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FIJI

Who's going to be Rabuka's boss?

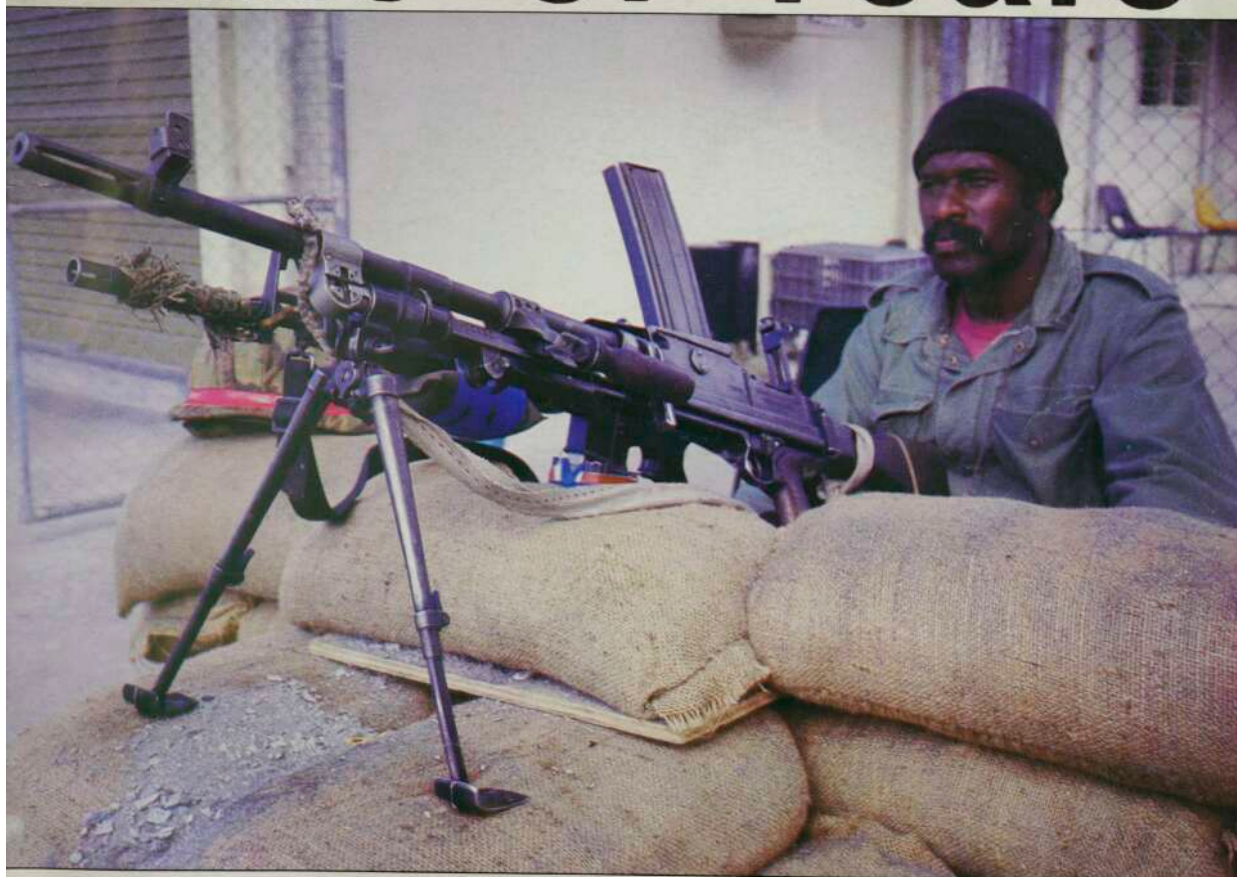
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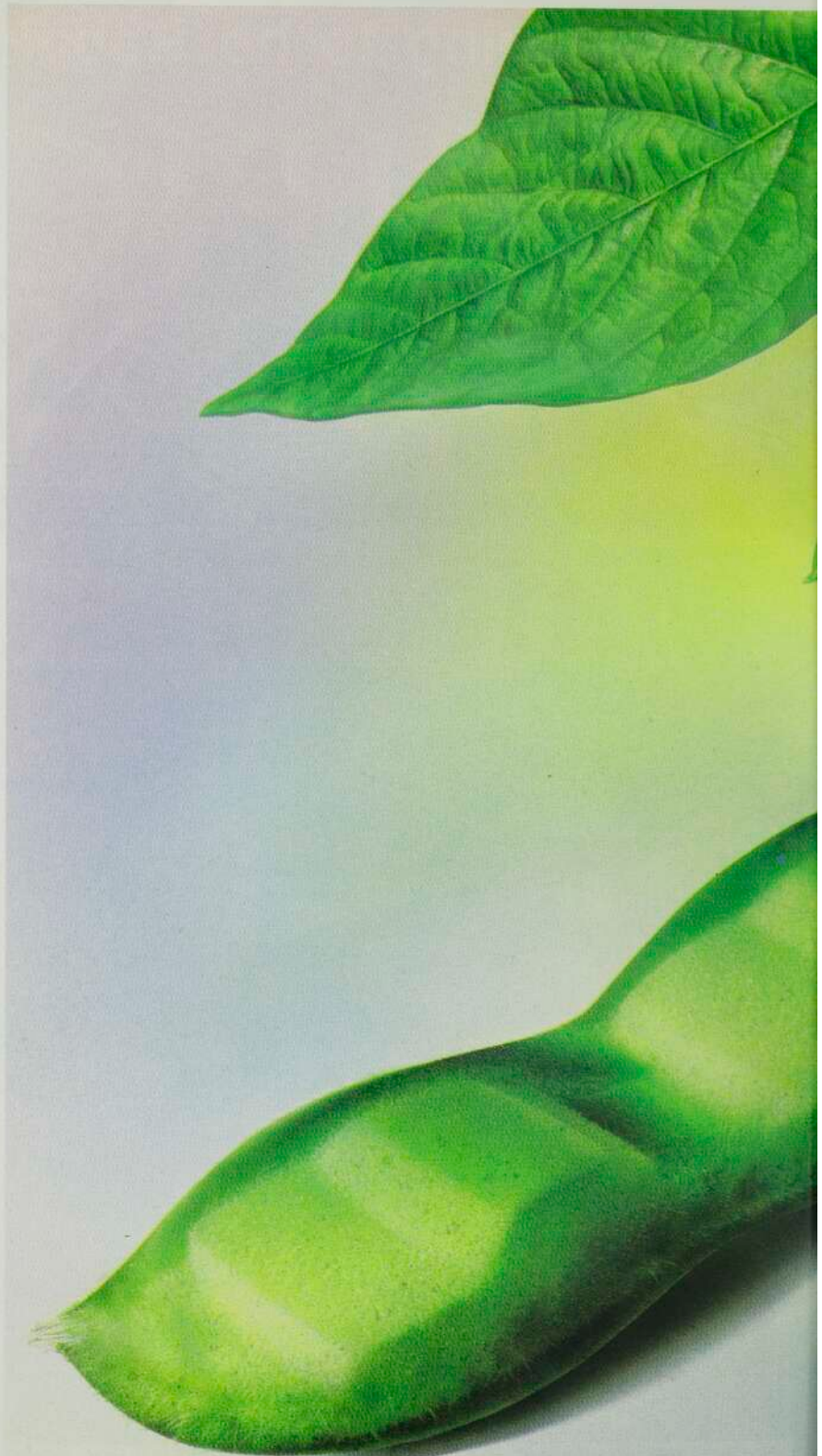
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NOVEMBER 1989

Mine of Tears



Bougainville one year later

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PACIFIC ISLANDS

M O N T H L Y

Vol 59 No. 22

VOICE OF THE PACIFIC

November 1989

COVER



The Battle for Bougainville erupted a year ago this month. The rebellion, centred in the jungles of Panguna, have shaken the Papua New Guinean economy like never before and put the country through its most devastating crisis since independence 14 years ago. *Pacific Islands Monthly* sent David Robie to Bougainville for the special report beginning on Page 10.

Cover photo: Soldier on guard in Bougainville, by David Robie.

THE REGION

FIJI

Major General Sitiveni Rabuka has opted to return to barracks. What people are asking is: Who will head the Ministry responsible for the army? Page 18.



FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

While there is a desire to break away from the American image inherited during the colonial days, the leadership is approaching any change cautiously. Page 21.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The United States has decided who will represent its interest in the region. Some of the people named, however, know little of the region they will work in. Page 43.

BUSINESS

TOURISM

Guam is going through its biggest tourism growth, a boom that is being propped up by the big Japanese investors. But while the economy is enjoying unprecedented success, the locals are suffering through the subsequent price hike. Page 25.

SHIPPING

American Samoa is having difficulties with three aging ships given by the United States. At the same time the territory's representative in Washington, Hunkin Faleomavaega, is trying to organise the supply of another. Page 35.

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS.....	7	BOOKS.....	50
STAMPS.....	8	PACIFIC PEOPLE.....	51
OPINION.....	9	ISLANDS PRESS.....	54

PACIFIC ISLANDS MONTHLY — NOVEMBER 1989 5

Editor

Jale Moala

Editorial Adviser

John Carter

Contributors

Al Prince, Belinda Meares, Carrie Loranger, David North, David Robie, Diana McManus, Dykes Angiki, Ed Rampell, Frank Senge, Jope Balawanilotu, Karen Mangnall, Nicholas Rothwell, Paul Moon, Richard Dinnen.

Business Report

Robin Bromby

Publisher

Geoffrey Hussey

Advertising Manager

Lionel Heffernan

Business Manager

Charlotte Thomas

(subscriptions/enquiries)

Advertising Sales

- Fiji: Peter Prasad, Tel (679) 314111
- Sydney & Melbourne: Fergus MacLagan, Tel (02) 4123918
- Brisbane: Robert Walker, Tel (07) 3710533
- Adelaide: Hastwell Williamson Representations, Tel (08) 799522

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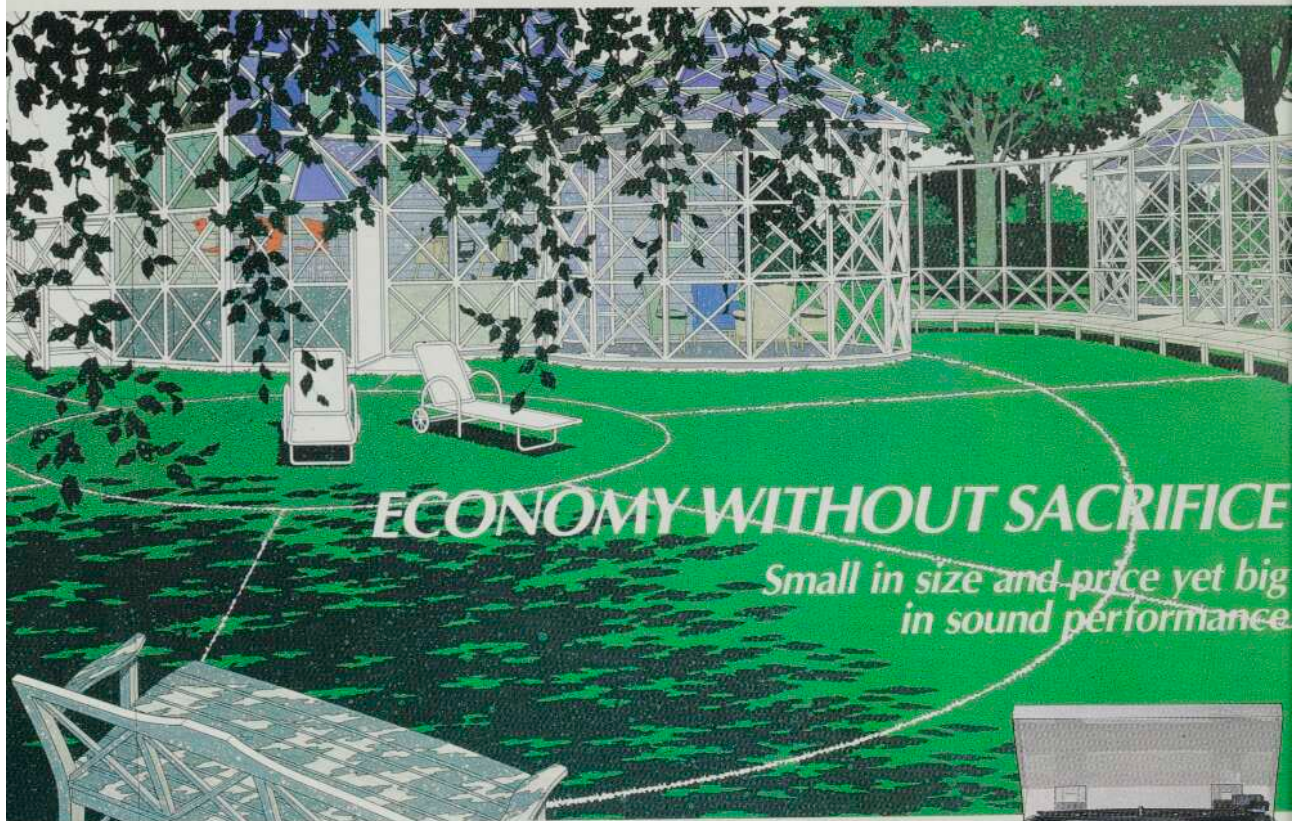
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M O N T H L Y

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TROPICALITIES

LETTERS

Garbage proposals

I AM concerned that some people in the United States want to dump waste and garbage, which every US state refuses on its soil (with good reason), in the Pacific Islands in exchange for much-needed cash.

I sincerely hope that the Pacific Island states have learnt the lessons that most first-world countries learnt the hard way at unbelievable cost, both monetary and health wise. No amount of money is enough to squander the Pacific's greatest asset as the last place on earth where nature largely is as it should be (apart from France's sickening nuclear politics in the Tuamotus and America's policy of destruction of part of the Marshall Islands).

If the people of the island states have any insight in the gargantuan environmental problems now facing all European countries and America, there will be no question of ever accepting the status of being a garbage-can at any price.

Having travelled through most countries I found Fiji — probably together with most Pacific island states — the only place left in the world where nature still is as it should be: unpolluted. Pollution and environmental issues now rank as top priorities for the next elections on the lists of all Dutch political parties.

We in Europe have let things get so much out of hand that finally our politicians have started to listen to long ignored outcries of environmentalists. To give but one of the long list of chilling examples: Holland has, like Fiji, a large fishing industry. Fishermen here often have to throw away half their catch because the fish is disease-stricken and tumor-ridden. Imagine something like that happening in Fiji, which is not an imaginary risk if the United States gets what it wants.

The very fact that the US wants to ship its waste so far away and is willing to pay such enormous amounts for its disposal anywhere except on their own soil, should be reason enough to reject their proposals out of hand and to even protests for the sake of other island states less informed than you might be.

My wife and I recently spent one year on the uninhabited island of Bekana off the coast of Udu Point in the north-east of Vanua Levu. The object was to see if paradise, somewhere in this world, really still exists. It hap-

pened in cooperation with Isimeli Bainimara, of the Fiji Visitors Bureau.

Paradise still exists. You are living right in the middle of the last paradise on earth. I cannot begin to tell you how beautiful an experience it has been for us and I have just finished writing a book about it, which will appear next spring. One of the conclusions of the book is that we in Europe are already so much used to pollution and disease-by-pollution, that we have no idea what a healthy and unpolluted country looks like, just as a whole generation in Lebanon does not know what peace means.

We were staggered by the unspoiled and virgin beauty of Fiji; and equally amazed by the fact that many Fijians are not aware that their country is unique and very, very special; understandable of course, for those Fijians who are not aware of it, have not been abroad to be able to compare. They take something for granted which has become more rare and precious than platinum or emeralds.

Fiji may not be a rich man, but he is physically healthy, beautiful, strong and amazingly happy.

BOB SNOJINK
Netherlands.

Islander travels

I AM doing dissertation research in Pacific Islands history at the University of Hawaii, for which I also teach. I spent six weeks in Majuro, Marshall Islands, last July and August as a World Civilisation instructor in a special session for Marshallese teachers and used my spare time to collect oral traditions from elderly people about islander travels on foreign ships.

The variety and chronological range of these recollections give a flavour of the cross-cultural adventures which many Pacific Islanders embarked upon once European shipping created new networks across their ocean. Indeed, the significant out-migration from Pacific Islands today might be considered a culmination of the same process. The cultural beach was, and still is, a two-way door.

I am currently at the East-West Centre in Honolulu and would welcome accounts of other islander travellers, particularly in the old whaling days, in order to attempt a comprehensive evaluation of their experiences.

DAVID A. CHAPPELL
1777 East-West Road
Box 1607
Honolulu, HI 96848 USA.

• see *Beyond the beach*, p46

AIDS report

IN February you ran a story on Tonga's AIDS campaign. Some information which appeared in this article were highly exaggerated and lacked credibility. But leaving the question of inaccuracies and lack of focusing in finer details aside, I thought the author of the article failed to find out the sources of sponsorship for Tonga's most vigorous campaign against AIDS to date.

The South Pacific Alliance for Family Health (SPAFH), which has its regional headquarters in Nuku'alofa, provided the bulk of the money (US\$10,000) for the AIDS campaign project in Tonga. Some of this money was used to pay for the campaign material such as the billboards, posters, brochures, leaflets, radio spot announcement and activities on World AIDS Day last December.

SPAFH is happy to be a partner with the government of Tonga in the promotion of education and awareness in the community against the dreadful disease AIDS.

JOSEPH SUKWIANOMB
Executive Secretary
SPAFH.

Happy visitor

AS a frequent visitor to Fiji, I have chosen the lovely islands as my favourite vacation retreat.

Since I have also been to the Cook Islands and French Polynesia, I have become interested in the political, economic, social and military events of the South Pacific. Thus, my subscription to *Pacific Islands Monthly* has not been disappointing.

I hope to be in Fiji again during the Christmas/New Year holidays.

RAYMOND DAHLIN
San Francisco

Penpals

Angin Wape, 17. She wants English-speaking penpals from anywhere in the Pacific. Address: Gordon High School, PO Box 9182, Hohola, N.C.D., Papua New Guinea.

Leo S Manasseh Jnr, 19. Looking for penpals from anywhere. Hobbies: writing letters, reading, listening to music, swimming. Occupation: student teacher. Address: PO Box 1551, Lae, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea.

Josh Berman. He is studying international relations and wishes "to correspond with residents of the island states to get their feedback on US-South Pacific relations". Address: Box 135, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11219, USA.

TROPICALITIES

STAMPS

Balboa's discovery

THE first European incursion into the Pacific probably came in 1513 when the Portuguese, Balboa, waded into the water and took possession of all "the seas, lands and islands therein until the final day of Judgement". It never occurred to him that they might have belonged to anybody else! The continuation of such attitudes is evidenced by a quote from Sir Joseph Banks over 200 years later . . . "The scene was the truest picture of an Arcadia — of which we were going to be Kings".

The demise of traditional island ways of life was, in a way, inevitable. Spanish, Dutch, British and French explorers brought with them influences that undermined and overwhelmed Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian alike. The Spaniard Pedro Fernandez de Quiros is a case in example. With the best and most grandiose of intentions, anxious to build the 'New Jerusalem', he nevertheless managed to leave dead and wounded behind him, wherever he went. Even the French, who seem to have been amongst the most tolerant, with their talk of 'the noble savage', efficiently spread European diseases. One writer has described the meeting of Polynesian and European as similar to children approaching a travelling circus consisting of evil-smelling rapacious villains in an advanced state of physical decay.

The exploiters who followed in the explorers' footsteps were even more so men of action. Privateers, whalers, then missionaries and in more recent times, tourists, all played their part in the dissolution of a lifestyle now gone forever.

The islands of Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands, are classic atolls, impenetrable coral rings where very little grows



except coconut, pandanus, breadfruit and taro. They have been described as "the very core and soul of the Pacific".

It is possible that the Spaniards Grijalva and Alvarado visited some of the Gilbert Group in 1537. Further discovery came with the British ships Scarborough and Charlotte in 1788 and Nautilus in 1799. Between 1830 and 1840 sperm whalers began to frequent the waters in the neighbourhood of the islands and there was some communication between sailors and locals. Regular trade began to grow. The first European trader to settle in the islands did so in 1837. The first missionaries came in 1857.

During the greater part of the 19th century the islands were without external control. They were ruled by local leaders with runaway sailors, traders and missionaries wielding considerable influence. Faced by growing German interest in the region, the Gilbert and Ellice islands were annexed as a Crown Colony in 1915, by the express wish of their people.

Today the population has recovered from the dip it took at the turn of the century and is now over 63,000. Internal self-government was introduced in the islands on January 1, 1977. At a constitutional conference in London in late 1978 it was agreed that the Gilbert Islands should become fully independent as a republic on July 12, 1979.

Two stamps were released, celebrating the 10th anniversary of independence. Printed in lithography by Cartor, the stamps show 10c — The House of Assembly, 15c — The Constitution.

New idea

SOME agencies have found a new twist to selling more stamps. This is in a clever design technique for stamp issues. Australia Post, for example, is issuing a series called the Colonial Collection. Whilst each stamp has a separate design the five stamps have a strip of landscape added above the design which runs over the top of the design on each stamp. Thus a collector will have to collect a whole strip of stamps.

The Solomon Islands, on May 16, issued two se-tenant pairs of stamps. Both se-tenant have a simple design over two stamps each.

Next year is sure to see most Pacific countries joining in celebrating the 150th anniversary of the penny black.

New issues

Tuvalu: July 31 — Living Reef Part 3: 40c Pennant Coral Fish, 50c Anemone Fish, 60c Batfish, 90c Threadfin Coral Fish, Miniature Sheet.

Pitcairn Islands: October 23 — Islands Profiles: 15c Ducie Island, 90c Henderson Island, \$1.05 Oeno Island, \$1.30 Pitcairn Island. Next issue January 15. Bicentennial Souvenir Sheetlet number 3.

New Caledonia: August 24 — Regional Landscape: 64F Hienghene Bay, 180F Ouaieme River.

Fiji: August 21 — Corals: 45c Daedalea, 60c Furcate, 75c Echinata, 90c Humilis.

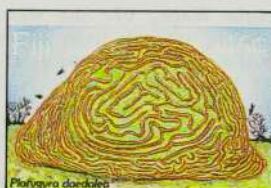
Australia: August 23 — Painters: 4 x 41c Featuring Conder, Roberts, McCubbin, Streeton. The standard rate for letters rose to 41c on September 1. September 13 — Youth Hostels: 1 x 41c Gardens, \$2 Nooroo, \$5 Mawarra.

New Zealand: September 13 — Christmas Issue: 35c Child's Bedroom, 65c Shepherd, 80c Boat Harbour, \$1 Globe. October 11 — Heritage: The Sea; November 8 — Commonwealth Games.

Vanuatu: July 20 — Moon Landing (20th Anniversary): 45vt, 55vt, 65vt, 120vt, 100vt Featuring photographs of the moon mission.

Norfolk Island: September 21 — Red Cross: \$1 Red cross logo. October 9 — Christmas: 36c Gethsemane, 60c In the Sweet Bye and Bye, 75c Let the Lower Lights Be Burning, 80c The Beautiful Stream. November 21 — Radio Australia: 41c Radio announcer, 65c Map, \$1.10 Kookaburra.

Papua New Guinea: September 9 — Dance Structures: 20t Motu Motu, 35t Baining, 60t Vailala River, 70t Timbunke. November 8 — Christmas. The proposed Frama Stamp which was to have been issued on September 9 has now been delayed until March 1990. □



PACIFIC ISLANDS

M O N T H L Y

OPINION

Land of my Father

THE demise of the colonial empires and the birth of small, dependent states in the Pacific Islands in the past two decades created new values that are now being challenged in the region. A new wind of independence is blowing — sought by the indigenous races wishing to reassert their authority in the land they call their fathers'.

In Fiji, as in Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, Australia, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Solomons and Vanuatu the very foundation of western democracy is being shaken by renewed desire to change the law to accommodate indigenous land rights, fisheries and cultural values which in the past 20 years or so were threatened by the new political system introduced by the colonial masters.

For 3000 years they've owned their land from the sky to the bottom of the earth including anything on it, above it, in it and below it. But political and administrative changes in the past 200 years changed that ownership. In the cases of Bougainville and Fiji, for example, indigenous landowners no longer owned what their forefathers had. Now land ownership is confined only to the first metre of top-soil. The riches that lie beneath now belong to someone else.

For the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands, land is God. Its sanctity is based on its ability to provide life. Without land there is no life, and no people. It is this value that has escaped the foreigner brought up in a western value system who sees no religious value in land but merely appreciates its economic worth.

The struggle for land and fisheries rights has become the biggest threat to peace in the region. It triggered a successful military coup in Fiji and was the cause of an attempted coup in Vanuatu. Land is the centre of the rebellion in Bougainville, and the Maoris and Aborigines of New Zealand and Australia are using it as an effective ammunition in their struggle for political recognition.

Land struggle in the region is going through a chain-reaction: as one battle is won, another is started. □

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PAPUA NEW GUINEA: Distribution: Gordon & Gotch, PO Box 3395, Port Moresby. Phone 25-4551 25-4855. Advertising: Robert Walker, PO Box 600, Indooroopilly, Qld Australia 4068. Phone (07) 371-0533.

SOLOMON ISLANDS: Distribution and Advertising: The Bookshop, (Norman Bros) PO Box 503, Honiara.

PHILIPPINES: Advertising: The GF Group, 12 San Ignacio St., Uroaneta Village, Makati, Metro Manila. Phone 817-7299, telex 45950 and 4233

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COVER



Valley of tears: Panguna copper mine, Bougainville

Bougainville

One year later

For a year, former surveyor Francis Ona and the tiny Bougainville Revolutionary Army have been holding an Australian mining company and the Papua New Guinea government to ransom. Port Moresby faces radical land and mineral policy reforms of risks disintegration.

By David Robie

PAPUA New Guinea has entered its 15th year of independence facing its most critical crossroads. The Bougainville crisis, which is a year old this month, cast a pall over the independence celebrations in September and if it remains unresolved then national unity could slide into economic and political collapse.

The problems of Bougainville cannot be divorced from the rest of the country, or even from the rest of the Pacific. At stake are the crucial issues of a conflict between western concepts of land ownership and indigenous land values, the equity between the national government, provincial administration and the traditional landowners, and a choice between genuine sovereignty over resource development projects or dependence on foreign control.

Bougainville's key issues have parallels with New Zealand where the Maori people are struggling for full recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and partnership over the nation's land, forests and fisheries resources. They are also echoed in Australia where the Aborigines are fighting for mineral and development rights. The same is now the demand by indigenous Fijians in post-coup Fiji.

Militants of the self-styled Bougainville

QUOTE

Panguna copper mine is the "jewel in our crown".

Sir Val Duncan, chairman of Rio Tinto-Zinc, in 1969.

