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# PACIFIC ISLANDS

M O N T H L Y

Vol 62 No. 11

THE NEWS MAGAZINE

NOVEMBER 1992

## FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

## LETTERS

## BOUGAINVILLE

to end to PNG-Solomon border problems



PNG army: treating Bougainville civilian

A sequence of events towards resolution

## POLITICS

the charter that spells disillusionment

## COVER STORIES

Hawaiian nationalism — the wild card

the coup against sovereignty

## BUSINESS

regulating casinos — a government challenge

4 Sugar's not-so-sweet deal

5 Fiji's struggle to bridge the economic gap

## DISASTER

6 Hurricane Iniki — Hawaii's major calamity

## ADVERTISING FEATURE

Malaysia-Fiji trade links sealed

Banking on the future

Courtesy is paying off

## EDUCATION

The power of knowledge

Adding the local flavour

Discriminating evidence



Military assistance: after Hurricane Iniki struck

## FASHION

22 Lasting impressions

## CUISINE

24 The melting pot of culinary delight

## PROFILE

27 Taking them under her wing 50

## YACHTING

28 All in the family 54

## SHIPPING

32 Shipping schedules 57

## COLUMNISTS

34 Jemima Garrett 9

35 David Barber 11

38 Bill McCabe 45

Margot O'Neill 51

Alfred Sasako 53

**COVER —** Hawaiian artist Herb Kane's painting at Volcanoes National Park, Hawaii.



Samoan high fashion: with a difference

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

## Of schools and learning

FIJI'S Education Minister, Taufa Vakatale, has spoken out against, what she calls the weakness of her country's education system — too much emphasis on exams, and as a result, exam-oriented subjects. She decries the situation in most schools where the priority is to complete the year's syllabus so that students can successfully sit for the exams.

With such an emphasis on passing exams, students are becoming more and more programmed into cramming texts, learning the facts rote fashion, with little regard to whether they have developed fully as young adults.

The situation Vakatale criticises is not prevalent in Fiji alone. Far too many schools, in far too many countries in the region, seem to be measuring students' success according to their success in examinations. While it is agreed exams form an important part of a child's education, they are not the be all and end all of a child's learning experience.

How many instances have we come across where a child's self-worth has been cruelly dashed because he or she did not excel in the academic subjects at school? Similarly, we have also come across cases of children having an exaggerated opinion of themselves — an opinion which does not always endure when faced with the harsh tests of the real-life world.

A large part of the blame for this warped system of valuing people's worth lies with the society. A society, which has for far too long, valued its members by their academic brilliance. And this brilliance is usually measured in terms of academic qualifications, rather than being based on how the qualifications are applied. It only takes a quick glance around us to realise success need not depend on academic excellence alone.



Vakatale: keen to set the system right

At the same time, there still remains a need for exams in our schools. There will undoubtedly be students who will be aspiring for higher learning. And, although, this number is small, they need to be catered to. There will still need to be a yardstick to measure who are capable to continue with further education.

But the criteria for selection can be modified, from the present system of how much a student has learnt, to maybe, how much he is capable of learning, or how capable he is at grasping and understanding ideas and theories.

But for the changes to take place there needs to be commitment from the policy-makers and initiative from those who will be implementing the policies to bring about an education system that is, above all, working towards nurturing better citizens for their respective countries.

Another criticism Vakatale has of the education system is the teachers' inability,

or reluctance, to take advantage of the opportunities offered within the school curriculum to digress into areas of discussion which are not specific to the exams. Why must they stop where the syllabus does? What about encouraging the children's natural thirst for knowledge and exploring related areas of interest?

A common complaint is that teachers have lost their dedication and are increasingly looking at their jobs as mere eight-to-four jobs. Commitment and dedication to the profession have become rare. Few value the enormous responsibility they have, along with parents, in shaping a generation of citizens.

Perhaps poor remuneration has something to do with the lukewarm attitude teachers bring to their jobs. Perhaps lack of resources and facilities frustrate genuine desires.

Perhaps there is a need for governments to re-assess the role of education and teachers in their plans — especially as they draw up budgetary allocations.

We can only hope as more countries become aware of the shortfalls of the system they will bring in changes so that schools truly become institutions of learning.

