

# Tok Blong SPPF

A Quarterley of News and Views on the Pacific Islands

JANUARY 1992, #38

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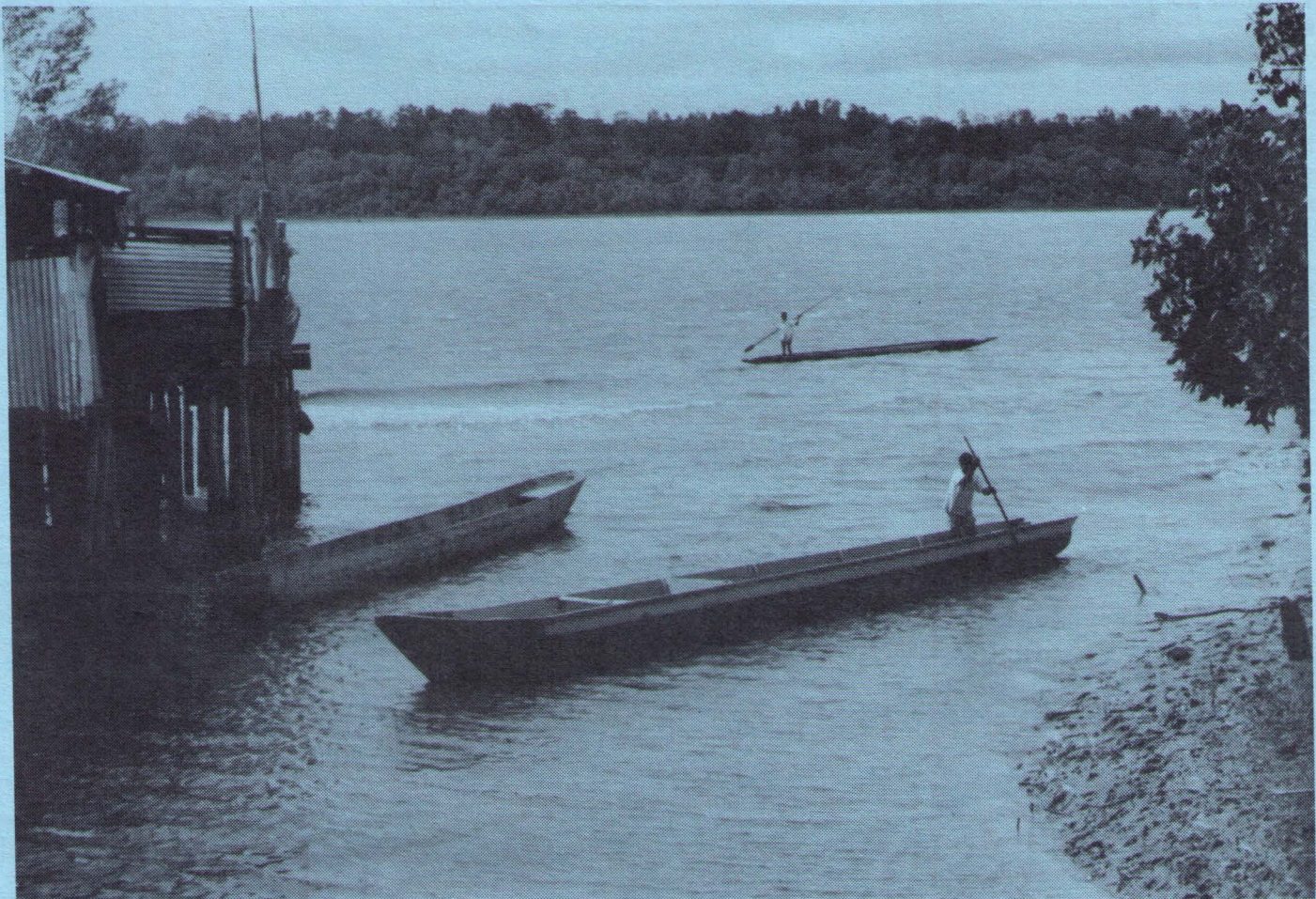


photo by Hewitt Roberts

Agats, in the Asmat, West Papua

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## About this journal...

TOK BLONG SPPF is pidgin, a language used in many parts of the Pacific. An equivalent expression in English might be "news from SPPF". TOK BLONG SPPF is published four times per year in English by the South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada. Financial support for the publishing of Tok Blong SPPF from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is gratefully acknowledged.

SPPF's major aim is to promote awareness of development, social justice, environment, health and other issues of importance to the peoples of the South Pacific. Through this journal SPPF hopes to provide Canadians and others 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 journal, 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 through a minimum donation to SPPF of \$15/yr for students, \$25/yr for individuals, \$40/yr for organizations and institutions, \$100 for commercial businesses. Rates for non-Canadian mailing addresses are the same but should be paid in US dollars. Our address is 415-620 View Street, Victoria, B.C. V8W 1J6, CANADA. Telephone: 604/381-4131. INet:sppf; web:sppf

## SPPF Update

You may have noticed that this issue of **Tok Blong SPPF** is distinctly late. The transition in executive directors and a very hectic schedule of programming has pushed our publication date back from the usual January. Hopefully, you'll feel that the wait has been worthwhile. We plan to get back on schedule with the April and July issues.

This issue marks the beginning of a number of changes in **Tok Blong SPPF**. We plan to take a more thematic approach to future editions. The April edition will focus on environmental issues and sustainable development as a lead-up to the June United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). July will focus on women and issues of gender and development. We would welcome your suggestions for future themes. As part of this approach, we will be soliciting a greater number of articles from contributors on the themes. We already have a promising list of contributions for the April and July issues. We are also considering a name change for **Tok Blong SPPF**, something that would be less specific to SPPF and say more about our Pacific focus. We would welcome suggestions....

Of the 100 largest economies in the world, 47 are now transnational corporations, not countries. The 1992 version of our annual Pacific Networking Conference (April 10-12 - co-sponsored this year by CUSO) will examine the role and impact of transnationals in the Pacific and British Columbia (Canada's Pacific province). With workshops on mining, forestry, tourism, West Papua and women, and resource people from Papua New Guinea, West Papua, Vanuatu, the United States and Canada, we are anticipating an excellent conference. The Sunday part of the program will feature the annual meeting of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) network in Canada. We encourage you to consider attending. (Further details on back panel.)

As I noted earlier, we have been busy. During February, I went on a two week speaking tour in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, speaking about French nuclear testing in the Pacific and the NFIP Movement. Attendance at public events was generally excellent. I also had the opportunity in Saskatoon to speak to numerous high school classes and two university classes of future teachers. As most people had little familiarity with the Pacific, the presentations also provided an opportunity to speak more broadly about developments in the Pacific. March will feature a similar tour of Alberta. The topic on that tour will be Indigenous rights in West Papua and other still colonized parts of the Pacific. Peter Monet's film, **Papua Merdeka** (available on loan from SPPF), will be shown at three film festivals during the tour. Meanwhile, the first week of February was International Development Week in Canada. While I was braving the snows of Saskatchewan, Margaret Argue spoke at a Victoria school, was interviewed on a French language radio station, staffed a public display and hosted visitors to SPPF.

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## Ensuring the Right to Development

What does it mean if people have a right to development, if development is an inherent right, not just a privilege? What would the implications be for governments, aid agencies and people themselves as they seek a decent life in a world that often denies them this opportunity? These questions have been given new force and urgency by the 1980s, a decade that represented a backward step for many of the world's poor in meeting their needs and achieving their rights. More positively, the 80s represented a significant step forward in the organisation of peoples' movements and non-governmental organisations in many countries. These movements and organisations provide people with a powerful tool in their struggles to achieve their rights.

The right to development has also been given new force by the United Nations. On December 4, 1986, the U.N. General Assembly passed the Declaration on the Right to Development. Only one country, the United States, voted against the Declaration. Canada and South Pacific members of the U.N. voted in favour (Vanuatu was absent for the vote but informed the U.N. that it had intended to vote in favour). The Declaration signifies international acceptance of the legitimacy of people's right to "economic social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized". The Declaration clearly states that people should be the central subject and beneficiaries of development, that all people have the right to self-determination and full sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources, and that people should be active participants in their own development.

The Declaration is thus a strong endorsement of people's right to political, cultural and economic liberation in which they can choose their own course of development. The Declaration specifies a number of steps that nations should take to ensure that their people are able to achieve their right to development.

In the aims it mandates and the actions it specifies, the Declaration on the Right to Development clearly moves beyond the view of development as charity, a gift for which recipients should be grateful, to a broader perspective in which development is seen as a right and thus becomes an issue of social, economic and political justice. In this **Tok Blong SPPF**, we look at the Declaration on the Right to Development and some of its implications. We also look at development activities in the Pacific that in one way or another shed some light on the issues raised in the Declaration.

NGOs and people's organisations in the Pacific have gone further than most in applying the U.N. Declaration to their work and the situation in the Philippines. In December, Filipino organisations gathered in a people's congress to ratify a Covenant which translates the Declaration on the Right to Development into a set of goals and actions for organisations in the Philippines. Our first article looks at these developments. It is followed by an article on the implications of the Right to Development for a "developed country", Canada. We've also included a copy of the main articles from the U.N. Declaration.

One expression of Pacific people's efforts to assert their development rights is the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) Movement. Lopeti Senituli, General Coordinator of the NFIP Movement, provides an overview of its evolution. We've also included the Aotearoa Declaration from the most  
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## **SPPF Update cont'd....**

In recent years, SPPF has been supporting a primary health care and community development project in the East Sepik region of Papua New Guinea. This Marasin Meri (medicine woman) project successfully concluded its second phase at the end of 1991. A revised proposal for Phase III was recently approved by the Canadian International Development Agency and will see expansion of the Marasin Meri program to additional villages. A member of our Board of Directors will be visiting the project in March and we hope to include a report in the July edition of **Tok Blong SPPF**.

The SPPF Board of Directors and staff held a forward planning retreat in January. We reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of the organization (a major weakness being that limited funding handicaps our ability to meet the demands for our services) and discussed future aims and directions for SPPF. A first effort was made at developing a "mission statement" or "terms of reference" for SPPF in the 1990s. Once we've come up with a reasonable draft, we'll share this with you in a future edition of **Tok Blong SPPF**. A number of areas were identified for further work and will occupy the energy of the Board over the next few months.

After four months in the new job, I'm beginning to feel like I belong here. With the hectic pace, it's been a bit like a baptism by fire! It also doesn't take long to realize how lucky I am to have a co-worker like Margaret: dedicated, talented and repository of the organizational memory. As we identified in our planning retreat, the organization has a number of challenges to meet: increasing our funding base, raising our profile, expanding our programs and impact, drawing new people into SPPF and broadening the Canadian base of support for the Pacific, acting as a bridge between Pacific Island and Canadian groups with similar concerns, etc. While the challenges are great, it is also clear that SPPF has significant potential and, with effort and your support, can meet those challenges. I look forward to an interesting next few years.



Stuart Wulff  
Executive Director

## **In this issue cont'd...**

recent (1990) NFIP Conference. Giff Johnson, editor of Marshall Islands Journal, reflects on U.S. treatment of its Pacific dependencies, providing a perspective on the actions of the one country which voted against the Declaration on the Right to Development. Again turning our gaze to Canada, we feature a report by Mary Pitpit on her trip to Canada. As a Papua New Guinean woman working for a Canadian development agency (CUSO), Mary provides an interesting comparison of the situation of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the Pacific.

Recent political developments in Vanuatu have raised many questions about the future course of development in Vanuatu and the role which Vanuatu will play in Pacific affairs. **Tok Blong SPPF** looks at the recent election and the policies and actions of the new Vanuatu government.

The relationships which South Pacific countries have with a number of other countries, most of them significant aid donors and/or powerful players in the Pacific region, is touched on in a report on the 1991 Post-Forum Dialogue. We follow that up with an interview with Senator Patricia Carney, Canada's representative at a number of these Dialogues. Senator Carney provides interesting reflections and the relationship between Canada and the Pacific island states. An issue which has pitted South Pacific states against several Pacific Rim countries is driftnet fishing. Ben Deeble provides an update on the driftnet fishing issue.

Debt, structural adjustment and IMF/World Bank imposed models of development have been issues of concern to many countries. Many of these policies and their effects seem to contravene the principles set out in the Declaration on the Right to Development. As we report in this **Tok Blong SPPF**, these issues are making their appearance in some Pacific Island states.

Tourism has been held up by some as the solution to the development needs of Pacific Island states. Others have strongly criticised tourism as a force which undermines the kind of development for people which is emphasized in the Declaration on the Right to Development. David Stanley takes a look at the impact of tourism in Micronesia.

The right to development is a large, complex and profoundly important topic for the future of Pacific peoples. In this **Tok Blong SPPF**, we have barely scratched the surface. We invite further submissions from interested readers.



# PUTTING PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE

*The Council for People's Development is an umbrella group of Filipino NGOs. This report on their national Right to Development campaign is taken from the Inter Pares Bulletin, Vol. 14, No 1, 1992.*

Two-thirds of all Filipinos live in poverty. Ironically, almost two-thirds of the government's annual budget goes to debt service and defense-expense items that worsen poverty in underdeveloped countries like the Philippines.

With only a third of its financial resources available for education, health and other vital services, the government turns to the country's natural and human resources to keep the nation afloat. However, only a fifth of the archipelago is still covered with forests; its fisheries are rapidly dwindling; its mountains are being viciously stripped by open-pit mining; its croplands and rivers are heavily silted.

The last and primary resource, its people, are deeply divided over the issue of the US military bases. The agreement on the bases expired on September 16, 1991 and the Philippine Senate rejected the proposed treaty extending their stay. This historic act ends almost a century of US military presence in this former colony. However, President Corazon Aquino is leading moves to extend the bases' stay, in disregard of the Senate decision and the constitution.

In the midst of this political and economic morass, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and people's organisations (POs) persevere in service delivery and advocacy for their constituencies. This combination of service and advocacy by NGOs and POs is crucial to their survival and success.

If the non-governmental sector limits itself only to providing services, it allows government to further renege on its responsibilities. In any case, NGOs and POs can hardly make a dent in the immense problems caused by macro-level policies unless they also advocate for policy change.

But advocacy that is isolated from service and project experience also has its drawbacks. People cannot live by advocacy alone. More often than not, the next meal is a more immediate problem than existing government policy. Besides, NGO advocacy for development services is unconvincing if policies and models are not backed up by concrete experience and experimentation.

In the past year members of the "Caucus of Development NGO Networks" have been consulting with each other, studying and applying, to their

particular setting, the **UN Declaration on the Right to Development**. This declaration is of strategic value to both the service and advocacy work of NGOs, and indeed to their survival and success.