THE excavation, refining and shipping of this ore to the smelters of Japan could bring great profit over the next 20 years to the shareholders of Rio Tinto-Zinc — at the cost of damage to the physical, social and spiritual well-being of Bougainville, which, until the mine came, was a peaceful and prosperous island. Moreover there is a danger that arguments over the ownership of the mine could cause political strife, even civil war, in this part of the South Pacific.

Richard West in 'River of Tears, 1972

Revolutionary Army are holding one of the world's biggest open-cut copper mines, a major Australian mining company, 2000 security forces and the national government to ransom. Rebel landowner leader Francis Ona and seven of his key lieutenants now have a 200,000 kina (US\$200,000) "dead or alive" price tag on their heads.

But while the national government and foreign mining interests portray

Land rights

AS elsewhere in Papua New Guinea — and the rest of the Pacific — there is a powerful intimate relationship between people and land in Bougainville. In traditional culture, ownership or control over land was handed down through innumerable generations, but unlike the rest of Papua New Guinea it was normally through the female members of each tribe.

To Bougainvilleans, land has deep religious significance and has almost never been transferred by sale. Primary rights do not include the right to alienate tracts of land by transferring freehold rights, or by selling such rights, to a complete stranger. Although matrilineal kinship is important to the passing on of land rights, such rights have normally been used by men. This has sometimes led to disputes when men have wanted to plant cash crops on tracts of land where their wives have primary rights. Thus wives must approve of their husbands' plans to use the land.

Under crown law introduced by the

Australian colonial administrators and adopted by the Papua New Guinea government at independence in 1975, things became very different. Bougainvilleans affected by the establishment of Panguna mine didn't realise that the crown owned the rocks that lie beneath their land — that they were entitled only to claim ownership of the first two metres of topsoil.

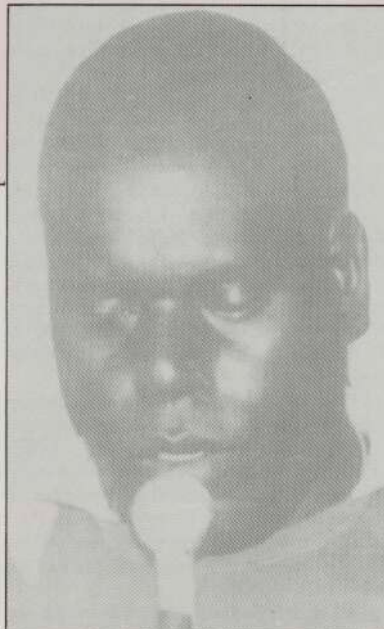
"Australia had adopted the same law, which meant that the country's Aboriginal inhabitants have become outcasts in their own land," says Albert Toro, a playwright and National Cultural Board member who once worked for BCL's media resources unit. "And it is the same law that colonial administrators apparently used to force the Rorovanas, on the coast of Bougainville, to surrender almost 100 ha of coconut plantation

to make way for the township of Loloho and for the mine's port facilities."

And it is the same law that Francis Ona and other landowners now refuse to recognise.

For Bougainvilleans land means both the topsoil and what lies beneath it — "because without the rocks beneath the soil, the land will collapse . . . and there will literally be no land left on which to hunt, farm or live." Some 100 sq km were bought by BCL in the 1960s — less than 1 per cent of the land on Bougainville, or one fifth of one per cent of the total land area of Papua New Guinea. But negotiations were never conducted with the matrilineal landowners.

"If the company is to lose K52 million in production, K1.5 million a day, it must also be understood by BCL chairman Don Carruthers that the people of Moroni, Dapera and the villages on the perimeter of the Kawerong and Jaba rivers will forever remain the poorest people on Bougainville," says Toro. "They may be paid compensation, but in traditional terms they will have lost that which matters: They will be left with nothing, for they will have no land." □



Francis Ona: price on his head

Ona as an insurgent, many Bougainvilleans regard him as a sort of Robin Hood who is defending their rights.

The crisis is unlikely to be resolved militarily or quickly. Once the bloodshed is over, perhaps Papua New Guinea will need to change its minerals and resources strategies so that its nationals are equal or majority partners and not minority shareholders with foreign companies in vital development projects. Many Papua New Guineans believe it is also necessary to rewrite the Land Act so that it is based less on western concepts of land ownership, a legacy from Australian colonialism, and is more relevant to customary land rights.

Pick up a newspaper of any day of the week in Port Moresby and the headlines reflect the national upheaval: "Landowners to get 23 million kina on royalty payments", "Landowners stand to make millions yearly", "Ok Tedi deal now rests with landowners", "Cocoa estate returned to landowners", "More attacks by busy militants".

"Our constitution accepts the existence of customary law and treats customary law similar to common law," an influential North Solomons official in Arawa told *Pacific Islands Monthly*. "But we have other laws based on codes in Australia and Queensland. For example, the Land Act which is contrary to traditional land rights. Under customary law you own land, under the land — and even above the land.

"Even if Papua New Guinea accepts western law that the crown owns mineral

rights then there is the problem of access. If landowners control the surface then they're not going to let you under the surface. We have the same problem as the Aborigines. In many ways our people have less rights than the North American Indians who have their mineral rights recognised.

"The Maori are reasserting access to their resources. The biggest difficulty which has to be addressed in Papua New Guinea is that 95 per cent of the land is customary owned. The Land Act is unworkable when it applies to only five per cent of the country."

The crisis has hamstrung the government of Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu which has tried to reach a negotiated

solution but was forced to put its controversial peace package on hold after the assassination of a provincial cabinet minister in September. Provisions among the 23 clauses of the offer include attempts by the national government to try to renegotiate the Bougainville Copper Ltd agreement to ensure a better deal for the landowners; preference for local companies over foreign companies in the allocation of contracts; restriction of BCL's operations to extraction, milling and marketing of mineral ores; transfer of five per cent equity in the company to the landowners and a similar stake to the provincial government from the current 19.1 per cent shareholding of the national government; and a 43 million kina package over the next seven years which would mean building an office complex in Panguna for the landowners' association, and the upgrading of health and community schools.

Although this was part of the new mining policy initiatives announced by Minerals and Energy Minister Patterson Lowa in the last session of Parliament, the Opposition was unimpressed. Opposition Leader Paias Wingti has condemned the failure of the government to reach a solution, but at the same time has been reluctant to force a censure motion. Wingti doesn't want to inherit the crisis.

"For the first time since independence, Papua New Guineans are systematically murdering each other," says economist Roman Grynberg, a former adviser to the national government. "While tribal

Running the Panguna gauntlet

By David Robie

A PART from convoys with armed soldiers riding shotgun and yellow Bougainville Copper Ltd pickup trucks filled with security forces in flakjackets, camouflage helmets and sporting M16s, you'd hardly know on the coastal belt around Arawa that a guerilla war is in progress. But once you reach the sandbagged machinegun nest in Birempa village at the foot of the rugged mountain jungles of the Crown Prince Range the tension starts to rise.

Scanning the dense vegetation for a sign of militants of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army — known as the "Rambos" — the soldier manning the machinegun doesn't notice the irony of the T-shirt he is wearing. Scrawled across his chest are the words MINE OF TEARS, a play on the title of Richard West's book *River of Tears*, a devastating attack on BCL's Australian parent company CRA, and the "bible" of the militants.

Sitting on top of one of the sandbags is a "Swords of the Samurai" comic.

Leaving Birempa, the road to Panguna mine snakes spectacularly up through the jungle past river gorges and ideal ambush sites until it reaches the 1011-metre summit of Karokata Pass through Pakia Gap. With names like Shoofly Pass and Fingerprint Corner, the prudent traveller doesn't stick around too long on the highway and risk becoming a potential target.

A long straight above Fingerprint Corner has been a favourite spot for militants to attack vehicles and mineworker buses with shotguns and bows and arrows before they melt into the trees. The wild stretch up to Pakia is also where the vital 30km electricity supply grid to the mine has been repeatedly sabotaged with pylons being blasted off their footings.

Troops guard the strategic Guava village area high up on the southern rim of the "big hole" that scars the earth at Panguna. On the northern side of the mine, the International School has been commandeered by security forces as a helipad for three of the four Iroquois helicopters supplied by the Australian government to Papua New Guinea.

When I told mine officials I planned to visit the Jaba River, where several ghost villages and burnt down hamlets skirt the tailings-devastated valley, they expressed astonishment. Officials regard anywhere west of the huge waste dump where a pipeline disgorge tailings into the Kawerong River, a tributary of the Jaba, as undefended "no man's land".

However, a villager from Jaba — well-known to both the security forces and the militants but who didn't want to be named — agreed to take me on a tour of the devastated villages and tailings area. Just before we reached the burnt-out hamlet of Kawerong, Premier Joseph Kabui's home village, we came across a battle scene — with two-metre arrows still piercing the ground and empty M16 cartridges scattered about. It was where a soldier had been wounded in an attack three days earlier.

The villager told a gruesome story of how militants had earlier attacked a PMV bus, discovered a "redskin" Highlander on board, fired arrows into him and left him for dead. He was later evacuated by helicopter to Arawa Hospital with arrows still protruding from his chest. He recovered.

About six kilometres down the road here the gutted shell of a mine powerhouse, a fire-ravaged bridge and the fibrous ashes of a big tyre dump. "The militants set fire to the tyres because they thought the soldiers were hiding there," my villager guide said. "Then they poured petrol on the wooden deck of the bridge and set that alight too. When the soldiers came they burned down that village on the other side of the Jaba River in retaliation. It's a never-ending pay back."

Villagers like him resent the heavy-handed bullying by the security forces. Even travelling to town to get supplies has become an ordeal. Before villagers in the Jaba River area could get supplies 30 kilometres to 60 kilometres away in Panguna village; now they are forced to travel double the distance to Arawa, the provincial capital.

"It's so much hassle to go through the checkpoints. You can have three or four checkpoints just going into town," said the guide.

"The military check your foodstuffs just to make sure you're not feeding the so-called Rambos. When you buy tinned meat, rice and things like that you have to go to command headquarters with your driver's licence, car papers and everything. You have to wait for hours to get the colonel to sign a clearance — only he can do that. You're not allowed through a checkpoint unless you have the colonel's signature.

"If you try, you get bashed up and accused of helping the militants. I've tried to reason with the colonel," said the villager, a former soldier. "You cannot win this war unless the villagers are with you. And right now they support their own people." □

warfare has gone on from time immemorial, what is new about this conflict is that it is about gold and copper — something quite foreign to traditional Papua New Guinea society.

"For the first time, Papua New Guinea is writing its history in blood."

In spite of the revolt — which has left more than 40 people dead and triggered a minor New Zealand exodus in October — big foreign investors such as Conzinc Riotinto Australia Ltd (CRA) and the American oil corporation, Chevron, are persevering with other projects. However, such ventures as Chevron's drilling in the Northern Highlands and the Hidden Valley gold mine were already well committed.

But will this confidence continue if CRA's Bougainville Copper Ltd, the mainstay of the national economy, is put into "mothballs" for a year, as company executives threaten, or is shut down. Since May 15 the mine has opened only once — and then closed down eight hours later when militants ambushed a bus carrying workers.

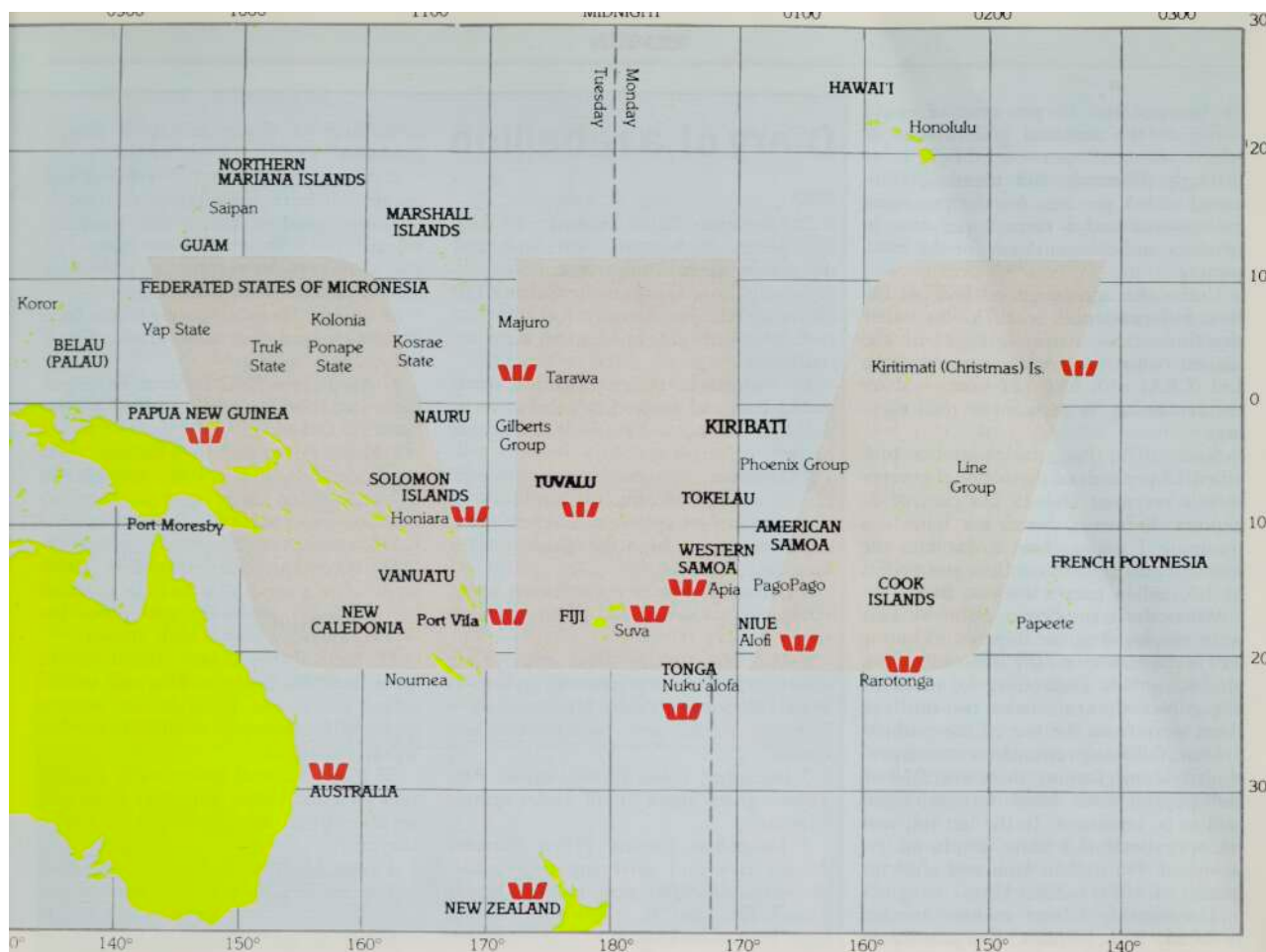
Already belt-tightening is under way in Papua New Guinea. The first target is to restructure the huge, cumbersome and expensive bureaucracy bequeathed to the country by the Australian colonial administrators. Some government departments may be axed in the government's new contingency plans aimed at coping with the huge financial losses from the crisis.

Namaliu may be also forced to drop some ministers and absorb their duties into other ministries at a cost-cutting device. An official announcement about the abolition of departments is expected to be made before the start of this month's parliamentary session.

Drastic cuts will be suggested by a "hatchet committee" chaired by Minister of State Ted Diro. His colleagues are Trade and Industry Minister John Giheho, Police Minister Mathias Ijape, Justice Minister Bernard Narokobi and Administrative Services Minister Theodore Tuya.

Some optimistic observers believe that the hardship caused by a full closure of the Panguna mine on Bougainville could be a blessing in disguise — it might force the country into reducing its dependence on mining and into developing its neglected agriculture sector. Another suggestion is that a new major gold mine at Porgera, in Enga province, and increased production at the Ok Tedi mine in the Star Mountains could soften the loss from Bougainville in a not too distant future.

Apart from the environmental devastation caused by Panguna mine and the disappearance of the ancestral land belonging to tribes like the Nasioi, a crucial factor in the upheaval is the dispar-



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ity between the 58 per cent of profit going to the national government — which owns 19 per cent of BCL — through dividends and taxation, compared with 5 per cent for the provincial government and a mere 1 per cent in royalties and compensation for the landowners.

Under the agreement worked out before independence in 1975, the other shareholders — mainly foreign with the biggest being Conzinc Riotinto Australia Ltd (CRA) with 53.6 per cent — share the remaining 36 per cent of total earnings.

Since 1972, Panguna mine has provided 17 per cent of the national government's revenues and 45 per cent of its exports. Before it closed, the mine was pumping 1 million kina a day into the national government's coffers and profits of 1.5 million kina a week to BCL.

When the crisis began, 3550 workers were employed at the mine — including 610 expatriates, mostly Australian but also many New Zealanders. Of the 2950 Papua New Guinea citizens, two-thirds of them were from the rest of the country.

Now, following retrenchments, suspensions and resignations, there are 2350 on the payroll with more retrenchments said to be imminent. In the last full year of operations the mine produced revenue of 480 million kina and after tax profits of 108.6 million kina.

The outside labour creates another problem. The jet-black Bougainvilleans consider themselves apart from the rest of the country's ethnic groups whom they refer to disdainfully as "redskins". They resent [the] jobs [that] have gone to mainlanders and they resent the high salaries paid to expatriates along with the distortion of the local economy caused by the high proportion of foreigners living on the island, mainly Australians and New Zealanders.

The colonial experience on Bougainville is rather different from on the mainland. Colonial powers arrived late, encountering an island which is mountainous, covered in dense jungle, and criss-crossed by rivers and ravines. During the 1880s, German traders and missionaries came to Bougainville and the north-east coast of the mainland.

Bougainville is geographically and culturally part of the Solomon Islands. The island, swapped by Britain last century for German Samoa, was absorbed into Papua New Guinea during the First World War when Australia captured the German-ruled territories.

These factors help explain why the idea of secession has found fertile ground on the island.

According to British author Richard West in his 1972 book, *River of Tears: The Rise of the Rio Tinto-Zinc Mining Corporation*, initial contact between the

Diary of a rebellion

1988

22 November: Three masked men steal 228 pieces of dynamite, grenades and detonators from Panguna mine explosives magazine; Bougainville Copper Ltd offers a K10,000 reward for information; phone threats to blow up mine installations.

29 November: Police reinforcements guard Panguna mine; CRA threatens to pull out of Papua New Guinea because of "acts of terrorism".

2 December: Arsonists destroy a *donga* (single workers accommodation block) at the company's Camp 6 at Loloho; more explosives stolen from the Maneti quarry magazine.

4 December: Power pylon blown up at Policeman's Corner on Panguna mine road.

6 December: Mine shuts down after saboteurs blow up second pylon at Waterfall Corner. Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu warns over "Rambo-style terrorism".

7 December: Police Commissioner Paul Tohian gives "shoot to kill" order against saboteurs.

9 December: Deputy Prime Minister Akoka Doi and government trouble-shooters hold talks with militant leader Francis Ona and 35 others at Guava village; landowners agree to end sabotage; mine reopens.

1989

24 January: Ona sends a "no surrender" message along with four sticks of dynamite to Premier Joe Kabui.

7 February: Justice Minister Bernard Narokobi rules out amnesty for Ona.

20 March: More than 1000 non-Bougainvilleans rampage through Toniva, near Kieta, as "payback" for the murder of two West Highlanders and

wounding of three others in Aropa Plantation.

22 March: Aropa Airport terminal and an aircraft burnt out; police and rebels exchange gunfire, killing one Bougainvillean; PNG Defence Force troops arrive to help police restore law and order and to defend mine installations.

28 March: National governments bans diplomats and journalists from North Solomons province.

27 April: Two PNG Defence Force soldiers and rebel landowners killed in gun-battle at Orami.

1 May: "Please stay firm because I will surrender only in a coffin," says Ona in a hand-written letter sent to Perpetua Serero, chairperson of the Panguna Landowners Association.

15 May: Panguna mine shut down again after a series of attacks by militants on company employees and properties — two employees shot with arrows.

23 May: Kabui reveals death threats have been made against him and several other prominent Bougainville leaders; eight BCL employees wounded; another pylon sabotaged.

25 May: National government guarantees Ona and rebels immunity from prosecution in an attempt to put an end to the crisis.

1 June: Mediator Bishop Gregory Singkai meets Ona in a jungle hideout and talks for four hours — then flies to Port Moresby to meet Namaliu.

20 June: Australian John Price, an agricultural adviser suspected of helping the Panguna militants, is beaten up by Defence Force soldiers. His boss, Bob Bolton, is threatened with a gun.

22 June: Namaliu announces State of Emergency; joint security forces beefed up from 600 to 2000.

27 June: Security forces raid and burn down entire village of Siderons, believed to be a militant stronghold, and arrest 50 villagers.

3 July: Premier Joe Kabui and provin-

company and the Nasioi villages in the area which is now the mine site was confused by company and administration reliance on a single outspoken Nasioi who "had no right to commit the community to cooperation with CRA". In fact, the women who were the traditional landowners under the matrilineal system were not negotiated with at all.

Opposition to the mine was overruled, quite legally by the colonial administration under Australian law, but it has led to growing feelings of intimidation and betrayal among the landowners since their original opposition in 1962. The arrival of the company fuelled secessionist sentiments in 1969 with the founding of Napidakoe Navitu which had its sights

on Bougainville independence.

Responding to an appeal by Prime Minister Namaliu for the establishment of dialogue to end the crisis, Ona's right-hand man, army deserter Lieutenant Sam Kaona, told *Arawa Bulletin* reporter Moresi Tua in an exclusive interview (see box p16) that any committee or individual seeking negotiation must:

- view the Bougainville crisis from the point of view of Francis Ona and his supporters

- truly represent the wishes of the 140,000 people of Bougainville to the Prime Minister and cabinet and other countries.

- have no interest in protecting any foreign company or business.

COVER

cial Primary Industry Minister Michael Laimo beaten up by riot squad police; Laimo loses an eye after being jabbed in the face by gun barrels.

7 July: Troops capture strategic fortified ridge near Guava village; discover a military-style trench and bunker system stretching from the village to the ridge.

18 July: Ambrose Leo, a younger brother of Francis Ona, shot dead by security forces between Guava and Kupei villages.

7 September: Mine reopens again after being closed for 16 weeks; militants ambush two BCL buses carrying workers; mine shuts again after being open only eight hours.

12 September: Provincial Commerce Minister John Bika shot dead by masked rebel gunmen at his Toboroi village home.

14 September: Minister of State Ted Diro offers a K200,000 "dead or alive" reward for Ona; authorises security forces to plant booby traps around pylons.

18 September: Soldier blows himself up

while planting a landmine; an 18-year-old villager is wounded by another landmine.

22 September: A special Royal Australian Air Force C130 aircraft flies in 16 tonnes of emergency tents for villages evacuated during the Bougainville crisis.

3 October: Two more New Zealanders leave, taking the total of evacuees to 13 in two weeks following incidents of harassment and death threat by both militants and soldiers; one New Zealander fired at by a drunken soldier — protest lodged with the military; a second soldier is killed while setting a booby trap, this time in Kongara, rugged limestone country south of the mine.

4 October: Militants shoot dead four mainland squatters in an attack on a bushcamp near Arawa; in a "payback" other squatters raid the nearby home of a Bougainville family, killing an elderly woman and a 12-year-old girl.

5 October: Namaliu makes an emotional radio plea for peace, saying the militants do not represent the majority of Bougainvilleans. □



Down: blown power pylon

- be prepared to fight on behalf of Ona "and the Bougainvilleans" for a referendum and independence, or to canvass views on secession for Bougainville.

- be ready to suffer even if it means death and many years of struggle

When the smouldering resentment among customary landowners — which stretches back to the 1960s, long before independence — burst into open revolt last November with a raid on the Panguna mine's explosives magazine, the militants had very clear demands. They wanted a massive 10 billion kina compensation for use of the land and the environmental devastation, closure of the mine and secession from Papua New Guinea. The latter demand was a revival

of a desire at independence which has continued to enjoy popular support among many Bougainvilleans.

Ironically, a catalyst in the struggle was an environmental and social impact report prepared by a PNG government-appointed New Zealand company, Auckland-based Applied Geology Associates Ltd (AGA), which was regarded as anything but independent by many of the landowners. Describing the report as being perceived as a "whitewash" by landowners, North Solomons Premier Joseph Kubui (See *Pacific People*, Page 51, for interview) told *Pacific Islands Monthly* it was a trigger for militant action. "It wasn't the right sort of report," he says. "It was okay as far as the legal

framework was concerned. But the general feeling was that it didn't adequately address environmental pollution.

"The people of Bougainville agree that it is necessary to take a more radical approach to avoid the catastrophe we have gone through now. This experience has opened the eyes of our politicians. We believe the report was a failure. The investigating team didn't have time to get to the bottom of questions. Three months was too short — that's what the owners wanted."

Actually the report, completed earlier this year, does describe extensive environmental damage, and provincial government officials who have closely studied it regard it as far more critical of BCL and the national government than the landowners realise.

Landowners regard logic and science as "white man's trickery" — an accusation they threw at the environmental report. Notions of nationhood, investor confidence and BCL's share price in Australia are irrelevant to them. And regardless of what the report said, the landowners are convinced that the mine has driven away the island's fruit bats, ruined banana crops and caused girls to begin menstruation earlier than they used to.

The report's chief author, environmental consultant Martin Ward, says Panguna Landowners Association secretary Francis Ona tried to intimidate him at a meeting in the Panguna chapel in September 1989. Ona was so wound up that he walked up to Ward thrust his face menacingly in front of the consultant and pointed to the altar crucifix.

"Em 'big fella' kilim i dai, Mipela nogat likem report bilong yu, yu kilim," hissed Ona in Pidgin, and he drew his finger across his throat.

Two months later, discussing the preliminary findings of the report in a meeting at the provincial government offices, the landowners became angry when they realised it wouldn't be as damning as they wanted. When one consultant said it couldn't be proven scientifically that fish were dying from the pollution of the Jaba River, a landowner sneered: "Have you drunk from it?"

Eventually Ona angrily stormed out declaring, "the only way is for us to shut the mine". A former surveyor and truck driver at the mine, Ona and his supporters took to the jungle and launched a long war of attrition and sabotage against the mine.

The mine company, whose 1988 annual report has a misleading "environmentally sound" cover depicting lush rainforest, was satisfied with the AGA report. "It showed there was no blame on us," says commercial general manager Ken Perry. "The problem is that double the size of the population is now compet-

COVER

ing for the same resources. What I said to the landowners was, 'You have asked the wrong questions. You asked them (AGA consultants) to prove BCL did it. You should have asked why is it happening — that's why you're unhappy'."

The report describes

- a mine pit occupying 400 hectares and proposed pit extensions totalling 1210 hectares; 300 hectares of waste rock dumps, which could extend to 550 hectares if the mine is extended 15 years; 3000 hectares of mine tailings devastating the Kawerong and Jaba river valleys and a 900 hectare delta of discharged tailings in Princess Augusta Bay.

