

# Tok Blong SPPF

A Quarterly of News and Views on the Pacific Islands

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photo by David Robie

Kanaks and portrait of assassinated leader Eloi Machoro at Coula village

## Understanding The Roots of Violence In Kanaky/New Caledonia

*Also...New Decrees in Fiji: Military Tightens Control*  
*...Polynesians and the French Election: Flosse Out*  
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# UPDATE ON FIJI

The anniversary of the first Fiji coup - May 14 - has come and gone and life in Fiji does not appear to be getting better. The last few months have seen more Indo-Fijians leave; some 8,000 are said to have emigrated since the coup. Several institutions, including the regional University of the South Pacific at Suva, have come under severe pressure due to the departure of skilled personnel, for the most part expatriates.

Some highly regarded and respected Fijians have also left, notably Savenaca and Suliana Siwatibau. Savenaca was Governor of the Reserve Bank of Fiji, while Suliana was high up in the Ministry of Energy.

Allegations of human rights abuses against Indo-Fijians continue. There have even been discussions within the military of a paper recommending a third coup and the institution of a military administration.

Brigadier Rabuka, who says he receives his orders from God, states he aims to convert Hindus and Muslims to Christianity so that all could live in Fiji harmoniously.

In the meantime, 18 protesters were arrested in Suva during a

peaceful gathering protesting the coup's anniversary. Their detention was criticized by the Fiji Law Society led by former Attorney-General Sir John Falvey who told the court he was appearing "in great indignation" at the "mindless exercise of authority by the police of Fiji".

The recent illegal arms shipment to Fiji by unknown people has led to multiple rumours and allegations, and appears to have been an excuse to bring about the implementation of draconian measures in Fiji in mid-June.

Titled the Internal Security Decree, the new laws call for the death penalty or life imprisonment for possession of firearms, detention without charge for up to two years, wide-spread powers for control of information and publication, widened powers of search and seizure, and the setting up of security zones. Under the new powers, an academic, who wrote a critical review of Rabuka's book on the coup (titled "No Other Way"), has already been arrested.

The Brigadier has also given public blessing to Fijian rugby tours of South Africa.

It seems obvious that under Rabuka Fiji is not soon to return to true electoral control.

## About this newsletter . . .

**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, 409-620 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. Partial financial support for this newsletter from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is gratefully acknowledged. We welcome readers comments on items carried in this newsletter, as well as suggestions for articles and copies of Pacific news clippings, etc, which would be of use to our work. **TOK BLONG SPPF** is edited by Phil Esmonde.



# Kanaky/ New Caledonia

A backgrounder by Hein Marais written prior to the final round of French national elections in June

" When will this colonial logic become illogical to the people of France? "

The question came from the largest political party of New Caledonia's native Kanaks. Looking back at the bloodbath on May 5th, and ahead at the approaching French elections, it was an urgent query.

Days earlier, French troops had stormed a secluded cave on this Pacific archipelago's island of Ouvea where Kanak activists were holding 23 hostages. When the eight-hour assault wound down, 2 French troops and at least 19 Kanaks lay dead. The colony's independence movement, The Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), grimly announced " a day of shame for the French people " and charged France with " premeditated butchery ". Some activists were killed after surrendering, others were "unrecognizable, their faces riddled with bullets," according to Kanak leader Yeiwene Yeiwene. "This is the act of savagery -- the assassination which occurred at Gossanah," he told a Tahitian radio station -- a stark contrast to the "delicate action" French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac announced to voters on the eve of the presidential election. None of the hostages had been harmed.

If Mr. Chirac and his former Minister of Overseas Territories, Bernard Pons, had intended to cement French colonial authority with the operation, they failed. The Ouvea assault, the most brutal single incident since the anti-Kanak massacres in 1984-85, appears

to have strengthened not only Kanak resolve to win independence, but also their reluctant endorsement of violent resistance. Days later, protests were continuing across the archipelago. Some 3,000 Kanaks were beaten back by French riot police as they marched in the Mont Ravel ghetto on the outskirts of the swank, predominantly white, capital of Noumea. In the rural areas police were trapped in their barracks, and barricades halted traffic.

The revolt now rocking New Caledonia is by no means a random expression of dissatisfaction and desperation on the part of the Kanaks. Yet, the shock caused by the kidnappings and widespread clashes with the authorities and settler vigilantes makes it easy to overlook the history of colonial massacres and killings inflicted on the Kanak people. Since Napoleon III annexed the territory in 1853



**There is approximately one well-armed French soldier for every four adult Kanaks**

photo by David Robie



and established a penal colony there, the Kanaks have mounted at least three major uprisings. The "Great Insurrection" of 1878 was put down only after the slaughter of 1,200 Kanaks, including the Kanak Chief Atai. Other equally determined uprisings followed in 1917 and 1984.

Yet, since its formation in 1984, the FLNKS, as a matter of policy, had eschewed the use of violent resistance. Instead, it had hoped that effective civil disobedience campaigns (like the mass boycott of the so-called referendum on independence last September) would fire up enough international support for the Kanak cause and force France to earnestly negotiate independence.

But for years FLNKS President Jean-Marie Tjibaou, a former Catholic priest and a man once dubbed the "Ghandi of the Pacific", had also been warning that non-violence is a "tactic, limited by the willingness of the people to accept abuse". Until the ascension to power of the Chirac government in 1986, a measure of reciprocity from the previous socialist administration seemed to vindicate the moderate course struck by the FLNKS under Tjibaou. Though the Fabius government never committed itself to full independence for Kanaky (as New Caledonia is called by its indigenous people), it did hold for the promise of greater autonomy for the 62,000 Kanaks. As well, it instituted a modest land reform program, allowed some independent decision-making at the regional level, and perhaps most importantly, recognized the need to include the independence movement in any negotiations over the colony's future.

The Chirac government, however, had no intention of loosening its hold on the colony. Its first move was to consolidate support among the Caldoches (settlers) and Eastern immigrants with lavish financial handouts. Funds were abruptly withdrawn from the Kanak-dominated

regions and channeled to the predominantly white southern region to finance, among other extravagances, an 18-hole golf course, large luxury hotels and "improved landscaping" for the capital.

Thousands of additional French troops were introduced as part of a strategy of "nomadization" -- setting up military camps around Kanak villages in a policy the FLNKS claims was based on French pacification programs in the Algerian war of independence. Then, with 8,000 troops watching over the colony, and mindful of an impending United Nations debate on New Caledonia, Paris announced last September's referendum. The colony was first placed on the UN Decolonization Committee's list of "non-selfgoverning territories" in 1946 but France unilaterally scrapped it from the scroll a year later. Four decades passed before effective lobbying by the Pacific Forum countries, particularly Australia, led to the colony's reinscription in December 1986. The debate scheduled for late last year promised to be a stormy and, for France, embarrassing affair.

The FLNKS, a coalition of the four main Kanak political parties, refused to take part in any referendum which was not restricted to Kanaks and settlers with at least one parent born in the territory. "French people have already decided on their independence," Mr. Tjibaou said. "Now it's our turn."

But the conservative government had other plans. With this "act of consultation", as Mr. Chirac termed the referendum, it hoped to secure a mandate for its continued rule and muffle opposition at the UN. And it took no chances. Some 4,000 Kanaks were struck off the electoral roll, and French loyalists were allowed to import (duty-free) 15,000 transistor radios pre-adjusted to the frequency of the loyalist radio station. Refusing to stage the



plebiscite under United Nations guidelines for a colonial people and disallowing UN observers, the Chirac administration opened the exercise to anybody who had lived in the territory for three years or more. This ensured that the Kanaks (already reduced to a minority) and the small rump of non-Kanak independence supporters could not upset the exercise. Furthermore, the ballot paper confronted voters with a devilish choice between continuing colonial status and immediate independence: an unrealistic and unattractive alternative for a country burdened with a deliberately distorted and discriminatory economy. The Caldoches control two thirds of the arable land, and while agriculture supports 38 per cent of the population it accounts for only three per cent of New Caledonia's GDP. The money-making sectors -- mainly tourism and mining -- are controlled by a tiny settler elite. A mass exodus of skills and capital would rapidly follow any abrupt handover of control.

In the end, with 43 per cent of the voters heeding the FLNKS's call for a boycott, the referendum proved little: 92% of those who voted favoured colonial status. "The French voted to stay French," Mr. Tjibaou observed. "Fine, I respect their decision, but it has nothing to do with us."

Within months, Kanak hopes that the international community would take offense at this "exercise in democracy" took a pounding at the UN. After intense lobbying by France (reportedly including promises of aid increases and other incentives), many erstwhile supporters of an independent Kanaky switched their votes. Canada abstained. With support for an independent Kanaky trimmed, the issue was once again relegated to the backrooms of the UN.

The final straw for the independence movement was the introduction of the Pons Statute -- an ominous new legislative



photo by David Robie

### Kanak militants during election boycott

framework which effectively stripped Kanaks of their slim economic, political and social gains. It prompted Kanaks to openly compare their position to that of South African blacks under the system of apartheid.

To worsen matters, the authorities ignored last-minute appeals from the FLNKS and went ahead to hold the crucial regional vote on the Statute simultaneously with the first round of the French Presidential election on April 24 of this year.

The timing was perceived as an attempt to limit the effect of a planned Kanak boycott and to keep news of protests off the front pages in Paris.

Presented as an "autonomy statute", this brainchild of the former French Overseas Territories Minister marked the culmination of a drive to block any transition towards independence, and threatened to harden the already perilous ill-feeling between the Kanak and settler population.

Again, nothing was left to chance in the run-up to the April 24 vote. Amid calls from the Caldoches for the outlawing of the FLNKS, the authorities launched a fierce "law and order" crackdown which has included curfews, the attempted assassination of the FLNKS leader, tear gas attacks on Kanak



dwellings, destruction of Kanak property and the arrests of prominent activists.

"If there is nothing to restrain the massacres of Kanaks," the director of the Kanak-controlled Radio Djiido told listeners late last year, "then our activists must take steps to protect themselves". He was referring to the acquittal by an almost all-white jury last October of seven Caldoches who had confessed to killing ten Kanaks returning from an FLNKS meeting in 1984.

Certainly, the dilemma of espousing moderation in such circumstances had become acute. "Either one makes war -- and we don't have the means for it -- or one discusses," was how Mr. Tjibaou articulated this conundrum at the UN last year. In isolation, neither path held much promise. Yet, under attack on all fronts, the Kanaks felt compelled to wrest back the initiative.

It was against this background that Kanak guerillas carried out the daring dawn raid on the Fayaoue police barracks on the eve of the

double vote, killing four gendarmes and capturing 27 hostages.

