with desperate conditions they encounter every day on the outer islands.

During the years surrounding 1967, copra prices had been stabilized at 5 cents per pound. According to the U.S. Consumer Price Index, the cost of goods has increased 360% since 1967. This means a typical item one might have purchased for \$1.00 in 1967 would cost #3.60 today.

In order to achieve the same subsistence level of income which maintained the copra makers 20 years ago, he would have to receive 18 cents a pound for the copra he is producing right now. With today's price of 8 cents a pound, his labor is worth less than half of what it was 20 years ago.

A year ago, the Nitijela voted in favor of spending 2 million dollars (\$2,000,000) to support copra prices. Because of delays in its enactment and decision to withhold U.S. retroactive Compact funding, as well as various other Government financial problems, only \$800,000 of the 2 million dollars was allocated, so copra prices fluctuated between 6 and 10 cents per pound in 1986. If the full \$2,000,000 had been allocated, the price of copra would have been 18 cents per pound last year. In 1987, full Compact funding is in effect, but this year's allocation is only another \$800,000.

Total revenue of the Government of the Marshall Islands for 1987, including aid, funding, and grants from the United States, Japan, and other sources, as well as taxes, is expected to be 70.1 million dollars (\$70,1000,000). A yearly copra subsidy of eight hundred thousand dollars (\$800,000) represents only 1.1% of the Government's annual funding.

On Ailinlaplap in 1986, 957 tons of copra was produced. at 8 cents per pound, this total divided among the atoll's copra makers and their families (who number 1400) would yield an income for each person of only \$100 for the entire year. Even if copra prices were raised to 25 cents per pound, per

person income on Ailinlaplap would only reach \$340 annually (less than \$1.00 per day). If the 70 million dollars in 1987 Government revenues were divided equally among all 37,000 Marshallese, each person would receive nearly \$1,900.00 in cash each year.

MAJURO VS. OUTER ISLANDS

Nearly half of all Marshallese live on the outer islands without benefit of government supported services such as electricity, water, roads, or ready access to other benefits directly related to government spending in Majuro: better quality education and health care, regular jobs, and especially, relatively low prices for food and other commodities. A can of corned beef selling in Majuro for \$1.55 typically costs \$2.50 on Ailinlaplap; a quart of bleach is \$.75 in Majuro, \$1.25 on Ailinlaplap; a gallon of gasoline costing \$1.40 in Majuro sells for \$3.50 there. Food and other essentials cost almost twice as much on the outer islands as they do in Majuro.

Availability of local foods in the outer islands partially offsets this differential, but the doubling of Marshall's population in the past 20 years has meant many more mouths to feed, and local food production in the outer islands even twenty years ago could provide barely half of what was needed to feed an atoll's people. Everyone who has tried to grow nonindigenous crops on the outer islands has experienced the frustration of learning that without means providing delicately balanced soil nutrients over long periods of time, nothing grows well enough to make the effort worthwhile, despite what many would like to believe about the viability of model farms on Majuro.

The argument that copra subsidies should not be necessary because outer islanders themselves should initiate development of their own economies has been advanced frequently over the years by Majuro-based politicians and businessmen to rationalize spending such a high proportion of government funds in Majuro. This "bootstrap" theory is derived from the notion of the desirability of self-sufficiency and from ignorance of the real conditions of outer island life. None of its advocates have ever suggested that the same criteria should be applied to economic development in Majuro.

Suggested "bootstraps" projects to enhance outer islanders' income have typically focused on export of local foods to Majuro/Ebeye (breadfruit, pandanus, bananas, salted fish, coconut apple and other coconut derivatives) where they are much prized by Marshallese. Copra makers who have attempted to supplement their income through this means know that, given present conditions, there is no surplus local food available for export. even if there were, shipping costs to Majuro via plane are too expensive and very risky via ship because of spoilage, theft, and unpredictable schedules.

Another misconception commonly held by Majuro residents is that the construction of airstrips and inauguration of weekly plane service is evidence that the central government has "taken care of" the outer islands. The original rationale behind building airfields and buying planes was to facilitate medical evacuations (which has been an admirable success), and in turn, to free the field trip ships to provide more frequent regular service.

There has been only marginal improvement in ship service from 20 years ago, when the small, privately-owned Ralik-Ratak and Mieco Queen and the then-new Militobi were the only links to the outer islands, but frequency of field trip service has hardly been in proportion to the increase in the number of government

ships to the present fleet of five large vessels.

