

Tok Blong SPPF

A Quarterly of News and Views on the Pacific Islands

JULY 1990, #32

VICTORIA, B.C., CANADA



Photo by Doug McGregor

Crossing the river near Wosilimo, Baliem Valley, West Papua

INSIDE

UN Decolonization Conference

Also ...Forests in West Papua and Papua New Guinea

...Bougainville Crisis

...Fiji Undermines the Pacific

...Media in the Pacific

SPPF UPDATE

Most importantly - **we've moved**, but just down the hall. By mail that's **#415 - 620 View Street**. We had been thinking of moving as our resource centre had begun to bury us. When the space became available on the same floor we jumped at the chance. It means paying more rent, but it means that we can put all our resources out on the shelves. It means space for those who come in to use the resource centre. And it means space for our volunteers when they come in to give us a hand.

Speaking of volunteers- special thanks to our loyal corps of Victoria volunteers who raised more than \$800 for SPPF at a July garage sale. And that is in addition to helping us get this edition of Tok Blong SPPF in the mail once again.

Our summer student, Catherine Sparks, is well on her way with cataloguing our resource centre. Thanks to our fact sheet editor, Renee Harper, and some most energetic volunteers, SPPF will have a series of new and updated Pacific Islands Fact Sheets ready in September. The task of reorganising the office fell to fellow staffer Margaret Argue while I was off to the South Pacific.

As Executive Director of SPPF, I was fortunate this year to be invited to two conferences on the Pacific. Representatives of NGOs were invited to Vanuatu by the UN Special Committee on Decolonization to discuss the



role of the UN in decolonization of the Pacific. (See pages 2-6) ASPAC 1990 - an Asia Pacific Conference on Action for Peace, Security, and Cooperation - brought more than 200 academics and activists together in Melbourne to focus on common action to promote development and peace in the Pacific region. SPPF provided the Canadian presence at ASPAC and benefitted from the success of the organisers in getting participants from West Papua, Bougainville, East Timor, the South Moluccas, Belau, Fiji, Tahiti, the Northern Marianas, Guam, and from the Pacific Rim countries.

So given the flow of information and events, you'll find a focus on Melanesia in this issue, to be followed by Polynesia in October, proving we are flexible as usual.

Randall Garrison
Executive Director

About this newsletter...

TOK BLONG SPPF is pidgin, a language 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 in English by the South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada. Partial financial support for this newsletter from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is gratefully acknowledged.

SPPF's major aim is to promote awareness of development, social justice, and other issues of importance to the peoples of the South Pacific. Through this newsletter we hope to provide Canadians with a window on the Pacific that will foster understanding and promote action in support of Islanders in their struggles for development.

We welcome readers' comments on the newsletter, as well as suggestions for articles, selections of clippings, or notices of development education materials of interest. We reserve the right to edit material. Views expressed do not necessarily reflect those of SPPF or of CIDA.

TOK BLONG SPPF (ISSN: 0828-9670) is available to donors to SPPF with a minimum donation of \$15/yr for individuals and \$30/yr for groups, US\$15/yr and US\$30/yr for non-Canadian mailing addresses. Our address is 415-620 View Street, Victoria, B.C., Canada V8W 1J6. Telephone 604/381-4131.

DECOLONIZATION IN THE PACIFIC

At the end of WWII there was widespread optimism that colonial empires would rapidly give way to independent, self-governing nations. Yet by 1960 barely 30 of the over 100 non-self governing territories had achieved independence. It was all too evident that progress on decolonization would continue to be slow and difficult. The UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted in 1960 in the hope of speeding up that process. Colonialism was declared to be a violation fundamental human rights, a violation of the UN Charter, and an impediment to the promotion of world peace.

In 1961 a special committee of the General Assembly was established to give impetus to the UN's decolonization work. Since then the UN Special Committee on Decolonization has reported regularly to the General Assembly on the extent of the implementation of the 1960 Declaration and on measures to advance decolonization. The Special Committee has provided an important forum for colonized peoples and has been essential in keeping public spotlight on the issue.

In the 1970's the Special Committee began to play a more active role in the decolonization process. The General Assembly authorised the Committee to send missions to investigate colonial situations firsthand, to work directly with the administering powers to establish a UN presence in colonized nations, and to help prepare and observe the final decolonization process. Namibia provides the most recent example of the successful involvement of the UN in the decolonization process.

In 1980 the UN adopted the goal of the complete eradication of colonialism in all its forms by the year 2000 and the Plan for the Full Implementation of the 1960 Declaration in an attempt to give final push to decolonization. None of the remaining non-self-governing territories has a large population and the independence of Namibia leaves only a single non-self-governing territory in Africa. These two factors have combined to give the issues of decolonization a much lower profile internationally.

In turn this lower profile has provided an opening for certain powers who don't wish to have UN "interference" in territories under their administration. The US, Britain, and France have begun an attack on the Special Committee, arguing its work is virtually complete. Given the many other urgent tasks facing the UN, they argue, any further activity by the Special Committee would be a waste of time and money.

1990 marks the 30th anniversary of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Two regional seminars were scheduled to mark this anniversary and to give renewed emphasis to the work remaining: one in the Caribbean, one in the Pacific. NGOs and "eminent" persons (academics and jurists) were invited to regional seminars to review the work of the committee and to advise the UN on the work remaining before the year 2000.

The Pacific seminar was held in Vanuatu from May 9 to 11th. Vanuatu Prime Minister, Walter Lini, set the tone for the conference in his opening address. We have reprinted the text of his speech in full. Also reprinted is the paper presented by Anne Forward, National President of the Public Sector Union of Australia, one of the few papers to address the economic aspects of the decolonization process. Finally, we have included a reprint of the joint statement presented to the Special Committee by the NGOs at the seminar in Port Vila.

There was broad agreement among the NGOs that the Special Committee's list of non-self-governing territories is incomplete and a comprehensive review of the list is needed. While the UN list does include East Timor and Kanaky/New Caledonia, both West Papua and Tahiti-Polynesia have been omitted. As well, there was agreement on the idea of sending a UN mission to each of the colonized territories to report on the internal situation, especially in view of the allegations of serious human rights violations in East Timor and West Papua and the continuation of French nuclear testing in the Pacific. Both the high interest in participation in the Pacific seminar and the material presented leave little doubt that there is an important role for the UN Special Committee to play in the decolonization process in the Pacific.

A copy of the paper "Toward Decolonization in the Pacific" presented on behalf of SPPF at the UN Seminar in Vanuatu is available from SPPF at a cost of \$4.00 to cover photocopying and postage.

In 1990 the Members of the UN Committee on Decolonization were Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Mali, Norway, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, USSR, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

**OPENING ADDRESS BY H.E. THE HON.
FATHER WALTER LINI, PRIME MINISTER OF
THE REPUBLIC OF VANUATU TO THE
UNITED NATIONS REGIONAL SEMINAR IN
OBSERVANCE OF THE THIRTIETH ANNIVER-
SARY OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANT-
ING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL
COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES**

HELD IN PORT VILA, VANUATU, 9-11 MAY 1990

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates and participants, and distinguished members of the secretariat,

Welcome to Vanuatu! We are pleased and honored that our country was chosen to be the venue for this important and historic Regional Seminar in Observance of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The United Nations Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples occupies a very special place in the hearts of our people. Ten years ago - thanks in large part to the efforts of the Special Committee, and dedicated international civil servants such as our dear friend, Tom Tanaka - we ourselves stood poised on the threshold of national independence. Today we take great pride in welcoming you to a politically independent Vanuatu which is busily engaged in attempting to build a better life for our children, and in helping to build a better world for children everywhere.

That world, we hope, will be a world free of poverty, illiteracy and disease. That world, we hope, will be a world free of military blocs; an arms race; nuclear, chemical, or bacteriological weapons; and the threat of environmental disasters, particularly those posed to the most vulnerable of us all. That world, we hope, will be a world free of drug abuse and drug trafficking. That world, we hope, will be a world free of racism, inter-ethnic strife, religious and cultural intolerance, discrimination against women, and most importantly, colonialism in all its various forms. That world will, we hope, be a world of hope, promise, and fulfillment for all men and all women, all nations, all peoples, and all cultures. The successful realization of these hopes can only be the product of many years of effort by all of mankind.

Mr. Chairman, this has been the essence of the work of the Special Committee since its very inception. Now, as we approach the 30th Anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to

Colonial Countries and Peoples, the entire world bears witness to the beauty, and the value, of the mosaic of humanity that exists at the United Nations. That mosaic is a direct consequence of the decolonization process, and of the dedication of those who have been in the frontline of that process spearheading its effectiveness.

Without a doubt, this process has been one of the most successful undertakings of the United Nations. This is a fact which no one can honestly dispute. The results may not have always been to everyone's complete satisfaction. In some cases, the process may not even have been completed yet. However, step by step the process of decolonization continues. Now, that process is entering a decisive stage.

We are aware that a few voices still continue to question the value of the Special Committee. However, no nation that ever endured the pain and humiliation of colonialism questions the value of the Special Committee. No people that ever witnessed the transfer of their national wealth without their consent questions the continued relevancy of the Special Committee to today's world. No one who ever struggled against colonialism is now prepared to accept an end, or even a de-emphasis, of United Nations efforts in this important area until the people of every single land, regardless of size, population, geographic location, or relative wealth are free to determine their own destinies.

For our part, we in Vanuatu, applaud the efforts of every nation that is a member of the Special Committee. We salute the professionalism, dedication, and efficiency of the members of the secretariat. We also note with appreciation the wisdom and statesmanship for those administering powers who have cooperated, and those who continue to cooperate, with the Special Committee in the discharge of its very important duties and responsibilities. All have contributed in a very real sense, not only to the process of decolonization, but also to the creation of a new international jurisprudence of human decency.

Mr. Chairman, although the march of decolonization has been steady, and there is much with which we can all be satisfied, important work remains to be done. Namibia has now joined the community of nations. We congratulate Namibia and its people on their victory and wish them well as they reclaim their future.

Many, if not most, of the world's remaining non-self-governing territories can be found here in the South Pacific. In a sense, we now have our own "Namibias" and our own "Palestines" - potentially explosive colonial situations that preoccupy every nation in our region and

cry out for international attention. Therefore, this seminar is for us much more than a commemoration or a celebration. For us this seminar offers an opportunity for a serious exchange of ideas and reflection on the future. Hopefully, it will result in an effective call to action - a call for international cooperation to make the last decade of the 20th century truly the world's last decade of colonialism. We are far more in need of fresh new ideas and concrete proposals than we are in need of another series of speeches.

In this regard, we are of the strong opinion that this decade should begin with a visit by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, or a specially designated representative of the Secretary-General, to each of the remaining non-self-governing territories. We would also like to see an extensive study of the remaining non-self-governing territories undertaken and widely distributed throughout the world along with relevant audio-visual materials. We also believe that an urgent appeal should be issued at the highest levels urging those who are still administering non-self-governing territories to establish the necessary conditions, as soon as possible to enable the people of those territories to gain their political and economic independence, prior to 31 December 1999, in accordance with the principles and practices of the United Nations. This appeal should also urge the remaining administering powers to transmit information, in accordance with Article 73e of the Charter of the United Nations.

This would also be an ideal time to urge individual nations to consider the adoption of legislation discouraging commercial enterprises from continuing or initiating activities that are prejudicial to the exercise of the right of self-determination and independence by the peoples of the remaining non-self-governing territories. Countries could also be requested to consider the adoption of legislation to promote the human rights of peoples living under foreign domination, and facilitating their recourse to judicial proceedings in order to gain economic and social restitution.

We believe that the international community should now take measures to strengthen the effectiveness and stature of United Nations bodies and specialized agencies concerned with decolonization. We would prefer to see an increase, rather than a decrease, in resources available both for the distribution of information on colonialism, and for scholarships and training facilities for the peoples of the remaining non-self-governing territories.

The remaining colonial situations are rather unique and present special difficulties. These, therefore, require



© Gemini News Service

WALTER LINI
Prime Minister of Vanuatu

very careful thought and analysis as well as special attention during this decade. All of us are working for the day when we can complete the work of the United Nations in the area of decolonization. Unfortunately, however, that day is not yet here. Our obligation is to end all colonialism, and not just its most visible forms and examples.

Therefore, we will lend our support to every reasonable effort to assure that the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism is characterized by a cooperative spirit, the strengthening of international democracy, and increased respect for the equality of all countries, all peoples, and all cultures. In this regard, our people will continue to stand as one with our brothers and sisters in New Caledonia, in East Timor, and wherever else the dream of freedom has taken flight.

That dream has over many years proven to be a fire which can not be extinguished. Many have given their lives in support of this noble cause. Let us at this seminar, and in our daily endeavours, always remember the sacrifices of martyrs such as Jean-Marie Tjibaou, Yeiwene Yeiwene and countless others in so many different lands, who lost their lives as a consequence of colonialism.

Mr. Chairman, once again we welcome you to our country and to our region. You, and the other participants, have our prayers for a successful meeting. We hope that in the future you and the Special Committee will be welcome everywhere in our region. During your stay, we will spare no effort to assure your safety and your comfort here in Vanuatu. Furthermore, we will spare no effort to make our own contributions to our mutual engagement to build a world that is completely free of colonialism.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SELF DETERMINATION

BY ANN FORWARD, NATIONAL PRESIDENT,
PUBLIC SECTOR UNION, AUSTRALIA.