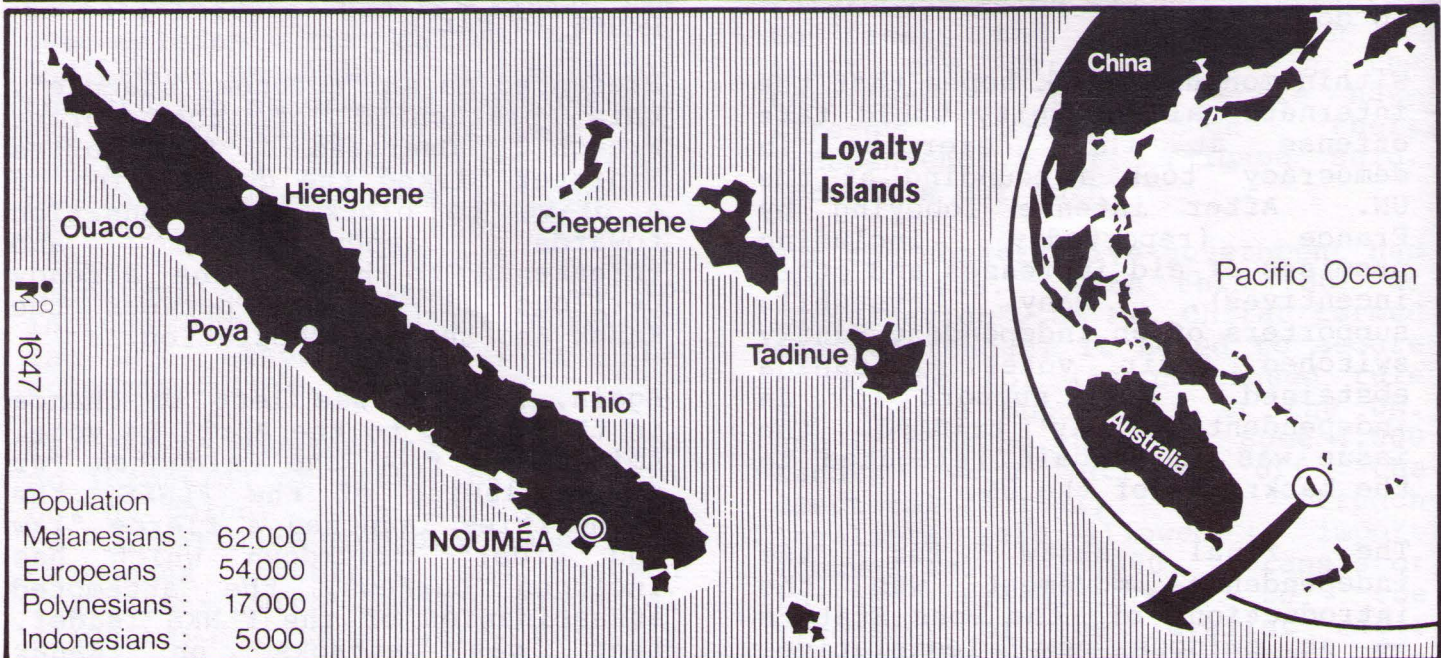
The captors posed three demands: the immediate removal of security forces from the island of Ouvea (which is inhabited almost exclusively by Kanaks), annulment of the regional vote, and the appointment of a mutually acceptable mediator to begin negotiations towards independence under UN guidelines.

What surprised the French authorities was the audacity of the attack (the first modern assault on a paramilitary post in the territory) and the widespread resistance it triggered. Claims by Mr. Pons that the raid was the work of "a few individuals, terrorists" isolated within the independence movement rang hollow as FLNKS activists sprung into action across the archipelago -- blocking roads with barricades, burning ballot boxes and laying siege to police stations and at least one airport.

The first demand met with scorn. Ouvea was declared a military zone and the army (bolstered with elite counter-insurgency commandos) swept

# New Caledonia

60 mls  
100 km





through villages to flush out the captors. In some, like the village of Gossanah, methods popular during the Algerian war were used: holding the men hostage to "subdue" the local population. When this failed, a French warship was ordered to shell suspected hide-outs. Days later the bloody rescue raid followed.

Due to a Kanak boycott, the election results were a formality. The RPCR, led by multi-millionaire businessman Jacques LaFleur, won 35 out of 48 seats with the National Front chalking up eight seats. Both parties support the Pons Statute.

Although the Kanak demands went unheeded, the FLNKS strategy of active and "flexible" resistance allowed the independence movement to fight off a potentially crushing challenge. As well, Francois Mitterand's re-election as President presented a glimmer of hope that Kanak fortunes may be reversed; after all, it was he who, in 1983, for the first time recognized the "innate and active right of the Kanak people...to independence".

But while the French President has reiterated his desire to settle the conflict through negotiation, it remains unclear how willing he is to accommodate the FLNKS. Mitterand, for example, is yet to explicitly offer the Kanaks anything more than some autonomy, and his recent interventions on the issue were circumstantial and guarded. His opposition to the Pons Statute came couched in concern over the violent atmosphere in which it was introduced, as did his call for the annulment of the results from the first round of the presidential poll there.

Ultimately, French concessions will be determined less by whatever humanistic sentiments Mitterand and his ministers may harbour, and more by the urgency of the reasons for France's "attachment" to the territory.



photo by David Robie

### Kanak defend the road into Thio village

Not only is New Caledonia the world's third largest nickel producer (with 30 per cent of the planet's reserves), it is also valued as a strategic asset in defence of France's nuclear testing program towards the east in Polynesia. The apparent fear is that independence for Kanaky would embolden the Polynesian independence struggle and force France to abandon its test sites (which it had been forced to do when it was driven out of Algeria). France is committed to a nuclear defence policy in Europe which is dependent on continued testing of warheads until at least the year 2000, and Mitterand supports this policy.

The Caldoches, moreover, are militant in their resistance to any moves that could threaten their privileged status. Heavily armed (they have amassed some 140,000 firearms and three helicopters) and organized into settler militias, they have shown every intention of taking matters into their own hands if France were to be seen as "abandoning" them.

But the Kanaks will not tolerate what Mr. Tjibaou calls the "institutional violence" of the present political system. Their



bottomline demands remain the repeal of the Pons Statute and the commencement of independence negotiations under UN auspices. The recent successful defence of their struggle will likely inspire even bolder actions. Days after the massacre on Ouvea, FLNKS deputy leader Yeiwene Yeiwene vowed: "We are determined to go to the limit. (The capital) Noumea cannot remain comfortable outside all of this. We have been galvanized into action." Though they are poorly armed with obsolete rifles and sporting guns (despite persistent French allegations of Libyan and Soviet assistance), the Kanaks are unlikely to buckle under increased repression.

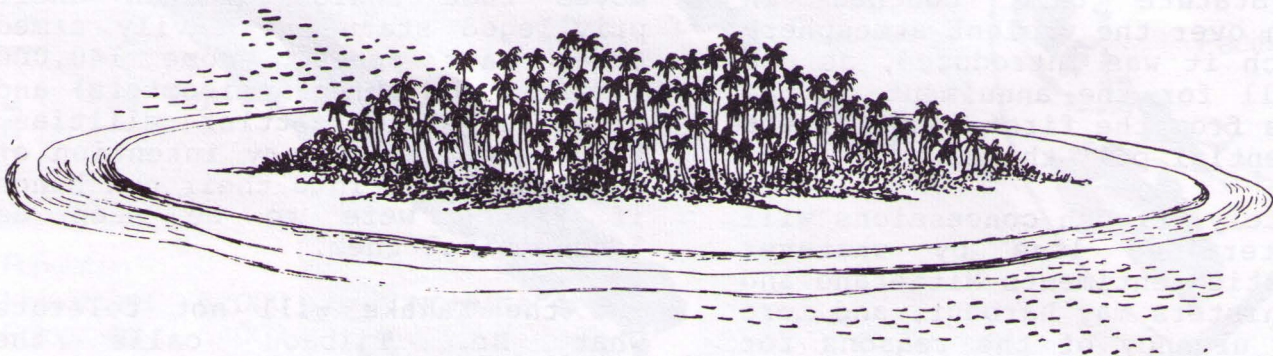
Were the political will to emerge in Paris, a resolution would require a dextrous balancing act. A firm stand in favour of Kanak civil rights could set off a new wave of settler violence, while indulging the settlers' aversion to change would only harden Kanak distrust and militancy. France will need to respect the special position accorded by the UN to indigenous people in the decolonization process and earnestly reevaluate its disingenuous commitment to "pluralist democracy" in New Caledonia. (It was no coincidence that this predilection surfaced after a concerted French settlement campaign in the 1970s had reduced the Kanaks to a minority.)

As a start, France could arrange an early return to the system of regional governments which gave the Kanaks political control over their own areas and engineer a development program to empower the Kanaks economically.

Until the French election in June, however, the situation is on hold. The crackdown of the past weeks is likely to become more severe, as the army moves to preempt the inevitable Kanak attempts at forcing their issue into the election debate. The outcome appears unnervingly obvious: increased disrespect and enmity spiraling into a cycle of repression and resistance. A victory for the socialist camp in France will, in itself, not avert this. But the Kanaks know that a socialist defeat will leave them with no recourse but a war they would rather not fight.

**HEIN MARAIS** is an Ottawa based freelance writer and the producer of a regular radio series on "Third World" affairs for eight community and campus stations in Canada.

This article is based on information gathered from Kanak Press Agency communiques, updates from New Zealand and Australian NGO groups, regional radio broadcasts and interviews with Montreal professor Donna Winslow.





# Update: Kanaks Only Partially Agree To French Plan

Talks in France between Prime Minister Michel Rocard, FLNKS President Jean-Marie Tjibaou and anti-independence leader Jacques LaFleur resulted only in agreement that France will directly govern Kanaky/New Caledonia for one year, from July 1988 to July 1989. contrary to media reports, other parts of the plan have not been agreed to by the FLNKS, and will only be decided at an FLNKS Congress.

The plan was worked out in Paris after Prime Minister Rocard had dispatched a non-denominational group to Kanaky/New Caledonia to engage all sides in dialogue about ways toward a peaceful future for the French colony. This was followed by direct meetings between Rocard, Tjibaou and Lafleur. Given opening success of these latter meetings, further Kanak and settler delegations proceeded to Paris resulting in the June 26 signed agreement.

The FLNKS had no problem agreeing to direct rule from France, as such rule serves to nullify the unacceptable "Pons Statute" which had been pushed through with neither the agreement of nor consultation with the Kanaks. As part of the statute, elections for the four regional governments were held in late April. These were actively boycotted by the Kanaks and were the catalyst for the latest wave of violence.

Major parts of the new French plan which still need to be agreed to by the FLNKS are:

\* partitioning the country into three provinces, each of which would have its own councils. Initial indications are that two councils would likely be won by Kanaks and one by settlers.