Normally, the Pacific region tends to rely on methods tried and tested in the developed regions of the world before adapting them to our needs. Maybe, for a change, we can initiate our own system in education — a system which does not ignore the role of tradition and culture in our development, which merges academic qualifications with practical application and which is tailored to the unique needs of the Pacific.

# LETTERS

## Kanak debate

Madam,

In her most recent proclamation as the mouthpiece for us, the Kanak people, Ounei-Small is perhaps trying to make up for the fact that she was no where to be seen in Kanaky during *les evenements* of the 1980s. By purposefully misinterpreting Newborn's letter to suit her own personal agenda, and maligning those who risk much to help us and others in the Pacific, she is playing directly into the hands of the mining and nuclear industries; hardly the tactics of a street-wise activist.

The Kanak people are not, and never have been, "acutely aware" of the environmental and health problems associated with the mining industry in our country, neither have we made it a focus of our struggle "for decades", as Ounei-Small states. Perhaps she needs reminding that the reason my comrade, Poi Machoro, blocked the Thio mine for three months in 1984 was to paralyse the territory's economy, not to demonstrate about pollution. However, Julian K and Antonin C, with whom I was imprisoned, blocked the mine of N'Goye in 1979 because of pollution. This, and the protest in 1983 by the brave families of Oinde Ouipont against the logging of their forest and the pollution of their stream, are the only two occasions when Kanaks have scratched the surface of environmental issues. I helped organise a protest of May 1985, (not 1986), the day a young Kanak was killed by fascist French settlers (not by the army) in the entrance to one of our ghettos in Oumea, a protest which focussed on political themes but also included a denunciation of French nuclear testing. Ounei-Small should check her facts with those of us who were there at the time before attempting to write our history for

Much can be done to try and solve these problems raised in Newborn's letter, without having to wait — as Ounei-Small would have us — for that time when France will relinquish all economic and political powers. Kanak activists, young and old, have come together to form our first environmental sure group and we have recently been collecting samples of nickel pollution for independent analysis outside Kanaky. And this year, for the first time in its history, the FLNKS Congress passed a resolution on the environment.

Perhaps the years living outside the struggle, and the privilege of a foreign education, have contributed to Ounei-Small's short-sightedness and self-aggrandizing perspective which stifles the slightest possibility of an authentic Kanak debate. Those of us who stayed behind to fight, however, are more humble about the role we played in the continuing struggle for Kanak independence and the suffering we have all endured, Kanak and non-Kanak alike.

On what grounds does Ounei-Small give herself the right to prevent others from giving us necessary information with which to further our cause? She offers no pragmatic solutions to a struggle from which she has long been absent. Neither is she, nor has she ever been, the spokesperson for my people.

Luc Tutugoro  
Minister for Economic Development  
— Gouvernement de Kanaky

## Right to criticise

Madam,

Susanna Small's recent letter (*PIM*, September, 1992) raises an interesting point: who are, and who are not, permitted to criticise so-called "indigenous peoples", what they do, say or write?

By her own criteria, Susanna Small could silence all non-indigenous reports for the people of Bougainville or East Timor, or any discussion on the Fiji Constitution or the destruction of tribal homelands in Malaysia.

Has she not realised that neo-colonialism in the Pacific is not race or colour specific?

Anaru Dyer  
Auckland,  
New Zealand

## Pacific research

Madam,

Stuart Schwartzstein, (*PIM*, September, 1992) has some unflattering things to say about Pacific anthropology against which he suffers a "visceral reaction". Now while no one could nor would want to defend all past anthropological research, cultural awareness will be vitally important for the success of any future research efforts and it is anthropologists — both metropolitan and island based — who have provided much of this cross-cultural understanding. If National Science Foundation supports new Pacific research let us hope they invite the collaboration of local, island anthropologists who understand Pacific cultures. They, unlike some well-paid non-anthropological sorts, typically spend longer than "one day — or [even] five in a place." Dr Schwartzstein cites "the old joke about the typical Pacific family, a mother, father, two kids and the live-in anthropologist." Equally well-known nowadays are expensive research and developmental projects that have been both pernicious and disastrous because of a lack of local cultural awareness — and these are not jokes. An anthropologist might begin by explaining to Dr Schwartzstein that "a mother, father and two kids" in no way is "the typical Pacific family!"

Lamont Lindstrom  
Oklahoma,  
USA.



