

Tok Blong Pasifik

**A Quarterly of News and Views
on the Pacific Islands**

June 1995, Vol 49 No 2

Victoria, BC, Canada



Stop
**FRENCH
NUCLEAR
TESTS**
IN THE PACIFIC

**ARRETEZ
LES ESSAIS
NUCLEAIRES
FRANCAIS
DANS LE
PACIFIQUE**



Unfinished Agenda: Decolonisation in the Pacific

featuring

- ...France Resumes Nuclear Testing*
- ...Historical Precedence for Sovereignty in Hawaii*
- ...The Year 2000: A New Era for East Timor?*
- ...West Papua: A Forgotten Struggle*
- ...Decolonising Feminism*
- ...PNG NGOs Statement to the G7*
- ...Power to the People*
- ...Saving the Plants that Save Lives*
- ...Lost in Victoria*



About this journal...

Tok Blong Pasifik is a phrase in Pidgin, a language used in parts of the Pacific. A rough equivalent in English would be "news from the Pacific". *Tok Blong Pasifik* is published by the South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada. SPPF's major aim is to promote awareness of development, social justice, environment and other issues of importance to the peoples of the Pacific Islands. Through the journal, we hope to provide readers with a window on the Pacific that will foster understanding and promote action in support of Islanders in their struggles for development and social justice. SPPF gratefully acknowledges financial support for *Tok Blong Pasifik* from the Canadian International Development Agency.

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Editorial Policy

We welcome contributions to the journal and readers' comments, suggestions for articles and notices of events and materials. A priority is placed upon contributions from Pacific Islanders and others currently living in the Islands. As an issues based journal, *Tok Blong Pasifik* often includes material that is contentious. Views expressed are those of the authors/contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views of SPPF or financial supporters of the journal. We reserve the right to edit material.

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Canada Retreats from Internationalism - SPPF Confronts Challenge of Less Funding

The strong spirit of internationalism which has pervaded Canadian foreign policy for the past half century is waning. Canada's budget for foreign aid has been cut repeatedly in the last few years. Recent trends and policy statements by the current Liberal Government also indicate a much stronger emphasis on self-interest in the government foreign policy. Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet has made clear that trade expansion will be the defining priority in Canada's foreign relations and that aid and other international links will be even more influenced by business considerations than in the past. In contrast to their "Red Book" election promise "to lead the international community in revitalization of human rights as a principle for action and enforcement", Ouellet and Prime Minister Chretien have made clear that human rights considerations will not have much weight in Canadian foreign policy. Ouellet has gone so far as to label human rights conditionality on trade and aid as "absolutely counter-productive".

This is not to say that self-interest has ever been missing from Canadian foreign policy, nor that it should be. Protecting and advancing Canada's interests is a legitimate and important part of our international relations. But since the end of World War II, Canada has played a strong role in the

international community, often advancing and supporting positions that place global interests alongside narrower national ones. Canadian governments have been in the forefront of efforts to build and strengthen the UN and other international institutions. Our role vis a vis peacekeeping, international human rights and other humanitarian causes has been prominent, if not always without fault. Canada has been a leading aid donor and over the years has piloted approaches that have later been lauded and adopted by other donor countries. Two such initiatives have been working in partnership with NGOs and creating the Public Participation Programme to fund initiatives that educate and engage Canadians in international development.

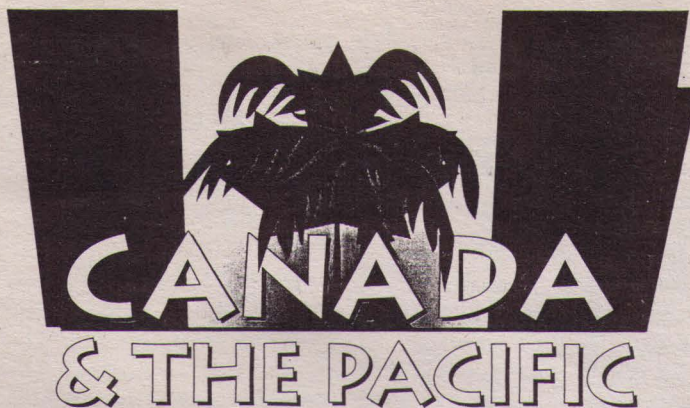
That is changing. The recent federal budget announced major cuts (over 20%) in Canada's foreign aid budget. Many of the programmes that fund the work of NGOs, especially those that funded small NGOs and that featured NGO involvement in aid decision making, have been terminated. The Public Participation Programme was completely axed. All-too-modest moves to slightly curtail Canada's strong aid and business relationships with severe human rights abusers like Indonesia have been replaced by energetic attempts to expand such relationships.

Apologies

Our apologies to the Hon. Raymond Chan, Secretary of State for Asia Pacific for losing the last words of an interview he granted in Tok Blong Pasifik #49. Page 9 should have ended with, "I will try. It is certainly our plan." (Ed.)

Acknowledgement

To Tim De Langeboom of Omega Graphics for his cover design of Tok Blong Pasifik Volume 49. We really liked it - we hope our readers did too. Thank you, Tim. (Ed.)



CANADA & THE PACIFIC

As a small NGO focused primarily on education, SPPF has been hard hit by the recent decisions. The two government programmes that funded our education work (the PPP) and our small project work in the Pacific were both terminated, ending government funding that covered approximately half of our budget. We have been told that SPPF might be able to access funding for overseas projects from a new government funding programme, but this remains uncertain at the moment. It is clear that SPPF's work in education and advocacy will now need to rely almost entirely on non-government support.

We anticipate that the next 1-2 years will be difficult ones as we struggle along on inadequate funding and work to develop new sources of support for our programmes. But we are committed to continue. The need for SPPF and the work we do is as great as ever, perhaps even greater at a time when the Canadian government is turning its back on important principles we espouse and sees the Pacific Islands as marginal to Canada's interests. Pendulums

SPPF is moving!

As of September 15, 1995
our new address will be:
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swing both ways and our task is clear in continuing to advocate for appropriate Canadian links with the Pacific.

While we expect the period ahead to be tough, we are optimistic about SPPF's chances and heartened by the support we have already received. The Anglican and United Churches of Canada have agreed to provide small amounts of "bridge funding" to help us over the initial shock of the sudden government funding cuts and give us time to develop other funding sources. CUSO funded five Pacific Islanders to attend our annual Pacific Networking Conference in May, partly as a gesture of solidarity with SPPF and our work. Our membership and other supporters are helping with extra support in this difficult period. Several businesses have banded together to donate the services and production costs to develop a new SPPF fundraising brochure. Clearly, we do not stand alone.

While we hope to eventually replace our lost funding in whole from new sources, there will be some cutbacks in the shorter term. Some activities will need to take a back seat. However, we will continue to publish *Tok Blong Pasifik* (and on a more timely basis) and will remain active on priority issues such as French nuclear testing in the Pacific. For more information about our plans or to find out what you can do to assist, please contact Margaret or I at the SPPF office.

Stuart Wulff for SPPF

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France Resumes Nuclear Testing

France's decision to resume its nuclear testing program in French Polynesia after a three year moratorium sent shock waves around the world. World leaders have voiced strong reactions against Chirac's announcement while citizen advocacy groups have staged rallies and demonstrations world wide.

Governments and organisations in the South Pacific region have led the statements of condemnation. The South Pacific Forum Secretary General Ieremia Tabai said, "This flagrant disregard for world and regional opinion will do considerable damage to France's relations with the Forum region." The Forum, currently chaired by Australia, sent a delegation headed by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and Mr. Tabai to Paris to convey the region's concern to the French government. The delegation called for a reversal of the French decision.

The Pacific Concerns Resource Centre, the secretariat for the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement, has urged Pacific governments to suspend France's Dialogue Partner status with the South Pacific Forum and to boycott the South Pacific Games slated to take place this August in Tahiti. PCRC is also urging regional NGOs to organise petitions and letterwriting campaigns.

In French Polynesia itself, there has been widespread local opposition to the tests since their inception in 1966. At the announcement of resumption, anti-testing and pro-independence rallies and marches have drawn thousands of people in the territory. Even Territorial President Gaston Flosse, a pro-France conservative and longtime supporter of the testing programme, had spoken out against a resumption although he has since changed his tune. Polynesian representative to the French national Assembly, Jean Juventin, said that "as a parliamentarian I reject this

decision". Pro-independence leaders Oscar Temaru and Jackie Drollet both condemned the decision to resume testing.

The Governments of Nauru and Western Samoa have decided to boycott of the South Pacific Games. In Papua New Guinea the National Association of NGOs has urged that PNG boycott the games although the government has not made that an official policy. Cook Island Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Henry wrote to President Chirac to express his "deep disappointment with the decision" but rejected calls for a boycott saying that politics and sport should not be mixed.

In Fiji, Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka said his government was profoundly disappointed and concerned about the testing decision. The Government of Kiribati views the resumption as a major step backwards from the process of working toward a complete nuclear ban.

Meanwhile Vanuatu with its pro-French government of Prime Minister Maxime Carlot Korman was the only South Pacific government that did not criticize the French decision. But Opposition Leader, Donald Kalpokas, expressed deep concern. He recalled Vanuatu's strong commitment to a nuclear free and independent Pacific during the post-independence years when his party formed the government.

In Canada, the strongest outcry against the testing announcement has come from the Canadian public. In Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa coalitions of advocacy and labour organisations have rallied outside France's diplomatic missions. In Vancouver the French Consulate said the testing programme would go ahead as planned, regardless of public opinion. Canadian government response has been relatively weak and does not seem to be matching the Canadian public's opposition to French nuclear testing.

SPPF Condemns French Testing

SPPF strongly condemns the Government of France for its proposed resumption of the testing programme. The SPPF Board of Directors unanimously passed a resolution stating solidarity with South Pacific nations and people in registering its profound dismay about the French Government's decision to resume testing.

In support of its resolution SPPF has issued media releases, written to the Canadian and French governments and to the South Pacific Forum, sent solidarity messages to South Pacific organisations, supplied activist groups in Canada with detailed information on the issue, answered many information requests and has joined in public events calling for France to rescind its decision. SPPF asks all members and supporters to express their concerns directly to both the French and Canadian governments (see enclosed info). The bottom line is the testing must NOT proceed.

SPPF Launches T-Shirt Protest

SPPF with the assistance of Victoria-based political cartoonist Adrian Raeside have taken resistance to French testing to the fashion world. In mid June Raeside published a humdinger of a cartoon depicting the French government thumbing its nose at worldwide objections to its nuclear testing programme. In answer to SPPF's question about using the cartoon on a T-shirt, Raeside said "YES! And furthermore I'll ask the person who does my graphics to assist you." At this point he went off to the Bahamas leaving Tom Richardson and SPPF staff to follow up - which we did. The result is a full colour reproduction of the cartoon on the back with a pocket-sized logo from the South Pacific-based NFIP Movement and SPPF's name on the front (see page 31).

1995 PNC - the Largest Ever

1995 was the 12th consecutive year for the **Pacific Networking Conference**. It was the largest gathering yet with numbers peaking at 125 and an age span of 89 years to babes in arms. Participants from Great Turtle Island (Canada/First Nations/USA) and the Pacific took part in discussions about development - "who benefits? who decides?", cultural survival and revival, and reclaiming sovereignty.

Eleven Pacific Islanders from Hawai'i, Fiji, Tonga, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, PNG and Haida Gwaii gave keynote presentations. A special feature of this year's conference was a strong youth component. In addition to several of the Pacific and First Nations resource people being youth, the youth held their own caucus and also dramatized the plight of families pressured to give up their ancestral lands in the face of development. The sessions on sovereignty brought conference participants face to face with the tragedy of Bougainville and the landless state of Native Hawaiians.

Pacific delegates talked of the diminished power of women in their cultures. Lopeti Sentuli, director of the NFIP Movement's Pacific Concerns Resource Centre, said "Women are the major producers and reproducers, but they have no political power. NGOs must change this. Cultures are dynamic animals that must adjust or die." Michael Nicoll Yahgulanaas, Region 5 (Great Turtle Island) NFIP rep addressed the issues of bio-piracy and patenting of Indigenous People's knowledge and intellectual property rights.

Indicative of the importance to SPPF of developing links between First Nations and Pacific peoples was the role the First Nations played in program planning and ceremony around this conference and the followup tour. In addition, evaluations of the conference were very positive and many new contacts were made in support of future solidarity work with the Pacific.