The UN Declaration, overwhelmingly approved by the UN General Assembly on December 4th, 1986, can be summarized in five main principles:

- \* development is a comprehensive and integrated economic, social, cultural and political process in which the human being is the central subject, participant and beneficiary;

- \* people's participation is a right, a responsibility, and a pre-requisite for the success of development policies and projects;

- \* the state is primarily responsible for creating the policy and resource conditions necessary for development;

- \* the establishment of a New International Economic Order (defined by the UN General Assembly on May 1, 1974) is necessary if the poor nations of the world are to overcome underdevelopment;

- \* the right to development, like political and civil rights, is a basic human right.

On December 4, 1991, the fifth anniversary of the UN Declaration, one thousand Filipino NGOs formally affirmed their commitment to the UN Declaration on the Right to Development. The event capped almost a year of painstaking self-examination and consultation by the non-governmental sector to see if their policies, practices and projects conform with the Declaration.

With partners from the North and the South, the Philippine NGOs will strive to set up cooperative mechanisms to analyze the local and international development programs of governments and multi-lateral agencies based on the UN Declaration, which governments themselves have adopted. Hopefully, this NGO initiative will put some teeth and meaning into what would otherwise be just another hollow statement on development.

## PHILIPPINES COVENANT... FORGING UNITY TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT

On December 4, 1991, Filipino NGOs met to adopt a "Covenant on Philippine Development". The Covenant affirms the UN Declaration on the Right to Development and applies the Declaration to the Philippine situation and their own work.

Copies of the **COVENANT ON PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT** can be obtained from **SPPF**. Please send \$2.00 to cover the cost of copying and postage.



# THE DISPOSSESSED: COMING IN FROM THE MARGINS

*The Canadian international development agency, Inter Pares, has been working with its partners in Canada and overseas to explore the implications of the U.N. Declaration on the Right to Development for their work. This article is taken from the Inter Pares Bulletin, Vol 14, No 1, 1992.*

Dhaka, Bangladesh - In the evening, the smoke from the cooking fires gives the sidestreets an eerie quality. Camped along the sidewalk, huddles around their cooking pots, are the street families. By night they are here, sleeping on burlap and under plastic canopies, surrounded by all their worldly possession. Despite the abysmal and often dangerous conditions, they are here every night, disappearing at daybreak before they can be driven away by the police.

These are the marginal people, the dispossessed. For some, they are hardly people at all, since they do not officially exist. They are seldom counted in any official census; the children rarely go to school; they never appear on election rolls. They are nameless, homeless, and all but invisible. And they are found in virtually every major city in the world.

These people have also been largely ignored by those concerned with development. People living on the margins were considered to be the unfortunate but inevitable casualties of a development strategy aimed at economic growth. That this development approach created winners and losers was accepted; in the longer term, it was reasoned, everyone would benefit. The victims of this development model were ignored and pushed to the periphery.

But this concept of development has begun to change and there is promise that the poor and dispossessed will become more visible. When the UN passed the Declaration on the Right to Development, it acknowledged for the first time that the poor had the right to participate in and benefit from development. The UN Resolution declared that development is primarily about people and their basic needs, not just about economic growth. Members of the UN General Assembly, including Canada, pledged themselves to incorporate these goals in their national development policies and to promote this vision of human-centered development internationally.

Has Canada's international role been influenced by the vision outlined in the UN Declaration? One way of measuring our country's commitment is to look at how much of Canada's international aid budget is devoted to human development priorities such as basic health, education, and rural services. On the basis of the evidence, Canada's record is weak. The 1991 UNDP Human Development Report ranked the Canadian aid

program 10th on a list of 12 aid-giving countries in terms of expenditures on human development priorities.

While changes are occurring in Canada's aid policy, it is unclear whether these will be guided by the principles outlined in the UN Declaration. There remains a powerful constituency in this country which views the aid program as an important subsidy for Canadian business. There is also a trend to align Canadian aid more closely with the policies of the World Bank and the IMF. These trends do not augur well for an aid program predicated on meeting basic human needs.

The UN Declaration also provides some useful principles for assessing Canada's own economic and domestic development policies. While Canadians in general have a higher standard of living than people in the South, there are increasingly large numbers of people here who are being pushed to the periphery. More than 2 million Canadians now live on welfare, and more than 600,000 are dependent on food banks. In a 1989 study, the Canadian Council on Social Development concluded that the child poverty rate in Canada was among the worst in the industrialized world, second only to the United States. The bottom 40 per cent of the Canadian population has access to only 17 per cent of the total national income; this is comparable to income distribution in Bangladesh.

Third World visitors to Canada are frequently shocked when they encounter the reality of Canada's poor and marginalized people (see "View from the South" in this issue of Tok Blong SPPF). Connie Nkomo, a development activist from Zimbabwe, visited several Canadian communities in 1989. "The poverty came as a shock", she said before she went home. "I thought, my god, Canada has a Third World right here." Indeed, Canada has its dispossessed and marginal people too, an under-class who are all but invisible and forgotten.

The UN Declaration offers a vision which puts the needs of the poor and marginal at the centre of the development agenda. It also serves as a potent reminder that development is not just a Third World problem, but a global challenge. Unless Northern governments promote this vision at home, they are unlikely to work towards these goals internationally. This means that we must work for change in Canada, and with our partners for change in the south. Through social change work in our communities and at the policy level, citizens' groups around the world can hold our governments accountable.

Further reading: **Recolonization or Liberation: The bonds of structural Adjustment and Struggles for Emancipation.** Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice/GATT-Fly. 1990. 97 pp. Contact: ECEJ, 11 Madison Ave. Toronto, ON., M5R 2S2 CANADA.



# UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

On December 4, 1986, the U.N. General Assembly proclaimed the following Declaration.

## ARTICLE 1

1. The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.
2. The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes, subject to the relevant provision of both international Covenants on Human Rights, the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources.

## ARTICLE 2

1. The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development.
2. All human beings have a responsibility for development, individually and collectively, taking into account the need for full respect of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as their duties to the community, which alone can ensure the free and complete fulfillment of the human being, and they should therefore promote and protect an appropriate political, social and economic order for development.
3. States have the right and the duty to formulate appropriate national development policies that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of the benefits resulting therefrom.

## ARTICLE 3

1. States have the primary responsibility for the creation of national and international conditions favorable to the realization of the right to development.
2. The realization of the right to development requires full respect for the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
3. States have the duty to cooperate with each other ensuring development and eliminating obstacles to development. States should fulfil their rights and duties in such a manner as to promote a new international economic order based on sovereign equality, interdependence, mutual interest and cooperation among all States, as well as to encourage the observance and realization of human rights.

## ARTICLE 4

1. States have the duty to take steps, individually and collectively, to formulate international development policies with a view to facilitating the full realization of the right to development.
2. Sustained action is required to promote more rapid development of developing countries. As a complement to the efforts of developing countries, effective international cooperation is essential in providing these countries with appropriate means and facilities to foster their comprehensive development.

## ARTICLE 5

States should take resolute steps to eliminate the massive and flagrant violations of the human rights of people and human beings affected by situations such as those resulting from apartheid, all forms of racism and racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign domination and occupation, aggression, foreign interference and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, threats of war and refusal to recognize the fundamental rights of people to self-determination.

## ARTICLE 6

1. All States should cooperate with a view to promoting, encouraging and strengthening universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.
2. All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent; equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.
3. States should take steps to eliminate obstacles to development resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights, as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

## ARTICLE 7

All States should promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and, to that end, should do their utmost to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control as well as to ensure that the resources released by effective disarmament measures are used for comprehensive development, in particular that of the developing countries.

## ARTICLE 8

1. States should undertake, at the national level, all necessary measures for the realization of the right to development and shall ensure, inter alia, equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income. Effective measures should be undertaken to ensure that women have an active role in the development process. Appropriate economic and social reforms should be made with a view to eradicating all social injustices.
2. States should encourage popular participation in all spheres as an important factor in development and in the full realization of all human rights.

## ARTICLE 9

1. All the aspects of the right to development set forth in the present Declaration are indivisible and interdependent and each of them should be considered in the context of the whole.
2. Nothing in the present Declaration shall be construed as being contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, or as implying that any state, group or person has a right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the violation of the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenant on Human Rights.

## ARTICLES 10

Steps should be taken to ensure the full exercise and progressive enhancement of the right to development, including the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy, legislative and other measures at the national and international levels.



# THE NUCLEAR FREE & INDEPENDENT PACIFIC MOVEMENT

*The 6th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) conference was held in 1990 in Aotearoa (New Zealand). The following articles are taken from the Aotearoa Conference report. Lopeti Senituli, General Co-ordinator of the NFIP and Pacific Concerns Resource Centre provides an overview of the NFIP Movement. The Aotearoa Declaration was endorsed by the Steering Committee Meeting 1991 as a summary of the 1990 NFIP Conference.*

The Arms Race in the Pacific began at the very moment the James Cooks, the Abel Tasmans and the Ferdinand Magellans set foot on the shores of the inhabited island countries of the region. Following quickly in the wake of these so-called 'discoverers' came the traders and the blackbirders.

Guerilla warfare began with the coming of the settlers and the missionaries through whose combined urging came institutionalised government. With the 'government' came the regimented outcasts of European society and the drafts of semi-slave indentured labourers from other outposts of so-called European civilisation.

The 'government', of course, came armed with all the paraphernalia and trapping of 'democracy' such as the regimented soldier, the gunboats and, above all, the zeal to civilise the savages. The guerilla wars escalated into civil wars and when the 'savages' were subdued into 'civilised' subservience they were made to fight the government's World Wars. Then came the nuclear bombs.

So for the NFIP Movement the militarisation and nuclearisation of the Pacific is not something that simply popped out of the horizon. Instead it is the latest phase of the colonisation process which has seen the indigenous people of the Pacific become strangers on their own land which in turn had been arbitrarily subdivided by their colonial masters into strategic outposts of so-called 'progress'.

Therefore when the NFIP Movement struggles against the militarisation and nuclearisation of the Pacific, it is not opposing Trident submarines, neutron bombs and sea launched cruise missiles as simply weapons of mass annihilation. Rather it opposes these moral values that give rise to their manufacture and deployment.

Naturally the NFIP focuses on the economic blackmail, the political intimidation, the murders and the systematic cheating that inevitably precede the actual deployment of these weapons in the Pacific. It also focuses on helping the people and governments of the Pacific withstand these devious onslaughts.

In effect this invariably means that the NFIP Movement is constantly confronted with the basic question of why and what political and socio-economic systems, life-style and cultures it is seeking to preserve and

nurture in its quest for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

The NFIP Movement is a rich and colourful network of peoples and their organisations. There are church-based groups, trade unions, independence fronts, sovereignty and land rights groups, student unions, peace and justice organisation, environmental groups, women's groups and a whole frenzy of individuals who cannot be categorised.

The origins of the people and their organisations are not confined to the Pacific Islands proper. There are member organisations in virtually every Pacific-rim nation save the Central, Latin and South American sub-continent. Similarly, there are member organisations in Great Britain and Western Europe.

To date, five NFIP conferences have been held: 1975, Suva; 1978, Pohnpei; 1980, Honolulu; 1983, Port Vila; 1987, Manila. The movement is directed by an 8-member Steering Committee serviced by its secretariat, the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC) which has offices in Auckland and Sydney. By the very nature of its membership the NFIP Movement has set itself the almost overwhelming task of establishing working relationships between its members and thus creating a functional movement.

The areas for potential conflict within the Movement are vast given the whole range of personalities, issues, languages, cultures, historical (colonial) experiences, ethnicity and perceptions. Clashes have always been a feature of all five NFIP conferences since 1975.

In the final analysis, however, the peoples and their organisations have always come to the conclusion that there is simply too much at stake to allow their differences to dominate their thinking and be an obstacle to the consolidation of a functional NFIP Movement.

This conclusion is captured in a quotation from Sister Christine Tan from the Philippines in her speech welcoming participants to the 5th NFIP Conference in Manila in November 1987. Sr. Christine was a member of the Philippines Constitutional Commission and is a prominent champion of the poor and oppressed in the Philippines.

She said, and I quote:

'Our battle is for freedom from Nuclear Arms and all the evil this connotes in our people, in our lands, in our seas, in our winds. In this battle we are being made pawns, dumping sites, burial fields, of forces from outside with far more resources and power than we possess.

But regardless of how super these forces and how small our islands are, our political determination surpasses all these threats and manipulation. To these evil powers we therefore say, We the free people of the Pacific refuse to be cowed. We shall overcome."

Lopeti Senituli, November 1990.



# AOTEAROA DECLARATION

**WE, THE PARTICIPANTS** of the 6th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference held in Aotearoa in November 1990, acknowledge and thank the people of the Aotearoa for their hospitality and solidarity.

We especially wish to acknowledge their 150 years of survival since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. We remember all those who have gone before us, those who have died for life and the liberation of our peoples, and for Earth Mother who sustains us all.

We reaffirm our continuing solidarity with our sisters and brothers in the Pacific who are suffering from and struggling against oppression and injustice.

We grieve for, and are determined to resist the continued assaults on our cultures, religions and ways of life, that come both from outside and within the Pacific.

We reaffirm the inalienable right of all indigenous peoples to control their lives, lands and waters, practice their religion, exercise the culture of their ancestors and demand their sovereignty and independence from all foreign powers.

We accept that we are a diverse number of groups from different situations and with different priorities, and we resolve to ensure that this diversity is part of our strength as a movement.

We resolve that our political differences will not prevent our working together for justice and freedom for us all, and we acknowledge our interdependence on one another.

We reaffirm the leadership of Pacific Peoples in this Movement, and we commit ourselves to the goals and aims of the Peoples Charter for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific. We commit ourselves to

working to increase our peoples participation in this struggle for life and liberty.

We reaffirm our commitment to oppose the whole nuclear cycle in the Pacific: the mining of uranium on Aboriginal and Native American lands; the nuclear submarine testing facility in South East Alaska; the nuclear testing at Moruroa, Fangataufa, Nevada and the missile testing at Kwajalein; toxic waste dumping in the Pacific; and chemical dumping at Kalama Island, also

known as Tapuarerangi-o-Tange (the sacred footprint of Tane) and any other island; the presence of all foreign military bases in the Pacific, including the United States bases in Guam, Hawaii, the Philippines, Australia and Japan.

We recognise the urgency with which we must work together in the next decade, to protect the Pacific and Pacific life from the threat of economic invasion and other forms of destruction.

