

Tok Blong SPPF

A Quarterly of News and Views on the Pacific Islands

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VICTORIA, B.C., CANADA



photo by Gayle Nelson

Feeding the Pigs, Mampim, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea

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SPPF UPDATE

April 1st marks the beginning of a new program year at SPPF. For 1991-92 our work plan continues to emphasize development education programming. This includes publishing Tok Blong SPPF, a Pacific speakers tour, public education events, and operation of our resource centre and lending library. In the past year our focus was on public events in rural communities in B.C. In the next year we would like to see more activity in other provinces. Suggestions are always welcome. (April is also the time we wait to hear from major funders like CIDA who match our private donations...)

In addition to our development education activities SPPF will continue to support project work in the Pacific on a limited basis. This year's priority will be fundraising for a third phase of our Marasin Meri primary health care project in the East Sepik Province of PNG. We are also now in the planning stages for a fisheries education project at the secondary school level in Vanuatu. Finally we hope to be able to support several additional small local initiatives. In Canada we plan to continue developing our relationship with CUSO where SPPF is playing a larger role in resourcing. We also hope to help expand Canadian contacts for and support for the international NFIP movement.

We are always happy to answer requests from members/donors who wish want more specific information on our programming. AND now to provide an answer to one frequently asked question: "Whatever happened to



Phil Esmonde?" Phil is back on the social justice front lines. He has taken up a position with Quaker Peace and Service out of London, England, as Quaker Representative in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Here is how Phil described his new work:

"This two year commitment will be a very challenging and interesting position to say the least. At its most basic, it is to provide a Quaker presence in Sri Lanka, and help inform Quakers worldwide about the conditions in the country. I will also have responsibility for searching for and implementing small scale reconciliation efforts between the Tamil and Sinhalese ethnic communities so affected by the two civil wars raging in the countryside. I fully realize that any success I might have will be extremely modest."

Phil's address is c/o Quaker Peace and Service Sri Lanka, 6/3 First Lane, Kirillapone, Colombo 5, Sri Lanka (tel: 554 667). We all wish Phil luck and success in his new and difficult undertaking.

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 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 is 604/381-4131.

BOUGAINVILLE'S THORNY PEACE

By Mary-Louise O'Callaghan

Minutes after touching down in Port Moresby late last month, the members of Australia's joint parliamentary committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade had a rapid introduction to the complexities of Papua New Guinea's capricious politics. Fresh from Canberra where, only the day before, PNG's Foreign Minister, Sir Michael Somare, had given every indication that his Government was still committed to a peaceful resolution of the Bougainville crisis, most of the committee were more than a little taken aback. Here was PNG's Deputy Prime Minister, former Defence Force commander, Mr. Ted Diro, announcing his preferred solution to assassinate the rebel leaders, start a civil war and, in the ensuing chaos, take back the island.

Late last month, Justice Minister, Bernard Narokobi, announced his resignation as a chief negotiator in the Bougainville talks on the grounds that the Honiara Declaration, only signed in the neighbouring Solomon Islands capital on 23 January, was not being implemented. It was a lame excuse, coming on the very day that the relief ship Sankamap berthed in Bougainville's Kieta harbour, offloading a month's medical supplies for the 23 health centres on the island, officially ending the 10-month blockage.

But on Tuesday, PNG's Prime Minister, Mr Rabbie Namaliu went one step further, calling for an urgent review of the Honiara Declaration through direct negotiations with the leaders of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). PNG's Minister for Provincial Affairs, Fr John Momis, a Bougainvillean, who is overseeing the implementation of the Honiara peace plan, apparently urged the Prime Minister not to give up on the accord just yet. "The most difficult, seemingly insurmountable obstacle is the pride of leaders, the fear of leaders to trust one another, he said last week. Mr. Namaliu has undertaken to continue implementing the peace plan while a review is organised but the move does not augur well for the survival of the Honiara Declaration.

Unfortunately for the people of Bougainville who have had no government, no schools, no medicines for almost a year, and almost no semblance of a normal life since 1988, the divisions within PNG's leadership on the Bougainville issue are matched only by the confusion within the ranks of those who stake a claim to leadership on the island itself.

The Commander of the BRA, Samuel Kauona told 'The Age' during the Sankamap's visit that the "BRA is ready to play its part" in the Honiara Declaration but it "will not implement all that was written and signed". The most crucial aspect of this is Kauona's insistence that the BRA will not surrender its arms. "We feel that

surrendering our arms is suicide; the moment we lay down our arms the PNGDF is ready to get us," he said.

Kauona's concern that the people of Bougainville are not left defenceless is as understandable as his distrust of PNG's intentions - witness Diro's grand plan. But the general's compromise proposal that the militants hand in their arms to the BRA's own command centres is unlikely to reassure Australia, New Zealand, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Canada who have been approached by PNG to form a multinational peace-keeping force to oversee the restoration of services to the island. In fact, his rejection of Australian military personnel in such a force may make it difficult for PNG to find the required numbers as New Zealand is unlikely to sign up if Australia declines and the island states have neither the personnel nor financial resources to carry the weight of such a force alone.

The voyage of the Sankamap raised as many questions as it answered, particularly in its revelation of the BRA's real position on key aspects of the Honiara Declaration. It was clear to those on board the Sankamap that Bougainvilleans are relatively self-sufficient in food - except for iodised salt - which was allowed by the BRA to be unloaded and distributed. So the most disturbing aspect of the rejection of the food was the fact that in doing so the BRA overruled not just the interim government but the decision of community leaders made at a lengthy meeting the previous evening that the food should stay. This act alone put paid to the BRA's claims that they are playing no role in the governing of the "new republic" and that a civilian system based on traditional chiefly authority is the procedure now used for making decisions on the island.

Mr. Namaliu, in calling the review, seemed to indicate that PNG would be prepared to tackle the political issues but he still insisted independence was non-negotiable. The task force set up to implement the declaration plans to continue its work and aims to build trust. It is a course not without its risks both political and personal for the members of the taskforce, particularly the three key Bougainvillean members, led by the former provincial planner, Mr Bernard Simiha.

The fate of the late John Bika, a provincial minister executed in 1989 on the eve of a trip to Moresby to discuss a compromise proposal of autonomy for the island is not forgotten. Likewise any confirmation of the suspicions of certain members of the PNG Government that Bougainville, is being led, albeit slowly, towards independence by the taskforce is likely to prove equally fatal to their efforts to find a lasting solution to the Bougainville question.

[Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, *The Age* South Pacific correspondent, has just visited Bougainville. Reprinted from *The Age*, Melbourne, March 3, 1991]

HONIARA DECLARATION ON PEACE RECONCILIATION AND REHABILITATION ON BOUGAINVILLE

1. Further to the Endeavour Accord signed on 5 August, 1990 concerning dialogue and return of services to Bougainville, a meeting comprising representatives from the Papua New Guinea National Government led by the Right Honourable Sir Michael Somare and Mr Joseph Kabui from Bougainville was held in Honiara from 22-23 January, 1991 at the initiative and auspices of the Solomon Islands Government and the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) to review and formulate a common strategy and programmes for the implementation of restoration of services to enhance Peace, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation on Bougainville.

2. Other Ministers included on the National Government side were Honourable Bernard Narokobi, Honourable Benais Sabumei, and Honourable Fr. John Momis, on the Bougainville side were Mr Ken Savia, Bishop John Zale, Pastor Jeffery Paul, Mr Patrick Itta, Mr James Sinko, Mr Philip Takaung, Mr Raphael Bele, MP and Mr Peter Kunga, MP.

3. Observers from the Solomon Islands Government and the South Pacific Council of Churches (SPCC) and Solomon Islands Christian Associations (SICA) were also present at the Talks.

4. The two delegates expressed their sincere appreciation to the Government and the people of Solomon Islands for their generous hospitality and excellent facilities for the meeting. They also thanked the Chairman of SICA, Bishop Lesley Boseto for his role as Moderator for the talks.

5. The two delegates welcomed the opportunity for their continuing face-to-face dialogue; and committed to searching for a lasting peaceful solution of the Bougainville crisis. Declared on the following principles and arrangements.

PRINCIPLES

6. We desire peace and reconciliation with each other and with our Heavenly Father.

We take a joint responsibility to restrain from the use of weapons and arms to help us to

create an environment of peace and harmony as well as a precondition to justice and peace.

We agree to defer discussions on the future political status of Bougainville and have further agreed to embark upon a joint programme of Peace, Reconciliation, and Rehabilitation, within the current constitutional framework of the Nation of Papua New Guinea.

We reject violence and seek meaningful consultation as a means of solving the crisis, and deeply mourn the loss of lives and destruction to properties, and trust in the common fatherhood of God and resolve to find lasting justice, peace and security on the Island of Bougainville.

We recognise the importance of establishing legal and representative authority in Bougainville to assist in returning the land to normalcy.

We recognise the constitutional role of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force.

We agree to accept external assistance including a Multinational Supervisory Team (MST) to contribute to the implementation of this programme under the framework determined in this Declaration.

We commit ourselves to the welfare and security of all individuals and organisations who participate in this Programme.

We endorsed maximum Bougainvillean involvement in the implementation of this Programme.

Definition of "Programme"

7. The "programme" in this Declaration means the Package phased arrangements for the restoration of services on Bougainville including:-

Phase I

- (i) Peace and Restoration.
- (ii) Lifting of the Blockade.
- (iii) Establishment of Task Force.
- (iv) Establishment of Interim Legal Authority.

Phase II

- (i) Restoration of Services

(ii) Rehabilitation Programme including maintenance and reconstruction; and other associated activities determined by the Legal Authority in Bougainville in accordance with this Declaration;

(iii) Future negotiations.

Task Force and Membership

8. In order to facilitate the execution of this Programme, we agree to hereby establish a Task Force which shall consist of representatives appointed by the National Minister for Provincial Affairs, in consultation with an Interim Legal Authority.

Terms of Reference

9. We agree that the terms of reference for the Task Force shall include:

(i) Planning, Co-ordination and implementation of this Programme;

(ii) Monitoring and supervision of this Programme;

(iii) Investigate and determine the scope and components of the project under this Programme;

(iv) Investigate, mobilise and secure all financial avenues at its disposal to finance this Programme;

(v) Develop a detailed timetable to implement this Programme which must be submitted to the Minister for Provincial Affairs for final approval as soon as practicable following their appointments.

(vi) The Task Force shall report to the Legal Authority in Bougainville;

(vii) Furnish monthly reports or otherwise as directed by the Legal Authority in Bougainville; and

(viii) Undertake other responsibilities as directed by the Legal Authority in Bougainville to implement this Programme.

Obligations and Responsibilities

10. Parties agreed to take the following actions:-

National Government

(i)

(ii) Grand amnesty and immunity from prosecutions to the members of BRA, and BLF in accordance with legal and constitutional requirements of Papua New Guinea.

(iii) Organise a multinational supervisory team to participate in this Programme.

(iv) Commits and disburse funds to the Programme under its normal budgetary allocations. destruction of arms under the supervision of the Multinational Supervisory Team.

(v) Allow and facilitate non-government agencies, including Churches and Community groups to contribute towards the successful implementation of this programme.

(vi) Resume all government services including public and statutory administration, law an order and justice.

Bougainville Side

(i) Disarms the BRA, BLF; and its associated militant activities including the surrender and destruction of arms under the supervision of the Multinational Supervisory Team.

(ii) Release of all detainees held as a consequence of the conflict.

(iii) Guarantee the safety and welfare of the members of the Multinational Supervisory Team.

(iv) Assist the Task Force and the Legal Authority in Bougainville to expand funds towards effective implementation of projects to be developed under this programme.

(v) Receive and facilitate non-governmental agencies, including churches and community groups to contribute towards the successful implementation of this programme.

(vi) Provide conditions and environment conducive for the restoration of services under this programme.

Programme Schedule

11. We agree that the following

Time Schedule shall be adopted to implement this Programme from the signing of this Declaration:-

(i) One (1) week to one (1) month - establishment of the Task Force and the assembling of the MSD.

(ii) Between one (1) month to 6 months project identification and resource mobilisation.

(iii) Eighteen (18) to thirty-six (36) months completion of Programme, abolition of the Task force, return to normalcy.

Review and Consultations

12. We agree that this Declaration shall be reviewed at least on a six (6) monthly interval until the conclusion of the Programme in accordance with the programme schedule.

13. Notwithstanding the foregoing paragraph, the National Minister for Provincial Affairs may request a review either independently or on advice of the legal authority or the Task Force.

14. The programme under this Declaration does not for the time being include the programme of restoration of services undertaken by the National Government on Buka and adjacent islands.

15. The National Minister for Provincial Affairs shall determine and reconcile the relationships between these two programmes on advice from the legal authority in Bougainville.

Dispute Settlement

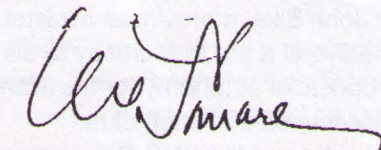
16. We agree to resolve any dispute including conflict or misunderstanding arising from the Programme under this Declaration through consultation and dialogue.

17. Where resolution of disputes cannot be reached, each party may recommend arbitrators for approval by the other. When appointed, the arbitrators shall work towards resolving any such conflict and misunderstandings.

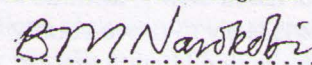
Termination

18. This Declaration shall be terminated upon completion of this Programme or by one Party when acts of sabotage or similar action inconsistent with the spirit and letter of this Declaration taken by the other.

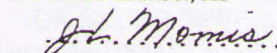
Declared at Honiara this 23rd day of January 1991.



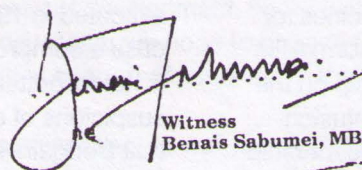
Sir Michael Somare GCMG CH MP
Leader of the PNG Delegation



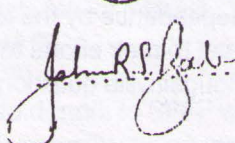
Witness
Bernard Narakobi, MP



Witness
Fr. John Momis, MP



Witness
Benais Sabumei, MBE MP



Witness
Bishop Zale



Witness
Patrick Itta



Joseph Kabui
Leader of the Bougainville Delegation



Witness
James Sinko

BOUGAINVILLE SITUATION REPORT MARCH 1991: DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHS OVER MILITARY

*The following article is a reprint of the
Bougainville Information Service March 1991
Situation Report.*

Peace at last has come to Bougainville, or at least to the main island. Killing continues on Buka, in a three sided conflict which tears apart communities once closely knit. The unpublicized tragedy of Buka is revealed in the section entitled "Agony of Buka's Dirty War" later in this article.