SPPF NEWS UPDATES

Canada Cuts Pacific Aid The Canadian Government has made cuts to one of its two main aid programmes in the Pacific. The Canada Fund, which funds small local initiatives in Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, PNG, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa has had its annual funding cut from \$2.65 million to \$2.175 million. The chop reflects general cuts to Canada's global aid programme rather than a targeting of the Pacific. The cuts will apparently not be applied evenly. Those countries where projects have been more problematic will receive larger cuts. No cuts have been made at this point to Canada's other major Pacific aid programme, the Canada-South Pacific Ocean Development Programme, but all such projects are under review. [From: Unpublished sources]

PNG Government OKs SAP Reforms Cabinet approved unanimously a K200 million structural adjustment programme proposed by the World Bank to help get the country out of its current financial crisis. Finance and Planning Minister Haiveta said the decision paves the way for the government to apply for a further K200 million from other institutions. The Reserve Bank of Australia tied its grant of K40 million to acceptance by PNG of the World Bank/IMF plan. The whole SAP programme has been the subject of very strong opposition in PNG in recent weeks, opposition which focused on the now passed plan to abolish the provincial governments and to planned changes in the land registration system. These were two of the 27 conditions demanded by the World Bank for the granting of the loan. Also included in the list are public service retrenchment (3000 positions to be lost), freezing of wages to the end of 1995, floating and market determined exchange

SPPF NEWS UPDATES

rate, a new set of tariff and indirect tax regimes, abolishment of statutory minimum wages, deregulation of all remaining domestic prices, complete reforms in forestry - themselves the subject of opposition, ending commodity price support, and the sale of government held companies. [From: *Post Courier*, 04/28/95; *Saturday Independent*, 07/08/95]

Solomons Government Attacks NGOs A directive issued from the Offices of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Police and National Security has warned NGOs against interfering "in internal government development matters" and "to refrain from feeding the media with false information". It goes on to say that a number of foreigners, both expatriates and expat holders of Solomon Islands citizenship have been identified as being involved in stirring "up the Pavuvu development project [a logging proposal for the Russell Islands - Ed.] into a political issue". The directive also states that it is these same NGO personnel "who have destabilised Papua New Guinea during the past ten years". In reply, Development Services Exchange, the umbrella organisation for local NGOs, said it was appalled at the false accusations leveled at Solomon Islands NGOs and that the NGOs were proud to have elected a democratic government that would "surely maintain the principles of democracy of freedom of speech and majority vote". [From: Directive (05/95), Office of the Prime Minister and DSE Response Statement, Honiara]

Pacific NGOs Hold Second Regional Meeting Representatives at the second PIANGO (the Pacific Island Association of Non-Government Organisations) meeting held in French Polynesia in early May called upon Pacific governments to

look at Pacific NGOs as a valuable resource and to develop genuine partnerships with them around issues of common concern. The Council placed a strong emphasis on indigenous rights and requested governments cease any further activities that damage fragile Pacific ecosystems, in particular nuclear testing and toxic waste disposal. [PIANGO Press Release, 05/05/95]

Indonesia: Canadian Government Resumes Weapons Sales to Indonesia - The Liberal government of Canada has resumed weapons sales to Indonesia. Since coming to power in late 1993, the Liberals have authorized \$5.7 million worth of military aircraft equipment to Indonesia according to material obtained by the East Timor Alert Network under access to information laws. Five permits have been issued, but the details remain classified. A long standing government policy of not selling weapons to countries that are engaged in military conflicts or that consistently violate human rights seems to have ended. Indonesia is currently involved in counter-insurgency wars in East Timor, West Papua/Irian Jaya and Aceh. [ETAN *Update* #41, 04/27/95]. **Prominent Indonesian academic activist seeks asylum in Australia** George Aditjondro, a former lecturer at Satya Wacana Christian University in Central Java, has applied for permanent residence status in Australia after receiving a summons to appear for the second time at police headquarters in Jogjakarta for allegedly insulting an unidentified Indonesian government body. He says he cannot expect a fair trial at home. Aditjondro has written extensively on issues considered sensitive in Indonesia, including the military campaigns in Irian Jaya and East Timor, land-compensation cases, environmental degradation, corruption and the question of Suharto's successor.

[Source: *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 06/29/95] **Rio Tinto Zinc links up with Freeport McMoran** British corporation RTZ is to purchase at least 10% and up to 18% of US Freeport McMoran Copper and Gold (FMCG). FMCG has been criticised for years by human rights, environmental and indigenous support groups for its huge Mt. Grasberg mine in West Papua/Irian Jaya. The partnership bodes ill for the indigenous people of the Mt. Grasberg region putting them under possible further abuse and attack from both the Indonesian military and the mine operators. Recently up to 9 people have been killed in incidents involving Indonesia soldiers around the area of Tembapapura and Tsinga village in West Papua. [From: PARTIZANS Press Release, 04/95; *PNG Post Courier*, 04/06/95]

Reprocessed Spent Japanese Nuclear Fuel Heads Home In late February, a British freighter, the MN Pacific Pintail, carrying 120 tons of highly radioactive reprocessed plutonium from Japan's nuclear industry left France bound for Japan by an undisclosed route. It later entered Chile's 200-nautical-mile zone to escape 10-metre waves and gale force winds despite a ban issued by the Chilean government. In response to international opposition to the Japanese shipment, the Japanese government sent a team of nine scientists and diplomats to five South Pacific countries to counter Pacific opposition in June. Lopeti Senituli of the Suva-based Pacific Concerns Resource Centre said the opposition had prompted the Japanese government to step up its "buy-the-opposition" diplomacy. He further stated that the Japanese government wants to ensure that the South Pacific Forum does not take a collective stand against Japan's plutonium importation programme at the upcoming Forum meeting in PNG in

September. The Forum has a long-standing collective stance opposing French nuclear testing but so far has only expressed concern about the Japanese plutonium shipments. [From: *Maclean's*, 03/06/95; *Victoria Times-Colonist*, 03/17/95 and 03/21/95; PCRC Press Release, 06/05/95]

Non Proliferation Treaty Concluded The NPT was renewed indefinitely and without conditions amidst much controversy with 104 nations supporting. The NPT allows only five declared nuclear powers - the US, Russia, China, France and Britain. Those nations without nuclear arms are to renounce them forever while nuclear weapons states are required to disarm and develop peaceful nuclear cooperation under international safeguards. Opposition centered on the lack of time frame and conditions. South Pacific NGOs through the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement voiced "their strongest opposition to the attempt by the nuclear weapon states to have the NPT extended indefinitely and unconditionally." They emphasized that "any specific and limited extensions to the treaty must be linked to progress on disarmament", and they remain "opposed to French nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific". [From: *Victoria Times-Colonist*, 05/12/95 and NFIP Executive Board/PCRC Statement, 04/24/95.]

Samoan Youth Receive Award A youth group from Western Samoa is one of six winners of the 1995 Commonwealth Youth Service Awards. Their communal poultry farm project, started in 1994, employs 20 young people and supplies eggs and poultry at affordable prices. The Samoan group was the only Pacific winner. [From: Commonwealth Youth Programme *South Pacific Centre News*, 9:2, Apr-Jun/95]

Bougainville Conflict Enters its Seventh Year

by Joe Bolger, Bougainville Network/Canada

Defying most people's expectations, the war in Bougainville has entered its seventh year. While the level of violence has diminished and fighting has become localized, the situation remains tense. Sporadic fighting continues, particularly in central Bougainville, and a number of murders have been reported in recent weeks in the south.

Since 1992, the PNG government has taken a two-pronged approach to the crisis. Its political strategy has centred on creating more interim government authorities on the island, while the military focused on defeating the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) and gaining control of central Bougainville including the copper mine at Panguna.

After pressure from the UN and a visit by Australian parliamentarians in early 1994, PNG's Prime Minister (then Foreign Minister) Julius Chan began to move towards a ceasefire and peace negotiations. An October 1994 Peace Conference, held in Arawa, had mixed success, but negotiations have continued on various levels.

The de-escalation in fighting can be attributed to several factors: firstly, some BRA members laid down their arms, secondly, the PNGDF has had to cut back its activities on Bougainville because of budgetary constraints. In addition, after years of fighting and doing without basic services, people are mainly interested in restoring some sense of normalcy in their lives. While recent peace initiatives have provided hope, a permanent political solution is still not in sight.

The situation on Bougainville entered a new political phase on April 10 with the swearing in of the Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG). The BTG is headed by Theodore Miriung, a former National Court associate judge who was a

lawyer for the BRA before coming out into the government-controlled areas during the October peace talks in Arawa. The new government is made up of a 30 member assembly. Three seats in Central Bougainville have been left vacant to accommodate BRA members but so far the BRA has turned down the offer saying they want nothing less than full autonomy. The BRA has also described the new arrangement as a military dictatorship under the guise of the BTG.

BTG leader Theodore Miriung has said the major aim of the government will be to "further the process of bringing reconciliation and peace (and) to negotiate for a political solution for Bougainville and her people" and has urged BRA leaders to work with the BTG.

A blanket amnesty covering soldiers, rebels, resistance fighters and police is now official for offences committed between October 1/88 to July 1/95. This is an amendment to the original 30-day amnesty signed as part of the Waigani Communique on May 18/95 by the PNG government and the BTG. BRA officials allege the amnesty is the government's way of avoiding the investigation of human rights and other violations inflicted on the people of Bougainville during the 7 year conflict. They also alluded to the idea that PNG government will use the promise of amnesty as a way to trap members of the BRA.

Two overseas meetings gave further opportunities for negotiations aimed at ending the conflict. The highlight of a March seminar titled 'Development as a Cause of Conflict' held in Germany, was a debate between Peter Tsiamalili, a Bougainvillian and PNG's Ambassador to the European Union, and Andrew Miriki, representing the Bougainville Interim Government. While Miriki insisted that withdrawal of the PNGDF and separation from PNG are the keys to peace, Tsiamalili tried to undermine the

legitimacy of the 'freedom fighters' suggesting they don't represent the interests of Bougainvilleans. At a June conference at Australian National University in which Bougainville and PNG were equally represented, Theodore Miriung stated that some kind of autonomy will be the only way to end the conflict. He suggested the type wanted resembles that previously exercised by the North Solomons Provincial Government. Miriung also said the objective of Bougainvilleans is to gain control over all their land and resources. He called on the international community to assist in the rehabilitation of Bougainville.

This past April a UN delegation visited Bougainville for 10 days to draw up priorities for intervention by governments and NGOs. While the delegation was restricted to government controlled areas, the UN did commit to set up an office to facilitate the flow of international aid. The Australian government also announced another \$10 million in aid for health and education.

PNG's national parliament passed a bill on May 27 to abolish the provincial government system in place since independence in 1975. Bougainville will come under the old law governing provincial governments until 1997. If Bougainvilleans decide to remain part of PNG, constitutional amendments may be required to formulate a new power-sharing arrangement.

The reforms to the provincial government system can only be described as ironic in the current context since it was pre-independence secessionist threats from Bougainville in 1974-75 which led to the establishment of PNG's 19 provinces in the first place. Now the very system which Bougainvilleans and others fought so hard to establish is being torn apart as calls for secession are once again being advanced.

The Historical Precedence for Sovereignty

by Mahealani Kamaau

*Mahealani Kamaau is a Hawaiian pro-sovereignty activist and the executive director of the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation. She is also a poet. This article is reprinted with permission from **He Alo A He Alo: Hawaiian Voices on Sovereignty**, published by the American Friends Service Committee-Hawai'i.*

Lili'uulani

*Long have we stood
Silent before heaven
In prayerful attitude,
Our dark night's vigil
Companion only to
Cloud, star
And Sorrowful moon.
Now Earth's cool breath
And a restiveness of trees
Have signalled rain:
Sky has let fall
Silver threads of light
And Morning's promise -
Dawn unfolds
Many horizons,
Each horizon
Bringing its message
Of love's renewal.*

Optimism is in the air as Sovereignty resounds vibrant and resonant with promise for the indigenous people of Hawai'i Nei. Long-held aspirations of *na kanaka maoli* are at last within reach. With each passing day their right to exist as a people is more wholeheartedly supported by the non-native community. *Na kanaka maoli* have survived a century of cultural genocide and cruel exploitation - attempts to obliterate language, religion, and their sense of connectedness with the sacred 'aina (land). In spite of the distorted, revisionist history which has been the mainstay of their public school education, more *kanaka maoli* than ever before understand that Hawai'i was unjustly taken from them and favor a return to some form of Sovereignty.

As early as the reign of Kamehameha I (1779-1819), Hawai'i was recognized in the international community as a sovereign nation.

During that time, Hawai'i was trading with China, England, the United States and many other nations on a regular basis. By 1887, Hawai'i had treaties and conventions with Belgium, Bremen, Denmark, France, the German Empire, Great Britain, Hamburg, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New South Wales, Portugal, Russia, Samoa, Spain, the Swiss Confederation, Sweden and Norway, Tahiti and the United States. In fact, Hawai'i had entered into at least five treaties or conventions with the U.S.

On January 16, 1893, Hawai'i was invaded by the armed forces of the United States of America. Over 160 U.S. Marines landed in Honolulu, fully armed and prepared for war, without warning or a declaration of war. On January 17, Queen Lili'uokalani, trusting in the "enlightened justice" of the United States, yielded her throne under protest, until an investigation could be completed and her government be restored. She yielded her authority on the condition of, and was promised, an immediate, impartial investigation of the events leading up to the American intervention.

An investigation was undertaken. As a result, President Cleveland addressed Congress, declaring:

"By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair..."

In summarizing the events which led to the overthrow, President Cleveland wrote:

"The law of nations is founded upon reason and justice, and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized state are equally applicable as between enlightened nations. The considerations that international law is without a court for its enforcement, and that obedience to its commands practically depends upon good faith, instead of upon the mandate of a superior tribunal, only give additional sanction to the law itself and brand any deliberate infraction of it not merely as a wrong, but as a disgrace."



Mahealani Kamaau with fellow Hawaiian sovereignty activist and film maker, Puhipau.

photos by Stuart Wulff

Notwithstanding President Cleveland's impassioned writings and speeches, Hawai'i was annexed by the United States in 1898. Arrests, trials and imprisonment of royalists had effectively suppressed a Hawaiian Nationalist movement. A formal transfer of sovereignty occurred in ceremonies on August 12, 1898, at 'Iolani Palace. While most Hawaiians stayed home that day, there was widespread weeping by those who did attend when the Hawaiian flag was lowered and the American flag raised.

The interim government, the Republic of Hawai'i, ceded its self-declared right of sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. The Republic also ceded and transferred to the U.S. ownership of the public, government and crown lands, including buildings and other public property. The Congress of the United States accepted, ratified and confirmed the cession, annexed Hawai'i as part of the U.S.; and vested the property and sovereignty rights over Hawai'i to its own government.

Erosion of the Land Base:

Native Hawaiians populated these islands for 2,000 years before the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. The land tenure system which existed at that time divided each moku, or island, into wedges of land called *ahupua'a* which ideally ran from the mountain to the sea. This enabled tenants within the *ahupua'a* to support themselves from products gathered in the uplands as well as the ocean. There were smaller subdivisions within the *ahupua'a* called *'ili*, and a hierarchical society paralleled this system of land division. High Chiefs, or *ali'i'aimoku*, controlled *ahupua'a* and delegated land management tasks to the *konohiki* and lesser chiefs. Upon the death of a high chief, his successor was free to redistribute the land among the lower chiefs. When any chief died, the lands were not necessarily passed on to the chief's heirs.