Introduction

The international trade union movement engages in international solidarity action aimed at assisting in building up strong, independent, self-reliant and democratic trade unions capable of promoting and defending workers rights and legitimate interests, of furthering the social and economic well-being of working people, and of contributing towards the creation of societies with a political, economic and social environment which guarantees human rights and social justice.

The movement accordingly can and does provide an important and effective contribution towards the achievement of independence and freedom, of self-determination, which are the right of all peoples. The newly independent island states of the Pacific, and those who have yet to achieve that status, have been the focus of considerable international trade union attention in recent times. The terms of General Assembly resolution 1514 are inherent in and fully consistent with the principles which apply in the philosophy and implementation of trade union solidarity action.

This paper describes the philosophy and methodology of international trade union solidarity aid, by which we seek to encourage self-determination in developing countries. It describes experience in the Pacific island countries, particularly in relation to the public sector. Inevitably our activities have brought us into ideological conflict with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, whose policies and practices have, in our view, created a new kind of colonialism. The particular circumstances existing in small island states make them particularly vulnerable to long-term, perhaps permanent, economic dependence, and more recently, to a further loss of sovereignty attributable in part to the global nature of the environmental crisis.

The question is asked what is this 'complete independence and freedom' the international community has in good faith offered to these newly independent states in the international instrument whose 30th anniversary is being celebrated this year? While such aspirations may ultimately prove to be not achievable, there are ways in which the international community and

financial institutions might go a long way towards making self-determination a reality. Some form of regional co-operation or integration may be a useful strategy for economic and social development which has self-determination as its objective. This is of course a choice to be made by the peoples of the Pacific.

Through the public sector union movement, that is the direction now emerging through the exercise of choice. Those of us further removed from colonialism acknowledge a responsibility to facilitate the exercise of free choice without seeking to impose values other than those of the international trade union movement, to which our Pacific affiliates have freely chosen to subscribe and in the development of which they are encouraged to participate.

International Trade Unionism

It often comes as a surprise to people to learn that there is an international trade union movement, and that it is heavily involved in assisting in the development and operation of strong and independent trade unions in those areas where they do not already exist, or where they need assistance for continuing viability.

Trade unions are organisations of workers acting collectively in their common interests, and in which all are regarded as equal, regardless of their sex, racial or cultural heritage, their physical attributes or religious or political affiliation. Trade unions operate on democratic principles, in which all members have an equal right to participate and to receive the benefits of membership. The right to belong to a trade union is encompassed by the right to freedom of association and is one of the basic rights conferred in the UN's Declaration of Human Rights. Trade unions around the world have been and remain very active in protecting the rights of their members and the rights of all workers to join and be active in trade unions. Where these rights are not able to be exercised, whether due to suppression by the state or by the sheer power of international capital, or due to lack of skills, knowledge or other resources, the international trade union movement will attempt to change things so that trade union rights can be fully exercised.

Two bodies I wish to refer to in the context of this discussion paper are the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which is the highest level

international union body and to which national trade union centres may affiliate, and the Public Services International (PSI) which is the international body to which are affiliated unions representing public sector workers around the world. Affiliates of PSI in the Pacific currently include unions from Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Cook Islands, Western Samoa and Kiribati, in addition to Australia and New Zealand, I have the honour of being elected to represent these unions on the Executive Committee of PSU, based near Geneva.

The world body, the ICFTU has drawn up a set of guidelines for use by all trade union bodies in the provision of solidarity aid to unions in developing countries. After discussion and amendment, these guidelines have now been adopted and are in use around the world, except in Eastern Europe which is beyond the scope of the ICFTU. The major thrust of the guidelines is the focus to be given at all times to the objective of building strong and independent trade unions.

Independence means independence from government, from employers, from political parties and from any other external source of support, including in the longer term, from international trade union assistance. Assistance provided in the shorter term should be seen by all parties in the context of a longer term plan for self-sufficiency, emergency assistance excepted of course.

Most of the assistance provided by and for trade union bodies is in the nature of education and training. Lawyers and family support are also often provided when unionists are tried and/or imprisoned for the exercise of trade union rights, as happened (with a successful outcome) most recently in Zimbabwe when the Secretary of Zimbabwe Council of Trade Unions criticized the Mugabe Government. With respect to education and training, emphasis is placed on multi-lateral projects through international bodies in order to avoid the creation of dependent relationships which might develop from bilateral arrangements. The acceptance of particular values by developing unions in order to receive assistance for education and training from major powers, such as the US and Japan, is seen to be a major threat to developing independence particularly in the Pacific.

Another key factor in fostering true independence is the ICFTU requirement that requests for assistance come from the needy unions themselves, thus ensuring relevance to local needs, and hopefully also ensuring relevance to longer term development plans. The motivation behind the unsolicited presentation of sophisticated

computer systems to a union in Western Samoa must, in this context, be questioned.

The sorts of programs being provided by the international trade union movement in this region can be readily seen to be relevant to longer term objectives of independence and the more immediate strengthening of trade unions. For public sector unions, for instance, training is provided for education officers in local unions so that their dependence on external training can be rapidly reduced. Training is also provided in trade union management, involving topics such as leadership skills, financial accounting, communications skills, organising the members, grievance handling and negotiation skills. Particular issues such as occupational health and safety, equal opportunity for women, new technology, and privatisation are also the subject of requests for training.

The involvement of people from the region in the development and delivery of training is seen to be crucial to its relevance to the needs of the participating unions. About 18 months ago, PSI was able to pass responsibility for the delivery of training programs in the Pacific to three sub regional education officers. Education officers in Western Samoa, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, employed as such by their unions, took over responsibility for the delivery of PSI training in their own and neighbouring countries. Assistance with their salary costs, training aids and co-ordination of programs and other appropriate needs are met by PSI. At the request of Pacific affiliates, PSI is about to establish a full time position in Brisbane, to be occupied by an as yet unidentified regional person whose job it will be to provide co-ordination and practical support to affiliates in the Pacific, and to co-ordinate activity with other international agencies which are located in Brisbane. All involved parties agree that independence is the ultimate goal, and that regional co-operation will strengthen relations and maximise efficiency to the mutual benefit of all. Of fundamental importance is that these directives are being set by unions in the newly independent Pacific states themselves.

The Public Sector and the IMF

In recent years the public sector union movement has identified a clear responsibility to its affiliates in developing countries to seek to change the way in which the International Monetary Fund operates. The IMF has, through the conditions it imposes on borrowing countries, established a new form of colonialism upon nations with a balance of payments deficit. The IMF will only provide funds to a country in a state of economic crisis if that country's government agrees to a

Structural Adjustment Program. Such programs are all remarkably similar, and reflect the IMF's commitment to a free market philosophy. The conditions applied to IMF loans include the following:

- . reduction of public expenditure
- . promotion of domestic savings
- . reduction of the role of the state in the economy
- . deregulation of the economy
- . devaluation of the currency
- . export promotion
- . increased private foreign investment

Compliance with these conditions removes from a country the freedom to determine its own economic and social policies. But the only other source of borrowings, the banking sector, requires developing countries to be pursuing IMF approved economic policies before loans will be made. If a developing country needs to borrow it must accept these conditions. There is no real freedom to choose, leading to the charge that a new form of colonialism has been established.

And the effects of the implementation of the IMF's conditions are disastrous. Devaluation means exports are reduced in value, so more of them are put on the market, thus further reducing their sale price. Imports of agricultural and other machinery, of medicines and foodstuffs are increased in price. Government goods and services are withdrawn or privatised. Thus social and economic infrastructure, such as health, education, housing and communication systems are destroyed or removed from general access. Unemployment increases. So, too, does inflation. The country is increasingly unable to repay its debts and the people sink ever more deeply into poverty and despair. The IMF's structural adjustment programs and the conditions they impose on governments have failed to cure the illnesses they were supposed to cure. While some structural adjustments are clearly necessary to treat the original economic crisis, the free market approach has not worked.

Public sector workers see this very closely. It is they who experience at first hand the effects of cuts in the public sector and of privatisation. It is they who see first the effects on those who depend on publicly provided goods and services. Accordingly, it is public sector unions who are at the forefront of campaigns to protect the public sector and its clients from the policies of the IMF and the World Bank. Public sector unions are attempting to persuade both the international financial institutions and governments that the imposition of such free market policies is denying the right to self-determination to developing countries, countries which have lost the power to control their own economies. This is

indeed a new form of colonialism, less obvious but harder to resist than physical occupation and control by a foreign power.

Particular Problems of Small Island States

Small may be beautiful, and in the case of the islands of the Pacific, this is certainly true. Whilst this is the basis of an expanding tourism industry in the region, it is also cause for concern about the potential for continuing economic and social development and the full exercise of self-determination. It might well be argued that these small island states are particularly vulnerable to long term, perhaps permanent, economic dependence and also to loss of sovereignty attributable to the global nature of the environmental crisis.

Small islands with small economies have a high dependence on imports of manufactured goods, technologies, even foodstuffs. Income can be derived from tourism and the export with high transport costs of a narrow range of things like rural produce and minerals. Small populations have smaller workforces and an even smaller skill base in that workforce, thus limiting the potential for economic development sufficient to provide the basis for health, educational, communications and other systems associated with social development. The temptation to borrow development capital is high, which runs the very real risk of establishing that new form of colonialism which comes with externally imposed structural adjustment programs such as those promoted by the IMF. Foreign investment in such states tends to bring domination of the local economy by a very few big foreign companies, such as CSR and BCL, whose responsiveness to local yearnings for self-determination takes a poor second place to the quest for profits.

Small populations have the added disadvantage of inadequate political clout to resist pressure from major world powers to sacrifice elements of their independence. Witness the treatment meted out by the United States to New Zealand when it refused to accept nuclear powered and/or nuclear armed ships in its harbours.

The recently emerged world-wide concern with the physical environment has also highlighted the special vulnerability of the Pacific Islands. Pollution and environmental disruption associated with forestry, mining, toxic waste disposal and nuclear testing have been created by powers other than the independent states of the Pacific. Rising sea levels attributable to the greenhouse effect will cause catastrophic effects on Pacific islands over the next fifty years, regardless of the exercise of any self-determination in those countries. Drift-net

fishing is another example of loss of control of things which affect them by the nations of the Pacific.

These issues lead inevitably to the question:

What is this complete independence and freedom which is the promised benefit of the escape from colonialism?

Independence and Self-determination

The UN Declaration, resolution 1514, in paragraph 5 declares, in part, that "immediate steps be taken...to transfer all powers to the peoples of (the) territories, without any conditions or reservations in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire...in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

It has been the main thrust of this paper that complete independence and freedom is probably an unachievable objective. Major factors mitigating against its achievement in the Pacific Islands include the smallness of the island economies, the global nature of environmental problems and the new colonialism of the IMF in imposing its free market ideology on debtor countries.

However, the trade union movement is optimistic that progress can be made towards independence and freedom. The negative effects of imposing external values on the peoples of newly emerging independent states can be reduced very considerably by developing their awareness of the issues and their participative skills, and involving them in relevant decision making. The international trade union commitment to promoting awareness amongst trade union members and their elected officials regarding their own situation and role within their unions, working environments and society, which is the basis of all trade union educational activities, is directed towards this objective. Programs initiated and designed by intended beneficiaries, to meet needs they have identified, while being provided with external support, go a very long way to avoiding charges of imperialism. Involving people as fully as possible in the making of decisions which affect them is a sound principle to adopt, particularly when self-determination is the ultimate goal.

The trade union principle of collective action, when expressed in the form of regional co-operation, is also a useful strategy in overcoming the influences of foreign value systems. This is the principle the PSI has adopted in the use of three sub-regional education officers to deliver training in the Pacific. It avoids the possibility of imposing, say, Australian views or Australian models on

people who have not asked for them. But we are happy to provide support and assistance when asked.

A Recent Case Study

In early February 1990, PSI received through Australia's Public Sector Union (PSU), a formal request for assistance from the Public Employees Association of Papua New Guinea. Assistance was sought in dealing with a major projected reduction in PNG's national income, and a consequential reduction in PNG's nation, and a consequential reduction in public expenditure and public employment brought about by the closure of the BCL copper mine on Bougainville in the North Solomons Province of PNG.

The BCL mine provided 40% of PNG's foreign exchange earnings and 11% of total national income in PNG. The Government had invited the IMF and the World Bank to visit PNG, and structural adjustment teams had already arrived. Initial reports suggested there would be up to 10,000 public sector job cuts (from total employment of 60,000) plus major privatisation proposals. The PEA sought technical assistance with the development of its response to the crisis.

Discussions took place between the PNG and the Australian unions and the Public Services International, and the nature of assistance was agreed upon. The PSI agreed to meet the costs of sending an economic consultant from the Australian union to Port Moresby. His primary task was to analyse the economic situation and government and IMF/World Bank responses to it, including the classic IMF structural adjustment program which in this case had been prepared by the bureaucracy in Port Moresby and offered to the IMF.