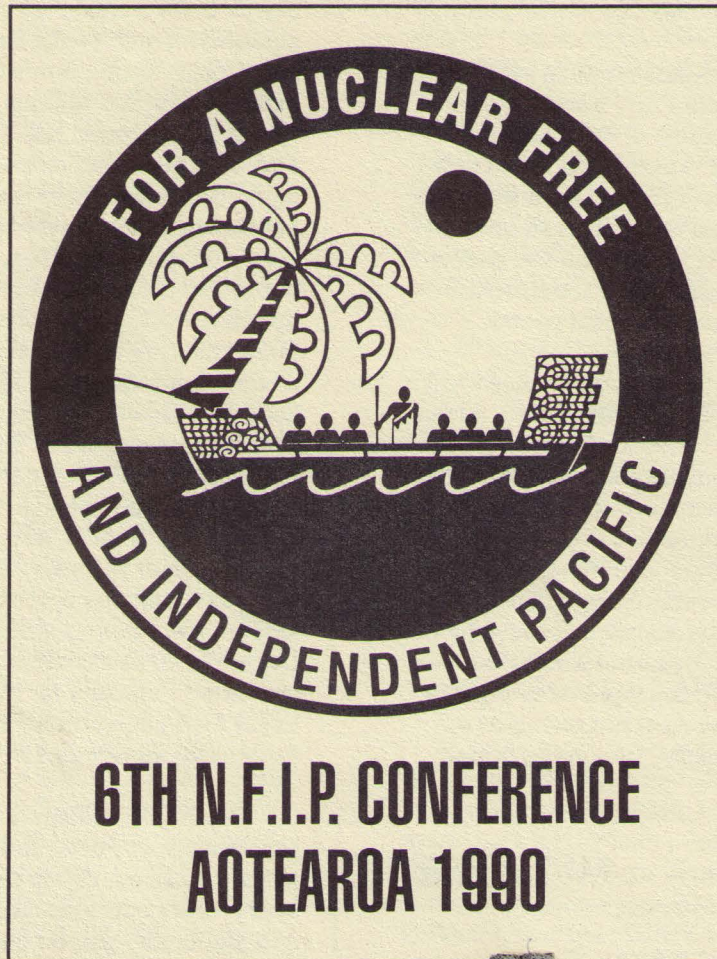
We condemn all governments who suppress the rights of their peoples, and who collaborate with foreign powers to perpetrate these injustices.

We recommit ourselves as indigenous and non indigenous

people of the Pacific, to work together for the well being of our world and for all our futures.

We ask our Creator, our guardians and our ancestors for direction and guidance as we strive to carry out the tasks that lie ahead.

**NOTE: The Aotearoa Declaration was endorsed by the Steering Committee Meeting of September 1991 as a summary of the 1990 NFIP conference.**



**6TH N.F.I.P. CONFERENCE  
AOTEAROA 1990**



# SELF-DETERMINATION TAKES A BACK SEAT IN THE 'AMERICAN' PACIFIC

By Giff Johnson, Editor  
Marshall Islands Journal

As President George Bush rushes to recognise the newly independent Baltic nations, heralding their exit from the crumbling Soviet empire, his administration is telling Pacific islanders they do not have the same right to decide their futures. That a paradox so blatant can be served up as United States' "policy" to the American-affiliated Pacific is indicative of the nature of the United State's self-proclaimed new world order.

Both administration pronouncements of policy directives for the American-affiliated Pacific have sparked ever increasing criticisms of Washington's colonial-style management. Elected leaders and residents from Palau to Saipan and Guam to the Marshall Islands - even some politicians normally restrained by the dictates of diplomacy - are jumping on the Interior Department for repeatedly throwing up roadblocks in the way of increased autonomy and local control.

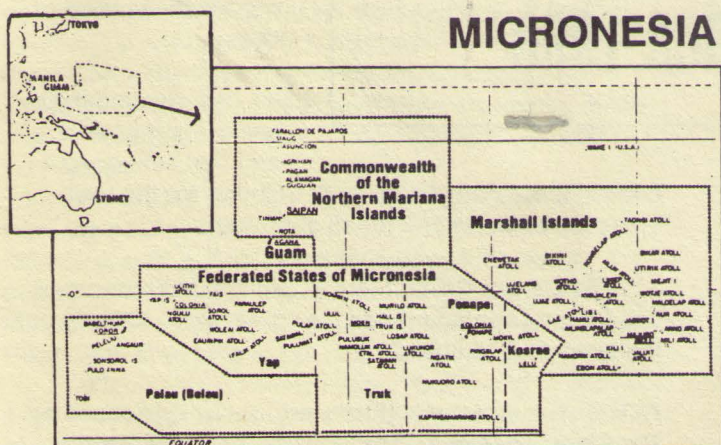
Stella Guerra, the Interior Department's Assistant Secretary of Territorial and International Affairs, added fuel to the fire recently when she issued the so-called "Guerra Maxims". The maxims describe an unabashedly colonial United States government attitude toward its territories. Guerra, the point person for the Bush administration in the Pacific, announced: "Self-determination means the choice of generally recognised political status, with specifics to be worked out and mutually agreed to by the parties. **Self-determination does not mean, and has never meant, the right of one party unilaterally to determine the specific terms of its relationship with another party**" (emphasis added).

Examples: Pacific leaders should be forgiven for wondering what dictionary the Interior Department uses. Webster's defines "self-determination" as: "Determination of one's acts by oneself without external compulsion." Not, however, in the Pacific, says Guerra. And the Interior Department has been moving quickly to follow up words with deeds. Examples abound.

Palau has been a thorn in the side of the United States. While the Marshall Islands and Federated States of Micronesia fell in step with "free association" agreements with the United States, Palau has refused, since 1981, to approve a deal giving the United States extensive military options on Palau land. The north Pacific island group has a nuclear-free constitution and, through seven referenda, voters have bucked Pentagon hopes to secure real estate that is quickly escalating in value with the imminent removal of all United States bases from the Philippines. Since 1980, the United States has been granting Palau, and its neighbours the Marshalls and Federated States of Micronesia, increasing control of its internal and foreign affairs in anticipation of terminating the last United Nations Trusteeship in favour of a long term relationship with the United States. The Interior Department's response to the latest defeat of a long-term pact with Palau was to bring Palau under tight control from Washington. Interior last year stationed an American commissioner in Palau who must approve all government expenditures and major policy actions. Palau leaders were outraged. But Guerra and the Interior Department, as if chastising a recalcitrant child, admonished Palauans for mismanagement and poor control of their government. The all-powerful American commissioner remains.

Guam, an unincorporated territory of the United States north of Palau, hosts important American military facilities. Guam leaders believe that their neighbours - the Federated States of Micronesia, Marshalls and Marianas - gained better deals with the United States and they now are pushing for changes in their colonial status in hopes of gaining more authority over their island. Guamanians have criticised Interior for foot dragging.

In 1975, the Northern Mariana Islands jumped at a United States offer of commonwealth status that looked good then. Today, however, Marianas leaders look with envy at the free association pacts between the United States and the Marshalls and Federated States of Micronesia. These grant the Marshalls and Federated States nearly total control of foreign affairs - while the Marianas, as a commonwealth, are stuck with





the United States federal government controlling foreign relations, fisheries and refusing to recognise a 200-mile exclusive economic zone. Marianas leaders are agitating for increased home rule, but interior is unsympathetic.

Though the political status of the Marshalls (and Federated States of Micronesia) is resolved, Interior has been wrangling with the Bikini islanders over who controls a \$US 90 million nuclear cleanup and resettlement trust fund. Guerra says Interior must approve every expenditure but the Bikinians cite the law passed by the United States Congress giving the Bikinians sole authority and responsibility for cleaning up Bikini, including control of the trust fund. They have been stalemated for more than a year.

The Interior Department controls the purse strings and monitors all United States aid to the American-affiliated islands, including the Marshalls and Federated States of Micronesia, which gained United Nations membership in September. If you are puzzled about Interior managing affairs of independent Pacific nations, welcome to the "American" Pacific.

The Bush administration has recognised and will probably provide foreign aid to newly independent Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. But would it do the same for a United States-affiliated Pacific island if it declared its independence? Not likely. The record of the United States-Marshalls/Federated States of Micronesia/Palau political status negotiations from 1969-1983 speaks to repeated and successful United States efforts to choke off, by whatever means necessary, aspirations for independence.

Negotiations: Micronesia's elected leaders established, in 1969, a special commission to negotiate a new political status with the United States. From the outset, island elected leaders on the future status commission were considering a range of alternatives to their United Nations Trusteeship status, including independence. Since Washington had been making all decisions of importance under its Trust Territory administration, island leaders were eager for more autonomy to take control of their nations - which had been ruled by outside powers since the 16th century.

As early as 1972, wrote former United States ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHency, "In a not too veiled threat...the United States let the Micronesians know that the United States strategic requirements would not countenance independence." In 1973, then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger directed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to study "the possibility of exerting covert influence on key elements of the Micronesian independence movement where necessary to support United States strategic objectives." By 1975, the CIA began paying Micronesians to spy on their fellow leaders, and wiretapping

conversations of the island negotiators at a crucial point in the political status talks, George Bush was head of the CIA when the CIA was spying on Micronesians - who were wards of the United States - was first exposed in 1976.

Later, after the Marshalls had broken off from the Federated States Of Micronesia and Palau, President Amata Kabua and his spokesman Tony deBrum engineered a brilliant manoeuvre. They gained United States State Department approval, in 1982, for a plebiscite on the Compact of Free Association with only two choices on the ballot: the Compact or complete independence.

The United States went along, assuming that the voters would automatically endorse the Compact. But officials had miscalculated. Protests flared up from landowners at Kwajalein, the key United States missile testing range, and then most of the radiation-affected islands followed suit, saying that nuclear test compensation provided by the United States was too limited. Suddenly it appeared that the Compact was headed for defeat and that meant, according to the United States plebiscite agreement with the Marshalls, independence for the Marshall Islands.

The reaction of the Reagan-Bush administration was swift. High-level Pentagon official Noel Koch said bluntly: "Declaring independence simply isn't an available option to them" under international law. The chief attorney for the Interior Department confirmed the long-standing United States policy against self-determination when he said the possibility of independence for the Marshalls was a "fundamental and radical departure" from "self-determination" policies the United States has followed since World War Two. So the United States cancelled that 1982 plebiscite and thus the Marshalls was denied its vote on independence.

Today, most Micronesians - be they in Palau or Guam or in the Marshall Islands - are not seeking full independence. In Guam, for example, the people want more autonomy within a relationship with the United States. But if the Bush administration keeps up its policy of might makes right it could be surprised by the surfacing of more militant opponents in the islands.

The Bush administration's stamp of approval on the "Guerra maxims" shows it is United States policy to frustrate genuine self-determination in its own territories while it will not hesitate to self-righteously bang the drum for self-determination in the former Soviet republics. Islanders, a Guerra maxim says, should not call the United States "insensitive" if, after talking with islands governments, the United States makes decisions that run counter to island desires. No, they are going to start calling it what it is.: colonialism. [Source: Islands Business Pacific, November 1991. Reprinted with permission of the author.]



# WHITE HOUSE OFF TRACK, OUT OF TOUCH

By David North

A polite letter from George Bush's White House has Guam's teeth on edge.

It was a thank-you note to the Governor, and it was signed by the Director of White House Personnel, Constance Horner, a powerful figure in Washington.

The problems were; the Governor to whom it was addressed, Ricky Bordallo, had not been governor for four and a half years; and he is no longer alive.

The White House had lost track of Guam's political calendar and, worse, had missed the widely reported suicide of Bordallo, who chained himself to a statue of an ancient Chamorro chieftain on a public square and shot himself, rather than spend a few months in a mainland prison camp.

He had earlier been convicted of corruption in a federal court and was scheduled to report to prison the day after he killed himself.

The White House letter thanked the Governor for his recommendations of some persons for presidential appointments, and assured him that they still were under consideration. The note apparently was a routine form letter, and related to recommendations which must have been sent to the White House years earlier. Bordallo left office in early 1987, and died on January 30, 1990.

As luck would have it, the letter came to Bordallo's widow, Madeleine, a scrappy and successful Democratic politician in her own right. She was recently elected to fill a vacancy in the Territorial Senate after losing a race for the Governorship in November, 1990.

Her spokesperson said "she really thinks the White House should keep up on who they're writing."

The Pacific Daily News grumbled editorially about the letter indicating, yet again, the "not always benign neglect" that so often characterises Washington's treatment of Guam.

[Pacific Islands Monthly, November 1991]

# A VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

By Mary Pitpit

*Mary Pitpit is an Indigenous Papua New Guinean who works for the Canadian international development organization, CUSO, in PNG. In June-July 1991, Mary visited Canada along with Annette Kausiama, a ni-Vanuatu who was working with CUSO in Vanuatu. CUSO brought Mary and Annette to Canada to familiarize them with CUSO's activities in Canada and to meet with Canadian Indigenous people. In excerpts from her trip report, Mary reflects on her experiences and some of the differences between the situations of Canadian and Pacific Indigenous peoples.*

I recently got back from beautiful CANADA. The idea of sending me over came up when Simon, CUSO Vanuatu, informed us that he was sending Annette to take part in the International Pow Wow and Environmental Symposium being held in Winnipeg. So by June 2, 1991 I was on my way to Canada.

First stop - EDMONTON. We spent seven lovely days sightseeing. We went up to the Jasper National Park so I had a chance to see some snow. It was beautiful! One thing I noticed immediately was the absence of 6 ft high fences! Made me wonder why PNG should be any different. Next stop - HAMILTON. Visited Niagara Falls, another beautiful sight! Took part in a CUSO local committee meeting and found it very interesting. Our time in Hamilton was over in a flash and we found ourselves in OTTAWA. We only had three days there so it was pretty hectic, getting introduced to everyone in the different CUSO cubby holes and getting to know, sort of, what everyone does.

After Ottawa, it was WINNIPEG where we attended an Indigenous Peoples' gathering and an Environmental Symposium and took part in a Peace March. This was really interesting. There were Indigenous peoples' arts and crafts on display. We had a stall with crafts from Vanuatu and PNG and it was fascinating to find that very few people knew about us. So we did some 'PR' work for our countries. Fortunately, Leah Rubin from the Vanuatu Arts and Crafts Council came with a map, which we made good use of.

We attended workshops during the week but not all of them were what I expected them to be. For instance, one workshop was titled "Teachings of Women". I expected to learn about what 'other' roles their women play apart from the basic childbearer/career/housekeeper, etc. Whether their women are or can be recognised as leaders in their respective tribes/bands and if so how do they come to be. Whether their 'grassroots' women are pushing for equal rights, respect, non-violence for women like we are doing here at home. But instead I found the speaker talking about her "unpleasant" upbringing by a white family and the hatred that she developed for white people. It took practically all her adult life and



her people's teachings and understanding to come to terms with all that had happened and for her to accept herself as a whole person again.