More development funds would be pumped into the Kanak provinces to start to build towards some equality and provide training and skills to Kanaks.

\* the holding of a referendum on independence in ten years (1989)

It is almost certain that the FLNKS will agree to the provincial make-up. It was through the previous regional governments set up by former Socialist prime minister Laurent Fabius that the Kanaks were able to set up development projects, information networks and offices, and show that they could not only govern efficiently and effectively, but also govern alongside settlers within the three regions the Kanaks then controlled. A plan which would return development budgets and regional control to them would appear highly acceptable.

What is almost as certain, however, is that a ten year wait before an independence referendum would be totally unacceptable. The mounting frustrations and rising incidences of direct action by the Kanaks are such that an independence referendum has to be held within the next few years. Otherwise the lid could truly blow with full scale violence the result.

Indicative of the frustration and anger Kanaks feel about continually having an independent future put off are reflected by this statement by FLNKS Policy Bureau member and key leader Leopold Joredie:

" We came to Paris to decide on a timetable for decolonization. But our signature was sold off to the centrists to help the French reconcile amongst themselves.



The slave agreed to shake his master's hand. The accord showed the greatest contempt ever for the Kanak people."

Again, whenever a referendum, the key element will be electoral reform. As long as the Kanaks are barred from even the opportunity of peaceful electoral change to independence, they are given little option but continued civil disobedience and mounting violence. As far as we can gather, electoral reform details have not been worked out. The Kanaks want any referendum to be open only to themselves and settlers who have at least one parent born in New Caledonia.

Much about the June agreement remains unsettled until the FLNKS reaches its decision. What seems clear, though, is that the path of open dialogue has again been taken after an absence of 2 years. The crucial details of the implementation will be worked out over the next year. In the meantime Kanaky/New Caledonia remains very explosive.

Other developments

A key Kanak demand is that in one year's time a detailed plan be voted on in a national (French) referendum. such a referendum would lock subsequent French governments into any plan, ensuring that it could not be changed. (When conservative prime minister Jacques Chirac came to power in March 1986, he changed existing plans and forced through the "Pons Statute").

On July 5, the Territorial Assembly (totally representational of the settler population following Kanak boycotts of the April "Pons Statute" elections) voted 35-11 in favour of the Paris agreement. Those against the plan were the fascist Front National and the extreme right Front Caledonien.

In another development, the Australian Embassy in Paris was attacked on July 3. There was significant damage, and Australian and Kanaky flags were burnt. The action is thought to have been carried out by the extreme rightist group "L'Action Francaise", and is part of the inevitable backlash to any movement toward settlement in New Caledonia.

**ACT NOW TO HELP NEW CALEDONIA**

One place where pressure can be placed on France to continue moves to independence is at the UNITED NATIONS. New Caledonia was re-inscribed on the decolonization list in 1986, and affirmed in 1987.

Being on this list means France is obliged to report annually on her efforts to bring independence to the colony, and to also allow United Nations observers in for referenda. France has, to date, refused to acknowledge U.N. requests.

In 1987, France pressured and threatened some African countries who voted in favour of New Caledonia being on the U.N. list in 1986. Against unsubtle threats of reduced aid, several changed their vote. France may again be arm-twisting for

the upcoming vote in October or November at the United Nations.

It is imperative that New Caledonia remain on the decolonization list, and that the vote be strengthened. CANADA *abstained* TWICE (1986 and 1987).

We need letters now to Minister of External Affairs Joe Clark requesting Canada change her vote to one in favour.

Write personal *and* organizational letters to Joe Clark at House of Commons, Ottawa, K1A 0A6. Send copies to Bill Blaikie, MP and Andre Ouellet, MP (External Affairs critics for the NDP and the Liberals respectively).



# The History Of "Te Ao Maohi" (French Polynesia) As A Military Operating Base

Excerpts from an address by Ben Teriitehau, founding member of the "TAVINI HUIRAATIRA NO TE AO MAOHI" (Polynesian Liberation Front) to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War in Montreal, June 5, 1988.

In 1961 after Algeria got independence, instead of disbanding the Foreign Legion, France has continued to use these mercenaries, who often are former criminals, for "special missions" in the overseas territories.

In French Polynesia the first units arrived in July 1963, and their immediate task was to build a wharf, airstrip and living quarters at Moruroa, selected by General de Gaulle as a nuclear testing base with the help of a few traitors from the "Te Ao Maohi". Since then, more than 1,000 Foreign Legionnaires have settled in Tahiti after the expiration of their contracts.

The installation of the nuclear striking force (C.E.P. and C.E.A.), amounting to 10,000 troops and technicians, required the rapid construction of airstrips, wharves, bunkers, observation towers, barracks, living quarters for the officers, etc., both in Tahiti and in the Tuamotu and Gambier Islands. Many private companies reaped enormous profits and hired thousands of Polynesians. Although the salaries offered were extremely modest, they attracted a steady stream of men from the outer islands to Tahiti, and they still live there with their families, in fetid slums. The building material was and still is being extracted from the river beds with a complete disregard for the riverside residents and the ecosystem.

The only time that the French metropolitan politicians have shown some concern for the plight of the Polynesian

people was in 1973, when Jean-Jacques Servanchreiber, National Deputy, came out to Tahiti in the company of a few other deputies and two well-known French church leaders (one Protestant and one Catholic), to organize a public protest meeting. It was held at the Papeete Town Hall and was attended by about 5,000 Polynesians who afterwards marched through the streets brandishing anti-nuclear banners. (All local Chinese and Frenchmen stayed home.) The march was led by the 78 year-old independence fighter Pouvanaa Oopa, who had spent 8 years in French jails, as a result of a summary conviction on trumped up charges in 1959.

On June 10th 1976, When the French High Commissioner tried to open the local "rump" parliament, against the will of John Teariki's and Francis Sandford's's autonomist parties which represented the majority of the voters, several thousand angry Polynesians barred him from doing so and then took over the whole building. A well organized group of autonomist activists continued to occupy the Assembly for the next 10 months, and it was mainly due to this strong stand that the French government eventually gave in and granted the territory a new statute slightly more liberal than the previous one. Basically, however, French Polynesia is still a



Polynesian sentiments



colony, since all important decisions are made by the French government in Paris.

In January 1977 Pouvanaa died. Fortunately another political leader with the same courage, determination, and popular appeal has emerged in the "Te ao Maohi". The most active in the younger generation of politicians is Oscar Temaru who heads the Polynesian Liberation Front (F.L.P.).

Oscar Temaru was seen laying a wreath marked "To those killed by the bomb" at the Papeete war memorial and succeeded in mobilizing the masses for a peaceful march through Papeete, Faa'a and around the island of Tahiti-Moorea and Raiatea against the deadly threat to our health made by the 41 atmospheric and more than 100 underwater nuclear tests made so far at Moruroa and Fangataufa.

In 1974, bowing to international pressure, the French President Giscard D'Estaing decided to make henceforth only underground tests. An atoll like Moruroa, however, is obviously the unsafest place in the world for making underground or rather underwater tests, for its base is very narrow and the top layer of porous coral rests on a base of brittle basalt rock.

In July 1979, much damage had already been done to the atoll, culminating in the falling off of a big chunk of the outer wall of the atoll, an accident which produced a huge tidal wave, causing much destruction in the neighbouring atolls.

More than 100 under water tests have so far been made at Moruroa and they will continue. We, the people of the "Te Ao Maohi" believe, to stop the French nuclear testing, is to get our INDEPENDENCE and freedom with all your helps and of course with God's will.

## PARADISE NO MORE

That Moruroa is being destroyed has never been disputed by France. Reports in the press around the world, including the Washington Post, have described the atoll as "looking like a Swiss cheese". The caverns blasted under the atoll have inevitably caused fissures to open allowing radioactive poisons to seep into the Pacific Ocean. The atoll was not designed to absorb over 80 nuclear explosions. It is gradually sinking below the sea, and each new test causes further cumulative damage and releases more radioactive poisons into the surrounding ocean. Wide gaps have appeared on the surface of the atoll and in places the perimeter road has had to be raised with concrete by over two meters because of the continuing subsidence. Large areas have disappeared below sea level. Fissured radiation is slowly seeping directly into the ocean to accumulate in sea foods. The process of concentration through the food chain is slow, and hence not as readily detectable as the more direct fallout from atmospheric testing. Only the French military monitor the paths of leaking radiation and this information, accumulated in regular sampling tests, is kept a closely guarded secret.

Stories of frequent miscarriages in women and early deaths in infants, mysterious skin diseases and increasing cancer-related diseases such as thyroid cancer can be heard from any Tahitian willing to talk about the tests, but health statistics for islands have not been released since 1966 when the military took control of the Tahitian medical services.

## THE GAMBIER ISLANDS - MANGAREVA

Today in this group of low, mountainous islands, situated 250 miles east of Moruroa, practically all dogs and cats are dead, and the few who have survived have numerous

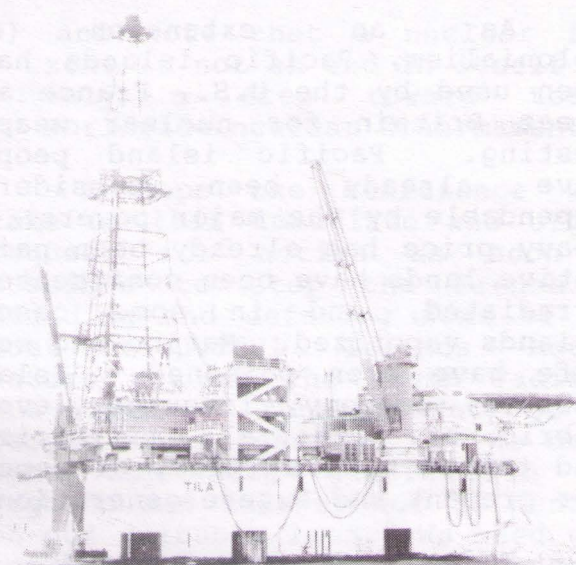


bald patches in their fur coats. The number of miscarriages among the women of Mangareva has steadily increased since the nuclear tests began at Moruroa, and pregnant women are often sent to Tahiti so that the deliveries can be handled with sufficient discretion. All fish in the lagoon, which used to be eaten before 1966, are now poisonous. The explanation may be that contaminated French warships have often anchored in the lagoon "for cleaning".

### THE MARK OF CAIN

Red blisters have been found on the palm of a Polynesian who has worked too long at Moruroa. It is a well guarded military secret how many similar, or worse radiation injuries have been sustained by the thousands of Polynesians who over the years have been employed by the French Army on the atoll. The present number is something around 600. What makes them accept the dangers and hardships are, of course, the attractive salaries, at least twice as high as they earn in Tahiti. All workmen at Moruroa are warned not to eat any fish, squid, turbo shellfish, tridacna clams or coconut crabs, which absorb particularly high doses of radioactive matter. But many disregard the interdiction, just like most islanders elsewhere, due to their total ignorance of radiation dangers.