According to economist Grynberg, 90 per cent of the land loss at Panguna is a result of the manner in which BCL has disposed of its tailings. "BCL has opted for the environmentally sound method only when it is the least expensive solution", he says. In its initial proposal, the company had argued that dumping the tailings into the river would cause broad-scale land loss. But later, because it was cheaper, it decided to dump the trailings in the Kawerong and Jaba rivers after all.

Among the AGA report's recommendations were that:

- the company and national government urgently needed to establish a quick and clear communications link with the landowners and the provincial government

- lease documents, land ownership records and other information needed to be brought up to date and made freely available

- information about the mine should be provided in the Pidgin language; senior mine management should learn Pidgin.

- the present system of compensation payments needed urgent overhauling

- improved housing needed to be provided for mine workers

- a comprehensive health programme was needed, including the control of malaria; and

- the company needs to undertake serious planning for mine closure covering rehabilitation of all mine-ravaged areas and revegetation.

Landowner spokesman Lawrence

Daveona, secretary of the Panguna Road Mining Tailings Leases Trust Ltd., claims 39 Bougainvilleans have been killed so far in the struggle. Although provincial government officials say this figure is too high, it is widely reported that at least 40 people overall have died.

Also, human rights observers are troubled by persistent but unconfirmed rumours that many Bougainvillean villagers have been killed and their bodies left in free fire zones that are closed to journalists. More than 3000 villagers have been evacuated, or "relocated" under the official euphemism, to makeshift camps around Arawa. Anybody left behind is regarded as a rebel.

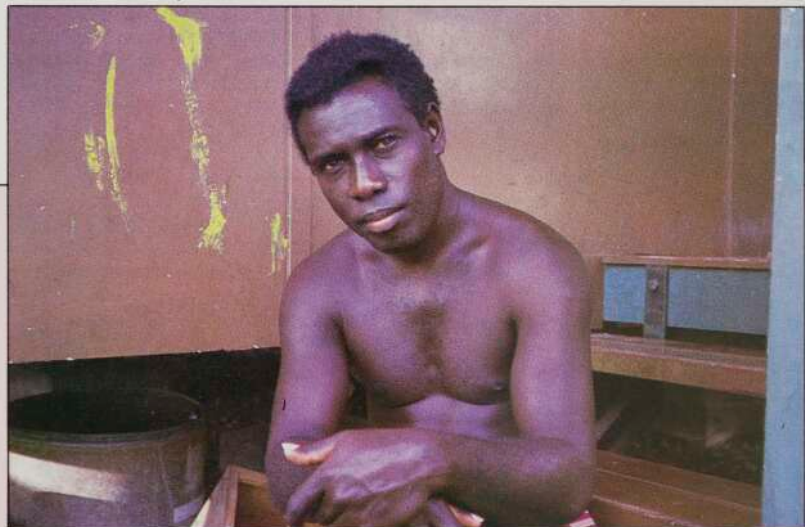
"Everyone — except the militants — is fed up with the bloodshed and wants the crisis solved as soon as possible," says Catholic Bishop Gregory Singkai, who trekked into the jungle in July for a four-hour talk with Ona — the last direct contact by mediators with the militant leader.

A scoop in the jungle

For 22-year-old Bougainvillean journalist Moresi Tua, of the weekly *Arawa Bulletin* newspaper, it was an innocent scoop. But his deep-in-the-jungle interview with Francis Ona's right-hand man, former PNG Defence Force Lieutenant Sam Kaona, caused such an uproar that he was forced to go into hiding.

Papua New Guinea security forces, negotiators and journalists had been trying to track down the militant leadership for weeks when Tua got an interview with Kaona "by chance". His article, setting out the militant leadership's conditions for dialogue, was published in a "sanitised" version in the *Post-Courier* on September 14; the original account appeared in the *Arawa Bulletin* the following day. Immediately the repercussions were dramatic. Soldiers burst into the *Bulletin's* office, cleared out the handful of staff, baled up acting editor Carol Brett — who thought "this is it for me" — and demanded to be led to Tua who was on his day off.

Minister of State Ted Diro ordered restrictions on the movement of journalists on Bougainville, making it tougher to gather information about events.



Moresi Tua: contact with the rebels

News media were barred from the joint forces headquarters in the commandeer Nafiq Club in Arawa.

According to one national government official, "unsubstantiated" reports by some local and foreign media organisations was the reason for the restrictions. However, other sources indicated the real reason was the embarrassment of military intelligence being caught flat-footed over the Kaona interview.

On his first day back at work after the independence celebrations weekend break, Tua realised for the first time the reaction by authorities to his article. Tua voluntarily went to the joint forces headquarters and was interviewed by Colonel Lima Dotaona. The military wanted Tua to reveal where the interview took place.

But he refused to reveal his sources, or any information about where the interview happened.

"They asked me if I had actually had an interview with the lieutenant," Tua told *Pacific Islands Monthly*. "What does he look like? What was he wearing? How did I actually know it was him? He is muscular, well built. He was dressed in white singlet, shorts and army boots. The way he was talking, how he presented himself, how he introduced himself to me — I had no doubt it was him. I've seen his photo on TV."

After a further interview by the military that morning, Tua went home "sick" and then slipped off to his village until the fuss died down. But the military made it clear to deputy editor Brett they

"Even though 10 billion kina was an unimaginable figure for me when I first heard it, when one thinks of the damage that has been caused to the environment even that much money can never put things back the way they were," he told *Pacific Islands Monthly*. "That's why in general I would support the original grievances of the landowners against the government and BCL in the early part of the crisis. But now they are bitter men — they will fight until death if they don't get what they want."

The crisis has deteriorated sharply, beginning with the murder of 39-year-old North Solomons Commerce Minister John Bika in front of his family on September 11. Seven masked militants went to his home soon after midnight and shot him twice in the stomach and head as his wife clung to his leg pleading for his life. In his briefcase was the Bika Report, an enlightened document advocating statehood or more autonomy for the North Solomons province — still far short of the secession the militants demand.

Namaliu said the "senseless killing" would cause revulsion in the community. "Such savagery has no place in our nation," he added, "and I appeal to the people of the North Solomons to put

aside their differences and unite to find a peaceful and lasting solution to their problems".

Minister of State Ted Diro responded to the murder with a reward offer for the capture or killing of Francis Ona and seven named deputies, including Kaona, cargo cultist Damien Damen and another renegade soldier, Sergeant Andrew Piamo. Diro, the former Defence Force commander, also empowered the security forces commander on Bougainville, Colonel Lima Dotaona, to use tougher military measures — including electrification of the vital electricity grid pylons to the mine, booby traps and landmines.

Within four days, a soldier blew himself up while planting a booby trap at the foot of one of the 67 pylons. An 18-year-old Bougainvillean youth was severely wounded when he accidentally set off another landmine. Since then the troops have been putting up barbed wire barriers to cordon off the boobytrap areas. However, another soldier was killed early last month while setting a booby trap in the Kongara, a rugged limestone area south of Panguna. Late in September a soldier was wounded in an ambush near Panguna mine and militants shot and knifed to death two security guards who were suspected of being

informers for the military at Kerei village, near Arawa.

Coinciding with the increase in violence, several incidents have upset many of the estimated 200 New Zealanders living on Bougainville. More than a dozen New Zealanders fled the strife late in September and early last month. Forenco Ltd, a Rotorua-based forestry company, evacuated its New Zealand workers from the south of the island after one had a brush with death near the Laluai River.

Brendan Ward, a 32-year-old former cricketer for Northern Districts, was ambushed while driving a pickup truck and his windscreen was shattered by a shot which narrowly missed him. The shooting, the day after Minister Bika was murdered, left him unhurt but badly shaken. He never saw who fired the shot but the attacker was believed to be a militant: "If I had been going just a little faster, the shot would have come straight through the driver's window and I wouldn't have had a hope."

A protest was filed with Colonel Dotaona over a separate incident during weekend celebrations marking the 14th anniversary of independence. A group of off-duty soldiers harassed and threatened another forestry worker, Paul Howers, of Wellington, in the remote Cape Mabiri area. The soldiers, who had been drinking, accused him of helping the militants. They thrust M16s at him and one threatened to "blow his head off".

In another incident, a New Zealander was said to have been fired at by a drunken soldier. The New Zealand High Commission in Port Moresby sent a consular official to Kieta to check on the safety of New Zealanders. (A procedure the Australians had been following for several months).

Many Bougainvilleans are convinced that Australia, if not New Zealand, is supporting the PNG Defence Force soldiers whom they regard as killing their people to defend a foreign mining company which has ruined the environment and deprived them of their land. When Australia handed over four Iroquois helicopters to Papua New Guinea in July, Canberra pledged they would not be used as gunships. And, strictly speaking, they are not.

However, the choppers — being flown by contract Australian and New Zealand pilots regarded by the locals as "mercenaries" — are frequently fired from while in the air. It is said that machineguns mounted with ropes inside the choppers are used to strafe villages.

The difference between a gunship with mounted armaments and free firing from a helicopter is meaningless to villagers. As far as they are concerned, Au-

wanted to "check" everything that was being published in the *Bulletin* in future. This was an irony considering that only a week before Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu had assured journalists from nine Pacific countries attending an International Federation of Journalists-sponsored conference on Press freedom that Papua New Guinea would not impose curbs.

An excerpt from Tua's report:

I made contact with Kaona by chance, through a friend. On Sunday,

September 10, I was taken on a long motorcycle ride inland, and escorted up in the mountains to our meeting. The meeting took place beside a fast-flowing river in deep jungle. As we talked, a band of young militant soldiers listened to our interview — they seemed fit and tough and had their weapons, both home-made and M16 type rifles, hidden just a few metres away in the bushes. No-one appeared insecure, or afraid of anything. In fact I was not scared either, and they made me feel almost at home.

"The solution to the Bougainville crisis is complete withdrawal of troops from the province," Kaona told me. If they were not withdrawn, he added, "whether it takes five or 10 years, we will fight until we have devastated every single De-

fence Force soldier on the island".

If the troops were gone there would be peace and harmony, he said. People would gather together with their leaders for round-table negotiations leading to the referendum for secession.

Kaona told me that two women killed by security forces in Sipuru, Kongara, on August 25 were alleged to have been tortured. He ruled out the report in the media that they were going with the militants and wearing raincoats when they were killed during the shootout. They were a mother and her daughter. According to Kaona they were alleged to have been first raped and then killed. "And there is an eyewitness to the case," said other locals . . .

Kaona added the killing of a mother and her daughter was unjustifiable. It was a murder and unlawful. "Under the Geneva Convention you don't have to kill a woman. Even if it is war you can't kill a woman. Or someone who is unarmed," he said.

But Kaona said they won't take revenge.

My interview with ex-Lt Kaona was allowed on the understanding that I must not distort anything I was told, that I must not be biased and that if something goes wrong I know the consequences. They can easily locate me. **I** | □

THE REGION

stralia has broken its promise.

Rumours persist that if a political solution to the crisis isn't reached soon than senior military officers would be keen to seize power in a coup. But the seven colonels are reportedly fighting among themselves, and although a third of the military are on Bougainville they are having so many problems that it is unlikely they could control the whole country under martial law.

Panguna's huge size, its mountainous position in the middle of dense jungle and the isolation of the 35 km powerline running from Loloho on the coast makes the mine virtually indefensible from saboteurs with explosives knowledge.

Diro accused some of the military of leaking his undated letter offering the "wanted" reward for Ona.

According to the diocesan priests of Bougainville, the crisis must be blamed on the imposition of Western concepts of land ownership, values and compensation on a Melanesian social structure. They believe that laws must be enacted to recognise the Melanesian concepts of ownership, value and compensation for land:

- The Melanesian concept of land ownership includes the ownership of all resources both on and beneath the land. Note that Melanesian ownership also includes ownership of fishing rights.

- In Melanesian society, outsiders are not allowed to enter the clan territory without permission from the clan leaders. Prospecting authorities must be changed to recognise the sovereignty of Melanesian society.

- Land is the livelihood and "social security" of the Melanesian clan. Future generations of Melanesians will depend on each hectare of land for their livelihoods as their population increases.

"The people of Bougainville morally support Francis Ona — he has fought for the land rights of the whole province," said a Nasioi chief, Naona Yaniung. "We believe he has challenged the government to make a real mining policy that is closer to our ancestral rights."

Yaniung, a member of the Ovotung (chiefs) for Peace Committee which tried to initiate dialogue with the militants, played a tape recording said to be the voice of Francis Ona:

"I don't like to see this happening in our province. The national government should consult our people. They are treating us today as the administration did before BCL came in 1964. They are doing the same things as they did in the colonial days — they are sending in the security forces. But they cannot stop us because we are fighting for our land. We're fighting for future generations of our children. I am fighting for the whole province." □



Rabuka: shadow over government.

FIJI

Finding a boss for Rabuka

By Jale Moala

ON a hill looking out over Suva Harbour bulldozers have cleared the ground for Fiji's new Parliament House. Next door, to the west, the former official residence of the Prime Minister stays vacant waiting to be altered for parliamentary offices. Next door, to the east, soldiers still occupy an old World War II bunker overlooking the official residence of army chief Major General Sitiveni Rabuka. From a vantage point at the bunker one can see how ironic events in Fiji have turned in the past two-and-a-half years: Parliament House has been moved right next door to Rabuka, Fiji's two-time coup leader.

Rabuka's presence, symbolic as it may seem to the indigenous Fijians, is one that worries the so-called moderates eager to see the full restoration of civilian rule in Fiji. Even though he has agreed to return to barracks and surrender all political power Rabuka will continue to shadow government as the man who did

it before and can do it again. But his absence from government (to become a fulltime civil servant) has given interim Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara a free hand to resign his present administration on December 5 and immediately instal a full civilian government. What many are asking now is who in the new Cabinet will head the Ministry of Home Affairs which is responsible for the army. That man will be Rabuka's new boss.

Mara agrees he's got a winning team in Cabinet. But come December 5 he will announce a reshuffle that will also take care of the army. How the non-Fijians see the next government can depend on who takes charge of Home Affairs, currently under Rabuka. "Only two people can control Rabuka. That's Ratu Mara and (the President) Ratu Penaia," said one keen political observer in Suva. "You can't give Home Affairs to Ratu Penaia, he's the President." Some see another possibility in Lands and Mineral Resources Minister Ratu William Toganivalu taking over Home Affairs. He is

THE REGION

Fire, fire, fire

EARLY on Sunday morning, October 15, arsonists set fire to three temples and a mosque at Lautoka in Western Viti Levu. The burning threatened to set in flames Fiji's political and economic recovery programmes and drew the country close to another major crisis. Two days later, in a reprisal attack, a Methodist Church in Lautoka was firebombed but no major damage was done.

Hit in the Sunday morning attack were two Hindu temples, a Sikh temple and a Muslim mosque. The attacks were linked to Methodist fundamentalists opposed to the presence of other faiths in the country. But it attracted so much vicious criticism from all races and faiths

in Fiji that the attackers were quickly isolated, even by factions of the Methodist Church.

Eighteen people, members of the Methodist Youth Fellowship group, were arrested and charged. Many indigenous Fijians reacted strongly against the attack on the temples and mosque, and said it was an embarrassing example of Christians who misinterpreted the teachings of Jesus Christ. Government sent Cabinet Ministers to Lautoka and the Fiji Council of Churches, a grouping of major Christian churches, called the burning of the temples and mosque "an instance of gross desecration and sacrilege involving sacred places, sacred books and sacred objects. The apparent religious motives only adds to the insult and sacrilege and calls for a deep sense of sorrow and shame on the part of all Christians." □

of noble birth, a former soldier, and a former Minister for Home Affairs.

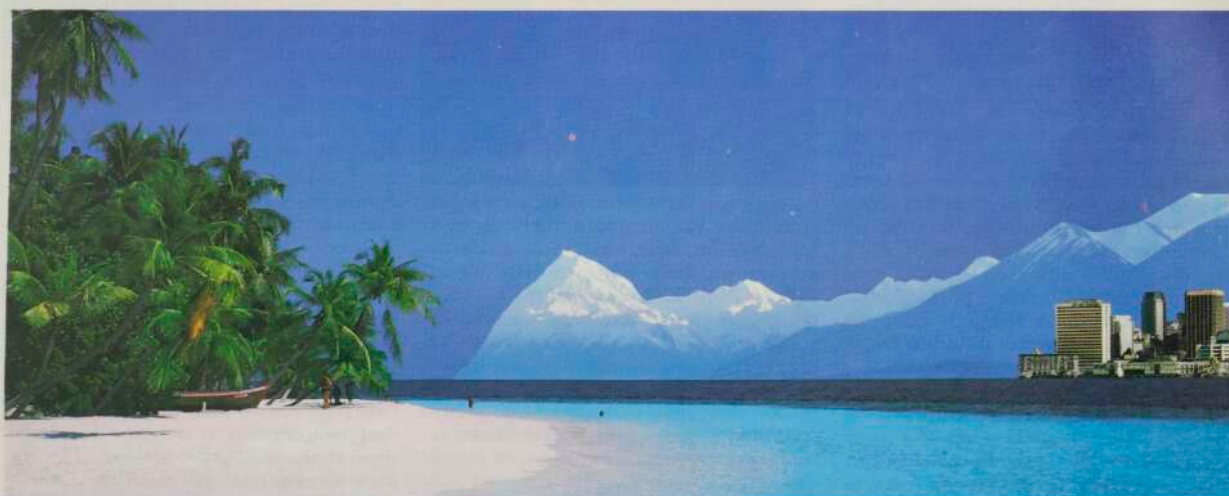
But Mara is the man who can keep the rein on Rabuka. He is undoubtedly the logical choice for Home Affairs. But this could mean giving away Foreign Affairs responsibilities to someone else. So perhaps the best alternative is for Mara to retain the Foreign Affairs portfolio

and bring Defence under the Prime Minister's Office while Home Affairs (police, prisons, immigration and meteorological services) go to someone else. This will give Mara direct control of the army — and it will elevate Rabuka to a position where he will be responsible only to the Prime Minister.

What of the rest of Cabinet? Rabuka's

three colonels in Cabinet — Youth and Sports Minister Ilaisa Kacisalomone, Fijian Affairs Minister Vatalai Navunisaravi and Rural Development and Rural Housing Minister Apolosi Biuvakaloloma — must go if the new government is to be seen as being free of military influences. Without Rabuka and his three colonels, Cabinet strength will be down to 17, close to the pre-coup strength of 14 ministers and two ministers of state in Mara's last government before losing the general elections in April 1987. Youth and Sports can be easily reunited with Education. Fijian Affairs is likely to go to Toganivalu whose Lands and Mineral Resources portfolio can go to Primary Industries Minister Viliame Gonelevu. Primary Industries can be reunited with Forests.

Other reshuffles could see Information Minister Ratu Inoke Kubuabola being moved to a position where his experience with the Bible Society of the South Pacific could be used for youth development. After the controversies surrounding the signing of a 12-year exclusive television contract with Kerry Packer in 1986, Mara will be looking for a tougher negotiator to deal with Fiji's new television interests. One of the two Indian members, businessman Ishwari



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Silence over Indonesian crude

SILENCE has fallen over the Fiji government's proposed monopoly importation of Indonesian crude oil even though the October 6 deadline for worldwide refining tenders has long passed. In September, Fiji's Energy Minister David Pickering and Trade Minister Berenado Vunibobo met their Indonesian counterparts in Jakarta to discuss buying 15,000 barrels a day of Indonesian crude oil.

The crude would be bought by a yet-to-be-created monopoly company which would be 75 per cent Fijian-owned. International petroleum companies could tender to refine the crude and trans-ship and retail the resulting petrol products in Fiji and six other Pacific client nations. At stake is a minimum of F\$200 million a year in petroleum exports from Australia, New Zealand and Singapore through local subsidiaries of Shell, BP and Mobil.

In Jakarta, Pickering also said Fiji wanted to build a refinery of its own, possibly starting next year. Since those heady statements, there's been no information from the Fiji Government despite strenuous enquiries up to the time of writing. Fiji government sources say no firm proposal has been tabled before Cabinet and there seems to be no identifiable official position on the Indonesian deal. This may hearten the deal's

many critics. Pacific Island officials at the recent Forum Secretariat petroleum management committee meeting in Suva privately expressed strong reservations about the security of their future fuel supplies under the monopoly regime.

The Indonesian crude which would be supplied to Fiji is of such a low-grade that it can be handled by only a couple of refineries, at most, on the Pacific Rim. This leaves the supply vulnerable to refinery breakdowns, strikes and shipping delays. But the Indonesia deal is coming under most fire — from island nations, oil industry experts and the Big Three petroleum multinationals — over the Fiji Government's claim that it will cut costs to the consumer.

The director of energy programmes at Hawaii's East-West Centre, Fereidun Fesharaki, estimates the Indonesian deal will add at least 10 cents a litre to the retail price of petrol in Fiji alone. "If Fiji pays more then so will other countries in the region," he said. Fesharaki doubts whether the Fiji Government can actually deliver on its pledge that the Indonesian contract will protect other Island clients from any price hikes resulting from the change in supplier.

Indonesia is expected to supply 15,000 barrels a day of crude: Fiji would use about 6000 barrels and other Pacific clients about 3000; leaving another 6000

barrels for sale in the open market. But Fesharaki says the 15,000 barrels a day are split equally between the worst grade of crude and an equally dubious condensate.

"This crude," he says, "is so difficult to handle it's not being refined anywhere in the Pacific Rim, it gives 70 per cent heavy fuel oil which has no use in Fiji and at the moment all of that crude is being burnt for electricity generation in Japan because the quality's so poor." Fesharaki says the Indonesian crude will require very sophisticated refining into usable light petroleum products. "Presumably they've got some refinery to handle it, but the costs will be high and it's not something you can take to just any refinery," he said.

Retail petrol in Fiji is among the cheapest in the region with prices lower than those in New Zealand, Hawaii and California. "The oil companies have been giving a very good price to their consumers in Fiji, especially in the past three years, essentially because they've been able to use the trans-shipping facilities," says Fesharaki. "It will be hard to beat that especially with the unusual crude supplied by Indonesia."

Fesharaki says that despite Fiji's guarantee of price stability, it's holding neighbouring Pacific clients hostage to the pattern of regional petroleum supply and demand which depends on trans-shipment through Fiji. □

Bajpai (the Minister for Co-operatives) could be dropped. Some question his role in the ministry which will now need to step up its development programmes to match the new government policy of promoting indigenous Fijians in commerce.

With a salary package of F\$30,000-plus for each Cabinet Minister, Mara can go for fewer ministers as an indication of government intention to save money. However, should he decide on the likely choice of maintaining emphasis on economic recovery and development then Mara will replace the army colonels with a view of achieving a better distribution of duties. This could mean bringing in another Indian, although Mara will be cautious not to be seen by Fijians as encouraging the participation of Indians in decision-making. Two names have been mentioned as likely new candidates for Cabinet: Fiji Development Bank general manager Laisenia Qarase and trade unionist Jim Smith. Qarase's name is being linked to the Ministry of Finance, where he once worked as permanent secretary. Some say he could take over from Kamikamica who could move to Lands. He is the general manager of Native Lands Trust Board.

Smith's name is being linked with the

Ministry of Communications, Works and Transport, currently being run by Apisai Tora. Smith was a National Federation Party parliamentarian. But in recent months he has aligned himself close to Mara's administration through pro-government union initiatives. His role in Cabinet could be to quicken the completion of the new Marine Board Regulations, a work overdue in Tora's terms of office.

Tora, who has often been exhausted by the work involved in his large ministry, could move to Information where he could oversee the introduction of television.

The reshuffle will help the introduction of a new constitution. While Fiji continues to attract vicious criticism for its biased draft constitution, New Zealand's Foreign Affairs Minister Russell Marshall admits it "is probably the best we are going to get." He was reported as saying that Fiji's proposed new constitution was not as good as it should be, but the Commonwealth had to think whether it would ever get a better one. Marshall, who was reported in the *New Zealand Herald*, was speaking in Kuala Lumpur after Papua New Guinea Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu told journalists at the Heads of Commonwealth Meeting

there that the Commonwealth should consider Fiji's re-admission "at the appropriate time when she feels that she should re-apply." The proposed new constitution, published in September, gives only 27 of the 69 seats in Parliament to the Indian community.

India's External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, overnight in Wellington in early October to lobby New Zealand opposition to Fiji at the Commonwealth meeting. He met with Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer and condemned Fiji's draft constitution as a recipe for apartheid that would solve nothing. The Indian Ocean state of Mauritius, which attacked post-coup Fiji at the United Nations, argued in Kuala Lumpur against re-admitting Fiji to the Commonwealth. But Mauritius President Sir Anerood Jugnauth lost impact when he made the mistake of telling Commonwealth leaders Fiji had no indigenous people. "So I had a little conversation with them to give them a little information about the political realities of Fiji," Marshall told *New Zealand Herald*. On the other hand Fiji won sympathy from Papua New Guinea, the rest of the Melanesian countries and Malaysia for efforts to protect the aspirations and rights of the indigenous people. □

THE REGION

FEDERATED STATES
OF MICRONESIA**Small is
beautiful**

By Karen Mangnall

SMALL is beautiful and slow is best. That's the economic philosophy of Federated States of Micronesia's president John Haglelgam, which is probably just as well considering the formidable hurdles facing the former United Nations trust territory.

Haglelgam is openly critical of the 40 years of "inappropriate" American administration which "was more interested in creating a big government and bureaucracy and completely ignored economic development".

"Our biggest challenge is to find a way to develop the economy so we can decide our own future and don't have to depend on the generosity of other countries," Haglelgam says. Top of the agenda is cutting back the FSM's bureaucracy by making public service jobs "unattractive", as Haglelgam describes it, to encourage more people into the private sector. It's been successful so far but the FSM now has to create more private sector jobs to take up the slack.

Haglelgam wants to encourage joint ventures with foreign investors to develop the FSM's agriculture, tourism and its vast fisheries. One hurdle is the FSM's isolation from major regional markets. But Haglelgam says the Compact of Free Association will provide a "strong magnet" for foreign investors once they realise it provides a backdoor, duty-free en-

try into the United States. As extra incentive, Haglelgam says the next session of the FSM Congress will be considering a package of tax breaks for foreign investors.

And although the FSM is upgrading its infrastructure with a major public works programme, Haglelgam says he's not keen to match that with tourism development. The FSM lags just behind Saipan and Guam as one of the major regional tourist destinations, but Haglelgam sees advantages in holding back. "We have the opportunity and privilege to watch their development and learn from their mistakes so we can fashion our tourist development so it will not

disrupt our culture drastically," he says.

Haglelgam says some aspects of the various Micronesian cultures have given way to four decades of American influence and his own administration is just beginning to assert a Micronesian flavour. "Before it was more an American administration and American territory, so it has an American flavour to it but right now we can see Micronesian features emerging," he says. "We have tried as much as possible to incorporate our traditional way of doing things in running our country."