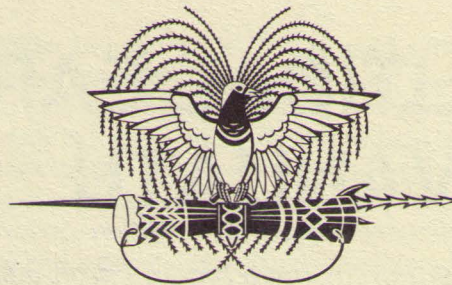
"Racism" was another topic I was disappointed in...I expected them to talk about what they as a people (not individuals) were doing to ease this problem. I especially wanted to know because of their "not so good experiences" in white homes and schools and the built-in hatred/wariness over the generations towards whites or "non-indigenous" people. But there were some good workshop sessions and panel discussions with speakers from different Indigenous groups of the world. One workshop I enjoyed was titled "500 Years of Exploiting the Americas". I understand that there are Indigenous groups organizing a campaign against the "500th Anniversary of the arrival of Western Civilization" in the Americas. I found it very interesting that they are able to bring worldwide attention within Indigenous communities through gatherings such as this.

I also took part in the Sunrise Ceremony on the last day and found that unique. We all sat in a wide circle (at 6:00 am COLD!) and "washed" in incense and smoked a pipe that was passed around. The whole circle was so quiet and it felt so peaceful and holistic. Saturday, June 22nd we left Winnipeg for Victoria, B.C., our last stop in Canada before we started for home.

We visited the Native Heritage Centre and two friendship centres. These centres cater basically to young people in trouble who need help and/or advice and counselling. We also visited a tribal school and saw what they are doing to revive their language and culture. The task of teaching the language to not only children but their parents as well is very difficult, especially if the subject you are taught is to stay with you forever to enable you to find your identity, accept yourself, your heritage and your roots, I realized how much we Papua New Guineans take for granted. We are born into our language and culture, we don't have to go to school to learn it, yet we go out of our way and pockets to put our children into international schools that don't have PNG culture or history included in the curriculum!

I was amazed to see what an Indian reserve looked like; it was not what I always imagined. I always thought a reserve was a "planned township" with basic needs catered to. Seeing the Indian reserves reminded me of our settlements here. BUT, the difference with our settlements is that WE created them, someone else did not put us on the land and tell us "that's where you will live". And also, we are a "Third World developing country". One expects and tends to accept such situations/circumstances. This is not the sort of thing a new traveller like myself would expect to find in a "developed white country". So it has been a real mind-broadening and eye-opening trip for me.

I feel more Papua New Guineans, especially those involved with NGOs should go on trips like this - see what other Indigenous groups of the world are doing to



keep everything that is theirs, culture, heritage, land, language - because it creates a sense of national pride and the appreciation of all that we have here and a better understanding of volunteerism and what it means. Too often we want things to be done for us or given to us without working for it/towards it ourselves.

This trip has had a great impact on my beliefs and attitude toward life and the world and has given me greater confidence in myself and what I am capable of achieving. I have a greater understanding of people/situations and know now that one cannot make judgments without first living/experiencing the other's way of life or experience. It has strengthened my pride as a native Papua New Guinean regardless of all the negative exposure we have been receiving overseas.

Two good examples of the change in my attitude are:

- **Language:** Besides pidgin and English which all my children speak fluently, we have three different mother/native tongues, my father's - the Roro language; my mother's - the Makeo language and my husband's - one of the Lou Island dialects, Manus Province. This has never been an issue, we never attempted to teach our children any of the above languages. The attitude then was, "I'll teach my language to the children and you teach yours. Since my trip to Canada, I have made the decision that I will make every attempt to learn my husband's language and teach my children all our languages.
- **School:** Since I came back from Canada, I found that the International School that my children are in will undergo a change whereby all the teaching staff will be highly qualified national Papua New Guinean teachers and that there will be PNG culture and history included in the curriculum although it will still remain an International School and still be a part of the International Education Agency.

I believe that if I hadn't gone on this trip I would be doing what most other parents are doing right now and that is to withdraw my children and put them into another international school that is not going through such changes. I appreciate and agree with the changes that are taking place at the school only because I've seen the effect of loss of culture and heritage. As PNG is a country that still holds strong its extended family ties and its culture and languages, it can be very damaging to people who aren't quite ready or prepared to change or adapt to living a nuclear lifestyle I have learned that when you lose your culture, you lose your identity.



# POLITICAL EARTHQUAKE SHAKES UP VANUATU

*Recent months have brought profound changes to the Vanuatu political landscape. For the first time since independence, the Vanua'aku Pati (VP) is not the government. The once mighty VP has fractured into antagonistic factions and then into separate parties. Long time prime minister and "father of the nation", Father Walter Lini lost the prime ministership to his critics in the VP, formed a new political party to contest the December election and is now the leader of the junior coalition partner in the new government. For the first time in Vanuatu's history, the government is led by a Francophone dominated party, the Union of Moderate Parties (UMP).*

Even as recently as a few months ago, few would have predicted the chain of events which would catapult the UMP into power. The VP seemed in little danger of losing its monopoly on government. However, fractures had been developing in the VP since shortly after the last election in 1987. A 1988 political crisis had led to the departure of Barak Sope from the VP and the establishment of a new Sope-led party,



photo from Vanuatu Weekly

**Maxime Carlot, Prime Minister of Vanuatu and leader of the Union of Moderate Parties.**

the Melanesian Progressive Party. Increasing dissatisfaction within the VP with Lini's leadership had culminated in a prolonged internal crisis during 1991. This crisis featured attempts to unseat Lini and Lini's sacking of a number of Cabinet ministers and other opponents within the VP.

The crisis came to a head in August and early September. On August 7, a special VP congress, boycotted by Lini and his supporters, replaced Lini with Donald Kalpokas as VP president. On September 6, 19 VP members of parliament joined with six opposition Tan Union members to elect Kalpokas as prime minister by a 25-21 vote. 21 VP members supported Lini, who then departed the VP to set up a new political party, the National United Party (NUP). The split of the VP into VP and NUP was a far more damaging blow than the earlier departure of Sope and his supporters. It would prove to be fatal to the VP's chances in the December election.

The new Kalpokas-led government attempted to shore up VP support during the brief time available to it before the December 2 election. However, Lini and the NUP were also hard at work. When the votes were counted, they had managed to divide their support almost equally. The VP took 22.6 percent of the vote and obtained 10 seats. With 20.4 percent of the vote, the NUP also obtained 10 seats. Major beneficiary of the split was the UMP, which obtained 19 seats with 30.6 percent of the vote. Other parties obtaining seats were the Melanesian Progressive Party (4 seats), Tan Union (1), Nagriamel (1) and Fren Melanesia (1).

Ironically, the UMP found itself poised to form a government despite winning less popular support than it had in 1987. UMP's share of the vote declined by almost 10 percent from the 39.9 percent it won in the previous election. The difference this time was that the remainder of the votes were split several ways (support for the factions formed from the old VP - VP, NUP and MPP - actually increased from the 47.3 percent won in 1987 to 58.4 percent in 1991). However, 19 seats were still short of the 24 needed to form a majority government. The search was on for coalition partners to form a government. While some had speculated that the VP, NUP and MPP might join to deny victory to the UMP, this did not happen. The rivalries were apparently too deep. The MPP also reportedly removed itself from consideration for any coalition arrangement with its insistence that Barak Sope be prime minister. To the surprise of some, and reported dismay of some UMP supporters, the UMP succeeded



in establishing a coalition with the man who had been their greatest political opponent for many years, Walter Lini and his NUP. Donald Kalpokas and the VP conceded defeat, promising to form a strong and effective Opposition.

The UMP/NUP coalition features a Cabinet of 11 members with four members from the NUP. UMP leader Maxime Carlot is the new prime minister. Deputy prime minister is Sethy Regenvanu of the NUP, a strong Lini loyalist. A notable absentee from the new Cabinet is Lini himself, who stated that he would be devoting his energies to building up the NUP for the next election. There has also been speculation that Lini may in future become the country's president. History was made with the appointment of Hilda Lini (Walter Lini's sister) as Minister for Health and Rural Water Supply, Vanuatu's first woman member of Cabinet.

The election of a Carlot-led UMP government has raised many questions, and concerns in some circles, about future directions for Vanuatu. The VP were long viewed as the most progressive government in the Pacific. Internationally, they were strong supporters of the Non-Aligned Movement and Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific issues. In particular, the VP have been harsh critics of French nuclear testing and colonialism in the Pacific. In their new prime minister, ni-Vanuatu have a man who has been chairman of the Vanuatu branch of the World Anti-Communist League and a champion of right wing causes. He and the UMP favour closer relations with France and the United States. The UMP party program speaks of inviting the United States to establish a naval base in Vanuatu, a radical change from the VP's nuclear free stance. The UMP has already sought closer ties with France, accepting financial aid from New Caledonia, sending a high level Cabinet delegation to meet with French and New Caledonian political leaders in the French colony, and asking the French military to assist Vanuatu with surveillance of its maritime territory. UMP leaders have also said they will seek the reinstatement of a French ambassador in Port Vila and possible establishment of a campus of the French University of the South Pacific. On the question of independence for New Caledonia, the UMP has said that support for the Kanaks is not a priority for them.

On the domestic front, the UMP has said that its priorities are economic development, seeking increased international aid to finance their election promises of free education and improved social services, and promoting a fully bilingual country where French and English have equal status and Francophones have equal access to civil service jobs. UMP policy also favours freehold land, though it is not clear how far they plan to move on this issue.

Walter Lini and the NUP may exert a moderating influence on the UMP. On the other hand, the UMP has moved quickly to put its stamp on the new government, especially in foreign policy. This may lead to strains in the coalition and even the coalition's breakup well before the next election. Lini recently used a radio broadcast to reaffirm NUP support for a nuclear free Pacific and independence for Kanaky/New Caledonia, policies which are at variance with the UMP, and warn that Vanuatu could not be sold to any foreign government. Lini noted that the NUP was committed to a four year coalition government, but only if Vanuatu's laws, national security and sovereignty were respected.

[From: Vanuatu Weekly, 14 December 1991; Islands Business Pacific, January 1992; Pacific Islands Monthly, January 1992; The Washington Pacific Report, Vol 10 No 6, 15 December 1991; Vanuatu Weekly, 8 February 1992; Pacific Report, Vol 5 No 1, 23 January 1992; Pacific News Bulletin, November 1991]

## **THE NEW VANUATU CABINET**

**Maxime Carlot** (Union of Moderate Parties):  
Prime Minister, Public Service, Planning  
and Statistics, Media and Language  
Services

**Sethy Regenvanu** (National United Party):  
Deputy Prime Minister, Justice, Culture  
and Women's Affairs

**Charles Nako** (UMP): Home Affairs.

**Willie Jimmy** (UMP): Finance, Commerce and  
Industry.

**Serge Vohor** (UMP): Foreign Affairs and  
Tourism.

**Onneyn Tahi** (NUP): Agriculture, Livestock,  
Forestry and Fisheries.

**Amos Bangabiti** (UMP): Transport, Public  
Works, Ports and Marine and Urban  
Water Supply.

**Paul Barthelemy Telukluk** (UMP): Natural  
Resources.

**Romain Batik** (UMP): Education.

**Hilda Lini** (NUP): Health and Rural Water  
Supply.

**Edward Tabisari** (NUP): Postal Services,  
Telecommunications and Meteorology.



## 1991 POST-FORUM DIALOGUE RATED A SUCCESS

Forum spokespeople have stated that the Post-Forum Dialogue, held at Palikir in the Federated States of Micronesia on August 1-2, was "highly successful". This was the third of what are becoming a regular event after the annual meetings of Forum leaders. Forum Secretary General, Henry Naisali, noted that "this Dialogue had more substance than in the past. This reflects the experience that was built on from the first two Dialogues."

The Post-Forum Dialogues provide an opportunity for the Forum to consolidate and enhance its international links with other countries which play a significant role in the Pacific. At the latest Dialogue, the countries represented were Canada (see interview with Senator Patricia Carney in this issue of *Tok Blong SPPF*), the United States, Japan, France, the United Kingdom, the European Community and China. The Forum was represented by a panel consisting of Federated States of Micronesia, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. FSM President Bailey Olter acted as Chairman.

The Dialogue took place in two phases. The first phase was a plenary. As Forum Chairman, President Olter provided an outline of the major issues and positions arising from the Forum meeting. Particularly emphasised were issues related to economic development and the environment. The Dialogue "partners" all made general statements at the plenary. The plenary was followed by more in depth meetings between the Forum panel and individual partners.

The Forum was generally assured that the partner countries would maintain their commitment to assisting with the economic development of the region, despite difficult economic times and competing demands from other parts of the world. Support for Pacific regional interests in international fora was also promised. Most partner countries expressed understanding of the Forum's positions and concerns with regards to environmental issues, especially global climate change and the upcoming U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

[From: *The National Union*, August/91; *Forum News*, September/91]

### POST-FORUM DIALOGUE PARTNERS CONVENED IN POHNPEI

*The following excerpts, reporting on Post-Forum Dialogue meetings with individual countries, are taken from the August 1991 issue of The National Union, an official publication of the Federated States of Micronesia.*

The Dialogue with Canada concentrated very much on development assistance. The Canadians

noted that their Government's fiscal situation was forcing spending cutbacks, including development assistance, though the South Pacific allocation had to date been protected. They undertook continued consultation on the future of their major ocean development projects, while making the point that the budgetary situation precluded promises at this stage. Canada urged Forum Governments to make more use of non-traditional sources of assistance available in Canada. Canada gave assurances (echoed by the United States) that the North American Free Trade Agreement under negotiation among themselves, the United States, and Mexico would not adversely affect access for products of Forum countries, though clearly this will require continued monitoring by the Secretariat.

Discussions with the People's Republic of China spent considerable time on Forum/Taiwan relations, with the Chinese delegation reiterating its position that Taiwan is an unalienable part of China and that any official Forum/Taiwan contact is unacceptable to the People's Republic of China. The delegation, however, understood the need for Forum countries to deal with Taiwan in economic areas, and raised no objections to the Secretariat's exploring, in consultation with the People's Republic of China, possible modalities for a Forum/Taiwan meeting.

The panel responded that the Forum was well aware of the PRC's position, and asked for its (PRC's) understanding of the Forum's: four Forum members recognize Taiwan and other Forum Governments respect their views. In addition, many other Forum Governments have substantial economic contacts with Taiwan which increases the importance of consultations with Taiwan. It stressed that any Forum/Taiwan or Forum/PRC interaction must be without prejudice to the relations individual Forum members have with the PRC or with Taiwan, which are bilateral matters solely for the Governments concerned to decide.

The Dialogue with the EC concentrated heavily on economic assistance. This no doubt reflects the nature of the region's relationship with the EC, though it also owed something to the relatively junior level of EC representation. The EC delegate seemed unable to talk in any depth on issues outside the economic assistance area. The delegation was reassuring in general terms on continuing assistance to the region despite competition from Eastern Europe for funds, on support for the Forum's environmental concerns, and on access for FIC exports after implementation of the single European market. The generally defensive responses on broader questions of the EC's international economic responsibilities, especially as they relate to the Uruguay Round, were not encouraging either.