Within each *ahupua'a* resided the common people, or the *maka'ainana*. While they worked land



photo by Stuart Wulff

The over-development of tourism in Hawai'i has exploited a distorted image of Native Hawaiians but left them impoverished and marginalised.

for the chief's benefit, *maka'ainana* also had plots for their own use and gathering rights in the non-cultivated lands of the *ahupua'a*. Although the system of land tenure has been compared to Europe's feudal system, an important difference existed. *Maka'ainana* could move freely between *ahupua'a*, so it was to the chief's advantage to manage his lands in a benevolent manner. Otherwise he would lose his farmers and fishermen.

The islands were united under Kamehameha I shortly after the first European contact. It was not long before substantial foreign influence was felt in Hawaiian government. Outsiders gave advice to the government, often unsought, and often in the shadow of a foreign military presence. The first foreigners to become involved with the King were traders seeking commercial advantages and missionaries seeking acceptance of their religion.

Traditionally, there were no land titles because land was held for the common benefit of the people; the interests of the King, the chiefs and commoners were intertwined. This

land tenure system came under pressure as foreigners sought land for themselves. Their demands led to the disastrous "Great" Mahele, or Land Division, of 1848. The Mahele effected a division of lands so that clear title could be determined and transferred. It could be more appropriately called the "Great Disenfranchisement," and was orchestrated by a Land Commission inspired and guided by foreigners.

The total land area of the Hawaiian Islands is around four million acres. The King quitclaimed (renounced claim to) his interest in about a third, or 1.5 million acres, to 245 chiefs, subject to a reservation of the "rights of the people." The chiefs quitclaimed to the King any interest they had in the remaining 2.5 million acres. The King in turn was to divide the lands that had been quitclaimed to him with the *maka'ainana* who cultivated it. Instead, he designated approximately another third, (1.5 million acres) as Government lands. A remaining one million acres were "set apart for me and for my heirs and successors forever, as my own property exclusively". These lands became known as "Crown Lands."

"Stay Home", Say Hawaiian Activists

"If you want to support our struggle, then please don't come to Hawai'i". This was the message brought to Victoria recently by two Hawaiian sovereignty activists, Dr. Haunani-Kay Trask and Jennifer Goodyear-Kaopua. Jennifer attended SPPF's annual Pacific Networking Conference to provide a youth perspective on the struggle for sovereignty. Speaking about the negative impact which tourism has had on her people, she urged conference participants to support the Hawaiian sovereignty movement by avoiding tourism to Hawai'i. Calling for an international boycott of Hawaiian tourism during a visit to the University of Victoria, long time activist Dr. Trask spoke about the contrast between the image of Hawai'i used in tourism appeals and the reality for Native Hawaiians.



Many Hawaiian sovereignty activists are calling for an international boycott of Hawaiian tourism.

This process vested transferable title in the King and the chiefs.

Two years after the Great Mahele, the Kuleana Act of 1850 passed. This law enabled the *maka'ainana* to come forward and claim lands for their own subsistence purposes. One of the guiding principles developed by the Land Commission when they designed the Great Mahele had been that at least one-third of Hawai'i's lands would be awarded to the commoners. Perversely, the tragic outcome was that less than one percent eventually found its way into the hands of the common people. Many reasons have been advanced for this travesty. The commoner was loath to lodge a claim adverse to his chief. The period of time within which a claim had to be finalized was four years. Most commoners did not understand the foreign concept of private ownership and the import of this law. Many did not receive published notices and if

they did, were not literate. Commutation fees were assessed. Finally, claimant farmers were required to prove that they actually used and cultivated the land they claimed by sworn statements of collaborating witnesses. As a result of the Mahele, Native Hawaiians became a landless and dispossessed people. They were dislocated to unhealthy, crowded slums, including the seaports of Lahaina (Maui) and Honolulu.

By 1890, foreigners, mostly Americans, owned over a million acres and controlled another three quarters of a million acres under leases procured at bargain rates from the government and king. Not satisfied, in 1893 American annexationists, with the assistance of US Marines, overthrew the lawful Hawaiian government and gave all remaining Crown and Government lands to the United States, without compensation. These stolen lands, or more politely, "ceded" or "public"

lands, were kept by the U.S. and administered by the Territorial Government until transferred in trust to Hawaii when it became a state in 1959.

The Statehood, or Admissions Act, directs that these lands be managed for five trust purposes, one of which is the betterment of the conditions of Native Hawaiians. This latter trust mandate was all but ignored until Hawai'i's Constitutional Convention of 1978, when the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was created to administer trust proceeds on behalf of Native Hawaiians.

It should be noted that an attempt was made in 1920 to "rehabilitate" the disenfranchised, dispirited and dying Hawaiian by passing the Hawaiian Homes Act and setting aside approximately 200,000 acres of the most marginal, undesirable land available in the islands. This program has been a dismal failure, with native beneficiaries waiting as long as 35 years for their leases, often dying on the waiting lists while the lands are leased by thousands of acres to non-natives to generate the administering departments' operating budget.

The Sovereignty Movement Today:

Currently there are more than forty Native Hawaiian groups actively promoting restoration of the Native Hawaiian Nation. They run the gamut from groups like the Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs and Na OIwi o Hawai'i, who have important strategic differences, but nevertheless favor international status with recognition by the United Nations, to Ka Lahui Hawai'i, led by Mililani Trask, which seeks "federal recognition" with status and authority akin to that exercised by Native American tribes within the Continental United States. In addition, and in my estimation, most important, *na kanaka maoli* are exercising self-determination in their communities by occupying and making some of their trust lands productive. They are exercising sovereign authority over land and water in their native communities. Their actions say they

neither need nor desire validation by others. They are sovereign.

I believe it safe to say that the progressive leadership within the movement ultimately favours complete sovereign status. Groups like Ka Lahui Hawai'i see federal recognition as an intermediate step toward establishment of full nationhood. Therefore, insofar as "domestic dependent nation" versus full international status is concerned, the only differences between movement leaders relate to timing, with the most progressive working toward international status now.

Consistent with the idea that an intermediate step is most practical, conferees at a 1988 Native Hawaiian Rights conference coordinated by the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation developed principles embodied in five points which they believe must be included in any Hawaiian restoration package. These principles include:

- 1) An apology by the United States government to Native Hawaiians and their government for the U.S. role in the coup of 1893;
- 2) A substantial land and natural resource base comprised of a reformed Hawaiian Homes program, a fair share of the ceded lands trust, the return of the island of Kaho'olawe, and other appropriate lands;
- 3) Recognition of the Native Hawaiian government with sovereign authority over the territory within the land base;
- 4) Guarantees of (a) substantial beach access, (b) fishing, hunting and gathering rights, and (c) protection for Native Hawaiian religious practices and historic sites; and
- 5) An appropriate cash payment by the United States government.

The above objectives require comprehensive federal reform legislation, and *na kanaka maoli* expect to be full partners in this process. They are a competent and committed people. They are competent to formulate and implement whatever strategies are necessary to achieve their goals. They are committed and dedicated, and utterly determined

Voting on Sovereignty?

The issue of Hawaiian sovereignty has moved into the political mainstream in recent years, with even former state Governor John Waihee demonstrating some openness to the sovereignty cause. Now the state government is offering Native Hawaiians an opportunity to vote on the issue.

Hawaiians will be asked their opinion on the question: "Shall the Hawaiian people elect delegates to propose a native Hawaiian government?"

Anyone with Hawaiian blood who will be at least 18 years old by January 17, 1996, would be allowed to vote in the mail plebiscite. The referendum is being directed by a Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Council established in 1993 by the state legislature.

Assuming the plebiscite passes, an election would be held for delegates to a constitutional convention. The convention would be mandated to examine various sovereignty options and draw up a framework for Hawaiian self-government.

that wrongs of the past will not be visited upon their children. And they believe that ultimately the only outcome that will really work is the restoration of a full government-to-government relationship between the United States and the Hawaiian Nation.

I believe there exists no nobler inspiration than the desire to be free. It is by our freedom that we will know ourselves, by our sovereignty over our own lives that we can measure ourselves. Otherwise we are denied the right to live our lives, to take responsibility of ourselves with dignity. If we give up our freedom, if we do not believe in ourselves, the bondage of our history continues.

While a range of sovereignty groups has been drawn into the Sovereignty Elections Council, some sovereignty organisations including Ka Lahui Hawai'i, the largest, have called for a boycott. They object to the state government's involvement as simply a perpetuation of colonialism and argue that the legal basis for Hawaiian sovereignty already exists in that native Hawaiians never ceded sovereignty to the United States. Ka Lahui also claims that it already has a duly formed Hawaiian government that simply needs formal recognition.

The process has also run into snags from the state side. The vote was to be held later this year, with results to be announced on January 17, 1996, the anniversary of the 1893 overthrow of the last Native Hawaiian government. But Governor Ben Cayetano has said he wants the vote postponed to coincide with November 1996 state elections. The state government has also not approved funding for a constitutional convention, raising questions about its commitment to honour an affirmative plebiscite result.

Available from SPPF

He Alo A He Alo: Hawaiian Voices on Sovereignty

This book provides an excellent introduction to Hawaiian sovereignty aspirations through presenting a wide cross-section of views from Native Hawaiians on the issue.

Send \$15.00 (Canadian residents add \$1.05 GST) plus shipping & handling charges [\$2.50 (Canada), \$3.25 (US) or \$5.00 (overseas)] to SPPF.

The Struggle for Kanaky

by Susanna Ounei-Small

Susanna Ounei-Small is the Assistant Director, Decolonisation, at the Fiji-based Pacific Concerns Resource Centre. She is a Kanak with a long history in her people's independence struggle.

France annexed New Caledonia on September 24, 1853, declaring the entire territory French national property. It justified the takeover on the following principle, as outlined by the French naval chief, du Bouzet:

"When a maritime power declares its sovereignty over a land not occupied by a civilised nation and possessed only by savage tribes, this takeover annuls all anterior [agreements] made by individuals with the occupants of the country. As a consequence [of this principle], the chiefs and the indigenous people of New Caledonia and its dependencies have never had and neither can they have the right to control, in all or in part, the ground occupied by them either communally or as private property."

The Kanak country was placed in its entirety under French jurisdiction. This permitted the violent expropriation of Kanak lands and the imprisonment of Kanaks who struggled for freedom. The repression in New Caledonia began only about 60 years after the modern French state was established to uphold the principles of "freedom, equality and fraternity". Though Kanaks were forced to submit to the authority of the French state, France was able to breach its constitution by denying to the Kanak people the rights and protections of citizens of the French Republic.

Beginning in 1854, Captain Tardy de Montravel went around the tribes to dictate French laws to the Kanak chiefs. The laws prohibited theft, adultery, dancing at night (the traditional pilou) and insubordination

to a tribal chief or other government representative. Disobedience was met with punishment ranging from three days in jail to life imprisonment with hard labour.

The decree of 1860 ratified the expropriation of chiefs' lands and gave the governor the power to appoint chiefs, dissolve tribes, dispossess Kanaks of their territory and expel insubordinate Kanaks from the colony. This decree, which remained in force until 1946, led to a reduction of the land available for Kanak agriculture and resulted in significant food shortages.

From 1847-1869 there were 40 separate revolts. These attacks were severely punished by military reprisals, the confiscation of more land and mass public executions of the rebels. Kanak resistance came to a head with the uprising led by Chief Atai in 1878, which saw numerous tribes join together in armed revolt. In a report on the revolt, General Tren-tinian stated that the abuses of land annexation meant the destruction of the traditional native life and blamed the French administration for the revolt.

The 1878 revolt was used as a pretext for the colonial administration to alienate more land and introduce more laws to control the Kanaks. A Native Law (code de l'indigenat) was introduced and stated that: "The Caledonian native has been excluded from the common law. He is to be submitted to the discipline of the colonial administration."

In 1895, taxation of 10 francs per year was imposed on each Kanak. This represented an entire month's earnings for Kanaks who worked for the Europeans.

By the turn of the century, the country was divided into 50 districts with 333 tribes. To maintain control over the Kanak population, small autonomous Kanak clans had been forced together into territorial tribes

under the control of one "big chief". This chief, chosen by the French Governor, had to rule people over which he had no customary authority and report to the French gendarmerie. The chiefs were responsible for taking "all necessary measures to see that public security and tranquility are not disturbed by the indigenous population" (decree of 9 August 1898).

Provoked by further losses of land and burning of villages to make way for settlers, the Kanaks rebelled again in 1917 under the leadership of Chief Noel. This resulted in deaths and reprisals, the final indignity being the triumphant display by the French of Noel's head.

Estimates of the pre-colonial Kanak population range from 200,000-500,000. With the destructive effects of the killings, losses of land and deaths through disease (Tchoeaoua et al, 1985: 44), the Kanak population had fallen by 1926 to less than 27,000. It was believed that the race would eventually die out altogether.

Having gained total domination over the Kanak population, the colonial administration introduced a regime of forced labour. Every able bodied Kanak was required to provide twelve days unpaid labour each year, often on land held by French settlers. Tribal chiefs were required to enforce this rule on their people; those who refused were imprisoned or deported.

Law as Legitimation of Assimilation

By the 1940s, France was confident that the Kanak resistance had been crushed. The period from 1945-1969 was one of assimilation. France removed the formal legal barriers which discriminated against the Kanak people, but left the colonial structures - political, economic and social - in place. Colonial institutions, while legally open to Kanaks, effectively prevented Kanaks from gaining



photo courtesy FLNKS

Independence campaigners in the leadup to the 1984 election: [from left to right] Chenepa Boewe, Leopold Joredie, Marie-Francoise Machoro, sister of the slain Eloi Machoro, Firmin Bouquet, Francois Burck, Adolphe Digoue and Francis Gnaou.

equal opportunities with the settler population. The broader question of regaining sovereignty was not discussed.