In addition, freight charges for transporting copra to Majuro, which were increased from 1 cent per pound to 1.5 cents per pound when copra prices rose to the mid-teens in 1974, have never been lowered to their former levels despite the sharp drop in prices. Today, \$2.00 of the value of every bag of copra produced goes to pay freight to Majuro. Why should Majuro-made copra sell for 9.5 cents per pound, when outer islanders with much greater need receive 16% less for the same amount of labor?

Aside from medical evacuations, air service has done little for copra producers. Politicians, employees of the government, business men, missionaries, and their respective families are the principal groups with enough money to buy plane tickets and are the chief beneficiaries of the Government's multi-million subsidies to the Airline of the Marshall Islands. Copra makers cannot afford to fly; especially those whose land was cleared of coconut palms to make space for the airfields, none of whom have yet been compensated by the Government or the Airline for loss of their principal source of income.

It has not been so difficult for other Pacific Island countries, even those with considerably less affluence than the Marshalls, to appreciate the necessity of supporting copra to prevent inevitable human hardship and the disruptive social and political conflicts which occur when a nation's wealth is not fairly distributed among its citizens.

In French Polynesia and the Cook Islands, government support to outer islanders includes not only subsidies for copra prices, but also free freight, warehousing, stevedoring, and weekly cash payment for each bag of copra produced. Prices are completely

stabilized: there are no month-to-month or year-to-year fluctuations, nor is the price ever lowered because of world market conditions.

With this system, producers know exactly how much copra they must make to meet their needs and how much time and money they can devote to developing supplementary sources of income. Outer island businessmen can predict how much inventory to stock until the next field trip ship service and are not obliged to carry thousands of dollars of customer credit until the ship arrives because producers are paid in cash each week at Government warehouses for the copra they have made.

While it is true that some upgrading of outer island schools and dispensaries has occurred, capital development projects in water supply, sanitation, electrification, roads, docks, and alternate industries have yet to move beyond discussion.

The outer islands remain little changed, except that surviving there today is much more difficult than it was 20 years ago. It seems painfully clear that the disparity between the prosperity of Majuro and the poverty of the outer islands continues to grow each year. Conditions on the outer islands will only worsen as long as the focus of Government spending remains so extraordinarily prejudiced in favor of Majuro.

PRODUCERS VS. POLITICIANS

Surely it was not the intention of the United States that Nitijela control over the allocation of funds provided under the Compact would result in devastating economic hardship for any group of Marshall Islanders, regardless of where they live.

The Constitution of the Marshall Islands requires that each atoll elect its own representatives to the Nitijela. Since the majority of

Marshallese lived on the outer islands, under the one man - one vote Constitution, they had the power to elect the majority of Nitijela members. This arrangement was believed to be adequate to protect politically unsophisticated outer islanders from manipulation and exploitation.

It appears, however, that outer island voters did not choose their Senators on the basis of their ability to represent the collective economic welfare of the outer islands relative to Majuro, but rather, the interests of their particular atoll relative to every other atoll in the Marshalls, a reflection of ancient, but no longer relevant, inter-atoll rivalries.

To accomplish this, voters in the first two national elections chose representatives who were familiar with Majuro-style politics and who had the strongest connections established hierarchy of traditional and political power in the Marshalls. They assumed that affiliation with the Majuro-based hierarchy would insure the protection and welfare of their atoll, but did not anticipate that election of representatives with close ties to the political establishment would result in such disproportionate concentration of power and wealth in Majuro and the nearly total neglect of outer island problems.

Rather than dedicating themselves to finding ways of relieving desperation of their outer island constituents, Marshalls' Nitijela members are usually swamped dealing with Majuro-related proposals. of note in recent weeks included a decision to provide economic assistance to Majuro's private schools (whose students are children of the affluent Marshallese and expatriate elite), and debating whether to allow big-time casino gambling in the islands.

Most Marshalls' Senators have very limited experience of the everyday

lives of the people they represent. Many are the offspring or descendants of European-or Japanese-Marshallese parents who were not brought up on the outer islands and have enjoyed privileged opportunities for education and advancement because of the social and economic status of their families. Senators generally have influential family connections on their "home" atolls and rely upon these family associates to mobilize and maintain their political support. Few, if any, have ever had to make copra.

When Senators visit their constituents, it is usually for a specific holiday, celebration, or ritual. On these occasions, outer islanders feel compelled by custom to honor them with special deference and Open criticism of their respect. representative's job performance or of government policies is considered very bad manners indeed. Senators are often shielded from recognizing the needs of the constituents' hardships because the real work of surviving on an outer island does not begin until they have left.

Marshall Islanders, conditioned for centuries to show unquestioning obedience to their leaders, cannot afford to take too much longer to learn that in a democracy, the job of the people is to elect leaders who know how to serve them; the job of elected leaders is to serve the needs of the people.