On Bougainville a negotiated settlement has not only been reached, but is slowly being implemented, despite great obstacles. The situation is delicate, with many powerfully placed leaders attempting to undermine implementation of the **Honiara Declaration** of January 23, 1991, which restores urgently needed human services to Bougainville.

Along with the first shipments of medicines, fuel, food and communications equipment, came the hope that Bougainville's long standing grievances have at last re-entered the arena of accepted political debate, rather than being seen as criminal, to be dealt with by force.

ASSASSINATION AS A SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY

It is too early to be certain that the long standing problems of the 160,000 Bougainvilleans will now be dealt with as legitimate parts of the political process, rather than being attacked militarily. Resistance to allowing Bougainvillean demands onto the national agenda remains strong among some Ministers in the PNG government. Despite the success of the talks in Honiara, capital of the neighbouring Solomon Islands, between PNG and Bougainvillean leaders, some PNG leaders have made no secret of their preference for state violence as the solution. Deputy Prime Minister Ted Diro has been quite forthright, as usual. Diro, a former PNG Defence Force commander was widely quoted in Australian media saying that the solution to Bougainville is to assassinate the Bougainvillean leaders, start a civil war among Bougainvilleans, then move in amidst the ensuing chaos to resume national control (Pacific Report, 28 Feb 1991, The Age, 4 March 1991).

Diro's scenario is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, it closely mimics the tactics used by Europeans to colonise the third world when the colonisers had limited military forces available. Secondly, it assumes Bougainvilleans can readily be set against each other, as if all men live in a chronic state of hostility towards their neighbours. Third, this model has been implemented and is currently playing itself out tragically on the island of Buka, the northern most end of Bougainville. Fourth, this divide-and-rule scenario is not new. It is strikingly similar to the PNG military intelligence reports a year ago which shaped PNG's determination to impose a blockade on the island, depriving it of all medicines, communications, services and fuel, in the confident prediction that the island could be brought to its knees, and that the primitive Bougainvilleans would rise up against their secessionist leaders.

The Diro scenario is a major strand in current leadership debate. It is the traditional warrior path, now stamped by the legitimacy and firepower of the modern nation state. Those in PNG who apparently believe that PNG's chronic problems of unemployment, insufficient investment in schooling and the resultant problems of crime can all be solved by curfews, crackdowns and a "benevolent dictatorship" are drawn to the Diro model as the only way to discipline an undisciplined people. The Diro model is popular, both among foreign investors in PNG and the national class of city dwellers. It is partly for this reason that some observers now predict that within a year Mr Diro will be Prime Minister.

WARRIORS AND PRAGMATIC BIG MEN

However, the Diro model is not the only one current. The success of the Honiara Declaration signals the temporary eclipse of the warriors, and the ascendancy of the peacemakers, principally Fr John Momis, the national Provincial Affairs Minister, and Rabbie Namaliu, the Prime Minister. Against great odds, Fr Momis and Mr Namaliu not only obtained agreement on all sides for a peaceful restoration of normal services, but have made a lot of headway in making it a reality.

The Momis-Namaliu model is as rooted in Melanesian tradition as is Diro's warlike posture. Because Melanesia consistently receives such bad press,

the world hears only of the warriors, and knows little of the big men and chiefs who have always been empowered to rein in the warriors, in the wider interests of long term relations within and between clans.

One factor which long delayed the return of Bougainville to political debate was the equal strength within the PNG government of both models: the warriors and the big men with a gift for compromise. Government policy towards Bougainville see-sawed repeatedly, with negotiated settlements quickly supplanted by fresh determination to impose a military solution. As recently as early January 1991, fresh military action against southern Bougainville by the PNG Defence Force was widely expected by beleaguered Bougainvilleans.

TWO BOUGAINVILLES: A MODERN TRAGEDY

The upshot is that each faction within the PNG cabinet now has a part of Bougainville. There are now two Bougainvilles, each a laboratory for competing models: those of the warriors and the pragmatic big men. With PNG's current keen interest in crackdowns and curfews, the two Bougainvilles may show up the strengths and weaknesses of military and civilian rule.

One major part of Bougainville is under the direct control of Mr Diro and his warriors; the other an experiment in a return to civilian normality, healing the wounds of war. The 30,000 people of Buka are for the foreseeable future under military rule by the PNG Defence Force and its militia of Bukas armed by the PNGDF who are, in the words of an admirer, continuing to kill their many enemies "quietly, traditionally and with grim determination." The Honiara Declaration has not stopped the killing.

The 130,000 people of the rest of Bougainville have experienced a remarkable reconciliation in the past weeks, reflecting the Melanesian ability to put humanity ahead of ideology. In the weeks following the January 23 signing of the Honiara Declaration of Peace, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation on Bougainville, it often seemed as if this accord was about to suffer the fate of the many previous attempts of peacemakers. On both the PNG and Bougainvillean side voices loudly threatened to block implementation, and other nations, which are given a crucial role in providing a Multinational Supervisory Team (MST) of military personnel, sat on their hands awaiting clarification. Some of PNG's key negotiators, who had patiently and skilfully negotiated with the Bougainvilleans, lost their patience and resigned in frustration at delays in implementing the Declaration. As a result the Momis-Namaliu team of peacemakers has lost the active support of Foreign Minister Sir Michael Somare and Justice Minister Bernard

Narakobi, at a time when the warriors' strength is undiminished.

AN UNSUNG SUCCESS STORY: PEACE MAKES PROGRESS

Despite all this, and the overwhelmingly gloomy media reports on the prospects of the Honiara Declaration becoming reality, the national government, urged on by ministers Momis and Namaliu, are pressing ahead with implementation. This is a quiet success story which has not only gone unreported but has been buried under headlines declaring "Collapse of Bougainville Accord Causes Problems on All Sides." (Pacific Report, 28 Feb 1991).

The main burden of implementation of the Honiara Declaration is on the PNG national government, which pledges to resume those services Bougainvilleans were able to take for granted, as did all PNG citizens, until the blockade was imposed in May 1990, shortly before Bougainville declared unilateral independence. In order to make the Honiara Declaration work Momis and Namaliu have had to shift many obstacles. So far they have prevailed. Given the entrenched opposition within Cabinet, this is no small achievement.

Opposition has come also from within the bureaucracy, notably Treasury, with a marked reluctance to release monies or send personnel in to restore basic health, communications and administration.

That Momis and Namaliu have succeeded is largely due to the extraordinary willingness among Bougainvilleans to put aside past differences and work together for the good of the island. This is the task on which they have concentrated, led by Fr Momis, himself a Bougainvillean and son of a mumira (chief) of Buin in southern Bougainville. They have gradually put in place two of the key instruments envisaged in the Honiara Declaration: a Task Force of Bougainvilleans who are responsible for the actual work of restoration; and an Interim Legal Authority empowered by the state to act on its behalf.

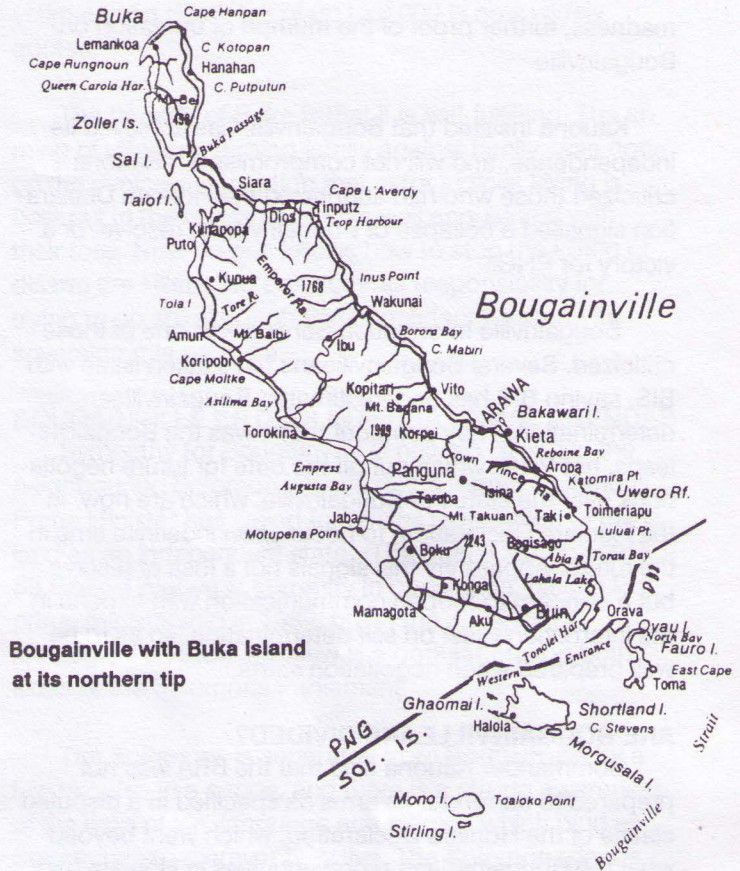
The personnel of both the Task Force and the Interim Legal Authority have been drawn from Bougainvilleans of acknowledged ability, irrespective of their recent loyalties. Key appointments to the Task Force were Bernard Simiha and Kepas Watangia, both men known for being capable and fair. Simiha as Bougainville's provincial planner, and Watangia as secretary of the PNG Department of National Affairs.

REHABILITATION OF WAR ZONE UNDERWAY

They have quietly gone about their many tasks, away from media attention. They organised successive shipments of urgently needed supplies on the Sankamap, a ship bought by Bougainville's provincial government a few years ago, until recently impounded by the PNG Defence Force. The Sankamap also brought to market some Bougainvillean cocoa, which represents the best hope ordinary Bougainvillean villagers have of regaining any cash income. They need cash in hand to buy the goods now starting to come in, with which to rebuild burned houses, resettle the thousands still in camps, and treat the backlog of infectious disease. The task is huge.

Two months after the January 23rd signing of the Honiara Declaration progress is still slow. Only limited amounts of medicines have come in, still insufficient for a tropical island on which the inevitable exposure to infectious disease is heightened by the aftermath of war, the modern concentration of population in lowland villages and towns, and 50 years of explosive population growth. Bougainville was used to extensive services, decentralised round an island on which road access was limited. The village aid posts and health centres established by churches and the provincial government are far from being back in operation. It is not only a question of medicines, but trained personnel and equipment, including fuel to operate electricity generators. Urban Bougainville had depended on a central electricity plant, owned and operated by the mining company, which decided decades ago against building a hydro power station in the mountains of one of the wettest places on earth. Ever since, imported oil has been needed to operate the mine and to provide sewerage, fresh water and power to an increasingly urban society. It may be a long time before the Loloho power station, property of the mining company, operates again.

The Task Force is persisting. The obstacles it faces are mainly political: a combination of inertia, resistance and overt hostility from leaders representing other constituencies in PNG. For the past year Bougainville has been given little coverage in the PNG media, except in negative terms. The popular perception is that Bougainvilleans are greedy, that everything is given to Bougainvilleans, and it's time others had their turn. Because of the blockade, Bougainvillean leaders, whether civilian, clerical or military almost never appeared in media to give their views, and even after the Honiara Declaration it is still far from obvious to most Papua New Guineans that there are two sides, each with legitimate concerns which have built up over a complex past.



Bougainville with Buka Island at its northern tip

ASPIRATIONS OF THE BOUGAINVILLEANS

A major obstacle to peaceful implementation has been the return to public debate of those who had been forcibly silenced by the blockade. Not surprisingly, the Bougainvilleans took up the debate where it had been cut off. When PNG permitted journalists to go to Bougainville, aboard the first voyage of the Sankamap, in mid-February, Bougainvillean leaders gave priority to stressing that their aspirations remain the same, and that their historic concerns about land, pollution, mining, compensation and the need to gain autonomy or independence are still at issue.

This need have surprised no one. The rhetoric was assertive and cheeky, as is usually the case in Melanesian culture, which sets great store by oratory in which claims and counter claims are boldly asserted.

However, media reports, far from making allowances for the extravagance of rhetoric, built the initial comments of Bougainville Revolutionary Army commander Sam Kauona into a crisis which almost scuttled the whole Honiara Declaration. Kauona greeted the ship, and its media contingent, with a theatrical declaration that Bougainville no longer wanted to be dependent on imported Australian rice and Taiwanese tinned fish, all of which had to be returned. Not all Bougainvilleans at Kieta wharf wanted political theatre to be in command, and the PNG press reported the refusal of food as

madness, further proof of the triumph of unreason on Bougainville.

Kauona insisted that Bougainville has achieved its independence, and will not compromise it. Kauona criticized those who had suggested the Honiara Declaration signalled a collapse of Bougainvillean resolve, or a victory for PNG.

Bougainville Information Service was one of those criticized. Several Bougainvilleans have taken issue with BIS, saying BIS has underestimated Bougainvillean determination. They point out that it was the Bougainvilleans, not PNG, which put off the date for future negotiations over the status of Bougainville, which are now, in the Honiara Declaration, to occur at an indefinite time in the future. Apparently this signals not a loss of resolve but a concern to reopen communication with experts in the international law on self determination, so as to be well prepared when negotiation starts.

ARE BOUGAINVILLEANS DIVIDED?

Commander Kauona said that the BRA was not prepared to surrender its arms as specified in a disputed clause of the Honiara Declaration, which went beyond what the Bougainvillean representatives in Honiara had been authorized to agree to. He said: "We feel that surrendering arms is suicide."

What created most headlines was Kauona's warning that the Task Force will strike trouble if its work compromises the gains made by the unilateral declaration of independence. Kauona reminded his audience of PNG and foreign media that Bougainvilleans who had taken compromise too far had been killed. This statement could have been read as a "hard cop" act, to make easier the work of the Task Force "soft cops" in making good the promise of the Honiara Declaration to restore the island to viability again. However, far from being read as supportive of the Task Force it was widely reported as a threat to kill the Task Force members, despite their widespread popularity throughout Bougainville.

A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH

Despite these perils, the Declaration continues to progress. A major breakthrough came with the announcement by Fr Momis that he is prepared to accept BRA commander Sam Kauona as a member of the Interim Legal Authority empowered by the PNG government to direct and supervise the work of the Task Force in implementing the Declaration. This announcement by Fr Momis in early March, a few days after Deputy Prime Minister Diro proposed assassinating Kauona, is the strongest sign yet that Bougainvilleans whose primary

loyalty is to the nation and those concerned solely for their home island, are determined to work together, to produce a peaceful return to political process.

Until recently all that united Fr Momis and Sam Kauona was enmity. If enemies can unite in the interests of both the nation of PNG and the island of Bougainville, Melanesian concern for present realities can overcome the tendency on both sides to solidify enmity into exclusive ideologies.

With the establishment of both the Task Force and the Interim Legal Authority, two of the three instruments of the Honiara Declaration are in place. The outstanding unresolved issues are two: the absence of any Multinational Supervisory Team, and the absence of peace on Buka.