While law served a repressive function in the first colonial period, its role in the assimilationist period was to legitimise the colonial system. However, the consent which the new regime gained was firmly grounded on the terror of decades of state violence against the Kanaks.

The repressive Native Law was abolished in 1946 and Kanaks benefited from the postwar French constitution which guaranteed "equal access to state services and the exercise of rights and freedoms individually and collectively". New Caledonia's status was changed from a colony to an Overseas Territory. However, it was not until 1957 that Kanaks were granted the same rights as the settler population. In an attempt to block this liberalisation, local officials reported to the French government that the Kanak population "has not yet reached an evolutionary stage which justifies its major participation in the public life of the territory."

In general, however, the reforms of the postwar period represented the first improvement in the condition of the Kanak people since the French

invasion. It was the first time they could live without the daily fear of direct physical violence. When challenged later by young people about why they were happy with such minor reforms, Kanak political leaders of that time reply: "What do you expect? We had only just been released from our chains."

Undermining the Independence Movement

The modern Kanak independence movement began with the return of a Kanak student from France. Nidoish Naisseline, the son of a high chief, created a group called the Red Scarves and led a new generation of young people in militant action against colonial rule. In 1969, he was convicted for "inciting racial hatred". In 1972, Naisseline was again sentenced to prison for saying to a police officer, "This is not France and I don't care about your uniform. The man behind it is an imbecile."

The Red Scarves attracted a big following around the ideas of revaluing Kanak culture, asserting power and reclaiming stolen Kanak land. The older generation in the other political parties had to adopt more radical policies to avoid losing support.

The first reaction of the colonial authorities was to try to repress the movement by sending police to attack every Red Scarves demonstration. However, in 1972 they announced what they saw as a more long-term solution to the threat posed by the new movement. The French Prime Minister, Pierre Messmer, declared:

"The French presence in New Caledonia can only be threatened ...by a nationalist movement of the indigenous population supported by allies in other ethnic communities coming from the Pacific. In the short and medium term, massive immigration by French metropolitan citizens or people from overseas departments should allow this danger to be avoided.... In the long term, the indigenous nationalist movement will only be avoided if the communities of non-Pacific origins represent a majority demographic mass."

The settlement policy which followed kept the Kanak population in a minority position and enabled successive French administrations to claim that it would be "undemocratic" to

give independence to New Caledonia because the majority of "New Caledonians" did not support it. Within four years of Messmer's declaration, 15,000 new immigrants arrived in New Caledonia. Although the Kanak population increased more than 20% from 1969-76, it dropped from 45.9% of the total population to 41.78%.

Most new settlers were attracted to New Caledonia by the nickel boom. They were given employment ahead of Kanaks. The settlers saw only their individual situations and were unable to see how French imperialist interests were benefitting both from their labour power and their presence in New Caledonia.

When the demand for return of Kanak lands spread in the form of land occupations, France was forced to make concessions, proposing to buy land off settlers and hand it back to Kanak tribes. However, the concessions were not enough. Kanak people were demanding the return of all land as well as the political and economic means to develop it.

In 1983 the French Government, for the first time, recognised the Kanak people's "innate and active rights" to independence. France agreed to the Kanak demand for a referendum on independence (though it has since begun to talk about "independence in association with France" - an "independence" in which France would retain its military presence and control over foreign policy). Since then, there has been an unresolvable conflict between the Kanak people and the French state over when this vote should be held and who should take part. The Kanak people demanded that the referendum should be held immediately and be restricted to people with at least one parent born in New Caledonia. France has tried to postpone the referendum and allow all residents of New Caledonia to vote. Though France was prepared to violate its constitution during earlier colonial rule and also implemented a settlement strategy to outnumber the Kanak population, it now insists that the French constitution makes it

impossible to limit the referendum to long-term residents of New Caledonia because this would breach the democratic constitutional rights of the new settlers.

The French position provoked the biggest Kanak uprising since 1917. The 1984 elections were boycotted by over 80% of the Kanak people, who also launched a militant campaign of disruption. During this campaign, a group of settlers ambushed and massacred a group of unarmed Kanaks. Although the settlers admitted what they had done, the colonial court found them not guilty of murder on the grounds that they acted in self defence.

Unable to end the Kanak revolt by persuasion, the "socialist" government and its army executed the Kanak resistance leader, Eloi Machoro, on 12 January 1985. The French state needed to remind the Kanak people that it alone had a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. By challenging that fact and French rule, Machoro had gone so far that he was not even allowed a legal trial.

The execution of Machoro contained Kanak resistance for three years, but another major uprising took place in 1988, protesting against another law being imposed by France, the "Pons Statute". Machoro's campaign had involved evicting settlers on the east coast of the mainland and it caused no deaths. But during the 1988 uprising, Kanaks from the island of Ouvéa tried to occupy a gendarmerie, killing four gendarmes and fleeing into the bush with the remaining 30 gendarmes as hostages. The right-wing French Overseas Territories Minister, Bernard Pons, announced that the perpetrators would be dealt with to the full extent of his powers. Elite French troops were flown in from France. After pretending to negotiate, they attacked the Kanaks holding the hostages and killed 19 of them, including at least five who were executed after surrendering.

Within a few days of the massacre, Pons and his right-wing

government had been replaced by the Socialist government of Michel Rocard. A few weeks later, Rocard concluded the Matignon Accords - an agreement between the leaders of the Kanak independence movement, the main settler party and the French Government - postponing the referendum on independence for 10 years and allowing all but a few of the settler population to vote. The agreement was a major backdown by the Kanak negotiators from the position they had maintained since 1985.

Rocard has since been hailed as a peacemaker. This view, however, ignores the fact that the Ouvéa massacre and the Matignon Accords were carried out by the same French state. It represents the same interests, uses the same army led by the same generals and was even headed by the same "socialist", President Mitterand. Rocard himself points out that the Matignon Accords are an attempt at ensuring a continued French presence in New Caledonia.

Independence No Less Likely Under Chirac

Some have argued that the recent election of conservative Jacques Chirac as the president of France, replacing Socialist President Mitterand, is a setback for the independence movement. However, though Chirac was prime minister at the time of the Ouvéa massacre, Mitterand was president and just as guilty as his political opponents for the attack. The Matignon Accords fall well short of the independence that the Socialist Party had been promising Kanak people since 1979 and were designed to divide and demobilise the Kanak independence movement. Some pro-independence Kanaks, frustrated with the manoeuvrings of the Socialist Party, even endorsed Chirac's candidacy. They took the view that at least we know where we stand with Chirac.

The Matignon Accords are giving France exactly what it wants in New Caledonia and Chirac will not do anything to disturb them. Independence is no less likely than it was under Mitterand's presidency.

A New Era for East Timor?

by Abe Barreto Soares

Abe Barreto Soares is the official representative to Canada of the Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere (National Council of Maubere Resistance). CNRM is the umbrella group uniting organisations struggling for East Timor's self-determination.

After the November 1991 Dili massacre, causing the death of hundreds of East Timorese, the world could no longer turn a blind eye to the struggle of the East Timorese for self-determination and independence. The massacre, filmed by a British TV crew, was a turning point in bringing the East Timor issue back on the agenda of the international community.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has called East Timor "a stone in our shoe". Now more of a thorn in the flesh, the Indonesian government needs a way to pull the thorn out. However, East Timor is an international problem. Thus a solution for East Timor has to be achieved through dialogue among the parties involved: the United Nations, Portugal, Indonesia and the East Timorese resistance movement. This dialogue must lead to an internationally acceptable settlement of the problem.

East Timor has been occupied by Indonesia for 20 years. An entire generation has grown up under Indonesian military occupation. Yet East Timorese who have grown up under occupation continue to resist. Rather than creating "good Indonesians", the educational programme conducted by the government actually stimulates the nationalism of East Timorese.

There have been peace talks between Portugal and Indonesia under UN auspices for several years, but these have gone on without the participation of the East Timorese resistance movement.

The resistance should be part of these talks. East Timorese must have a say in what happens to East Timor.

The Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere (CNRM) has advanced a plan to assist the UN Secretary General in finding a solution to the East Timor conflict. This plan is consistent with the current approaches of Portugal and the UN. The Indonesian government has always been reluctant to accept this plan because it was first proposed by Jose Ramos-Horta, the overseas Special Representative of CNRM, in 1992. However, CNRM believes that this plan will allow Indonesia to save face and still solve the problem. The plan has three phases.

Phase One - Normalisation

Normalisation will take one to two years. Talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, with East Timorese participation, will aim to achieve an end to armed activities in East Timor, the release of political prisoners, a reduction of Indonesian military personnel and the removal of armaments. Other aspects of normalisation will include an expansion of Red Cross activities, a reduction of Indonesian civil servants, restoration of all basic rights, removal of restrictions on the Portuguese and Tetum languages, a population census, restoration and protection of the environment, resettlement, district development, public health and immunisation, setting up of an independent Human Rights Commission



Demonstrating for freedom for East Timor

photo by Elaine Brifere

TALKS ON

- Western Sahara
- Namibia
- Cambodia
- Northern Ireland
- Palestine
- Cyprus
- Bougainville

WHY NOT

- EAST TIMOR



courtesy East Timor Talks Campaign, Australia

and the appointment of a UN Resident Representative in East Timor.

Phase Two - Autonomy

The autonomy phase would last for five years. This is a transition stage during which East Timorese would govern themselves democratically through their own local institutions.

Phase Three - Self-determination

The people of East Timor will prepare for and exercise their right to self-determination through a referendum, to be held within one year of the commencement of this phase. The people may choose between some form of "free association" with Indonesia, integration into Indonesia or independence.

CNRM's aim is an independent East Timor having a close and harmonious relationship with all its neighbouring states in Asia and the South Pacific. The independent Republic of East Timor would seek membership in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and the South Pacific Forum. It would maintain close ties with Portugal, given the moral standing Portugal has shown through its

abiding commitment to East Timorese self-determination. With other Portuguese speaking countries, East Timor would work to preserve the Portuguese culture.

An independent East Timor will not have a standing army. We intend that its external security would rely on a treaty of neutrality, guaranteed by the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Working with its neighbours and the UN, East Timor will endeavour to declare the country's surrounding seas a zone of peace.

A strong and democratic state based on the rule of law, emanating from the will of the people expressed through free elections, is our aim. A free media and independent judiciary will be developed.

An independent East Timor would promote tourism for its economic development. Because of its strategic location and tropical climate, the country will attract tourists from all over the world. Using money saved by not supporting a standing army, East Timorese would

East Timorese Resistance Establishes Canadian Office

The **Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Maubere** (National Council of Maubere Resistance), the leading umbrella organisation uniting all East Timorese organisations struggling for self-determination, now has a representative based in Canada. He is Abe Barreto Soares. He has been living in Canada since 1991.

The **CNRM** is seeking financial support to maintain its office and programme in Canada.

For more information or to support the CNRM, contact: CNRM

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benefit from free education and health care.

CNRM hopes to achieve the implementation of Phase One of our peace plan in 1995. As an outcome of the talks between Portugal and Indonesia under UN auspices in January, there is to be an all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue facilitated by the UN. These talks will not address the topic of the political status of East Timor. CNRM welcomes this initiative, but remains quite sceptical of the outcome of the meeting.

When it declared independence 50 years ago, Indonesia provided a strong voice for decolonisation. Today, Indonesia has become a brutal coloniser itself. However, many Indonesians do not want to be in East Timor. By maintaining its position in East Timor, the government of Indonesia is violating the principles of its own constitution.

The Indonesian presence in East Timor must come to an end. Given that the decade of 1990-2000 is the UN decade for the eradication of colonialism, I hope that there will be a change in the political life of the East Timorese people before the year 2000. Like other East Timorese, I long for peace, justice and freedom with all my heart.

A "Dedicated Band" Supports East Timor

by David Webster

David Webster is a member of the East Timor Alert Network, the principal Canadian organisation supporting the East Timorese struggle for self-determination.

East Timor has only come to public attention in Canada over the past few years. The rise in awareness can be traced, as in other countries, to a growing solidarity movement. As US writer Noam Chomsky says, the East Timor story has been exposed in Western countries only by a "small and dedicated band of activists". The same proved to be the case in Canada.

Canada's "newspaper of record", *The Globe and Mail*, rarely mentioned East Timor while it was a Portuguese colonial backwater. When decolonisation began in 1974, East Timor, like other Portuguese colonies on the road to independence, started getting press ink. That changed after the 1975 invasion. A short article announced that Indonesian troops had entered East Timor; another short piece described the "integration" of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province. As killings escalated in a pitched war between the Indonesian army and East Timorese government troops, and as mass famine caused by the war began to claim tens of thousands of lives, only one article made the editors' cut at *The Globe*. In 1978, when killings reached their peak, *The Globe's* coverage of East Timor fell to zero.

That was the story for the next decade, an occasional article about East Timor at best. It was the same at other media outlets.

The Canadian government remained keenly aware and involved in Indonesia. Indonesian President Suharto visited Canada six months before the invasion of East Timor, reached an understanding with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and received a substantial aid package. Canadian

government support for Indonesia was assured and Canadian money flowed to Indonesia freely.

In 1987, activists formed two solidarity groups in Canada, the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) based in BC and the Indonesia East Timor Program in Ontario. ETAN is now Canada's only solidarity group, with local groups from Newfoundland to British Columbia. It is a national association of Canadians working for East Timor's self-determination. ETAN concentrates on public education - making Canadians aware about the genocide in East Timor and of our own government's role in making that possible - and on lobbying the Canadian government to change its policy.

ETAN is affiliated with the international solidarity movement, taking our lead from representatives of the East Timorese people - the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance). We are members of the International Federation for East Timor, a worldwide association of solidarity groups based in Japan, and have been involved in both meetings of the Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor (1994 in Manila and 1995 in Bangkok).