The school curriculum is entirely French, and education starts at the tender age of three, in a kindergarten school. Then for the next twelve years, the poor kids have to study French language, literature, culture, history and geography, to the exclusion of all subjects having anything to do with our own people and traditions. The children who get the highest marks are given scholarships and sent to a French university, whereas the drop-outs become juvenile delinquents. The aim of the whole educational system is to transform the Polynesians into "Pacific Frenchmen".



Drilling tower in Moruroa lagoon

The church schools (private schools), attended by about half the children, have no choice but to teach the same curriculum as the state schools, as they would otherwise lose their subsidies.

### IS THIS THE ROAD TO THE FUTURE?

The powerful French propaganda machine - there is only one radio and TV station and it is government operated - makes much of the fact that there are something like 70,000 private cars and perhaps half as many TV sets in Tahiti. But in order to buy these wonders of European civilization, the Polynesians have had to abandon their taro patches and fishing grounds, and go to work in the docks, in the warehouses, in the restaurant kitchens and as waitresses and charwomen in the hotels. All better paid jobs are held by Frenchmen, who keep pouring into the country at the frightening rate of 1,500 per year. There is a serious danger that we, the Maohi people, will soon be a minority in our own country, just like our brothers the Kanaky people in New Caledonia where the French can shoot or kill the "Kanak" like animals at a hunting party.



## WHAT ARE THE ISSUES TODAY?

As an extension of colonialism, Pacific islands have been used by the U.S., France and Great Britain for nuclear weapon testing. Pacific island people have already been considered expendable by the major powers. A heavy price has already been paid. Native lands have been confiscated, irradiated, and in some cases, islands vaporized. Marine and soil life have been poisoned. Island culture, economy, language...every fabric of life...all militarized and topped with a legacy of cancer for present and future generations.

Today, a new wave of militarism is on the rise, and the industrial powers have plans to turn the Pacific into a nuclear rubbish dump. The French continue to test their nuclear bombs in the "Te Ao Maohi" (Polynesia), even after two 1979 nuclear accidents on Moruroa which caused both a tidal wave and the deaths of two people. The U.S., the Soviet Union, and now China are testing their missile systems in the Pacific.

Even without the use of nuclear weapons in war, "Te Ao Maohi" is a classic example of what's in store for many Pacific islands unless we put an end to the megatons, megawatts, and the megabucks. Militarism pervades the entire fabric of life in "Te Ao Maohi"...political, economic, and social. To many, the bomb has become an idol.

Despite this incredible situation, the French say that the people of the "Te Ao Maohi" have no right to know the full facts, and nothing to say about the matter of nuclear bombs in our backyard.

Prevention of a nuclear war must be our over-riding concern. A nuclear war could make all of our other concerns moot. But the issues of peace and justice must be directly linked. The issues of a nuclear free, independent, and oppression free Pacific are as

closely connected as the issues of nuclear power and nuclear arms. In truth, Peace and justice are one.

To conclude my remarks here today, on behalf of the people of "Te Ao Maohi", the Kanaky people of New Caledonia, and the people living on the neighbouring islands, I wish to inform this organisation as well as the world that we don't want history to repeat itself in the "Te Ao Maohi".

We, the people of the "Te Ao Maohi" want to make our position clear. While we have inherited the basic administration system imposed upon us by the French colonial powers, that does not imply that we have to perpetuate them and the preferential racist policies that go with them.

We have been victimized too long by foreign powers. The French colonial powers invaded our defenseless region and took over our lands and subjugated our people to their whims. This form of alien colonial political and military domination unfortunately persists as an evil cancer in some of our native territories such as Tahiti and New Caledonia. Our environment continues to be despoiled by the French powers developing nuclear weapons for a strategy of warfare that has no winners, no liberators and imperils the survival of all humankind.

We reaffirm our intention to extract only those elements of western civilization that will be of permanent benefit to us. We wish to control our destinies and protect our environment in our own ways.

We note in particular the recent racist roots of the world's nuclear powers and we call for an immediate end to the oppression, exploitation and subordination of the indigenous people of the Pacific.

We will assert ourselves and wrest control over the destiny of



our nations and our environment from foreign powers.

We, being inhabitants of the "TE AO MAOHI":

- 1) are convinced that our peoples and our environment have been exploited enough by superpowers;
- 2) assert that nuclear powers in the "Te Ao Maohi" are operating here against our will, from territories administered or claimed by them as colonies;
- 3) believe that nuclear tests in the Pacific and the resultant radiation constitute a threat to the health, livelihood and security of the inhabitants;
- 4) believe that nuclear tests and missile tests are the major means by which the armaments race maintains its momentum;
- 5) believe that the presence of nuclear weapons, nuclear reactors, nuclear powered vessels and nuclear wastes in the Pacific endangers the lives of the inhabitants;
- 6) believe that the political independence of all peoples is fundamental to attaining a nuclear free Pacific;
- 7) recognize the urgent need for ending the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons

- 8) desire to contribute toward the ending of the armaments race;
- 9) and note that a nuclear free zone is not an end in itself but only a step toward total, worldwide nuclear disarmament.

I hope the conference will take up this immediate and urgent request for action as soon as possible to stop the French in denuding and defacing some of the most beautiful islands Mother Nature put in the South Pacific. The lives and future safety of our people may depend on it. We don't want any more testing in our lagoons and oceans, not to mention on our valuable land. We need your support to help our independence movements in the "Te Ao Maohi".

We strongly back the Kanak liberation movements in New Caledonia; we oppose the repressive moves of French colonial authorities and the French government in Paris on behalf of huge mining interests and French settler interests. We realize the success of these liberation struggles will be a major blow to the nuclear testing practices of the French in Moruroa. Again, we do not want any more testing in our lagoons and oceans.

Thank you, mauruuru and iaorana....

# MORUROA Evaluation Sought

The International Physicians governing Council passed the following at its Montreal Congress, June 6, 1988:

“RESOLVED THAT: IPPNW urges the European Parliament to:

- 1. Evaluate all health statistics provided by the French and used by them to assert that the nuclear weapons test programme has not adversely affected the health of workers involved in the programme in French Polynesia.
- 2. Evaluate the health statistics for all French Polynesia and give an opinion on their reliability in reflecting the true state of the health of French Polynesians.

3. Evaluate all past scientific reports pertaining to the nuclear weapons test and determine the geological integrity of Moruroa Atoll and the validity of French claims that the testing programme constitutes no danger to health.”

The IPPNW states: “There is reason to believe that the French military and the French government carefully select the information they will release about the health and environmental effects of their weapons testing in French Polynesia. In general, health statistics are poor and can be relied upon for no conclusions. Geological data available suggest that Moruroa is very leaky and unstable, and will be a long-term hazard in the Pacific.”



# Vignettes From Polynesia And Montreal

The South Pacific Peoples Foundation organized and sponsored the visit of Ben Teriitehau of Tahiti/Polynesia to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) Congress held in Montreal June 2-6, 1988. Ben appeared on a panel discussing French nuclear testing in the Pacific (his speech is reproduced in this edition of Tok Blong SPPF), and met with French Canadian media and other interested people. SPPF also organized a public talk in Montreal with the help of several supporters (for which we are most grateful). Following are some nuggets of information gathered by Phil Esmonde in Montreal.

\* The Polynesian Liberation Front was formed in 1978. The Polynesian name is **TAVINI HUIRAATIRA NO TE AO MAOHI** which translates literally as "serve the people of the Maohi world".

\* TAVINI HUIRAATIRA has held protest marches on Tahiti for the last 10 years. They are held on March 1 (Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Day in the Pacific). When they started 10 years ago, they only had 10 people, and went from the Papeete tourist office to the Territorial Assembly building. Now the march is from Faa'a to Papeete and takes some 2 hours. In March of this year, 3,500 people participated, including representatives from Hawaii and Japan.

\* TAVINI HUIRAATIRA has started an independent radio station: **Tereo O Tefana** or "Voice of Tahiti". As "nuclear free radio of Tahiti", it has been on air since March 1988, and broadcasts daily from 6 PM - midnight. currently it beams to the west coast of Tahiti and part of Moorea.

\* For the 160,000 population of Polynesia/Tahiti there are only 3 non-military, i.e. French civilian, doctors.

\* The **Rainbow Warrior**, sunk in Auckland harbour by the French government on July 10, 1985, was definitely planning to head to Mangareva with doctors on board to assess the radiation exposure of people on Mangareva, the closest inhabited islands to Moruroa. This was likely the reason the Rainbow Warrior presented such a threat to the French government.

\* There are 1500 people on Mangareva, plus 3 or 4 gendarmes. Foreigners need a permit to visit, and no cameras or video cameras are allowed on the islands.

\* In February 1988, 500 Foreign Legionnaires were sent to Vapou in the Marquesas in northern Polynesia. They have built barracks on this island where 1,000 people live. Publicly they say they are there to build a breakwater to protect the wharf from storms, but some Polynesians are wondering at the size of the military presence.

\* If Ben Teriitehau as a child spoke Tahitian at school, he was forced to kneel on clam shells for one-half hour with his arms outstretched.

\* The French doctors at the IPPNW Congress are supportive of a halt to French nuclear testing, but they are a small force (400 out of 170,000 doctors in France).

\* The French doctors were upset at Ben Teriitehau's decision to deliver his talk to the Congress in English. During supper they tried briefly to persuade him to at least start in French. It seemed to be a



matter of honour to them. They did not seem to comprehend that French is the language of colonialism to Ben.

\* While the French doctors were against the nuclear testing, they did not appear to support independence for Tahiti. This attitude was reflected when one doctor said that if testing stopped, "we" would have to restructure the economy of Tahiti. [While the economy would definitely undergo restructuring when testing stopped, should it not be the Tahitians running the economy?]

\* Of 1,000 deaths in Polynesia in 1985, only 95 people had death certificates issued, and official

statistics state that 200 died from no specific cause.

### Suggestions for support

Ben Teriitehau suggests that support for the end of nuclear testing and independence for Tahiti/Polynesia can be assisted by:

1) letters to the French President (Francois Mitterand) and the French Embassy in our countries

2) letters of support to the TAVINI HUIRAATIRA c/o Oscar Temaru, Mayor of Faa'a, Faa'a, Tahiti, French Polynesia.

# Where is Cousteau's Report?

In October 1987, **Jacques Cousteau** and the **Calypso** went to Moruroa Atoll at the request of the French government to dive and take photos around the atoll. Cousteau even appeared on television in Tahiti and talked about the reason for his visit.