AGONY OF BUKA'S DIRTY WAR

Buka is tearing itself apart. Since September 1990 the PNG Defence Force has been in command on Buka. It armed those who had welcomed the return of the national military, due to their disenchantment with heavy handed behaviour by nearby Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRS) militias.

Those armed by the PNG Defence Force call themselves the Buka Liberation Front (BLF). The result has been a three sided conflict which has not abated, despite the Honiara Declaration, which proclaimed an amnesty covering fighters of both BRA and BLF.

The BLF, however, was not a party to the negotiations in Honiara, and has paid only lip service to the Declaration. Unseen by the outside world, a dirty war of death squads and murder by night has deepened the divisions within Buka's families and clans. Prior to the Honiara Declaration PNG permitted a few media to go to Buka, to show that national control had restored medicines and services to Buka. Instead television viewers saw BLF militia staging for the camera a display of brutality, kicking and beating men identified as suspected BRA. Since the Honiara Declaration came into force in late January 1991, reliable reports speak of continuing violence. Sir Alexis Sarei, a former elected premier of Bougainville's provincial government, and PNG's former diplomatic representative in London, says a relative of his surrendered in February and was then shot in a camp set up to receive people leaving their jungle hideouts.

Evidence of ongoing war also comes from those charged with administering PNG's sovereignty on Buka. Ian Glanville, first secretary to PNG Deputy PM Ted Diro, a white man proud of his ability to think like a

Melanesian, wrote an article revealing the temptations of reliance on divide and rule tactics in the name of restoring tradition. Of the Bukas who formed the Buka Liberati-Front Glanville says:

"I believe too that they should be rewarded for their unwavering loyalty to the Government and the way in which they have elected to rid themselves of the BRA source and get on with the job of living...to get on with the job and put the past behind them. That is not to say there were no recriminations. There were many and they were being handled quietly, traditionally and with grim determination....Buka has a chance to build the perfect society. The leaders have already said they will not countenance the return of liquor to the island. The concept of a council of chiefs is an admirable one and it brings real self-government. It works in Fiji..." (*Post Courier*, 15 Feb. 1991).

Glanville is also concerned that "the brainwashing that had turned these young people into (BRA) rebels for two years" should be overturned by the use of "psyops (psychological operations) which is an important function of any military/civilian clean up campaign." Thus, he argues, the camps in which captive BRA suspects are held: "should be maintained so that the process of rehabilitation could be pursued in a group situation under close supervision rather than the planned dispersal back to the villages where they could meet and easily fall prey to the same wayward influences."

None of this suggests that the PNG Defence Force commanders in charge of Buka regard the implementation of clause 10 (ii) of the Honiara Declaration as top priority. This clause requires the PNG government to: "grant amnesty and immunity from prosecutions to the members of the BRA, and BLF in accordance with legal and constitutional requirements of Papua New Guinea." Presumably those to whom amnesty and immunity are guaranteed also have the right to live.

WHEN WILL WE KNOW THE DEATH TOLL?

It may be that the war on Buka, conducted by militias while the PNG Defence Force looks on, with no attempt to disarm those it armed, has caused a death toll far higher than anyone outside has guessed at. On the main island of Bougainville, the full dimension of the death toll, both from fighting and from preventable disease due to the blockade, emerged only when Bougainville's few remaining doctors at last had an opportunity to put to the world their estimate of at least 1,700 and perhaps as many as 3,000. That figure far exceeded the hundred or so which had been the standard figure used in media reports. The new figure became public only through a reporter for Australia's SBS network getting into Bougainville semi-officially, in February 1991, to talk to the doctors. The current

estimate of a death toll of up to 3,000 is now widely quoted.

The tragedy of Buka is that it is self-fulfilling. The arming of villagers, turning family against family, was done on the cynical assumption that extra judicial killing is best put in the hands of people well acquainted with their foes. Now no one knows how to stop the killing or disarm the killers. No one accepts responsibility for trying to do so, although PNG confidently asserts its sovereign rule on Buka.

BOUGAINVILLE ENTERS INTERNATIONAL AGENDAS

Sympathy for Bougainville is now so strong in the neighbouring Solomon Islands that a former Solomons Prime Minister has called for official recognition of the island as an independent state. (*The Age*, 9 March 1991) Sir Ezekiel Alebua is currently in opposition, having lost prime ministership in 1989, but in the absence of ideological division, his view is a popular one on both sides of the Solomons Parliament.

The Solomons is separated from Bougainville by a few minutes in a canoe, and there is a strong awareness of the links of kin, language and religion which bind all Solomonese, wherever they live. The Solomon Islands government, independent since 1979, increasingly sees neighbouring PNG as pushy, rude and insensitive.

There is as yet little sign of any move to raise Bougainville's claims at the South Pacific Forum meeting due soon in Pohnpei. The South Pacific Forum has yet to grant the Kanaks of New Caledonia the status of official observers, despite much longer standing sympathy throughout the Pacific with the aspirations of the Kanaks.

[The **Bougainville Information Service** is supported by churches, aid agencies and philanthropic foundations. It is a non-partisan outlet for the variety of Bougainvillean viewpoints on current problems. BIS takes no stance of its own, other than to reject violence. BIS Situation Report may be reprinted, with acknowledgements.]



JURISTS SLATE NEW FIJI CONSTITUTION

By David Robie

Lawyers have taken their time assessing the controversial new republican constitution in Fiji. But now that they are finally making public statements, they are widely condemning the document as enshrining racial and geographic divisions and discrimination against Fijian citizens of all races.

The executive of the International Commission of Jurists debated Fiji at its meeting in Geneva last October. Already, though the Australian section of the commission and leading Fiji lawyers have made scathing critiques of the constitution. Australian commission president Justice Michael Kirby said it was "quite as bad" as the apartheid laws in South Africa.

"Those who lift their voice against that form of entrenched legal discrimination must do so against this new and completely unacceptable constitution," he said. "The veneer of constitutionalism will deceive no one."

Justice Kirby noted that October 10 marked the 20th anniversary of the original independence constitution, proclaimed "with so much hope and faith". But, he added, "the new constitution is a sad betrayal of those ideals".

The Fiji Law Society has branded it a "recipe for disaster" for the country. Society president Harish Sharma, deputy prime minister in the deposed Coalition Government, condemned the empowering of the military under Section 94(3) to ensure the "security, defence and well being of Fiji and its people".

According to Mr Sharma, the provision made "well-being" a charter for a coup. Without clear definition, he said, the Fiji Military Forces would be free to force any scheme or plan in the name of the well-being of Fiji and its people.

Former society president Miles Johnson has also publicly condemned the constitution, warning about the fragility of the "guaranteed freedoms"

This concern particularly troubles civil libertarians because last month the caretaker government established by decree a new intelligence service with wide-ranging powers. Academics at the Suva-based University of the South Pacific have also been threatened over alleged political activity.

"Outside the group which stands to gain from the new constitution, its promulgation on July 25 has met with almost universal criticism," Mr Johnson said. "In his speech at the promulgation ceremony, President Ratu Sir Penala Ganilau dwelt at length on the freedoms, reassuring everyone yet again that they are 'guaranteed'. The precise words he used were: 'Among rights specifically guaranteed are the rights to life, liberty, security of the person, the protection of the law, freedom of conscience, etc.'"

"This, of course, is simply not the case. As soon as a majority in the new Parliament so chooses, these fundamental freedoms can be removed by a simple majority and since, by definition, the majority is Fijian, this can happen at any time." Mr Johnson refers to the powers provided in the fine print toward the end of the constitution headed "special legislation". Under this provision, Section 162, the courts are also prevented from interfering.

Professor Albert Blaustein, an American constitutional law consultant and president of Human Rights Advocates International, is also critical. Though he was hired last year by the caretaker Fiji Government to draw up an "internationally acceptable" constitution, he rejects the final document. He now says that he had wanted a multi-racial and proportional representation system introduced.

The most comprehensive condemnation so far has come in a statement from the Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists. As well as Justice Kirby, the signatories include former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, former South Australian Premier Don Dunstan, and Justice Kenneth Handley.

The International Commission of Jurists is a non-political body, concerned with the rule of law, the protection of human rights and the independence of the judiciary and of lawyers. According to the jurists' statement, the new constitution is "a means by which Fiji may be ruled in perpetuity by an oligarch of Fijian chiefs and their associates".

Following a detailed study of the constitutional provisions, the jurists concluded: "The government will not be answerable to the governed. Racial and geographical divisions and discrimination against citizens of all races are enshrined in the constitution

which the majority is powerless to alter." Although the constitution has the "trappings" of representative government, the jurists say, it lacks the "reality".

A large majority of the 715,000 people of Fiji, particularly a large proportion of the indigenous Fijians and the overwhelming majority of Indo-Fijians are denied "an effective and equal voice in the choice of those who should govern them and the laws by which they should be bound".

Though critics have often voiced the discrimination against Indo-Fijians, the jurists stress the serious discrimination against indigenous Fijians, who slightly outnumber the Indo-Fijians.

"Of the 37 Fijian seats, five are allocated to the towns and 32 to the provinces. At the 1986 census 33 per cent of (indigenous) Fijians lived in the towns. So two-thirds of Fijians get 32 seats; one third only five. In 1987 it was urban Fijians who voted in significant numbers for (deposed Prime Minister) Dr Bavadra. In addition, the provincial seats are unevenly distributed, heavily favouring the supporters of the regime."

Seats in gerrymandered provincial area regarded as strongholds of the regime have as few as 5,000 to elect one member, while areas which voted against Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara in 1987 need 20,000 and more to elect a member.

The jurists also point to another obstacle facing indigenous Fijians in that they must enrol with their own clan - or establish their eligibility to be enrolled. However, many Fijians cannot be enrolled because they have moved to towns or to other provinces to escape the restrictions of the traditional communal system.

"It is clear therefore that significant numbers of Fijians will be unable to vote, despite the claim of the army and the military-backed regime that the overthrow of the legally elected government and subsequent rule by military backed decree have been undertaken in order to protect and advance the indigenous Fijians"

Under Section 33 of the constitution, the supervisor of elections does not have to follow the directions of the Electoral Commission, and his decisions, if they are corrupt, unfair, or wrong in law, can not be challenged in a court.

After a general election, under Section 43 (1:e) an elected MP is not allowed to change political party or allegiance or it means forfeiting the seat. And if the government feels in any way threatened politically or

economically - regardless of whether or not the threat really exists - the president has powers to suspend the constitution for up to six months and govern under emergency rules that do not have to conform to any accepted human rights standards.

In the context of this constitution, the decree creating the new Fiji Intelligence Service poses serious concerns for civil rights lawyers and other critics. The decree provides for a secret budget for the service and wide-ranging powers to search people and premises, open mail and tap telephones.

The Intelligence Service's role is said to make forecasts and report on anything "affecting maintenance of good order in the country, combating sedition and sabotage, and provision of warnings of potential military attacks or armed incursions into the country". The service will also carry out "specific studies on request" from the government. Anybody who obstructs the operation of the service or who reveals the names of its agents faces stiff fines and imprisonment.

Heading the service will be a director, appointed on the prime minister's recommendation, who should answer to the "Intelligence Advisory Committee", the secretariat for the National Security Council. Council members will be the prime minister, the defence, justice, police and finance ministers, and the attorney-general. Search or bugging warrants will be issued by the council chairperson and two other ministers.

Adi Kuini Bavadra, leader of the deposed Coalition, condemns the move as a grave assault on basic human rights in Fiji. "Instead of an intelligence service", she says, "there should be an anti-corruption agency."

[Reprinted from The Dominion, October 22, 1990]

Coalition Publishes Constitution Critique

A 73 page critique of Fiji's constitution is contained in a new book released by the Coalition. Titled The Fiji Constitution of 1990: A Fraud on the Nation, the book was released by Coalition Leader Adi Kuini Bavadra at a reception and press conference in Suva on February 28.

The draft critique was prepared by Professor Yash Ghai, a leading constitutional lawyer, with the assistance of a committee of Coalition lawyers and party leaders. Adi Kuini emphasised her party's demand that the 1990 Constitution be submitted to a referendum. From Fiji Voice, 1991.

Rainbow Warrior at Moruroa

HIDE AND SEEK AROUND A LEAK

By Bengt Danielsson, Papehue, Tahiti.

The fact that the new Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior was not sunk, like its namesake in 1985, during its recent protest cruise to Moruroa, where bomb number 169 had just been detonated, proves unquestionably that state terrorism is no longer an acceptable policy to the French government. But unfortunately, it has instead adopted an equally objectionable policy of conceit and deceit.

This new "open door" policy, as it is officially called, consists of inviting foreign VIP's, like the King of Tonga, leading politicians and MP's, to "inspect" Moruroa. What they are actually offered, however, is simply a one day tourist trip. To begin with they are taken on a guided tour of the village at the eastern end of the atoll, where the 3,000 soldiers, foreign legionnaires, technicians and civilian workers live, during which they are told that all these men would obviously not accept to live on the atoll, if there were any contamination risks.

Next they are herded into a hall, where they have to listen for several hours to "technical explanations" by the French bombers, who repeat endlessly that the tests are innocuous. To their delight, these boring lectures are followed at noon by a sumptuous meal, washed down with the best French wines. Whereupon, at the end of their stay, they are literally taken for a ride, since they are embarked in helicopters for a tour around the island. But since the tests are made in the base of the atoll at the depth of 800 to 1,200 metres, nothing can, of course, be learnt of the damage and leakage they have caused by flying round the atoll in the air.

Although these visits are thus nothing more than tourist trips, the French authorities, with the help of the official AFP news agency, tell each time the world that this open door policy proves that the Moruroa bombers have nothing to hide. This propaganda trick was particularly successful in 1987, when the invited VIP was the French underwater explorer Jacques Cousteau, who arrived on the Calypso, at Moruroa and allowed to witness a bomb explosion. But strangely enough, the only diving apparatus he had taken with him was so small that it could not go down deeper than 150 metres. The French government nevertheless announced shortly afterwards that "the world famous marine biologist Jacques Cousteau has recently made a careful

investigation of the Moruroa atoll and concluded that the tests represent no danger whatsoever for the health of the Polynesian population." Although Cousteau had never made a public declaration to that effect, he never protested against this lie and was rewarded for this complacency by being elected a member of the prestigious French Academy.

As the French government continued to proclaim that unlike all other nuclear powers it was applying an "open door" policy, Greenpeace International sent it on 20 October 1990 a polite letter, asking for permission to undertake a scientific investigation of Moruroa. It described in detail in an appended program indicating the areas to be examined, the equipment to be used and the sort of samples to be taken. The importance and value of such a study, above all for the French bombers, were summed up in these terms: "If carried out properly and thoroughly, this program would be capable of indicating whether or not leakage is already occurring from past underground tests. Further study would of course have to be undertaken in the event of positive results to ascertain the scale of any problem identified. Negative results from this program of sampling would indeed permit the French government to claim with some degree of confidence that their nuclear testing program is not a present causing any significant environmental harm."