ON THE ALIENATION OF LAND

The political innocence of outer islanders and the inaction of their representatives has created a deepening threat to the fundamental bedrock of Marshallese life which transcends the price of copra: ownership of the islands.

Unable to support their families by making copra, ever increasing numbers of outer islanders are being

Economic pressures this magnitude undermine the morale and confidence of the people in the value of the Marshallese Way by breaking the claim of future generations to their heritage of land. It also opens up the islands to a variety of abuses from sources, outside accelerating destruction of the pattern traditional life. The recent bid by a Nevada-based company to lease Erikub Atoll for use as a hazardous waste dump is only the beginning of this dangerous assault on the outer islands and underlines their vulnerability to Big Money.

One of the strongest positive features of the Trust Territory Administration was its strict control over the transfer of ownership of land. Moves to acquire land in the Marshalls by the Government (airfields, eminent domain laws) and by local and outside private interests are establishing precedents and pressures on desperate outer islanders for whom the sale of any of their land was unthinkable five years ago.

A fortunate consequence of the Marshalls' extended isolation from the outside world is that it is not yet too late to learn from the histories of other island groups, most notably Hawaii and New Caledonia. Surely, one of the prime responsibilities of Marshalls' Senators is to prevent these

islands from falling beneath the twin yoke of greed and lust for power.

These islands cannot properly be cared for without people who love them living on them. It is vital at this time that thriving outer island communities are recognized as essential to the welfare of all the Marshall Islands.

["Copra Wars" was written as background information for a reunion, to be held this year, of Peace Corps Volunteers, who came to the Marshall Islands in 1967. Kevin Hart was one of those Volunteers. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission.]



From: Micronesia Handbook by David Stanley (Moon Publications)



Alternate Tourism

Reproduced below is a brochure currently being distributed to hostels and hotels in FIJI. It is a good example of village based tourism efforts, ensuring that funds stay in the community and go toward local development work. Also, it is a good alternative to the foreign owned and controlled tourism infrastructure which mostly ensures the opposite: decisions are made outside the country and the majority of the funds generated leave the country.

Try the Interior for a Different kind of Fiji Experience

* Mountains * Jungle * Water Falls (SI PERSON)



Located in a small mountain valley just ten kilometres behind Lautoka is the beautiful village of Abatha. Surrounded by waterfalls and mountain peaks with beautiful vistas this village provides the perfect jumping off point for an enjoyable day for hiking. The temperature is noticeably cooler than the coastal areas, and there is a much greater abundance of plant and animal life. While exploring one can look for native species of orchids and birds or go for an enjoyable swim in one of the many crystal clear pools.

The people of Abatha are inviting visitors to hike on their land as a means to generate income. One dollar per person and a similar fee for a guide is requested. A delicious meal of garden vegetables and other local delicacies can be provided for an additional two dollars each. If you wish to stay overnight in the village you will be welcomed. Expect to sleep on a mat covered floor, truly an experience not to be forgotten, only five dollars per person.

There are four major waterfalls within close proximity of the village. Table Mountain with its sweeping views of the coast and the Yasawa Islands can be climbed in a little more than an hour. For the really ambitious a hike to the top of Mount Evans can be arranged. More information is available in the village.

Traditionally, when visiting any Fijian village, a gift or 'sevusevu' of yangona root is presented. This is mandatory for obtaining permission to hike on the village lands. A small bundle of root can be bought in any open market and many stores. Purchase between two and five hundred grams, depending on the size of your group.

When you arrive in Abatha ask to see the Turangani-koro or village mayor. You will be shown to his house. Take your shoes off before entering any Fijian home. It is considered polite to stoop when walking inside. Men should sit cross-legged and; women with their legs to the side. When the Turanga-ni-koro arrives and is seated present your sevusevu of yangona root and hiking fees. Ask permission to visit the waterfalls. If you wish a meal upon returning or if you want to spend the night, now is the appropriate time to make your request.

Casual but modest dress is the best policy in Fiji. Shorts are fine while hiking but in the village women should cover up. The traditional wrap around sulu is a good choice. Conservative bathing costumes are a must - absolutely no nude sunbathing.

You are welcome to hike near the village everyday except Sunday, the traditional day of worship and

Fourth Canadian NFIP Conference Held

From February 13 to 15, 45 delegates huddled together at a campground 25 miles south of Vancouver to hear updates on Pacific issues, share resources, watch videos, and look at specific actions to support the concerns of Pacific people.