The union consultant explained the situation to the union decision makers without the use of technical economic jargon. The use of jargon had the effect of disenfranchising not only the local union people, but also some of the local politicians were persuaded they would be held accountable for by the community.

Representations were made by the political leadership of the union to the Prime Minister and other senior Ministers, and alternative, more acceptable means of achieving the necessary savings were suggested. Direct negotiations were sought by the union with the IMF and World Bank structural adjustment teams. These were refused with the explanation that such meetings would only occur at the request of the local politicians. Nevertheless, the union's activity rather rapidly brought about a change in government policy to a more modest program of expenditure cuts.

A major thrust of the union argument was that the initially proposed structural adjustment program was politically dangerous and that if the local politicians had control over the local economy, they'd better make the program more acceptable. The union consultant from Australia left Port Moresby as soon as the union leadership had been fully briefed on the technical aspects of the situation, leaving them to conduct the necessary political campaign themselves. At the time of writing this paper, the final outcome was not known in Australia.

Key lessons to learn from the experience include:-

- . the fundamental importance of having the local union take full responsibility for its relationship with the Government.
- . the necessity of having the union negotiate with supportive agencies the sort of assistance required.
- . the very real possibility of the union gaining access to the IMF/World Bank to present their arguments on behalf of working people

. a long history of trade union education and a well defined sense of purpose in the PEA enabled them to identify their needs and conduct their campaign when the need arose.

I have briefly described these recent events in PNG to indicate that external agencies can provide assistance which does not impose a new form of colonialism. The IMF and the World Bank could do it too, by much the same means as the PSI adopted with its affiliate in PNG. What it takes is the will to promote independence and self-determination. The UN and its agencies are to be congratulated on their efforts to have the world accept and deliver these goals. But the task is not yet finished.

[This paper was presented at the UN Decolonization Seminar in Port Vila, Vanuatu May 9-11, 1990.]

NGO STATEMENT TO THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF DECOLONIZATION

On the Occasion of the Regional Seminar in Observation of the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Port Vila Vanuatu, 9-11 May 1990, the following recommendations are submitted to the Drafting committee for consideration in the drafting of its Report and to be duly reflected in the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar.

1. We endorse the continuation of the important work of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in securing the complete, unconditional and speedy eradication of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations and in ensuring the enjoyment by all peoples of their right to self-determination in its political, economic and social aspects.

2. We endorse the proposal of Father Walter Lini, Prime Minister of Vanuatu, that the decade begin with a visit by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, or a specially designated representative, to each of the non self-governing territories presently on the Committee's list.

3. We endorse the proposal of Father Walter Lini that an extensive study be undertaken of the non self-governing territories in the Committee's list and widely distributed through the world along with relevant audio-visual materials. With particular attention to the responsibilities of administering powers under the 1980 Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the 1960 Declaration, such a study should include examination of the following issues:

- a) traffic in disposal, control and transboundary movements of toxic and dangerous products and wastes;
- b) nuclear testing and the dumping of radioactive wastes;
- c) military activities in the region;
- d) policies of movements of populations.

4. We also endorse the proposal of Father Walter Lini that the Special Committee urge individual nations to consider the adoption of legislation:

- a) discouraging commercial enterprises from initiating or continuing activities prejudicial to the exercise of the right of self-determination of the peoples of non-self-governing territories;

- b) promoting the human rights of peoples living under foreign domination and facilitating their recourse to judicial proceedings in order to gain economic and social restitution.

5. We recommend that the Special Committee conduct a comprehensive review of the list of non-self-governing territories and that a review of the list become a permanent agenda item to be dealt with annually by the Special Committee.

6. We propose that a United Nations presence on decolonisation be established in the Pacific region in the form of a Decolonisation Bureau which will assist the Special Committee in fulfilling its mandate particularly with regard to the collection and dissemination of information on decolonisation.

7. We urge that the Special Committee take note of the request of the indigenous people of Kanaky/New Caledonia for official observer status at the United Nations and the Special Committee explore ways of

ensuring that this request and any others of a similar nature made by peoples of non-self-governing territories are met.

Statement submitted by the following:

Representatives of the peoples of non-self-governing territories: Mr. Ron Rivera, Chairperson, Organisation for Indigenous Rights (Guam), Mr. Rock Wamytan, Vice-President du Front de liberation nationale kanak socialiste (New Caledonia), Mr. Casimilo Perez, Official Secretary for Tokelau Affairs (Tokelau).

Special Guests: Dr. Colin Aikman, Mr. Roger Clark, the Hon John Dowd, M.P., Ms. Anne Forward, Ms. Patricia Hyndman, Dr. Peter Larmour, Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta, Ms. Ellen Whelan, Dr. Donna Winslow.

Non-governmental organisations: Asia Pacific Research Unit Ltd., CUSO, Community Aid Abroad, Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group, Institute of Pacific Studies, International Commission of Jurists, International Organisation for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Melanesian Solidarity, National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services Secretariat, New Zealand Council of (Maori, Church and State) Organisation for Relief, Rehabilitation and Development, Pacific Islands Association of Non-Governmental Organisations, **South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada**, Vanuatu Christian Council, Vanuatu Social Concerns Committee, World Vision of Australia.

SPPF NEWS UPDATES

SPPF NEWS UPDATES

SPPF NEWS UPDATES

PNG BLOCKADES BOUGAINVILLE

The government of Papua New Guinea's response to the May 17th unilateral declaration of independence by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army has been a total blockade of the island. All communication between Bougainville and the outside world has been cut including travel, telephone, and shipments of food and medicine. This attempt to weaken the near universal support for autonomy on Bougainville is causing extreme hardship. Reports have been received that the hospital no longer has supplies of even the most basic medicines.

Proposed talks between the PNG government and the BRA are supposedly stalled over logistics. New Zealand has offered to station three frigates off Bougainville as a neutral venue for the talks. Exiled Bougainvilleans feel that the stalling by the PNG government is a deliberate attempt to undermine support for independence. (SPPF)

FRANCE CONTINUES NUCLEAR TESTS

France began its 1990 series of nuclear tests in Mururoa on June 2nd. Under the new policy of "openness" announced by French President Mitterand in May, information was released after the blast. This is the first information released officially since testing was moved underground fifteen years ago. The French High Commission in Papeete said the blast was "below 15 kilotons." However the New Zealand seismographic station in the Cook Islands estimated the blast yield to have been at least twice that large. The French have announced that they intend to conduct a single series of six underground tests in 1990. (From **The Dominion**, Wellington, June 4, 1990.)

Meanwhile evidence that caesium 137 has been found in the lagoon at Mururoa was presented at an International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Conference in Auckland in late May. This evidence was found in a re-examination of the data collected two years ago at Mururoa atoll by Jacques Cousteau. Since the caesium 137 could not have come from atmospheric testing which ended in the 1970's, Professor Manfred Hochstein, head of the University of Auckland's geothermal institute, said the probable source was low level testing carried out five years ago at shallow depths. (From **The Evening Post**, Wellington, May 28, 1990.)

JOHNSTON ATOLL

The first of 600 flatbed truckloads of US chemical weapons began their journey from West Germany to the Pacific on July 26th. The US Army has constructed a \$240 million weapons disposal complex on Johnston Atoll, US-owned territory 1300 kilometres southwest of Hawaii. The facility was built to destroy 300,000 obsolete weapons and chemical containers in storage there since 1981. Now the facility will be used to destroy the NATO chemical stockpile as well.

The US Army conducted test burns on Johnston Atoll which ended July 21st and concluded the hazards involved are "minimal". Greenpeace has published two comprehensive reports questioning the advisability of shipping the weapons to the Pacific and the safety of the incineration process to be used.

Opposition to the burn has come from virtually all South Pacific governments, with the exception of Australia. New Zealand has said it would support use of the Johnston Atoll facility to destroy the weapons already stored there, but has opposed the shipment of stockpiles from Europe. (From **Pacific Islands Monthly**, July 1990, the **Honolulu Advertiser**, July 24th, 1990, and **CBC Radio**, July 30, 1990.)

RABUKA FOR PRIME MINISTER

Major General Sitiveni Rabuka has announced that he is interested in assuming the office of Prime Minister of Fiji in a new government to be installed under the new constitution promulgated on July 25th. The new constitution was approved by the Council of Chiefs in June but copies of the new constitution were not made available before the promulgation. (**The Australian**, July 9th, 1990 and the **Times-Colonist**, Victoria, July 25th, 1990)

The new constitution will guarantee a majority in Parliament for ethnic Fijians. As well, it discriminates against ethnic Fijians living in urban areas, giving them only 5 of 37 seats, rather than the one-third (10 or 11 seats) that would result if the seats were allocated on the basis of population. The offices of President, Prime Minister, and Head of the Fiji Military Forces are all reserved for ethnic Fijians. The constitution reportedly also makes Christianity the official religion of Fiji, despite its minority status. (**Pacific Islands Monthly**, July 1990.)

GUAM ABORTION LAW

On March 8th the Guam Legislature passed a law banning all abortions except where the life of the mother is endangered. The law also made it a crime to counsel a woman to have an abortion. Governor Ada signed the bill into law, despite advice from the Guam Attorney General that the law is clearly unconstitutional.

An American Civil Liberties Union representative, Janet Benshoof, travelled to Guam from Hawaii to challenge the law. At a meeting to protest the law Benshoof advised women where to get an abortion by reading listings from the Honolulu yellow pages. Benshoof was charged with violating the provision of the new law which makes it illegal to counsel women to have abortions. This will provide a clear test case.

An injunction against enforcing the law has been granted pending a hearing on the issue. Backlash against the anti-abortion law is expected to harm Guam's campaign for Commonwealth status. (From **Pacific Magazine**, July/August 1990.)

JAPAN SUSPENDS SOUTH PACIFIC DRIFTNETTING

On the eve of the South Pacific Forum Meeting in Vanuatu Japan announced that it has decided to suspend driftnet fishing in the South Pacific for the 1990-91 season which begins in October. The Japanese announcement comes one year before the July 1, 1991 deadline for ending all driftnet fishing set out in the UN General Assembly Resolution.

This leaves only Taiwanese driftnets active in the South Pacific. South Korea had already withdrawn its South Pacific driftnet fleet before last year's season began. Taiwan has said will abide by next year's UN ban, but in the interim Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan will all continue driftnet fishing in the North Pacific. (From **Pacific Report**, July 19, 1990.)

BOOK REVIEW

Blood on Their Banner

Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific

DAVID ROBIE

Zed Press, London, 1989.

(in Canada from DEC Book Distributors, Toronto)

Reviewed by Randall Garrison

At the launch of David Robie's **Blood on Their Banner** this month in Melbourne, Jim Anthony described the book simply as "important". Yet, I doubt that **Blood on Their Banner** will get the attention it deserves. Too few in the book review and promotion world have gotten beyond the paradise paradigm when considering the Pacific.

Robie's book is important because it is the only book dealing with political events in the Pacific in the 1980's, events that should have shattered the image of a Pacific paradise. It is also important as one of the few books that deals with the Pacific Islands from the perspective of their people, rather than as small fish caught in some geopolitical lake.

In a sense the subtitle "Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific" is a false guide to the material in the book. "Struggles Against Colonialism in the Pacific" would have been more accurate, for Robie deals not just with nationalist movements, but also with the movement against nuclear colonialism. **Blood on Their Banner** opens with the story of French nuclear testing in Polynesia and covers US testing in Micronesia.

Popular resistance to the nuclear colonialism is chronicled from its beginnings in Polynesia, to the Treaty of Rarotonga and the bombing of the Rainbow Warrior, and to the endless referenda in Belau. Despite this vigorous popular opposition, Robie concludes that "the tiny nations have little hope of curbing the expansion of American and French nuclear colonialism."

While touching on nationalist movements from East Timor to Tahiti, Robie focuses on two cases: Kanaky and Fiji. **Blood on Their Banner** provides an excellent account of the resistance of the indigenous Kanaks to French rule in New Caledonia, and one of the few accounts available in English. Robie keeps a clear focus on the interplay of events in the colony and politics in

France in the 1980's up to the signing of the Matignon Accords.

Violence was the catalyst that made further resistance by the French Socialist government impossible and the prospect of a bloody civil war all too apparent for the leaders of the Kanaks and French settlers alike. Robie remains doubtful about whether the Matignon compromise can bring decolonization to New Caledonia, especially in the aftermath of the assassination of Tjibaou and Yeiwene, the Kanak leaders who signed the Accords.

In the case of Fiji Robie believes the nationalist movement has fallen victim to a kind of neocolonialist racism. Robie describes how a fictitious ideology of "multiracialism" was used by the indigenous Fijian elite to reinforce its own economic and political privileges. According to Robie, the traditional elite lost the 1987 election to a coalition government that threatened to shift the focus of politics from race to class. Racism then became a tool in the arsenal of the privileged and the result was the South Pacific's first military coup. Robie tends to discount almost entirely the real racial tensions existing in Fiji and virtually ignores the economic crisis which forced the beginnings of political realignment in Fiji. Yet his account is valuable in providing a clear picture of the chiefly politics at work behind the scenes in Fiji. Robie also sheds much light on the motivations of coup leader Rabuka, who had previously found his career stalled at number three in the Fiji Military Forces.