Although it was thus definitely in the interest of the French government to accept this proposal, the answer delivered by the French High Commissioner, when the Rainbow Warrior arrived in Tahiti on 26 November with the American radiation expert Norm Buske and a well equipped research laboratory on board, was highly evasive. For the only thing the Greenpeace team was allowed to do was to fly out to Moruroa in a military plane in order to listen to the usual sort of lectures by the French navy officers and technicians.

Understandably, the expedition leaders, the New-Zealander Stephanie Mills and the Frenchman Alain Connan, angrily refused to make such a meaningless tourist trip and ordered Captain Peter Wilcox, who had already been skipper on the old Rainbow Warrior, sunk by French secret agents in 1985, to sail over to Moruroa, so that Norm Buske and his assistants might at least take some plankton samples in the waters around the atoll.



photo: Greenpeace/Dorreboom

Greenpeace sampling crew, shadowed by a French warship and a naval helicopter, enters the test zone.

When still some fifteen miles from Moruroa, the ship was surrounded by French helicopters and destroyers and the captain informed by radio that he was forbidden to enter the lagoon and tie up at the wharf. Norm Buske managed, however, to take plankton samples, which in spite of the considerable distance from the shore turned out to contain both cobalt 60 and cesium 134.

When this annoying disproof of the constant official French assurances that no radionuclides had ever leaked out into the ocean from Moruroa was publicly announced by Greenpeace International, the French base commander branded it as an abominable lie. Buske cordially invited the military technicians at Moruroa to come out to the Rainbow Warrior and examine his samples - which for unexplained but easily understandable reasons they refused to do.

As soon as the Greenpeace protest cruise had been announced, the French military authorities had taken the precautionary measure of dispatching a team of marines, ordinarily employed in the Atlantic to capture foreign trawlers fishing illegally in territorial waters. The Moruroa base commander therefore now ordered these boarding specialists to intervene. To his delight, Buske offered him the perfect pretext, when the American scientist on 11 December embarked in a zodiac with four crew members, radioed for permission to approach Moruroa for continued sample taking and without waiting for an answer did so. The "pirates" were

consequently stopped by an armada of navy boats, taken to the military head-quarters at Moruroa and flown to Tahiti, where the French High Commissioner immediately expelled Buske and his two assistants by the first commercial plane departing for Los Angeles.

As the French authorities obviously had foreseen, without Buske there was nobody left on the Rainbow Warrior able to collect and analyse plankton samples, and the ship therefore left the danger zone round Moruroa and sailed off to New Zealand via Tahiti. Still without having received an answer to the request for a scientific investigation of the atoll which Greenpeace International had addressed to the French government two months earlier.

What the badly disappointed Polynesian leaders, who had enthusiastically approved of the protest cruise, now hope for is that the World Health Organization will send out a team of independent scientists to undertake the examination of the leaking atoll proposed by Greenpeace and make the long overdue health survey of the whole population in French Polynesia which the Territorial Assembly regularly asks for. The Minister for Health in the local government also thinks that it is high time that his French masters eventually accede to his demand, made two years ago, to let him visit Moruroa in a Nautilus submarine and inspect the underwater base of the atoll accompanied by a photographer.

CESIUM-134 AT MORUROA: Review of the Calypso Water Samples

In an August 1990 press release, GREENPEACE NEW ZEALAND reported that further analysis of Moruroa lagoon water sample data from Jacques Cousteau's investigation of 1987 revealed the presence of a radio-active isotope in the lagoon. The presence of this isotope was concluded to indicate that there is leakage from the atoll where nuclear tests are conducted underground. This conclusion is in grave variance with the French government which has always maintained that there is no radiation leakage into the lagoon.

The following is a reprint of the summary of the report authored by Norm Buske of SEARCH Technical Services, Davenport WA, USA.

SUMMARY

Commander Cousteau witnessed an underground nuclear explosion at the French test site at Moruroa atoll in the South Pacific on 21 June 1987. The next day, 6 water samples were collected from the lagoon. Two of these samples, collected 9 km apart, were significantly contaminated with cesium-134, an artificial radioactive isotope having a two-year half-life. Intervening samples had little or no cesium-134 contamination. This lack of uniform mixing suggests one or more local sources of cesium-134 in the lagoon.

The presence of cesium-134 in Moruroan waters could neither be attributed to global atmospheric fallout, to pre-1975 atmospheric tests in French Polynesia, to the Chernobyl accident, nor to venting immediately after an explosion. French authorities have been able to offer

no satisfactory explanation for the presence of cesium-134.

Cesium-134 is produced by a nuclear explosion only if the stable isotope, cesium-133, is close to the explosion. This is puzzling because cesium-133 is probably not prevalent in the Moruroan environment. A candidate cesium-bearing material which might be close to the French underground explosions is alumina in cement used to stopper the drill shafts in which the nuclear devices are placed. Unfortunately, the French authorities have not described the materials surrounding the nuclear devices to allow evaluation of this candidate.

Locations of only a quarter of the French underground explosions have been published. From these, only one source of the cesium-134 leakage which Cousteau detected has been matched - the 15 kt explosion on 8 December 1981. If leakage from this particular test was indeed sampled in June 1987, the atoll is able to contain cesium-134 for less than 6 years. This would represent much poorer radioactive containment than has been described for Polynesian atolls.

French authorities have obtained gamma spectra for Moruroan lagoon water samples for several years. These spectra revealed cesium-137 at the same levels as Cousteau found. Cesium-134 was probably also present in the French spectra although this isotope was not previously reported.

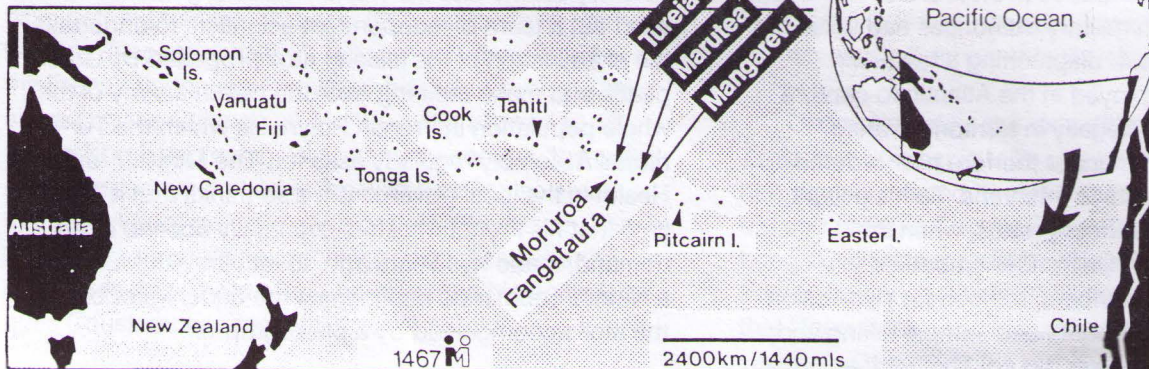
Based on the abundance of cesium-134 in Cousteau's samples, the French underground nuclear explosions contribute more radiocesium to the marine

environment than the old atmospheric explosions still contribute.

[Reprinted with permission of the author]

The complete version of this report is available from GREENPEACE, 1436 U Street NW, Washington, DC, USA 20009

Tuamotu Archipelago



FRENCH POLYNESIANS TAKE THEIR CASE TO FRANCE

By Craig Cormick

After having the French Government conduct hundreds of nuclear tests in their region, the French Polynesians are taking their protests to the people of France. Dr. Patrick Howell, the Head of Public Dental Health in French Polynesia and member of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, said that they had made little progress in protesting directly to the French Government and were now going to send a delegation to Europe to inform people about the damage of the tests. The delegation to Europe would also include representatives from the Marshall Islands and Palau.

He said, "We are building a strategy to inform French public opinion. This may be the only way to change the attitudes of the French Government." He said that since radioactive pollution had been detected in the food chain in French Polynesia, the French Government's stance towards the testing would have to change.

The French Government is currently one of the highest users of nuclear power in the world, and despite Government claims as to its high level of safety, recent studies by independent groups have found radiation pollution in the French food chain as well." This is one strategy we can use to show that the French Government hasn't even told the right information to the French people," he said.

Dr. Howell said that the French nuclear testing in French Polynesia was also linked to the country being economically dependent on France." Before 1964 we had a self-sufficient economy," he said. "Now people buy fish in tins." He also said that the strong dependence of the economy on France was causing political conservatism, and a reluctance by some French Polynesian politicians to criticise the French. "We are like nuclear addicts in our country," he said. "But with all this money coming from the nuclear industry, we haven't used it to shape our economy in a good way."

But Dr. Howell also said that most of the money being received from the nuclear tests was restricted to about five per cent of the people. He said, "When you ask individuals within the Polynesian people they say, 'the nuclear experiments are really dangerous and we should stop it' - but when they go to the elections, they

say 'we want the money'". He described the problem as, "If we stop the nuclear experiments we are going to have a very poor economy. If we continue the experiments we are going to have a very good economy."

The issue of continued testing and reliance on the French may be pre-empted by the high possibility of serious nuclear waste leakage at Moruroa Atoll. A US researcher, Norm Buske, has recently reinterpreted the data collected from Jacques Cousteau's 1987 visit to Moruroa Atoll and found that the atoll could be leaking large amounts of highly radioactive substances into the Pacific within six years, not the French Government's claimed hundreds of years.

There have also been disconcerting allegations by members of the Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War that French authorities have been purposely distorting the numbers of cancer cases in the region. Dr. Howell said that the French Polynesian medical system was dominated by French military doctors, both active and retired. He said that about 90 per cent of doctors in the region were French. The non-dissemination of cancer statistics has made it hard to make official claims as to the incidences of cancer, related to the nuclear testing in the region.

Dr. Howell did a study into the levels of strontium-19 in the teeth of the people of French Polynesia, but said that the only way to have his data examined was through the laboratories of the French Government. The results he obtained showed that Europeans actually had three times higher levels of strontium-19 in their teeth, which was attributed to the amount of atmospheric testing that had been conducted in the northern hemisphere before the 1963 banning such tests. "I want to do the same research now with an independent laboratory to see how it compares with the French Government results," he said.

Dr. Howell also said that attempting to have the French Government stop nuclear testing in the region and lessening economic dependence on France was going to be difficult. "It is not going to be easy," he said. "But that doesn't mean we should do nothing about it. We have decided that we must go to the rest of the world and tell them our story," he said

[Craig Cormack is a journalist based in Canberra.]

WARMING OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION SINCE 1880: EVIDENCE, CAUSES AND IMPLICATIONS

By Dr. Patrick D. Nunn, Senior Lecturer in Geography at USP, Fiji.

INTRODUCTION

The Earth's climate is a topical issue at present, largely because of concerns about how the "greenhouse effect" may change the environment. This paper is an attempt to remove some of the misunderstanding which surrounds this subject by showing what evidence there is to support the belief that the South Pacific region has been warming recently, to what causes this may be attributed, and what the consequent implications are for the region's future.

THE "GREENHOUSE EFFECT" AND GLOBAL WARMING

The greenhouse effect is a temperature-regulating mechanism which involves long-wave heat radiation from the Earth's surface being absorbed by "greenhouse gases" in the lower atmosphere and then being emitted (re-radiated) back to the Earth's surface. The greenhouse effect exists but the term has been used as a synonym for global warming of an increased amount of re-radiated heat resulting from an increase in the proportions of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

The increase in the lower atmosphere of these gases, principally carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide, tropospheric ozone and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), has caused an increase in the amount of heat re-radiated back to the Earth's surface which has caused it to warm progressively over the last few decades, a process abetted by deforestation (Bolin *et al.*, 1986; Nunn, 1988). Even then, it should be remembered that global warming has not occurred everywhere in the past and will not occur everywhere in the future. Nevertheless the overall or global trend is clear.

EVIDENCE FOR GLOBAL WARMING

Most of the evidence for global warming over the last hundred years or so has been derived from compilations of long-term temperature data (Hansen *et al.*, 1981). Criticisms levelled at such analyses are that their data bases have strong geographical biases towards the industrialised northern hemisphere which has led some people to conclude that the increasing temperatures indicated by such analyses are the direct result of increasing industrialisation, particularly heat-island

effects over urban areas. Such objections were effectively annulled by the compilation of Jones *et al.* (1986) who derived a temperature trend for each representative sector of the Earth's surface.

Hansen *et al.* (1981) concluded that global temperature had risen 0.4°C in one hundred years. Jones *et al.* found an average global increase of about 0.5°C since 1860, which comprised "little trend in the nineteenth century, marked warming to 1940, relatively steady conditions to the mid-1970s and a subsequent rapid warming...the warmest 3 years have all occurred in the 1980s" (1986: 430). In parts of the northern hemisphere, the summer of 1989 has been the warmest on record.

EVIDENCE FOR WARMING IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Long-term surface air temperature data in the South Pacific are comparatively few and many records have large gaps in them. As with other meteorological data, trends (such as warming or cooling) cannot be identified if recording has not been going on continuously for 30-50 years at least. For the island Pacific, this criterion is insisted on increasingly since the discovery of short-period climate oscillations associated with the El Nino-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) phenomenon.

One of the longest-term air temperature records in the South Pacific comes from Government House, Suva, Fiji, where observations began in 1884. Raw data were collected for this study from the Fiji Meteorological Service archives and five-year means were calculated. A positive correlation of $+0.326$ indicating a warming trend was obtained and is statistically significant at the 0.1% (Figure 1). This is the first analysis of data of this kind from the region of study known to the author and suggests that the warming trend experienced in areas peripheral to the region (see below) has also occurred within it.

For comparison, data from Rarawai Mill, also in Fiji, are also plotted in Figure 1 and show no significant trend. This is likely to be a function of the comparatively short term over which data have been continuously recorded.

The gradual rise of temperature at Government House in Suva over the last 100 years is not necessarily

an indication of regional (South Pacific) warming although mid-ocean islands are generally excellent places to seek indications of short-term climate changes on account of the uniformity of controls on their weather (Nunn, 1987). In the case of the windward sides of the islands of Fiji (where Suva is located), the weather is dominated by the southeast trade winds. Any significant trend from such places is therefore much more likely to be representative of a large area than places on continental margins, for example, where controls on weather are much more complex and changeable.

To overcome such problems, many analyses of trends over the last century have been derived from measurements made from high-altitude balloons of temperatures in the troposphere. Such radiosonde data have been collected continuously at three stations in the South Pacific since 1950. Between 1950 and 1985, tropospheric air temperatures above Fiji increased 0.7°C . Above New Caledonia, they increased 1.05°C ; and above Tahiti, they increased 1.4°C (from data in Karoly, 1988). These results are believed to accurately reflect surface air temperature trends in the region.