To this date, Cousteau's report has not been released, and is, in fact, being suppressed.

In May of this year, Oscar Temaru, leader of the Polynesian Liberation Front and member of the Territorial Assembly in Tahiti, requested a copy of the report from the President of the Territorial Assembly, and was told that one had never been received.

A retired French Navy Admiral, Antoine Sanguinetti, stated at the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Congress in Montreal (June 2-6, 1988) that Cousteau's report "is a military secret."

The timing of Cousteau's trip to Moruroa suggests completion of his report by early 1988. It was in March of this year that France announced that much of its nuclear testing would shift from Moruroa to Fangataufa. It seems very likely that this move was based on Cousteau's report.

**Where is Cousteau's report?** It should be and needs to be made public. **Write to the French Embassy in your country and ask when it will be made public.**

Also write to ask your government's help in getting the report released. In Canada, write to:

1) Ambassador Philippe Husson  
French Embassy  
42 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1M 2C9

2) The Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, M.P.  
Minister of External Affairs  
House of Commons  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0A6



# HOLLOW POLYNESIAN VICTORIES IN FRENZIED FRENCH ELECTIONS

The re-election in May of President Francois Mitterand and the crushing defeat in the ensuing general elections of Jacques Chirac's conservative Gaullist RPR party undoubtedly ushers in a more liberal and democratic era in France. On the other hand, unfortunately there are so far no signs that the new socialist government headed by Michel Rocard will loosen up the French iron grip on her nuclear colony in Polynesia.

The first thing that must be said about these "national" elections is that as far as the Polynesian voters are concerned, they represent a thoroughly futile exercise, considering that they are only an insignificant portion - 108,000 out of a total of 38 million French voters - and are thus utterly unable to influence the results. Participation is therefore as a rule very low, and during these four separate polling days (there were two rounds in each election), it was just above fifty percent.

In the presidential elections, held on 24 April and 8 May, incredibly enough both the old strongman, Gaston Flosse, and his bitter rival and successor as majority leader, Alexandre Leontieff, came out in favour of the sure loser Jacques Chirac, while all other major parties campaigned for Mitterand, mostly because he was the least objectionable choice. As he had done so many times in the past with great success, Flosse agitated the old scarecrow that Mitterand's socialists are in league with the ungodly communists, whose devilish aim is to forbid all religion and close all churches. As Mitterand had been president for seven years without persecuting any Christians, this absurd argument carried weight only in the Marquesas and Eastern Tuamotu islands, where the native voters are Catholics and traditionally take their cues from the French missionaries.

The other old scarecrow that Flosse and his **Tahoeraa** party constantly waved was the equally ill-founded fear that Mitterand, if re-elected, would give both New Caledonia and French Polynesia independence, which made it imperative to vote for the patriotic superman Chirac,

who proved by his strongarm methods in New Caledonia that he is fully determined to keep the colonial lid on. This argument was, of course, particularly appreciated by the 30,000 French settlers in Tahiti, of whom at least one third are of the voting age, and by the 8,000 soldiers, gendarmes and government officials, who are also entitled to vote in all elections. Since the Polynesians have not yet suffered the misfortune of the poor, overwhelmed Kanaks in New Caledonia of having become a minority in their own country, Mitterand obtained, in spite of this gruesome propaganda, in the final round a score identical to the one he got in France, or 54.4% of the ballots, as against 45.5% for Chirac.

When Mitterand in a surprise move immediately after his victory dissolved the National Assembly, another month of political campaigning and bickering followed. The stake at play this time might seem slightly more important, as the Polynesian voters were asked to select two deputies to represent them for five years in the French parliament... The sad truth is that it does not matter the least, whether the colony is represented in the French National Assembly or not, since nothing can be achieved by the two forlorn Polynesians in an assembly consisting of altogether 577 deputies.

For Flosse, who had lost his portfolio as junior minister for Pacific affairs, which he had held for the past two years in Chirac's by now disbanded government, this seemed to be a god-send opportunity to stage a quick comeback. He chose, of course, as he had always done with great success thanks to the fact that he is a Catholic, to stand in the Eastern constituency, comprising the Marquesas and Tuamotu islands, which had moreover recently been gerrymandered for his benefit by Chirac's former police minister Pasqual.

This time, however, Flosse was opposed by another Catholic candidate, the charismatic leader of the anti-nuclear party **Aia api**, Emile Vernaudon, and a member of Leontieff's government coalition, who was equally acceptable to



the voters in the Eastern constituency. Although his winning margin was extremely narrow, the trick, for Vernaudeon beat Flosse in the final round by 395 voters. For a power-hungry and vain-glorious man like Flosse it was a terrible come down. And he may sink even lower, as he will probably soon be convicted by a French court for repeated misappropriations of public funds, which would mean not only a jail term but also the loss of his civil rights, or, in other words, the definite end of his political career.

In the Western constituency, which is solidly Polynesian and and Protestant, it was obvious right from the beginning that the incumbent deputy, Flosse's son-in-law and alter ego, Edouard Fritch, was nothing more than a sacrificial lamb. Especially as he was opposed by Premier Alexandre Leontieff, having as his proxy the powerful autonomist mayor of Papeete, Jean Juventin. That Fritch nevertheless was not totally crushed in the final round, but got one third of the votes, can only be explained by the hugh number of French civilian and uninformed voters in this constituency, who have always greatly appreciated his standard solutions to all local problems: the prompt dispatch to Tahiti of more French troops and immigrants.

However, the candidate in the Western constituency most closely watched by friends and foes alike was the mayor of Faaa, Oscar Tamaru, who is the most outspoken advocate for immediate and complete independence. Although he has forced for financial reasons to limit his

campaigning to Tahiti and Moorea, he doubled his previous best score by obtaining in the first round 14.18% of the votes, which to his mortification was less than one percent below the level permitting him to take part in the second round. Two other, more mildly pro-independence candidates in this constituency polled twelve percent. Since the strongly pro-independence and anti-nuclear **Ia mana** party, which did not this time run any candidates, represents about ten percent of the electorate, and Jean Juventin's **Here aia** party, which usually gets around 20% of the votes, is in favour of independence in association with France and condemns the nuclear testing at Moruroa, the overall election results can be read as a new and stronger signal to the French president and prime minister to start at long last the decolonization process.

Sadly enough, nothing so far shows that the French government has seen the light. On the contrary, in several public declarations the new minister for the French Overseas Territories and Departments, Louis Le Penec, has made it clear that he is going to pursue the policy of his conservative predecessors of "integrating and assimilating better the native populations in the Pacific territories". Even more revealing for French intentions is, of course, that this two month long election period was punctuated by not less than four nuclear bomb tests at Moruroa.

By Marie-Therese and Bengt Danielsson



Marie-Therese Danielsson (seated in centre), a town councillor in Paea, presides over a polling station.



# Belau's Constitution Upheld Again

By Charles Scheiner

On April 22, 1988, Associate Justice Robert A. Heffner ruled in Belau (Palau) that the August 4, 1987 Constitutional Amendment referendum "is null, void, and of no effect," and consequently the August 21, 1987 referendum did not approve the Compact of Free Association between Belau and the United States since it did **not** receive 75% voter approval. **Belau's nuclear-free Constitution therefore remains in full legal effect.**

The legal challenge was refiled March 31 by 22 women plaintiffs whose earlier case (Ngirmang v. Salii) was withdrawn last September following the murder of Bedor Bins (father of attorney Roman Bedor and plaintiff Bernie Keldermans) and several firebombings and threats against plaintiffs' homes and families. 141 additional plaintiffs were added in April, and the suit was broadened to include 15 counts.

The court did not rule on issues of voter harassment and intimidation, on the illegal use of government funds to campaign for the Compact, or on the argument that the nuclear-free provisions of the Constitution cannot be changed except by the 75% voter approval process spelled out in those provisions.

The Government of Palau has appealed the ruling. Its appeal, which is expected to fail, will go to a Belauan three-judge panel in late July. A combined Constitutional Amendment and Compact ratification plebiscite could be held simultaneously with the November 1988 Presidential Election in Belau.

The level of overt violence in Belau has subsided somewhat, but fear and tensions lurk just beneath the surface. The plaintiffs refrained from celebrating after their court victory in order not to provoke violent reaction. Although there has been one trial and conviction for last September's shooting into the home of House Speaker Santos Olikong, no charges have been brought for the murders of Bedor Bins (and assassinated president Haruo Remeliik) or for the numerous other shootings, firebombings, and threats against Constitutional defenders last year.

Although Belauan activists have repeatedly asked the United States Congress, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the United Nations to protect their safety and promote law enforcement, no assistance has been forthcoming.

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**"Approval of the Compact is a prerequisite for substantial funding which, it is presumed, will bring almost immediate gratification to a large majority of the citizens of the Republic. But tomorrow's lucre pales in the face of today's recognition of the integrity and stability of the constitution of the Republic."**

From Judge Heffner's April 22, 1988 ruling.

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# Health Care In PNG: What Can We Learn?

By Dr. Quentin Shaw, Medical Officer, Maprik District, East Sepik Province (1986-87)

Papua New Guinea was one of the last countries to be 'discovered' by our western culture and 'developed'. Far from being a disadvantage, this has meant that many of the mistakes made in other countries were not repeated in PNG. In health care, an appropriate system was devised which led to dramatic and sustained successes.

I spent 21 months as Medical Officer to Maprik District in East Sepik Province. I was the only doctor in an area of 25,000 sq km containing a diffusely-spread rural population of about 160,000 people. These figures alone give an impression of an impossible, 'missionary' task, but they are only half the picture. The reason there is only one doctor in the area is that for decades the Australian and then Papua New Guinean administrations have deliberately developed the health services away from dependence on doctors. For all that there was only one doctor, there were in the district 80 aid posts, 5 mission Health SubCentres and 5 government Health Centres as well as Maprik Hospital where I worked.

Each Aid Post is staffed by a villager who has been on a residential two year training course to become an Aid Post Orderly (APO). Originally these APOs were almost illiterate (though intelligent). Now all the new trainees are secondary school educated and are literate and articulate in English. An APO can diagnose and treat common illnesses including malaria, pneumonia and meningitis.

He or she can give i.m. injections of penicillin or quinine using glass syringes sterilized in a pressure cooker. They know about preventative medicine and can advise on childbirth problems. As long as they remain motivated, they are a powerful force for improving health care and appropriate development. In every way they are equivalent to 'family doctor' in western nations, each caring for about 2,500 people. Any problem which they cannot cope with they refer to a Health Centre (staffed by nurses and a Health Extension Officer [with 4 years training]) or to the hospital.