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**BOUGAINVILLE**

# No end to PNG-Solomon



**Australian government donated IROQUIS helicopter: in use on Bougainville**



**PNG troops: boarding trucks for Bougainville**

**By Wally Hiambohn**

PAPUA NEW GUINEA's deputy Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan while attending a meeting of World Bank and International Monetary Fund governors in New York in late September decided he should also drop in for a "chat" with the United Nations Security Council President Dr Jose Ayala Lasso and its members.

Sir Julius took the opportunity to brief Lasso on the Bougainville situation, including the recent incident in which PNG troops crossed over into neighbouring Solomon Islands and allegedly killed two people, shot an child and abducted a man.

A Solomon Islands delegation had also been present in New York to take the issue to the Security Council, and to seek a UN intervention in addressing the Bougainville crisis and its spill-over effects into their country.

After consulting both sides Lasso announced the Security Council had decided the two countries should resolve the matter between themselves and that there was no need for UN intervention.

Sir Julius happily reported back that he was successful in persuading Lasso's council that PNG had taken swift action to resolve the dispute.

"I told them (members of the council) that the incident happened; that we were very quick to reconcile all the issues raised by the Solomons government and I didn't see any need for the Solomons to prematurely ask for UN intervention at this time," Sir Julius told reporters when he returned to PNG on October 3.

He said he told the council the PNG

government intended to put those members of the security force involved through the legal process and that PNG was prepared to pay compensation for damages done.

"I'm so happy the UN has responded favourably to our presentation and I think that is all we can do at this point," he said.

While the two sides ponder — one bitterly and the other with regret — over the incident and seek dialogue, one pertinent question remains.

Could this incident and many others over the past four years been avoided or minimised?

Since 1989, officials of both sides have had numerous discussions on how to deal with the spill over effects. A key consideration was for a border surveillance leading to a Memorandum of Understanding being signed in 1990 for this surveillance.

Under this MOU Solomon Islands was responsible for the provision of one patrol boat; the cost and manning of all necessary logistical and administrative support to the program from the Solomon Islands side; the establishment of a surveillance centre and staff; and the provision of backup liaison between the two surveillance centres of both countries.

The government of PNG on the other hand was to be responsible for the provision of boats and crew for surveillance purposes as agreed, within an agreed area of operation; the provision and manning of surveillance centre to be located in an appropriate location; the cost of administering the program for the PNG side; and taking necessary actions

on any other issues related to the program from time to time.

Although the idea of a joint operation has not been fully supported by the Solomon Islands on legal grounds, it claims its has, since the MOU, markedly improved its presence along the border, both in terms of the personnel and the regularity of the patrols.

It says that while it had been willing to co-operate, its major constraints have been its inability to sustain the cost of operation indefinitely and its inability to effectively police the extensive boundary.

It further claims that it had observed PNG had also not fulfilled its obligations under the MOU.

"It has never been able to command a presence on the border. This failure has led to the situation on the border to deteriorate and to cause the BRA (Bougainville Revolutionary Army) elements and others to move freely into Solomon Islands territory," the government claimed in a recent document.

"In our view these violations have been completely ignored by the Namaliu government," it said. "It protested to Solomon Islands government against matters such as the illegal BRA office in Honiara and the presence of Miriori in the Solomon Islands but sees little or no sensitivity in these violations."

The report concluded, "The effects of Bougainville have already been adversely felt in the Solomon Islands. It is in the interest of the Solomon Islands to co-operate with and be helpful to PNG in finding a lasting peaceful solution".

PNG however, sees things differently. It says it has kept its part of the bargain and maintained regular naval patrols using its part of the bargain.

# Islands border problems



**PNG troops:** boarding patrol boats for Bougainville

This it says has been evident in security forces apprehending illegal crossers, even pursuing rebels who flee across the border to hide.

Islands in the Shortland Group were being used as bases to conduct militant activities against security forces without the Solomon Islands doing anything about it.

The Solomon Islands government's approval of a Bougainville Revolutionary Army office in Honiara, granting of Solomon Islands visas to leaders of the secessionist movement, and the repeated use of its territory by foreigners as an entry point to illegally enter Bougainville have also upset Port Moresby.

Sentiments this week by Opposition leader Sir Michael Somare, who had a lot to do with the Bougainville issue when a government, would sum up the PNG position.