Adjacent to the South Pacific region, many longer-term surface air temperature data have been collected over much smaller areas and, consequently, the conclusions are much more convincing. This is manifested in the way in which they have influenced government policy in the major Pacific Rim countries. The results of Nullet's (1989) analyses of Hawaiian temperature data are shown in Figure 2 and clearly demonstrate that a warming has occurred there over the last approximately 75 years. A similar picture emerged in New Zealand where a rise has "been experienced throughout the whole region during 1935-1970, temperatures climbing by 1°C over these years" (Salinger and Gunn, 1975: 397).

Many critics of such conclusions believe that urban heat-island effects are largely responsible for increased

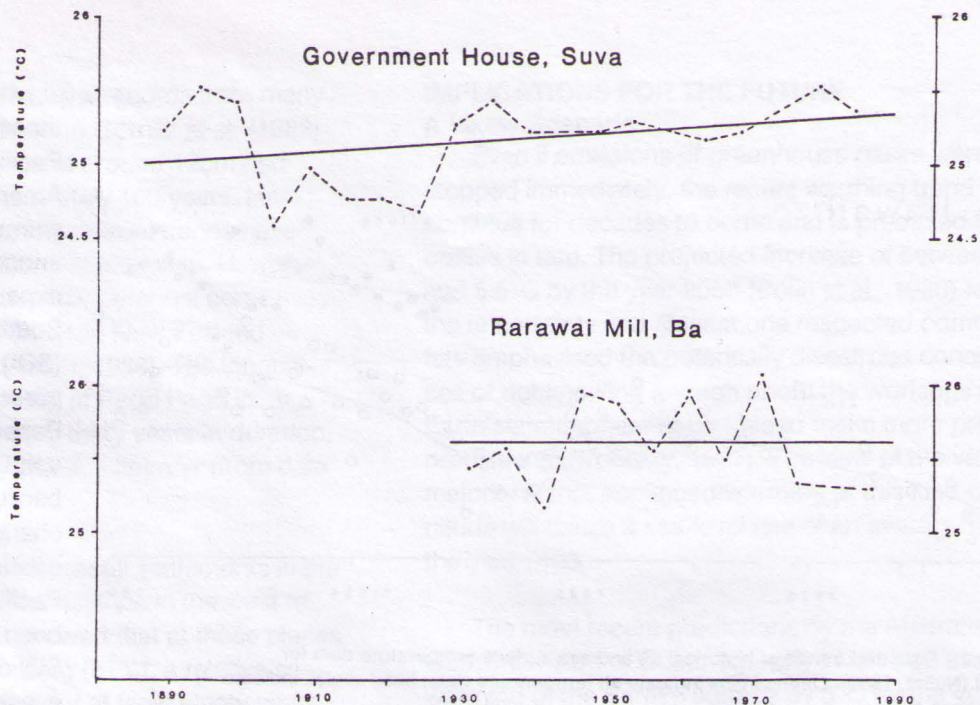


Figure 1. Long-term temperature data (5-yr means) and trends for two stations in Fiji. Upper graph shows mean annual temperature 1887-1986 at Government House, Suva ($r = +0.326$, significant at 0.1% level). Lower graph shows mean annual temperature 1929-1988 at Rarawai Mill (no significant correlation).

temperatures since most monitoring equipment is located close to industrial areas. Data from Taiwan in the central western Pacific effectively dismiss this explanation. Surface air temperature data exist for the period 1896-1987 for five stations, four industrialised and one, an uninhabited island 50km off the north coast of the main island. The four industrialised stations show temperature rises of 0.67°C (Taipei) for this period while the other (Pengchiayu) shows an increase of 0.78°C (raw data from Chiang *et al.*, 1989). There is clearly no significant variation between stations in industrialised and non-industrialised areas in Taiwan.

The rise in sea-surface temperature (SST) around Hawaii (Figure 2) is shared by the whole South Pacific region according to the survey of Folland *et al.* (1984) who found a rise of 0.5°C since 1912.

From such data, it is reasonable to conclude that for around 100 years, the South Pacific region has experienced an increase in land and sea surface air temperatures comparable to that calculated for the whole globe (see above).

POSSIBLE CAUSES OF WARMING

It should be stressed more often by those writing about recent climate changes that these have not been uncommon in the history of the Earth. In fact, the Earth's climate might usefully be regarded as continuously changing.

For example, between 1200-650 years ago, a slight warming ($+0.5-1.0^{\circ}\text{C}$ above present) occurred during a

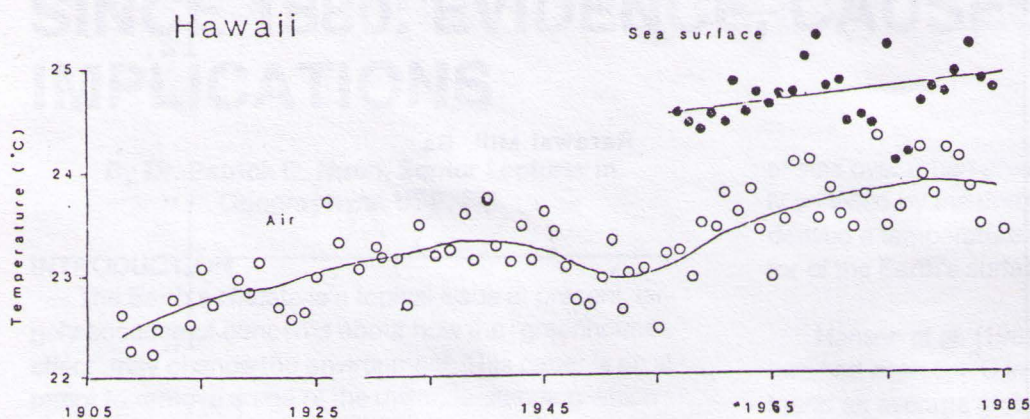


Figure 2. Data and trends of historical air and sea-surface temperature data for Hawaii (Nullet, 1989). Open circles indicate air temperature data: filled circles indicate sea-surface data.

period known as the Little Climatic Optimum (LCO), evidence for which has been noted in many parts of the world (Lamb, 1977). In the Pacific, it has been argued that the LCO provided favourable conditions for long-distance ocean voyaging (persistent trade winds, clear skies and little storminess) which can help explain the period of rapid Polynesian migration (Bridgman, 1983). The LCO was followed by the Little Ice Age (LIA) during which temperatures fell 1.5°C on average below LCO temperatures.

It may be that the recent global warming is nothing more than an indication of the end of the LIA although the strong correlations between global temperature increases and increases in the proportions of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere leads most commentators to conclude that recent warming is anthropogenic: in other words, it has been caused directly by the increase in "greenhouse gases" in the lower atmosphere through the operation of the greenhouse effect.

EFFECTS OF SOUTH PACIFIC WARMING

The Hydrological Cycle

It has been argued that warming in the southern hemisphere at least to an intensification of the hydrological cycle in the period 1949-1979 (Flogn and Kapala, 1989) which means that evapotranspiration, precipitation and (river) runoff would all be expected to have increased recently. In the South Pacific, the few records of such parameters do not confirm this suggestion because of the influence of other factors, particularly the ENSO phenomenon.

It has been noticed that, in those years when the tropical Pacific off western South America is significantly warmer than average, anomalous climatic effects are experienced elsewhere. A Southern Oscillation Index (SOI) based on normalised pressure differences between Papeete in French Polynesia and Darwin in Australia (Trenberth, 1976) has been used to characterise the Southern Oscillation. In the western Pacific, recent droughts have been coincident with negative SOI displacements (El Nino events) and periods of unusual wetness with positive SOI displacements. The strong relationship between

the SOI and synoptic climate elements such as precipitation in the Pacific islands probably accounts for the absence of any clear rising or falling trend in such data. Those from Tarawa in Kiribati illustrate this point well (Figure 3).

Tropical Cyclones

The frequency of tropical cyclones in the South Pacific has also increased recently (Grant, 1981; Thompson, 1986). Tropical cyclones develop when the South Pacific Convergence Zone lies over places where sea-surface temperatures (SSTs) exceed $27-28^{\circ}\text{C}$. A recent increase in SSTs has been noted (above) and this is likely, at least in the central South Pacific, to have been responsible for the recent increase in the number of tropical cyclones experienced in the region recently.

For example, twelve tropical cyclones with hurricane-force winds (hurricanes) affected Fiji between 1941 and 1980 (an average of 3.1 per decade) yet ten occurred between 1981 and September 1989 (an average of 11.4 per decade). Tropical cyclone frequency in the Tuvalu region is shown graphically in Figure 4. An abrupt increase is clear after 1975.

Sea-level Rise

One of the most talked-about effects of global warming is sea-level rise. It is argued that ocean water undergoes (thermal) expansion as temperatures rise and that long-term continued warming inevitably causes a sea-level rise resulting both from this and from melting of land-grounded ice.

Analyses of long-term sea-level records from many of the world's coasts suggested to Gornitz *et al.* (1982) that a truly global sea-level rise of around 12cm had taken place in the last approximately 100 years. Marginal to the study region, rising sea-level trends have been identified from tide gauges at Honolulu, Hawaii (+1.5mm/yr since 1900 - Pirazzoli, personal communication, 1989) and at Wellington New Zealand (+1.6mm/yr since 1900 - Hannah, 1988). The longest-term record in the South Pacific, at Pago Pago in American Samoa, although only thirty years in duration, also shows a rising trend of about +2mm/yr (from data in Pirazzoli, 1986).

A recent study of fifty-nine coastal settlements in the South Pacific from the Solomon Islands in the west to the Cook Islands in the east showed that at those places which were not tectonically rising (81%), a relative sea-level rise had been in progress for at least ninety years (Nunn, in press). The vertical magnitude of this rise could not be accurately determined from this study although the average rate of recent lateral coastal inundation (not shoreline erosion) for the region was determined to be 10.4cm/yr.

Most modellers of the Earth's climate and its effect on sea level dismiss the idea that recent sea-level rise has anything to do with the increase in greenhouse gases in the atmosphere as a result of human activities. In other words, recent sea-level rise is not the result of anthropogenic warming of the Earth's surface. Something else is responsible for recent sea-level rise; possibly the legacy of the LIA or maybe simply one of the many minor oscillations that have characterised sea-level behaviour over the last few thousand years (e.g. see Scholfield, 1977).

A recent provocative paper by Peltier and Tushingham (1989) argued that there is a globally coherent signal within tide-gauge records which indicates a sea-level rise of 2.4 ± 0.9 mm/yr irrespective of the movements of the land in particular areas.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

A Likely Scenario

Even if emissions of greenhouse gases were stopped immediately, the recent warming trend would continue for decades to come and is predicted to increase in rate. The projected increase of between 1.5°C and 5.5°C by the year 2050 (Bolin *et al.*, 1986) reflects the uncertainty and at least one respected commentator has emphasised the potentially disastrous consequences of not knowing enough about the workings of the Earth's atmosphere to be able to make more precise predictions (Broecker, 1987). The view of the vast majority is that continued warming of this kind of magnitude will cause a sea-level rise of an average of 1m by the year 2100.

The most recent predictions by the Australian CSIRO Division of Oceanography involve an average warming of the Earth's surface by 3°C by the year 2050 which will cause a sea-level rise of 30 + 20 cm by 2050. The rate of sea-level rise "would continue and possibly accelerate beyond 2050 unless global action is taken to greatly reduce the emission of greenhouse gases" (Pitcock, 1989: 2)

Implications for Climate in the South Pacific

If the present warming trend continues, then tropical cyclone frequency is likely to continue to increase in the central south Pacific (Holland *et al.*, 1988). Tropical cyclone frequency will not increase linearly with

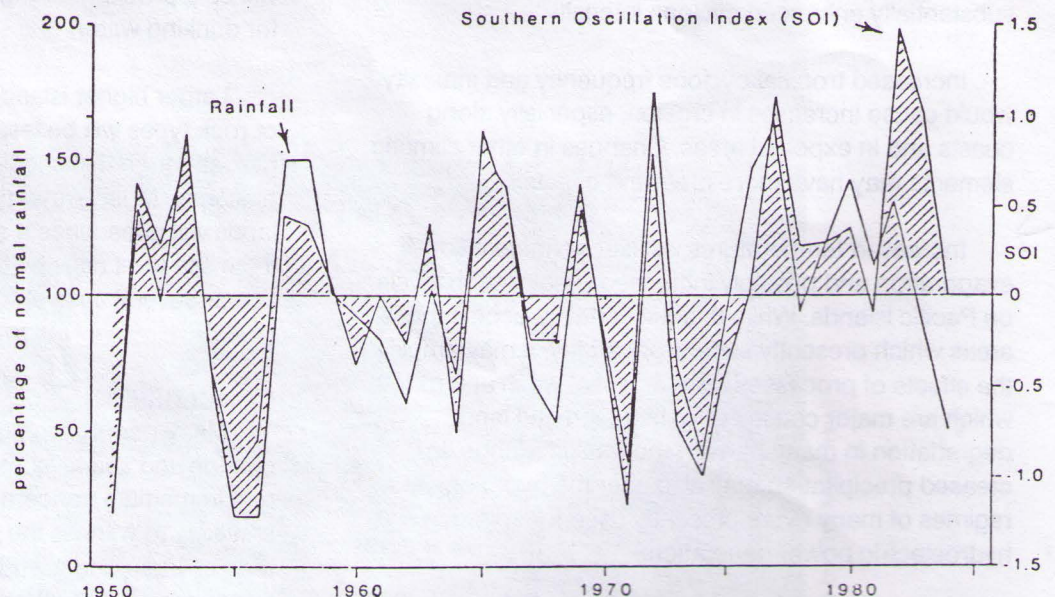


Figure 3. Annual rainfall and Southern Oscillation Index (SOI) values for Tarawa, Kiribati 1951-1980 (from Burgess, 1987).

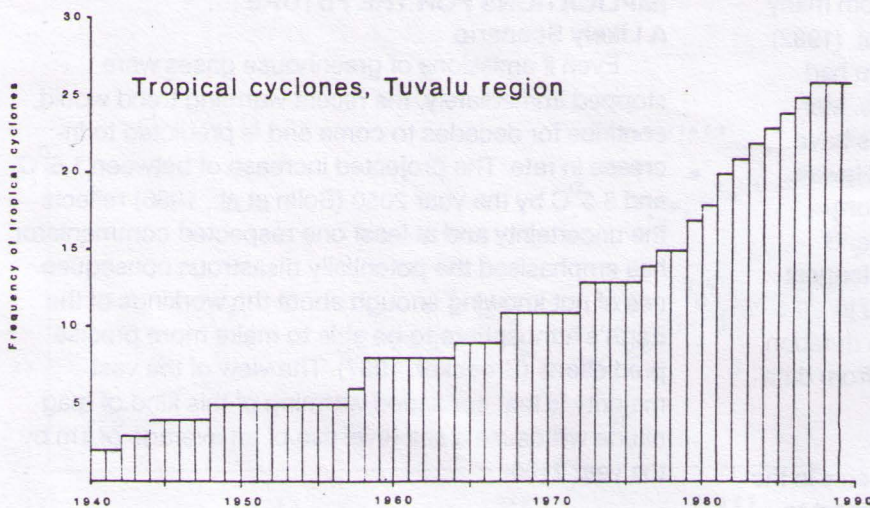


Figure 4. Cumulative frequency of tropical cyclones in the Tuvalu region, January 1940 through August 1989 (data from Thompson, 1987, and S. Tusi, personal communication, 1989).

increasing temperature. As the 27°C isotherm moves further polewards on either side of the Equator in the Pacific, then the area within which tropical cyclones could develop will increase, so the potential for tropical cyclone development will increase. Most authorities translate this into an increase in tropical cyclone frequency in future.