ETAN has had considerable success in bringing East Timor to the attention of the Canadian public and press. To use *The Globe and Mail* example again, coverage of East Timor has been much higher since 1988.

Canada's new Liberal government, headed by Prime Minister Jean Chretien, had promised while in opposition to support East Timor's right to self-determination. However, in office it has proved to be even more eager to jump into bed with Indonesia than its Conservative predecessors. Indonesia is now Canada's top export market in Southeast Asia. Canadian investments may be as high as \$5 billion, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Indonesia has been identified

as a top trade target in the Liberals' new international trade strategy.

In the most blatant example, Canada has even resumed the sale of weapons to Indonesia. Since taking power at the end of 1993, The Liberals have authorized arms export permits to Indonesia worth a total of \$5.7 million - roughly as much as was authorized during the entire 1980s.

Without constant pressure from Canadians, our government would not have taken the few positive steps it has - co-sponsoring resolutions at the UN Commission on Human Rights, pressing for the release of jailed East Timorese resistance leader Zanana Gusmao, and raising individual cases with the Indonesian government.

The work of the solidarity movement has made East Timor an issue. But much more support from Canadians is needed to make our government turn its words into actions. Solidarity does work. Ireland, for instance, has become one of the strongest supporters of East Timor since the formation of a solidarity group supported by large numbers of letters from citizens who saw East Timor as an important international issue. The same can happen here.

East Timor Alert Network
has local groups in:
Vancouver, Quadra Island,
Calgary, Winnipeg, Windsor,
Guelph, Toronto, Ottawa,
Montreal, Nova Scotia and
Newfoundland and sup-
porters in all parts of Canada.

For more information,
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etantor@web.apc.org.

West Papua: A Forgotten Struggle

by Nancy Jouwe

Nancy Jouwe is a member of the Women's Studies Department at the University of Utrecht. This article is adapted from a presentation at a "Women of the Colonies" workshop in Fiji in December '94.

I'm part of a community of refugees in the Netherlands. I'm not involved with my people's struggle on a daily basis, but I find it important to give them a voice. Our struggle is not based on one common political agenda, but we all agree that we are colonised. We want the freedom to choose our own destiny.

The historical betrayal of our peoples New Guinea has been inhabited for more than 50,000 years. Its indigenous inhabitants considered their lands as the core of their existence and developed diverse ways of working the land. New Guinea has an abundance of natural resources. It contains one of the world's largest rainforests and large amounts of oil, copper, gold and other minerals.

The island was divided in two during colonial times. The eastern part came under German and English rule in the nineteenth century and became an Australian administered UN protectorate after 1918. It became independent as Papua New Guinea in 1975. The western part, West Papua, came under Dutch rule in 1898.

New Guinea has a great ethnic diversity. In West Papua alone, at least 250 languages are spoken and there are hundreds of ethnic groups with their own cultures, histories, beliefs and ways of working the land. However, colonial history made us realize that we are also one people with aspirations to create our own nation.

After World War II, Indonesia became independent from the Netherlands and the Dutch shifted their administration to West Papua. Only then did the Dutch become active in their last colony in "the East". As far

as a coloniser can be called "progressive", Dutch rule in West Papua was relatively progressive. They educated sons of tribal chiefs to create an intellectual cadre, sending Papuans to the Netherlands to study for a period of time. (The first woman was sent in 1958.) The Dutch and Papuans talked seriously about independence, resulting in the first national Papuan council in 1961. During this meeting, the Papuans expressed their national aspirations, chose their national symbols and made the name West Papua official.

Meanwhile, other manoeuvres occurred internationally. Indonesia's President Sukarno was keen to get his hands on West Papua. The Indonesians knew the huge economic gains that could be had from West Papua and Sukarno knew how to play the superpowers against each other. With the world looking at decolonisation, the Indonesians joined the rhetoric and stated that they wanted to free the Papuans from their Dutch "oppressors".

The delicate situation intensified in 1961 and 1962, with the Dutch and Indonesians at the brink of war. The Indonesians parachuted commandos into West Papua and were mobilizing their strong military forces, ready to invade. The Dutch sent their marines. Before war was declared, the case was taken to the United Nations.

Elsworth Bunker, an American politician, developed the "New York Agreement" in August 1962. This plan involved the UN being stationed in West Papua for a period of 9 months. After that, the Indonesians would take over "temporarily" until a referendum on West Papua's future could be conducted. Papuans were shocked and felt betrayed. We had never been consulted properly and our needs were not taken seriously. The Dutch, having a weak case, could do very little. The Indonesians had been given free reign over West Papua, mandated by the UN.

The last stage of this drama was played out in 1969 when the "referendum" was conducted. Known as the "Act of Free Choice", we Papuans called it the "Act Free of Choice". 1025 people were chosen by the Indonesians to participate in a vote for independence or incorporation into Indonesia. With guns almost literally pointed at their heads, the "choice" was easily made. West Papua became the 26th province of Indonesia under the name Irian Jaya. "Papua" became a forbidden word and people living in West Papua, indigenous and immigrant, have to call themselves "Irianese".

Systematic genocide and ethnocide Our people have resisted the Indonesian takeover from Day One. Thousands of people were shot or taken to prison in the sixties and this genocide continues. Many people fled the country for fear of their lives. An underground peoples' resistance movement was formed in 1965, the OPM or Operasi Papua Merdeka (Free Papua Movement).

Papuans see themselves as Melanesians. Ethnically, culturally, historically and geographically, we feel related to the peoples of PNG, the Solomons, Vanuatu, Kanaky and Fiji. We have always opposed the incorporation of West Papua into Indonesia.

Although Indonesia's national slogan is "Unity in Diversity", the reality is a process of "Javanisation". The dominant culture is Javanese and all other indigenous cultures and ethnic groups are considered inferior. This certainly holds for Papuans. The Javanese see Papuans as stupid, primitive and barbaric - as people who have to be "civilized" and taken out of the "Stone Age". To do this, skilled and educated people from outside West Papua come to stimulate this upliftment. Consequently, we are treated like second-rate citizens in our own country.

This process has been facilitated by the "transmigration" programme, a

population transfer policy that the Indonesian government has implemented since the 1960s. Under transmigration, the influx of migrants has created an Indonesian population of 700,000 people, threatening to outnumber the 900,000 Papuans. As these statistics are from the late 1980s, it is possible that Papuans are already a minority in their own country. This has happened within 30 years, making future prospects quite grim.

A second component of this policy is a relocation programme involving the resettlement of indigenous communities to "model villages" that can be controlled by the government. In West Papua, the government aims to resettle 2,150 families every year.

Although the World Bank has pulled out of the transmigration programme, it still supports Indonesia's population policies. The programme has been awarded a UN prize and is still supported by the World Food Programme and the FAO. Both agencies recently stopped funding sites in Sumatra and diverted funds towards transmigration projects in Eastern Indonesia, which includes West Papua, the Moluccas and East Timor.

Development projects often create hardship East Indonesia has become the new focus of Jakarta's so-called development efforts. Foreign investors are being encouraged to set up capital-intensive extractive industries. International funding agencies like the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank are supporting these policies.

Vast areas of West Papua have been granted as concessions to foreign and Indonesian mining, oil and logging companies. The concessions are issued in Jakarta, ignoring Papuan concepts of land and culture and denying the Papuan people any right to decide about development on their ancestral lands. There are numerous cases of indigenous communities being forcibly removed from their lands to make way for resource development projects, which are often accompanied by an increase in

military presence and violence. Many Papuans have testified to gross human rights violations by the Indonesian military.

The outflow of resources from West Papua is much greater than the inflow. The lands of the Amungme people, for instance, have been mined for gold and copper by a subsidiary of the US-based Freeport McMoRan Corporation since 1967. The annual revenues of Freeport Indonesia amount to almost US\$ 1 billion. What Freeport alone pays in taxes to the government in Jakarta is similar to what West Papua gets from Jakarta.

Due to the exploitation of their lands and neglect from the government, the indigenous peoples of West Papua are left with a ruined environment. Rivers are polluted, mountains are changed into holes, and forests are stripped of their diversity and spiritual value.

Women often bear the heaviest load In many Third World countries, women form the backbone of society. This is certainly the case in West Papua. Women are simultaneously involved in taking care of children and the family, tending the garden and selling a part of their produce on the market. They are also the most marginalised group of people, the ones considered least important by the government. They are the hardest hit by foreign logging and mining companies that damage the environment and threaten the existence of rural communities. The same negative impact comes from state interference through development projects, militarisation, transmigration and relocation.

It is very hard for West Papuan women to speak out on political issues. To live in constant fear has a devastating impact on people's lives. The censorship is effective.

Some women organise themselves in women's groups and try to



Raising the Morning Star, the West Papuan national flag, in front of the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague

photo by Suara Papua from Selikawan No 4-5

work with and for women, but they are constantly held back by strong government control and oppression. Fortunately, an important partnership has been developed with women's groups in PNG such as the East Sepik Council of Women (ESCOW). Through this relationship, West Papuan women receive and give skills training and receive support from the women in PNG.

Women are also active in the resistance movement. Many women have joined the underground armed struggle with the OPM.

Conclusion Our struggle for self-determination is as alive as it was 30 years ago when we lost our freedom. For us Papuans, it is important to let our struggles be known and to receive support from other peoples. As women we have a long way to go. We are held back in our emancipation not only by the Indonesian government, but also by our own men even as we fight alongside them. This means that we have to create our own agenda as women. The last word about our struggle has not yet been spoken.

Decolonising Feminism

by Susanna Ounei-Small

Susanna Ounei-Small is from Kanaky (New Caledonia). In this article, adapted from a presentation to a 1994 Conference on Women & Law in Fiji, she draws important distinctions between the feminism of women struggling against colonisation and that of Western liberal feminists.

For centuries, Third World women, other black women and working class women have struggled against double or triple exploitation. As a Kanak, I disagree strongly with the liberal feminist view that "we are all women facing the same problem against male supremacy."

It is true that problems such as rape and domestic violence are similar for women whatever their class or colour. But this assumption of "sisterhood" is unacceptable to women who must struggle side by side with men to get back land stolen by colonialism, while at the same time we fight within our society against a patriarchal system which orders obedience towards men.

Liberal feminist ideas emanated from the 18th century through the liberal ideology of liberty, equality and freedom of choice. The idea that "women's capacity to reason was equal with that of men" first appeared through Mary Wollstonecraft's writing in 1792. She argued that "the apparent inferiority of women's intellects was due to inferior education" and that this was "the result of women's unequal opportunities rather than a justification for them."

Liberal feminists argued that women should be free to sell their labour outside their houses and therefore argued for state support for mothers. They also demanded the right to vote and participate in parliament.

Angela Davis, a black socialist feminist, emphasises the historical differences between black and white women. She argues that at the time

liberal women were claiming individual freedoms and equal rights, black slave women with no rights at all had to endure being flogged, mutilated and raped by their white owners. Black women did not have the freedom to sell their labour or even to care for their children when they gave birth. In the eyes of the slave holders, slave women were not mothers at all; they were simply breeders guaranteeing the growth of the slave labour force.

In slavery, black women and men were equal. They were forced to work together and were mistreated together. In the slave environment, there was no "family head" as all blacks belonged to masters. When men were humiliated by the slave owners, black women felt humiliated too.

American liberal feminists have focussed more on individualistic equal rights, which they consider to be the essence of feminism. Their aim has been to stop the marginalisation of women from areas such as industry, commerce, education and political office. Equal opportunities represent to them the annulment of sexism. The rights to free contraception, abortion and childcare, and for refuges for battered women, are part of liberal feminist demands. They even apply this to military service. Thus if women from Indonesia, France and PNG are compelled to do military service, they might have to go to West Papua, Kanaky and Bougainville to kill people who are struggling for independence.

Liberal feminists have taken their commitment to individual freedoms as far as arguing that women should have the freedom to engage in prostitution. They don't question the effect of capitalism, colonialism, exploitation and poverty and why women are compelled to use their bodies as a means to survive.

I do not deny the importance of issues such as rape and violence against women raised by liberal



photo by Natalie Dreche

Susanna Ounei-Small

feminists. However, I cannot accept that all women share a common oppression. Last century when liberal women and their white sisters in parts of Europe and the US were behind their banner of "liberty and equality", Kanak women had to hide their children in the bush while their men were fighting against the French military takeover of our country.

Since 1853, when France annexed New Caledonia, the life of Kanak women has totally changed. They lost their land and their dignity. French middle class liberal feminists love to talk about peace and equal rights. They love to highlight the exploitation of women in Kanak society. They still sing: "We are all women. All women unite." How utopian! How can we be united with French women when they participate in the colonisation of our country? Their slogans are simply designed to blind Kanak women from our real struggle. The priority for Kanak women must be to struggle together with Kanak men, while trying to change their violent and sexist behaviour, against the imperialist interest represented by these French liberal feminists.

Most liberal feminists are 'petite bourgeoisie' or middle-class women who know little about oppression. They have achieved changes in laws, employment policies and many other areas which enable them to compete with middle class men for the privilege of being part of the elite in a racist, capitalist society. Poor women from the colonies, Third World countries and the working class are more oppressed than middle class women, whatever their colour.

Enough is Enough say PNG NGOs

With leaders of the G7 countries (US, Japan, Germany, France, UK, Italy, Canada) meeting in Canada in June, the "Papua New Guinea National Alliance Against World Bank & IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes" sent an appeal for action to the G7 leaders. The statement, a condensed version of which follows, was signed by over 30 representatives of PNG non-governmental organisations.

Stop the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and their structural adjustment programmes. Enough is Enough!

In the name of rescuing the economies of developing countries, including PNG, the World Bank and IMF are up-rooting communities, increasing Third World debts, forcing our people to live in poor conditions, causing massive environmental destruction and destroying the dignity of our people.

As leaders of the Group of Seven industrialised countries meet in Halifax, we call on you as the major shareholders and controllers of the World Bank and IMF to let these institutions know that enough is enough. You have the power to change these institutions. We call on you to use the trillions of dollars that they have earned from our countries through repayment of debts and interest to settle our debts and ease the hardships that they create.