The FSM is also asserting a new identity on the international stage, despite being handicapped by the fallout from Palau's constitutional row with the United States. The holdup means the United Nations Security Council hasn't formally ended FSM's Trust Territory status, even though the South Pacific Forum has recognised the FSM as a full independent member. Haglelgam says New Zealand and Australia have helped by championing the FSM's independent status but many nations still refuse to grant diplomatic recognition.

Palau's debate over the boundaries of control over its foreign affairs and security under the Compact of Free Association with the Americans has also tarnished the FSM's own image. "We have total control over foreign affairs but there is a fuzzy area dividing the boundary between foreign affairs and security," Haglelgam says. "I can see in future heading on a collision course with the United States under the Compact. But it's a remote possibility and it probably won't come up at all during the life of the Compact."

Haglelgam gives as one example of the FSM's foreign affairs independence its full support for the South Pacific Forum's nuclear-free Treaty of Rarotonga, which the United States is still refusing to sign. Haglelgam's government is considering signing the treaty which would have to be amended to include the FSM's territory. Haglelgam, says that after 40 years of Big Brothering from America, his country is keen to expand its links with the smaller countries in the region. New Zealand came in for special praise during Haglelgam's recent state visit there, particularly for the way in which it administers aid.

"New Zealand aid is on a small scale. If it comes in on a larger scale we have to bring in outsiders to administer it. Small scale aid is better because we can handle it locally," he says.

And despite the endless problems facing small Island nations, Haglelgam is confident the FSM can match its new political freedom with economic independence. Says he: "I'm very optimistic that we will survive. If I were not optimistic I wouldn't be President." □



Haglelgam: wants to encourage joint ventures.

**Haglelgam's
shopping list**

FEDERATED States of Micronesia president John Haglelgam returned home from a recent week-long state visit to New Zealand with most items on his shopping list neatly ticked off. The FSM has caught about seven poaching fishing boats in its territorial waters this year and Haglelgam asked New Zealand if it could extend its aerial surveillance from the neighbouring Marshall Islands.

Foreign Affairs Minister Russell Marshall says the air force has been asked to draw up a patrol timetable as quickly as possible given that New Zealand planes will now be patrolling a huge slice of the western Pacific.

The FSM takes delivery next May of the first of its two Australian-built

fisheries patrol boats.

New Zealand and the FSM have also agreed to exchange ambassadors and Marshall's promised New Zealand support for a direct service to Micronesia by the Pacific Forum Line. New Zealand is also considering expanding its bilateral aid scholarships to train Micronesian nurses next year. However, Marshall says any significant increase in aid to the FSM will have to wait for the next budget round.

Haglelgam's round of meetings with the private sector in Auckland didn't flush out as much business as he'd hoped. The FSM is looking for foreign companies to enter government joint ventures for fisheries development and major public works contracts.

Haglelgam says most interest came from New Zealand construction companies with existing links to the former trust territory. □

THE REGION

SOPAC

Coming of age

By Josefa Nata

SOPAC has come of age. It has adopted a constitution to upgrade its status from a United Nations Development Programme-sponsored project to a fully fledged regional organisation. At its annual session in Canberra last month it decided to change its name "to reflect its new status and also the type of work we do".

"It also reflects the fact that we are an independent, regional inter-governmental organisation," says the re-appointed director, Jioji Kotobalavu, of Fiji.

The acronym SOPAC is to be retained but it now stands for the South Pacific Applied Geo-science Commission. It was previously known as the Co-ordinating Committee for Mineral Prospecting in South Pacific Offshore Areas (CCOP/SOPAC).

Delegates from the 12 member countries initiated the constitution which is in a form of a treaty. But the member governments will need to rectify it and needs the signatures of six member countries before the new constitution comes into force. The new status puts SOPAC in the same category as regional institutions like the Forum Secretariat, the Forum Fishing Agency and the South Pacific Commission. It means that SOPAC has now been accepted to the South Pacific family of regional organisations. It reports to the South Pacific Forum leaders. The new image is not mere window dressing. It comes with encouraging prospects — in terms of SOPAC's finances and research results.

The Canberra session approved a budget of \$5 million — SOPAC's highest to date — for the next 12 months. It also listed a programme of activities the member countries want done for the same period. The budget includes a new agreement of \$1.8 million with Norway for wave harnessing as a potential source of energy. Canada also agreed to a \$1 million financial support for nearshore mineral research programme. These extra fundings are apart from SOPAC's normal sources — i.e. annual contributions from member countries, special contributions from Australia, New Zealand and Fiji, support from the European Economic Community, UNDP, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, United States, Japan and Netherlands.

The bulk of the fund will go towards priority areas as identified by the Can-



Kotobalavu: staying on

berra meeting. Training and near shore mineral and coastal development research programmes are high on the list. There is great interest among the member countries in the potential energy source from sea waves. Coastal mapping is also a priority area. Current projects will also continue. They include hydrocarbon programme to assess the potential for offshore oil in Fiji, Tonga, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, offshore mineral research into manganese nodules in the Cooks, Kiribati and Tuvalu, nearshore mineral research black corals, and coastal erosion and engineering.

"It is really to ensure that our resources are applied efficiently and effectively," Kotobalavu says. "That the work carried out are not merely pure scientific research, but research of applied value to the developmental interests of the member countries and the region. Training is a very important component of our work programme where we provide training for people in the island countries at various levels for technicians. We now also provide training to first degree in earth science and geology.

"Under the new Law of the Sea Convention of 1982, these countries have declared extensive marine resources jurisdiction over 200 nautical miles. Obviously there is keen interest in what is in the sea bed."

And what is in the sea bed is interesting, Kotobalavu says. There are deposits of manganese nodules and cobalt in the Cook Islands. Similar work for cobalt, a metal with high strategies value — is also ongoing in Kiribati and Tuvalu. There is "interesting" hydrocarbon find in Tonga "where there are actual oil seeps found in different parts". A report to the effect has been submitted to the Tongan Government.

"Commercial values of these resources

will need further studies, but at least we know they are there," Kotobalavu says. "It has been established that there are genuine crude oil and the research now is to try to find the source."

But a niggling issue that was not settled in Canberra was that of a permanent home for SOPAC's technical secretariat — TechSec. The tightrope act of the Pacific Way — that hallmark of regional decision-making process of consultation and consensus, while less divisive can be a protracted process.

The annual session last October and a special session in Guam last March failed to settle the issue. On both occasions it was going to be put to the vote but were withdrawn hoping that the Pacific Way would prevail and the four candidates — Tonga, Fiji, Western Samoa and Vanuatu — would reach a consensus. Member countries were hoping that Canberra would provide the atmosphere for a compromise. It was not to be. Instead the session decided to take up an offer by Western Samoa to initiate a process of consultation among the four frontrunners. Western Samoa offered to stand aside if that would mean a quick solution.

"The member countries spend considerable time trying to arrive at a decision on a permanent location for the secretariat," Kotobalavu says. "It was decided that the best approach was to accept the offer by Western Samoa to use its good offices to encourage consultation between Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and Vanuatu to find a solution that is acceptable to all. The three countries are genuinely interested in helping the organisation in offering to host a permanent site for the headquarters.

TechSec has been in Fiji on a temporary basis for the past 17 years with an established infrastructure and computerised network and a staff of 51 of which about 30 are expatriates. But Tonga wants it and points to the prevalent political climate as the reason to shift. It is even offering a free complex.

Kotobalavu's post as director was extended for a further two years to enable him to serve out the maximum six-year in the post. He is not eligible for re-nomination at the expiry of the current term. It means that Kotobalavu will be able to sit through some of the initiatives he started since he joined SOPAC in 1986.

It had been earlier speculated that he might be moving to Brussel as the region's nominee for the influential and high profile post of secretary general of the African Caribbean Pacific (ACP), a post he is eminently qualified. But it appears that this region does not stand a chance in the all too familiar political game of numbers. □



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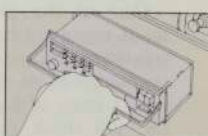
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THE REGION



Tuvalu voter: few surprises

TUVALU

A new leadership

By Diana McManus

THE election of Bikenibeu Paeniu as Tuvalu's new prime minister has heralded in a new era of development planning for the tiny Pacific Island nation. His Government intends to initiate a number of policy changes, indicated by major reshuffling of portfolio interests and allocations. The Prime Minister has also indicated that there will be a broadening of the Foreign Relations base, an emphasis on balanced development of the outer islands and promotion of a national identity. Until now Government has been faced with the difficulties of establishing the political infrastructure and gaining administrative experience.

One of the great problems Government members have had to face in consolidating the national government is the parochialism of their constituencies. After 11 years of Independence many people still think in terms of their home island identity first before thinking of themselves as Tuvaluans.

As a result the Tuvaluan electorates, in their political infancy, reveal many inconsistencies. Some members have been criticised because of too much attention to their island, or to their own welfare, or not enough attention to their island because they have had a broader national vision. The fourth administration will no doubt face the same problem of accommodating individual island politics within a national framework.

The new Cabinet, announced on Mon-

day October 16, consists of newcomer Alesana Seluka who is Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance and Commerce; former Opposition Leader Ionatana Ionatana, who is Minister of Works and Communications; Toomu Sione, Minister of Natural Resources and Home Affairs; and newcomer Naama Maheu Latasi, Minister of Health, Education and Community Affairs. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Economic Planning has become the Prime Minister's portfolio.

The Speaker is Kokea Malua.

In an interview with Radio Tuvalu, former Prime Minister Dr. Tomasi Puapua, who was re-elected to parliament, said his government had achieved many good things for the country, and Tuvalu was stable in both politics and economy. Highlights of his eight years in office were Queen Elizabeth's visit to Tuvalu in 1982, the South Pacific Forum meeting in 1984, and Tuvalu's celebration of its 10th independence

anniversary last year.

There were a few surprises arising from the elections. Perhaps the biggest was the demise of Kitiseni Lopati, the former Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister of Finance, who was replaced by Naama Latasi, of Nanumea. Her election makes her the first woman parliamentarian in Tuvalu's brief history as a sovereign nation. She is not new to politics, being the daughter of former Government Minister and later MP, Maheu Naniseni, who died in office sometime around the previous elections. What is of interest is the fact that she is married to newly elected Funafuti member, Kamuta Latasi, making a rare case of husband and wife team together in politics. This is a particularly interesting situation as Mr Latasi represents the interests of the capital whereas his wife will no doubt be promoting more development for her island, Nanumea.

Perhaps the most intriguing election campaign took place at Nui, with four members of the same family contesting the island's one seat. Former Minister for Commerce and Natural Resources, Lale Seluka, was displaced by his brother, Dr. Alesana Seluka, who returned from a government position in Vanuatu to stand for office.

On the contrary, Nukulaelae had a very quiet time with Paeniu, facing no opposition. The small community was rocked last October with the sudden death of its representative, Minister for Social Services Telava Tevasa. Paeniu returned from New Caledonia where he was working for the South Pacific Commission, to contest the resulting by-election. Directed by his electorate to support Puapua's Government, he filled the office created by the unfortunate Minister's death. Had he supported the Opposition at that time there would possibly have been a dissolution of Parliament and an early election called.

No-one is surprised that he now leads a Government made up largely from the former Opposition. With only 12 members of Parliament Tuvalu does not have a party system. Instead individuals with like interests align themselves and Government is formed from the MPs' secret ballot.

In the aftermath of the elections inevitable disgruntlement exists in some camps and rumours are bound to fly. Foul play is always a popular accusation, particularly directed at the pre-election practise of candidates giving presents to their community. The Polynesian generosity and sharing ethic becomes particularly visible during occasions requiring a high public profile.

Sometimes it's hard to draw the line between what is culturally acceptable and what, to outsiders, constitutes bribery.

Who's in

TUVALU'S new Members of Parliament:

Funafuti: Ionatana Ionatana (re-elected), Kamuta Latasi; **Vaitupu:** Tomasi Puapua (re-elected), Iuta Tanielu (re-elected); **Niutao:** Vave Founuku (re-elected), Tom Sione (re-elected); **Nanumea:** Kokea Malua (re-elected), Naama Latasi (new member); **Nanumanga:** Otinielu Tausi (new member); **Nukufetau:** Solomon Metia Tealofi (re-elected); **Nui:** Alesana Seluka (new member); **Nukulaelae:** Bikenibou Paeniu (unopposed). □

PACIFIC ISLANDS

M O N T H L Y

BUSINESS

The Japanese have landed

Guam rocks to the power of the Yen

By David North

THE development dreams of the recession-ridden 1970s have become frightening realities of the boom 1980s on the island of Guam. The Japanese-driven transformation is generating unprecedented economic expansion in the United States territory, but also causing frustration, anger and fear, especially among the indigenous Chamorros, as an insatiable tourism industry gobbles up land, labour and, many local leaders fear, economic control of the 210-square mile island.

Alienation of large land tracts to Japanese investors, soaring property values that are pricing Guamanians out of the housing market and the "invasion" of the placid lifestyle of Guam's southern villages have created a wave of resentment and grass-roots anti-development sentiment that could carry former Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, convicted in a Japanese payoff scheme and facing a prison sentence, back into power in 1990.

Tourism, by far the leading sector in Guam's development boom, has exceeded all expectations. With 600,000 visitors annually (and a million by 1993), 10 major hotels running at year-round 90 percent occupancy, and another dozen hotels either under construction or on the drawing boards, US\$500 million in hotel construction is underway, and US\$1.5 billion in the pipeline.

But infrastructure development has not kept pace. Water, power and road systems have been overburdened and the cost of expanding these has fallen primarily on the local taxpayers who complain they are subsidising the tourist industry. Many of the hotels were given



Chamorros: fear in a booming tourism industry.

substantial tax holidays as investment incentives.

Eighty-five per cent of the visitors are from Japan, and they spend about US\$600 million annually, providing the lifeblood of an industry that has been growing by 20 per cent annually and provides in direct payments and multiplier effect activities about 50 percent of the US\$300 million in the government tax revenue collected last year. Total government revenues should top US\$400 million this year and one legislative proposal calls for sharing the wealth with a 25 per cent government pay raise.

For the past decade, the industry had been confined primarily to a picturesque, 700-acre area along Tumon Bay on the island northwest coast. But hotel and resort development has spilled over into

adjoining Agana Bay, the commercial and government center, and spread into north and central Guam which have seen a dozen multi-million dollar golf courses sprout up in a few years.

The Reagan (and now Bush) policy of not supporting the weak dollar, leading to a substantially stronger yen, provided a strong impetus to Japanese tourism and real estate investment on Guam. That forced land values, especially in Tumon, to triple and quadruple, contributing to the breakout from the bay. Tumon land can sell for as much as US\$1000 a square meter. There are more than 100 new millionaires in Guam as a result of land sales in the 1980s and new ones are being created every week.

Yet the middle class and especially low-income families on Guam find it ex-

BUSINESS

ceptionally difficult, if not impossible, to buy land or housing, whose value have doubled and tripled over the past five years. Building costs have increased dramatically as residential development competes with the demand for hotels, resorts and condominiums. The average price of a three-bedroom home on Guam in 1980 was about \$55,000. Today that average is just under \$100,000.

The smaller but steady growth in the island's other major industry — defense — pumps in an average of \$30 million in construction annually and an estimated \$100 million in local purchases and sales. Washington also provides about \$100 million to the local government in grants while another \$70 million goes directly to individuals in welfare payments, federal pensions, and social security.

These yen and dollar-driven pistons have cranked up phenomenal overall economic growth. Analysts place Guam's Gross Island Product at well over \$1 billion annually and estimate the Gross Territorial Income as high as \$2.5 billion. Gross Business Receipts topped \$1.1 billion in 1988, up dramatically from the \$600,000 level of 1981. Real growth rate figures are unavailable, but some economists say last year's inflation-adjusted growth was about 19 per cent.

The white-hot economy has lowered unemployment to 3.8 per cent which business leaders believe means the local labour force is virtually tapped out, leaving the island with what they regard as a severe labour crunch. Tourism growth alone will need 6700 additional workers in the next five years, creating a demand for more foreign labour which further worries Chamorro leaders who fear massive importation of alien workers will further dilute their political control. The Chamorros are already outnumbered demographically (about 42 per cent of the 130,000 population), but have been able to maintain control of the government by exceptionally high voter turnouts, between 70 and 80 per cent for general elections.

Former Governor Bordallo, who has announced his candidacy for a third term, is positioning himself in the vanguard of the grass-roots movement coalescing against full-throttle growth. In village meetings, public speeches and letters to the editor, he warns that a "massive uncontrolled economic monster . . . has invaded our island", and accuses the incumbent governor, Republican Joe Ada, of "allowing foreign firms to circumvent regulations (which is) turning our island into an unorganised concrete jungle". Tapping the vein of resentment, Bordallo laments "our people can no longer afford to purchase land or build homes for their families. We are losing our pride and tranquility. We are losing control."

The former governor, who recently lost a US Supreme Court appeal on his jury tampering and obstruction of justice convictions, faces sentencing in the Federal Court on Guam in the next several months. But he vows to run and, if elected, to serve, even if sent to jail. He was convicted by a Guam jury in connection with a payoff from a Japanese company seeking special treatment. Eight of the 10 counts were overturned when an appeals court ruled the Federal bribery and extortion laws under which he was convicted didn't apply to Guam.

The Ada administration, sensing the volatility of the situation and the political implications of apprehensive or resentful voters, has attempted to defuse the issue. New investment incentive rules require Japanese or other foreign hotel/resort developers to enter joint ventures with local residents. Only if the company is 51 per cent locally owned — meaning US citizens who reside on Guam — can it qualify for the substantial tax holiday programmes.

Ada has also urged Chamorros not to sell their land outright, but to negotiate leases, long-term if necessary. But because the Governor had already sold his villa overlooking Pago Bay to Japanese buyers, his admonition rang hollow to many landowners faced with million dol-

lar offers not just for beach-front property but also for interior grasslands for golf courses.

In conjunction with the Guam Legislature, Ada launched an infrastructure cost-sharing programme that requires major developers to fund all the associated road, water and power needs for their developments as well as requiring them to develop public park and other recreational facilities. Ada has taken another tack on the highly emotional issue by increasing pressure on the US military to release excess Federal land for schools and other public uses, including a request to consolidate the Naval Air Station with the Air Force (Andersen) base in the north. If that is ever done, and it is very doubtful given the Philippine base negotiations and the need for a fallback position, it would free up several thousand acres in the congested north-central Guam and allow the international airport to expand to meet expected increases in tourism aviation activities.

The return of about 3500 acres of military lands declared excess several years ago remains stalled in Congress. Other Chamorro leaders have proposed buy-back land banks, with individuals donating money to a corporation which would buy land from Japanese or others and develop it in trust. The Guam Com-

Norfolk tourism takes a dive

NORFOLK Island's tourist industry has been brought to the edge of ruin by the strike of Australian domestic pilots, which has grounded the eight weekly East-West Airline flights from the eastern seaboard of Australia. About 95 per cent of the island's economy is directly or indirectly reliant on visitor traffic. Traffic from the Australian mainland by the end of September totalled 130 people a week. Small aircraft kept up a skeleton service, completed by three Royal Australian Air Force Hercules flights, although the Government in Canberra had promised that by the end of October — assuming the pilots were still on strike — the system would be managing two East-West

and one Hercules flight a week.

Two of the four hotels have closed, and throughout the island cuts have been made to cope with the estimated 60 per cent drop in revenue. Staff have been retrenched, placed on short hours, or encouraged to take leave without pay.

What has angered the islanders is that the Australian Government will not take what they see as the obvious course of action, which is to allow Air New Zealand to operate its Boeing 737 fleet on an Auckland-Norfolk-Sydney service. These aircraft already fly from Auckland to the island, and the 737 is the largest jet which can use the Norfolk Island landing strip.

But such a solution — while it would

Clam farming hope

GOOD survival and growth rates have resulted from trials with giant clam farming in the Solomon Islands. The tests are being conducted to find the best ways in which rural people can farm baby giant clams. They are initially grown in cages placed in sheltered reef waters; after two years the clams are transferred to open sea farms.

Rats hit crops

SAIPAN farmers are having their crops ruined by a plague of rats on the island. The rodents are eating beans, peanuts, watermelons and other food crops — as well as attacking small livestock such as newly-hatched chickens. Estimates are that farmers are losing about a quarter to a half of their crops through the rat plague.

BUSINESS

monwealth Bill, which seeks greater political autonomy from the US government, also calls for a Chamorro Land Trust to be made up of unspecified excess Federal lands. The US government holds about 30 per cent of Guam's land, the local government about 20 per cent while 50 per cent is privately owned.

The short-term impact of the development backlash has already halted a Japanese proposal to construct a \$1 billion Taotao Resort on the southeast coast of the island not far from the village of Inarajan, a small, old lifestyle enclave quite different from the bustling, crowded urbanised northern part of the 30-mile long island. Several other major resort and condominium projects in central and southern Guam have also been stalled by mounting public opinion.

The 982-acre Taotao project envisioned four hotels, 4200 condominiums, three golf courses, six shopping districts, a marine, and a major league baseball stadium (Japanese baseball teams come to Guam for 'spring training'). The development would need 9000 employees, use more water and power than all three southern villages, and double the road traffic.

At public hearings on the developers' request for rezoning, several hundred residents vehemently protested against the development. Bordallo warned that "the billion-dollar development in south-

ern Guam would swallow two villages". Saying his administration's "economic rearmament programme of 1983 called for infrastructure first, development second," the would-be governor charged "the current administration has lost all control . . . and fallen into the hands of big business". A former Bordallo cabinet officer, now a professor at the University of Guam, has chosen as the theme for the 10th Annual Island Conference, *Island Development and the Future of Guam: How much is too much?* Bordallo, as well as Ada, are expected to speak at the November 16 conference.

Ada responded to the challenge by freezing all action on the resort and asking the FBI to investigate the Japanese president of the development company, Kizo Matsumoto, who Ada said was stripped of his US visa in Hawaii for failure to report a 30-year-old criminal record in Japan.

Observers expect no action on Taotao or the other projects until after next year's election. Even then, Japanese-driven development will remain a visceral issue as the outnumbered Chamorros, awash in a sea of visitors' yen and defense dollars (as well as wartime memories of Japan's brutal occupation), attempt to chart a course that can assure them not only of economic security, but also political autonomy and control of their destiny. □

Tongan King in casino talk

A CASINO is one of several development proposals which Chinese American industrialist Dr S L Wong has recently discussed with Tonga's King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. The King has issued further details of the Wong plan, which indicates it is receiving favourable treatment by the Tongan Government.

Apart from the casino, the discussions covered a five-star hotel, catering service for outbound flights, several factories, golf course, air links direct to Asia and an internal helicopter service. The King's subsequent statement said the hotel is to be built at Kai'avale, near Nakolo; the golf course will be built at Mahina Hope, 'Eua, and will have a clubhouse with overnight accommodation; The casino would need enabling legislation and the government paid up to T\$5 million in compensation, and that the helicopter service would run to 'Eua and other outer islands.

Wong, whose business interests include factories in 12 countries and a brewery, said many Chinese multi-millionaires were searching for secure places to invest, with peace and stability. "I find this to be just the kind of place for investment," he said in a local interview. "It is a development treasure because it is a valuable place for tourism in the South Pacific."

He said his discussions with the King included the possibility of attracting other investors to Tonga, and plans to bring Asian tourists to the kingdom. Only foreign passport holders would be able to use the casino, a move that is aimed at avoiding jeopardising local cultural standards.

Wong is sending a study team to Tonga in November. The plan includes a joint-venture arrangement with the Royal Family. Included in the factory proposals is seafood processing, with Wong financing a fleet of fishing boats. Chinese contractors will be used to build the hotel and golf course, with the hotel to be at least partly open within 18 months. □

solve the island's tourist industry's problems — would mean the Australians declaring the Norfolk-Australia sector as an international route. Or so the Hawke government has argued. But the reluctance to take such an obvious step seems strange when the extraordinary lengths taken by the Australian authorities are considered.

It is likely the Australians do not want to give Air New Zealand a foot in the door. Air New Zealand has been lobbying to be allowed to fly internally in Australia, on the grounds that Ansett has been permitted to operate domestically in New Zealand.

A further dimension to the issue is that the Norfolk sector is already seen as semi-international by the Australians. They require people arriving from the

island to have passports, a move taken

Efforts to charter an airliner that has the sufficient range and can land on Norfolk have been unsuccessful.

In a bitter twist to the story, Norfolk Island Airlines cannot get Australian civil aviation certification for a Dash 8 aircraft it has bought. Australian rules require that two-engine passenger aircraft, propeller driven and carrying more than 19 people, be no further than 60 minutes from a suitable aerodrome at any time. The rule means that the Dash 8, which carries 36 passengers, cannot fly between the Australian mainland and Norfolk. The aircraft failed by 12 minutes to come within the rule — yet only four months ago the Australian authorities permitted such aircraft to be up to 90 minutes from an airfield.

Timber royalties

LANDOWNERS in West New Britain province will receive K23 million in royalties over 25 years from the Japanes-owned Stettin Bay Lumber Company which has received a permit to go ahead with the giant Ania-Fullerborn timber project. About 116,000 hectares will be logged. The company will also spend K20 million on a reforestation.

Fiji's imports up

Fiji's imports rose 48.2 per cent in the first six months of 1989, compared with the same period last year. The largest increase was recorded for the import of road vehicles which went up 471.1 per cent from F\$5.2 million to \$29.7 million. The visible trade deficit stood at F\$217.4 million, up 104 per cent on the 1988 figure.

Debt danger for the islands

THE former Governor of Fiji's central bank, Savenaca Siwatibau, has warned that Pacific Island nations are in danger of falling into the debt trap which has engulfed many Third World countries. Speaking in Honiara, he said similar trends to those seen in Africa and Latin America were beginning to emerge in the region.

A photograph of a yellow and black Toyota Hilux 4x4 pickup truck parked on a grassy field. The truck is shown from the front right, with its headlight, grille, and front wheel visible. The background features a line of palm trees under a clear blue sky. The text 'The best-selling, 1' is visible at the top of the image, and 'TOYOTA' and 'HILUX 4W' are visible on the truck's front.

The best-selling, 1

The Toyota Hilux is the world's most popular pick-up. And the Hilux 4×4 is the best-selling Hilux of them all. Which stands to reason. People around the world respect Toyota's attention to style. Hilux's car-like comfort. Rugged reliability. And as you might expect from Toyota, power. This, of course, is the most important asset for a truck. And happily, the Hilux 4×4 offers a choice of four powerful engines: 2.8 and 2.4-litre diesel engines. Plus 2.2 and 1.8-litre petrol engines. When it comes to power and good looks, nobody can beat Toyota. Nobody.

TOYOTA



BUSINESS

The cheap way out

PAPUA New Guinea's government has taken the painful decision not to require Ok Tedi Mining Ltd to build a tailings dam to prevent pollution from mine waste into the Fly River. While this had led to political protests that the mud and copper residues will destroy fish life in the river and so hit local people, the government took the view that the dam (which would have cost K380 million) would have meant the closure of the mine. With the Bougainville copper mine still closed, the Papua New Guinea leaders decided their international reputation could not afford the forced shut-down of the Ok Tedi gold and copper mine. That company has K800 million in accumulated losses and debt, and was last year hit by labour disputes and riots.