Although the conditions governing the frequency of tropical cyclones are poorly known, Emanuel (1987) concluded that it was unlikely to diminish in the future with continued warming. In addition, Emanuel (1987: 485) wrote that "increased atmospheric CO₂ will lead to substantially enhanced cyclone intensity".

Increased tropical cyclone frequency and intensity would cause increases in erosion, especially along coasts and in exposed areas. Changes in other climatic elements may have more profound effects.

Increased temperatures will lead to increased evaporation and possibly increased precipitation levels on Pacific islands. While this will certainly benefit those areas which presently suffer from aridity, it may amplify the effects of processes such as sheet wash and runoff which are major causes of soil erosion and land degradation in many parts of the Pacific islands. Increased precipitation may also alter the hydrological regimes of many rivers presently used for irrigation and hydroelectric power generation.

Increased temperatures and precipitation will allow a variety of crops to be grown on certain islands where they could not be grown before. Yet the attendant

increase in humidity may make living on tropical Pacific islands less comfortable than at present.

Implications for Pacific Island Coastlines

The economic well-being of most Pacific island nations derives mainly from activities carried out in the low-lying coastal zone. Many Pacific islands are wholly low-lying. The effect of recent and future sea-level rise is therefore a problem which needs to be seriously addressed by decision-makers in the region.

The most threatened islands are obviously those with no high ground. Most of the islands in the nations of the Marshall Islands, Kiribati, Tuvalu and Tokelau rise no more than 3m above mean sea level. Yet the threat of direct inundation is not the most serious in the short term. Since these islands (and many higher ones) are composed solely of permeable rocks (sand and limestone), they contain a fresh water lens resting on top of the saltwater table. The surface of this lens is dome-shaped and sometimes breaks the ground surface in the low parts of islands. As sea level continues to rise, the surface of the freshwater lens will also rise causing an increase in the amount of standing water on the island surface. This sea-level rise will also cause a decrease in the volume of the freshwater lens which will be a problem for those islanders who depend on it for drinking water.

Larger higher islands composed of a greater variety of rock types will be less seriously affected by sea-level rise, although this should not be a reason for complacency. Most of the major urban centres on Pacific islands will experience a substantial amount of inundation if the sea level rises by a metre in the next hundred years. Several case studies were presented by Nunn (1988).

CONCLUSIONS

Many people regard the effects of future climate change and sea-level rise as too far in the future to warrant immediate concern. Few people reading this paper are likely to witness the sea level rising 1m but many of their children and grandchildren might. The uncertainty surrounding what other changes may occur as the result of continued warming is, however, a point continually emphasised by scientific commentators (Broecker, 1987; Schneider, 1988, 1989).

What can be done? The simple answer is something not nothing. As Schneider (1988) argued, to decide now not to do anything, is to make a decision which, in his view, is wrong. There are several groups of responses which policy-makers can make now (Schneider, 1989).

The first of these involves engineering counter-measures, purposeful interventions in the environment to minimise the potential effects of future climate change.

The second involves adaptation by society, and this is the most appropriate response for most Pacific islanders. This means that the implications of various scenarios for future change should be examined in detail and appropriate preparations made. For example, both sea-level rise and increases in temperature and precipitation will cause changes to the pattern of agriculture so, if the agricultural economy is not to suffer serious disruption, plans for diversification and testing of new crop strains should be made now. The need for future resettlement of lowland and low-island dwellers because of water shortages and inundation can also be planned for now.

The third group of responses are preventative. At a global level, this means that the use of CFCs must be discontinued; the rate of forest removal must be slowed and that of forest renewal accelerated; and fossil fuels must be phased out in favour of less-polluting or non-polluting energy sources. In the Pacific island, the

coastal environment should be effectively conserved and the processes operating there better understood.

Dealing with the threats posed by future climate changes is largely the responsibility of policy-makers and decision-takers in national governments. The first inter-governmental meeting on the effects of future climate change in the Pacific islands was held in the Marshall Islands in July 1989. In his opening address, President Amata Kabua eloquently articulated the fears and hopes of many Pacific islanders. He said:

"It is truly frightening to think that our ocean will turn against us. We have been sustained by the ocean for two millennia. It has been bountiful and continues to yield to us its bounty. We have learned that this harmony may be interrupted by the action of nations very distant from our shores. I hope that the appeal of the peoples of the Pacific can help convince the industrialised nations to discontinue their profligate contamination of the atmosphere."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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[Complete list of references are available from SPPF.]



Milk fish rearing ponds at sea level, Tarawa, Kiribati

photo by Charles Ellway

THE IMPACT OF THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT IN KIRIBATI

By K. Meerere - KPC Resource Person

The impact of Greenhouse effect in Kiribati has caused great concern to our Kiribati Government and a very big problem to the people of Kiribati. It is a very frightening issue amongst the people as they have become aware of the outcome.

A report from the Meteorological Station in Kiribati said, "There is no change in temperature as well as sea-level". The people do not believe this as there had been climate changes observed and the rise of sea-level experienced greatly for the last few years. It also has been observed that when it is sunny, the heat is killing (very hot) and when it is about to rain, we feel suffocated. The trees are not growing as well as before. Some small islets have been washed away by currents and what remains of them is a bare white sand.

The Minister of Home Affairs the Hon. Babera (OBE) in his statement delivered during the Maldives Meeting said, and I quote:

"if however, we know with certainty when the rise in sea-level will happen, planning will be easier, but, because of the great deal of data which the experts are still looking for, there is also a great deal of confusion and worry, particularly by those whose future would be affected, like all of us (low lying countries). The present state of uncertainty is very damaging in two aspects:

a. many scientists claim they need at least 20 years research to obtain reliable information to prove the validity of the greenhouse effect theory.

b. for some scientists to predict now that all low lying countries could be entirely flooded when some of them are not 100% sure, will not only cause great concern among the island people but more importantly will influence all future plans for investment on the small island countries".

The Church women of Micronesia, during their "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation Consultation held in the Marshall Islands (Oct 7-24th, 1989) have agreed on one thing and that is"We, the Women of our Micro-countries will stand together in unity and voice out our cry for the whole world to hear through any means of communications, on paper, through newsletters, newspapers, radio, television, etc., you me it...that changing technology is what we all cry out for,

and if we could appeal to our fellow-women of the big countries to look into this matter and try to do what they can for the sake of the low lying atolls as we trust and believe that the Image of a woman is for love and beauty of God's Creation and that it should be preserved.

Again let me quote from the Hon. Minister's statement:

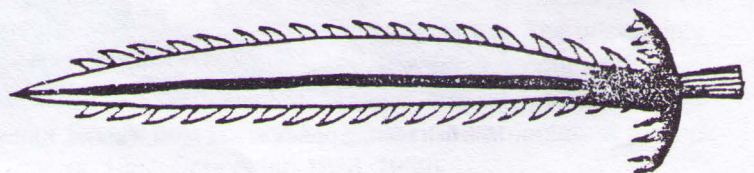
"it is my delegations' views that we, the small island countries, must be united in our voice against the continued use of the damaging substances to the environment, urging the developed and industrialized countries to quickly identify and put into use the harmless substitutes. Although our actions, whether individually or collectively, may not materially affect the problem, as people, we are entitled protection against all man-made activities which are believed to be destroying the planet that we are all part of."

Global warming or the greenhouse effect is the gradual warming of the atmosphere caused by the release of carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), and nitrous oxide (N₂O). Some greenhouse gases, principally CO₂, absorb heat that would otherwise escape into the atmosphere. But human activities arising from industry, transport and burning of fossil fuel has sent CO₂ levels rocketing - and the gases rise, so does the earth's temperature.

Since Kiribati does not produce such gases, we blame the industrialised countries for creating the pollution that is warming the climate, and think they are the ones that we should plea to them for help, which of course requires full commitment and global support to all the solutions that may be considered appropriate.

Our nation's President, Hon. Ieremia Tabai says:

"If the Greenhouse Effect raises sea-levels by 1 metre it will virtually do away with Kiribati. In 50 or 60 years, my country will not be there".



Letter to the editor/KNCC Secretary

The Kiribati National Council of Churches (KNCC) would like to proclaim full support to BAN ALL NUCLEAR WASTE TRADE IN THE PACIFIC.

Nuclear Waste Trade has been a big issue for many years until now in the Pacific region. Is there no pity for deformed, handicapped and jelly-fish babies? Are there no feelings of guilt for the deaths? This madness of Nuclear Waste Trade brought pollution, torture, pain and threat through selfishness, greed, jealousy and cruelty.

If the Pacific Region is to remain an arena of the industrialised nation's garbage, an arena of competitions, conflicts and struggles, what about the people who own the Pacific? What about their future generations? If the industrialised countries cannot handle their own problems, why don't they just stop the whole process rather than destroying the innocents!

Take for example, the Marshall Islands. What has become of its people and their children? Since the testing, there has been a tremendous increase in health problems. The biggest problem especially among women and children, is cancer in the women's breasts and in their private parts. For the innocent children, they are being deformed. These jelly-fish babies have no eyes, no arms, no head and no legs. These babies are being born not only on the radioactive islands but now throughout the 35 atolls and five islands of the Marshalls which means the health problems in the Marshalls are increasing. Apart from people and children being destroyed, there are the plants. They are also deformed just like infants and a lot are no longer edible.

An island called Runit is now off limits for ever after the 63 U.S. bombs tested on Bikini and Enewetak atolls. Also, the northern islands, only ten miles away, are off limits as well and the people who used to visit these places for food have been told not to eat coconuts and crabs from there. It is the UNITED STATES that was supposed to feed these people but ships bringing food are often delayed and irregular. They do not bring enough supplies for the people. What then could these people do but eat from the islands which are off limits.

Kwajalein Atoll is now used for U.S. missile testing. The people here were relocated by force. Two thirds of the Kwajalein lagoon, which is the largest in the world, was taken for missile testing and the people shoved off many islands onto tiny Ebeye which is only 66 acres. When missile testing is on, the Marshallese are not

allowed to go out fishing but survive on canned foods, rice and bread. Children are unhealthy because of their poor diet.

According to an updated Greenpeace Report issued in June 1990, more pollution is coming from the U.S. Two companies pushing U.S. WASTE on the Marshall Islands are Admiralty Pacific and Microneasian Marine Development (Micromar). And near Hawaii, there is a test burn on Johnston Atoll also being proposed. We cannot go on and on explaining what is now going on in this arena. We just can't stand it any longer. This is real madness.

Kiribati is just a tiny small strip of coral islands very close to the Marshall Islands and almost right in the center of this arena. Kiribati is likely to be hit. Kiribati is also a victim of this madness. No way could Kiribati escape these corruptions. Therefore, if the Marshalls Government accepted any such nuclear waste tradings or any such trade on matters that might endanger the lives of the Pacific People, KNCC pleads to the Marshall Islands Government to please reconsider for the sake of the Marshall Islanders and the whole Pacific region as well, and let us stand for a Nuclear Free Pacific.

KNCC would like to bring up an unforgettable event during the Pacific Women's Consultation on "Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation" (October 7-24, 1989) in Majuro, Marshall Islands. It was during the first week of the consultation when the discussion was militarisation/nuclearisation of recent years, that speakers from the Marshall islands poured out their stories of how their beautiful small islands have been radiated. They called nuclear as poison, but in Belau, the people go beyond poison because radiation does not just damage things, it kills. It was during this discussion that the Marshalls women pled to their sisters (participants) with their tears running down their cheeks, to stand with them as one nation and protect them. To stand against all waste traders like U.S. and if possible to plead on their behalf for their own sake as well as ours and the future of our children.

It is at this very point that the Kiribati National Council of Churches wishes to proclaim full rejection to any stage of the nuclear fuel cycle to be dealt with or brought in the Pacific Region. **KNCC STRONGLY REJECTS AND OPPOSE ALL PROPOSALS ON SUCH MATTERS.**

May God Grant us our first wish.

REPORT TO THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ON THE PACIFIC ECUMENICAL FORUM HELD AT HILO, HAWAII, DECEMBER 7-13, 1990.

By Denise Nadeau and Jim Manly

INTRODUCTION

We were privileged to represent the Canadian Council of Churches at the Pacific Ecumenical Forum (PEF) which was held at Hilo, Hawaii from December 7 to 13, 1990. PEF was sponsored by the Pacific Conference of Churches, the Christian Conference of Asia, and the Western Association of Ecumenical Staff representing ecumenical agencies in Washington, Oregon and California. The World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA were also involved. Approximately 100 delegates and resource people came from churches and church councils in the majority of countries in or surrounding the Pacific. No delegates came from the USSR, North Korea, or the Peoples Republic of China. One third of the delegates came from the United States.

The Canadian Council of Churches had not been involved in any of the planning and made no contribution to our expenses or to the expenses of the Forum. We were responsible for raising our own transportation costs while American sources paid our other fees and expenses. This can not be an acceptable basis for future Canadian participation.

THE ROLE OF CANADIAN CHURCHES IN PACIFIC ECUMENICAL FORUM.

Our attendance at PEF raised questions about Canada's role in the Pacific and about future solidarity of Canadian Churches with peoples of the Pacific. Traditionally, Canadian foreign policy has been oriented to the Atlantic and this has also been true of the ecumenical orientation of our churches, most of which trace their ancestry to European roots. Generations of missionary work in Asia and the Pacific have not significantly altered this orientation.

We can no longer justify this traditional bias in our perspective. INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONALISM, the June 1986 Report of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Canada's International Relations, states:

"In 1982, for the first time, Canada's two-way trade over the Pacific Ocean was greater than its trade across the Atlantic Ocean with Western Europe. A decade ago, immigration from the Pacific region surpassed that from Europe. This trend is unlikely to be reversed." (pp 77-8).

At the same time, since we have a small population base spread over a large territory, Canada and Canadian organizations must be careful not to spread our interest and our influence too thinly. The American model of involvement in PEF through the ecumenical organizations of Washington, Oregon and California, suggests that future Canadian involvement in PEF could be best handled through an ecumenical organization based in British Columbia. Unfortunately, at the present time no such organization exists.