Around the developing world, World Bank and IMF projects will evict 600,000 people per year from their homes and land according to World Bank reports released in 1993. Ongoing projects will evict two million people. Over one-third of Bank projects are rated unsatisfactory according to the Bank's own evaluations and 78 per cent of all loan conditions are not complied with.

The Bank and IMF force many developing countries to adopt structural adjustment programmes

(SAPs). They require governments to redirect their economies toward exports and severely cut spending on health, education and other social programmes. SAPs have been justified as a means of rescuing our economies from crisis. In fact, SAPs are responsible for lowering the living standards of millions around the world and opening our environment to further destruction.

In Papua New Guinea, we have been subjected to a SAP since 1989. Seven years later, in 1995, we are still being told that we need to accept further structural adjustment. SAP therefore has not worked for us. It has severely reduced our standard of living. It is forcing our Government to allow more destruction of our environment. It is threatening the social and cultural fabric of our people by asking them to mortgage their land to World Bank-led development instead of using the land to sustain themselves as we have done for thousands of years. It is subjecting our mothers and newborns to poor health conditions in hospitals and poor hygiene conditions at homes. Instead of rescuing us from economic crisis, it has in fact put us more in debt and deeper in crisis. Our public debt today stands at over 5 billion dollars. This is four times more than our annual earnings as shown in our national budget.

SAP today is causing us great hardship. It is jeopardising the lives of our future generation. It will force many of our future generations to migrate to the industrialised countries as conditions to sustain life in our own country worsen. The loss of our rainforest, the fourth largest in the world, to clearcutting will also be a loss to the World. We will all suffer if the World Bank & IMF are not brought to account for this misery and destruction and made to change their policies and practice now.

WE CALL ON THE LEADERS OF THE GROUP OF SEVEN INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES, AS THE MAJOR SHAREHOLDERS OF THE WORLD BANK AND IMF TO INSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING CHANGES TO WORLD BANK AND IMF POLICIES AND PRACTICES IMMEDIATELY.

1. End Structural Adjustment conditionalities;
2. Halt all funding for mega-projects and ensure that future loans and credits be used for long-term sustainable development;
3. Use reserves and profits of the World Bank and IMF to cancel or substantially reduce debts owed to it by the economically poorest and severely indebted countries;
4. Place an immediate moratorium on interest rates until an open review has been undertaken to consider other forms of relieving countries of their debts;
5. Democratise and decentralise WB/IMF decision making rather than using weighted voting based on amount donated;
6. Increase transparency and access to information, use participatory evaluation;
7. Take greater accountability and liability ; take responsibility for past miscalculations and imprudent behaviours;
8. See that the IMF plays a role in providing international monetary stability to address the size and volatility of world markets;
9. Set up independent tribunals to arbitrate between creditors and debtors on conditions for debt relief;
10. Regular and full reporting and disclosure of voting records and decisions of the Bank;
11. Setup an independent Appeals Commission to oversee the operations of the WB and IMF.

Pacific Odyssey

by Carl Lenox

In 1993-94 Carl Lenox sailed around the Pacific as an American participant in Class Afloat's school-at-sea programme. The International Baccalaureat accredited programme is offered by Vancouver-based Educational Alternatives Ltd.

Beginning in August 1993 and continuing for ten months, I had the unique opportunity to sail on Class Afloat's 188-foot barquentine S/V Concordia. Our voyage out of Vancouver took us to Hilo (Hawaii), southwest through Wotje and Majuro (Marshall Islands), Tawara (Kiribati), Gizo (Solomons), Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea), and Darwin (Australia). From there we travelled northwest through Bali (Indonesia), Singapore (Hong Kong), Kaosiung (Taiwan) and Yokohama (Japan). After a three-week Christmas break we sailed east to Honolulu, then south to the privately-owned island of Palmyra (U.S.), Fanning (Kiribati), Pago Pago (American Samoa), Suva (Fiji), Noumea (New Caledonia) and Sydney. From Australia we headed east and northeast to Auckland, Papeete and Moorea (French Polynesia), Pitcairn Island, Rapa Nui [Easter Island], Santa Cruz (Galapagos), Puerto Vallarta (Mexico), and San Diego, California. In mid-June of 1994 we pulled in under San Francisco's Golden Gate.

My introduction to SPPF and the realities of life in the South Pacific began with an overview briefing by SPPF's Stuart Wulff, as we sailed south from Vancouver to Washington State. The trip's itinerary covered so many interesting places and experiences that most stops were only for a few days. To cover, 30,000 nautical miles in 10 months seemed barely adequate.

My previous knowledge of issues in the South Pacific was minimal, centred mainly on the Bikini nuclear tests and the East Timor situation. As

an avid environmentalist with a national Geographic-style "noble savage" image in my head, I now faced questions of reality. What if people want to join the 20th century -- pollution, consumerism and all? How can this be done with a minimal cost to culture and the environment? At the University of Papua New Guinea, I talked with intelligent, motivated people in the journalism department who, while having no definitive answers, did plan to make their future in their own country of PNG.

The legacy of World War II is also evident in the region even 50 years later. Nowhere was that more evident than on Wotje, an island that once served as a Japanese airbase. Nearly the entire land area had been paved with concrete. Subsistence agriculture and fishing had been replaced by monthly shipments to fulfil basic needs and chronic medical conditions spoke loudly of the unhealthy lifestyle and surrounding environment. In the face of this adversity, the people still seemed happy, warm-hearted and generous, a trait that seemed to hold true throughout the South Pacific.

As a U.S. citizen I was particularly sensitive to the damage done by the policies of my own government. In an illuminating conversation with a Marshallese man on a minibus one night in Majuro, he observed that, "My people used to kill your people when they came here?" I told him I couldn't really blame them for that?

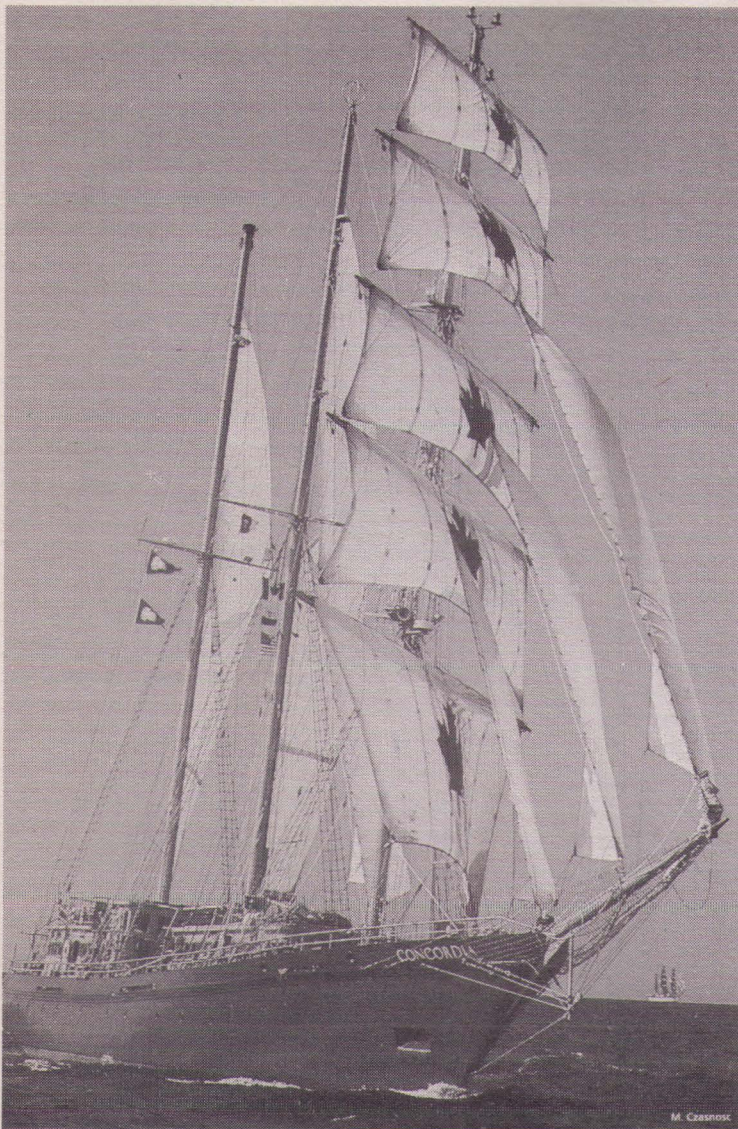
In Bali, we were hosted by the Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia at a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of Canadian-Indonesian relations. Although I was quite active in informing those on the on the Concordia of the Indonesian human rights record, I decided it would not be at all appropriate to grill the Ambassador myself. However the question of East Timor did come up in a question-and-answer session aboard ship. Somewhat predictably, the Ambassador artfully dodged the

question of, "What is Canada doing to help stop the occupation of Timor?" with the somewhat meaningless statement that, "Our embassy is committed to supporting human rights", before moving on to extoll Indonesia as an up-and-coming "economic tiger".

One of my most profound experiences was on Rapa Nui. Among several issues occupying my mind (Chilean government mismanagement, the mystery of how those statues were moved, and how to keep my rented horse from bolting) was the obvious one of the environmental catastrophe which had driven the population to near extinction. The pattern of over-population, environmental collapse, cultural decadence, warfare, and genocide seemed eerily familiar. I was not very happy to observe the history of Rapa Nui as a miniature of that of today's world.

Among the strangest places we visited was Pago Pago. A company town in all respects, life is dominated by the Starkist tuna cannery (dubbed the tuna refinery by a friend). As the only U.S. colonial possession south of the equator, it was populated by ardently flag-waving Americans seemingly transplanted from Iowa, except for the fact that they were all Samoan. Visiting a high school there, a friend and I attempted to master a traditional dance where we were given a nice round of applause for our helpless flailing.

Having absorbed many American social trappings, the country seems to be doing relatively well economically. Yet the traditional culture was alive and well in singing, dancing, tattoos and other art forms, also apparently in family life and relations. Visiting a University of Hawaii branch campus on American Samoa, a high ranking chief who was also the campus provost addressed us on this subject. Touching on issues such as Western vs. Samoan views on property and hierarchy, he explained



The S/Y Concordia, a 188 ft barquentine serving Class Afloat, a unique high school at sea (courtesy CEA, Vancouver, Canada)

how these sometimes diametrically opposed views were reconciled. Concluding his speech, he said, "We wish to join the 21st century, not become Westernized." I found this very encouraging, because it was clear to me that the many advantages of technology could, with careful thought and planning, be integrated into non-western cultural schemes.

My own future has been profoundly influenced by this incredible journey. I plan to leave the United States as soon as practical, perhaps move to New Zealand. Now studying Mechanical Engineering at the University of California, San Diego, I will pursue a career in the field of alternative energy, hopefully making my own contribution to solving the sustainable development dilemma. Since this decision was based almost entirely on my experiences in the South Pacific, it is clear that my Class Afloat experience has in large part defined by vision of the future.

While sitting at home, the social, environmental and economic issues seem mind-boggling and unsailable. How can one individual possibly tackle huge multinationals logging out Papua New Guinea, or stop nuclear testing in the South Pacific? How can one person possibly alter the course of the juggernaut called "world progress", or hope to influence the destiny of history? Through my ten months of experiences, I now have faces and names to inspire me to tackle such huge issues. It has to be inspiring to think that real people I met and heard about are fighting a practical fight over these issues every day, not just on a theoretical moral basis, but for their very survival. It is such thoughts that keep me buoyed up and motivated to try to make a difference somewhere in the world.

Student Sailors Visit Pitcairn

Pacific Swift, a topsail schooner sailing out of Victoria, Canada, paid its third visit to Pitcairn in early March of this year. The vessel is run by **S.A.L.T.S.** (Sail and Life Training Society), an organisation which has had close contact with Pitcairners since 1990 when Pacific Swift made its first visit to Pitcairn. In its 21 years of operation, S.A.L.T.S. has taken thousands of young people to sea and watched them learn respect and appreciation for Nature and build confidence and self reliance.

On this visit the 30 student sailors went ashore in two shifts, each shift spending three days on Pitcairn. While ashore crew members were hosted and entertained by Pitcairners, explored the island, went fishing from the longboat, picnicked, swam at Big Pool, visited Tedside, had bonfires and were serenaded upon departure by Pitcairners singing their famous farewell song. S.A.L.T.S. crew member Jesse Ingram, in a letter back to Pitcairn,

said it all, "I have had a great time here - barbecue at Flathead, dinner/feast in the town square, a dance at Randy's, the boat tour and the bonfire on our last night. These fond memories will always have a special place in my thoughts. The hospitality...has just been overwhelming..." [Adapted from *The Pitcairn Miscellany*, Vol 38, No 5 May 1995]

For information about S.A.L.T.S.'s programmes, write: S.A.L.T.S. at Box 5014, Station B, Victoria, BC, Canada V8R 6N3 Tel 604/383-6811 Fax 604/383-7781.



photo courtesy S.A.L.T.S.

Tetepare: Difficult Development Choices in the Solomon Islands

by Shaun Johnston

Shaun Johnston worked with Youth Challenge, a Toronto-based youth and community development organization, on their 1993 inaugural project in the Solomon Islands. In 1994 he returned to the Solomon Islands with Youth Challenge on another assignment.

Project Solomon Islands 1994 brought together participants from five countries, including the Solomon Islands, to work on 15 medical, scientific, and community development field projects spread over 12 different islands and 900 kilometres of water.

I spent half my time in the capital on logistics in the capital city and the other half as the co-leader of two field projects: a mobile dental clinic which brought service and dental education to remote areas on Vella Lavella Island, and an archaeological survey designed to bring legal protection to tambu sites on uninhabited Tetepare Island, which is now threatened by clear cut logging.