Ten years ago this system was the envy of other developing countries. Now it is collapsing and increasingly health delivery depends upon charitable support from abroad. **What went wrong?**

The cynical point of view would be to say 'the system collapsed when the Australian administration was replaced by Papua New Guinean independence'. There is a grain of truth in this.

The Australian Government 'drove' the system from above. For all that the APO system was one of the earliest and most successful 'barefoot doctor' schemes in the world, it was a scheme devised in



photo by Quentin Shaw

Children inside a "marasin meri" house (a village health aid's clinic)



the cities by the expatriates and educated Papua New Guineans and 'given' to the villagers. The APOs were paid, and service to the villagers was free. The system was "cheap" by western standards, but none the less it cost money, which was pumped in by Australian Government aid. Motivation was pumped in as well by the Australia and Papua New Guinean supervisors, who travelled out to the villages by foot, truck, canoe or plane to support and encourage the APOs.

After independence, things changed. Australian aid is gradually being reduced. The new nation of Papua New Guinea was born into the harsh economic climate of world recession. Revenue did not increase to compensate for the lost aid. Gradually the Health Service felt the pinch. It was only then that the problems of a 'given' or 'imposed' system became apparent.

The villagers had accepted the APO system without ever really considering what it cost or where the money came from. That was, in their view, 'samting bilong govman' - literally 'the government's business'. Now that the service is short of money, they won't support it. If asked to pay for health care at the point of delivery, they refuse. Why should they now pay for something that has always been free as their 'right'? If asked to pay in the form of higher taxation, they default. They do not see the link between revenue and social service spending. (They are not alone in this - similar arguments fill the media in western countries!) The bottom line is that if they have to pay for the APO system, they would rather go without.

The consequences of underfunding are now sadly becoming apparent. Health service finance is continually being cut; vehicles and buildings cannot be maintained or replaced, supplies of medicine are inadequate, staff losses are not being replaced by training and morale is falling.

Of course, a similar situation has arisen all over the world, but in Papua New Guinea the problem is particularly obvious since the improvement in health in the last 30 years had been so enormous. I think the whole tragedy is a lesson to development workers and agencies. The key problem is that a 'given' or 'imposed' system, no matter how well thought-out or appropriate, will not last.



photo by Quentin Shaw

### Ningalimb village, East Sepik

Solutions to development problems must arise from the people and the culture concerned. This may take a long time, and the solutions the people choose may not seem appropriate to us, but they are the ones with a lasting chance of success. In fact this is the ultimate test of whether we are serious about treating people in other cultures as equals, in democratic charge of their own lives: are we mature enough to stand back and let them make decisions that we think are wrong?

Six years ago a group of village women, upset by the poor



health in their villages, approached Maprik Hospital and asked for some health education training. The response was to start a scheme whereby Primary Health Care staff went out to village meetings or "workshops" and suggested a series of options about ways of improving health to the whole village (women and men), without making any specific recommendations. The decisions about whether to take community action on health were left to the villages.

Some villages asked for a village woman to be trained as a "marasin meri" - an unpaid village health aid. The health staff therefore started a scheme of two week training courses with annual refresher courses. Some villages chose to club together to build a fresh water supply system. Others have undertaken communal cash cropping or business projects to raise money for a truck to drive sick people to hospital. In others there has been a renewed interest in traditional healing. Many villages have made decisions that seemed wrong to us, many have decided to do nothing, and many more have been unable to reach a group decision.

The role of the Health staff during this long process has simply been to advise, provide technical information, and above all to act as facilitators; to sit down with groups of villagers and gently encourage discussion on health issues without directing towards particular solutions. The only foreign aid money used has been to provide a truck for the Health staff to reach the villages and food for the 'workshops'. SPPF has helped us greatly in this.

Otherwise all projects undertaken by the villages are funded entirely by themselves.

The marasin meris and other projects are only the outward signs of a dramatic change that has taken place in the villages where the scheme is working. There has been a blossoming of enthusiasm and pride, and a new attitude to consensus decision making. Above all, the people have changed from the dependant 'cargo cult' or 'client' status towards a self-assured independence and political maturity.

Because the new Health Care Project is driven from below, no one can be sure what future developments may bring. Certainly it is less sensitive to economic slumps and changes in government policy than the formal Health Service. Whether the marasin meris will evolve in a complimentary form along side the APOs is not clear. My own guess is that the scheme will wind down after a few years as the need for it disappears in villages who have taken charge of their own health. But then there will be other villages to move on to in other areas.

No one particular development solution can be right for every area, and with each project we risk the criticism of future workers who will look back on our theories and efforts with hindsight and know we were wrong. The key to doing the minimum damage must always be to proceed slowly, and to always seek the solutions that arise from the people themselves. Only time will tell whether the Maprik project will prove a success.





# The Challenge of Health Care Delivery in PNG

By Ian Harper

**Ian Harper is a Canadian who spent 8 months in the East Sepik area of Papua New Guinea assisting with medical research through the PNG Institute of Medical Research.**

In 1985, Papua New Guinea achieved a level of health service that gave 96% of the population access to a health facility within two hours walking distance. In addition to the National and Provincial Health Departments, a separate medical research institute collects valuable information on patterns of disease, tests and develops new vaccines and participates in many other international and government funded projects. However, the scenario of health and research in 1988 is changing. It is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain the level of health service available to the rural communities and the Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research has had to cut back on many of its research programmes in the face of shrinking budgets.

I arrived to work with the nutrition section of the Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research as a research assistant in May 1987. Most of what I knew about nutrition, disease and health care came from textbooks during my undergraduate studies in Nutritional Sciences at the University of Toronto. My studies covered very few topics about the developing world in sufficient detail to really appreciate the broad scope of political, economic and socio-cultural issues that face so many people who are struggling to free themselves of the realities that contribute to their poor health. For eight months I lived in a small Catholic mission village called Kunjingini, working closely with the health centres and the people they serve in this district called the Wosera. It is in this capacity that I have been able to better appreciate what health care means to these people. Though PNG has had

an impressive health care delivery record, the system is vulnerable to collapse in many areas and it has failed thus far to focus on prevention rather than cure. The following is an account of one village in which I worked that is presently without a health care centre, and is facing an uncertain future.

Jambitanget is a remote village in the Wosera serviced by a poor but functional dirt road. Like most villages in the district, land is scarce in the face of a growing population, the soil is poor and the practice of shortening the time of fallow to cope with the demands of subsistence-based agriculture is common. Some villagers have small coffee and/or cocoa gardens and sell artifacts to generate a small income which in turn is used to purchase beer (exclusively consumed by men), clothes, household items such as cooking pots, bush knives, tinned fish and rice and pay for school fees. Women often sell surplus food at local markets to government workers, missionaries and researchers (such as myself). The climate is hot and humid in this lowlands area but the unusual prolonged dry spell of 1987 resulted in drought conditions in many areas of Papua New Guinea.

Jambitanget was engaged in warfare with neighbouring villagers who apparently trespassed through a garden, cut down and presumably stole a sago palm tree (sago flour is an important staple in their diet). The garden borders would have been established through oral declarations by generations of men who, for various reasons, have claimed sovereignty over the land. In many cases borders have been marked and documented by government workers to resolve disputes such as this one and to ensure that any private or government land purchases are settled with the rightful owners. However, before matters are brought to the district



magistrate, there is usually a traditional fight with spears which sometimes can lead to a protracted and bloody battle with demands made for compensation in money and pigs.

Enter the Institute of Medical Research. I had joined a team led by Dr. Paul Garner to study pregnancy, infant mortality, nutrition and malaria in the Wosera district. The Wosera was reported to have one of the highest rates in the country of malnutrition among children under five and one of the highest rates of infant and child mortality. Paul had chosen Jambitanget as one of the 20 villages to be included in the study because Jambitanget had lost its mission health service two years ago and it had not yet been replaced by a government health service. Paul felt that although we couldn't provide them with a complete health service, the pregnant women would benefit from regular antenatal clinics as they would receive chloroquine and iron supplements to protect themselves from malaria (which is endemic to this regions) and anemia.

My first day in the Wosera, I followed Paul's team to Jambitanget for the first antenatal clinic visit. We learned of the land dispute when we arrived. Although the men had gone off with their spears to confront the accused villagers, very few pregnant women came to the clinic. Discouraged but not defeated we left Jambitanget and promised to return to do more work including examining any newborn babies and their mothers within the first few days of delivery.

However, subsequent encounters proved more and more difficult; many people expected us to provide services given the absence of a permanent medical clinic in their village. The nearest health centre in Wombisa was a long walk for the Jambis and it appeared that Wombisa and the aid post orderly at Jambitanget were making little progress in ensuring that basic medicines were available to the villagers. As always, we were continually badgered for rides for many non-medical reasons, sometimes for no reason at all. In order to win the trust and confidence of a large community of people we often exercised a certain skill in diplomacy while keeping abuse of the available transport to a minimum.

Tragedy struck a Jambi couple when their newborn baby mysteriously died seven days after birth. Our team had examined the baby very shortly after birth and he appeared to be doing very well. The death of a person is sometimes attributed to "masalai" (Pidgin word for spirits) and occasionally someone is accused of poisoning another through the influence of masalai which results in illness and/or death. Unfortunately Paul had been seen using a rectal thermometer on this baby and was blamed for the baby's death through the use of this device. Paul received warning from people of a neighbouring village of the baby's death and that the Jambis were guarding their road with spears to kill him should he return. After a few anxiety ridden days, Paul arranged to talk with the village council men who assured him that the village would support him if he continued to work and that it was only a small number of men who were discontent.

Nevertheless, the situation deteriorated from then on. Women often didn't show up for clinic, husbands refused to let their wives and newborns be examined and there was a general feeling of unease among all of us about working in Jambitanget. In another incident, we unsuspectingly gave a ride to a young woman running away from a man wanting to take her on as a second wife and created a new wave of animosity towards us. Events finally forced us to reluctantly give up this study in Jambitanget.

Later, when my Pidgin was fluent and I was able to work independently on other projects with the help of Papua New Guinea staff, I returned to Jambitanget to examine progress in growth of some one year old children. The previous night, a woman in the village had had a difficult labour and delivered a baby who may have suffered from anoxia. I was urgently requested to examine this baby. The baby looked very pale and unresponsive and obviously was not going to survive in the village. I agreed to take the mother and child to the hospital in Maprik (about 2 hr. drive on dirt roads). I was not sure that the baby would survive the trip and, as we drove, I was disconcerted to hear the mother's sister declare that she had prayed to God to help the baby just before I arrived on the scene.



The baby survived the trip and responded well to treatment. A few months later, I saw the baby in the village looking very well nourished and remarkably normal from my layman's eye. As far as I know, my saintly status still prevails among a number of people from Jambitanget, something I don't like because it reminds me of the sad reality that this village is still without adequate health services and, in my opinion, a prayer is no substitute for immunisations and medicine for children.