Throughout his book Robie maintains his focus on political events, the grist of working journalists' mill. Political events, and especially violent confrontations, are the essence of journalism, but they leave little room for other factors and other players. Women are virtually absent from **Blood on their Banner**, perhaps because their concerns and struggles are not normally the stuff of headlines. Even in Belau, where the role of women in the anti-nuclear struggle has been especially significant, their contribution is covered in a single paragraph.

Yet perhaps I'm now starting down the road toward asking Robie to have written a different book. Robie has managed to make a career as a freelance journalist covering the Pacific, a formidable accomplishment. **Blood on Their Banner** is a comprehensive and moving account of popular struggles in the Pacific, a story few in the media have bothered to tell. Both as a working journalist and as author of **Blood on Their Banner** we should be grateful that David Robie has taken up the challenge.

PLANS TO AID PNG FAVOUR WEALTHY, NOT UNDERDOGS

Eugene Ogan questions Australian moves that oppose the Bougainville villagers.

Prime Minister Hawke has, understandably, wept over the oppression of Chinese students by a totalitarian government. Yet, if the media are to be believed, his own government proposes to support military operations against people similarly ill-equipped to defend themselves. According to stories in *The Canberra Times* and the *Australian* of June 28, RAAF helicopters are to be made available - perhaps with active duty pilots, perhaps with former-RAAF pilots paid for by Australian tax dollars - to Papua New Guinea's military in their actions against villagers in Bougainville.

Let me state at the outset that I am well aware of my awkward position as an American citizen raising questions about the conduct of Australian affairs. The situation in Bougainville is a complex one to which justice cannot be done in a short essay. And I have not been able to visit the island since 1978.

But, although a number of Australian scholars have made valuable observations of the Bougainville scene (which, like my own publications seem to have been ignored by those in power), my conscience will not let me keep my opinion to myself when I read of bewildered villagers asking why their houses have been burned down by Papua New Guinea soldiers.

Though media reports simply speak of "Bougainvilians", the people most directly affected by the mine and the current unrest are speakers of the Nasioi language. I have lived with, and studied the customs of Nasioi intermittently since 1962 - two years before the mining giant CRA began exploring Nasioi land for minerals. Not only do my first sympathies lie with Nasioi, I can claim to have some understanding of the background to the present situation which has yet to be adequately brought to the attention of the Australian public. After all, if a "worst-case scenario" develops with the commitment of helicopter pilots, it is Australian lives which may be added to the already deplorable toll of Bougainvilians and other Papua New Guineans.

Nasioi are among those citizens of the present nation-state of Papua New Guinea who have felt, most directly and painfully, European impact on that part of the Pacific. In 1905, they were among the first populations in the New Guinea islands to come under German

administration; by 1908, they saw plantations being developed on land alienated from them by means which they did not comprehend. The dubious benefits of "civilisation", as experienced by indigenous subjects of plantation political economy, have been well described by the late Charles Rowley in his classic *The New Guinea Villager* (1965). Nasioi received the full effect of the paternalism and/or racism inherent in such a colonial situation, more so than many other Bougainvilians, and certainly more than the inhabitants of Highlands New Guinea, where Europeans settled in rather more enlightened, post-war years.

As if 30 years of such colonialism were not enough to demoralise and disenchant Nasioi, Bougainville was, according to official reports, probably the part of PNG hardest hit by World War II. The embarrassingly precipitous departure of the Australian District Officer in the face of Japanese bombardment of Rabaul has been noted by Jim Griffin and other historians of PNG colonialism. What I remember most about accounts of this period is the emotion with which Nasioi told me, 20 years later, "They left us, they left us behind". Nor did Nasioi forget that American troops led the attack which reclaimed Bougainville from the Japanese. The fact that Australian lives were subsequently sacrificed in "mopping-up" engagements meant less to them.

So it is hardly surprising that, when Australian administrators and planters returned to Bougainville after the war, Nasioi were notoriously uncooperative. They were no longer willing to work on plantations. So other Papua New Guineans were brought in as indentured labour. They generally refused to join local government councils or cooperatives to market cash crops, preferring instead to listen to those who promised supernatural relief for their dissatisfaction, in the form of so-called "cargo cults". In an incident particularly embarrassing to the administration, in 1962 (two years, remember, before CRA first appeared on the scene) several Nasioi men told a visiting UN committee that they wanted the Australians to give up the administration of Bougainville, because they treated Nasioi "like dogs".

For me, understanding Nasioi unhappiness did not mean I agreed with their perceptions. I was certainly aware of the good intentions of some missionaries, administrators, and even a few planters. But by 1962, efforts by those who would have eased Nasioi transition

to modern life faced the obstacles created by almost 60 years of less benign influences. Indeed, Europeans in the Kieta areas were hardly less disenchanted than Nasioi with what they perceived to be neglect by the Australian administration in Port Moresby.

One might say that, of all the people of Papua New Guinea, Nasioi (and possibly the Tolai of New Britain) were the most likely to be outraged by the intrusion of CRA. No one individual or institution could be held responsible for the inevitability of the conflicts which developed, though Griffin and others have commented unfavourably (and accurately, I believe) about the man-handed way that Port Moresby, under the ministry of C.E. Barnes, responded to the resistance put up by Nasioi, Rorovana, and other Bougainvilleans. Even CRA executives seemed embarrassed by having believed that officials who had never set foot on Bougainville before 1964 were the best guides for dealing with the villagers.

In any event, of course, the mine went ahead. The agreement negotiated between Australian public servants and Rio Tinto Zinc (CRA's parent company) lawyers was ratified by the first PNG House of Assembly. What is significant about that agreement is that, among other inequities, the Nasioi who claimed primary rights to land on which the mine and associated infrastructure were to be developed received 5 per cent - not of the value of minerals produced, as was widely publicised to the mystification of many - but of the 1.25 per cent royalty payable to the PNG government. In other words, those people whose physical environment and daily lives were to be most disrupted by the mine would receive a little more than 6 cents per \$100 of mineral wealth obtained.

Despite the fact that the agreement was renegotiated in 1974 to give the nation of Papua New Guinea a more equitable share, nothing was done at that time to improve the position of the Nasioi landowners. When, in 1975, secessionist sentiment on Bougainville (which I can attest was present at least as early as 1962) led to the creation of a North Solomons Provincial Government comprising Bougainville, Buka and adjacent islands, the PNG government transferred its 1.25 per cent royalty to the Provincial Government. But, once more, no attention was paid to the grievances of the Nasioi landowners.

By now, these grievances included a more accurate appreciation of the terrible environmental damage done by the open-cut copper mine. A whole river system, and the life it supported, has been destroyed, affecting not only Nasioi but other Bougainvilleans on the western

side of the island. Land which had been under primary tropical forest, with considerable potential for gardens and possibly cash crops, will never again support useful vegetation. More than ever, I remember Nasioi women (who, traditionally, were the core of social organisation) telling me in 1982, "We weep for our land".

Of course, some Nasioi, some other Bougainvilleans, and the government of Papua New Guinea have benefited from the mine's operation. Some of the violence perpetrated by Nasioi has been engendered by conflicts among the landowners themselves. Some has developed out of inter-ethnic resentment which, I suspect, stems from the violent behaviour of people from other parts of Papua New Guinea, brought into Bougainville to work on the mine or, ironically, plantations now owned by Nasioi. Some draws its energies from "cargo cult" attitudes developing out of earlier dissatisfaction. It is even possible that media reports of expatriates meddling for obscure purposes of their own are accurate.

But the question that I would like Mr Hawke and the Australian electorate to ponder is: who will benefit most from the commitment of Australian dollars, or worse Australian military personnel to operations directed against Nasioi who are, at their most dangerous, poorly armed and ill-organised? The answer is clear; the shareholders of CRA. The Bougainville mine was, at the beginning of 1989, the most profitable element of CRA's operations. The largest share of that mine's profits goes to CRA (a share in turn going to Rio Tinto Zinc). Financial reports in the news of June 28 announce that the mine is expected to re-open in a month, and that CRA shares have increased by 12 cents overnight. The Australian government's initiatives do not seem to have gone unnoticed.

I admit that I know more about the history, customs and conditions of Nasioi than I know about Australian politics. However, I am staggered that a Labor government proposes to spend Australian tax dollars in a military action which will most benefit some of the wealthiest elements in Australian society. I find it easier to understand "cargo cults" than such a proposal.

[Reprinted with permission from the author. Originally appeared in the **The Canberra Times**, July 3, 1989]

Dr. Eugene Ogan is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota. He suggests readers refer to a recent publication which bears on the Bougainville crisis: Jill Nash and Eugene Ogan, "The Red and the Black: Bougainvilleans Perceptions of Other Papua New Guineans," **Pacific Studies**, March 1990 pp. 1-17.

CANADA---INDONESIA

Canadian Involvement in the Destruction of the Forests and Peoples of West Papua

BY MALIA SOUTHARD

After Brazil, Indonesia has the largest tropical rain-forest still standing on the planet. During the last four decades, extensive logging and mining by Indonesian companies and their multinational corporate collaborators, have brought devastation to the vast and varied island forests of Sumatra, Sulawesi and Kalimantan.

Further pressed by the state-sponsored resettlement of thousands of landless farmers from crowded Java onto other islands, the trees topple to make way for rice paddies, and for large commercial plantations of palm oil, cocoa, rubber and spices. The dense stands of teak, mahogany and meranti cannot withstand the onslaught; **they are shrinking even faster than the forests of Brazil.**

Remaining at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago are the bountiful forests of West Papua. Much has already been cut. Like the remnants of Canada's ancient Pacific coastal rainforest---Carmanah, Walbran, the Stein, etc.---most of the rest of West Papua's primeval forests are scheduled for felling. And, as in Canada, the fate of the forests is indissolubly bound to the claims of indigenous peoples, who have never recognized the occupation by outsiders, however powerful, of their forest homelands.

What is really happening to the land and peoples of West Papua has been obscured by the well-honed censorship of Indonesia's military regime. The New Order severely restrains political activity and circumscribes the work of non-governmental organizations. The military apparatus spreads across the archipelago, and reaches down into the villages. Public debate is confined; and the government brooks little dissent.

In spite of these restrictions, both Indonesian and international organisations, and many courageous individuals, have succeeded in breaking through the wall of official misinformation about West Papua.

The Canadian government, for its part, is conspicuously silent about the environmental and social

implications of its unconditional support of the Indonesian government.

WEST PAPUA

West Papua, the western half of the island of New Guinea--after Greenland, the second largest island in the world---lies between the equator and 12 degrees south latitude, roughly between Australia and the Philippines. In the eastern half is the republic of Papua New Guinea.

West Papua is a land of great variety: a high snow-covered cordillera running east to west, mangrove swamps, dense tropical hardwood forests, central highlands, and valleys extensively cultivated by indigenous peoples. It is rich in oil in the Sarawati basin, south of Sorong, and in minerals--gold, silver and copper--in the Carstenz Mountains.

West Papua houses the largest continuous tracts of lowland rainforest remaining in Southeast Asia--one of the richest and most complex assemblages of plant and animal life in the world. Among the remarkable, and in many cases, endemic species are birdwing and Goliath butterflies, estuarine crocodiles, tree kangaroos, giant clams, and many varieties of rhododendrons and orchids.

WEST PAPUA PEOPLES

The million and a half people of West Papua, unlike the Indo-Malayan inhabitants of the other islands, are Melanesians, of the same ethnic origin as the peoples of Papua New Guinea, of Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Kanaky (New Caledonia) and parts of Fiji. More than 700 languages are spoken in West Papua, and the people belong to many different tribes with ancient lineages and traditions deeply rooted in the land.

Some are hunter-gatherers, others swidden farmers or garden cultivators, still others are fishermen. The **Dani** people of the Baliem Valley are well-known for the intricate system of irrigation channels feeding their gardens; the people of Bintuni Bay for their fishing technique, and their basketry. The remarkable people of the Asmat are renowned throughout the world for their woodcarving and their music. Like their forest lands, their unique cultures are threatened with extinction.

Exploitation of the Forests

According to **SKEPHI**, one of Indonesia's leading environmental organisations, 70 per cent of West Papua's 41.8 million hectares of forest has been allocated for exploitation--mining, oil exploration, road-building, dam construction, transmigrant settlements, and plantations, as well as for logging.

As of December 1988, 77 timber concession-holders have been granted 12.9 million hectares, even though West Papua's "production forest", according to the Indonesian government's Forest Use Agreement, is only 8.2 million hectares! The forest set aside for conservation is basically unprotected, and nature reserves are invaded by logging companies, or far too easily converted into "production forest". There is minimal environmental assessment and minimal enforcement of laws regulating operations of concession-holders.

Present logging concessions offer little hope for saving either the forests or the communities which inhabit them:

PT Artika Optima Inti, has a 600,000 hectare concession in southwest Papua. This company, part of Djajanti, the largest Indonesian timber consortium, was exposed in 1982 for its ruthless exploitation of the **Asmat** people of the southern swamp forests. Not only were they forced by threat of imprisonment to log their own forests, but also suffered a severe loss of sago palms, their main source of food, and brutal disruption of their village life.