Uninhabited Tetepare, like most of the Solomon Islands, is held under customary tenure by descendants of those people who fled Tetepare about 100 years ago when the chief from Roviana was killed during a raid. His followers were so outraged they placed a curse on Tetepare. When its inhabitants began mysteriously dying, survivors fled to other regions throughout Western Province. Today Tetepare's descendants have difficult decisions to make, with some in favour of logging and the ensuing economic benefits, others vigorously opposed to the threatened destruction of their island and their traditional lifestyle.

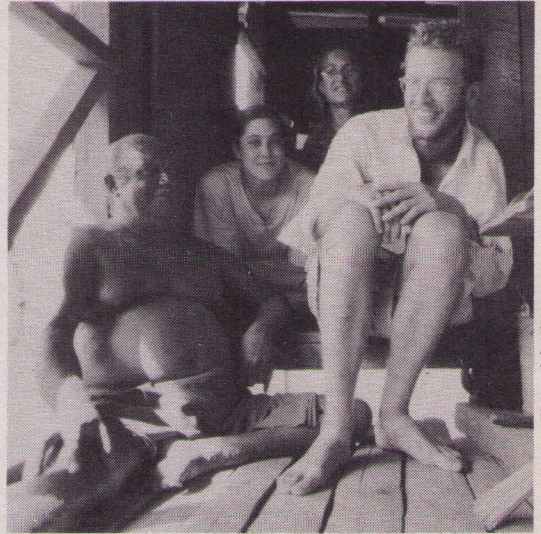
While attending the Western Province Environment and Economics Summit, I heard eloquent and insightful people speak on both sides of the issue. The benefits of logging bring better housing, schools and medical care and more

consumer goods. The legacies of logging include mud choked coral reefs, reduced fish catches, polluted drinking water sources, increased interest in money and material goods to the exclusion of traditional responsibilities and community work, and accompanying social problems.

Our team of ten Australians, Canadians and Solomon Islanders was assigned to find and record sacred tambu sites which could still be preserved if logging went ahead. Every day we visited a new site - sometimes "villages" extending for a kilometre along a ridge, perhaps a feasting area consisting of a 20 square meter pile of coral and basalt rock or a burial site where customary power was still very much alive!

Accompanied by our knowledgeable guide, Mathias, we often plowed for many hours through dense tropical jungle filled with spiny plants, creepers, wild pigs and iguanas. If Mathias said, "Ples hem i faraway!" we knew we were in trouble. There are no trails here and even if you had a map it wouldn't be much use because you can't see more than 15 metres in any direction.

Arriving at a new site, we would pull out the compass, the 50 metre measuring tapes, graph paper and the official record book. We would survey the site, noting locations of custom shell money, skulls, and other artifacts, and record any customary stories and histories associated with the site. It seemed as though these tasks were invariable accompanied by a torrential downpour, even though our guides had spoken respectfully to the island about our work as a way of ensuring our safety during these expeditions. Somehow Tetepare always like to remind us that we were trespassers!



Reuben Sei of Vanikuvu village on Rendova Island tells custom stories about Tetepare to YCI team members (Sean Johnston forefront)

By the time we had recorded our site, thereby giving it protection under the law, the rain would have turned our route home into a mud slide. As I crept along trying to keep my balance, the Solomon Islanders -- joking, hollering and hooting -- would sprint down the slopes in bare feet waving 24 inch razor sharp bush knives in their hands.

Our evenings were always busy: playing cards, polishing up reports, recording more customary stories about Tetepare, singing, dancing and storying. There were usually a few hard working individuals who prepared dinner; fresh baked bread, BBQ pork, coconut rice, and slippery cabbage (which is something like slimy spinach). The daily radio call back to headquarters gave a typical report: "another day, another tambu site, another pig!"

There are many stories belonging to Tetepare, stories of brave warrior chiefs, their beautiful daughters, powerful giants, vicious battles, customary magic and vengeful curses. Telling stories is one of the pillars of Solomon Island culture with every person taking time to listen to your stories and share his or hers in return. There are also strangely familiar stories which I could just as easily expect to hear in my own country. It is a small world after all.

photo courtesy Shaun Johnston

Power to the People - Village Electrification in the Solomon Islands

by Robert Waddell

Robert Waddell is the Vice-President of APACE (Appropriate Technology for Community and Environment), an Australian agency specialising in the design and implementation of low-impact, environmentally sensitive technology.

In February 1995, a memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed between the Solomon Islands government and APACE. The MOU represents a great advance in the devolution of power - in every sense of the word - to people in rural areas. It was a bold step for the government to take and showed great trust in the ability of the villagers and APACE to do something which everywhere else has been the prerogative of a centralised authority. In this case, however, the decentralised generation of electricity has been sanctioned by the Solomon Islands Electricity Authority, which will ensure that safety regulations are followed. APACE President Paul Bryce observed that "this is the beginning of a new era of opportunity for Solomon Islands. Their government has taken a courageous and trail-blazing step, recognising that rural energy needs will only be satisfied by respecting Melanesian customary strengths and traditions."

For the last 14 years APACE has concentrated on the design and installation of village-level micro-hydro electricity generating systems. Its first such installation was commissioned in 1983 in a village in the Western Province of Solomon Islands. The commissioning of this system was not a quick fix but the culmination of years of preparation and consultation with the villagers. It was preceded and followed by training courses in the operation, maintenance and repair of the system.

In line with APACE's general philosophy, the bringing of electricity to the village was not seen as an end

in itself but rather as a means of enhancing the independence and self-reliance of the community as a whole. To this end everyone in the village - men, women and children - was involved in the process and everyone received a benefit and therefore had a stake in ensuring a successful outcome.

Those who read Valerie Harrison's article "Enoghae Revisited" in the May 1994 issue of *Tok Blong Pasifik* will be interested to know that this joint Solomon Islands-APACE project was largely an effort to provide villagers with a method of earning a cash income from a source other than royalties received from the sort of logging operations which have created such environmental havoc in Kolombangara and New Georgia.

Another prominent feature of APACE's operations has been the involvement of women in the new technology. So often in the past when new technologies have been introduced into villages only the men have been involved and instructed in their operation. Women have not had a say in the planning or been consulted as to how they would like the technology to be used for their benefit.

In the case of Solomon Islands APACE's Programme Development Officer, Ms Donnella Bryce, and its Women in Development Officer Ms Sasha Giffard, a mechanical engineer, together with six women from one of the villages facilitated the first of a national series of women's workshops. The object of these workshops was to impart a knowledge of the workings and uses of micro-hydro electricity systems and their impact on village life. The women from the village where the first workshop was held had already been involved in planning an installation of a system and were keen to pass on their knowledge and experience to other women who were anxious to have similar systems in their own villages.

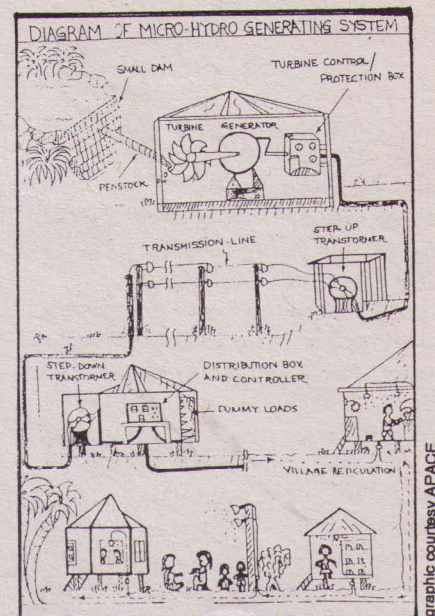


Diagram of micro-hydro generating system

Following the success of the first few installations a plan is now being drawn up to bring electricity to a large number of villages in Western Province; this is the Western Province Rural Electrification Program. In addition, as a consequence of the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding, a working group called Solomon Islands Rural Community Electrification Committee (SIRCEC) has been set up to draft a national rural electrification policy and to design an appropriate organisation to implement a community-based hydro-electrification programme.

For much too long village people in so-called 'developing' countries have been treated in a highly paternalistic *de haut en bas* manner as if they were incapable of working out their own destiny without the aid of flocks of advisers and bureaucrats; this has resulted not only in a great waste of money - and foreign exchange if the advisers are expatriates - but in a stifling of initiative and self-esteem. The work of organisations such as CUSO and APACE has shown clearly that such paternalistic behaviour is inappropriate, counter-productive and only serves to make 'independent' countries more dependent than ever. It is high time that power was handed back to the people!

Saving the Plants that Save Lives

by Kerrie Strathy

Kerrie Strathy works for the South Pacific Action Committee for Human Ecology and the Environment (SPACHEE), a Fiji based environmental NGO. Prior to her 1991 move to Fiji, she worked in Saskatchewan, Canada, coordinating international cooperation programmes.

Forest depletion is one way that humans are testing the earth's capacity and destroying our health. With the earth's forests disappearing at a rate exceeding an acre a second, a sense of urgency is merely common sense. Solutions must be based on awareness - people who understand trees' protective functions will not uproot them. Women in the South Pacific are being encouraged to value and protect their forests as a result of an initiative started by SPACHEE.

One of the most successful programmes was a 1992 Women & Forests Workshop held in cooperation with the Fiji Forestry Department and the YWCA. This workshop was developed to help women understand the value of their forests as a

source of such basic needs as food, fuel, craft materials and medicines.

It was the use of traditional medicines that caught the women's interest. All of them had been given traditional medicine as children, but most were unsure of the plants or methods used by their grandmothers to prepare the medicines. So they organized a Traditional Medicine Practitioners' Workshop in August 1993 to learn about the use of traditional medicines in their neighboring small island states. Imported western medicines are expensive. They are also difficult to access from remote villages or tiny islands as rough seas sometimes prevent travel to well-stocked health centres on the main islands.

Workshop participants came from several countries and included traditional practitioners, "modern" medical practitioners, educators, conservationists and supporters with an interest in traditional medicine. The workshop really started the day before it opened as participants identified a medicinal use for virtually every plant they encountered on the short walk from the dormitories to the dining hall!



graphic courtesy SPACHEE

The aim of the workshop was to encourage the documentation and promotion of indigenous knowledge about medicinal plants. Participants noted that traditional medicine is important to the health and well being of Pacific Islanders, but some plant species are becoming hard to find.

The Canada Fund has supported SPACHEE's efforts to encourage forest conservation through the promotion of traditional medicines. A pilot Fijian traditional medicine handbook has just been completed. A Fijian poster is being prepared to encourage the conservation of traditional medicines and the forests where they grow. A video entitled 'Grandma's Cure' is being translated with Canada Fund assistance.

The Fijian women are registering the Women's Association for Natural Medicinal Therapy or WAINIMATE ("medicine" in Fijian) to advocate for recognition of the important role that traditional healers and medicines can play in national health services.

Meanwhile, SPACHEE and the Fiji Forestry Department are continuing their efforts, including a second Traditional Medicine Workshop, to expand the network of women throughout the Pacific who are determined to SAVE THE PLANTS THAT SAVE LIVES!



photo by Kerrie Strathy

Treating a burn victim with burned bamboo leaves and coconut oil. This promotes quick healing and less scarring.

Lost in Victoria

by Patrick Kekea

Patrick Kekea works with popular theatre in the Solomon Islands. A founding member of the SEI! theatre troupe, he now works with a youth troupe on his home island of Guadalcanal. Patrick spent several weeks in Canada in 1992 as a guest of SPPF. An incident from that visit generated the following story.

It was a day and a night since I had smoked. My desire to do so had been growing intense as we drove back into Victoria following a conference at a wilderness retreat. As I was dropped at the home where I would be staying, the nicotine itch in my throat was urging me to find a cigarette. Leaving my baggage before anybody could notice my absence, I walked along the street as fast as I could go. Never mind the health warnings on the packages and the fact that I didn't know the city. Somewhere down there, in a shop or a pub, were cigarettes.

The thought of being attacked kept me alert as I made my way up and down the streets. Of course, I soon lost track of my route back. I knew there was a liquor store near my host's house, but there were quite a few of those in the city so this was not a foolproof landmark.

After hours of walking, I found myself standing in line with men and women, going down some stairs. I had no idea what was down there, but thought that wherever all these people were going there had to be cigarettes. People smoked, drank and talked as colourful lights flashed here and there, but still the room was dark. Powerful sounds of rock music blared out and romantic images swung across my sight like sexual acts filling the floor. As I clutched my precious cigarettes, I made my way up the stairs past a man and a woman kissing and cuddling. In Solomon Islands villages, such sights

would be a serious breach of custom. Is life being denied in those cultures?

Now I had to find my way back. As I wandered around in the dark early morning hours, I remember thinking that I might be killed. Surely SPPF and CUSO would search for me. After all, they were organisations which reached out to the very grassroots, even to grassroots men like me having an adventure so far from home. Would they be able to bring my corpse home if I was found dead somewhere in this city? Solomon Islands appears as a mere dot on most world maps. Would anybody be able to recognise the body of a Solomon Islander?

Even though Victoria is such a nice place, I knew it was a risk going about at that time of night. Finally, I strode past a bank and stopped to call a taxi. Here I was, three weeks in Canada, having flown countless kilometers across the globe, quite lost! My humid tropical 28 degrees had disappeared, replaced by the chilly Canadian climate which kept me shivering.

I told the driver that the only thing I remembered was the liquor store. Luckily taxi drivers know every corner of their city. Surely he would have me home before dawn.

Looking out of the taxi, I felt as though I had stepped forward 200 years into Honiara's future, equipped with fancy cars, large buildings and thousands of street lights turning the night into broad daylight. Is this "human civilization" and a culture to be claimed? How good are these changes of development if the earth is at risk, people are dying of hunger and so many are begging in the streets? Is the wealth of the world being distributed fairly?