The dilemma facing the Jambitanget people illustrated to me a number of important factors hindering the maintenance of health services in rural communities. For years, many villages have enjoyed the privilege of free health care services and a good supply of the most essential medicines; antibiotics, antimalarials and vaccinations. Infant mortality (0-12 months) has fallen from 134/1000 to 72/1000 while child mortality (1-5 years) has dropped from 91/1000 to 45/1000. However, the incidence of disease has changed very little. Pneumonia, malaria and diarrhoea are the main cases of admission in a health centre among children. Curative medicine has fought a remarkable battle but it is expensive and Provincial and National health budgets have been facing severe cutbacks. The Jambitangets will have to fight a strong political battle in order to enjoy the level of services that they had in the past. Fundamentally, the organization of villages will have to change to cater to the rules of a democratic system. Villagers will have to be educated to be effective political lobbyists, demanding fair representation from their elected provincial and national politicians.

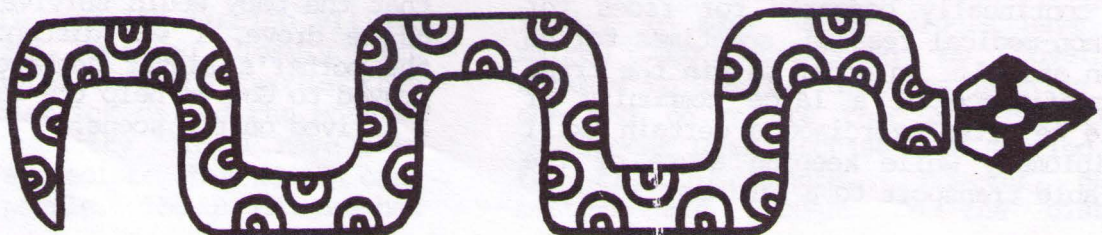
Prevention through education in nutrition and hygiene is always emphasized because of its cost effectiveness and the desirability of giving individuals the opportunity to take more control and

responsibility for their own health. This presently seems far from achievable given that the value of health services are not fully appreciated by Papua New Guineans. Perhaps it is because health services are fully operated by the government and missionaries with relatively little expected of community contributions. In fact, such a lack of appreciation was demonstrated in Jambitanget when, shortly before the mission sister had left after twelve years of running a health care centre, some villagers broke into her house and robbed her of all her possessions.

Health care workers are increasingly threatened, are victims of violent assault and understandably are unwilling to work in some areas.

The health care system, recently decentralized and under provincial control, is becoming hopelessly bureaucratic and inefficient in some provinces resulting in low morale, lack of supervision in rural posts and as a result services are disappearing, inviting a resurgence of tuberculosis and increasing mortality from pneumonia, malaria and diarrhoea.

On the brighter side, progress is being made. A "marasin meri" project is attempting to cope with the problem of declining health services in the East Sepik Province by training and educating women representatives from participating villages in a village based health care approach. Essentially, these women will not only assume many of the responsibilities normally taken by government paid village aid post orderlies, but will hopefully provide some new solidarity for women and political participation. It may take generations for more effective village involvement in politics, economics and health but it is encouraging to at least see that there is some awareness and progress being made to achieve these goals.





# THE Fiji Times

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE WORLD TODAY

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Mainly fine.  
Details and map  
on  
Page 36.

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# LIFE JAIL FOR ARMS CRIMES

Illegal possession of arms, ammunition and explosives are punishable by life imprisonment under the new internal security decree, promulgated by the government this week.

Anyone found guilty of such an offence is not entitled for parole until after serving 25 years of the life sentence.

Once a person is charged with such an offence, no bail will be allowed.

The onus of proof is on the person to show that he is not guilty.

The decree provides for suspects to be detained for as long as two years which could be extended by the minister responsible for security.

These detentions however, are subject to six-monthly reviews.

The minister has power to decide where the offender may be detained and can cancel or confiscate his passport.

But the decree provides for the establishment of an advisory board to consider representations made by those detained.

The five-member board is to be appointed by the Attorney-General. The Police Commissioner is to be the *ex-officio* member.

The board is empowered to hear representations from detained people within three months of their detention and appropriate recommendations will be made to the minister.

But the minister's decision would be final and cannot be questioned in a court of law.

The advisory board has similar powers to that of a court in summoning and questioning witnesses.

The decree, which is based on the Singapore model, gives the security forces and the minister wide ranging powers of search, seizure and detention. It has 86 sections.

Cabinet approved the decree at a special meeting on Wednesday night which the President, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, signed on Thursday morning.

The decree proper is now being printed and is expected to be released on Wednesday.

Yesterday, the government released explanatory notes accompanying it.

Under its powers of arrests, the decree gives police officers powers to arrest without a warrant anyone suspected of committing an offence likely to threaten national security.

The same power is given to members of the security forces or anyone being employed as a guard or watchman in a protected place.

The Minister for Home Affairs can authorise a police officer to inspect any banker's books if he reasonably suspects that an offence has been committed.

It gives the minister powers to disallow anyone from entering Fiji, if in his opinion, such a person is considered to be a danger to

national security or public order.

No inquiry will be made if someone is killed in a security area.

Several sections relate to the declaration of protected areas within the security area.

No one will be allowed in these protected areas. Police are empowered to use force involving measures dangerous to life to remove persons from these protected places.

Under the same section a police officer above the rank of sergeant can impose a curfew on every person within a division or within a security area.

It empowers the minister to take possession of land and buildings in the interest of public security for the accommodation of the security forces.

The decree confers powers on the minister to appointments made by any appointing authority.

He has the power to cancel any appointment, if in his opinion such an appointment may be prejudicial to the interests of Fiji.

The minister has the power to order the closure of any educational institution, if the school or institution is being used for purposes detrimental to the interests of Fiji or interests of the public or as a meeting place of an unlawful society.

The closure can last up to six months but school man-

agement can appeal against the decision if it feels aggrieved by the order.

It also provides that from June 1 this year, any employee of any institution of higher education which falls into this category, cannot be appointed unless he has a certificate of "suitability" issued by the Minister for Education.

The Education Minister's decision can be appealed against, but the minister's decision on the appeal is final and cannot be challenged in any court of law.

Under the same provision, the minister has the power to forbid or restrict the movement of students and teachers (whether local or from overseas) to enter or travel within Fiji.

Section 20 of the decree relates to the publication of materials, and the Press.

It gives the minister responsible powers to prohibit either absolutely or subject to conditions the printing, publishing, sale, issue, circulation or possession of any document that may incite violence, counsel, law disobedience, which are calculated to promote feelings of hostility between different races and prejudicial to the national interest and security of Fiji.

It also makes it an offence for someone to print, publish, sell issue, circulate or reproduce documents for publicity against the minister's order.



# THE PACIFIC AS HAZARDOUS WASTE DUMP

U.S. and other companies seeking locations to dump and otherwise dispose of toxic wastes are looking to the Pacific islands as environmental regulations in the U.S. become more stringent. Over the last year the Marshall Islands, Tonga, and Papua New Guinea have come under the gaze of companies seeking locations where the populace - ill or non-informed of potential dangers - will be open to the seemingly lucrative economic gain.

In Papua New Guinea, the government of the province of Oro had negotiated a deal with Global Telesis Corporation, a U.S. firm based in California, under which a detoxification plant would be set up at a cost of U.S. \$38 million. Under the deal, Global would ship 600,000 metric tonnes of toxic waste a month from the U.S. west coast across the Pacific to PNG.

The potential income from the deal for Oro province points out the vulnerability of island governments to such toxic waste disposal companies. The project, had it been accepted, would have generated Kina 16 million per year to the government, 6 times its current annual budget of Kina 2.6 million. The deal was dropped after pressure from the national government of PNG, and over concerns that Global Telesis could not raise required funding.

Pressure on Pacific island governments is sure to increase after leaders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) declared in late May 1988 that they would not allow dumping of nuclear or toxic industrial waste from abroad on African soil. The Times of Papua New Guinea has called for the member countries of the South

Pacific Forum to emulate the OAU ban.

Meanwhile, in Tonga, Princess Salote Tuita (daughter of the King of Tonga) formed a waste disposal company - World Resource Recovery and Cogeneration - with a Honolulu based Tongan importer, Sione Filipe. The company had planned a U.S. \$15 million hazardous waste incinerator and recycling plant to generate cheap electricity. The incinerator would take one container load of waste a day from California, including plastics and solvents. Funds for establishing the facility were to come from the Omega Corporation of the U.S., which had been denied a permit to build a hazardous waste incinerator in California. Denial came partially because the company submitted two inadequate environmental impact reports. The Tongan plan was recently turned down, and followed Tongan police investigation of senior civil servants involved in the plan.

In the words of Phil Twyford in the Sunday Star (Auckland, April 24, 1988): "Turning an island paradise into a rubbish dump is not a new idea." The Tongan scheme reflected earlier ones presented to Western Samoa (1986) and American Samoa (1987). They were turned down due to the political storms they unleashed. In all cases the promoters claimed the recipient country would gain over 3,000 direct and indirect jobs, and receive over \$400 million in income. It is a huge carrot for resource, land and revenue-starved Pacific island governments.

Elsewhere in the Pacific, the President of the Marshall Islands has generated internal debate by suggesting to the United States



that already radiated islands (from U.S. nuclear tests) would make an excellent dumping ground for 15,000 tonnes of spent uranium fuel stored in temporary facilities in the U.S. The Marshall Islands President's wishes for a potential \$100 million compensation for such a scheme were moved forward in late 1987 when a Nevada State Representative to U.S. Congress pushed through a U.S. bill adding the Marshalls as a possible dumping site (No foreign site had

even been considered. The U.S. Department of Energy chose Nevada as the most promising site in the U.S.). Japan - alert to possible places to dump its mounting nuclear wastes and so far stymied in its plan to dump them in the ocean - has also approached the Marshalls' President. No word is available on where the debate is at present in the Marshall Islands, though it is known that the Mayor of the Bikini islanders is against the plan.

# Indonesia Planning Push Into PNG?

A Swiss pilot who worked for a Catholic missionary air service in West Papua for six months until he and his family made a spectacular escape to Australia, has told the press that he has documents to prove that the Indonesian military are planning to make a push into Papua New Guinea within six months.

The pilot, Theodor Frey, left Nabire in West Papua secretly with his wife and daughter aboard a Cessna 182 aircraft and arrived in Nhulunbuy, the northern-most tip of Australia. They had no flight plan and only two litres of fuel left when they landed without warning after a five-hour flight. They left Nabire with enough fuel for only five hours flying, knowing that any head wind on the way could have lengthened the flight-time, meaning they would run out of fuel before reaching safety.