PT Astra International and Scott Paper in 1988 were given an 800,000 hectare concession in the Merauke area, southeast Papua, to clearcut the forest for a eucalyptus plantation/chipping and pulp mill project. This forest is inhabited by some 15,000 people of the Auyu, Marind-Dek, Mandobo and Yahray tribes. After Scott's withdrawal in response to pressure from environmental and human rights groups worldwide, Indonesia is still determined to go ahead, with or without a foreign partner.

Mamberamo Forest Projects, an Australia company, has been granted 600,000 hectares along the Mamberamo River. For an outlay of about \$8 million, this company has been given rights to some \$2.5 billion in timber, with no taxes owed for five years, and with no contractual commitment for environmental surveys before operations begin, or to negotiations with the many peoples who live along the river.

Marubeni, a Japanese company, and its Indonesian partner, **PT Bintuni Utama Wood Industries**, have a large concession for logging and building a woodchip-

ping plant in Bintuni Bay, site of one of the world's last extensive tracts of unspoilt mangrove forest, and home to more than 11,000 indigenous people.

With the backing of U.S. timber interests and with a \$2 million dollar contribution from Bob Hasan, chairman of the Associated Logging Companies of Indonesia, the tropical timber industry has initiated an intensive campaign to discredit rainforest activists in Asia, Europe and North America--beginning with \$45,000 ad in the **New York Times** of August 18th, 1989. The most cynical aspect of the ad is the attempt to whitewash the Indonesian government's efforts to remold or eliminate, by force if necessary, the West Papua tribal people who live in the rainforests.

Indonesian Treatment of Native Peoples

For West Papuans, as well as for the people of East Timor, Indonesia is an invader. To them, as to all the other native peoples of the great island chain, the transfer of power from the Netherlands to Indonesia merely meant that the Javanese had replaced the Dutch as an occupying power. The Jakarta government, intent on expanding its dominion, not only stationed military units in all parts of the archipelago, but also moved Javanese settlers into the islands that resisted its imposed sovereignty.

With this transmigration project, cleverly disguised as a move to consolidate the Indonesian state, and to relieve the "over-population" in Java and Bali, the government has evaded the critical question of land reform in Java itself, where 85 per cent of the farmers have no land. Instead of re-distributing the land of the great estates of Java, the government chose to re-distribute the people, thereby quelling any unrest at home, and promoting the Javanisation and centralized control of the other islands.

The laying waste of the forests goes hand in hand with the unrelenting assault on the peoples of West Papua--on their livelihood, their cultures and their very existence. In its determination to "develop" the forest and mineral riches of West Papua, the Indonesian government has ruthlessly pushed the people aside.

It seeks to transform West Papuans, considered at best, primitives, and at worst, uncouth savages, into Indonesian citizens by suppressing all manifestations of their cultures--languages, community living, art and music, etc. The very name Papuan is taboo; the people are "Irianese" and their homeland is no longer West Papua, but "Irian Jaya", the 26th province of Indonesia.

The forest lands where they have lived for centuries, have been declared to be property of the state. While a few gestures toward compensation have been made for lands usurped for logging, mining or other "development", West Papuan claims to their forests have been either ignored or answered with brutal repression.

West Papua Resistance

The West Papuan people have never accepted the Indonesian occupation of their homeland. They rejected as spurious the so-called "Act of Free Choice" of 1969 which under U.S. pressure, served to legalize in the United Nations, the Indonesian take-over. They have never given up the demand for the right to decide their own destiny, and to have control over their ancestral lands--the forest, the rivers, the mineral riches, the fisheries.

And for more than a quarter century they have resisted: through the armed guerilla struggle of the OPM (Free Papua Movement), through countless acts of sabotage against mining, road-building, and clear-felling for transmigrant settlements and plantations. Through the activities of West Papua exiles in Sweden, the Netherlands, and Papua New Guinea, they have pressed the issue of Papuan self-determination before international bodies.

From the 1967 rebellion of the **Arfak** people, armed only with bows and arrows, spears, and old World War II guns, against Indonesian military units occupying their land, to the OPM declaration of Papuan independence in 1971, and the first defiant unfurling of the MORNING STAR, the symbol of Papuan freedom, there were many attacks on the Indonesian military outposts in the Manokwari region, the central highlands, and by the **Dani** people in the Baliem Valley.

In 1977 the **Amunge** people, in a well-planned act of sabotage, destroyed Freeport Copper's pipeline to the sea; in retaliation the Indonesian army massacred the people and destroyed their villages.

After an abortive revolt led by the OPM in 1984 was brutally suppressed, thousands of West Papuans fled across the border. Today more than 10,000 West Papuans lead a precarious life in refugee camps in Papua New Guinea.

In December 1988 Dr. Tom Wainggai and some forty others declared the independence of West Melanesia at a flag-raising ceremony in Jayapura; he was sentenced to 20 years in prison, and the others await trial. And in 1989 on the anniversary of



From TAPOL BULLETIN No 98, April 1990

West Papuan Refugees

Dr. Wainggai's declaration of independence, another demonstration was held to demand Dr. Wainggai's release. Some 400 people, mainly students and teachers from Cendrawasih University, were arrested.

The struggle has been costly. "Development" in West Papua has meant devastation of the tropical forests, and social and cultural death for the indigenous peoples. Beside the relentless Indonesian campaign to eradicate West Papuan languages and customs, the Indonesian Human Rights Congress, based in London reports that **in the 22 years from 1962 to 1984 between 100,000 and 150,000 West Papuans were killed.**

Asia Watch, Amnesty International, the Indonesian Council of Churches, Survival International, among others, have attested to the atrocities of the Indonesian occupation: the burning of villages, strafing from helicopters, the practice of chemical and biological warfare, including the use of napalm, the rape of women, and the mutilation and torture of prisoners.

Canadian Complicity

Worldwide ignorance about what Indonesia has done in West Papua has made it possible for Indonesia to proceed with the devastation of the tropical woodlands and the ravaging of native Papuan life, largely unhampered by international condemnation. By their silence, most Western countries--Canada included--have given their support to the crimes of the Indonesian military against the West Papua people, crimes leading to their physical and cultural extermination. Without foreign aid and credit, and without modern weaponry

and technical training from Western nations, Indonesia could not sustain its military operations in West Papua.

Canada has given unconditional political support to Indonesia. In spite of the compelling evidence of Indonesia's genocidal campaigns against West Papuans and East Timorese, External Affairs has continued to endorse the Indonesian occupation of West Papua (since 1963), and of East Timor (since 1975). Canada abstained from the United Nations General Assembly vote against the invasion of East Timor, and Canada has consistently voted against pursuing the question of East Timor in various U.N. investigative bodies, e.g. the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

The Canadian government itself has invested more than a billion dollars in Indonesia in the form of tax credits, export development credits, and direct subsidies to Canadian corporations. The **Export Development Corporation**, the federal government's agency regulating foreign trade and investment, in December 1989 **won a special exemption from federal environmental guidelines**.

CIDA, the Canadian International Development Agency, set up to assist poor nations, gave \$23 million in loans and grants to Indonesia in 1983-84; in the summer of 1989 the value of active contracts had risen to \$114,157,879, making Indonesia the largest non-Commonwealth recipient of Canadian aid.

Canadian aid is closely linked to Canadian business by federal regulations designed to ensure that up to 80 per cent of CIDA aid is in the form of Canadian goods and services; **e.g. the Canadian firm, Cowan-Lavalin was recently given a federal grant of \$270,000 to provide a feasibility study for a pulp mill in West Papua to the Indonesian company, P.T. Kayerlapis.**

Canada has a multimillion dollar annual trade with Indonesia (\$383.4 million in 1986 to \$503.4 million in 1989), and there is a billion dollar Canadian corporate investment in Indonesian enterprises. More than 35 Canadian firms have established their own offices in Indonesia. Canada imports more tropical hardwoods from Indonesia than from any other country. **STATISTICS CANADA** shows an increase in the value of imports from \$24,982,000 in 1986 to \$72,000,000 in 1988-89.

According to Project Ploughshares, at least seven Canadian companies are supplying military equipment to the Indonesian government, including ammunition, parachutes, military vehicles, helicopter engines, etc. Listed are Pratt Whitney, Leigh Instruments, Valcom

Ltd., Irwin Industries, Valcartier Industries, Canadian Aeronautics Ltd., Levy Auto Parts.

The time has come for Canada to set its house in order. The growing awareness that Canada must make conservation the basis of a national policy toward our own remaining forest, and that we must recognize and honour the land claims of Canada's aboriginal peoples, must lead us to question our dealing with other countries.

It is time to examine the implications of Ottawa's expenditure of millions of tax dollars to aid and abet Canadian trade with and corporate investment in a country whose record on environmental devastation, violation of human rights, and genocidal actions against indigenous people, most Canadians would find appalling.

Canada, because of its extensive economic involvement with Indonesia, is in a position to press for conservation of the West Papuan rainforests, and for recognition of the right of the West Papuan and East Timorese peoples to maintain their traditional cultures, and to determine their political future.

It is time to demand public scrutiny of Canadian trade with Indonesia (for whose benefits is it carried on?), to initiate public debate, and to bring about a change in federal policy.

Canadians have the freedom, denied to West Papuans, to speak out, and to act. Now is the time.

(Information for this article was culled from IN THE RAIN-FOREST by Catherine Caulfield; WEST PAPUA: THE OBLITERATION OF A PEOPLE by Carmen Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong; EAST TIMOR: VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, Amnesty International 1985; POISONED ARROWS by George Monbiot; documents provided by PROBE INTERNATIONAL, PROJECT PLOUGHSHARES, the SOUTH PACIFIC PEOPLES FOUNDATION, and SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL; the 1987 editions of the BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS; STATISTICS CANADA; EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE CANADA; CIDA ANNUAL REPORTS; HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA, a report submitted to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 1990 by the CANADA-ASIA WORKING GROUP; SETIAKAWAN, December 1989, publication of SKEPHI, environmental group in Indonesia; READER WITH SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS, from the West Papuan Peoples Front, based in the Netherlands; TAPOL BULLETINS from the exiled group of former Indonesian political prisoners in London; and from the Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL.)

WHOSE FOREST IS IT ANYWAY?

By Christoph Oertle and Daniela Renner

The aim of Papua New Guinea's Forest Policy is to manage the country's forest resources in the interest of both the present and future generations of its citizens. Legislation to do this is in place. This legislation however is not being implemented.

Contrary to the aim of the Forest Policy which emphasizes a focus on resource susceptibility and local control of forest exploitation, the National and Provincial governments' approach to implementing this policy appears to focus on short-term economic gains with little concern or respect shown for the rights and interests of landowners.

The Kumil Timber project on the north coast of Madang is a case in point:

- ☐ landowners were not informed by government officials about either the details or implications of the selling of their timber resource to the national government;
- ☐ the government did not follow the rules when buying the rights to cut the timber of the Kumil area - the agreement in place between the state and landowners is illegal;
- ☐ landowners, in trying to control the timber exploitation being done on their own land by foreign logging companies received little support from the government. The government, in fact, hindered their efforts.

The formulation and implementation of this timber project demonstrates a total lack of concern for forest management and the cultural and social heritage of the local people. The project is a vivid illustration of the short-sighted, money only focus of large-scale timber development in Papua New Guinea. Nobody wins, and rural landowners are the heaviest losers.

Like many rural Papua New Guineans, the people of the Kumil area are interested in 'development'. Development in their minds includes such things as roads connecting villages, easy access to money, vehicles and other goods and services. In 1983 a logging company and the national government presented Kumil area

residents with a way to bring development to their area. Development would come with the selling of their timber resource to the national government and its harvesting by a foreign logging company.

The Original Agreement

In keeping with the trend of establishing large-scale logging within the country, the National Department of Forests organized a Timber Rights Purchasing (TRP) in 1984 with the customary landowners of the Kumil area. It is through this agreement that the government gained the sole right to cut and sell the Kumil area's timber (see Tables A.B.C).

The Kumil TRP agreement was established despite extremely limited local area involvement or understanding. Apart from the agreement being concluded in an unusually short period of time, its signing did not follow TRP procedures. In addition, there was little effort made by forestry officials to inform people about the rights they had lost, what they were entitled to under the agreement they had signed, or what would lie ahead for them and their children when the forest was gone.

Landowners lost their rights over their forest because they wanted 'development'. They were assured that with the signing of the TRP agreement they would "become friends with the government" who, they were told, would look out for their interests. One hundred nine landowning clans within the area supposedly signed the agreement and were given one kina as "shake hands money". (See Table D).

The National Government, for a number of reasons, suggested a new type of structure for the Kumil timber project. Instead of the typical arrangement, whereby a foreign logging contractor would hold the Timber Permit (TP) and the right to log the timber resource, the government created a landowner's company, Ulingan Development Corporation (UDC). This company, composed of area landowner's business groups was set up with the sole purpose of holding the TP and overseeing logging operations of the Kumil TRP.

In theory, a landowner's company should be advantageous for local people. Unlike the situation where foreign contractors hold the TP and control the project, a landowners' company should permit local people greater control over the project and greater financial benefits from the timber harvest.