Ok Tedi will be permitted to dispose mine waste directly into the river, thus saving 4000 jobs. "It was the best decision any responsible government could take under the circumstances, said Environment and Conservation Minister Jim Yer Waim. "We risked our environment in favour of the people," he said.

Compensation will be given to those people who can establish they are authentic residents on the banks of the Fly, and government estimates show this could be as many as 29,600 individuals. The staple food is sago and fish.

The cabinet considered four options. The first, which was accepted, was to dispose of all waste from the mine into the Fly River, with possibly serious damage to the river eco-system, and flow-on effects to the Gulf of Papua (into which the Fly debouches) and the Torres Strait. Option 2 (which was the second most likely choice) was to require the company to spend K380 million to build a small tailings dam, with Option 3 a large dam for both tailings and rock at the cost of K1.2 billion — either of which would have placed impossible financial strains on the company. Option 4 was for the government to order the mine's closure.

The government is maintaining the position that there is no proof that any pollution of the Fly River has occurred. It is hoping the announced K25 million in development grants which have been announced will head off local opposition. Half the money will go directly to the local people in cash, while the other half will be held in a fund and put towards farming projects.

But the decision has provided a ready-made political issue, with so much of the compensation claims against mining being for the quite substantial despoilation which is caused — just as it had at

Bougainville when the mine was developed before the current high level of environmental concern.

Lands Minister Kala Swokin broke ranks with the government and apologised to the people of his electorate in the Western Province, claiming there had been inadequate compensation with the people of the Fly.

The most serious threat comes from South Fly MP Parry Zeipi who has threatened to mobilise the people to block the river to barges carrying ore from the mine. Then students in Port Moresby demonstrated, demanding the government change its mind on the tailings dam or they would block the river.

The government's position, as set out in a recent press statement, is that the predictions of ecological damage are only that. Scientists had not yet come up with any real evidence that marine life was being damaged by the discharge from the Ok Tedi mine. Muddy water did not equal poisonous water, and that most fish would be able to tolerate the muddier water. Fish, the press release said, were more sensitive than humans to high levels of copper and other metals, and would begin to die long before humans felt any sickness — so if the fish was alive, it was safe to eat.

However, the government has promised to monitor fish on a regular basis, and check on sediment build-up.

The assurances on pollution are probably more wishful thinking than reality, but the administration has a stronger case on the question of whether a dam could actually be built. The Ok Tedi area is subject to frequent landslides, where the high rainfall occurs in a mountainous landscape. The first tailings dam was swept away by a landslide, and just recently a mine worker was killed by

a similar event. The government says that it would be a major catastrophe if a tailings dam were built, then it and all the volume of tailings were swept down river.

In reality, the government of Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu were placed in an impossible position. They know that the country has received dreadful publicity over the Bougainville closure and the so far unsuccessful battle against the rebels led by Francis Ona. The riots in Lae, and the tribal warfare in the Highlands cannot be helping the nation's image. The forcing of Ok Tedi Mining Ltd to go into another K380 million debt or close down would, quite possibly, led to flight of capital from Papua New Guinea.

Meanwhile, the company has announced it is to make Townsville, in the Australian state of Queensland, its primary supply port outside Papua New Guinea.

In another mining development in Papua New Guinea, CRA Ltd has reached agreement with landholders in the Enga province to mine their rich alluvial deposits, scene of last year's gold rush. CRA will share the gold proceeds on a 51-49 per cent ratio with landholders. The Mt Kare mine could be in production by the middle of next year — ahead of Porgera — and produce about K200 million worth of gold over three years. The agreement is generous to the local people, but CRA believes that as much as K100 million worth of gold has been carried off by prospectors, many of them not locals. The national government has decided not to take a share in the venture on the grounds it would prefer the landholders to get their full 49 per cent of the gold proceeds. □

Finding a sheep for the islands

A SHEEP breeding venture, which have economic benefits throughout the Pacific Islands, has been hailed as a success. While the sheep have been bred for Fiji, agricultural experts consider they will easily adapt to many islands in the region.

The Fiji Ministry of Primary Industries has announced that 10 years of experiments have proved a success. In 1979 Black-bellied Barbados sheep were imported from the United States and bred with Australian sheep. The Fiji experiment involved Wiltshire Horn cross-breeds and the programme has been jointly funded by Fiji and Australia.

The idea behind the scheme was to develop a tropical-haired sheep, bred for Fiji's climate and capable of supplying good quality mutton — the emphasis was on lean meat with good flavour. The mob, which originally was to have its

quarantine lifted next year but this may be extended, promises to produce an ideal sheep for small-holders — since it will mix well with goats and coconut trees, and does not eat taro leaves.

Mutton will have a ready market among the Muslims in Fiji, as well as with Hindus and ethnic Fijians. Already there has been a great deal of interest shown by other Pacific nations. The sheep, by their very size, are far better suited for island life than cattle.

Fiji has 3850 of the new sheep breed at its three government stations. The animals are being reared in different areas of Fiji to evaluate their adaptability to various climates. Two of the stations, Nawaicoba and Wainigata, offered a good contrast: the former is a dry-zone research facility near Nadi while the latter is in the wet zone on the second largest island of Vanua Levu. □

BUSINESS

Downhill no more

JOHAN Hill, the director of J S Hill & Associates, the leaders of the construction industry in Fiji, has predicted a boom which will provide more than 4000 new jobs, a pay hike for workers, and mark the revival of a fledgeling industry. Construction work on three major hotel projects scheduled to begin within the next six months will trigger off a boom Hill says will revive the local industry.

Work on the first stages of the new Regent Project in Nadi, the two hotels in the Saweni Beach project and the Suva Sheraton has a combined value of F\$300 million. All are scheduled to start by at least December this year. "The industry is concerned that if these projects start it will go from a famine to a feast," Hill says. The labour force in the industry had stabilised at 2000 over the past four years. But all three hotel projects will require a labour force of 5200. This means that the industry will need to find an additional 3200 tradesmen, says Hill.

Hill estimates that 1000 tradesmen are currently involved in activities other than the construction industry. There will be a need to attract them to return. Additionally, there has been an increasing demand for commercial and industrial buildings, says Hill. This has been brought about by the economic boom created by the tax free zone incentives and the growth of the manufacturing industry.

An offshoot has been the increasing demand for executive homes which need to be built because of the excessive rental charges being experienced in Fiji. When all cylinders are firing, Hill estimates new jobs more than 4000 above the current 2000. The urgent need for tradesmen will automatically give the current labour force leverage to negotiate higher pay than, let us say, the existing basic 90 cents per hour for class two tradesmen.

To attract the other estimated 1000 tradesmen doing other things, employers like J S Hill & Associates need to hike pay levels. They will have to do the same to attract school leavers into the industry. The expected boom in the construction industry is comparable to the boom of the 1970s which Hill describes as the "heydays" of the construction and building industry, a result of the boom in tourism.

The industry experienced a period of calm through fewer activities in the first six years of the 1980s. In 1987, the year of the coups in May and September, about F\$70 million worth of construction work was done. But the full impact of

the coup was felt a year later in 1988 when it nose-dived to only F\$30.5 million. The building and construction industry has been the most depressed sector since the coup.

People who left Fiji after the coup left behind a glut of homes, commercial and industrial space. As a result prices and rentals dropped substantially. Meanwhile, the two devaluations in 1987 saw building and construction material traders adjusting prices upwards. But the 50 per cent hike from that adjusted value has contributed to the 50 per cent increase in construction costs.

Additionally, the swift reversal in the supply/demand situation triggered off by the tax free zone incentives saw prices of executive homes going up by 30 per cent to 50 per cent over the past 12 months. The shortage of executive homes from Suva in the east to Lautoka in the west of Viti Levu has seen rentals increase by 50 per cent to 60 per cent over the past year. The total picture had been manifested in the more than doubling of the cost of living during the worst period which Hill says is now history.

He has noted an increasing number of people looking to the rural areas, where land is cheaper, as a counter inflationary measure. Hill believes that the building and construction industry is poised to cruise uphill. For the public sector, the two bridges at Sigatoka and Ba and many other smaller ones which have to be built in the major road upgrading projects, which have already started, will generate a lot of employment opportunities.

The development of the wharves at two of Fiji's three ports of entries — Lautoka and Levuka — will continue to ensure a high level of activities in the building and construction industry.

"The prospects for the construction industry in 1990 and beyond is very bright and by the end of the year we expect to return to full employment," says Hill. "We believe there will be further substantial investments, barring any major political upheaval."

J S Hill & Associates is not only a leader in the building and construction industry in Fiji. It has also grown to be one of the biggest serving the South Pacific region. The company is working on six to seven major and smaller jobs in Vanuatu which include the A\$3 million University of the South Pacific campus in Vila, the construction of the \$A1.5 million Public Works Department complex and civil engineering jobs on a wharf and a sea wall. It has also carried out wharf repairs in Tuvalu and smaller jobs on home and school construction.

Hill says his company has other jobs in the region. And it is the only Suva-based company exporting buildings from Fiji. □

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BUSINESS

Oil's still attractive

RECENT troubles do not seem to have deterred resource companies from taking the investment plunge in Papua New Guinea. Seemingly undeterred by the closure of the Bougainville copper mine oil companies are about to pour about A\$2 billion with another \$1 billion to be spent developing the Porgera gold mine.

The latest development is the demand by the Southern Highlands provincial government for an oil refinery to be built near the large Iagifu oil field. Politicians are stepping up their campaign — the provincial premier, Yaungtine Koromba, visited Australia to talk to refinery companies and he also despatched ministers to Asia on the same quest.

The Iagifu project manager, Chevron Niugini Pty Ltd, and the central government in Port Moresby have united to resist demands for a refinery. In this latest row in an increasingly tense climate of resource development in Papua New Guinea, Koromba issued a statement which said: "Chevron must go along with the wishes of the government, and the people of the province. It must not argue over this matter." The Highlands people, in a demand which is becoming very familiar to the oil and mining companies, want a greater share of the proceeds from the oil at Iagifu to remain within the province.

Both the company and the Namaliu government regard the suggestion of a full-scale refinery as wildly unrealistic. They do concede that a small-scale plant, capable of refining some products such as jet fuel, is possible. The Minister for Minerals and Energy, Patterson Lowa, said the government was advised five years ago by experts from the East-West Centre in Honolulu that a large-scale oil refinery in Papua New Guinea would not be in the best interest of the country. Another study during the Wingti government had come to the same conclusion, he said. He said the mini-refinery — which the government in Port Moresby supported — would process between 2000 and 3000 barrels a day, which was just a small proportion of the expected 100,000 barrels a day which will be pumped at Iagifu.

Chevron Niugini is now negotiating with the national government about a 280-kilometre pipeline to take the crude oil to the coast in the Gulf of Papua.

Koromba's demands for a refinery are seen by some observers as establishing a negotiating case, with the Southern Highlands province eventually trading that demand for better compensation and royalties. The Chevron Niugini

approach seems to be aimed at keeping the issue as subdued as possible, negotiating with the Southern Highlands leaders and answering all their questions, and hoping the problem will fade with time.

The potential rewards of Iagifu are such that the oil companies are prepared to see the problems through. Iagifu's oil will be worth about A\$800 million a year at current prices and full-scale production is scheduled for late 1992. The project includes, besides Chevron, BP Oil, Oil Search Ltd, BHP Petroleum (PNG) Ltd, Ampol Exploration Ltd and the Merlin Petroleum Company.

While Papua New Guinea Defence Forces troops battle the Bougainville rebels, the resource companies are eager to stake out areas in other parts of the nation. Recent arrivals include Mobil Corporation, the chemical and oil company Dupont and the Louisiana Land and Exploration Co Oil majors farming into

Papua New Guinea are looking for fields of at least 100 million barrels in size.

One aspect which will need to be resolved are the several PNG exploration permits held by small Australian companies which do not themselves have the resources to fund all the cost of finding oil in the country's difficult terrain. There is expected to be an increasing incidence of these companies farming out shares to large corporations — but that will give them entry into high potential earnings if there was a major find. Companies which fall into this category includes Austin Oil, Mt Angelo Exploration, First Australian Resources, Victoria International Petroleum, Lakes Oil, Adelaide Petroleum and Pacarc Niugini.

There is still considerable disagreement among geologists as to where the most promising oil fields lie, but there is consensus on the prediction that there are some major finds to come. □



Made in Samoa

THIS newest line of giftware comes from Apia where LMP Industries has introduced a new image under the banner of *Pottery of Polynesia*. The first export consignment was sent to Tonga where it is being sold through the Friendly Islands Marketing Co-op. The other major outlet is Polynesian Picks, in Pago Pago, which has a shop in town and another at the airport. "We are looking at establishing the line in Fiji and the Cook Islands," said LMP Industries managing director Apete Meredith.

Meredith started his business nearly a year ago with dinnerware and orna-

ments. When he looked into the souvenir market he found a need for regional souvenirs. "Visitors want to take home a souvenir from within the region they are visiting, but more importantly, something made in the region," said Meredith. He finally introduced his *Pottery of Polynesia* line after experimenting with firing methods and different clay mixtures. At present his *Pottery of Polynesia* collection is limited to beer steins and coffee mugs. He is looking at making ceramic speciality containers and ceramic jewellery. □

Extra Nadi-Japan service

AIR Pacific is to introduce a second weekly service between Fiji and Japan next year. This was announced after a board meeting which also approved the replacement of the airline's Boeing 737, with the choice being between an Airbus A310-300 or Boeing 767-200ER.

Guam Hyatt plan

THE giant Japanese corporation, EIE, is to build a \$US150 million luxury resort at Tumon Bay on Guam. The resort will be two miles from the island's international airport and will have a prime beach front. The 484-room hotel is due for completion in late 1992.

TRADE WINDS

Paper localisation plan

PAPUA New Guinea's Communication Minister, Brown Sinamoi, is seeking soft loans and government aid to localise the ownership of the two national daily papers, the *Post-Courier* and *Niugini News*. Sinamoi said he wanted to see Papua New Guineans working for a company that was returning profits to themselves.

Taxing inefficiency

A UNITED States Department of Interior audit has found that American Samoa is losing an estimated US\$2 million a year because of inefficient taxation collection. The report said this shortfall prevented the territory from reaching its goal of self-sufficiency.

Air Niugini flies new route

PAPUA New Guinea's national will be flying once a week to Guam, replacing one of the two weekly flights on the route by Continental Airlines. The airline will suspend its unprofitable Port Moresby-Townsville service. The use of aircraft to fly to Guam is intended to link in with United States tourist traffic, with Air Niugini hoping to get more Americans to fly down from Guam as part of a Pacific tour.

Kiribati trade deficit

KIRIBATI seems locked into continuing high trade deficits, having just announced a shortfall on the current account for last year of US\$16 million. The result came even after good income from both fish and copra exports. The import bill totalled \$22 million, while receipts for exports reached \$6 million.

New fishing rules

FISHING ventures in Papua New Guinea will, in the future, have to involve 50 per cent national ownership, the government in Port Moresby has decided. The Fisheries and Marine Resources Department now requires foreign fishing companies to also train local people and to build permanent infrastructure in the provinces where they operate. The new policy was announced in the light of Taiwanese and Soviet discussions on fisheries agreements with Papua New Guinea.

Solomons harvest seaweed

SEAWEED is being harvested in the Solomon Islands for the first time, the result of a British aid project. Nine more farms are to be established and trial projects are under way in lagoon areas.

Fiji seeks more investment

FJI'S Trade and Investment Board has been on the move seeking investment from further abroad, with a delegation visiting Israel, West Germany, Italy, Belgium and Britain. The board is promoting the country on the basis that Fiji has special market access by treaty to the Australian, New Zealand, United States, Canadian and Japanese markets.

Kiribati shares for sale

SHARES in the mostly government-owned Abamakora Trading Company are to be sold by the Development Bank of Kiribati in line with the policy of encouraging private participation in state enterprises. The shares in the importing and distributing company will be sold to Kiribati nationals both at home and those living abroad.

Hawaii-Fiji route talks

HAWAIIAN Airlines has been talking to the Fiji government about a direct air service between the two countries operated by the Hawaiian carrier. The airline's sales vice-president John Sturney met with Tourism and Civil Aviation Minister David Pickering in Suva. Further talks are expected this month.

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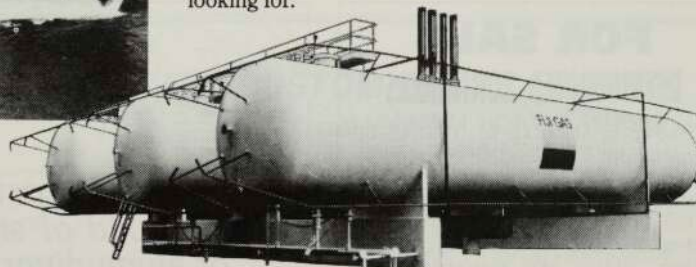


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TRADE WINDS

Food plan for Kiribati

AN Asian Development Bank consultant has urged that Kiribati grow more perennial crops and raise more livestock in an effort to cut the country's food import bill. Kiribati current spends about US\$6 million on food imports, mainly rice, flour and meat.

Cooks power plan

A FRENCH Polynesian company is to upgrade the Cook Islands' electric power supply system at a cost of US\$4.8 million. The agreement follows a visit by Prime Minister Geoffrey Henry to Tahiti recently.

Dry spell in Samoa

A CONTINUING dry spell in Western Samoa has affected about 40 per cent of the coconut plantations on the western side of the island of Savai'i. Trees have been damaged and about 10 per cent of seedlings in coconut nurseries have been lost.

Samoa now on FM

WESTERN Samoa has a second radio station. In addition to the government-owned 2AP on the medium wave band, a private station is broadcasting on the FM band. It is expected the programmes will finally be heard in all parts of Samoa.

Voicing island needs

WESTERN Samoa's Finance Minister, Tuilaepa Malielegaoi, said the World Bank and International Monetary Fund should take special account of the need of smaller nations. These economies were extremely open, vulnerable to external shocks and handicapped by limited access to development funds. The minister, speaking at a joint meeting of the bank and IMF, said the Pacific economies continued to be dominated by increasing trade deficits as a result of rising import bills and low export income.

Brewery dumping stopped

FRENCH Polynesia's Environment Ministry has ordered the Hinano Brewery in Papeete to stop dumping its waste in a nearby river. Fish and marine life have been killed, and a recent dry period had made the pollution worse, the government said.

PNG's new land rules

FOREIGNERS in Papua New Guinea will be required to register all the land they own under legislation to be introduced next year, with forfeiture being the penalty for failure to do so. Lands Minister Kala Swokin said the law would apply both to individuals and companies.

Banaba phosphate study

LOCAL leaders and an Australian company, Roche Brothers, are looking at the resumption of phosphate mining on Banaba Island after an 11-year gap. They believe that substantial amounts of phosphate remain on the island.

Japan signals more aid

THE Japanese government has indicated it will make technical aid to Pacific countries a major priority, according to Fiji's Primary Industries Minister, Viliame Gonelevu. The minister made the statement when announcing an effort to upgrade the country's fisheries industry, including improvements at the Lautoka fishing port which was built with Japanese financial assistance.

Tonga exports up

ALTHOUGH recording a trade deficit of T\$26.3 million for the first six months of the year, Tonga's good news was the exports went up 41 per cent while imports dropped by five per cent. The export rise occurred mainly in the sales of vanilla, manufactured goods and root crops. The United States bought a third of the vanilla — 20 tonnes valued at T\$1.6 million.

Kiribati's energy hope

EXPERTS from the University of Hawaii are to study whether an ocean thermal energy plan is possible in Kiribati. The system uses the difference in surface and deep water temperatures to generate electricity.

Fiji orange shortage

SEVERAL soft drink companies and the citrus juice operator, Fiji Citrus, have been affected by a shortage of oranges this season. High local demand for fresh oranges from the annual harvest was the main cause of the shortage.

Tonga Commodities changes

TONGA'S Commodities Board is to be appointed by the King, rather than by election of nobles and growers, under proposals being considered by the Government. Legislation will provide for capital of T\$5 million, with the government being the main shareholder, although private individuals will also be able to become shareholders. Priorities for the new administration will include strengthening of produce marketing.

More cuts in PNG

NATIONAL ministries, portfolios and provincial governments are all likely to suffer under new financial restraints being considered by the Papua New Guinea government as a result of the Bougainville copper mine closure. Some central government departments may be axed, and some ministers may lose their jobs as portfolios are amalgamated. The government is also reportedly serious about further drastic cuts in the provincial government grants.

New food priority

FOOD production is to be given priority for the next five years, signalling a major shift in emphasis away from tree crops in Papua New Guinea's economic planning. The government is anxious to slash the annual K60 million rice import bill. Agriculture and Livestock minister Galen Lang said he was concerned also with the high volumes of fruit, vegetables and other food items entering the country. Several new rice plantations were to be brought into production. Export tree crop spending is expected to be capped at present levels or even reduced slightly.

The announcement coincided with a visit to Port Moresby of a delegation from Taiwan who were exploring the possibility of investing in agriculture, forestry and fisheries. This would include introducing new technology to Papua New Guinea farmers. Lang said rice growing methods used in Taiwan might be adaptable to his country.

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SHIPPING

Steamships profits up

THE Papua New Guinea-based Steamships Trading Co Ltd has reported an increase in pre-tax operating profit of 26.4 per cent for the year ended June 30, 1989. This brought pre-tax profit for the freight and construction company to K10.1 million, compared with K8 million the previous year.

Sales for the year — K166.9 million — were considerably down on last year's total of K195.1 million due to a change in the method of accounting for the turnover of the Papua New Guinea Shipping Corporation joint service between Australia and PNG, and the transfer of the group's Papua New Guinea merchandising operations to an associated joint venture company. The tax provision was K2.3 million, which was a considerable increase on the previous K758,000. The company paid K2.52 million in interest and allowed K8.06 million for depreciation.

The directors said they were particularly pleased with the operations of the building products and services division, with the results vindicating the company's decision to stay in these fields despite unsatisfactory returns in the past. They said the present high level of construction activity in Papua New Guinea should ensure good earnings in the current year.

The company said the upgrading of hotels which began at the Melanesian Hotel in Lae would be continued, with contracts recently having been let for upgrades and extensions to the Gateway Hotel in Port Moresby and Highlander Hotel in Mount Hagen.

Strong competition, in Port Moresby particularly, had led to lower margins for the group's retail operations. But the Windward apartment complex on Ela Beach was fully let and providing a satis-

factory return.

During the year, Steamships received a second new ship for carrying copper concentrate from Kiunga to the mouth of the Fly River. In other parts of the company's shipping operations, the directors noted that severe competition on the Australian-Papua New Guinea trade had caused freight rates to be depressed to an uneconomic level. The report said two companies had been forced into receivership as a result.

The continued expansion of Colgate Palmolive (PNG) Pty Ltd and the increased use of locally-produced palm oil had enabled Steamships to substantially lift output, and during the year the company began exporting glycerine.

Since the end of the financial year, the company has signed a deal whereby its steel division will be managed by Transfield Corporation, a move the directors say will enable Steamships to increase its participation in development of major resource projects. But they warned that company profits could be affected if the Bougainville crisis continued as that situation would be bound to affect government revenue and internal spending.

Directors have agreed to pay a final dividend of 8.25 toea per share, making a total dividend for the year of 13.5 toea. □

Sinking feeling

WHILE American Samoa is trying to get rid of two of the three ships it acquired in 1987 as Federal surplus from the United States, its congressman in Washington, Faleomavaega Eni Hunkin, is trying to get another one. Of the three ships brought to Pagopago in 1987, one has been given to the local chapter of the navy league while the procurement office is hoping to sell the other two.

The vessels — a 50-foot landing craft, a whaler and a ski boat — were given free by the General Administration Office. The Government of American Samoa had to pay US\$34,000 to have them shipped to Pagopago in 1987. They were to have been used for port operations but American Samoa's chief procurement officer, Paul Felise, said the ships were "wrecks".

Meanwhile Hunkin's efforts to bring in another surplus ship is not being acknowledged in Pagopago. Hunkin said the ship is needed to service Manua Island 1,200 km east of Pagopago. Reid, who is also Port Director, said his office knew nothing of Hunkin's efforts. He said Manua is serviced twice a week by the ship *Talimana'o* without any delay.

Strike spoiled Niue party

NIUE'S transport woes continued last month when the long-running port strike in New Zealand took some of the fizz out of the island's 15th birthday celebrations. Niue's merchants had ordered about 450 tonnes of extra food and drink to cater for the 2000 partygoers celebrating the anniversary of Niue achieving self-government. But loading delays caused by the strike meant the party fare was still stuck on the wharves at Auckland. And the tiny island was also running out of some basic supplies because the monthly Cook

Islands National Line (CINL) service was late.

CINL director Don Pratt said the normal 28-day round-trip had been stretched out to at least 40 days by the strike, brought on when unions and employers failed to agree on a national award to cover the restructuring of port management. Pratt spent several weeks fielding frantic telephone calls from Niue while trying to calm about 200 angry Niueans living in Auckland whose incoming taro consignments had rotted on the wharves during the strike. □

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Sofrana Unilines operated a RoRo/container service every three weeks from Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to Noumea, Suva and Lautoka. Vessels continue (as PAD Line) to the US West coast. Contact: Sofrana-Unilines (Aust) Pty Ltd., Sydney. Tel. 264 8944; Telex AA170090; Fax 267 6547. Sofrana Unilines, Noumea — Tel 275191; Telex NM3048; Fax 272611. Wiltrans Agency, Melbourne — Tel (03) 6144788; Telex AA30163; Fax (03) 6145909. Wiltrans Agency, Melbourne — Tel (03) 6144788 Telex AA30163 Fax (03) 6145909. Wiltrans Agency, Brisbane Tel

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(07) 2524953. Carpenters Shipping, Suva.
Tel 25141 Telex FJ2188 Fax 301572.

Australia — Samoas — Tonga

Warner Pacific Lines operates a regular container service from Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne to Nuku'alofa, Pago Pago, Apia and Vava'u with transshipment to Rarotonga. Contact: Hetherington Westfarmers Shipping Agency, 37-49 Pitt St, Sydney (223 1600).

Australia — New Caledonia — Fiji — Samoas — Tonga

Pacific Forum Line operates a fully containerised service (general, reefer and ro-ro) from Sydney to Noumea, Lautoka, Suva, Apia, Pago Pago, Nuku'alofa, Sydney. Cargo centralised from Adelaide, Melbourne, Brisbane. Contact: Pacific Forum Line, PO Box 796, Auckland; Union Bulkships, 333 George St, Sydney, Brisbane and Melbourne; Union Co. Lautoka; Pacific Forum Line, Suva, Nuku'alofa; Pacific Forum Line, Apia; Polynesia Shipping, Pago Pago.

Sofrana Unilines operated a RoRo/container service every three weeks from Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to Noumea, Suva and Lautoka with transshipment to the Samoas and Tonga. For details see above.