ISSUES OF THE PACIFIC FOR THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

One of the focal issues of the conference was the need to support the peoples of the South Pacific Islands in their struggles against economic, political and military domination. The Pacific Ocean covers one-third of the globe, yet the total island population is less than six and a half million. The South Pacific peoples need support to be heard as they cry out against the injustices and ravages of militarization, environmental destruction and economic exploitation. One of the big steps the conference took was the recognition of our responsibility to act in solidarity with the South Pacific peoples - as the "littlest" among us. [The South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada (SPPF), a Canadian NGO based in Victoria, can provide Churches with helpful Development Education resources such as videos, slide shows and print materials. Their quarterly publication, Tok Blong SPPE, regularly prints important articles and updates on the area.)

We became aware of several issues experienced in common by oppressed and marginalized peoples around the Pacific Rim. The following are particularly linked to our Canadian reality:

1. Economic exploitation is increasing in all Pacific countries as the global economy is being restructured

to meet the needs of the transnational corporations. Land and marine resources are being exploited for purposes of the international market system rather than being used for domestic production. Factories are being built in Free Trade zones in countries like Mexico, Fiji, the Philippines and other Pacific and Asian nations. These trade zones particularly exploit women workers with low wages and poor working conditions.

Linked to this are major migrations of populations as people search for work within urban areas or in other countries (for example, Pacific Islanders to New Zealand; Sri Lankans to Micronesia), facing there not only poverty and poor working conditions, but also racism and discrimination at all levels.

2. Militarization and nuclearization of the Pacific is increasing at an alarming rate. Five great powers test nuclear devices and missile systems in the Pacific. This is part of the military strategies of the U.S., Japan, France and Australia to protect their economic interests worldwide. Examples include the "Star Wars" testing at Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands and continued nuclear testing in French Polynesia. The recent Gulf war forces us once again to recognize that no conflict can be seen as a purely "local" conflict. Militarization in any part of our world has the potential to erupt into open conflict with global implications.

3. The environmental problems in all Pacific countries are urgent. Global warming and the "Greenhouse Effect" are now survival issues for the Pacific Islanders. Low-lying atolls, for example Kiribati, will be submerged unless the First World drastically reduces its fossil fuel consumption. Other common issues are forest depletion, drift-net fishing, chemical and other waste dumping.

4. The growing tourism industry has had an alarmingly negative impact on Pacific societies and cultures, particularly indigenous cultures. Tourism benefits the rich at the expense of the poor, creates a two-tiered society, does not benefit the poor in terms of economic development and leads to sexual violence. One of the biggest concerns for Pacific peoples, from Thailand to the Philippines to Tonga, is the sex trade industry and the increasing sexual abuse of women and children.

5. Common to all Pacific countries is the struggle of indigenous peoples for their right to self-determination. Whether the Kanaks in New Caledonia (still a French protectorate), the Maohi in Tahiti, Mepuche of Peru or the native Hawaiians themselves, the struggles of resistance and for sovereignty are more urgent and more im-

mediate as indigenous peoples challenge us to support their 500 years of resistance in 1992.

6. Women's issues were also raised at the forum. From the Pacific three areas were named as priorities: leadership training, the need for women to have full rights in society and the churches, and the impact of nuclear testing on children. Asian women raised the issues of violence against women, sexual exploitation and the sex trade, poverty and minimum economic rights of women who work double days in farm, factory and domestic labour, specific religious cultural practices that threaten women (for example, dowry death and sati in India), and continued denial of women's rights in the churches. The North American women's issues echoed these - lack of opportunity and affirmation for women in the churches, violence against women and increasing poverty.

THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF THE PACIFIC ECUMENICAL FORUM

The organization of the Pacific Ecumenical Forum showed both strengths and weaknesses. Its strengths included the following:

- The length of the forum (7 days) which allowed time for participants to get to know each other.
- The use of small groups for two main sections of the Conference - "Sharing Our Stories" and "Developing Ecumenical Strategies". These groups allowed a deeper level of sharing with people from other regions.
- The Hawaiian hosts and the exposure tours introduced participants to a specific example of a Pacific people struggling against militarization and economic domination in their region.

Its weaknesses included:

- First World Domination - The Americans themselves recognized (in the American caucus) that their presence and numbers were overwhelming. Several ecumenical organizations had sent delegates as well as the NCCUSA. We agree with the suggestion that the North American delegation be smaller and that the Canadian delegation be limited to two people.
- Male domination in terms of speakers, "Bible study leaders" and the steering committee. As well, no time was structured in the agenda for a women's caucus to meet or for women's issues to be reported and discussed. For this to happen during the Decade of the Churches in

Solidarity with Women indicates a terrible flaw in the organizational process!

- Unresolved tension between issues and structure - The steering committee envisioned a structure emerging from PEF: the main concern of many participants was to speak their issues, to be heard and to network but not necessarily to create a new structure. The preparation and discussion of the final document was premature in that this tension had not been addressed.
- Dominance of the English language - This created problems not only for the French translators, who had to struggle with rapid English, but also for the majority of participants for whom English was only a second or third language. Overall there was not enough sensitivity on the part of those whose first language was English to those struggling to understand and to express themselves in this "foreign" language.
- Low representation of youth, grass-roots workers and women - Women's representation was adequate but still not sufficient, with the North American delegation being the most balanced. There were only a few grass roots' workers and even fewer youth.

THEOLOGICAL DIRECTION

The overall tone of the Forum suggested a sense of theological urgency. PEF participants had come together to define a Pacific identity as a way of working for Justice and Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC) in the region on a broader basis. Common to many of the participants was the belief that the task of theology is to interpret the work of God in our times: that theology must address itself to the new situations that are rising in the Pacific and that if theology is not addressing these issues then 'it means nothing'.

As one Asian participant said, it would be tragic if the churches are more concerned about their own survival than the rights of people for "We are responsible to God at every moment of history."

Theology must arise from the people, out of the particular experiences of struggle of men and women. The theological task is to listen to people as they struggle for their lives - in factories, fields, on the streets - not in churches. We need to listen, learning from peoples' language and symbols and supporting women and men in doing theology.

As the global political and economic context is changing so rapidly in the 90s, new directions for theological reflection are emerging. The churches need

to develop a theology of democracy - not democracy as currently defined by the market economy - but a democracy related to spirituality. This is a democracy that includes the meaning of peoples' hopes and aspirations, that provides people with control of their lives and affirms their basic dignity.

God reveals Godself today in the struggles of the people in the popular movements. It is in participating in that struggle that God can be 'read'. The ecumenical church needs to direct itself away from lobbying governments and fighting for survival and towards supporting the growth of these grassroots movements.

The Biblical call to Jubilee (cf. Leviticus 25) provides the vision for the tasks which are necessary for our work as church in the Pacific. The call to leave the land fallow parallels our need to respect environmental limits and to avoid over-exploitation through such practices as plantation monoculture, monofilament drift-net fishing, and clear-cut logging.

The call to return the land to original owners speaks directly to our need for a just settlement of aboriginal land claims in Canada and recognition of aboriginal rights and claims throughout the Pacific. It also impresses upon us the logic of cancelling international debt in third world countries which have forced peasants off their ancestral lands to make way for cash-crops grown on huge plantations.

The freeing of slaves relates to our need to recognize and change the different forms of slavery on which our economy depends; e.g. so-called free trade zones where workers receive starvation wages and must work under inhuman conditions with no labour standards protection. Many of these new slaves are women or children.

The right of patrimony affirms the self determination of all peoples in the Pacific, including those still under the yoke of colonialism, indigenous peoples struggling for their aboriginal rights and those peoples resisting political and economic domination by foreign and corporate powers.

As Canadian churches we are called to "share and witness" in the Pacific - to share in the pain and sufferings of our marginalized and oppressed sisters and brothers, and to give a relentless critique of the structures of domination that created and sustain this suffering and marginalization. (PEF Final Document, p. 3)

CONCLUSION

As we enter a new and troubling phase of our history, Canadian churches cannot expect to continue the easy relationship with the rest of Canadian society which they have enjoyed for the past hundred years. In the context of growing inequalities and injustice in Canadian society, and our problematic involvement in Persian Gulf War and its final consequences, we need to find a different way of being church. In this connection we have much to learn from our sisters and brothers in churches which have histories of survival and struggle in oppressive societies. We need to learn from these churches not only how they keep their integrity in the midst of this struggle but also how they experience at the same time a deep sense of joy and of belonging to one another.

We need solidarity from these Christians as much as they need it from us. When we realize and participate in this truth, we will be able to experience the truth of the song led by delegates from Tahiti:

We are one big happy family,
God's family, God's family.
We are one big happy family,
God's family are we.

She is my sister;
He is my brother;
Our Father in heaven
Who loves you and me.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Canadian Churches should be involved in future meetings of PEF. Because the planning process is already over-influenced by North American institutions, direct Canadian involvement in planning would probably not be acceptable from the perspective of churches in smaller Pacific and Asian nations, unless accompanied by a reduction in US church involvement. An informal working arrangement with the sponsoring ecumenical organizations in Washington, Oregon, and California, would seem to offer the best possibility for Canadian involvement in planning and organization in the immediate future.

2. Any future Canadian involvement in PEF must be supported directly by Canadian based ecumenical organizations and churches. It is offensive for Canadian delegates to an international ecumenical conference to have their way paid for by United States sources.

3. The Canadian Council of Churches should encourage the formation of a regional ecumenical organization in British Columbia along the pattern of those

in Washington, Oregon and California. This organization could be the vehicle used for future Canadian involvement in PEF.

4. Churches and other organizations supporting the Canada Asia Working Group should be encouraged to transfer the head office of CAWG to British Columbia. Modern communication technology does not require the tremendous degree of centralization which presently exists. A majority of people involved in CAWG should also be based on the Pacific Coast. In addition to its involvement with Asian issues, CAWG should also be given a specific mandate to deal with Pacific issues.

5. CCC and Canadian Churches should develop their links with the South Pacific Peoples Foundation and should help to make the work of this organization better known to more Canadians.

6. To the extent that Canada has any involvement in planning for the future of PEF, we should work to enhance its grass roots nature and to keep it from becoming more bureaucratized.

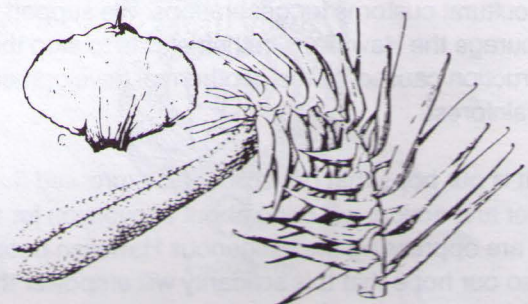
7. Canadian Churches should take advantage of other opportunities to develop grass roots solidarity with Churches in Asia and the Pacific. Continued involvement in PEF can be a catalyst for further contact.

8. The Canadian Council of Churches should become involved in Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific issues. NFIP is presently receiving support from European Churches and is requesting support from other churches.

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EXCERPTS FROM THE PACIFIC ECUMENICAL FORUM FINAL DOCUMENT, DECEMBER 7-13, 1990

GO AND TELL WHAT YOU HAVE SEEN AND HEARD: A Call to Prayer and Action.

1. We, the 100 delegates of the Pacific Ecumenical Forum have come to Hawai'i from Asia, the Pacific Islands, South America, and North America to share our stories and witness to our common struggle. During our seven days here, we have been given the opportunity to hear and see for ourselves the struggle of our sisters and brothers in Hawai'i.

2. In particular, we would like to respond to the needs of the indigenous Hawaiians. We do this through a call to prayer and action to all our churches, local and regional, national and international.

CONCERNING KAHO'OLAWA:

3. The island of Kaho'olawe is culturally and traditionally sacred to the indigenous Hawaiians. For more than four decades, the sacredness of this island has been violated by its use as a target for bombing by the military of the United States and other countries. We stand against this activity, and we support a program for the people of Hawai'i to reintroduce native birds, species and vegetation to Kaho'olawe.

CONCERNING SOVEREIGNTY:

4. We affirm the right of the indigenous Hawaiian people to self-determination and self-governance.

CONCERNING GEOTHERMAL INDUSTRY ON THE BIG ISLAND:

5. We oppose the development of the geothermal power industrial corridor and the accompanying environmental destruction of the Wao Kele O Puna rainforest on Hawai'i's Big Island. As we have found in many of our home countries, and now find in Hawai'i, found in many of our home countries, and now find in Hawai'i, this development is being promoted in an area where indigenous peoples have practiced traditional religious and cultural customs for generations. We support and encourage the Hawaiians in their efforts to stop the destruction caused by the geothermal development in the rainforest.

It is our hope that our solidarity, expressed through prayer and action, will bring about conversion for those who are oppressing the indigenous Hawaiian people. It is also our hope that this solidarity will empower the indigenous Hawaiians to continue their struggle, knowing that they are not alone.

New Zealand Aid in the Pacific

In the world of finite resources and in the context of a widening gap between developed and developing nations, debates on the question of aid are complex. They involve considerations of self interest on the part of the donor nation as well as how much it thinks it can afford. There is the question of whether aid should be bilateral, directly from government to government, or channelled through multilateral agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme, the Red Cross, or the World Food Programme. There are security benefits to be gained from supporting poorer nations nearby, but these may not necessarily be the countries in the greatest need. Some consideration may be given to the likely use of aid. All these questions affect policy on New Zealand aid in the Pacific.

Few of the South Pacific Island states to whom New Zealand sends aid figure on the United Nations' list of the world's 40 least developed nations [Kiribati, Tuvalu and Samoa are on the list], yet they are among the highest per capita aid recipients in the world.

The development problems they face are formidable: poor transport and communications systems; distorted economies as a result of investment in non-productive activities; rapid population growth, leading to pressure on basic resources and social services; high child mortality; a lack of trained people; falling food production; over-fishing of seas; loss of tropical rainforests; vulnerability to natural disasters and to the threats from the Greenhouse Effect and polluted oceans. Political structures set up under colonial rule are coming under stress as nations seek to deal with the changes wrought by post-colonial economic forces.

New Zealand's aid levels

Seventy per cent of aid (\$88.157 million) goes to the Pacific where New Zealand used to be one of the major donors. We are not a generous country. While the OECD recommends a target for aid as 0.7% of GNP, New Zealand contributions have fallen from 0.52% of GNP in 1975 to the present 0.22% of GNP, one of the lowest among OECD countries.

Aid targets have begun to alter. For example, Pacific Island countries have criticised New Zealand's falling levels of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to them at the same time as contributions have begun to the European Bank for Reconstruction, to help in Eastern Europe. In the Pacific far more aid is now coming

from Japan, France, Australia and the United States. The implications can be worrying. For example, Fiji is receiving F\$15 million (NZ\$17,498,833) from the French Government, mainly for the maintenance and modernisation of the military.