The TP that UDC signed defined their obligations as follows:

- to undertake large-scale logging operations (40,000 to 75,000 cubic metres per year);
- to develop cash crop plantations in the area (150 hectares);
- to develop roads and buildings in the area.

While the TP defines minimum and maximum requirements for cutting and exporting logs, it does not specify any requirements about reforestation. These obligations however, were obviously far beyond the skills and resources of a rural landowner's company such as UDC. UDC had no other option but to contract both a foreign logging operator and outside management to fulfill the terms of the TP.

A Logging Fiasco

Between 1984 and 1987, two separate foreign logging operators were contracted by UDS to harvest the Kumil TRP area.

The first timber company harvested timber only in accessible areas and along the coast without the required Forest Working Plan and built very poor roads. They were found to have been exporting shiploads of valuable species that had in fact been excluded from cutting in the TRP agreement. Local people complained about a lack of jobs, poor maintenance of existing roads, debris and pollution of the harbour. After one and a half years this contractor declared bankruptcy and left the area.

The second timber company operated for an even shorter period of time. This company started cutting operations in January 1987 and the contract was terminated by UDC 4 months later. The termination occurred as a direct result of several fundamental breaches of the contract, including lack of a Forest Working Plan and failure to secure insurance, lodge bank guarantees and make other payments.

During this period the landowners as well as their representative, UDC, received little support from either national or provincial government officials. On the contrary, provincial officials were pressing for a 'bending of the rules' and an immediate recommencing of logging

activities by the negligent second contractor. UDC's management was attacked by government officials and accused of 'hindering development'. While these two contractors operated, the environment and living conditions of landowners whose timber had been harvested were irreversibly destroyed. Both contractors ignored PNG laws and the timber agreements they had signed. Royalty payments to landowners were not made according to what was prescribed in the timber agreements.

The People's Reaction

Local landowners have increasingly questioned the disastrous environmental and social effects of clear-cut logging and the loss of control over their own timber resource. This dissatisfaction has come not only as a result of experiences with the logging companies but also as a result of discussions promoted by CUSO concerning their rights as landowners over their timber resource and the legal documents underlying the process of timber harvest. (See Tables B,C,D.)

Kumil area landowners have realized for the first time that the existing TRP agreement represents a commitment that they made to the government. Their relationship with the government is not based on "friendship", but in terms of a long-lasting contract. They have become aware of the significance of a written contract; that it prevails over verbal agreements used in the village context.

Kumil area residents have also learnt that it is others and not them who will make the big money from the cutting of their forest. Even if revenues from logging operations were to be correctly paid according to valid TRP procedures, the landowners of the Kumil area would end up receiving a very small amount of money for their timber, just 2.75% of the total sale price. In the case of the Kumil TRP the total sale price was estimated to be 24.8 million kina. Kumil area landowners could expect to receive royalties over the 20 year period of the TRP of only 680,000 kina. After the advance payment to each of the 109 landowning clans of one kina, each clan could expect to receive on average, 310 kina per year for 20 years, or about 29 kina per year per landowner. The provincial and national governments were on the other hand to receive significantly more, between them over 4.0 million kina in royalties and export taxes. (See Table C and D.)

The Heart of the Matter

Technically speaking the Kumil TRP agreement is an illegal document. It's irregularity and the absence of key signatures, together with the contention that the agreement was not adequately explained to landowners, make it illegal. Whether landowners will actually attempt to test the agreement's legality however remains to be seen. (See Table D.)

The process by which both the TRP agreement and UDC were set up suggests an almost total disregard for the rights and interests of the Kumil area landowners. Alien methods and structures were imposed and all too willingly accepted by the local people, without any real attempt by government officials to educate landowners about the workings or implications of the legal agreements and new organizational settings they were to expect to operate within.

In addition, the long-term resource use rights given the national government through the TRP agreement far exceeds traditional understanding. Without a clear understanding of the agreement's requirements and obligations and its underlying assumptions, landowners are unable to discuss and evaluate its implications on their lives and their physical environment.

UDC has been held responsible by the local people for all difficulties and deceptions that have occurred regarding the timber project. It is an organization that was constructed by the government with no roots within the community of concerned landowners. Central to UDC's existence is its very difficult role of mediating between landowners, the state and the foreign timber company. The result is UDC is squeezed between contradictory interests, instead of being the voice of the landowners it is intended to represent.

The Kumil Timber Project Today

In January 1989 the National Department of Forests revoked the Timber Permit from UDC. The government wanted logging operations to recommence in the Kumil area. Logging had not occurred since May 1987 under UDC. Shortly after revoking UDC's TP the government advertised the concession to harvest the Kumil TRP area. To date however the TP has not been re-issued.

This action by National Forests has taken away UDC's reason for existence. Local landowners have lost any hope of controlling the timber project. Without a contract between landowners and a foreign logging contractor, landowners do not have any legal base

from which to call such an enterprise to account. Further timber extraction will have to be monitored and controlled directly by provincial and national forestry officials. The Kumil timber project now becomes just like any other TRP area in PNG, where landowners have little say regarding the harvest of their forest and where foreign companies 'bend the rules' to suit their needs.

The Future?

The revoking of the TP from UDC resulted in a significant number of landowners expressing their wish to rescind the existing Kumil TRP agreement. Provincial officials refused to assist and national forestry officials were inaccessible. That is not surprising given that both levels of government will receive considerable income if logging proceeds again in the Kumil area.

If the invalid TRP document is to serve as a basis for future timber extraction in the Kumil area however, with landowners poorly advised and without legal protection, then no one should be surprised if tensions erupt and the people rebel.

[Oertle, a forester, and Renner, an anthropologist, collaborated on a 3 month consultancy report for CUSO in early 1988. The aim of the consultancy was to gather information about the timber project, particularly about its underlying legal documents in an effort to inform local people about their rights and options.]

Table A

LAND RIGHTS, INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS AND RESOURCE EXPLOITATION

In PNG, customary rights of land and resources are the basis of modern legislation and states that all land and naturally occurring resources on surfaces belong to the respective indigenous populations. These rights are in most cases controlled by patrilineal clan units.

Should the state have any interest in utilizing timber or other resources, usufructuary rights have to be bought from the customary landowners. Today in PNG, one quarter of the considered operational forest resource area have already been acquired.

Resource extraction in PNG is fundamentally different from that found in other countries where indigenous populations no longer have land rights within the modern state. In the interest of resource extraction, these governments often act with little regard for indigenous ethnic groups.

Table B

Legal Agreements for Timber Exploitation

PNG's laws offer considerable protection of the forest resource and provision for sustained benefits to local people. The National Constitution states that forest resources must be conserved, used for the benefit of all citizens and replenished for future generations.

The two Forestry Acts of 1976 govern the harvesting of timber and the marketing of timber products within PNG. (These in addition to a number of other acts, for example the 1978 Environmental Planning Act, Contamination Act, and Conservation Area Act, 1966 Fauna (Protection and Control) Act and the 1982 National Parks Act.)

According to these two Forestry Acts, three different methods of timber exploitation exist:

1. Timber Rights Purchase (TRP): The State buys usufructuary rights from consenting customary landowners.
2. Timber Authority (TA): Forestry authorities give permission to any person to purchase timber directly from a defined customary landowner.
3. Local Forest Area (LFA): The State confers defined landowners the right to sell their timber to whom ever they wish.

Table C

Timber Rights Purchase/Timber Permit

The Timber Rights Purchase agreement (TRP) is a contract between the state and customary landowners (reflective of all the local people). The state buys from landowners the right to cut, remove and sell timber within a defined area for a defined period of time.

Landowners should be provided with explanations of the standard terms of the agreement, and be given the opportunity to specify additional terms, for example: species to be excluded from harvesting, infrastructure construction.

Revenues to be received by landowners (royalties) are to be calculated on the total estimated harvestable timber volume and amount to 2.75% of the total estimated sale price. It is customary for a quarter of this amount to be as an advance payment upon signing of the agreement. The remainder should be paid twice a year as logging proceeds.

The entire royalty paid by the logging contractor is 11% of the total sale price and is divided up as follows:

- 2.75% to landowners
- 2.75% to the National Government
- 5.50% to the provincial government

A valid TRP agreement requires that a minimum of 70% of the area's landowners must sign the document. If the royalty value is estimated to exceed K500,000, the Governor General in addition to the Minister of Forests must sign the document on behalf of the state.

Based upon this TRP agreement, the state has the right to issue a Timber Permit (TP) designating a company to harvest timber within the TRP area. The harvesting of timber is required to follow the existing forestry laws and regulations, as well as adhere to precisely to conditions stipulated within the TRP/TP agreements.

Table D

KUMIL TRP

Established: June 1984.

Area: 55,940 hectares on the north coast of Madang; including forest and non-forest area; 1169 landowners specified of 7 different language groups.

Period: 20 years

Procedure: 3 meetings in the area to arrange the TRP

Estimated Royalties: K683,090

Advance Payment to Landowners: K109 of which K1 was distributed to each of the 109 designated clan representatives; declared as "shake hands money".

Signatures of Landowners: exactly 70% of identified landowners; room for suspicion of signature falsification as majority of signatures "X" done in the same hand.

Signature of the State: unsigned by either of the required signatories, Minister of Forests or Governor General.

Other Comments: pages unnumbered, signature of interpreter doesn't match the name stated in the text.

FIJI UNDERMINES THE PACIFIC

BY DAVID ROBIE

Military seizure of power in Fiji by an ambitious chauvinist colonel, an abortive constitutional coup in Vanuatu, a massacre and other violent clashes in New Caledonia, and unilateral declaration of independence on Bougainville...the past three years have been devastating for the South Pacific.

The death of democracy in Fiji has been a blow to many progressive nationalists in the region, putting the struggle of the Kanaks and other liberation movements in jeopardy. It has also shaken the South Pacific Forum and other regional institutions, undermining their credibility.

Pacific leaders have failed to confront the issues at the past three Forum meetings in spite of the implications for their own countries.

This failure is shared by the New Zealand Government which has cynically endorsed the recent recommendation by the South Pacific Policy Review Group to resume political contact with Suva - giving comfort to a racist regime which is expected this month to adopt a draft constitution based on discrimination and an undemocratic gerrymander.

Many human rights provisions breach the international convention on human rights. The draft constitution not only entrenches Fijian political domination against the Indo-Fijian population (now a minority), it also discriminates against many commoner and urban indigenous Fijians.

Sitiveni Rabuka's coups d'etat were a military hijack by an oligarchy that refused to recognise and accept the winds of social change in Fiji.

Fiji's traditional way of life and indigenous Fijian land rights were secure under the 1970 constitution. But because they had not been allowed to know their rights, Fijians were readily manipulated and swayed by demagogues.

Indigenous rights have little to do with the new constitution; it is designed to entrench the Lauan-dominated oligarchy, a self-serving elite, in power.

The underlying causes of the Fiji upheaval - growing poverty, uneven development, government corruption, economic exploitation and cultural traditions

disintegrating under the influence of Western values - exist in other Pacific countries, particularly Papua New Guinea and Tonga.

Scapegoats, such as the Indo-Fijian population of Fiji, can also be found in other Pacific states. The coup is unlikely to be an isolated event, as has already been demonstrated in Vanuatu during 1988 and on Bougainville during the past 18 months.

The tragedy for South Pacific Forum countries is that before the rise of General Rabuka they were beginning to develop a united regional voice. The military overthrow of democracy and the hypocrisy of the Forum countries in dealing with the problem have jeopardised their new-found influence in the international arena.

Fiji's military-backed regime has sought close links with French military forces occupying New Caledonia and Tahiti, as well as the regimes in Indonesia, South Korea and Taiwan - none of which are noted for their respect for democratic rights.

Indonesia has offered military and development assistance while France has provided a military helicopter and vehicles as well as military training, including naval exercises between French frigates and ships of Fiji's navy. The French Government also plans to build a NZ\$16 million military maintenance base at Walu Bay, Suva.

Last month Major-General Rabuka made a 10-day visit to China where he inspected military bases and hardware. Brigadier-General Ratu Epeli Ganilau, military chief-of-staff and President Ganilau's son, made several inconclusive statements during the visit, but speculation has centred on the possible supply of a Chinese arms or military aircraft aid package.

China's human rights record has been under attack since the brutal crushing of the huge Tianamen Square pro-democracy rallies.

Israel - an expert in pre-emptive military strikes and skilled in the use of proxy forces to promote its interests - has established an increasing presence in Fiji.

France and the United States have expected Fiji's military-backed regime to support their nuclear presence in the Pacific, and the suppression of

progressive movements for independence, self-determination, denuclearisation and demilitarisation.

Filipe Bole, a former foreign affairs spokesman for the regime, once outlined Fiji's attitude toward nationalist movements in East Timor, New Caledonia, Tahiti and West Papua: they were "internal problems" for the French and Indonesian military to deal with. Fiji, he implied, would turn a blind eye to any repression.

The right-wing Taukei Movement has identified with other Melanesians only when it suited its own interests.

The fact that the Taukei and the regime in Fiji are indigenous, some Pacific analysts argue, should not blind the rest of the South Pacific region from seeing clearly whose interests they are serving.