There was more coverage of political areas in the Dialogue with France although the panel did also run over the economic and environmental concerns of the Forum, to a generally sympathetic response. Much time was spent on New Caledonia, where the atmosphere was helped considerably by the success, from both sides' viewpoints, of the Forum Ministerial Committee's visit. The French Delegate said he had been encouraged by the Forum's discussion and conclusions on the New Caledonia issue. A major theme in his remarks was the French desire to promote vigorously the greater integration into the region of the French territories. He also gave assurances that France would welcome further visits to New Caledonia by any Cabinet Minister from any Forum country.

The French delegate also gave an outline of the conclusions of a study by the International Atomic Energy Agency of radioactive leakage from Mururoa Atoll, which he claimed showed conclusively that no leakage at all was taking place. He cast doubt of the independence and motives of the Greenpeace scientists who alleged otherwise. The panel vigorously reiterated the Forum position. They noted in particular that, if conflicting scientific evidence existed, the only safe course was to assume the worst case, and that in any case the Forum's opposition to French nuclear testing was based on security and disarmament concerns as well as environmental ones.

One of the main benefits of the meeting with Japan was the opportunity to explain Forum interests in global and Asia/Pacific regional economic consultations, such as GATT and APEC, given Japan's key role in such. It was useful to obtain undertakings on continuing economic assistance to the region, including to look further at expanding assistance delivered through Forum institutions, although no progress was made on specific projects of this sort already under discussion, such as a Forum trade office in Tokyo. The delegation was also supportive of the Forum's position on environmental issues, noting in particular new Japanese funds allocated for environment-oriented ODA.

The Dialogue with the United Kingdom was by some distance the least substantial of the meetings, perhaps partly reflecting the lack of contentious issues, as well as a UK involvement in the South Pacific primarily on a bilateral basis. In a number of instances in which the panel did have points to make, the UK representative's disposition was to avoid expressing a view by suggesting that the issues were better raised at the supra-national level with the EC. The delegation was generally supportive of the Forum on economic development and environmental matters, but the discussion was rather shallow.

There was greater emphasis in the dialogue with the United States than in others on global and regional security environment. The panel thought this appropriate in light of the key role the US has played since World War II in security arrangements in the Asia/Pacific region. Little new matters emerged in the US presentation, but it was useful to be able to remind the US of South Pacific interests at a time of rapid and continuing changes in the international and Asia/Pacific scene.

On the economic side, the US delegation was concerned to stress its desire to get concrete action on the Joint Commercial Commission underway as soon as possible. It stressed though that resources for the South Pacific side would have to be largely provided from within the region. The panel reiterated the Communique's words, that the Forum has delegated continuing work on this to the Prime Minister of the Cook Islands. While the delegation reaffirmed the US Government's commitment to economic assistance to the region, including through extension of the multi-lateral fisheries treaty, it also made clear that it saw the flow of funds to developing countries increasingly depending on the private sector, for example, through the activities of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. In general, the delegation said, the US approach to the region in the short term was to focus on implementation of policies outlined at last year's US/South Pacific Summit.

## TABAI NEW HEAD OF FORUM SECRETARIAT



Mr. Ieremia Tabai of Kiribati is the new Secretary General of the Forum Secretariat. Mr. Tabai succeeds Mr Henry Naisali whose six-year term in the regional organisation's top post expired in early 1992.

The appointment of Kiribati's former president was made at the Forum's 22nd meeting in Palikir, the capital of the Federated States of Micronesia, last July.

Mr Tabai is no stranger to the Forum and its activities and other regional organisations. In 1980, Mr Tabai chaired the 11th South Pacific Forum which was held in Tarawa, Kiribati, and again in 1989 when Kiribati for the second time hosted the annual meeting followed by the first successful Post-Forum meeting.

Mr Tabai served several terms as president of Kiribati and was the elected member for Nonouti for 17 years. He is a former Chairman of the South Pacific Conference, the overseeing body of the South Pacific Commission. In 1991, he was appointed Pro-Chancellor of the University of the South Pacific. Mr Tabai holds a Bachelor of Commerce Degree from Victoria University in Wellington, and honorary Doctorates from USP and Victoria University of Wellington. [Source: Forum News, No 2, September/91]



# SENATOR CARNEY DISCUSSES POST-FORUM DIALOGUE

*Canada has been represented at all three Post-Forum Dialogues by Senator Patricia Carney. Senator Carney has had a prominent role since 1984 in the Canadian government, including terms as Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, Minister of International Trade (including responsibility for Asia-Pacific initiatives), President of Treasury Board and most recently as a senator from British Columbia. She also teaches at the University of British Columbia. In an interview with SPPF, Senator Carney reflected on the 1991 Post-Forum Dialogue and the general state of Canada's relations with the South Pacific Forum countries.*

**SPPF:** What were your impressions of the Post-Forum Dialogue and your meeting with Forum representatives?

**Carney:** My general impression is basically very favourable. I'm impressed with how much the South Pacific Forum has managed to do and the international profile it has achieved. I think the Dialogue is an important part of that because it gives its major development partners, five of which are members of the G7, an opportunity to be exposed to the South Pacific Forum's maturity.

**SPPF:** What messages did you carry on behalf of Canada to the Forum representatives and what was their reaction?



photo courtesy of the office of Senator Carney

Senator Patricia Carney

**Carney:** The Forum deals mainly with development issues, so the message I carried was that we would be extending our ocean development program. The Forum countries give a very high rating to our ocean development program because it is the kind of program that they find useful. The other message that I carried on behalf of the Canadian government was that we would be continuing our development aid at present levels for the short and medium term despite cutbacks in other areas of the world. We said that we would give diplomatic recognition to the Marshall Islands and Federated States of Micronesia and support their application for membership in the United Nations. There was a favourable response to all of those issues. In addition, I pointed out that Prime Minister Mulroney had raised the environmental issues of global warming and ocean development at the G7 meeting in London, which was very useful for the Forum countries and something that they appreciated. The South Pacific Forum speaks for itself and its membership, but sometimes it's nice to have a boost at the G7 level.

[Note: The February 25, 1992, Canadian federal budget has stated that Canada's International Centre for Ocean Development "will be wound up and any necessary program resources transferred to the Canadian International Development Agency". What impact this will have on the ICOD-supported ocean development program in the Pacific remains to be seen.]

**SPPF:** Did the Forum representatives raise any particular issues with you?

**Carney:** Our program is designed to meet their priorities. We work very hard on that. I spent a lot of time reviewing our program with Forum member states so that Canada can be responsive to their requirements. The issue that they raised with us was their desire to participate at an early stage in the environmental meetings going on around the world. Our high commissioner to New Zealand, who also attended the meeting, indicated that Forum countries could use funds from their Canada Fund allocations to attend the environmental meetings at an early stage so that they could have useful input. They were pleased with that.

**SPPF:** Is there any action that you are aware of in terms of follow-up by Canada to the Post-Forum Dialogue?

**Carney:** I reported to External Affairs Minister McDougall on the Forum. She responded that she was quite pleased with the way things had developed and that the initiatives which I had outlined to the Forum were being followed up by the department. I also wrote Monique Landry, the Minister of External Relations



responsible for international development, outlining the various commitments that our delegation had made on behalf of the Canadian government. She has since written me to say that she has undertaken to ensure that they are followed up. So I think that the Forum issues have been raised at the highest levels of the Canadian government and that there is follow-up to the commitments.

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*I am trying to ensure is that there is a link between the North Pacific and South Pacific countries on Pacific issues. I see my role in Canada as helping to promote the South Pacific Forum issues so that Canadians can see their own concerns reflected in them and understand that there are issues of ocean development and environmental and economic survival which join us all.*

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**SPPF:** What trends do you foresee in Canada's assistance to the South Pacific?

**Carney:** What I personally am trying to ensure is that there is a link between the North Pacific and South Pacific countries on Pacific issues. I see my role in Canada as helping to promote the South Pacific Forum issues so that Canadians can see their own concerns reflected in them and understand that there are issues of ocean development and environmental and economic survival which join us all. I think the trend that I would like to see is a better integration of North and South Pacific issues on the global agenda, so that we talk as a region and make sure that these issues are addressed in our common interest.

**SPPF:** Do you have any further suggestions for ways in which Canada and Canadians can assist the people of the South Pacific in their development?

**Carney:** I am satisfied that Canada is going out of its way to ensure that the development objectives of the South Pacific Forum, as identified by the member countries, are being addressed by us, even at times of budgetary difficulties at home. If we're not meeting the Forum's objectives, the Forum is not identifying them to us, and I don't feel that's the case.

**SPPF:** Thank you very much.

## Solomon Islands joins the list of the Least Developed Countries

*Solomon Islands has recently been added to the United Nations' list of "least developed countries" (LDCs). The addition was in response to a request from the Solomon Islands. The status can entitle the LDC to preferential treatment when applying for aid from the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, some U.N. development agencies and some bilateral (national) donors. The only other Pacific Island nation with LDC status is Western Samoa.*

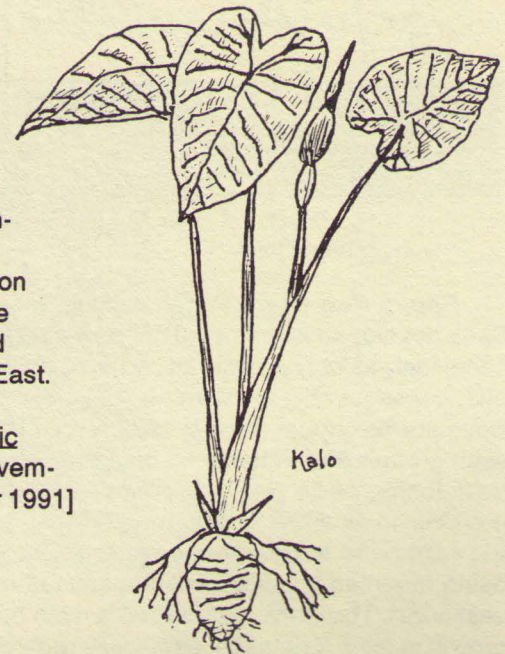
[Main source: Pacific Magazine, November/December 1991]

## Did Agriculture Originate in Papua New Guinea?

A new archaeological dating technique has allowed Australian scientists to date remnants of root crops found on Stone Age tools in Papua New Guinea. The analysis revealed that domesticated varieties of yam and taro were cultivated in PNG 30,000 years ago.

As well as contributing to a new understanding of PNG's history, the discovery challenges the long held assumption that agriculture first developed in the Middle East.

[Source: Pacific Magazine, November/December 1991]



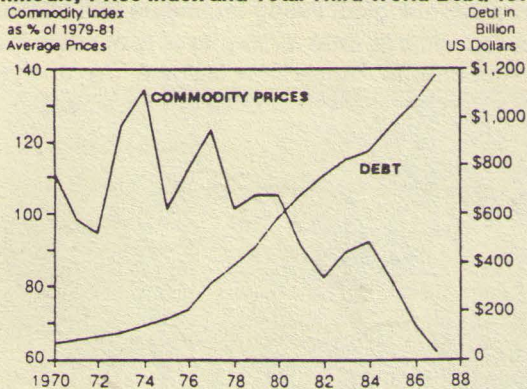


# DEBT IN THE ISLANDS

The debt problems and IMF/World Bank-induced structural adjustment programs that have plagued many countries of the South have begun to make their appearance in the Pacific. In the context of a current trend towards decreased bilateral aid in the region, the body growing most substantially in influence is the World Bank which presently has seven South Pacific members: Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa.

In January 1992, the Bank made a harshly critical report on the performance of its Pacific members during the 1980s. The report excluded Papua New Guinea as it was subject to a separate and intense program of its own. The Bank reported "sluggish" growth: the six members recorded an average growth rate of just 0.6% of GNP, while populations grew at an average of 2% per year. This was set against the superior performance of similar island countries in the Caribbean whose economies grew by more than 5% per year, and in the Indian Ocean which grew by nearly 7% per year. The Bank cites the chief causes of the growth problem as an inability to stimulate private investment in productive sectors; an inward-oriented approach to development; over-regulation; and an abundance of government-owned businesses which burden national savings.

Commodity Price Index and Total Third World Debt, 1970-1987



Source: World Bank

Papua New Guinea's relationship with the World Bank developed in the mid-1980s as the country became increasingly pressured by rising unemployment and, consequently, crime rates. The closure of the Bougainville copper mine in 1989 forced PNG into even greater dependence on the Bank, which brokered fresh loans. While the Bank praised PNG for "major progress in all areas of structural reform" during 1990-91, it criticized the government's spending priorities for being "oriented towards consumption rather than investment". The Bank states PNG's main barrier to growth is over-regulation, especially regarding access to land.

In the *Solomon Islands* the Mamaloni government has had to admit to financial problems. In late November, Finance Minister Christopher Abe told a press conference the government had exceeded a \$SI53.4 million borrowing limit and had cash flow problems, with spending exceeding forecasted revenue for 1991. Abe said the government would meet salaries and wages for public servants and the cost of main services, but could not meet foreign debt obligations and payments. Opposition leader Josep Tuhanuku said the government had already used up more than 60% of the country's total credit facility, leaving less than 40% to the private sector.

However, in January when the budget was released, Mr Abe presented a different scenario. He announced that 300 Solomon Islands public servants were receiving notices of compulsory retirement as part of the effort by the Government to cut its spending. The 1992 budget proposed \$US77 million in recurrent expenditure - 14% up on the 1991 figure. It included \$US30.2 million for civil service pay, \$US4.2 million more than 1991. Several of the Government backbenchers crossed the floor on the Payroll Tax Bill, resulting in the bill's defeat. Following the defeat of the Bill, Finance Minister Abe said the Government would have to increase traditional revenue sources such as import and export levies.

The *Cook Islands* (which is not a member of the World Bank) has gone from being debt-free in the mid-1980s to carrying a national debt of \$NZ100 million by the end of 1991. Taking into account the country's small size and restricted range of resources, as well as yearly cutbacks in bilateral aid from New Zealand since 1987 on a schedule to see it phased out entirely by 2007, many question the ability of the Cook Islands to meet its debt obligations. The national debt includes a \$NZ71 million loan from an Italian bank for building a resort hotel; a \$NZ15 million loan for an electricity and water scheme and a \$NZ15 million compensation payment to a British firm, Cable and Wireless Ltd. which had held a monopoly international telecommunications license. The license was abruptly cancelled by the Cook Islands government and reissued to a New Zealand/United States consortium. Prime Minister Geoffrey Henry is presently arranging another \$NZ20 million loan for the building of a cultural centre. In a recent press conference, Mr. Henry said that no viability studies had been commissioned for the development loans. As past and present finance minister, he believes he has enough experience to decide on the loans and method of their repayment, he said.

[From *Islands Business Pacific*, August/91, February/92, March/92; *Pacific Islands Monthly*, December/91; *Pacific Report*, Vol. 4, No 22, November 21/91 and Vol 4, No 23, December 5/91.]