Work is already progressing on several ideas: James Orak, a Belauan living in Portland, Oregon, is being brought to Vancouver and Victoria to do workshops on the current situation in his country (see elsewhere in this issue for a Belau update); a tour is being organized for Lyuba Zarsky, co-author of American Lake: Nuclear Peril in the Pacific (Penguin Books 1987) (July release in Canada; April release in the U.S.); and plans are being developed to hold a major Pacific-Asia conference in July, 1988 to bring together organizers

on the west coasts of Canada and the U.S., as well as to expose a broader public to the peace and social justice issue of the Pacific.

The network sent letters of concern regarding the current situations in Belau, West Papua, East Timor and New Caledonia, as well as expressing concern over the possible mining of uranium in British Columbia. The network also urged that the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone treaty be strengthened and that France halt nuclear testing in the Pacific.

The Canadian NFIP Support Network is to meet again in 1988 near Vancouver; for more information contact Phil Esmonde at SPPF.



Most of the delegates gathered outside for a final photo

photo by Phil Esmon

Johnston Nerve Gas Leaking

We recently received this letter which gives some insight into the situation on Johnston Island. We will try to find out more. Concerned readers are asked to raise the matter with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C. and such organizations as the Sierra Club.

IN Honolulu recently I came across some information that might be of interest to you. I met a man who has been working for some months on Johnston Island, the tiny little plateau in the Pacific 800 miles away from Hawaii where the U.S. Air Force has for many years kept a stockpile of chemical weapons.

ON March 9 or 10, I noticed a small article in one of the Honolulu papers to the effect that one man had been sent to hospital from Johnston Island after suffering slight exposure to nerve gas. According to the papers, a routine blood test showed traces of the poison, and the man really was in for little more than observation. The man I met a day or two later, just before I returned to my home in Toronto tells me that the gas is leaking at such a rate, and is so dangerous, that everyone working there lives on the windward side of the island, with a gas mask ready at all times should the wind change. Both of my friend's arms were sore from the numerous needles that are routinely administered to the workers to counteract effects of possible exposure to the nerve gas.

UNLESS I have my facts wrong, nerve gas doesn't need to be inhaled to be deadly. My

friend is a civilian steelworker, hired at an astronomical salary [\$U.S. 6,000 per month] to build a steel vault that sounds about half the size of the island. The island itself is only 40-some acres. When the steel vault is built - so I am told - the Air Force intends to fill it with deadly chemicals, entomb it in a 10-foot thick wall, then blow it up and burn all the remains, by remote control.

WHAT the consequences of this disposal technique will be must be of as much concern to you as they are to me. Certainly to do away with these weapons is to do the human race a favor. It may be efficient, effective and safe, but whose word are we to accept on this? Those weapons, so expensive to develop, to build, to maintain, and finally destroy, might just go on costing us in health and environmental terms. It has taken years for communities downwind from the Nevada Nuclear Range to identify the causes of their many illnesses, and years more to sue their own government for money supposed to compensate them for the damage suffered to their health. Does anyone of the civilian public know just what is being disposed Is anyone keeping track of the after effects?

PLEASE alert any appropriate agencies or organizations besides your own that might be helpful in unearthing the facts about this very dangerous-sounding project.

Yours in friendship,

John Bauman, Ontario

n: The South Pacific, Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, F.

Australian jurists visit West Papuan refugees

A group of Australian jurists who visited West Papuan refugee camps in Papua New Guinea along the border with Indonesia late last year, has reported that the events in West Papua that forced more than 10,000 to flee "are as grave as at any time since the influx began" in 1984. This situation is also bound to prevent them from ever wanting to return home. From their interviews, the jurists concluded that Indonesian military action was the main reason why they had uprooted themselves and fled across the border. (PNG Times, 12 - 18 December 1986)

This was the second mission to investigate the refugee situation sent by the Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists. The first went in late 1984 and made a number of recommendations some of which have since been implemented, notably PNG's accession to the UN Convention on Refugees.

UNHCR agrees that all 'border crossers' are refugees

The mission reported that the UNHCR has now agreed to acknowledge all West Papuans in the camps as refugees under the principle of "group mass influx". It was told by Akilaja Akiwumi, the UNHCR officer in Port Moresby, that the UN agency has rejected as impracticable the PNG government's requirement that all refugees should be screened, with only the 'politicals' being recognised as refugees, while the rest would be expected to return home. This decision has not yet been officially conveyed to the PNG government.

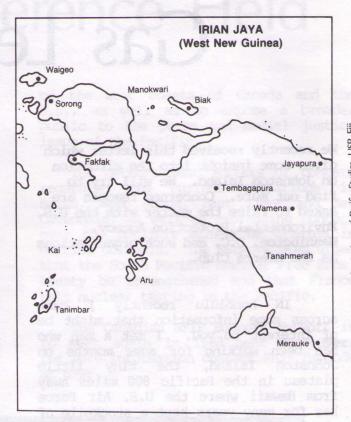
to the PNG government.