He said the tendency by Solomon Islands to give "support and recognition" to the Bougainville Revolutionary Army was at the root of the on-going problems between the two countries.

"BRA offices have been opened in the Solomon Islands, and BRA sympathisers and quasi-officials such as Bishop John Ale and Martin Miriori, have been granted visas by Solomons governments while they are clearly citizens of Papua New Guinea," Sir Michael said.

"Had these doubtless well-meaning actions not taken place, and had Solomon Islands turned its back on this

PNG domestic issue, troops would not have played such an active part on and around the border areas between our two nations."

"Two adjoining nations must have total respect for each other's sovereignty and it is the Solomons who first put that respect in jeopardy, by their attitude towards the BRA."

The new Wingti government should also shoulder some blame.

Since taking office on July 17, it has not announced its policies on Bougainville thus leaving people, more so the security force, ignored and frustrated.

Government officials have said, since Wingti's first move last month to patch up relations with the Solomons, there had been no follow-up to initiatives he and Mamaloni agreed to at an extraordinary meeting of the Melanesian Spearhead Group in Port Vila, Vanuatu.

Known as the Vila Statement, officials at both political and bureaucratic levels were to meet regularly to define and put in place measures to address the spill-over effects.

Known as the Vila Statement, it was based on the two countries resolve to;

Work together and in accordance with Melanesian traditions and shared interests to speedily and amicably address the spill-over effects of the crisis.

The Vila Statement was based on the two countries' resolve to —

- Work together and in accordance with Melanesian traditions and shared interests to speedily and amicably address the spill-over effects of the crisis;

- Recognise that the historical, cultural and human interactions of the two countries' citizens would continue to be an important consideration in resolving issues which affect both countries;

- Adopt a comprehensive and mutually agreed approach to effectively deal with the crisis on Bougainville in as far as the crisis affects both countries' national interests; and

- Reaffirm their government's view that the Bougainville crisis is an internal matter for PNG to resolve given the constitutional, moral and human dimensions associated with the crisis.

Officials of both countries were to have met soon after this statement to further pursue areas of co-operation but have not done so.

According to one PNG official, while bureaucrats were keen to keep the ball rolling following the success of the Vanuatu trip, political direction was to "go slow and take it as it comes".

In fact Wingti personally said when he first took office as prime minister, the Bougainville issue was a complex one and he was in no hurry to address it.

The Wingti government intends to spell out its policies on Bougainville in the November session of Parliament.

□

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# The Asian Connection

The 15-member Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum (APEC) is one of the world's newest international economic institutions and, according to Iremiah Tabai, former President of Kiribati and now the region's most senior bureaucrat, is vital to the island nations.

Tabai, who is Secretary-General of the South Pacific Forum Secretariat told APEC's ministerial meeting in Bangkok in September "quite simply, the APEC economies are the major economic partners of all 13 island nations that I represent. They are our main aid donors, our main sources of tourists, the main distant water fisheries resources. Most important of all they are our main markets for our still small, but expanding industries, taking more than three quarters of our region's exports.

Tabai's address was an historic step for the islands. Although the Forum Secretariat has had observer status since APEC was established, it has never before been granted speaking rights at a ministerial meeting. Tabai used the opportunity to tell the powerful APEC ministers not to forget the island nations.

He spelled out the links between APEC and the islands "because sometimes we observe a distressing tendency for discussion of co-operation in the Pacific Basin to be pitched solely in terms of the nations of the Pacific rim.

"It is as if the Pacific Ocean were nothing but a vast empty space, inconveniently getting in the way of attempts to forge closer ties among rim nations."

Passing through Sydney on his way back from his Asian tour Tabai also had a stiff message for the island nations.

"After attending this meeting there is only one way (the islands are going to play a bigger role in APEC)", Tabai said. "That is that our member countries must make more of an effort to attend the meetings.

"They simply cannot say APEC is important to them without making an attempt to try and get involved.

"That is the basic message that we are going to advise governments".

Since it was established in 1989 APEC has grown from shaky beginnings to become the pre-eminent economic co-operation body in the region. As a result of the Bangkok meeting it will set up a permanent secretariat in Singapore. That secretariat will provide a home for APEC's detailed 10-point work program which already covers projects designed to identify practical ways of co-operating on everything from telecommunications and trade promotion to fisheries and customs harmonisation.