Management of our ODA delivery is becoming more professional and better organised through the use of planned country strategies, improved appraisal and evaluation, and the use of checklists and guidelines, but there are still flaws. Few of those working in New Zealand development co-operation are professionally trained and they are switched between the diplomatic and development divisions of the Ministry of External Relations and Trade (MERT). Nor does MERT offer training in Pacific languages for officials working in the region.

The use of aid

Most of New Zealand's official aid in the Pacific is used for small scale projects, emphasising human resource development, rural development in outer islands, forestry and the environment. In the past the programme has been heavily weighted towards Polynesian nations, but there is now a shift to Melanesia, which is seen as having greater resource and development potential. The Government also sponsors private sector development through the Pacific Island Development Scheme (PIDS), but this is considered underfunded. It is directed mainly at Polynesia.

Aid to multilateral agencies working in the Pacific, like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), has also dropped, so that each New Zealander now contributes only about US\$0.50 per head, compared with Norway's \$16, to the UNDP. Yet such multinational organisations play an important role in basic programmes like population control and protection of the environment. Tuvalu and Kiribati, particularly, are directly threatened by global warming and need support in international fora.

New Zealand Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) also work in the Pacific and are seen by some as being more effective, especially in small scale projects at community level. Some take advantage of the Government's special \$50,000 per annum Women in Development Fund, or the 3:1 Voluntary Agency Support Scheme (VASS) subsidy, to channel money to Pacific Islands women's projects. New Zealand's Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA) has reduced its emphasis on the Pacific while the proportion of volunteers from other countries is rapidly increasing. However, 50% of VSA's volunteers are still sent to the Pacific. In 1990 they had 50 volunteers working in eight Pacific states.

Future policy on New Zealand aid in the Pacific Issues of level, distribution and management of aid programmes remain; there are hard times ahead, and questions of conscience arise, but self interest at least suggests that more attention should be paid to the level of New Zealand aid in the Pacific. There is an increasing realisation that if economic and social development are neglected there will be greater political instability.

The coups in Fiji, the landowners' revolt in Bougainville, financial scandals in Tonga, and continuing struggles for self determination in New Caledonia and French Polynesia all point to new Pacific realities while environmental problems bring a changing concept of "security" for New Zealand as a previous issue of *Pacific Issues* pointed out.

The *Report of the 1990 South Pacific Policy Review Group*, while suggesting a target for New Zealand aid of only 0.36% by 1996 (still well below the OECD figure), comments: "There are expectations that New Zealand will respond constructively to the need of Pacific Islands countries...New Zealand should do so not just out of a sense of altruism or moral obligation...but because it is in our interests to do so" [*Towards a Pacific Island Community*, May 1990, pp4-5.]

[*Pacific Issues*, No 5, November 1990, Centre for Peace Studies, University of Auckland in consultation with Wendy Lee of the Auckland Development Education Centre.]



Maori carving

WEST PAPUAN REFUGEES

Papua New Guinea appears to have adopted a new policy of cooperation with Indonesia with regard to West Papuan refugees and border incidents. In June, July, and August there were repeated incursions across the border into PNG by Indonesian forces, including kidnappings from refugees camps. In September residents in the area were "screened" and issued new identity cards to control "illegal border crossing". At that time the PNG defense forces were given orders to destroy any OPM (Free West Papua Movement) camps found in the area.

In July 1990 Mecky Salosa, a prominent OPM supporter, was handed over to Indonesia despite the fact that no extradition treaty exists between PNG and Indonesia, and despite the fact that Salosa had not been charged with any crime in Indonesia. Salosa has been held by the Indonesians since his return and in January went on trial charged with subversion. There have been allegations that Salosa has been tortured while in custody and he faces a possible death penalty if convicted under the Anti-Subversion Law.

In November PNG began the forced repatriation of 690 West Papuans from the East Awin camp. They were to be flown from Kiunga in planes belonging to the Missionary Aviation Fellowship to Mindiptanah in the Merauke district of West Papua. Despite conditions in the East Awin camp that continue to be described as "appalling", local sources report that less than 400 of the refugees agreed to go "voluntarily." Those being repatriated are thought to be part of the 1984 mass exodus of villagers who fled atrocities committed by the Indonesian forces in a 1984 campaign against the OPM in the Merauke district. (From: Tapol Bulletin, #101, October 1990, #102, December 1990, and #103, February 1991.)

TONGAN PASSPORTS

A special session of the Tongan Parliament was called for February 18th, 1991. This was only the third special session in Tongan history. Its sole purpose was to amend the Tongan Constitution to ensure the legality of the sale of Tongan passports. Since 1984 more than 400 Tongan passports have been sold to foreigners at an official price of \$10,000. Yet, more than \$5 million in revenue from passport sales is said to have been deposited in a Tongan trust account in the Bank of America in San Francisco.

The legality of the passport scheme began to be questioned 1988. In 1989 MP Akilisi Pohiva launched a suit against the government asking that the practise be declared illegal. The court was due to render a decision or set a date for a full public hearing on February 22nd, thus the need for the emergency session. The unelected majority in Parliament ensured the passage of the amendment to section 29 of the Tongan Constitution allowing the naturalization of persons whether or not they have been resident in Tonga. Tongan passport holders confirmed as new Tongan citizens include Imelda Marcos and a number of Asia-Pacific businessmen promising to invest in Tonga. (From: Matangi Tonga, January-February 1991 and Pacific Report, Volume 4, No. 4, February 28, 1991.)

NO MAJORITY IN TE AO MAOHI

The March 17th elections in "French" Polynesia produced both winners and losers, but no clear majority. More than 600 candidates representing 56 lists contested the elections for 41 seats in the Territorial Assembly. "Winners" included Gaston Flosse's business-oriented Tahoeraa Huiraatira with 18 seats, three short of a majority. Flosse's party won only 31% of the vote this time, 8.9% less than in 1986 when Tahoeraa Huiraatira became the first party to win a clear majority. Another big winner was Oscar Temaru's pro-independence and anti-nuclear testing Tavini Huiraatira which doubled its seats to 4 and its share of the vote to 11%.

Big "losers" were the prominent parties in the coalition which has governed the territory since the October 1987 riots that fractured the majority won by Flosse in 1986. The Union Polynésienne list, including outgoing government head Leontiff and Papeete mayor Juventin, won only 14 seats and 23% of the vote. The only independentiste party to join the government coalition in 1987, Jacqui Drollet's la Mana Te Nunaa, was shut out of the assembly, losing both of its seats. Observers say the most likely outcome will be the return to power of Gaston Flosse with the support of Emile Vernaudon's Ai'a Api, as Vernaudon had split with his coalition partners before the elections were called. Vernaudon's Ai'a Api won 5 seats and 12% of the vote. (From Le Monde, March 18, 1991.)

RESOURCES

BOOKS

Pacific Studies: Special Issue - Domestic Violence in Oceania. Vol. 13, No 3, Guest Editor, Dr. Dorothy Counts. The Institute for Polynesian Studies (Brigham Young University-Hawaii), July 1990. 301 pp. ppbk. This collection of papers covers the serious issue of domestic violence in the Pacific. The primary focus of the papers is on wife beating, though violence against children and elders is also dealt with. Examples are drawn from Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. Referenced.

Tu Galala: Social Change in the Pacific. David Robie, Editor. Bridget Williams Books, Wellington. 1991. 200 pp. This new publication deals with a "Pacific in upheaval - growing poverty, nuclear testing, independence movements, and massive social dislocation. In Tu Galala ('freedom'), indigenous and palagi writers describe the impact of these influences on their people. Many of these contributors are activists and leaders in their own countries; from a grassroots perspective, they give an account of the present that is both moving and disturbing. They look forward, also, to the future, and forms of social justice that they hope will prevail in the Pacific of the 1990s. Contributors include: Adi Kuini Bavadra, Rita Baua, Pauline Tangiora, Akosita Tamanisau, Robert Robertson, Amelia Rokotuivuna, Shaista Shameen, Susanna Ounei, Jone Dakuvula, and Marie-Therese Danielsson."

Enterprise Support Organizations for the South Pacific: Problems and Proposals. Research Report Series No 13. Robert Briscoe, Godwin S. Nair & Alex Sibbald. Pacific Islands Development Program. 1990. 89 pp. ppbk. Chapters include the problems of entrepreneurs, the problems of existing support services, proposals for improving support services and their implementation. The volume begins with two very useful tables - a list of acronyms for all organisations present in the Pacific and a table of currency exchange rates.

Private Sector Development in Papua New Guinea. Institute of National Affairs Discussion Paper No 42. John Millett. Institute of National Affairs, Port Moresby, PNG. August 1990. 142 pp. This paper was compiled as part of a research project on private sector development in the Pacific Island States undertaken by the Pacific Islands Development Program. It seeks to address the questions PNG is facing at its current crossroads in development.

Sydney Talk: Australia in the South Pacific. Pacific Studies Monograph No 1. Grant McCall, General Editor. The University of New South Wales, Centre for South Pacific Studies. 1990. 196 pp. ppbk. An excellent series of papers grouped in the following sections: comparative economic development, mineral resource development and Law of the Sea in the South Pacific, plural politics in a developing context, women in South Pacific development, France in the Pacific and identity through change.

The Challenge of Tourism: Learning Resources For Study and Action. Alison O'Gracy, Editor. Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, Bangkok, Thailand. 82 pp. January 1990. ppbl. An excellent handbook with sections on economic impacts, social costs, cultural impacts environmental impacts of tourism and initiatives to create just and sustainable tourism. Photos, graphics, and tables.

Peace and Development in the Pacific Hemisphere. Johan Galtung, University of Hawaii Press. August 1989. 68 pp. ppbk

Soviet Naval Power in the Pacific. Derek da Cunha, Lynne Rienner Publications, Inc. Boulder, Co. October 1990. 284 pp. \$35.00 Cloth.

The above two publications will be of particular interest to people focusing on militarism in the Pacific. Some reference to Pacific island countries as to how they fit into the Pacific naval strategies of the super-powers.

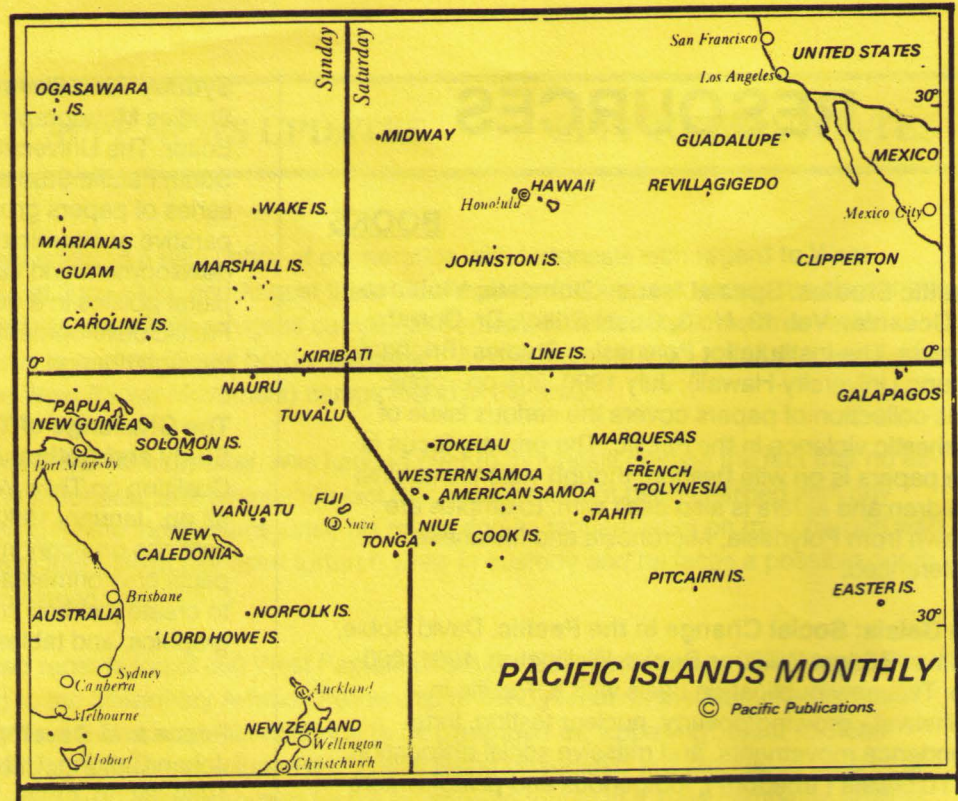


Goroka.

AUDIO VISUALS

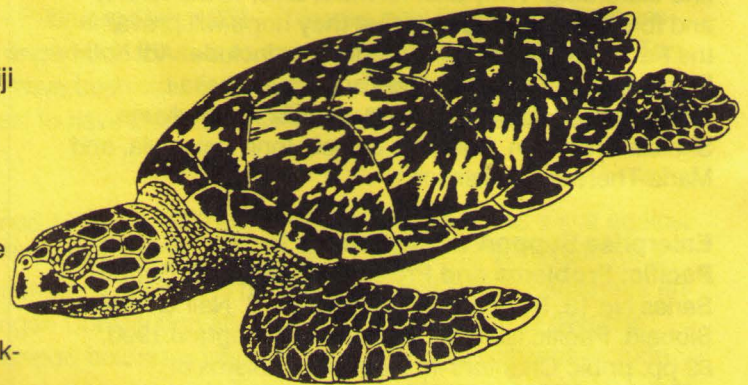
Brukim Bus. 53 min. 1989. Melanesian Environmental Foundation, Boroko, PNG. VHS/NTSC. Tok Pisin with English subtitles. An excellent documentary about the impact of logging in Papua New Guinea.

From the Mountains to the Sea. 140 min. 1989. Melanesian Environmental Foundation. A slide video in 10-parts designed for highschool audiences throughout Papua New Guinea and focusing on environmental problems including mining, logging population and endangered wildlife. VHS NTSC. In English.



NEW MOVE TO SAVE TURTLES

In a move welcomed by SPACHEE and surely other turtle-lovers, the Fiji Cabinet has implemented new moves to prevent over-exploitation of Fiji's turtle population. The Fiji Government has decided to prohibit the export of un-processed turtle shells. Greenpeace visited Fiji recently to launch a campaign against the export of turtle shells and during his visit, Greenpeace member Trevor Daly met with Government officials as part of the organisation's Sea Turtle Campaign.



During his stay here, SPACHEE organised a satellite link-up with other University of the South Pacific member countries and a seminar for locals on sea turtles. However, SPACHEE feels Fiji should still become a member of the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species (CITES) and a survey should be carried out on sea turtle populations. Members of the public need to be educated on turtle facts such as how long it takes turtles to mature and why it is necessary not to kill turtles under a certain length. SPACHEE has produced a News Alert on sea turtles aimed at secondary school students. The publication is available to the general public as well. (Write to SPACHEE, Curriculum Resources Unit, USP, PO Box 1168, Suva, FIJI for further information - Ed.)
 [SPACHEE Newsletter, Vol 4 No 1 January 1991]

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.