Australia — Norfolk Island — Lord Howe Island

Sofrana-Unilines (Australia) Pty Ltd operates a regular monthly service with MV *Capitaine Wallis*. Contact: Sofrana-Unilines, Sydney (02) 2648944; Telex AA170090 Fax 2676547.

Australia — New Caledonia — Vanuatu

Campagnie Generale Maritime operates a monthly service from Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane to Noumea, Port Vila and Santo, for containerised and break-bulk cargo. Contact: Campagnie Generale Maritime 12 Castlereagh St, Sydney (231 3700).

Australia — Nauru

Nauru Pacific Line operates a regular cargo service from Melbourne to Nauru, passenger service to Nauru only. Contact: Nauru Pacific Line (Aust) Pty Ltd, Nauru House, 80 Collins St, Melbourne (653 5709), Nedlloyd Swire, 8 Spring St, Sydney, (20 522).

Australia — Solomon Islands — Vanuatu

NGAL/PNGL joint service operates a monthly service. Contact: Nedlloyd Swire Pty Ltd, 6 Spring St, Sydney (20 522).

Australia — New Zealand

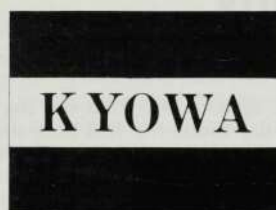
The Australian National Lines operates the Tranztas container service between Australia and New Zealand, offering access to five vessels. These vessels call at Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane (Tasmania, Adelaide and Fremantle via feeder services) in Australia and Auckland, Wellington, Lyttelton, Port Chalmers, Nelson, Tauranga (Napier via feeder service) in New Zealand. Each vessel operates on an approximate three-weekly round voyage schedule.

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and Vila on cruises from Australia. Contact: P&O Booking Centre, Thomas Cook Pty Ltd, 33 Bligh St, Sydney (237 0333).

Australia — PNG — Solomons — Vanuatu

A consortium of NGAL/PNG and CONPAC has four vessels operating a joint service from east coast Australian ports to Port Moresby, Lae, Alotau, Madang, Wewak, Rabaul, Kavieng-Kimbe, Kieta, Honiara, Vila, Santo. Contact: Burns Philp & Co Ltd, PO Box R124, Royal Exchange, Sydney (20 547); Nedlloyd Swire, 8 Spring St, Sydney (20 522); New Guinea Express Lines, 37 Pitt St, Sydney (241 3991); Vila Agents, PO Box 27, Port Vila (2456), Tlx NH1011.

Australia — Kiribati

CCS operates a 6 weekly service from Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to Kiribati (Tarawa). Contact: Chief Container Service, 8 Spring Street, Sydney (251-2699) Fax 251-2271.

Australia — Tuvalu

CCS operates a direct service every second voyage to Tuvalu (Funafuti). Contact: Chief Container Service, 8 Spring Street, Sydney (251-2699) Fax 251-2271.

Australia — New Caledonia — Vanuatu

CCS operates a monthly service from Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to Noumea, Vila and Santo. Contact: Chief Container Service, 8 Spring Street, Sydney (251-2699) Fax 251-2271.

Australia — Solomons — Vanuatu

CCS operates a monthly service from Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to Honiara, Vila and Santo. Contact: Chief Container Service, 8 Spring Street, Sydney (251-2699) Fax 251-2271.

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The Bank Line and Columbus Line operate a regular joint cargo service from Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam and Le Havre to Papeete, Noumea, Port Vila and Santo. Contact: The Bank Line (A'asia) Pty Ltd, 53 Martin Place, Sydney (223 6255), Tlx AA24063; Columbus Line, Lae (423 466), Tlx NE44171; Ets A.M. Fare UTE, Papeete; Ets Ballande, Noumea and other local agents.

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Rarotonga Line operates regular services to Tonga and the Samoas from New Zealand. Contact: Sofrana Unilines (NZ) Ltd. Tel (09) 773279 Telex NZ2313 Fax (09) 393874.

Europe — W. Samoa — Tonga — Fiji

The Bank Line & Columbus Line operate a regular joint cargo service from Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam and Le Havre to Apia, Nuku'alofa, Suva and Lautoka. Contact: The Bank Line (A'asia) Pty Ltd, 53 Martin Place, Sydney (223 6255), Tlx AA24063; Columbus Line, Lae (423 466), Tlx NE44171; or lines' local agents.

Singapore — Hong Kong — Fiji Islands ports

Kyowa Shipping Co Ltd operates a monthly containerised and break-bulk cargo service from Hong Kong to Lautoka, Suva and then to island ports. Contact: Carpenters Shipping, Private Mail Bag, GPO Suva, Fiji (31 2244); Fax: (679) 301 572. Tlx FJ2199.

Far East — Fiji — New Zealand

New Zealand Unit Express (NZUE) operates a monthly service accepting containerised and break-bulk cargo from Manila, Keelung, Kaohsiung and Hong Kong to Lautoka, Suva and thence to New Zealand ports. Contact: Carpenters Shipping, Private Mail Bag, GPO Suva, Fiji (312 2244), Fax: (679) 311 572; Tlx FJ2199; Burns Philp, Suva (311 777); New Zealand Unit Express, Maritime Building, 2-10 Customhouse Quay, PO Box 890, Wellington (727 865), Cables ENZUEMAN WELLINGTON, Tlx NZ31340, NEDLNZ, or Nedlloyd Swire Pty Ltd, Sydney (20 522).

Far East — Mid South Pacific

China Navigation's New Guinea Pacific Line operates a regular container and Break Bulk-Heavy Lift service from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Manila, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand to Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul, Kieta and Honiara with 18 days frequency. Wewak and Madang will receive four direct calls a year or more on inducement. A T/service via Lae to these and other PNG ports connecting with monthly sailings is available at cost. Cargo from the same Eastern ports to the South Pacific ports of

Noumea, Santo, Vila, Papeete, Pago Pago, Apia, Nuku'alofa, Rarotonga and Tarawa will be shipped via Japan or Busan on the monthly Bali Hai service. Contact Steamships Shipping, PO Box 634, Port Moresby (220 283 or 220 289).

Kyowa Shipping Ltd operates monthly services from Japan to Guam, Saipan, Solomons, New Caledonia, Fiji, Western and American Samoa, Tahiti, Cook Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu. Contact: Hetherington Westfarmers Shipping Agency, 37-49 Pitt St, Sydney (223 1600); Carpenters Shipping, Suva (312 244), Tlx FJ2199.

Guam — Northern Marianas

Saipan Shipping Co operates a weekly service via barge carrying containers and conventional cargo between Guam and Saipan and Tinian. Contact: Saipan Shipping Co. Inc, PO Box 8, Saipan CM 96950 (322 9706 or 322 9707). Tlx 783619; Fax (670) 322 3183; Guam agents Maritime Agencies of the Pacific Ltd.

Hawaii — Samoas — Tonga — Cook Islands

Hawaii-Pacific Line operates a monthly container service between Honolulu, Pago Pago, Apia, Nuku'alofa and Avatiu (Rarotonga). Contact: Hawaii-Pacific Maritime, Inc., PO Box 3264, Honolulu HI (9680)-32641 (808 531 4841) Morris Hedstrom Samoa Ltd, PO Box 189, Apia, Western Samoa (21 355, 22 722), Tlx 224 MORISHED SX), Fax 24 279; Union Citco Travel Ltd, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (682) 21 780; Tlx 62024 (UTRAV G); Fax (682) 20 859; Kneubuhl Maritime Services, PO Box 39, Pago Pago, American Samoa 96799, (684 633 5121); Tlx 782505; Fax (684) 633 5100; Union Maritime Services Ltd, PO Box 4 Nuku'alofa, Tonga (21 644/5); Tlx 6627, Fax (676) 21 645.

Japan — Fiji — Island Ports

Kyowa Shipping Co operates a monthly containerised service from main ports of Japan to Suva, Lautoka, thence to island ports. Contact: Carpenters Shipping, Neptune House, 3/4 Floor, Tofua St, Walu Bay, Suva (31 2244); Fax (679) 301 572 Tlx FJ2199.

Japan — Micronesia

The NYK Shipping Line operates a monthly cargo service from Japan to Micronesia, calling at Yoko, Nagoya, Kobe, Guam, Saipan, Truk, Ponape and Majuro, returning via Yoko, Nagoya and Kobe. Contact: Burns Philp & Co Ltd, 51 Pitt St, Sydney (259 1000).

Saipan Shipping Co operates a monthly service from Japan to Saipan, Guam, Truk, Ponape, Majuro (Kosrae and Ebeye on inducement). Contact: Saipan Shipping Co, PO Box 8, Saipan, CM 96960 (322 9706 or 322 9707). Tlx 783619, Fax (670) 322 3183. Japan agents: Kyowa Shipping Company Ltd; Guam Agents: Maritime Agencies of the Pacific Ltd.

SHIPPING

Japan — Korea — PNG — Paradise Service

Mitsui OSK Lines in joint service with NYK Lines operates a monthly service from main ports in Japan and Busan in Korea to PNG — ports of Wewak, Rabaul, Kieta, Lae, Port Moresby, Kavieng, Kimbe, Madang and Oro Bay. Contact: Robert Laurie Company Pty Ltd, PO Box 1032, Lae (direct: 423 642 or a switch: 423 811). Contact W O Hackenberg, Group Shipping Manager & Marketing; Tlx NE 42508 Fax 423 801.

Japan — Korea — Fiji — Island Ports

Bali Hai Service operates a monthly and general cargo and vehicle service from main Japanese ports and Korea to Suva, Lautoka, Apia, Pago Pago, Papeete, Nuku'alofa, Noumea, Vila, Santo and Honiara. Contact: John Swire and Sons (Japan) Ltd, 14 Ichibancho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo (03) 230 9220; Tlx J22248, Fax (03) 230 9288.

PNG — Inter-Mainport

Papua New Guinea Lines offers scheduled 10-20 day coastal liner services linking all PNG major ports with containerisation, reefer, heavy lift and trans-shipment facilities. Contact: PNG Line, Box 543, Port Moresby (211 174), Tlx 22269.

PNG — Taiwan — Hong Kong — Singapore — Indonesia

The Bank Line & Columbus Line operates a regular joint cargo service from PNG Ports to Kaohsiung, Hong Kong, Singapore, Jakarta & Surabaya. Contact: The Bank Line (A'asia) Pty Ltd, 51 Pitt St, Sydney (251 6688); Tlx AA24063; Columbus Line, Lae (423 466); Tlx NE44171; or lines' local agents.

PNG — UK/Continent

The Bank Line and Columbus Line operate a regular joint service from Port Moresby, Oro Bay, Kieta, Rabaul, Kimbe, Madang and Lae to Hull, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Le Havre. Contact: The Bank Line (A'asia) Pty Ltd, 53 Martin Place, Sydney (223 6255), Tlx AA24063; Columbus Line, Lae (423 466), Tlx NE44171; or lines' local agents.

Solomons — UK/Continent

The Bank Line and Columbus Line operate a regular joint cargo service from Honiara to Hull, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Le Havre. Contact: The Bank Line (A'asia) Pty Ltd, 53 Martin Place, Sydney (223 6255), Tlx AA24063; Columbus Line, Lae (423 466), Tlx NE44171; or lines' local agents.

Hyundai Merchant Marine Co operates a

regular three-weekly service from PNG ports to Northern European ports, including Felixtowe. Contact: McArthur Shipping Agency Co. Pty Ltd; Tel. Sydney (02) 5502222 Telex AA24045 Fax (02) 519 1382 or from local PNG agents.

New Zealand — Australia — PNG — Solomon Islands

Pacific Forum Line operates a containerised and ro-ro service from Lyttleton, Napier and Auckland to Brisbane, Port Moresby, Lae, Honiara, Brisbane then to New Zealand. Contact: Pacific Forum, Auckland, Christchurch; Union Bulkships, Brisbane; Steamships Shipping, Port Moresby and Lae Sullivan Ltd, Honiara; Seabridge, Wellington.

New Zealand — Cook Islands — Tahiti

New Zealand Line operates cargo services based on pallets and similar units from Auckland to Cook Islands and Tahiti. Contact: NZ Shipping Agencies International Ltd, PO Box 3420, Auckland (392 650), Waterfront Commission, PO Box 61, Rarotonga, Cook Islands; Shipping Office, Govt of Niue, PO Box 107, Niue Island; Compagnie Maritime Polynesienne, PO Box 36, Papeete, Tahiti.

New Zealand — Fiji

Pacific Line with one ship operates a three-weekly ro-ro cargo service New Zealand, Lautoka, Suva. No passengers. Contact: Sofrana Unilines, (773 279); PO Box 3614, Tlx NZ2313, Carpenters Shipping, Neptune House, Tofua St, Walu Bay, Suva (25 141), Tlx FJ2199.

New Zealand — Fiji — North America (WC)

Blue Star Line Ltd Pacific Coast container services: only direct service to and from New Zealand. Blue Star vessels call at Suva and Honolulu on NZ-US West Coast voyages. Contact: Blueport ACT (NZ) Ltd, PO Box 192, Wellington (739 029); Burns Philp (SS) Co Ltd, GPO Box 355, Suva (311 777), Tlx FJ2168 Burnship.

Pacific Forum Line operates a containerised and ro-ro 21 day service from Auckland to Lautoka, Suva, Apia, Pago Pago and Nuku'alofa. Contact: Pacific Forum Line, Auckland, Christchurch, Suva and Apia, Union Maritime, Lautoka, and Nuku'alofa, Polynesian Shipping, Pago Pago.

New Zealand — Tonga — Samoas

Warner Pacific Line Services from Auckland to Nuku'alofa, Vava'u, Apia, Pago Pago monthly carrying general and freezer cargoes and FCL Dry Freezer. Contact: McKay Shipping Ltd, 2nd Floor, Ferry Bldg, Quay St., Auckland PO Box 3 (390 229).

Cables MACSHIP, Tlx NZ2554f; Warner Pacific Line, Box 93, Nuku'alofa, Tonga; Mealelele (Western Samoa Ltd), Private Bag, Apia, Western Samoa; Burns Philp (SS) Co Ltd, PO Box 129, Pago Pago, American Samoa (633 2709), Burnsouth SB.

Rarotonga Line operates regular services to Tonga and the Samoas from New Zealand. Contact: Sofrana Unilines (NZ) Ltd, Tel (09) 773279 Telex NZ2313 Fax (09) 393874.

NZ — Cook Islands — Aitutaki — Niue

Cook Islands Line services Auckland, Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Niue monthly carrying general and freezer cargoes. Contact: McKay Shipping Ltd, 2nd Floor, Ferry Bldg, Quay St, Auckland/PO Box 3, Auckland (390 229). Cables: MACSHIP, Tlx NZ2554; Fax 32 931.

Rarotonga Line operates regular services to Tonga and the Samoas from New Zealand. Contact: Sofrana Unilines (NZ) Ltd, Tel. (09) 773279 Telex NZ2313 Fax (09) 393874.

Southeast Asia — Fiji

Nedlloyd Lines (NZEAS) Service operates regular fast cargo service from Surabaya, Jakarta, Port Kelang, Bangkok and Singapore via New Zealand to Suva and Lautoka. Contact: Carpenters Shipping, Neptune House, 3/4 Floor, Tofua St., Walu Bay, Suva (312 244). Fax: (679) 301 572. Tlx: FJ2199.

Tahiti — New Caledonia — Vanuatu — Solomon Islands — New Zealand — PNG — Singapore — Europe

Polish Ocean Lines operates semi-container type vessels to the following ports; from Papeete, Noumea, Santo, Vila, Yandina, Honiara, Auckland, Singapore, Port Kelang, Penang then to Mediterranean ports and Europe via the Suez canal (other New Zealand ports subject to inducement). Contact: Universal Shipping Agencies Ltd, 7th Floor, 14 Emily Pl, Auckland 1 (390 931, 390 727, 32 104), Tlx 21 517.

Europe — Tahiti — W Samoa — Fiji — New Caledonia

Compagnie Generale Maritime operates services from Europe and Mediterranean ports to Papeete and Noumea using three ro-ro and multi-purpose vessels thus ensuring a bi-monthly sailing to and from. Contact: Compagnie Generale Maritime, 12 Castlereagh St, Sydney (231 3700).

Sofrana Europe Australia Line operates a three-weekly cargo service from Continental ports, including Felixtowe, to Papeete and Noumea. Contact McArthur Shipping Agency Co Pty Ltd Sydney. Tel (02) 5502222 Telex AA24045 Fax (02) 5191382.

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UNITED NATIONS



Hope: only Chamorros can decolonise Guam.

A woman called Hope

By Ed Rampell

DEEP in the heart of the United Nations Secretariat Building in New York a woman called Hope was seeking a different kind of decolonisation. Presenting a petition from Guam's People for Indigenous Rights (OPI - R), Hope Cristobal, as pretty as the Chamorro she is, told the UN Decolonisation Committee her people did not want an independent sovereign state in Guam but favoured a commonwealth territorial status with the United States. She demanded a self-determination referendum with only Chamorros voting. She pointed out the indigenous Chamorros have been threatened by the US immigration policies which allowed an influx of settlers and immigrants to upset Guam's demographic composition.

Cristobal said that 24,000 US military

personnel and their dependents, as well as other newcomers, should not be allowed to decide Guam's future political status. She stressed the Chamorros, and not Washington, have taken the initiative in the political status process and that since "the Chamorros were the ones colonised by America, only they can decolonise Guam." Cristobal complained to the UN that US Federal agencies have proposed changes which, if enacted, would water down the Guam Commonwealth Act, weakening the cause of Chamorro self-determination.

The Chamorros are highly Americanised, with an extremely high rate of military service. Spurred by the status negotiations of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Guamanians launched their own political status campaign.

Reluctant to lose the American dollars and citizenship, the Chamorros chose a Commonwealth covenant, like the Northern Marianas, and voted against outright independence, like the Kanaks and the mainstream of Oceania. Commonwealth would perpetuate close ties

between Agana and Washington, and will certainly permit the Pentagon to have continued extensive access to Guam, as it already does to Puerto Rico and the Northern Marianas.

Guam, with a population of 120,000 people, is an unincorporated territory of the United States. Approximately 42 per cent of the population are Chamorros. Being strategically located close to South-East Asia, Guam has an important military role for the United States army which owns one-third of the island.

Increased experience at self government and a developing economy are causing the people to question the role of the US in Guam's affairs. In September 1976, a referendum, sponsored by the Guam Political Status Commission was held to "improve Guam's status with the United States". A proposal to seek independence was rejected. Steps toward the adoption of a locally-written and ratified constitution was taken in 1977. A Constitutional Convention was authorised by Federal Congressional legislation on October 1976. A general election was held in April 1977 to elect 32 candidates to the convention, the purpose of which was to draft a constitution by the end of the year. It was approved by Congress and the President, but in a referendum held on August 4, 1979 was overwhelmingly rejected.

On January 31, 1982 a referendum was held to decide on these options: Commonwealth status, statehood, incorporated territory, free association, independence, status quo or other. Commonwealth and statehood gained most votes and on September 4, 1982 a runoff vote between Commonwealth and statehood resulted in Commonwealth status winning the vote. Last year a poll showed most voters favoured self-determination rights for Chamorros and limited powers of the United States to alter the Commonwealth Act.

Cristobal, a former beauty queen, maintains that "Commonwealth is not the ultimate goal". And Ron Rivera, OPI-R's Chairman, complains that the either/or status of independence or colony is imposed by the white man (not by his fellow Pacific islanders). Rivera insists "there is a middle way in between independence and colonialism", presumably one that'll permit Chamorros to have their cake and eat it too.

The UN Decolonization Committee also discussed New Caledonia, American Samoa, Pitcairn Island, East Timor, and developments in Palau and the rest of the US Territories.

The Soviet delegate suggested that the UN declare the 1990s to be "the decade to end colonialism on the planet", a position which originated with the Non-Aligned nations, and has been adopted by the UN General Assembly.

CULTURE



Fa'asamoa: resisting modernisation

WESTERN SAMOA Fa'asamoa under seige

FA'SAMOA, the intact cultural way of life of Western Samoans, is under threat from pressures both within and without. The people of Western Samoa today live very much as they did at the turn of the century. *Fa'asamoa* has survived a turbulent history of colonialism by such different rationalities as Germany and New Zealand, and it is ironically only now that Western Samoa is politically independent that it shows signs of changing.

The social building block of *fa'asamoa* is the *aiga*, or extended family unit. Each *aiga* appoints a *matai*, a chief who assumes title to the *aiga's* land, and who represents its interests in the larger community. Only *matai* are enfranchised to vote in the election of regional representatives to the national assembly. To the *matai* is owed the absolute respect and obedience of every member of the *aiga*. *Fa'asamoa* is based very much upon respect and cooperation.

The Samoan Way and the urbanised, modernised West have up until now coexisted quite happily. While Samoa is regarded as one of the most underdeveloped economies in the world, its people enjoy a surprisingly high stan-

dard of living in the villages, which may consist of more than one *aiga*, most still live in traditional *fale*, houses with thatched roofs and without permanent walls. Most still rely upon agriculture for subsistence. But by producing a surplus from their plantations, *aiga* can bring in money from the sale of produce in the markets. And most families, of course, have a member overseas working and



Dancing youth: 60 per cent unemployment

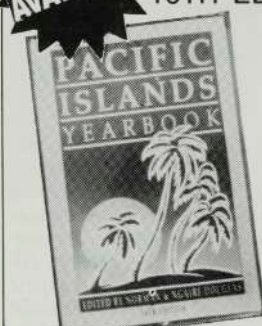
remitting. With this excess money, many *aiga* are able to afford some of the trappings of a Western lifestyle: cars, TV, video recorders. Modern *fa'asamoa* is a "best of both worlds" situation.

Underdevelopment, however, which compromises the nation's hard-won independence, looks set to compromise the Samoan culture as well. An increasing westernising influence and stagnant economy pose a dual threat to *fa'asamoa*. Young Samoans are taught a school syllabus designed to equip them to compete within the Australian and New Zealand education systems. Samoan children take New Zealand external examinations. There is little input from *fa'asamoa* into an essentially *palagi* (foreign, western) doctrine. Education introduces a competitive ethic which is more or less opposed to the cooperative Samoan Way. It is an individualist ethic which opposes the collectivist basis of *fa'asamoa*, and one which discourages young Samoans from identifying their aspirations with those of their *aiga*.

In order to further their education, Samoans for the most part must travel overseas. Once qualified, there is little incentive to return home. The underdeveloped Samoan economy is simply unable to offer them the wages and opportunities that they have been educated to expect, and which they can find outside Samoa. The choice facing Samoans with academic ability is either to exploit their talents or to live the Samoan Way. While many choose to set aside their qualifications and seek status within *fa'asamoa* by gaining appointment as *matai*, there is evidence that increasing numbers are abandoning Samoa.

For those without academic ability, the situation is no brighter. An estimated 60 per cent of Samoan youth is unemployed. Many of these unemployed, uneducated Samoans will also travel overseas, to work and to remit to their *aiga*. Once there, however, although the family tie remains strong, few are enthusiastic about returning. Many will go to extraordinary lengths to remain in the host country. Although the cultural differences between New Zealand, for example, and Samoa are large, Samoans travelling to New Zealand are supported by the *aiga* members who sponsored them, and are received into a well-established, supportive Samoan community. While the work that most do is hard-shift and factory work unpopular with New Zealanders, the wages are superior to anything they would be likely to earn in Samoa. A young Samoan labourer, applying for the renewal of his visa, told the immigrations officials who turned him down: "Right or wrong, I will do everything I can to stay in New Zealand. What is there for me back in Samoa?" While to many, even outsiders,

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FORUM SECRETARIAT

VACANCY — ECONOMIC PLANNING OFFICER

Applications are invited from suitably qualified and experienced persons, who must be citizens of a *member country of the South Pacific Forum, for the above position.

The Forum has sought to give greater emphasis to economic analysis and planning capacity. It has established an Economic Services Division which has responsibility for providing to Forum Island countries comprehensive economic analysis and planning advice as well as to seek greater regional coordination of aid to the South Pacific. The appointee will undertake economic analysis and planning together with detailed research on issues identified by the Committee on Regional Economic Issues and provide advice to Forum member governments accordingly, assist FIC governments in economic analysis and planning activities to support national economic development and more effective utilization of aid: preparation/formulation of regional project profiles and in the evaluation of completed projects; undertake analysis and assessment of regional projects and provide appropriate reports to donor governments and organisations.

This appointment will carry an attractive remuneration package, payable in Fiji dollars. For non-Fiji citizens this is tax free and includes housing or housing allowance, education and child allowances. Other benefits for all employees include superannuation payments and medical, life and travel insurance coverage. The appointee will be based at the Secretariat's Headquarters in Suva, Fiji, but will be required to undertake periodic duty travel. Appointment would be for three years initially, renewable by mutual agreement.

Applicants should provide full information on education and career background and should list names, addresses and telephone numbers of at least three referees with whom the applicant has been associated in a professional capacity. Applications should be addressed to:

The Secretary General
Forum Secretariat
GPO Box 856
Suva, Fiji
Telephone: 312600
Telex: 2229 FJ
Fax: 302204

Applications close on 30 November, 1989 and all enquiries should be made to Mr R Wilson, Director of Services on 312600 Ext 202.

*Member countries: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa.

CULTURE

the Samoan Way is attractive, it is doubtful whether it will remain sufficiently attractive to draw back the young people who are emigrating.

Fa'asamoa itself to some extent resists modernisation. *Aiga* which have traditionally produced goods solely for their own consumption do not appreciate the need to produce for an export market. The combination of agricultural plenty and remittance money insulates most Samoans from the dire economic position of the nation. Any attempt to gear Samoan agriculture toward export production will require modification of the traditional Samoan farmer's goals, and this may prove difficult. Similarly, most Samoans regard without enthusiasm the administration's drive toward promoting tourism. It is difficult to infect such a contented people with a sense of the urgency of the need for such things.

Yet modernise Samoa must, to develop its economy in order to provide the opportunities which the young are currently seeking abroad. *Fa'asamoa* will otherwise lose much of the generation which must inherit it. This, then, is the dilemma which faces the Western Samoan people. If they do not undertake to modernise the economy, then their young people will have to travel to find opportunities. Development, on the other hand, will require some radical changes to the Samoan way of life, not the least of which is an increased input from the Western culture.

To survive, *fa'asamoa* must be presented to Samoan youth as a cultural heritage that is more than just a comfortable way of life in a stagnant economy. They must be taught to regard education as the tool by which *fa'asamoa* can be brought up to date rather than as an alternative to it. Talented Samoans must be encouraged to use their gifts in the process of modernisation. The vitality of the economy must be restored to provide opportunities, without which remaining in Samoa is unattractive to young Samoans. Only if they are convinced of the value of *fa'asamoa* will the young, its future, work towards ensuring its survival. □

UTA stresses Noumea service

UTA French Airlines has reaffirmed it intends to continue a twice-weekly service between Sydney and New Caledonia. The airline has issued a statement stressing its commitment to the route, and that public misconception had arisen because one of the twice-weekly flights is operated by a leased Air Caledonie International 737. UTA considers that political stability has now been re-established in the French territory and is planning a promotional campaign early next year.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Picking the loyalists

UNITED STATES embassies throughout the South Pacific are in a state of flux, as new appointees come on the scene, and as the US lifts the level of its diplomatic relations with the former Trust Territories.