Frey said that Indonesian military forces in West Papua "were going into remote areas and setting up armored villages so they can move military forces into Papua New Guinea when they are ready. We think Australia should be worried and be closely watching what is going on". [Northern Territory News, 9 May 1988.]

When the family first arrived, they refused to speak to the press because they feared for the safety of friends still in Indonesia, though the pilot's wife,

Martha, said that they had fled because they were afraid of the Indonesian armed forces. Theodor Frey was employed by a Dutch Catholic mission within the Associated Mission Air (AMA). AMA is owned by the Catholic Church and provides air services for isolated government posts and church communities; as such, it is not unusual for its aircraft to be used by the military [The Age (Melbourne, Australia), 29 April 1988].

The family arrived in Australia without passports because it is AMA policy for passports of members of staff to be held at the company's office. The immediate cause of the sudden departure appears to have been that the pilot felt himself caught between two opposing forces, on the one hand the military who were harassing him, and on the other, local inhabitants who suspected him of working for the military.

After remaining for ten days in Gove, near the airstrip where they landed, the family moved to a secret address in Brisbane. It was from here that they spoke more freely to the press about their fears for Papua New Guinea. [Sunday Sun, 8 May 1988].

Reprinted from: TAPOL, June 1988.



# BERTELL ASKS FURTHER STUDY OF RONGELAP

The general health of the children of the Rongelap Atoll in the regions of the Marshall Islands where extraordinary fallout occurred from a 1954 U.S. nuclear bomb test, is "precarious" and requires further study, Dr. Rosalie Bertell told a U.S. congressional committee on April 26.

Testifying as a consultant for the Marshall Islands government, Dr. Bertell said there were indications that "ill health is both more prevalent and more serious among children born and/or brought up on the atoll."

She cited findings of Dr. Brenda Caloyannis of Sudbury, Ontario, who found the prevalence of congenital medical problems among the Rongelap children "startling." Dr. Caloyannis earlier this year undertook a survey of 1,000 Marshall Islanders commissioned by the International Institute of Concern for Public Health. She has a practice of approximately 900 children in the Sudbury area, and experience with medical care for children in Jamaica.

Dr. Bertell also examined blood data recently available from the Brookhaven Laboratory which strongly indicates that contamination was widespread and all of the Islands may have received fallout. It also indicated that the comparison (control) used to assess damage done to the Rongelapese had also suffered radiation exposure. Another consultant, Bernd Franke, said there is a significant probability that the dose (of radioactivity) to some people due to consumption of contaminated food, would exceed the maximum permissible dose under U.S. law.

The hearings of the House Subcommittee on Interior and Insular affairs were held to receive a report on radioactive effects and conditions on the Marshall Islands - especially the Rongelap Atoll - by a team headed by Dr. Henry Kohn, formerly consultant for the Atomic Energy Commission, former name of the Department of Energy.

According to testimony by Dr. Kohn, radioactive conditions on Rongelap, which has not been inhabited by islanders since 1985, are safe for adults but not for children. He made no recommendations for further studies. The northern Marshall Islands, he said, are uninhabitable and should not be used even for food gathering.

Rongelap bore the brunt of fallout from the 1954 nuclear blast, which was about 1,000 times the force of the bombs used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and caused acute radiation sickness and severe burns. Residents were removed from the atoll after the damage was done, showing up in the next few years in the form of miscarriages, stillbirths and a host of afflictions hitherto unknown to any great degree in the area. The people were encouraged to return to Rongelap in 1957.



Mijjua Anjain of Rongelap Atoll and pictures of her son Leko, who died of leukemia 18 years after the 1954 BRAVO nuclear test. His was the first Marshallese death the U.S. admitted was caused by radiation.



In 1982 the Department of Energy released an environmental survey, which had been conducted in 1978, declaring Rongelap habitable.

A year later after the Rongelap people had noted that their atoll was about as contaminated as Bikini (where people had been evacuated) and beset by generally poor health, they began petitioning the U.S., which held the Marshall Islands in trusteeship, to remove them once again. When their appeals were ignored they made arrangements in May 1985 for evacuation by the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*, present in the waters of the South Pacific to protest nuclear testing by the French government, and later sunk in New Zealand.

Since that time the former Rongelap residents have lived on an island in the Kwajalein Atoll. No one remains on Rongelap.

Marshall Islands Senator Jeton Anjain, who was present together with six members of the Rongelap Council at the congressional hearings [April 1988], requested that further studies-in-depth be undertaken. He also asked that while future studies were being conducted the former Rongelapese Islanders be provided with imported food and with protection from extraordinary harsh environmental conditions on the island to which they were evacuated.

From: **HEALTH 2000** (International Institute of Concern for Public Health newsletter) May 1988. Vol. 1, No. 2

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# Transmigration to West Papua

Figures recently made public show that there has been a steady influx of transmigrant families from Java, Bali and East Nusa Tenggara (NIT) into West Papua, although the scale is below the target originally set for the current five-year plan (1984-1989).

Transmigration is the cause of widespread discontent among the people of West Papua whose lands are seized without compensation. A Jakarta-based lecturer, himself a Papuan, warned in an unusually outspoken interview, that "dissatisfaction among native inhabitants in Irian Jaya (the Indonesian name for West Papua) about the transmigration programme often manifests itself in their crossing the border in the hope of a better life in Papua New Guinea" [John Djopari in *Sinar Harapan*, 25 May 1986].

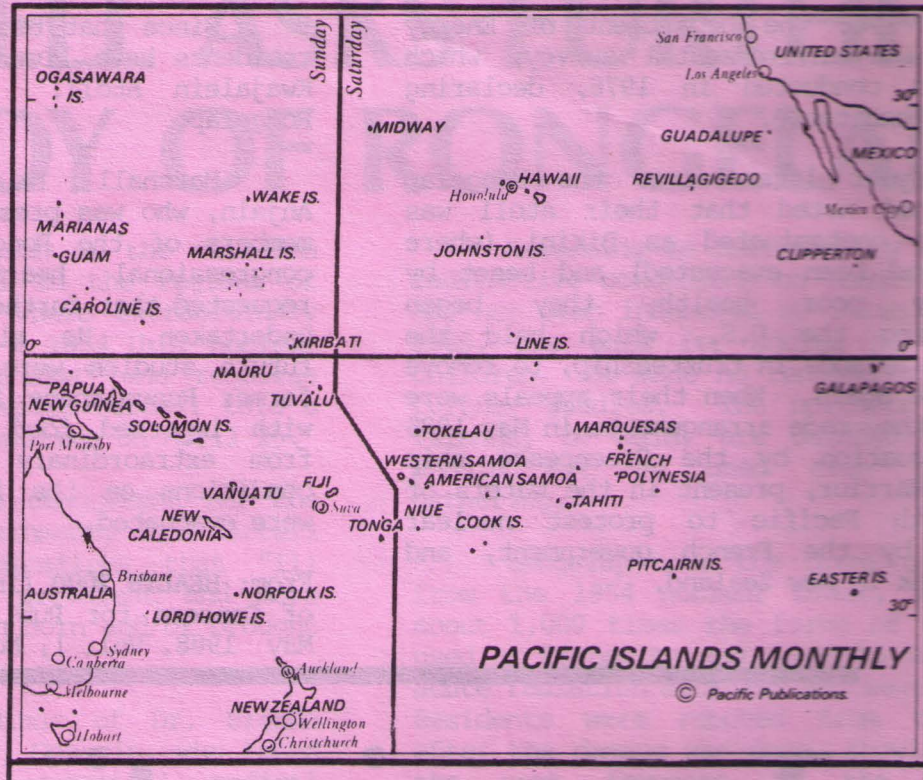
Originally West Papua was due to receive a total of 137,000 families or about 685,000 people during the period. However, the drastic fall in the price of oil plunged Indonesia into an economic

crisis in 1986, forcing a sharp cutback in the allocation of funds for transmigration. This meant that the re-settlement of families in far-off West Papua, involving far higher transportation costs, would be bound to fall.

Transmigration into West Papua began to occur in significant numbers during Indonesia's third Five-Year Plan (1979-84), rising from 290 families in 1979/80 and 2,521 families in 1980/81 to 5,755 families in 1983/84. In the next two years, more than 10,000 families arrived. By mid-1986, 27,726 families had moved in (families consists on average of five persons), bringing the total of transmigrants since the end of the 1970s to nearly 140,000 [World Bank, *Indonesia, Transmigration Sector Review*, October 1986 page 9 and 11].

[Reprinted from **TAPOL**, April 1988]





# HAWAII TURNS UP HEAT

## Honolulu may prevent Canadian firm's bid

BY JOHN ALLEMANG  
The Globe and Mail

In protest against Canadian military bombardment of a historical Hawaiian island, municipal politicians in Honolulu are threatening to drop a Canadian firm from the bidding for a proposed \$1-billion transit line.

Honolulu City Council unanimously passed a resolution Wednesday that calls for the return of the uninhabited island of Kahoolawe to "peaceful and productive use."

In doing so, the council noted that "local sentiment against Canada's shelling of Kahoolawe may result in a public protest that may complicate the city's and county's election process to award the Honolulu mass transit construction contract."

UTDC Inc. of Kingston, Ont., a subsidiary of Lavalin Inc., is considered a front-runner for the 37-kilometre automated light rapid transit

system. The company has built a similar line in Vancouver.

Kahoolawe has been used for naval exercises since the end of the Second World War. Canada uses the island as a target "at the invitation and with the full approval of the United States Government and the United States military," says a letter sent to the mayor of nearby Maui by Defence Minister Perrin Beatty.

The island is listed on the national register of historical places in the United States for its fields of petroglyphs (prehistoric rock carvings), sacred burial grounds and 1,000-year-old shrines and temples.

Australia, Britain and Japan no longer use the target range, out of respect for the local citizens' wishes.

Gary Gill, the Honolulu councillor who presented the resolution, said that "the target is not one company, it's Canadian policy."

### OHA calls for Canadian boycott

Trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs called for a boycott of Canadian-owned business in Hawaii until Canadian military forces agree to end their participation in the shelling of Kahoolawe during RIMPAC military exercises.

Trustees meeting on Maui over the weekend noted that Canada is the only foreign country taking part in the shelling. Japan and Australia have declined to participate in deference to objections from Hawaiian groups, said Ed Michelman, OHA's public information officer.

Canada has announced its forces will join the United States in bombing Kahoolawe during RIMPAC 88 naval maneuvers.

OHA trustees called the shelling "a demonstration of complete insensitivity to the culture and traditions of a host people."

Canadian military officers say they feel assured that the U.S. Navy has taken all precautions to protect archaeological sites on the target island.

Honolulu Star-Bulletin 6-24-88