My mind filled with images of my own theatrical experiences in parts of the South Pacific, such as the theatre exchange to Bougainville, where I found myself in the midst of a protracted civil war. I recalled the words of a member of the San Kam Ap theatre group in Bougainville: "We want to make people understand that too much foreign influence can spoil our culture. We want to bring back



Sei Akson Theatre Troupe performing in Solomon Islands

photo by Campbell Smith

Vanuatu Puts Focus on Pre-Schools

Compiled from information provided by PEC Newsletter, the Early Childhood Education Project and CUSO Pacific.

Hundreds of enthusiasts are training to become volunteer child care workers in their communities across Vanuatu. The community-based initiative funded by UNICEF, Save the Children and CUSO creates learning opportunities for children by emphasizing local language, stories, dance and theatre.

The project is delivered through the Pre-school Association which links with the Literacy Association to promote critical literacy. The two organizations were pivotal in convincing the Minister of Education that Vanuatu's rural preschools should replace French and English with teaching in the local language. "This has been a major breakthrough for the Association," says project coordinator Caroline Sturdy. Another

recent success is Vanuatu's commitment to establish a national certificate in early child care.

The project has five regional coordinators who do village training and encourage active community committees. They work closely with the government in health and education extension, as well as with the National Council of Women, the Red Cross and Vanuatu Disabled Peoples' Society. They have worked with the health department to distribute more than 90 first aid boxes to pre-schools and several hundred "Facts of Life" books in Bislama.

"CUSO Pacific is building a partnership with the Pre-School Association because we work where women are, and because the association is an integral part of the national NGO network that advocates for universal literacy, the rights of the child and social justice," says Simon Swale, CUSO Pacific field officer.



photo by Stuart Wulff

Patrick Kekea meets with Anglican Church of Canada prelate, Father John Lancaster who had recently visited in Solomon Islands on church affairs.

some of the traditional stories, stories that help us to understand the old ways. This earth is ours to take care of, but we have stopped listening to our ancestral voices, voices that teach us the ways of the earth."

For five years I have been working as a leader of a group of seven young men, touring the provinces by foot, ship and dugout canoe, presenting participatory plays on development issues such as land use, environment, resource management, population, urban drift, tourism and health. Our tours have involved days and weeks spent aboard cargo boats, climbing up and down endless slippery slopes to jungle villages, of washing body and soul, along with shorts and t-shirt, in clear cold river water.

"This is the liquor shop," said the driver as he pulled the taxi to a stop. "Where are you from?" he asked now that my attention had returned to the present. "Solomon Islands" I replied. "Where is that?" he asked, as they all do. "In the South Pacific, north of Australia, where World War II was fought." "Nice to meet you," he said, and drove away. At ten to six in the morning, I let myself into the house and sank gratefully into bed.



graphic courtesy USP

Canadian Nurse Helps Open Tongan Clinic

by Caroline Showler

Caroline Showler is an SPPF member and resident of Victoria, Canada. She teaches in the Nursing Faculty at Camosun College and recently returned from a working visit to Tonga.

When my roommate sprained her ankle I had my first opportunity to see the inside of the Italian Clinic. It was the summer of 1993 and we were in Neiafu, on the Tongan island of Vava'u, helping Earthwatch gather data about the status of the local coral gardens.

For days I had walked past a charming old building which bore a Red Cross and housed the Italian Clinic. As a 27-year veteran of nursing, returning the crutches was my chance to satisfy my curiosity about the local health facilities.

The doctor greeted me at the door in his bare feet and willingly answered my questions on Tongan health. When I boldly introduced the possibility of helping in the clinic the following summer, he responded positively.

After arrangements were made for me to live for a month on Vava'u with a Tongan family, I started researching what medical supplies to bring. Children were suffering from varying infections and skin diseases were common. The Italian Clinic is privately operated and relies on the goodwill and supplies donated by various benefactors, many from Italy. At the time of my first visit, supplies were dwindling.

I felt sure Canadian physicians and pharmacies would help. I was right. Donated supplies arrived on six different planes.

When I arrived, the clinic was in the midst of moving to its new location in the village of Toula where there would be more room for treatments such as inhalation therapies and lab tests. The structure was basically completed, but there was a ton of work to do to make the clinic operational. I participated in the final preparations while observing Dr. Alfredo Carafa with his patients. They came from all over the island and at all times of the day and night.

The majority of Tongans receive care from the hospital in Neiafu. As an alternative, the Italian Clinic offers continuity of care without the hospital's long waits. Dr. Carafa provides consultation and basic treatment for any visitors to the island and is gaining notoriety with yachties who are always thrilled to receive 'the cure'. VHF radio links the clinic with people on the many small neighbouring islands.

I worked at the clinic for a month, helping Alfredo prepare the clinic for its grand opening. I also had the awesome task of categorizing and organizing 200 pounds of medications that were labelled in Italian only. I made curtains, varnished shelves, hung tapa, instilled eyedrops, took temperatures, blood pressures and photographs of the many people that came and went. I went to church, served kava in a club, combed the market for bargains on Saturdays, had umu (food cooked in an fire pit) and rested on Sundays, swam in a fresh water cave and visited other villages.

I was never once alone, never worried or fearful. My family protected me and cared for me, opened up their home, their hearts and their culture for me to embrace and to remember.



In the Italian Clinic in Neiafu, Vava'u Island, Tonga.

photo by Caroline Showler

Kiribati Culture Embraces a Volunteer Teacher

by Ann Rinehart

Ann Rinehart recently returned from two years of teaching secondary school in the Republic of Kiribati. She was a volunteer with the Toronto non-profit organization Volunteer International Christian Service.

Life on the coral atoll of North Tarawa demanded some adapting. Located four degrees north of the equator, it is hot and fairly humid year round. Almost every day I was mopping my brow by nine o'clock in the morning, then praying for a cool breeze or rain. However, it only took two months back in our Canadian winter to make me crave that tropic warmth again.

Although South Tarawa, Kiribati's big city and government centre, was less than 20 kilometres away, the difficulty of getting there made it a holiday trip. Transport across the lagoon was by outrigger canoes that held about 40 passengers. If the tides and weather both cooperated, there were about four crossings each week. Today the canoes have motors but in earlier days they were powered solely by wind and sail, as many smaller fishing canoes continue to be today.

The government's plans to build road and bridge links between North and South Tarawa have not materialized. The common alternative to the two-dollar outrigger ride is to walk across the lagoon at low tide. The walk takes about five hours and is a wonderful way to see traditional thatched roof houses and rural people going about their subsistence activities of cutting copra, drying fish, mending nets and weaving.

Being part of a racial minority in Kiribati gave me valuable insight into what life might be like for minority peoples throughout the world. Many I-Kiribati (the people of Kiribati)

continue to hold beliefs about I-Matung (white foreigners) which are based on legends telling of a white god who created their nation. For the most part, foreigners are treated with reverse discrimination. We are given elevated status and treated as honoured guests. This posed some difficulty for me as I wanted to be accepted and treated equally in order to learn about the culture. On many occasions, young children burst into tears and wailed when they saw me. They had been taught to fear I-Matung and were even threatened with our "rapture" if they misbehaved.

Other I-Kiribati know and like foreigners and find us deserving of the same respect, but not more, than their own people. I found the I-Kiribati to be generous, caring and fun-loving people, eager to share knowledge and skills important in their culture and lifestyle.

Extreme geographic isolation has minimized outside influences. With no television reception, videos are a favourite entertainment. Videos are shown in village meeting houses called "maneabas" and in private homes, often bought with wages Kiribati seamen send back from overseas. Videos are responsible for rap music and dancing becoming increasingly popular among young people. In addition, I believe videos are largely responsible for misconceptions of westerners and our ways. I was shocked that many of my students were convinced by videos that guns and crime have created a virtual battlefield in North America, making it unsafe to step outside our homes. Many also believe white women want and openly seek sexual liaisons with men. It will continue to be a great challenge for foreigners to break down these stereotypes and false beliefs.

Women travelling to Kiribati should dress modestly. This means wearing "lavalavas" (sarongs), skirts or dresses, and not wearing halter

tops, shorts, or bathing suits. The heat can make this more modest clothing uncomfortable. However, dressing similar to the local people shows and earns respect. It has the added advantage of discouraging unwanted male attention.

One of my students, highly respected for her dancing skills, taught me what is regarded as an easy dance. Even so, it took me weeks to master the precise movements of the head, eyes, arms and hands that are nearly imperceptible to the untrained eye. Performing this dance at the school's farewell celebration, to the voices and clapping of 200 students behind me, was my most moving experience in Kiribati. The powerful and gifted voices belted out the song that brought me to their cultural roots and gave me goose-bumps all over. Dressed in the traditional palm skirt and woven pandanus ornaments (crown, sash, belt, armbands), I felt "at one" with them in a way I had never felt before. I was proud and honoured to share in their most valued cultural and artistic expression.



Ann Rinehart taking part in the school year end farewell celebration

photo courtesy Ann Rinehart

**CLEAN UP THE WORLD
Makes a Difference**

Adapted from *Insight, No 4 Vol 4* "Clean Up the World makes a difference" by David Leslie and Vol 9 "Clean Up the World reaches 104 countries" by Lyn Drummond.

The *Clean Up the World* concept is simple - *Think Globally, Act Locally*. Held in conjunction with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), *Clean Up the World* has already proved successful in mobilising and educating grassroots communities across the world.

Now in its third year of operation it has become a landmark event in environmental history, with Australia and its instigator, Ian Kiernan, recognized worldwide. In its inaugural year 30 million people in 80 countries participated and this year, 1995, a record 104 countries have signed up. Scheduled for the September 15-17 weekend, the 1995 campaign is sponsored by KPMG, Citibank, Qantas, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Environment Protection Agency.

After seeing the state of the world's oceans during the 1986/87 BOC Challenge solo around-the-world yacht race, Kiernan decided to do something positive about the problem of pollution. He started by organising a community Clean Up Sydney Harbour in January 1989. In 1991 when UNEP entered into an agreement with Clean Up Australia to manage and promote Clean Up the World in September 1993, he was appointed chairman. Kiernan points out that it is strength in unity that makes the program so effective, and this fact is illustrated by results obtained in places such as Bulgaria, Honduras, Poland and Thailand. He states, "Clean Up the World was founded in the belief that individuals can make a difference. We know that people in every corner of the world care. We've seen it time and again in Australia and the export of our simple formula has been met with great enthusiasm."

Resources on Decolonisation Issues at SPPF

Books

- East Timor: The Silence and the Betrayal. New Internationalist No 253 March 1994.
- The Indonesian Occupation of East Timor: 1974-1989 A Chronology. John Taylor.
- Indonesian Monopolies in East Timor. Aditjondro, George.
- Injustice, Persecution, Eviction: A Human Rights Update on Indonesia & East Timor. Asia Watch.
- New Caledonia: Essays in Nationalism and Dependency. Edited by Spencer, Ward & Connell.
- New Caledonia: Half-way to Independence? Ecumenical Seminar on Matignon Accords and the Kanak People's Future. WCC. Compiled by Erich Weingartner.
- Nuclear Playground. Stewart Firth.
- Poisoned Reign: French Nuclear Colonialism in the Pacific. Danielsson & Danielsson.
- Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women. Edited by 'Atu Ember-son-Bain.
- Ten Days in East Timor and the Case for Talks. David Scott.
- Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerilla Struggle in Irian Jaya. R. Osborne.
- West Papua: Obliteration of a People. C. Budiardjo and L. Soei Liang.

Videos

- Bougainville
Blood on the Bougainvillea. 60 min.
- East Timor
In Cold Blood: Massacre in East Timor. 55 min.
Shadow over East Timor. 60 min.
- Hawai'i
Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation. 60 min.
Waimanalo Eviction. 37 min.
- French Polynesia
Hotu Painu: Poison Fruit. 48 min.
Tahiti Witness. 60 min.
- General
Moment of Oblivion 55+ min.
Nightmare in Paradise. 2 tapes 30 min.
ea on Micronesia, French Polynesia and Kanaky/New Caledonia
Niuklia Fri Pasifik. 55 min.
- Kanaky/New Caledonia
Kanak au Pouvoir. 29 min.
- West Papua/Irian Jaya
Arrows Against the Wind. 60 min.
Cry of the Forgotten Land 26 min.
One People One Soul. 54 min.
Papua Merdeka. 40 min.

SPPF's new T-shirt promotes a nuclear free and independent Pacific! (see page 4)



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CUSO COOPERANT PLACEMENTS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Hunstein Range Support Officer - Ambunti, East Sepik Province:

Working with the East Sepik Council of Women, this two year cooperant placement involves strengthening women's small business and marketing capacity at the village level. Experience with rural community development, small business administration and ecologically sustainable development essential.

District Training/Coordination Support Officer - Ambunti:

Working with the East Sepik Council of Women, this cooperant will assist with planning and delivering workshops in literacy, health, leadership, family planning and bookkeeping. Adult education/training experience, gender analysis and participatory methodology skills required.

Marketing Trainer - Wewak, E. Sepik Province:

This successful candidate will coordinate and train individuals in revenue generation, marketing, bookkeeping and assist in the development of production and quality control plans at the village level. Small business marketing experience essential.

Management trainer - Wewak:

This cooperant will assist the East Sepik Council of Women with developing management and administrative skills at the office, executive and local council levels. Training skills required.

Ecotourism Research Coordinator/Advisor - Port Moresby:

Cooperant duties include research and site investigation and assistance with the development and marketing of culturally appropriate ecotourism ventures in consultation with the Tourism Promotion Authority, local communities and non governmental organizations.

All of these two year cooperant positions are available immediately.

Candidates receive a living allowance in field as well as a subsidy allowance paid in Canadian dollars. Housing, medical and travel support are also provided. Couples and families can be considered for some postings. **Full job description details available by contacting CUSO BC, 1120 Hamilton Street, Suite 307, Vancouver, BC, V6B 2S2. Tel 604/683-2099 Fax 604/683-8536**

50 Years After 1995 World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

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Contact:

Organizing Committee
World Conference against
A & H Bombs
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Fax 03-3431-8781
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