Washington has been chuckling at the Bush Administration's numerous minor blunders as it sweeps aside the Reagan Administration's Republican appointees, and replaces them with Bush Republicans. (Firing political ambassadors from the other party is an old American custom, but the practice of bouncing one set of party loyalists for another, with closer ties to the current White House, is a new wrinkle in American patronage.)

The new Ambassadors to Australia and New Zealand were both criticised by Senate Democrats; neither had distinguished careers in public service, nor had they previously shown any interest in the nations involved, but both had been very helpful in raising money for the Bush campaign. Melvin Sembler, a rich Floridian, slated to be envoy to both Australia and Nauru, had contributed US\$100,000

to the Bush campaign. He made some clumsy public remarks about drugs and Australia, but his troubles were minor compared to those of Della Newman of Seattle, Washington.

Newman, who will be US ambassador to New Zealand and Western Samoa, admitted to a newspaper reporter that she did not know the name of the then New Zealand prime minister (despite the fact that David Lange is probably the New Zealand politician with more public recognition than any in history.) Despite strenuous objections of some of the Democrats on the Senate Relations Committee, both Sembler and Newman were confirmed by the Senate recently, and will be on their way to their new posts soon.

Meanwhile, the next United States ambassador to Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Kiribati is going through a gentler confirmation process. Evelyn Tegen has, in the eyes of the Senate Committee, better credentials than the other two, in that she ran a business, was an elected officer of the Republican Party, and had been a state-level lobbyist for seat-belt laws in Minnesota. She also did her homework on the islands before talking about them.

The State Department's ability to shoot itself in the foot, however, continued to show itself regarding Tegen's appointment. The Department is required to send a note on each appointee to the US Senate, a body controlled by the Democrats.

In justification for the appointment, State wrote that her "inherent Republican loyalty, lofty principals, and experienced leadership make her an excellent candidate for Ambassador (sic) to Fiji . . ." This document emerged after Senator Paul Sarbanes (D. Maryland) had taken great delight in reading State Department appointment justifications in which nearly identical language was used, supposedly by the ambassadorial candidates themselves, to support the proposed appointments of Bushies to posts in Australia and Spain.

The US has kept four ambassadors in the South Pacific, and the fourth member of the set is a Reagan Administration holdover, Everett E. Bierman, the ambassador to Papua New Guinea; alone among the four he has both Republican ties and knowledge of the business, having worked for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee prior to his posting to Port Moresby. He is also the US representative to the Solomons and Vanuatu.

Meanwhile, to enhance the diplomatic positions of the former Trust Territories, Washington has decided to elevate the titles of its diplomats in the Marshalls and in Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). Previously Samuel B. Thomsen and Michael G. Wygant, both career foreign service officers, had been, 're-

spectively, US Representative in the Marshalls and FSM. Now that their offices have become embassies their titles are those of charge d'affaires. The State Department has not yet decided who will fill these ambassadorships, but the chances are that these assignments will go to career people.

The US also has charge d'affaires at work in the Solomons, and in the newly-opened mission in Western Samoa; they are William Warren and William Francisco III.

Meanwhile, Jesse Manehalau, the FSM representative in Washington, and Wilfred Kendall, who plays the same role for the Marshalls are on their way to ambassador status. (Their staffs already use the term in reference to their bosses.)

Both of these Associated States have extended their diplomatic networks, with ambassadors from Japan in place in Kolonia, and with FSM now having diplomatic relations with those nations as well as with the US, the Marshalls, Australia, Mainland China, New Zealand and PNG. The Marshalls have not quite made up their mind about relations with the People's Republic of China, but they have expanded their network as well. □

PROJECT MANAGER

The Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSP) is seeking an innovative individual with a solid background in maternal and child health care and/or nursing as Project Manager for a Maternal and Child Health Extension Program in Vanuatu. The Manager will coordinate health extension activities at village, district and inter-departmental levels, administer project funds, assist with design and supervision of training activities and monitor/evaluate progress. Duties also include liaisoning with donors and government officials and collaborating with NGOs in project areas. Ideal candidates will possess a master's degree in public health of related field, a minimum of 2 years experience in a rural health project in a developing country, strong writing and communications skills and willingness to live and work in rural area and take on periodic relocation as the project advances from one island to the next. Knowledge of the South Pacific/Vanuatu a plus although not required.

Send resume/cv with salary history/requirements to: Patricia Monahan, Executive Vice-President, FSP, 200 West 57th Street, Suite 410, New York, N.Y. 10019, USA.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NORTHERN MARIANAS

Straining the ties that bind

By David North

IT had all the symptoms of a classic syndrome: Leaders of a small Pacific island, expressing increasing disillusionment with their state's relations with its metropolitan mother country, warn that if the issues creating the disaffection are not resolved, the island would have no choice but to vote on cutting ties and striking out on its own.

At a critical negotiating session only weeks before the deadline, the metropolitan power's chief representative withdraws from the talks, cutting off all discussions. Major issues are left hanging. The island leaders are shocked and confused. At this point, the islanders could have been expected to stalk out of the meeting, declaring the negotiations hopeless and pushing ahead for a political status vote, which would undoubtedly and overwhelmingly support separation.

But the real-life scenario, played out in Washington this past summer between Northern Marianas leaders and Federal representatives, had an unexpected, ironic, yet subtly logical ending. Led by Lieutenant Governor Pedro A. Tenorio, the Northern Marianas delegation quietly huddled, consulted their Washington counsel, returned to the islands and issued a 19-page report calling the three-year negotiating session generally successful and recommending against a November vote on whether to end their political association with the United States.

Rather than demonstrating the incompatibility of small island communities with the vast and usually preoccupied federal system, Marianas officials said the negotiations were a sign of the underlying strength of the nascent commonwealth's relations with the United States. "Despite the fact that all issues regarding self-government or financial assistance have not been resolved, we do not recommend that the Commonwealth Government support a November 1989 vote on whether to reaffirm, reject or negotiate the Covenant," Tenorio said in the report.

The Commonwealth Covenant was "basically a good document", and the negotiations, referred to as 902 talks after the Covenant section authorising them, had resolved several major issues, including citizenship, financial assistance and taxation questions, Tenorio said. But he left the door open for a future vote. "We are not saying there will not come a time, perhaps relatively soon,



Bush and Tenorio: hoping to resolve issues

when we might support such a fundamental re-examination of our ties with the United States."

The proposed vote on the Covenant stemmed from an initiative approved in a 1987 election, calling for the vote to reject, reaffirm or renegotiate the covenant if the 902 talks left substantial matters regarding self-government or financial assistance unresolved as of July 1, 1989. Tenorio explained that the initiative came about because he and the delegation "had been negotiating with an openly hostile Special Representative of the President who had declared at the opening of the consultations that his primary goal in dealing with the Commonwealth was uniformity in territorial policy, in effect regarding our Commonwealth as just one more territory or possession of the United States".

Tenorio was referring to former Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior Richard T. Montoya, who resigned in late 1987 to run for office in his home state of New Mexico. The situation changed, according to Tenorio, with the appointment in 1988 of another Interior official. "With Becky Norton Dunlop, the personality conflicts that plagued the first three rounds disappeared and issues were discussed in a serious fashion," Tenorio said. "In short, there is room for the Section 902 consultations to progress as they did with Mrs Dunlop or to fester, as they did with her predecessor."

Among the major issues resolved by the negotiations were extension of US citizenship to several thousand Marianas' residents whom the US Justice Department originally said were not eligible, and implementation of US long-term financial assistance to the Commonwealth. During the 10-year transition from Trust Territory, the Northern Marianas received about US\$24 million annually in economic support. The new seven-year assistance plan provides about US\$47

million annually to 1992.

The Bush Administration also agreed with the 902 recommendation not to collect Federal income tax on interest paid to US-based holders of Northern Marianas housing bonds.

Without that agreement, the Commonwealth would have had to pay those bond holders an estimated \$20 million, because the bonds were sold as tax-exempt an offer disputed by the US Treasury Department. Tenorio cited this victory as the most significant outcome of the consultations in monetary terms and "the best indication that issues affecting the relationship between the Commonwealth and the United States can be resolved through the 902 process".

Major unresolved issues include the extent of US sovereignty in the islands, control of the Exclusive Economic Zone and the use of alien workers in the Commonwealth garment industry. Northern Marianas leaders argue the Covenant gives them complete internal self-government and that the United States was only delegated authority for defense and foreign affairs. Washington should not have the right, for example, to allow federal auditors to review the Commonwealth books.

The United States maintains that the grant of self-government to the Commonwealth prevents Congress from interfering with the fundamental institutions of self-government, but that Federal sovereignty, which is expressly recognised in the Covenant, means that all US laws and regulations apply in the Commonwealth as they do in other US jurisdictions, except when Congress provides specific exemptions. And that means, according to the US view, that its Inspector General's office may audit certain Federal funds provided the Commonwealth, including monies designated by Federal regulations to be used only for a specific purpose.

The Commonwealth maintains the law allowing those audits does not apply in the islands because it was passed without the consent of the Northern Marianas government. Commonwealth and US attorneys have been arguing these points in court all summer over the right of Inspector General to audit the Marianas Island Housing Authority's use of Federal funds intended for the construction of low-cost housing.

The Northern Marianas also seeks ownership and control of the 200-mile EEZ around the islands, desiring like the independent states of the Pacific, to exploit the fishing resources of the zone and in the long term whatever seabed mineral wealth that may exist. Washington, which is receiving steady pressure from its own coastal and insular states for joint control of the zones, maintains that the

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

EEZ's are under US sovereignty, giving management, control, and the revenue generated in them exclusively to the Federal government. To grant the Northern Marianas control would set a dangerous precedent that would be seized upon by other insular areas as well as Hawaii, Alaska and the west coast states.

The alien labour controversy involves the Commonwealth's importation over the past 10 years of 14,000 alien workers — mostly Filipino and Thais — to produce shirts, sweaters and other garments that are exported to the United States

duty free under a special Customs programme which is aimed at creating jobs for local US citizens and permanent residents in the islands. The alien labour population almost equals the population of permanent residents, which is about 16,000.

Montoya, when he was US representative at the 902 talks, argued that the Commonwealth was circumventing the intent of the provision, by not providing that the two dozen foreign-controlled and operated garment factories in the islands employ a majority of local workers. The Commonwealth, which won the

right to control its own immigration under the Covenant, maintains this is an entirely internal matter, not subject to Federal oversight.

Montoya countered that the factories were of little economic benefit to the Northern Marianas if they did not generate jobs for the local population, and warned island leaders that US Congressional leaders whose constituents are losing jobs to foreign textile imports might not agree with the Commonwealth's view of the situation. Since the US Congress has plenary authority for the US commonwealths and territories, there could be a backlash someday, severely restricting textile imports from the Northern Marianas, Montoya argued. Dunlop did not press the issue during her tenure as US negotiator.

The booming Northern Marianas economy, which generates a US\$175 million annual Gross Island Product, is feeling the pressure on its social and physical infrastructure because of the presence of so many alien workers. Water, power, housing, education and health services particularly are suffering. The capital island of Saipan, where virtually all of the factories are located, has declared a moratorium on new garment plants, and regulations are being worked up that would provide stricter guidelines for the garment manufacturers, including zoning restrictions and local employment requirements.

The Commonwealth's leaders tactical decision not to press for a vote on the Covenant at this time may also have been influenced by the islands' coming gubernatorial election. Tenorio, who was seeking the Republican candidacy for the governorship, may have feared that his 902 flank was exposed to his Democratic opponent, Froilan Tenorio (no relation), who as the Northern Marianas Washington representative, has been an outspoken critic of the 902 negotiations.

When a Bush appointee to the 902 talks is named, the representative will face new pressures on the sovereignty, applicability of federal law and EEZ issues because other US insular areas — Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands — are now negotiating changes in their political status. They also seek many of the same prerogatives, controls, exemptions and exclusions as the Northern Marianas. As a united front on federal-territorial relations, these island commonwealths and territories may be able to rewrite the parameters of insular autonomy in the US federal system. And the experience of the Northern Marianas 902 talks over the past three years would be a valuable object lesson in how to motivate Uncle Sam to focus of three areas' unique problems and relationships. □

FORUM FISHERIES AGENCY DIRECTOR

Applications are invited for the position of Director, South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) from nationals of the following FFA Member Countries: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa. The position will become vacant in January 1991.

The FFA was established to co-ordinate regional fisheries policies and to promote the development of fisheries resources to ensure that maximum benefits are achieved by the peoples of the region from their fisheries resources.

The Director will be responsible to the Forum Fisheries Committee for the direction, control and efficient operation of the Agency.

Applicants should have proven managerial ability; experience in multidisciplinary team effort; understanding of the social, economic and political aspirations of the Pacific Islands peoples and ability to liaise with member and supporting governments and organisations. An academic qualification and experience in a fisheries related discipline is desirable.

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Further information can be obtained from the address below. Applications should include the names of three referees. The closing date for application is 31 January 1990.

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LIFESTYLE



Invisible history? Laura Beach, Majuro

Beyond the beach

In most accounts of the Pacific the stories have nearly always been of the European discovery of the islands. Few have told of the islanders' journey of discovery when European shipping created new networks in their ocean. **David Chappell**, who is researching Pacific Islands history at the University of Hawaii, spend six months in the Marshalls and spoke to some old timers. This is his story.

EUROPEAN contact transformed, in some cases destroyed, Pacific island traditions, but the cultural beach between intruders and indigenous people was a two-way street, a crossroads which some islanders used to push their own frontier beyond the beach, onto the trans-cultural sea, to become beachcombers on alien shores.

Namar Milne told me a story from Ebon, the southernmost atoll in the Marshalls and a scene of frequent conflict between whalers and islanders. Lojeik was a warrior, with a chest tattoo to prove it, and in about 1840 he went out to a whaler but was kidnapped and never seen again. His people believed him dead and plotted the capture of that ship when it returned.

A long time passed, and when the ship came back, the islanders helped pull its longboat ashore, all the while discussing which sailor each of them would kill.

Suddenly, one sailor, dressed in American fashion like the rest of the crew, warned the people in Marshallese not to attack because the whites had guns. Though surprised that a foreigner could speak their language, the islanders doubted that the sailors' wooden sticks could really be dangerous. So the Marshallese-speaking sailor told his companions to shoot at a coconut tree.

When the loud gunshots sent all the nuts and palm fronds tumbling to the



Story-tellers: Hermios Maichi, Eva Robert

ground, the islanders reconsidered their plan. Then a woman thought she recognized the Marshallese-speaking sailor and opened his shirt to reveal his warrior tattoo. It was Lojeik! He had become the best hapooner on the ship, and when he settled down again on Ebon, he was a respected intermediary between foreigners and his people.

Doraman Bujen told me a story from the German colonial period about a famous traditional navigator from Ujae

named Latap. In about 1890, the Germans decided to test his skills. With his consent, they took him blindfolded all around the Pacific, from Jaluit to Hawaii to Tahiti to Fiji to Guam. He only took off the blindfold to eat.

Whenever the ship came near any islands, the Germans asked him what direction and how far away they were. He would lie down on the deck, feel the movement of the waves and accurately locate the islands. Using the *ka pun pit*

LIFESTYLE

technique, he could tell when the current was blocked by land and estimate distances accordingly. When the Germans returned him to Jaluit, they took off the blindfold and admitted that he would be a fine captain for any ship.

Biliet Lokonwa, over 100 years old, told me about his own travels during the German and early Japanese periods.

In a house by the Yacht Club, he lives in a little room decorated with a memorabilia from his sailing career, which ended in 1918. He first left Majuro at the request of his chief because the island had been devastated by a typhoon, and money could be made by working for the Germans on Jaluit. After learning how to operate outboard motors on copra launches, he sailed for five years as an engineer on the *Atlas*, travelling around Micronesia and Melanesia.

He enjoyed his life aboard ship, but being a good Christian did not fool around with women or alcohol while in port. He especially liked Ponape, because the people fed him well and did not treat him like a stranger. He later worked in the engine room of a Japanese ship which carried several chiefs to Japan.

His fondest memory was of serving on an English copra ship, whose captain liked his work so much that he never wanted Biliet to leave and used him to help supervise all kinds of tasks. In 1918, that ship took Biliet and seven other Marshallese (whose names, jobs and home islands are listed on his door) to America, a land he had wanted to see since his mission schooling days. In San Francisco, he ran into an old Marshallese friend who had been marooned by World War I, explored the port — even met a woman who was kind to him — and had an American eagle tattooed on his chest to prove to everyone back home he had really been there.

He says if he ever gets back to San Francisco, he'll find an old woman and stay there for good. The 71-year-old eagle looks a bit withered today on his venerable chest, but Biliet still glows when he talks of his travels in the homey shrine to his glory days, and curious neighbour children gather around to hear his living legend.

Hermios Maichi, now about 75 years old, travelled from Jaluit to Japan in the 1930s on a copra ship. He worked as messboy for the officers, having learned Japanese in school on Jaluit and worked as a gardener and busboy for the South Seas Trading Company.

He recalls that when he first saw Japan on the horizon, he eagerly told the captain that they would arrive in a matter of minutes, but the ship took much longer to reach port, as Mount Fuji kept rising above the water far beyond the height of the coconut trees

on his home atolls.

In Tokyo, Yokosuka and Yokohama, he slept aboard ship or in the homes of his Japanese shipmates, who introduced him to sake and strange green tea. He recalls being surprised that fathers and sons bathed together in Japan, a customary taboo in the Marshalls. He came home with two gold teeth and a suitcase full of souvenirs, reunited with his previously estranged wife and later sailed to the Gilberts.

Hermios continued to see his old Japanese shipmates and invited them to his house when they visited Jaluit, since not all Japanese were like those who mistreated the Marshallese during the war years. He claims to have a wider perspective of the world because of his travels. In fact, five years ago he accompanied his ailing son to Hawaii, where his grandson took him to watch "naked"

women playing tennis. That amazed him, he says, so he sipped his soda slowly.

The memory that Eva Robert shared with me demonstrates that many of those islanders who sailed away, like daring astronauts on passing UFOs, disappeared into someone else's history. Her brother George went with other Marshallese recruits on a German ship during World War I and wound up in Hawaii, where he apparently remained without further contact with his family. Only after World War II did she learn from a relative who visited Hawaii that George had died in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour.

Indeed, many islanders today still choose to live (or die) overseas, stretching the cross-cultural frontiers of their peoples far beyond the beaches first settled by their ancestral heroes. □

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Back to basics

A LITTLE bit of history was made in the Marshall Islands capital of Majuro on Saturday September 2. It was not the kind of history the world has become so much used to in this part of the Pacific. It had nothing to do with a strategic location for defence. It had nothing to do with atomic bomb tests or studies of the results from those tests. Not missile tracking, or toxic waste disposal or dumping garbage from the west coast of the United States into the lagoons. It had to do with a cultural tradition that the residents of Majuro haven't seen since World War Two, the ceremonial launching of traditionally designed outrigger sailing canoe.

With funding from the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, which was the recipient of a traditional Marshallese sailing outrigger (*tipnol*, pronounced tib-ing-gull), the Alele National Museum was able to sponsor the Waan Aelon Kein (Canoes of the islands) Project. This new canoe was built not only with a blend of modern and traditional materials, but also with a blend of two cultures, Marshallese and American. The reason this time, though, was not only to replace the original canoe provided to the Field Museum, but also to begin the research needed to provide one of the foundations upon which an educational programme can easily be based. A programme that will be directed to teach young people the skills needed to build *tipnols* based on purely traditional design as well as traditional designs adapted to accommodate contemporary



The tipnol: a little bit of history

materials.

The benefits are numerous. The Marshallese sailing outrigger is an extraordinary achievement of engineering, simple in concept but extremely complex in details of design and construction. Built from natural materials by craftsmen taught by their forefathers, the *tipnol* was unsurpassed in sailing performance anywhere in the world until very recently when lightweight synthetic materials became available to designers schooled in hydrodynamics and aerodynamics.

There are certain very precise techniques in measuring the hulls of the traditional *tipnol*. First of all, after the builder has chosen the log to build the canoe, he decides upon the designs he wishes to build. There are five specific

LIFESTYLE

designs of the Marshallese *tipnol*. They are the *mwijitbok*, *taburbur*, *malmel*, *to-jeik* and *jekad*. The *malmel* was decided upon because of its design capabilities for inter-atoll cargo and transportation, but it also has the ability to go out into the open ocean. In order to keep the accuracy of design, the technique of measuring the hull directly on the breadfruit log was transferred to a scale drawings on paper. Once the drawings were complete to the master canoe-builders' liking, a scale model was produced to enable more fine tuning of the traditional design.

The knowledge of building canoes is generally passed down from father to son. There have been exceptions to these rules, but the master builder is generally careful to pass this knowledge to someone who will use and respect it as a very precious gift. Traditionally, this knowledge is held in the utmost secrecy. Since the proliferation of western values these traditional arts and skills are rapidly vanishing. Luckily the Marshallese people have the foresight to preserve their rich and vibrant heritage, and are even working on reviving many of these skills that have not yet been totally lost.

Jinnade Leon, a canoe builder from Jaluit Atoll, was closely involved in building the replacement canoe for that sent to Chicago. Jinnade can't remember when he first sailed with his father. He just knows that he always could sail. When little, he used to watch his father build canoes. He apprenticed with his father from the age of 12 until he was 24, when he built his first canoe by himself.

During World War Two when Japanese troops occupied Jaluit Atoll, Jinnade was one of many men forced to fish with dynamite in order to feed the troops. A common accident happening throughout the Pacific was for dynamite to explode in the hands of the fisherman because the outside of the fuse was wet while the inside stayed relatively dry; it

used to fool the fisherman and explode in their hands. Jinnade was one of these victims. This didn't stop him from building canoes. As soon as the war was over he started again. The girls wouldn't like him because of his hand, "that was never the case, since I have 17 children." Jinnade is 72 years old and still going strong. That is until he was hit by one of the local taxis while riding a bicycle, two weeks before the canoe was scheduled to be finished for an annual cultural festival that the Alele Museum hosts every year. It slowed him down. But not for long.

It took three days to lash the canoe together using traditional coconut sennit made into line. The canoe is a blend of both modern and contemporary materials. The way that the *tipnol* is measured for a hull built from a breadfruit log had to be transferred somehow to accommodate plywood.

Traditionally, when the log is down and cleaned it is determined how much of the length will be used for the actual hull. The builder then, with the help of a pandanus leaf or a coconut leaf, begins dividing the length of the hull in half, then half again, until there are eight evenly spaced sections on the log. Then, the technique that the Jaluit builder uses, and at this time there are only two builders alive that still use this method, is to find the center line or station. Through intricate and very precise measuring depending on which design the builder wishes to build, he is able to determine the particular hull shape that he desires.

From these preliminary measurements, he lays out his marks and begins chopping the log. The direction that Jinnade took was that he decided what length to build the canoe. Through his measuring techniques, an architect produced to scale on paper a grid in which he divided the proposed length into eight equal parts. In this case 18 feet. The next step was determining the

length of the keel (*bejam*). So for this Jinnade brought in a pandanus leaf and, to scale he showed the architect how he measured for the design he was building. This was the *Jaluit Malmel* design. The architect then transferred this information to scale onto the paper. The process was slow but after four days of drawing and redrawing he was able to accumulate enough information to complete architecture drawings that were accurate to a traditional *malmel* design.

At this point a master builder from another atoll was asked to take a look at the drawings. He and Jinnade got together and discussed the differences in techniques. It was a very interesting meeting because it was discovered that the techniques are different from these two atolls which resulted in the length of the *bejam* line being different. From this point the building began. The architect took the measurements from his scale drawings and put them into full size. He first built a backbone and set it up level so it would accept the shape of the eight even parts of the boat that traditionally was measured. He made these parts out of plywood and set them up on the backbone. After fairing these "stations and trying them all together, the plywood was ready to go. The more they worked the more that the traditional shape took place. Attaching the outriggers and outrigger float, mast and sails were done totally traditionally using traditional materials and woods with the exception of the mast and part of the boom. The sail was made out of nylon which was traditionally built from pandanus. There was wire used to hold the mast up as opposed to the senet. All else was of Marshallese materials.

It felt so good to know that the skill to create all of these things hasn't been lost. And many Marshallese have a strong desire to preserve this skill. Throughout the building most of the details of construction was videotaped to be on hand at the museum for future teaching. □

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HEALTH

The new killer

THE statistics are staggering. In some countries of the Pacific Islands, urban lifestyle diseases now account for 70 to 80 per cent of all deaths. In Nauru, a third of the adult population suffers diabetes. Heart disease is now the most commonly recorded cause of death in many countries. No more do Pacific Islanders live happily only on fish, breadfruit and yam. With more money in their pockets they now drive fancy cars and are eating themselves to death.

"Urban lifestyle diseases such as heart diseases, diabetes, cancer and high blood pressure are now the major cause of death in over half the Pacific Island countries and this death toll is increasing," says the result of a research by the South Pacific Commission. The alarming trend is being attributed to "changing economic and lifestyle patterns" in the region which in recent years saw a rise in the exodus of villagers to the cities and towns. These changes include changes in eating habits, the drop in the level of physical exercise, increase in smoking and alcohol consumption and often the loss of family support systems which normally contributes to emotional and physical well-being.

These lifestyle diseases include heart disease, cancers, diabetes, high blood pressure and gout. Other health problems often associated with these diseases are excessive weight, obesity, tooth decay, alcoholism and motor vehicle injuries.

Heart disease, for example, is now the most commonly recorded cause of death — for all ages and both sexes — in American Samoa, Cook Islands, Fiji (both Fijians and Indians), Guam, Nauru, Northern Marianas, New Caledonia (all groups), Palau, Tonga, French Polynesia and Western Samoa. The South Pacific Commission agrees that in some countries, like American Samoa, the Cook Islands, Guam and the Northern Marianas, the high level of heart disease is due to the aging of the population. "However", it says, "in other countries much of the early death of the men is due to heart disease".

Diabetes is another disease that is now alarming the islands. Some of the secondary diseases caused by it affect the large blood vessels around the heart, the blood vessels of the legs (which leads to amputations), and the small blood vessels of the eyes (which leads to blindness), and damages the kidneys. Patients often die from the complications of diabetes rather than from the disease itself. Because of this it is difficult to determine the exact number of deaths due to diabetes. The rates throughout the Pacific vary from none in some Highlands areas

in Papua New Guinea to a third of the adult population in Nauru. The rates for most Pacific populations that have been studied are higher than among the white New Zealanders, where they are 1.5 per cent for males and 3.9 per cent for females.