"If we acquiesce to government by the gun in Fiji," says Auckland University's Dr Ranginui Walker, "then how can we condemn it in New Caledonia and elsewhere?" On the other hand, reactionary Maori nationalists have manipulated the Fiji coups to support their own agenda over Maori sovereignty in New Zealand.

Many of the nationalists "cared little about the real causes of the coups, even less about the abuse of human rights in Fiji," Shaista Shameen, an Indo-Fijian sociology lecturer at Waikato University, says. "They saw the Fiji crisis as the perfect opportunity to threaten the uneasy calm of the guilt-ridden Pakeha."

The Fiji coups have been alternately defended or attacked, not because of whether what was happening in Fiji was "seen as evil or good" but because it had significant implications for the struggles in New Zealand.

Following a meeting a year ago with deposed Fiji Prime Minister Dr Timoci Bavadra, five months before he died, Mana Motuahke leader Matiu Rata described initial expressions of support for the Rabuka regime by some Maori nationalists as "kneejerk reactions" based on misunderstanding.

"They assumed the coup was indigenous Fijians reasserting themselves, when in fact it was the military acting on behalf of the leaders, who believed they had the God-given right to govern."

Mr. Rata, who as Maori Affairs minister represented New Zealand at Fiji's Deed of Cession centenary celebrations in 1974, described the Fijian politicians supporting the coup as political rogues. He added that he was satisfied self-appointed interim Prime Minister Ratu



From ISLANDS BUSINESS

GENERAL RABUKA

Sir Kamisese Mara either knew of or had endorsed the plans for the coup.

General Rabuka's seizure of power in Fiji posed a dilemma for the pro-independence Kanak leadership. How should it respond? At first, like most Melanesian governments - and indeed virtually all Pacific island countries - the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) saw the issue in simplistic terms as the indigenous people of Fiji reasserting their rights. It was reluctant to debate the issue and its initial response was ambiguous.

Kanak leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou, who was assassinated on May 4, 1989, suggested after the initial coup that a similar seizure of power might happen in New Caledonia if the conservative French government persisted in its provocative policies.

Condemning the coup, he said, would be like Kanaks condemning their own 1984 insurrection, which could have turned into a coup if Kanaks had been sufficiently armed and had supported the militancy of Eloi Machoro.

"I'm sorry about the Indians," Mr Tjibaou confided on the eve of the September 1987 referendum, "but Melanesians must support Melanesians". He said that if the FLNKS had failed to resist the repressive measures of then French Overseas Territories Minister Bernard

Pons, then the Kanak people would have faced what he understood to be the same problem that Fiji was confronting.

An influential faction of the FLNKS, however, recognised the implications of the coup for nationalist movements seeking independence. Gradually, as the extent of French collaboration with the coup leadership became apparent, the front's attitude hardened toward Rabuka.

After all, were not the Indo-Fijians also "victims of history" who had been exploited by colonialism?

French interests, backed by right-wing television and newspaper magnate Robert Hersant, owner of Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes and the two Tahiti dailies, unsuccessfully tried to buy the closed Fiji Sun. The newspaper would have been an ideal springboard for influencing English-speaking Pacific states - and perhaps undermining the consensus of the South Pacific Forum supporting Kanak independence and opposing nuclear tests.

Now fresh efforts to start a French-backed newspaper are said to be linked to conservative Fijian journalist Stan Ritova, one of the co-authors of the coup leader's official biography, **Rabuka: No Other Way**.

At the Manila Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) conference two years ago Louis Kotra Uregei, a senior trade unionist and at that time a senior FLNKS political bureau member, denounced Rabuka's military take over as a setback for the region's independence movements.

He blamed the Fiji military and the Taukei Movement for undermining the FLNKS in the crucial weeks leading to the 1987 independence referendum. In spite of spirited attempts by Maori and Hawaiian delegates to seek a resolution supporting Rabuka's "indigenous revolution", the conference condemned any military coups in the region and called for respect for human rights in Fiji.

It also accused the French-Indonesian and United States governments of destabilising regional security through their efforts to strengthen the military capabilities of South Pacific countries.

By contrast, Dr. Bavadra's "new nationalism" represented a new generation of post-independence political leadership which is genuinely concerned with the welfare of the disadvantaged and working classes of Pacific

peoples. This is the vision that the new Coalition leader, Adi Kuini Bavadra, continues to offer.

The rise of the Fiji Labour Party marked the emergence of development, economic and political options which inevitably challenged the privileged elites. This phenomenon is now being reflected in the emergence of "labour", or "people movements" such as the Leba Pati in Vanuatu, and a new commoner movement in Tonga rallying around crusading MP Akilisi Pohiva and his investigative Tongan-language paper, the Kele'a (conch shell, bearer of tidings).

Mr Pohiva has filed a lawsuit against the Tongan government alleging massive corruption over the cash-for-passports policy, an issue with potentially devastating implications for the kingdom.

The Fiji upheaval leaves vital questions about political principles and beliefs for Pacific islanders. Do they subscribe to the colonialist notion that states must be organised and developed along ideologies of racial, political and economic supremacy over other races and cultures?

Is the solution to colonial racism the substitution of indigenous chauvinist supremacy?

If nationalist movements in the South Pacific are concerned with the development of more just, equal and democratic societies, can they achieve this by means that are unjust to other communities in the same territory in which they live?

"If military oppression is 'legitimised' in Fiji, then military oppression in Kanaky and Tahiti must also be 'legitimate'. There is a notable similarity between the Fiji Military Forces propaganda against the Bavadra government and that of the French military against indigenous political movements."

"We indigenous Fijians faced the first real test of our political discipline and civilisation in 1987 - and we blew it! We have set a cancerous precedent for other countries in the South Pacific with still viable democratic systems."

[David Robie is a New Zealand freelance journalist. Reprinted from **The Dominion** (New Zealand), June 12, 1990.]

REGIONAL MEDIA WORKSHOP REPORT

Relations between governments and media in the South Pacific have been strained for some time. A number of Pacific Island Governments have expressed disquiet over the quality and impact of Australian and New Zealand media reporting of the region. A variety of incidents has fuelled this concern, particularly media coverage of events such as the coups in Fiji, the political turmoil in Vanuatu in late 1988, and recent developments in PNG.

At the same time, journalists from the region have expressed apprehension at what they have seen as attempts by some governments to limit media freedoms. Such concern has focussed largely on Fiji where the Minister for Information, Ratu Inoke Kubuabola, has issued numerous statements critical of reporting by both local and foreign journalists.

In a letter to The Australian newspaper in November 1989, Ratu Inoke said:

"Unfortunately there are all too many subjective forays into our affairs by journalists ill-informed as to Fijian affairs. As a result of this consistent misrepresentation and predilection for creating, rather than reporting the news, we have become disenchanted with those sectors of the media who sensationalise and they are accordingly not welcome in Fiji."

Fiji now requires visiting journalists to obtain visas prior to entry. In recent times, few foreign journalists interested in reporting on the political situation in that country have been granted visas. Regional journalists have expressed concern about the proposals which are under consideration by the Fiji Government for annual registration of newspapers, and for defamation to be changed from a civil to a criminal offence.

Code of Conduct

The disquiet of some Pacific Island Governments came to a head at the beginning of March 1989 when an Australian television current affairs report on Papua New Guinea soldiers demonstrating outside parliament used four-year-old footage of another incident and identified footage of Vanuatu Prime Minister Father Walter Lini as Papua New Guinea Foreign Minister Michael Somare.

As a result, Mr Somare issued a press release in which he said he would be writing to the Australian and New Zealand Governments to propose the establishment of a code of conduct for media organisations



and personnel in the Pacific, as well as a special fund to facilitate exchange visits by media personnel in the region. He claimed that this was necessary in the light of continued damaging and irresponsible media reporting, especially by Australian and New Zealand media personnel of events in Papua New Guinea and other Pacific countries.

The press release suggested that the Australian and New Zealand Governments had a moral responsibility to stop the alleged damaging and irresponsible reporting and that these governments should set up a fund to allow exchange visits by media personnel to enable them to be "better sensitised to real situations in countries in the Pacific". Mr Somare also suggested that media organisations should be liable to pay compensation when the code of conduct is breached.

The issue was raised by Papua New Guinea at the South Pacific Forum meeting in Tarawa in July 1989. The Forum Communique noted:

"The Forum agreed that while there was a need for fair and accurate reporting in regional media, there was clear support for the principle of freedom of the press and that nothing should be done which could be interpreted as limiting that freedom. The Forum authorised the Secretariat to investigate the possibility of funding and convening a workshop for interested government and media representatives to consider measures to encourage well-informed and balanced reporting by regional media.

A Forum Officials Committee Budget Session in November 1989 discussed the Forum initiative and the Australian Government agreed to make available F\$59,000 towards the cost of running the workshop.

The Workshop was held under Forum Secretariat auspices in Rarotonga from 26-28 February 1990. It was attended by government officials from Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu. Fiji did not send a representative.

Media representatives attended from Australia, Cook Islands, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea, along with delegations from the Pacific Islands News Association (represented by journalists from Fiji, PNG, Solomon Islands and Tonga), the Pacific Journalists Association, Pacbroad and UNESCO.

The Workshop

The tone for the workshop was set by Cook Islands Prime Minister, Hon Geoffrey Henry, in his keynote address at the beginning of the meeting. Mr Henry urged delegates not to treat the workshop as a court of advocacy, pointing out that there was neither judge nor jury present. He went on:

"The opportunity afforded by this workshop for revolutionising the relationship of the media and the governments in the Pacific will be lost unless each begins in a spirit of genuine self examination. We must first count our faults, after that mutual understanding cannot but come."

Papua New Guinea indicated early in the meeting that it was approaching the meeting in a spirit of compromise and that it would not pursue its suggestion for a government-imposed code of conduct for journalists. The working sessions of the Workshop proceeded in a constructive and positive manner.

The Workshop addressed a range of agenda items including freedom of speech, media access to governments, free flow of information, codes of ethics, a proposal for a regional information centre, Forum recognition of the Pacific Islands Broadcasting Association (PIBA) and the Pacific Island News Association (PINA), development journalism and media training and exchanges.

At the conclusion of the Workshop a document was adopted which recognised the problems in the government-media relationship.

Government perceived problems include cultural insensitivity on the part of journalists, lack of balance and fairness in reporting, a lack of understanding by some media of government procedures and resource constraints, and the tendency for Australian and New Zealand journalists to visit the region only in times of crisis.

Media perceived problems include obstacles to access to Forum countries, high travel costs in the region, restricted access to Heads of Government at Forum meetings, inadequate appreciation by governments of the value of the media in raising national profiles, preferential treatment given to visiting media by some countries at the expense of local media, and difficulties in identifying government spokespersons in some countries.

Suggestions aimed at overcoming these perceived problems were adopted by the meeting. Of note were:

- * that journalists in the region should self regulate their behaviour by setting up code of ethics appropriate to each Forum country;

- * that a Pacific Press Council not be formed (because of the diversity and size of the region);

- * that the Forum Secretariat draft a model Freedom of Information bill for circulation to, and consideration by, those countries without such legislation;

- * that countries re-appraise entry procedures to facilitate access by media;

- * that government representatives familiarise themselves with the skills required for successful media liaison;

- * that media access at South Pacific Forum meetings be improved;

- * that a regional information centre be established as a means of providing a centralised service for gathering and disseminating information within and outside the region;

- * that steps be taken to promote development journalism (the reporting of good news as well as bad);

- * that the Forum recognise the importance and standing in the region of PIBA and PINA.

No date was set for a follow up meeting, but an ad hoc task force comprising the Forum Secretariat, PINA and representatives of missions based in Suva (including Australia) was appointed to review progress on resolutions at an appropriate time.

[Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade "Background" Vol 1, No 10, March 26, 1990.]

TV or not TV

By Sue Williams

What will the development of television mean for the South Pacific - a region inhabited by only five million people scattered across tiny island nations covering some 30 million square kilometres of ocean? Such was the question under discussion at a recent, UNESCO backed meeting of government representatives and media experts from the region, held in the Fijian capital of Suva.

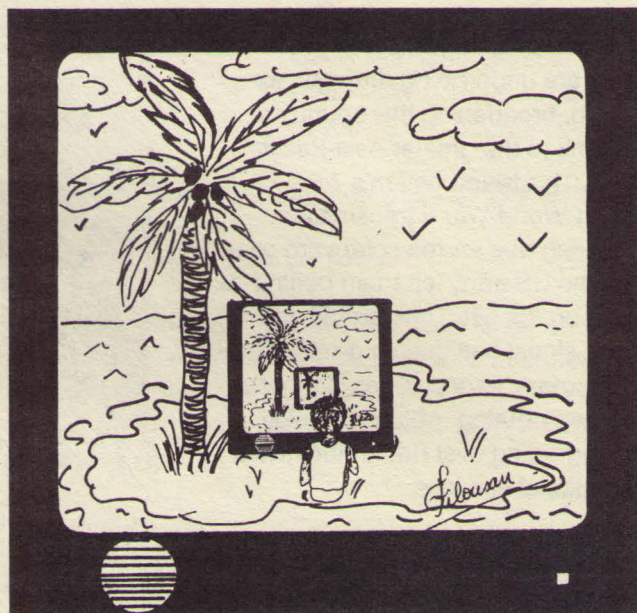
The distances involved, and limited resources of many Pacific states, have long prevented any major media development there, apart from local newspapers and radio stations. For many countries, short wave radio broadcasts from services such as Radio Australia, the Voice of America, Radio New Zealand and the BBC, provide the mainlink with the outside world. However, the increasing availability of satellite technology and the development of video is opening up new possibilities for the far flung communities of this corner of the planet.