The mission's chief recommendation was that all UN member states, especially PNG and Australia, should adopt the UNHCR decision to regard all those who have crossed the border since 1984 as refugees. It urged that others who may cross should also be granted refugee status on the same principle. Once this is established, the position of the West Papuans will at last be free from all the present uncertainties.

The mission welcomed the fact that the idea of transferring the more politically conscious refugees to the notorious Wabo camp had been abandoned. All refugees would now be relocated together, in East Awin. The idea of separating the 'politicals' from the rest was unworkable as there is a "very high level of political consciousness even among the 'traditional' people", the mission noted.

Other recommendations

The mission was particularly critical of the Australian government for its unsympathetic response to PNG's problems with third-country resettlement, the prospects of which are still not good. It recommended that regional governments coordinate a programme of permanent resettlement, sharing the burden according to each country's capacities, and that until permanent resettlement can be found, PNG should accord the refugees all rights under the 1961 UN convention on refugees. Its final recommendation was that there should be an international investigation into the situation in West Papua which has led the refugees to leave their homes.



More West Papuans seek refuge in PNG

A group of 203 West Papuans from Ubrup district which lies a few kilometres west of the PNG-Indonesian border, crossed over into PNG and sought refuge in Green River in December, after hearing reports that Indonesian soldiers were about to attack their village. They said that Indonesian soldiers had burnt down houses and destroyed crops in their region, and it was being said that troops would take over all their villages (PNG Times, 26 December - 9 January).

This is the second large group of West Papuans to flee to PNG in the second half of 1986. An earlier group consisting of nearly 750 villagers entered PNG in August 1986. They had fled from seven villages in the vicinity of Kiwirok, much farther south, after an incident in late 1985 when a Catholic catechist was beheaded and five men were shot dead.

TAPOL has received independent confirmation of a similar incident in Kiwirok which occurred in the last quarter of 1985. According to this report, a man regarded as a 'trouble-maker' was shot dead by the local chief-of-police. The same source reported that military operations in the Paniai district, in the central highlands, towards the end of 1985 had caused many deaths. A figure of 570 dead had been mentioned though further investigations were needed to verify this figure.

Victorious leftist Fijian rulers will ban U.S. nuclear ships

Reuter

SUVA - A left-leaning coalition which has pledged to ban U.S. nuclear warships from Fijian territory as part of a non-aligned foreign policy took power Sunday in Fiji from the staunchly pro-western party which had governed since independence from Britain in 1970.

Political sources said the election result would have a significant effect

throughout the South Pacific, and the victory could radically change Fiji's foreign policy.

The coalition, made up of the Indian-backed National Federation party and the multiracial Labor party, won 28 of the 52 seats in the House of Representatives in the week-long general election that began April 4.

campaign they would adopt a strictly Labor two. non-aligned foreign policy and would ban visits by U.S. nuclear warships. They also said they would not allow the Soviet Union to open an embassy in Suva.

The right-wing Alliance party, mainly backed by indigenous Fijians. won 24 seats. In the outgoing Parliament, the Alliance held 29 seats, the Coalition leaders said during the National Federation party 21 and

Fijians are slightly outnumbered by Indians, who make up 51 per cent of the total population of 800,000.

Coalition leader Timoci Bavadra told supporters crammed into a room at his Suva headquarters he would name his cabinet in the next few days. pending an invitation from Gov. Gen. Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau to form the next government.



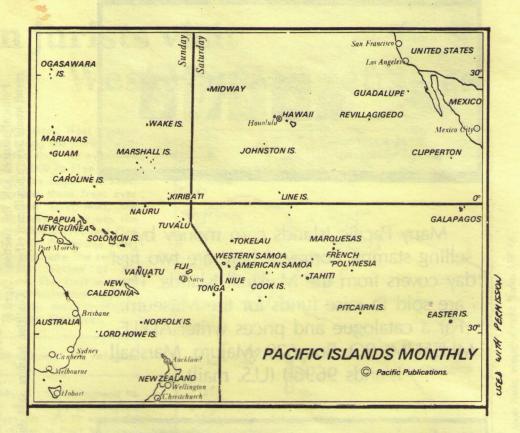
MUSEUM, P.O. Box 629, Majuro, Marshal selling stamps. Portrayed here are two first day covers from the Marshall Islands. They For a catalogue and prices write: ALELE are sold to raise funds for the Museum. Many Pacific Islands earn money by 96960 (U.S. mail) slands



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