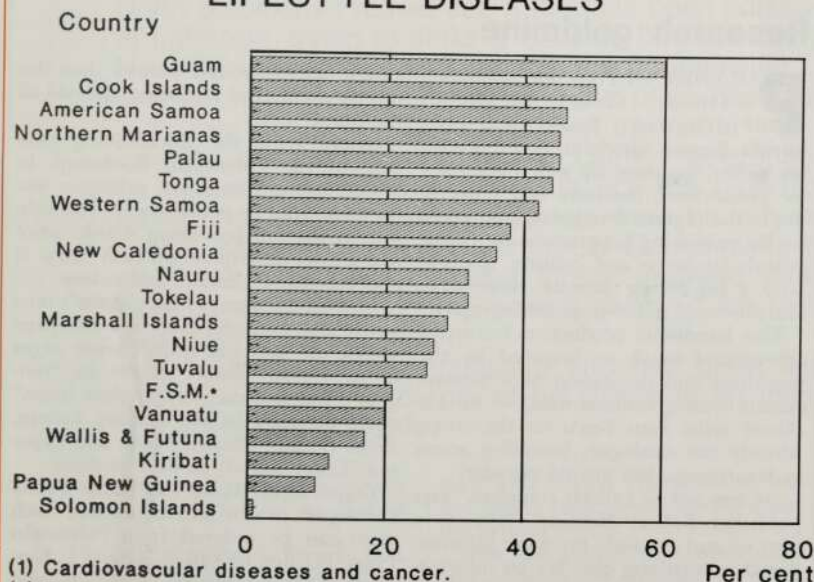
Cancer information in the Pacific Islands is not as complete as for heart disease and diabetes. But it is known that lung cancer is responsible for 30 per cent of all cancers in men in Polynesia and Micronesia and 10 to 15 per cent of all cancers in women in these regions. Smoking plays a major part in lung cancer and a diet poor in Vitamin A may add to the risk of developing cancers. Other cancers prominent in the Pacific Islands are liver cancer which is related to high levels of Hepatitis B infection, and mouth cancer which is related to beetle-nut chewing.

Urban lifestyle diseases is relatively new in the region and it is being escalated by the changes in eating habits and alcoholism. The traditional Pacific Island diet, whether Polynesian, Micronesian or Melanesian, is healthy and usually includes fish, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, breadfruit, fruits and vegetables. It is generally high in fibre, and good for protein, vitamins and minerals. The preference in towns and cities for imported food like mutton flaps (which contains 80 per cent fat), rice, pasta, tinned meat, tinned fish and biscuits have provided the right combination to develop heart diseases, diabetes, gout or high blood pressure. These imported foods are low in fibre, too high in energy levels, and high in sugar, salt and fat.

Poor diet is combined with a life in town where people do not exercise as much as in the village, and where there are a number of worries and stresses not found in the village. This combination explains why many groups of Pacific Islanders are less healthy today than 30, 20 or even 10 years ago, even though medical care has improved and reaches most of the population, especially for the control of infectious diseases.

The South Pacific Commission has suggested a three-pronged attack to reduce the increasing deaths and sickness caused in the region by lifestyle diseases. The first is a campaign to get people to eat more Pacific Islands food. The second phase is the early diagnosis of the disease, its treatment and patient education like screening programmes to prevent the occurrence of complications. The third campaign involves the most expensive group and includes medical treatment to limit disability and to prevent death. The first two stages are the most effective and they are the areas governments are being urged to apply more energy — before death occurs. □

PREVALENCE OF DEATHS FROM URBAN LIFESTYLE DISEASES



Source: Pacific Island Mortality: A review circa 1980, South Pacific Commission. In press.

BOOKS

An aid to teachers

PACIFIC NATIONS AND TERRITORIES: The Islands of Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia 2nd Edition by Reilly Ridgell. 170pp, published by Bees Press Inc. P.O. Box 22388, Honolulu, Hawaii 1988.

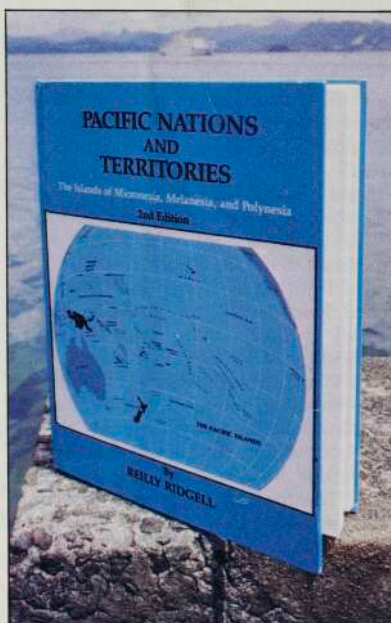
Reviewed by Ngaire Douglas

THE publicity release accompanying this book states: "Until now [1989] no comprehensive book on the history of the Pacific has been available to the general public. Now with the Bees Press's release of the extensively revised second edition of *Pacific Nations and Territories*, there is such a book." This illustrates something which I have long suspected — that publishers do not actually read what they publish. If they had, they would notice that throughout this book the author refers to a number of more comprehensive Pacific texts which have been available in several editions for many years.

That objection aside, author Reilly Ridgell has produced an extremely well written text book which is intended not to provide a detailed resource on individual countries but to enable students and teachers to place their own country within the context of the whole Pacific region. He states in the Foreword that his aim was to provide a resource book which would help teachers in Pacific countries to teach their students about the rest of the Pacific and to compare their own country with other Pacific nations. "To that end this book should help to fill a void in Pacific instructional materials." Ridgell has achieved his aim very well.

The book is divided into two parts and four study units. Part One, Pacific Background, covers basic geology, geography and climate; the "peopling of the Pacific" and post-contact history and development. Simple charts give excellent pictorial descriptions of the evolution of the types of islands found in the region and the development of weather patterns. Throughout the text the many charts and maps have a decidedly freehand appearance but his does not at all detract from their value.

Each short chapter concludes with a vocabulary list of new words, several



questions about the content and suggested further readings. These inclusions should be most useful in providing directions for student projects.

Part Two begins with an introduction to the problems which, in varying degree, are being faced by most Pacific Islands countries. Ridgell identifies the "brain drain", the "urban drift" and the disintegration of traditional lifestyles and cultures which once held these societies together as the major common problems.

The connecting thread through all these issues is the economic difficulties with which governments must confront. Ridgell suggests that fishery resources, if international laws can be established and abided by, will provide the best opportunity for islands economies to achieve a balance.

Chapters 11 to 36 deal with individual countries, classified into the three major Pacific regions. Each potted profile has the subheadings of geography, people and culture, economies and resources, political status and major problems.

Chapter 12 gives a background to the now defunct Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. There is a very good description of the manipulation and neglect experienced by the Micronesians. Although the profiles are brief — 3 to 4 pages — the information is to the point and reads well. The questions and further readings provide starting points for in depth studies.

Pacific Nations and Territories should be in every school and college library in the Pacific and curriculum planners for high school students may find it the best general text book currently available. It would also make good reading for any person interested in an overview of this vast and vital region. □

Research goldmine

POLYNESIAN Press, the publishing offshoot from Auckland's Polynesian Bookshop, the world's biggest specialist South Pacific bookseller, has come up with a goldmine for researchers, institutes and universities in the region. The press, long noted for its publishing programme on Pacific Islands language and cultures (particularly a big-selling Samoan dictionary), has produced a 120-page bibliography.

This handsome production features a ceremonial mask — inspired by the headdress and decoration of a Samoan *manaia* (young untitled man) — by Auckland artist Fatu Feu'u on the cover. Already the catalogue, including access to Maoritanga, has proved popular.

"It may not be entirely complete," says publisher Robert Holding, "but it's a start — and certainly far more informative than anything else. It's an information tool. If people want details about what is published on a special subject, by

an author, or about a country then this will tell them. And it is being updated all the time."

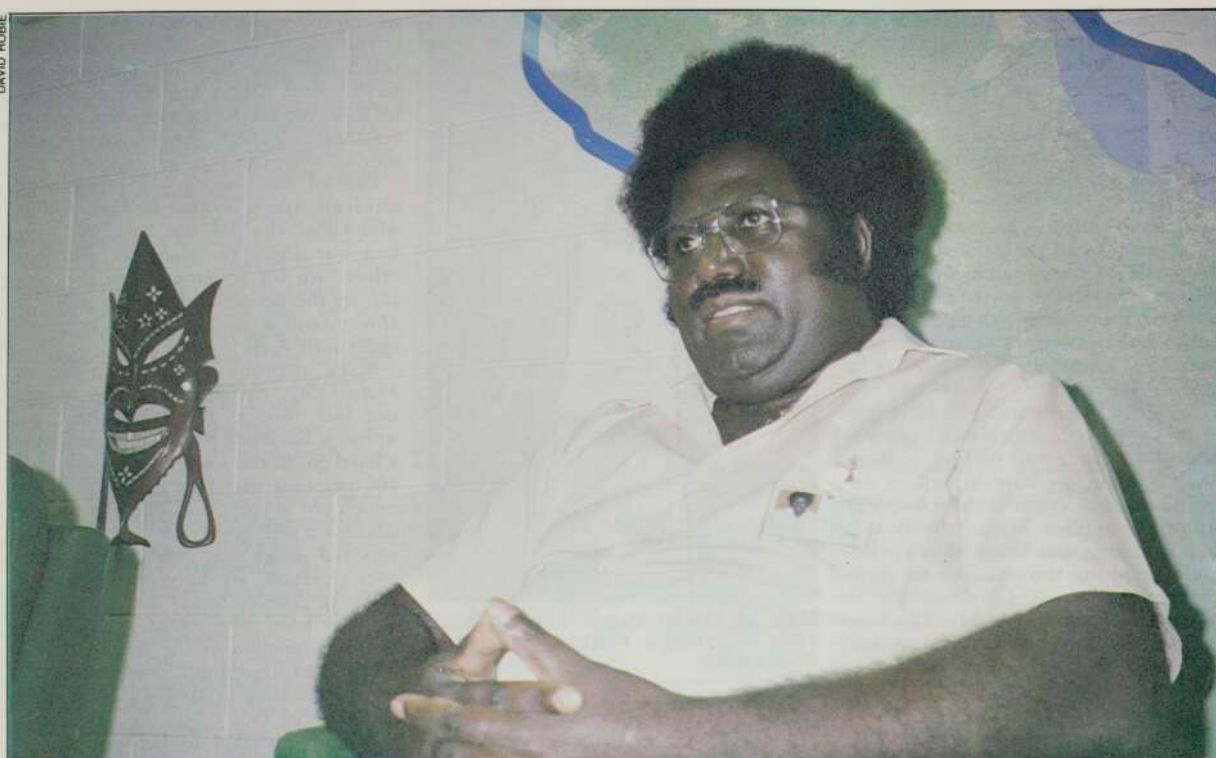
Drawn from the stockholding data base of the Polynesian Bookshop, in Maota Samoa House, the catalogue lists books in print by island, region and subject, giving full publishing details, price and a brief description on each entry. It also lists music cassettes and videos.

And the volume certainly doesn't miss much. For example, there is a two-page section on "arts and crafts", seven pages of entries on "history", three on "religion", and one each on "nuclear issues" and "women". In the country listings, Belau (Palau), Pitcairn Island and Rapanui (Easter Island) all have sections.

Copies of the *Maori and Pacific Books Catalogue* (which will be revised each year) can be ordered from Polynesian Press, PO Box 68-446, Auckland 1, New Zealand. It is free to institutions and US\$12 (posted) for individuals. □

PACIFIC PEOPLE

DAVID ROBIE



Caught in a crossfire

JOE KABUI: Premier, North Solomons, Papua New Guinea

North Solomons Premier Joe Kabui has been poised precariously on a political tightrope, trying to strike a balance between the pressures from the Papua New Guinea national government, the Bougainville Copper Limited executives and the landowner militants. And the price has been high.

In July riot police savagely beat up Kabui and his provincial colleague, Primary Industry Minister Michael Laimo, in revenge for an ambush on police by militants. Kabui was forced to lick the blood of a wounded policeman; Laimo lost an eye after gun barrels were brutally poked into his face.

Now Kabui, once a schoolmate of Bougainville rebel leader Francis Ona, and other ministers face death threats from the militants. The assassination of Commerce Minister John Bika has shocked the rest of the provincial cabinet and other Bougainvilleans.

But Kabui remains optimistic and has great faith in the goodwill of his people. Here are excerpts of his views in an interview with *Pacific Islands Monthly's* **David Robie**:

Why has the idea of being independent remained so powerful for so long in Bougainville?

In the politics of Papua New Guinea, the people of Bougainville have played an important role. Their wisdom has had a big influence on the country's future and has shaped their desire to run

their own affairs. The desire to secede has always been strong among some of the people.

Now the people want more suitable and appropriate changes — political, structural and social changes. The way I look at it perhaps the crisis we have now is because of the feeling of the people of

Bougainville that the spirit and agreements taken out over the provincial system as a compromise were not followed all the way through by the national government. Had this been done we would not be facing this crisis today.

It is the growing up pains of a young nation. It is comparable to the problem

PACIFIC PEOPLE

of teenagers. The teens are the most unpredictable age when growing up, as a boy moves into manhood and a girl enters womanhood. It can be a really explosive time.

It isn't too different for a government. Papua New Guinea has just had its 14th birthday as a nation. And we are now in our teens.

How can the impasse be resolved?

It is going to take a lot of time and a lot of patience among political leaders — among everybody — to grasp and understand the problems as we move further into our second decade of independence. Compromises will have to be made.

We have the structure, we have the means to strengthen provincial government. In an attempt to find a long-lasting solution, we have to look at decentralisation — more local power. It cannot be applied across the board. More autonomy and financial independence depends on the management capabilities of the provinces.

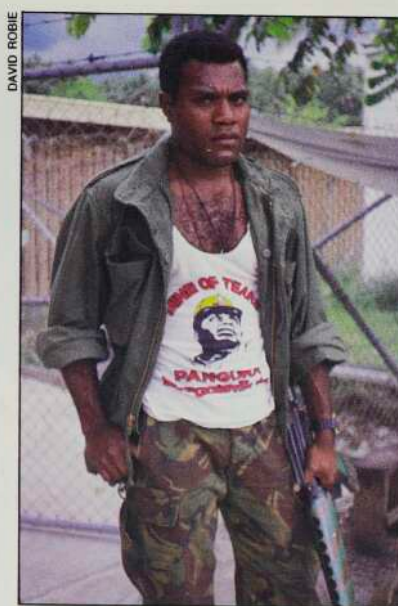
I don't want to see a Middle East here — or a Latin America, an Afghanistan. The world is full of political turbulence. I don't want to see this happen. We need a long-lasting solution.

The national government is committed to devolution of power. This is the only workable and realistic solution. Unfortunately, a minister (Commerce Minister John Bika) has had to pay the price for his report — a well-documented and very comprehensive report. It recommends statehood for the province.

Frustrations have built up so much among our people. They have seen so many government and leaders come and go. So many promises have been made. But they have become empty promises. *What chance is there of the Bika Report being adopted? Can it actually be implemented, or will it become another broken promise?*

Yes, our people have a lot of scepticism towards the national government. And what will happen if the government changes? If the government does change, I can only hope the Namaliu administration's strategies and approach favouring negotiation continue. It is in the best interests of the nation. To maintain the stability of the country it would be unwise to adopt a different approach such as abolition of provincial governments on the basis that they are "cumbersome, inefficient and expensive".

A more centralised government will not solve the problem. Other provinces would revolt against such a system and that could be the final straw in the disintegration of the nation. The system is basically good. The problem is the people. It is like driving a vehicle. The vehicle is good, but if you have a lousy driv-



Mine of Tears: Papua New Guinea soldier with a rebel T-shirt on Bougainville

er at the wheel then the car drives badly.

The Bika Report advocates the strengthening of the provincial system and making it much better, and to give people the sense that they are running their affairs.

Is there a risk of a military takeover if

'The system is basically good. The problem is the people'

the crisis remains unresolved?

The danger of the military cannot be ruled out altogether — especially the way national politics has been played up till now. We need a lot more mature and responsible leaders. Many have the attitude of what can they get out of it.

One of the reasons why seem to be efficiently run is because we have leaders who know why they are here. We have had our share of problems. But our efforts are for government of the people, by the people and for the people. *How would it be possible to negotiate again with Francis Ona?*

Many attempts are made to contact Francis Ona. At first it was okay to contact him. But as the events have got worse, it has made it a lot more difficult. I have got to the stage where I'm nearly 100 per cent sure that Francis is determined not to come out for a round-table discussion with government. It makes me very sad to see that stubbornness of his over secession. We have been doing everything possible to get him to talk but we have been running into a brick wall. His determination not to talk to authorities was expressed in a powerful way by the assassination of Mr Bika. Many of us are a target, too.

I have appealed to the leaders and their militants to put their trust in me. As a leader from here, I know the fears, the pains and the sacrifices they have made. And we are honouring our trust. Even the late minister knew his life was at risk. Many times we have been caught in the crossfire because we have been misunderstood.

Personally, I'm very satisfied about the negotiations (with the national government) up till now. We are trying to answer the demands and are addressing them with long-term and short-term answers. In the short-term, it is a matter



Plastic village: new camp for Bougainvilleans resettled by the army

PACIFIC PEOPLE

of roading, schools, hospital services and so on; long-term are development policies, environment protection, training and localisation, and employment opportunities for the landowners are a priority. It is vital that we persuade the national government to consider elevating provinces to statehood.

Will Ona become isolated if he still refuses to leave his hideout?

His most important reason about not coming out is his cynicism about the government promises — can they be implemented? There has been a lot of debate about an amnesty and the national government has not come out clearly on this. The courts have to prove if he is guilty or not. If the courts do not prove this then he is a free man. Nobody has charged Francis.

The isolation of Francis would depend on the acceptance of the approach that we have taken — an approach towards statehood. Initially the people were for secession but as it has been explained the people came to realise that it is more realistic to look at statehood.

A lot of people are growing fed up with the leaders and security forces and the killing of innocent civilians. The killings don't help anybody, the economy is suffering and people are displaced from their homes and their living. People are getting fed up. There is a general feeling that we should have a peaceful solution. Francis is so adamant that he wants secession that he will lose support.

Why were you the target of such a savage attack by the riot police last July?

It was a classical example of how we are being caught as the meat in the sandwich. But it wasn't a surprise to us. It could happen at any time. It was an incident that could have blown the whole crisis out of proportion — into an all-out conflict between the people of Bougainville and the security forces. It will not be solved through violence, strong arm tactics and vengeance. Negotiations is the answer.

And now?

The militants believe we have not stuck to the spirit of their demands. They feel betrayed. Several golden opportunities have come up to resolve the crisis. But incidents have been fuelled by certain groups and individuals in the province. There have been several examples of this exploitation.

If the company had taken my advice and listened to the landowners, Francis would not have been forced to go the way he has. Francis saw himself as running up against a brick wall — he was forced to become a militant.

Francis Ona was a quiet man, highly disciplined and highly respected by the people for his integrity. His determination to achieve his goal means the crisis has spilled over for the whole nation. □

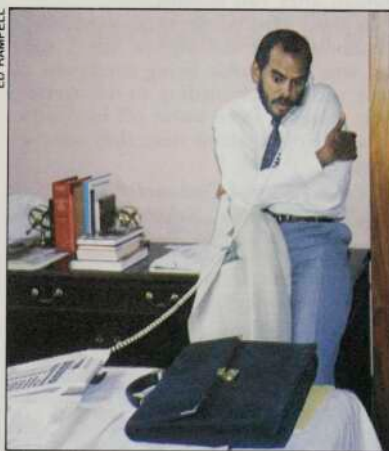
Fofo leaves prison

FORMER American Samoa Congressman Fofo Sunia was discharged from a United States prison in late September and is said to be planning to return to Samoa to teach and do social work. Sunia spent 11 months at the Federal Correctional Facility at Lompoc, California, one of the pleasant institutions of its type, following a guilty plea for misusing Federal funds.

The four-term Congressman, with the help of his Administrative Assistant Matthew Iuli, had placed ghost employees on his payroll for several years. The charge was that he had siphoned-

off more than US\$130,000 in this manner, which he used to entertain Samoans visiting the US capital. Sunia resigned his seat in the House of Representatives in the fall of 1988, and did not seek re-election.

Sunia was sentenced to 15 months in prison, and was told to pay a US\$65,000 fine. His prison record was such that he was given "90 days good time" and left prison early as a result. Iuli, once one of the best-paid staff members on Capitol Hill, received a lesser sentence and is now selling real estate in the Washington suburbs. □



Van Lierop: election at United Nations

TONGAN businessman Ronald Vea is the new president of the Pacific Islands Association of Chambers of Commerce (PIACC). He replaces Asi Eikeni Fruean, of Western Samoa, who was president for the past two years. Other officials: vice-presidents — Mulchand Patel (Fiji), Frank King (Vanuatu), Baie Teanako (Kiribati), Daniel DeFrance (New Caledonia).

• Don Mundell has been appointed the New Zealand marketing representative for Tonga Visitors Bureau.

• Vanuatu's Ambassador to the United Nations, Robert Van Lierop, has been elected chairman of the General Assembly's Fourth Committee on Decolonisation. Van Lierop is a black American and works as a New York lawyer. He has been representing Vanuatu at the United Nations since independence in 1980.

• Brigadier-General Rochus Loikinap has been re-instated as Commander of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force. He was suspended after soldiers rioted in Port Moresby last February, demanding more pay. The force's Chief of Staff, Colonel Kerry Frank, who was also

suspended after the riots, has been reinstated, too.

• Hideo Tarmeteet has regained his seat in the Palau parliament after a by-election landslide victory. The seat became vacant when Tarmeteet was convicted on charges of aggravated assault and possession of firearms. Palau President, Ngiratkel Etpison later pardoned Tarmeteet and called the by-election.

• Vanuatu's Trade and Industry Secretary, Clarence Marae, was fined US\$8,300 in the Supreme Court in Port Vila after pleading guilty to charges of bribery. He admitted receiving US\$14,000 from a Taiwanese logging company, Tien Chiu Enterprises, when the company was applying for a logging licence on the island of Malekula. Justice Edwin Goldsborough also imposed a two-year suspended jail sentence on Marae and ordered him to pay court costs.

• The Solomon Islands last known cannibal is dead. Timothy Rikihauna, known to be at least a century old, is reported to have first eaten human flesh in 1917. He was married at least three times and is survived by at least 80 descendants — not one is yet known to have acquired his eating habit.

• Rolland Dausabea has been elected president of Honiara Town Council. He replaces Valentine Wale who lost his seat in the council elections in September. Alwyn Wa'ako was elected vice-president.

• Hammer DeRoburt lost his appeal in the United States to revive a libel lawsuit against the *Guam Daily News*. The Ninth US Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the 1985 ruling by the Federal Jury in Hawaii which ruled in favour of the newspaper. DeRoburt had sought damages for a story published by the *Guam Daily News* saying he secretly approved as president of Nauru a US\$600,000 loan to a Marshall Islands political group which favoured separating the islands from Micronesia. DeRoburt argues the loan was legal and a matter of public record. □

ISLAND PRESS

Reports from the papers. Compiled by John Carter



From the Papua New Guinea Post Courier, Port Moresby

PITCAIRN'S Co-op Store has been re-vamped.

For the first two weeks during April, the store came under the saw and the hammer as first much of its existing construction was flattened. Replacing the old was a major undertaking, totally dependent on the skills of the community.

With an increased floor area and a totally different interior, the new look, bright clean shop with its twin checkout counters and stock displayed can best be described as a mini supermarket. The only things missing being the trolleys, wire baskets and uniforms for the checkout operators.

Opening day saw the cash drawers pass the \$1000 mark and everyone agrees the end result of this public work and undertaking has benefitted all on Pitcairn. With the arrival of the ACT 4 supply ship, it won't be long before the shelves are restocked and the co-op becomes a central gathering place during opening hours.

From *The Pitcairn Miscellany*, Pitcairn Island

A LAE magistrate told police to use "commonsense" in making arrests during the curfew.

District Course magistrate George Kiak said some of the people brought before the court had actually been arrested on their own premises.

One couple, he said, was standing outside their house.

But within their home boundary and greeted police with: "Hello." They were both arrested and charged with violating the curfew order.

From the *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, Port Moresby

ON a flight from Auckland to Tongatapu, I happened to be sitting by a couple who were returning home from a holiday leave in Australia and New Zealand. They were intending to be away for three months, but decided they had had

enough after two months.

In describing their time away, they mentioned that the biggest shock they had was the terrible living conditions of their relatives. According to this couple, their relatives were worse off in Australia and New Zealand than they were in Tonga.

From Editorial Comment in *The Times of Tonga*, Nukualofa

A BUSINESS executive says employers are concerned about new recruits who are poor readers, mathematicians and communicators.

The Motibhai Group's administration manager, Mr Ram Lakhan Prasad, said business people were concerned about the lack of education of their new recruits.

He said it was difficult to find able and skilled workers.

From *The Fiji Times*, Suva

A SECURITY guard apparently slept while thieves broke into the premises he was guarding and made off with a safe containing almost K16,000 in cash, police said.

Central Province police commander Daniel Lingonge said that while the guard slept at his post, someone raided the premises of Aniware Enterprises at Kwikila.

From the *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, Port Moresby

FORMER senior Public Servant, Sir Paulius Matane, has predicted a troublesome future for Papua New Guinea.

"Greed, hatred, hunger for power and corruption throughout this nation seem to be the goal in life for thousands of people," he said.

"We are spending directly along the road to destruction, to total chaos as has been experienced in many developing countries."

Sir Paulius was speaking at the Balob Teachers College 25th anniversary

celebration at which he was the guest of honour.

From the *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, Port Moresby

MRS KAMACHI Chandar, 52, of Nasinu shows the coconut tree her family has come to revere because of its unique nature and the family's belief that their luck changed since acquiring the tree.

The dry coconut was an offering from a devotee at a special prayer function at the Chandar's home temple. The coconut developed a shoot five days after the ceremony and eight days later, bore tiny fruits without the plant ever flowering.

Scores of people have flocked to the Chandar's home to marvel at the unusual tree. Some have taken fruits home. Mrs Chandar said they planted the shoot next to the temple and were astounded to see four other shoots emerging from the single seedling. New shoots sprang and every three months and this week Mrs Chandar counted 10 plants.

From a picture caption in *The Fiji Times*, Suva

IN last week's edition of the paper, we reported on the departure of the Norfolk Island team for the South Pacific Mini Games which are being held in the Kingdom of Tonga.

At the same time, we recorded the fact that the team was taking up 200 pine trees as a presentation to the people of Tonga, from the Lions Club of Norfolk Island.

We would add here, that the Lions Club have sent three previous shipments of pine trees to Tonga but these have all been ear-marked by His Majesty the King — presumably for planting in and around the Palace at Nuku'alofa.

Imagine our surprise when we received the first fax from Brian Bates which said, "The King was thrilled with his Pine trees"!!!!

From *The Norfolk Islander*, Norfolk Island



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