Some nations have already moved to develop television. Of the 22 island countries in the South Pacific region, 12 already have some television broadcasting facilities, while another four, Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa and the Solomon Islands, are looking to introduce the medium in the near future.

"If the Pacific countries don't set up TV now," says Hugh Leonard of the Asia Pacific Broadcasting Union, "it will be thrust upon them. In Papua New Guinea it's now possible, with a small satellite dish, to pick up five different foreign television stations. Unlike most other countries though, PNG has the advantage of having its own channel which puts out some local material to offset the flood of overseas programs...Is this what we want?"

Local production is limited in those other countries of the region with television facilities which receive programs sent via satellite from Australia, New Zealand, the United States and France.

"In Fiji there are some 60,000 video sets in use," points out the APBU executive, "every corner shop hires out tapes, most of which are pirated. But there is nothing at all available to reflect what's happening in Fiji. Governments are asking themselves 'is this what we want, or should we be trying to broadcast programs more suitable for our own culture?'"



Technology has made television more accessible than ever. The equipment that provides the 3,000 strong population of Niue with six hours of television beamed in from New Zealand each day, cost only \$100,000. On the other hand, the production of local programs requires not only money but expertise, which is sorely lacking in many South Pacific nations. The Suva meeting concluded that considerable foreign help would be needed to get the necessary infrastructure in place, train the personnel and develop local programs. UNESCO's PAC-VIDEO project is already working towards these goals by running training courses in basic video and television production techniques. The three year program, which UNESCO and the South Pacific Commission put into action midway through 1989, is funded by the Australian aid agency, AIDAB

"We shouldn't expect BBC docu-dramas from Pacific TV, but a local news service and coverage of sports and cultural events, and simple, educational programs are certainly within reach," says Mr. Leonard.

[UNESCO SOURCES No 12 February 1990]

MAKING WAVES IN THE PACIFIC SKY

New Zealand's obsolete shortwave broadcasting facilities, described as a "tin whistle" by local critics, are undergoing dramatic expansion, broadening this country's radio link to the greater Asia-Pacific region. This island nation's 7.5 kilowatt World War II transmitters have been due for the scrapyard ever since the US army left them behind as a war surplus gift. Their erratic and patchy signal has been a growing embarrassment, especially as Canberra has been pouring millions of dollars into upgrading rival Radio Australia's international services.

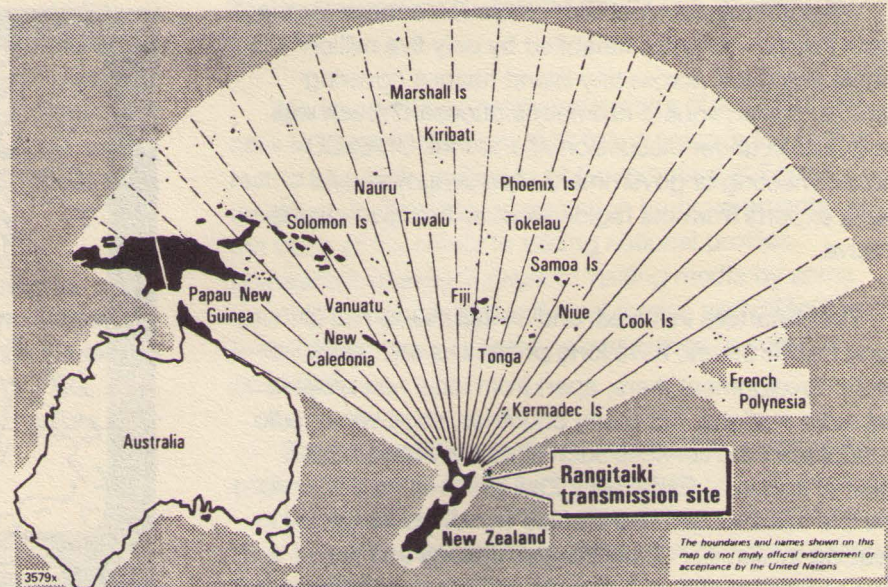
Over the last three decades countries such as China, the US, the USSR and West Germany have also developed significant shortwave services to the South Pacific. Now New Zealand is spending more than NZ\$3 million on setting up a "no frills" international broadcasting service due to start broadcasting in January 1990.

"An effective New Zealand voice in the region is absolutely essential", says Foreign Affairs Minister Russell Marshall, key backer of the new service. "At a time when economic restraints limit our role in the South Pacific, an effective shortwave service will be a tangible expression of New Zealand's commitment to the region."

A single 100-kilowatt transmitter will be sited at Rangitaiki, near the central North Island town of Taupo. Broadcast engineers identified this site as being able to reach all Pacific countries.

Radio Australia has a 250-kilowatt transmitter and several other shortwave services broadcasting to the region have transmitters stronger than 100 kilowatts. While Radio Australia has concentrated its services on Asia, last year it made the South Pacific its priority. It plans to improve its already strong signals to help retain its status as the most popular shortwave service in the region.

The Wellington move follows years of complaints by New Zealanders and Pacific governments seeking a



more powerful radio voice. The new system will be run on the British model under which responsibilities are shared between the BBC and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The new shortwave service will be a partnership between the Ministry of External Relations and Trade and Radio New Zealand.

The signal penetration of the two obsolete transmitters is a measure of New Zealand's presence in a region where radio is heavily relied upon for information. According to Radio New Zealand chief executive Beverley Wakem, the consequence has been that while many of the South Pacific islands identify closely with New Zealand, they've found it difficult to keep track of events here.

The Radio New Zealand international service will differ significantly from many other broad casts to the region. New Zealand has a large Pacific Islander population and a special Maori and Pacific broadcasting unit. The new station is expected to provide far more of a regional Pacific identity for the more than 15 countries receiving the broadcasts.

[Development Forum, January-February 1990 via Gemini News Service]

RESOURCES

BOOKS

Nguna Voices: Text and Culture from Central Vanuatu

Ellen E. Facey. University of Calgary Press. 1988. 351 pp.

This unique collection of oral knowledge gives readers a glimpse into the oral tradition of Nguna, an island lying about fifteen minutes by launch off the north side of Efate. Transcribed between 1978 and 1980 by Dr. Facey, the 33 texts are a window into the social life and customs, the folklore and ethnology of the island. They are presented both in the language of Nguna and in English. Dr. Facey states that the "primary intended audience is the Ngunese peoples themselves" and therefore the book "does not pretend to be an analysis of the Ngunese culture via the texts as cultural artifacts". So after a chapter that gives background information about the Ngunese people, we were then fascinated by the richness of imagery and ideas presented in the texts.

Women and Education in PNG and the South Pacific.

Edited by Eileen Wormald and Anne Crossley. University of PNG Press. 1988. 272 pp.

The book is based on papers presented at the 11th Extraordinary Meeting of the Faculty of Education of UPNG on the theme "Women in Education". The authors are primarily Papua New Guinea women covering a broad spectrum of issues, with a section of comparative perspectives from women of other South Pacific countries. Topics and case studies include: gender issues in formal education, skills training and career patterns for girls; female participation in literacy, adult learning programs and extension studies (including distance and non-formal education); access to legal and political learning; problems for women as teachers and in tertiary education. A valuable source of recent information, ideas and recommendations from women in the Pacific Islands.

Resisting the Serpent: Palau's Struggle for Self-Determination

Bob Aldridge and Ched Myers. Fortkamp Publishing Company. 1990. 211 pp.

This important book recounts the struggles of the people of Palau for independence and self-determination from the US. Beyond the history of the immediate events in Palau since US occupation, an overlying theme, best stated in the words of the authors, emerges. "Though the story takes place in a relatively remote corner of the world, we believe that it is in fact a

microcosm of the global structure for survival against militarism, and thus profoundly illuminating to the choices we face as a civilization." Well-written and well-documented, a thought-provoking and informative book.

Deep Water: Development and Change in Pacific Village Fisheries

Margaret C. Rodman. Westview Press, Boulder, CO. 1989. 173 pp.

An interesting and well-documented study of development using the commercialization of Vanuatu fisheries as an example. Looks carefully at contrasting views of development and self-reliance and how rural islanders are affected.

Embargo: The Jeanette Diana Affair

A.M. Kengalu. Robert Brown & Associates (Aust) Pty. Ltd. 1988. 206 pp.

A detailed account of the arrest in 1984 of the US fishing vessel, the Jeanette Diana, and the subsequent trade embargo imposed by the US on Solomon Islands. Includes trial transcripts, copies of embargo documents and media accounts.

No Longer An American Lake?

Edited by John Ravenhill. Allen & Unwin. 1989. 226 pp.

A collection of essays which includes a realistic appraisal of the Soviet interests in the Pacific and a good review of French policy and presence in the South Pacific. Also focuses on the breakup of ANZUS.

The Indonesian Occupation of East Timor, 1974-1989: A Chronology

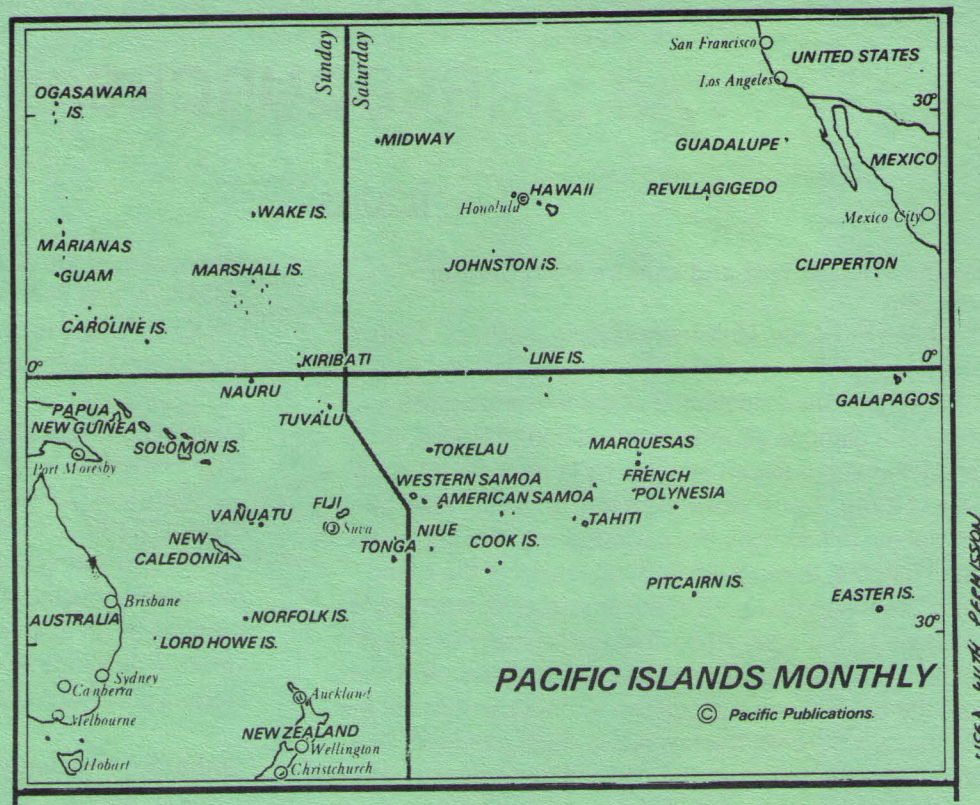
John G. Taylor. Catholic Institute for International Relations, London in association with the Refugee Studies Program, Oxford University. 102 pp.

As title states, a chronology. Complete basic information with index and periodicals listing.

Law, Government and Politics in the Pacific Island States.

Edited by Yash Ghai. Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, Suva. 1988. 393 pp.

A collection of essays concerning the constitutional and governmental systems of the independent Pacific island states. A basic resource, index and references.



CONSERVATION OF THE FAMOUS PAINTED CAVE OF ANA KAI TANGATA

Over the past year, the Centro Nacional de Restauracion (Santiago) has monitored the paintings on the ceiling of Ana Kai Tangata in a project sponsored by the World Monuments Fund. A panel of experts will review the results of this study and a three day workshop will meet to evaluate different conservation strategies and select an appropriate course of action for preserving the paintings. The conference will focus on whether the paintings may be conserved in situ or whether the paintings should be moved to the museum on the island, with copies left in the cave. The proceedings from the workshop will be published, with an introduction providing historical and archaeological information about the site.

[Reprinted with permission from: **RAPA NUI JOURNAL**, Vol 4, No. 2, Summer 1990]

1990 : 10 YIA BLONG INDIPENDENS



Know someone who would be interested in TOK BLONG SPPF? Send us his/her name, address and interest in the Pacific Islands and we will send a complimentary copy. Let us know if we can use your name as a reference. Send to SPPF, 415-620 View Street, Victoria, B.C., CANADA V8W 1J6.