# STOPOVER MICRONESIA: PARADISE FOR TOURISTS

By David Stanley

*David Stanley is the author of several travel books, including South Pacific Handbook and Micronesia Handbook. In the midst of preparations for the 3rd edition of Micronesia Handbook, David took the time to share his observations on tourism in Micronesia with Tok Blong SPPF readers.*

Though Micronesia has yet to be fully "discovered" by the promoters of packaged consumer tourism, Guam and Saipan already figures alongside such fleshpots as Bali, Thailand, and Hawaii in the tourism markets of Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka. Belau is a hot new destination about to be opened up to Japanese mass tourism and Pohnpei already has a big new Japanese scuba diving operation (Phoenix Marine Sports Club) which only needs a couple of luxury hotels nearby to become really profitable.

All this activity dates back to 1962 when the U.S. government lifted its requirement of a security clearance to visit Micronesia. Pan American Airways inaugurated direct flights from Tokyo to Guam in 1967, the same year Continental Airlines got together with local business interests to create a new joint venture, Continental Air Micronesia, which began service from Honolulu to Saipan in 1968.

Airstrips were gradually upgraded in all the district centers of the old Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and by 1970 Air Mike's "Island Hopper" was calling at Majuro, Kwajalein, Pohnpei, and Chuuk (Truk) between Honolulu and Guam with feeder services to Saipan, Yap, and Koror. Kosrae only became part of Continental's world in 1986 when a jet runway was dredged up from the lagoon.

To facilitate tourist movements on its services, Continental built the first big hotels in Micronesia: the Truk Continental (1970), the Guam Hilton (1970), Koror's Nikko Hotel (1971), and the Saipan Hyatt Regency (1974). For various reasons, Majuro, Pohnpei and Yap never got the big hotels originally planned for them and there are still no international tourist resorts on those islands.

It's not widely known that Guam is now the second most important tourist destination in the Pacific Islands (after Hawaii) with twice as many tourists a year as Fiji and four times as many as Tahiti. Saipan, with much better beaches than Guam and no military bases, isn't far behind. On Guam, tourism has passed military spending as a source of income for the territory and now tourism even conflicts with military use. Powerful local interests are demanding that more of the 30% of the island's surface presently held by the military be released for airport expansion or resort or residential use.

On Guam, the big hotels have long been contained along the Tumon Bay strip, but with three additional high-rise hotels presently under construction at Tumon (a new Holiday Inn, Hyatt Regency, and Hotel Nikko), hotel development has been pushed closer to downtown Agana. The 403-room Palace Hotel is now open on Oca Point, just across Agana Bay from the city, and the soaring Onward Agana Beach Hotel is going up nearby. All these hotels would close within a week if Japanese tour companies stopped sending their packaged planeloads south.

The Japanese are big on golf and there are now a half dozen sprawling golf courses on 5412 square kilometer Guam. Quite a chunk of Saipan's 123 square kilometers is eaten up by its three courses and little 86 square kilometer Rota is now threatened by at least two projected golf courses including one with 54 holes! Most of these facilities are too expensive for local



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golfers and when combined with the military reservations, housing developments, shopping malls, roads, parking areas, and mountainous island interiors, there isn't a lot of land left over. Things are really heating up on Saipan and Guam with day-long traffic jams along the west coast highways on both islands. The population of Saipan doubled in the 1970s and again in the 80s.

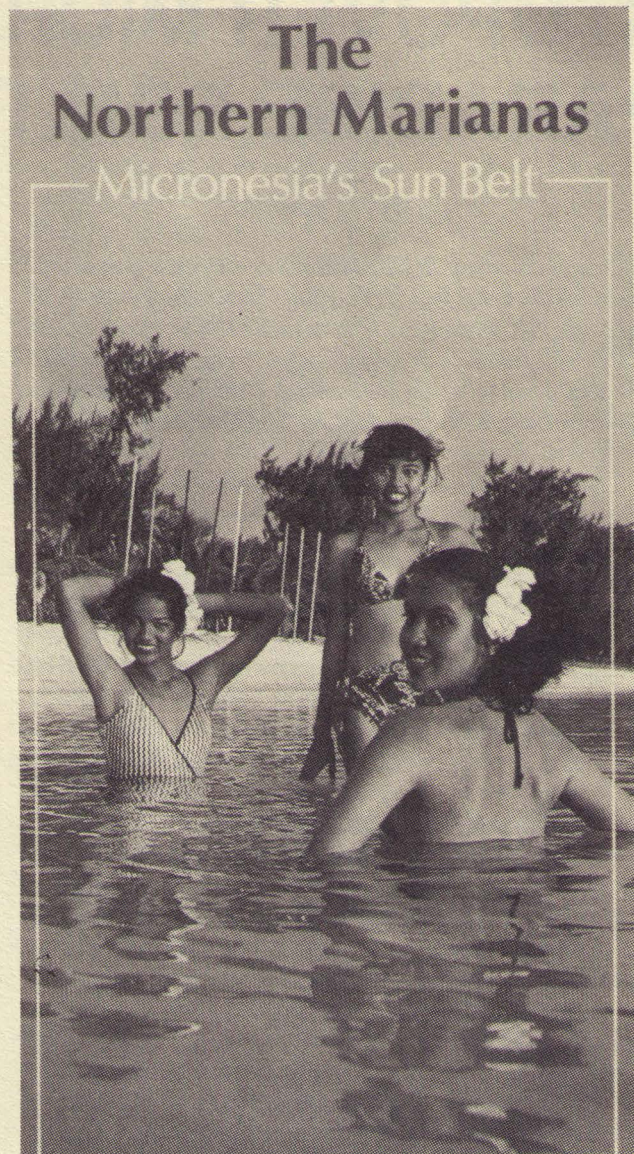
When the Marianas covenant was signed by President Gerald Ford in 1976, a provision was included to prevent outsiders from purchasing land during the first 25 years of life of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. This has prevented land speculation by Americans but has had little effect on Japanese corporations which obtain long-term leases on choice properties or buy land outright through Chamorro fronts. The west coast of Saipan is now one big Japanese hotel after another.

Neighbouring Tinian is threatened by gambling casino development. In 1990 66 % of the inhabitants of Tinian voted in favour of casinos after a well-financed campaign by developers promising free medical care, electricity, and water, monthly royalties, scholarships for students, business development for locals, etc. At least five big casinos are to go up on the hillside east of San Jose village if gambling is ever approved by the Commonwealth government.

On Koror, both the big resort hotels are Japanese-owned and Japanese money is pouring into Belau tourism in increasing quantities. As on Guam and Saipan, the packaged tourists arrive on Japanese planes, ride in Japanese buses, stay at Japanese-owned hotels, eat Japanese food, buy Japanese duty-free goods, and prepay most of their expenses to Japanese companies in Japan itself. With very few exceptions, the lucrative scuba diving business is run by Americans and Japanese.

There are many cliches and misconceptions about tourism. It's said that tourism promotes world peace by facilitating contact between peoples, but it's unlikely tourists to the Mariana Islands meet many local people at all as their hotel management is likely to be Asian and the service staff Filipino. At Chuuk, tourists quickly disappear into the Truk Continental Hotel or onto live-aboard dive boats and are never seen in the local town. For such visitors, the litter and poverty they behold from the bus window on the way to the hotel forms their image of the local community.

Tourism is said to be an "industry without smokestacks", but on small ocean islands the effect must be measured in terms of social pollution. Mass tourism soon destroys the spontaneity and charm of local populations, which is why travel guidebook writers are always pushing on into new, uncharted territory. Tourism puts heavy burdens on local infrastructures



Cover of tourism brochure from the Northern Marianas

and causes over crowding on roads, beaches, and elsewhere. Rents, food, and store prices are soon driven up. In the Northern Marianas, Filipinas who came expecting decent jobs are forced to serve as prostitutes because they don't have the money to leave.

A tourist might think tourism helps preserve local cultures, but tourism promoters only take from local cultures what they can readily exploit. For example, the traditional dances of the Carolinian residents of Saipan are never seen at the nightly dinner shows in the big hotels as Japanese tourists expect to see Tahitian-style *tamure* dancing, so that's what they get! Polynesia may be on the opposite side of the Pacific from Saipan but it's enough if it looks "native" and sells. Similarly, most of the "handicrafts" sold on Guam and Saipan are mass produced in the Philippines. This cultural exploitation is less evident in the Marshall



Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Belau where most of the craft items sold are authentic.

Yet it is true that tourism is one of the few channels for economic development open to small tropical islands. In Micronesia, American education and decades of government handouts have created consumer attitudes which cannot be ignored. The imported products in the supermarkets and on the roads cost money and Micronesians must find a way to get it. With the end of the Cold War, American military requirements in Micronesia are declining fast and U.S. government subsidies to local governments are sure to follow suit.

Tourism seems to be an easy way of making money. Local governments earn income by imposing a hotel tax which is added to the room rates (10% in much of Micronesia) and airport taxes collected from tourists help cover the rising costs of keeping the terminals open. Tourist passengers make air transportation a viable business in the islands and without tourism many air routes used by local people would be cancelled and service sharply reduced on the rest.

Tourism also provides local governments with an incentive to protect their marine environments and, for the coral reefs of Guam and the Northern Marianas which once faced practices such as dynamite and Chlorox bleach fishing, this is good news. In Belau, the need to preserve the country's brilliant reefs was an effective argument against the construction of Japanese oil storage facilities and American military bases.

In Micronesia today, tourist development is concentrated in areas near the airports. Very few tourists ever leave Majuro, Weno (Moen), Yap Proper, or Koror. In Yap State, travellers wishing to go beyond Yap Proper require special permission from the governor. Tourism is almost undeveloped in Kiribati (a forgotten part of Micronesia) due to poor air service. It's not hard to "get lost" in Micronesia.

To date, tourist development in Micronesia (and in much of the Third World) has been left to big corporations. Needless to say, local island people interested in becoming tourism entrepreneurs have difficulty competing with the computer-driven technology of Japanese and American corporations - they need help. Surprisingly (or perhaps not so surprisingly) such help is often not forthcoming from the local government agencies responsible for tourism development. For example, the Marianas Visitors Bureau and Guam Visitors Bureau don't even include many locally-owned accommodations in their official lists, despite the government financing they receive! For small businesses or individuals the membership fees collected by these bureaus are prohibitive while to the hotel chains it's petty cash and only "members" are included in the lists.

This lack of support is repeated by Continental Airlines, which does nothing at all to promote Micronesia. They leave it to American scuba tour operators and Japanese packagers to sell their seats and, of course, none of those passengers have the slightest opportunity of staying at a locally-owned hotel.

There are exceptions to the above, of course. At the Bechiyal Cultural Center on the north coast of Yap Proper, visitors sleep on a mat in the guest cottage or traditional men's house, or simply pitch a tent on the beach. Local meals are provided by the neighbouring family and the whole operation is managed by the villagers themselves. The tourist office on Yap is almost alone in Micronesia in its willingness to make arrangements for visitors to stay with local families as paying guests. Thanks to enlightened leadership, Japanese packaged tourism has thus far been kept out of Yap and local people provide most of the service for the much smaller number of visitors.

The Visitors Bureau in Chuuk also arranges accommodation with outer island families upon request and in the Marshalls the Ministry of Interior and Outer Island Affairs will do the same. In Belau, there are several local guest houses on Peleliu and Angaur and these wouldn't exist if they had to compete with large hotels. Falos Beach Resort at Chuuk and the Ngaraard Traditional Resort on Belau's Babeldaop also deserve recognition.

Another option for tourism development is the joint venture, where a local community provides the land and labour and an outsider contributes the capital and expertise. Examples of this are The Pathways on Yap and The Village on Pohnpei. Both are built from local materials and provide income for local residents, but they remain under direct American management which misses the point of letting the islanders run their tourism *themselves*.

The need for successful models to follow is clear. Several years ago on Pohnpei, a resident Micronesian Japanese family set up a small resort built of local materials on a tiny lagoon islet near the famous ruins of Nan Madol. Joy Island now has many imitators on Pohnpei, including Black Coral Island, Fantasy Island, Rainbow Island, etc. At all these, visitors forego electricity and sophisticated plumbing for the joys of nature, at the right price. Micronesia would be a much nicer region to visit if there were 1,000 Joy Islands and Bechiyals spread clear across the Pacific, plus simple guest houses and "lodging with the people" programs in the towns.

[Information about and copies of [South Pacific Handbook](#) and [Micronesia Handbook](#) can be obtained from: Moon Publications Inc., 722 Wall Street, Chico, CA 95928, USA. Tel 916/345-5473]



# HISTORIC U.N. AGREEMENT CONSIGNS SOUTH PACIFIC "WALL OF DEATH" FISHERY TO HISTORY

by Ben Deeble

*"We've found something in the net. It's big and it's alive..." crackled the scientist's voice from the radio on the big ship's bridge. "It's a light-colored whale of some sort. We need another inflatable boat sent over here, more divers, and the cameras...quick."*

Three hundred miles from shore, in the predawn blackness of January 1990, two men and one woman in a small inflatable boat, crew of the Rainbow Warrior, had found yet another victim of a tuna driftnet, a very unusual victim in two respects--it was alive, and it was exceedingly rare--a southern bottlenose whale, known to modern science by fewer than 50 specimens ever seen dead or alive.

The Tasman Sea between Australia and New Zealand holds many mysteries--boats which have disappeared without a trace, freak storms which blow in from the southern ocean with almost mythical force, and biological oddities, like the 20-foot-long bottlenose whale.

But the Tasman's mysteries have been scarred in recent years by an invasion, a veritable armada of fishing vessels 160-strong which, beginning in 1988 poured into the area from the North Pacific chasing rich stocks of albacore tuna. Flying the flags of Taiwan, Japan and South Korea, these were not normal fishing boats. These were driftnetters, each boat capable of laying over 30 miles of net nightly, to hang like a curtain at the sea surface, entangling not only the target species, such as albacore tuna, but virtually every marine species too large to squeeze through the nets' three-inch meshes.

Dubbed "Walls of Death" by popular press, the name was too apt, as the nets were increasingly documented by scientists from both Greenpeace and governments to snare a vast array of sea life. This bottlenose whale, though, beat the odds and was released alive, but badly wounded by the Greenpeace crew back to an uncertain future--one of the few creatures ever rescued from the clutches of a driftnet. Later that year government biologists from New Zealand observed two more bottlenose whales drowned in Japanese driftnets,

demonstrating that for even exceedingly rare species, death in driftnets can seem almost commonplace.

Luckily, the era of driftnet fishing in the South Pacific has come to a close. Within 18 months of releasing the trapped whale, driftnet fishing was prohibited in not only the Tasman Sea, but the entire South Pacific.

More victories have followed. Most recently, on November 26, the Japanese government made the stunning announcement that they would cease driftnet fishing on the high seas by January 1993, through co-sponsoring along with nearly 30 other countries United Nations Resolution 46/215 mandating a global moratorium. This sudden and praiseworthy breakthrough took many by surprise. After all, Japan possesses the largest, most profitable, and deadliest driftnet fishing fleet in the world--some 600 vessels. Japan's driftnet fishing industry and government



A Pacific white-sided dolphin, trapped and drowned in a squid driftnet, is hauled up the side of the Japanese ship Choun Maru #31 with gaffs. When Greenpeace crew asked for the body of the animal, the fishermen threw it back into the sea.

photo by Greenpeace/Grace



fishery agency have been the most outspoken advocates of continued driftnet fishing, mustering major scientific, political, and public relations efforts to plead that driftnets are no more destructive than other fishing methods.

Other Pacific driftnetting nations such as Taiwan and South Korea, with 300 and 150 driftnet vessels respectively, have always stood in the protective shadow of Japan's fishing policy, mimicking the sophisticated and usually-effective ploys of self-preservation. Encouragingly, South Korea and Taiwan have now suggested that they will follow Japan's new lead. And even France, which driftnets for albacore tuna with 40 vessels in the Northeast Atlantic, was reportedly dismayed when Japan announced their decision to halt high seas driftnetting.

Perhaps Japan's "sudden" turn around was deceptive though. In fact, Japan and other countries have faced mounting international pressure to halt driftnetting for over ten years. Greenpeace first wrote about driftnet fishing in 1979, within a season of experimental squid driftnet fishing fleets venturing for the first time into international waters of the Pacific. And numerous governments, and even the United Nations, have joined in a chorus for an end to the practise since the late 1980s.

The capitulation, if genuine, represents perhaps the most significant and direct victory ever to protect the marine ecosystem of the high seas. It will be the first time any fishery has been prohibited by U.N. action, under terms which establish precedent-setting advancements in international marine resource policy.

Driftnets are unquestionably destructive. Not only their indiscriminate nature, but volume of use (over 25,000 miles of driftnet is laid in the North Pacific nightly during the height of the fishing season) contribute to the carnage. During 1990, the Japanese fleet alone killed over 40 million sea creatures, of over 100 different species, in the process of harvesting about 106 million squid with driftnets.

However, with the exception of two species of dolphins and three endangered species of sea turtles, U.S. scientists had a difficult task of proving that driftnets were widely damaging to other species or to

the marine ecosystem itself. This is fundamentally because the ecosystem of the high seas remains largely a biological mystery. Astoundingly little scientific understanding exists about the basic ecological relationships between species, their abundances, or even their life histories. Like in the tropical rain forests, in the deep sea new species are still being discovered.

Surprisingly, under the U.N. Resolution it is not the responsibility of anti-driftnet forces to demonstrate the destructiveness of driftnets. Rather, any driftnetting country needs to demonstrate that the fishing method has "no adverse impacts" - a task which they would find difficult, if not impossible, to perform. This innovative policy shifts the burden of proof to the exploiter, and redefines the nature of the proof required, creating a policy landmark with potentially broad implications for other environmental battles.

A unified citizen's and political front opposing driftnets led to this bold U.N. measure. Environmentalists and unlikely allies such as elements of the commercial fishing industry, native peoples, recreational fishers, scientists, and every sort of politician, formed various coalitions to oppose driftnets in public, in Congress and in the courts. The coalitions' efforts took the form of public protests, legislative initiatives, expeditions at sea, legal suits, and even product boycotts.

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**...under the U.N. Resolution, it is not the responsibility of anti-driftnet forces to demonstrate the destructiveness of driftnets. Rather, any driftnetting country needs to demonstrate that the fishing method has "no adverse impacts" - a task which they would find difficult, if not impossible, to perform. This innovative policy shifts the burden of proof to the exploiter, and redefines the nature of the proof required, creating a policy landmark with potentially broad implications for other environmental battles.**

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The U.S. Congress, goaded by environmentalists and North American fishing interests, seized the opportunity and acted swiftly. By the end of 1987 they had passed the Driftnets Impact Monitoring, Assessment and Control Act, which required that bilateral agreements be reached with any nation driftnet fishing on the high seas. The Act stipulated that the agreements needed to place scientific observers aboard a portion of the fleet, establish fishing seasons and boundaries to protect U.S.-bound salmon from being caught at sea, and design an electronic tracking system to ensure compliance with the new fishing regulations. The Act also established the official U.S. policy- that all large-scale driftnet fishing on the high seas should cease.

The high seas has been historically reserved as a region epitomizing "freedom," freedom of passage and conduct restrained only by the narrow principles aimed to dissuade and punish acts of piracy. This freedom of



the high seas has unfortunately often been bastardized into unfettered and destructive exploitation, whether through dumping toxic wastes or extraction of minerals and biomass.

But these broad freedoms are gradually being restricted. Australia promptly halted a Taiwanese driftnet fleet from fishing in their waters in 1985. However the 1988 invasion of driftnetters in the Tasman Sea and South Pacific spawned new concerns from several southern countries. By 1989, the South Pacific Forum (a collection of 17 island states plus New Zealand and Australia) had adopted the Wellington Convention which prohibited driftnet fishing or the

transportation of driftnets in their 200-mile zones, collectively a vast area. In 1989, Prime Minister Palmer of New Zealand carried an initiative to the United Nations to have all high seas driftnet fishing halted worldwide.

Despite the U.N.'s historic resolution, uncertainties about controlling and reducing the biological impacts of driftnetting remain. Some large scale driftnet fishing will still be allowed within the 200 mile exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of various countries. Ironically, officials in the Soviet Far East, starved for foreign currency, have cut a deal where Japanese interests will invest in salmon hatcheries on Russian soil if they are allowed to harvest a portion of the resulting fish with driftnets in Soviet Coastal waters. It seems likely that other countries may be approached by driftnetting nations wanting to purchase similar driftnet fishing access agreements in EEZs--agreements which could be devastating to coastal wildlife, but which international parties are nearly powerless to prevent.

Enforcing the high seas driftnetting moratorium, without new efforts to monitor these regions, will be problematic at best. The high seas of the North Pacific are about the size of North America, yet only one U.S. Coast Guard vessel is available to patrol it. One measure being considered in the U.S. calls for assistance from the U.S. Department of Defense, in utilizing existing military aircraft patrols and satellites to monitor compliance. Such a proposal is not without its own problems, but might become a model for how military capabilities can be converted to peaceful environmental missions.

On occasion international agreements are visionary--the new U.N. resolution clearly is. But with vision comes the obligation of looking, and working, towards the future. All the people and governments that have worked to halt high seas driftnetting need to pause and congratulate themselves for the truly historic accomplishment. But then we need to see to it that our new global policy actually translates into fewer miles of driftnet in the ocean and millions of more sea creatures surviving there every year.



photo by Greenpeace/Grace

Diver examines shearwater seabird. Up to 400,000 seabirds died annually in North Pacific driftnets.



## Regional union movement organises against French nuclear testing

The South Pacific and Oceanic Council or Trade Unions (SPOCTU) is seeking support for a referendum in French Polynesia on the question of whether or not French nuclear testing should continue there.

At the latest meeting, held recently in Brisbane, the council decided to write to all governments of the South Pacific Forum countries suggesting that they, in turn, write to the French Government supporting the referendum proposal.

SPOCTU Chairperson, Ken Douglas, said it was a practical way of maintaining pressure on the French Government in line with the decision of the last Forum meeting.

The meeting, attended by representatives of 14 member countries, also decided to bring SPOCTU concerns about French testing and rising sea levels in the region before the UNCED meeting in Brazil.

The issues will be included in the submission to the conference by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Douglas said the latest meeting also had been a useful further step in evolving a development strategy for the region. He said the strategy must provide for a "quality" economy that has "full employment as a goal, that delivers proper living standards and working conditions, and that takes account of individual country circumstances".

He said: "There must be a regional strategy. No single country can isolate itself from the internationalisation of economies and from the operation of multinational companies."

[From: *Pacific Report*, vol 4, No 23, December 5, 1991]

## Right Livelihood Award honours Pacific peoples

Senator Jeton Anjain and the people of Rongelap Atoll of the Marshall Islands and Marie-Therese and Bengt Danielsson of French Polynesia shared in the prestigious Right Livelihood Award for 1991. The award, often referred to as the "alternative Nobel Prize", was presented by the Right Livelihood Foundation of Sweden on 9 December, 1991.

The organisation's jury recognized Anjain and the Rongelap community for their "resolute efforts" to ensure that the United States provides "full reparations for the health problems caused by nuclear radiation and takes all steps necessary to return the island of Rongelap to its people in a safe and habitable condition". The Senator, on accepting the award on behalf of the people of Rongelap, said "This award really belongs to the Rongelap community, for its courageous efforts to learn the truth about the tragic effects of and the consequences resulting from the explosion of the hydrogen bomb Bravo that poisoned our people and contaminated our atoll over 37 years ago. I merely have had the honour and good fortune of representing these courageous people and assisting them in their struggle in search of the truth."

The Danielssons were cited for their long term campaign, starting in the 1960s, against the French nuclear testing program, centered on Moruroa and Fangataufa, in French Polynesia.

The annual one million kronor (\$US 165,000) cash prize from the Right Livelihood Award, founded in 1980 by Swedish-German writer Jakob von Uexkull, is for individuals and groups doing practical work to solve modern problems. Others sharing in the awards are the Pastoral Land Commission and Movement of Landless Workers for winning land for peasants in Brazil, and the Save Narmada Movement in India, which is trying to stop a river dam project that would displace 300,000 people.

[Sources: *Pacific Magazine*, January/February 1992 and *The Dominion* (New Zealand), December 9, 1991]



Marie-Therese and Bengt Danielsson

photo by Phil Esmonde



**PNG: THE BOUGAINVILLE CRISIS CONTINUES**

In mid-November, in the worst clash since PNG forces were withdrawn from the main island of Bougainville in March 1991, 19 Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) members were killed and 6 PNG soldiers wounded in a BRA attack on PNG security forces on Buka Island off the North tip of Bougainville. Francis Ona, political leader of the Bougainville secessionist movement, acknowledged the heavy casualties, stating that the people of Bougainville could not accept PNG troops on Buka Island. Meanwhile, after months of lobbying by the International Red Cross to get the medical blockade lifted, PM Namaliu announced that he had granted free access to Bougainville for the delivery of emergency medical supplies and relief. However, Namaliu's announcement came in the same week that Bishop Zale, a member of the Bougainville Interim Government, had his visa refused for a visit to Australia. Zale had planned to appeal to Australian organizations for humanitarian aid for Bougainville. Since this incident two more members of the Bougainville Interim Government - Bernard Tunim and Stephen Monei - have had their passports cancelled by Port Moresby when they tried to travel overseas. Tunim and Monei had been accepted into the Diplomacy Training Course at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia.

During the first week of January leaders from South Bougainville were in Port Moresby for talks with Namaliu. These talks followed the establishment during the last quarter of 1991 of an interim authority responsible for the restoration of essential services to South Bougainville. A similar interim authority had been established in North Bougainville when PNG Defense Forces attacked and landed there last April. While the PNG government appears to be working with representatives from both North and South Bougainville, while working against (by cancelling passports) representatives from the central region (home to the Bougainville copper mine - the main focus for dissatisfaction with PNG policies) there is concern that the PNG government is attempting to employ divide and rule tactics. Despite Namaliu's announcement that his government's blockade of Bougainville was over the BRA is concerned that parts of the blockade remain in force as representatives from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been denied access to areas where there are no PNG Defense Force personnel. There are reports that people in some parts of Bougainville are facing imminent food shortages as a result of the recent drought.

[From: Pacific Issues, No 6 (1991); Pacific News Bulletin, Vol 7 No 1 (January 1992); Pacific Report, Vol 4 No 22, 21 November 1991 and Vol 4 No 23, 5 December 1991]

**PNG: More Political Scandals . . .**

At the end of November the PNG parliament elected Opposition MP Wiwa Korowi as Governor-General to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Sir Serei Eri two months earlier. Sir Serei had resigned after making a controversial, constitution-challenging decision to veto a court directive to dismiss his political colleague and friend, Deputy PM Ted Diro, who had been found guilty on 81 counts of corruption and misconduct by the Leadership Tribunal. Also during late November PNG Opposition leader Paias Wingti called in Parliament for the resignation of five government ministers due to "dubious financial dealings." The MPs are Finance Minister, Paul Pora; Deputy PM, Akoka Doi; Minister for Minerals and Energy, Paterson Lowa; Minister for Provincial Affairs, Father John Momis; and Minister for Communications Brown Sinamoi. PM Namaliu requested written explanations from all the ministers. The PM also accused the Opposition leader of trying to use the issue to discredit the government in the leadup to next year's general election.

**. . . PM Namaliu Orders Investigation into Reported Spying by Australia**

In early December an Australian television (SBS) program Dateline reported the existence of a Defense Signals Directorate (DSD) listening post at Cape York in North Australia. The report said the DSD was being used to listen to PNG Government communications and to monitor the Bougainville rebellion, and that information gained regarding the Bougainville secessionist movement was not passed on to the PNG government due to concerns that a leak existed within PNG's National Intelligence Organization. Days later PM Namaliu made a statement indicating that he had ordered an investigation into the reported spying operations by Australia, that such intelligence-gathering operations would be regarded as an invasion of both PNG sovereignty and individual privacy, and that if the reports proved accurate he would demand an explanation from the Australian government. Noteworthy was the additional claim by Dateline that the Australian DSD was also used to monitor situations in Indonesia, including Indonesian military communications on East Timor since its invasion in 1975, implying that the Australian Government's knowledge regarding the November 12 massacre in East Timor might be far greater than that admitted publicly.



**... Defense Cooperation with Indonesia - Implications for West Papua**

Following a renewed request by Free West Papua (OPM) guerillas operating along the PNG/Indonesia (Irian Jaya) border that PNG support the OPM struggle for independence, the PNG government has responded by ordering all OPM supporters to move out of PNG and back into Irian Jaya, stating that the Irian Jaya issue is an internal matter for Indonesia. Such a response is not surprising considering that PNG has recently turned to Indonesia and Malaysia for military advice and support, due to those countries' experience in coping with internal uprisings such as its own Bougainville secessionist movement. Furthermore, PM Namaliu visited Jakarta this month to sign a new security agreement providing for mutual cooperation, including joint military action, along the PNG/Irian Jaya border.

[From: Pacific Islands Monthly, January 1992; Pacific Issues, No 6 (1991); Pacific News Bulletin, Vol 7 No 1 (January 1992); Pacific Report, Vol 4 No 22 (November 21, 1991), Vol 4 No 23 (December 5, 1991); Washington Pacific Report, January 1, 1992]

**MARSHALL ISLANDS: Election Results**

On November 19/91 the Marshall Islands held its first national elections since 1987. The 1991 elections were notable as the government of Amata Kabua, the country's president since its constitution was approved in 1969, was challenged for the first time by the creation of a formal opposition party and a heated electoral campaign. The Ralik Ratak Democratic Party, formed in April 1991, contested the election under the slogan "Time for a change." In response Kabua organized the Government Party. After waiting up to two weeks for ballot boxes from some of the 20 atolls scattered over a half million square miles to make the trip to Majuro for counting, the votes indicated that Kabua's party had been returned to power with a strong majority in the 33-member Nitijela (parliament). While all 10 cabinet ministers were returned to office, six incumbent MPs were ousted and two retired, bringing 8 newcomers on board. On January 6 the Nitijela re-elected Amata Kabua as President. As Kabua begins his fourth four-year term he says the Marshall Islands is confronting many serious challenges, most pressing being the need to find employment for the booming young population. He says his government will focus on health and education needs. Concurrent plans for economic development include investment in the Air Marshall Islands jet service and development of the tuna fishery.

[From: Islands Business Pacific, Feb/92; Pacific Report, Vol 4 No 24 (Dec 12/91); Washington Pacific Report, Jan 1/92]

**FIJI: Election Year**

The current political scene in Fiji is dominated by the upcoming general election, scheduled for March or April this year. With Ratu Mara stepping down from his position as PM before the elections, the new PM is likely to be either the interim government's Deputy PM and Finance Minister, Josevata Kamikamica, or Sitiveni Rabuka. At the end of November Rabuka resigned as co-Deputy PM and Home Affairs Minister to become full-time president of the Soqosoqo ni Vakavulewa ni Taukei - the Fijian Political Party (FPP) - which was created by Fijian chiefs to contest and win the election, thereby becoming the next government under the Constitution which guarantees Fijians 37/70 seats in parliament. While Rabuka has made no secret of his ambition to succeed Ratu Mara as PM, Mara lends his support to Kamikamica. In December Rabuka and Mara made public their contempt for each other. Rabuka initiated the attacks in an interview with the Fiji Daily Post in which he characterized Mara as racist and ruthless. Mara countered with a 7-page rebuke that was equally harsh.

After he steps down as PM the probability is that Mara will take over Ratu Ganilau's position as President. According to the Constitution the President appoints the PM, choosing the Fijian MP "best able to command the support of the majority." Rabuka has challenged this constitutional requirement by asserting his own opinion that the FPP leader (himself) - if elected to Parliament - should become PM. To date Rabuka's challenge has not worked to sway consensus regarding this matter. Furthermore, it appears that Rabuka's vindictive attack against Mara - rather than turning public opinion away from Mara and toward him - has fuelled controversy about Fijian unity. While the FPP will probably win most of the 37 Fijian seats, its MPs will be a fragmented group with conflicting loyalties and ambitions. Faced with FPP disunity, the President will have a difficult time choosing the PM. FPP fragmentation increases the clout of the 27 Indian seats - which will probably all be held by Mara's old foe, the National Federation Party - as well as the 6 non-Indian, non-Fijian seats. Whether the non-Fijian MPs choose to conditionally back one of the PM candidates or whether they choose another course of action remains to be seen.

[From: Islands Business Pacific, February 1992; Pacific Report, Vol 4 No 23, 21 November 1991), and Vol 4 No 24, 5 December 1991]]



## NATIONAL PARTY GOVERNMENT SETS COMMITTEE TO ENQUIRE INTO THE SAFETY OF PORT VISITS BY NUCLEAR-POWERED VESSELS

New Zealand's National Party government has finally named a four person special committee to examine the safety and environmental risks of nuclear powered and armed warships. New Zealand's popular 1987 anti-nuclear legislation bans nuclear-powered or armed vessels from entering New Zealand's harbours and effectively prevents US warships from visiting New Zealand. United States' President George Bush, has recently stated that he wishes to see a quick return to normal US/NZ relations now that the US is removing nuclear weapons from surface vessels. The United States ejected New Zealand from the joint Australia/New Zealand/US military alliance ANZUS when New Zealand adopted its nuclear free law.

The committee was first mooted after New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jim Bolger, returned from a meeting with President Bush in September 1991, but the announcement of its composition on 23 December was more than a month overdue. Fran Wilde, Labour Party disarmament spokesperson, said the reason for the delay was that some people had refused the appointment, "knowing their findings would be used as part of the government's political agenda to let nuclear ships in." Polls show that 73% of New Zealanders support the legislation and want no change.

The committee is comprised of three senior academics specializing in nuclear physics, marine science and engineering risk assessment, and will be chaired by a retired appeal court judge. One member, Professor Alan Poletti, head of the Physics Department at Auckland University, is regarded as being pro-nuclear. The report is expected in April/May 1992. The government, which has a large majority in Parliament, has said, however, that it will not be bound by the committee's conclusions.

The committee is taking as its starting point a similar review undertaken by the Australian government in 1989. Visits there are still allowed, but Sydney, with its dense population, is exempted. The New Zealand public will be invited to contribute to the enquiry.

Regional Councils in New Zealand are examining whether they could legally challenge a possible nuclear-powered ship visit using environmental responsibilities under the new Resource Management Act.

Revoking Section 11 of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Law would not make it immediately possible for

nuclear-powered vessels of the US Pacific Fleet to visit New Zealand ports. Until it is clear that such vessels have been relieved of their nuclear weapons, they would still be banned under Section 9 of the Act. However, it is the intention of the New Zealand Government to signal rapprochement with the US by amending the law to make it more palatable to American tastes. The passage of the nuclear ban into law was viewed by some quarters in Washington as a hostile act not because of its practical consequences (the US had no need to send nuclear-powered vessels to NZ) but because of its symbolic political content. The NZ government is attempting to reduce discussion of nuclear-powered shipping to safety issues, but broader questions of global security and disarmament provide the real context within which these discussions should be viewed.

Nuclear propulsion relieves vessels of the need to refuel frequently, thereby extending their range and duration on alert. With its bases on the west coast of the mainland, in Hawaii, Japan and now Singapore, the US has been able to deploy nuclear-powered strategic missile submarines and attack (hunter-killer) submarines at will within the Pacific Ocean.

A serious accident in a nuclear-powered vessel has the potential to cause great environmental damage. In addition, there is the hidden cost to the environment which accrues from the whole process of fuelling, maintaining and finally disposing of marine nuclear reactors. There are also "routine" emissions of small quantities of radioactivity into the environment during normal operation of marine reactors, especially during start-up.

Because no information about the design and operation of marine nuclear reactors is made available to allies by the US or Britain, the New Zealand Government enquiry into the safety of port visits by nuclear-powered vessels will be seriously handicapped.

There is increasing awareness that economic interdependence and shared environmental goals are more important to ensure the security of a region than military alliances. Resuming visits by nuclear-powered ships and re-gaining entry to an already outdated alliance like ANZUS will not enhance New Zealand's security.

[Sources: Pacific Issues, September 1991, Wills, White and Mann; January 1992 Update, J. Hawkey, UK]



# RESOURCES

## BOOKS

**The Edge of Paradise: America in Micronesia.** P.F. Kluge. Random House, Inc., New York, NY. 1991. 244 pp. cloth. "...shows the impact and ironies of American presence in an undeveloped part of the world: how juke boxes and cold beer accomplished what guns and bible could not; ...how governmental intrigues have led to deaths and despair." Kluge retraces his years in Micronesia which started with the Peace Corps and continued on through the years of negotiation between the then Congress of Micronesia and the U.S. The suicide of Lazurus Salii, for whom Kluge worked, is the trigger for his return journey to the region. The book is an interesting mixture of angst, observation and fact.

**Papua New Guinea: Which Way? Essays on Identity and Development.** Utula Samana. Arena Publications. 1988. 119 pp. ppbk. The book evaluates the alternative development choices open to Papua New Guinea today: either to allow economic giants to destroy the environment and undermine existing local social groups, or to empower people to find ways of developing their land and other resources themselves. Mr. Samana is a former Premier of Morobe Province as well as a former Chief Planner in the provincial service. He currently is part of national politics in PNG.

**The Bougainville Crisis.** R.J. May and Matthew Spriggs, Editors. Crawford House Press, Australia. 1990. 137 pp. ppbk. A compilation of papers presented at a conference, held in April 1990 at Australian National University, which brought together a number of people with close association to Bougainville, to discuss the Bougainville crisis and its broader implications. Additional papers and a post script bring the coverage to the August 1990 cease fire agreement.

**The Indonesia Kit.** Elaine Briere and Susan Gage. 44pp. ppbk. East Timor Alert Network. The kit is designed for secondary students, college and university classes, and community groups. "Its journalistic style makes it easy to read and its question-raising format makes it a natural take-off point for discussion of issues such as human rights, self-determination, and environmental sustainability." An excellent companion to the videos "Papua Merdeka!" and "East Timor - Beaten But Not Betrayed". Available from SPPF for \$10 (postage and GST included).

**For a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific: 6th NFIP Conference Report.** Pacific Concerns Resource Centre. 109 pp. ppbk. Pacific Concerns Resource Centre, New Zealand. Available from SPPF. \$10.00 plus postage.

**Papua New Guinea National Population Census (Preliminary Figures).** Government of Papua New Guinea. 21 pp. Photocopies available through SPPF for \$5, includes GST and postage.

**Ennaanin Etto.** Newsletter of the Historic Preservation Office of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. D.H.R. Spennemann, Editor. The Historical Preservation Office launched its newsletter in December 1991 as the first activity to see to the preservation of sites and traditions in the Marshalls. It will be accompanied by radio programs, and other outreach activities such as lectures to community groups and schools. **Contact:** Historic Preservation Office, Majuro Atoll, P.O. Box 1454, Marshall Islands MH 96960.

## AUDIO VISUALS

**Papua Merdeka!** 40 min. Produced by Peter Monet. This film examines the independence struggle in the Indonesian-occupied colony, West Papua/Irian Jaya. It recounts the struggle of the indigenous peoples of West Papua to preserve their way of life and environment against military occupation, the "transmigration" of settlers from other parts of Indonesia and the exploitation of large transnational corporations. Rental bookings through SPPF.

**Nightmare in Paradise.** Two tape-slide video programs exploring nuclear and colonial issues in the Pacific. Polynesia & Kanaky/23 min; Micronesia/26 min. 1991. Produced by Women Working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific/UK. Available in video (PAL or NTSC) or slide format. Videos for \$US35. tapes for \$US60; includes postage and handling. **Contact:** L. Medwell, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcs. UK. Good introductions and overviews to the issues.

## EVENTS

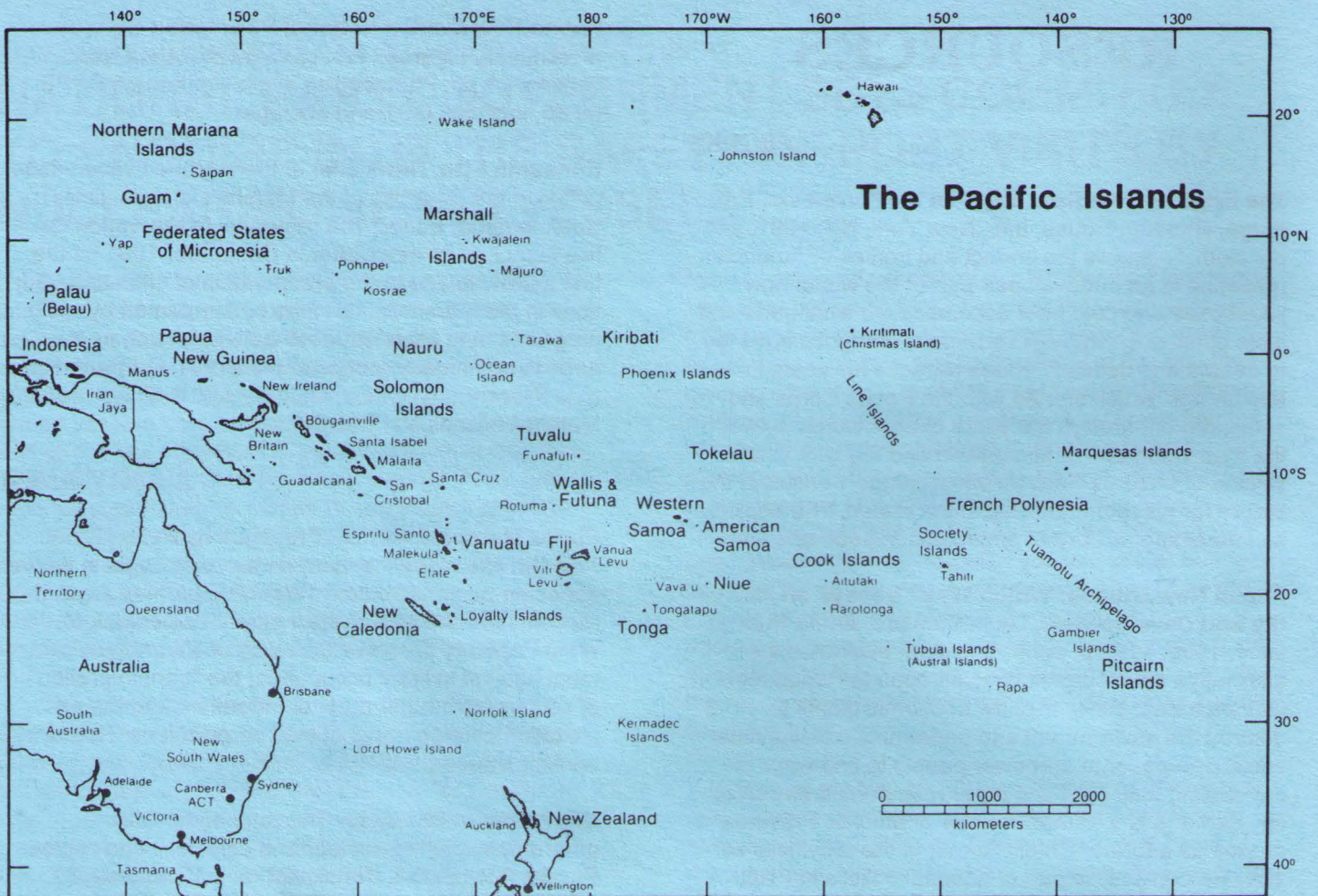
**ISLANDS '92** Islands of the World III  
Nassau, Bahamas May 18-21, 1992

A forum for discussion of issues of vital importance to the islands of the world, especially small island developing countries. **Contact:** Islands Conference c/o University Expeditions, 180 MacEwan Student Centre, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB T2N 1N4. Canada. Tel: 403/282-7687, FAX 403/282-9233.

**IPB CENTENARY CONFERENCE**  
25-30 August 1992

The world's oldest existing international peace organization, the International Peace Bureau, celebrates 100 years. Conference based in Helsinki and branch-seminars held elsewhere in Finland as well as in Petersburg, Tallinn and Stockholm. **Contact:** IPB, ATTN: Steven Huxley, Conference Secretary, met-sapurontie 18 B 18, 00630 Helsinki 63, Finland. Tel 358-0-754734, FAX 358-0-7542296.





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