## AUSTRALIA



**JEMIMA GARRETT**

It is here where many of the benefits could be found for the islands nations. APEC contains many of the powerful economies in the world including China, Japan, Taiwan, the United States and the six ASEAN countries.

As Tabai sees it, selective involvement in the work program plus the political clout conferred by participation in the ministerial level meetings, would deliver dividends.

In the work program key areas for island participation might include —

- \* The Asia-Pacific Multi-Lateral Human Resources Development Initiative — which includes a range of training and education activities focussed on economic and business management and technology.

- \* Trade Promotion — computer networks to exchange trade. Industrial and business information are already operating

and the First Asia-Pacific International Trade Fair is planned to take place in Japan in 1994.

- \* Tourism — major research is looking at the interrelationship of tourism and aviation and attempting to identify barriers to tourism and ways of improving tourism training.

- \* Fisheries — work is underway to increase international co-operation on fisheries management as well as in identifying opportunities for the transfer of harvesting and post-harvesting technologies between APEC participants.

Fisheries is an example of just how crucial APEC participation could be. With 60 per cent of the world's tuna now being caught in the South Pacific, fishing is shaping up as a long-term mainstay for small island economies. The fact that APEC harbours the world's most powerful, and in some cases environmentally recalcitrant, fishing nations has not escaped the Honiara-based Forum Fisheries Agency which is playing a key role in APEC's fisheries work program.

For Iremiah Tabai the most important aspect of APEC is its ability to foster the Pacific islands fledgling export industries. Outside trade with Australia and New Zealand, the South Pacific forum's only member nations in APEC, no-one believes this will be easy. The low wages, competitive environment and industry profile of many Asian nations make it a difficult market for island exports.

Tabai's solution begins with gaining a finger on the APEC pulse by being seen as an active player. At this stage he suggests island nations make more use of the opportunity to attend APEC as part of the Forum Secretariat delegation. In the future some, led by Papua New Guinea which hopes to be granted full APEC membership in 1994, may want to send their own delegations.

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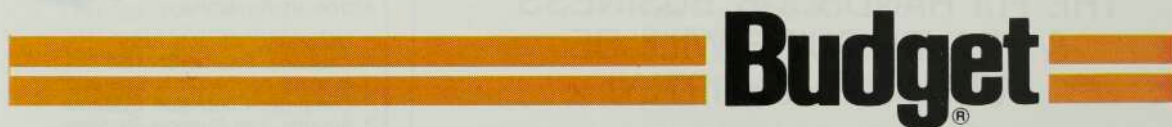
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# Scaling new heights

DIPLOMATIC appointments are not always hugely significant in the great scheme of things, but the New Zealand government's decision to name Tia Barrett as its new High Commissioner to the Solomon Islands defies that generalisation on two counts.

Firstly, it is important for the Maori people, and secondly, it marks a significant development in New Zealand's relations with the Melanesian sector of the South Pacific regional community.

For Barrett is the first Maori career diplomat to be appointed head of a New Zealand diplomatic mission overseas. The illustrious Sir Charles Bennett (High Commissioner to Malaya 1959-63) and General Brian Poananga (High Commissioner to Papua-New Guinea 1974-76) preceded him as heads of posts, but they were both political appointees.

Barrett was one of the first three Maori recruited to join the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1973, following a campaign initiated by former Prime Minister Norman Kirk. His two colleagues have moved on to other things, leaving him the first Maori to rise through the ranks to the pinnacle of a diplomatic career.

As such, his appointment is an important encouragement to younger Maori to realise that they too can achieve the heights in a diplomatic service that has, for far too long, been dominated by *pakeha*. (To be fair, Barrett points out that qualified Maori graduates have tended to move into other areas of the community, like tribal authorities, Maori development organisations and the law, where their skills were sorely needed. "We did not want to sap that strength from areas where it was required," he says.)

About another dozen Maori are coming through the diplomatic ranks of the renamed Ministry of External Relations and Trade, but they are still at junior level and it will be some time before another rises to head of mission status.

Barrett's appointment is regionally important because it reflects the government's deliberate choice of a Melanesian capital in which to base him. He has already served in Tonga as deputy High Commissioner (1987-89) and if it had been simply a matter of posting him to the Pacific, it would have been easy to wait until a suitable vacancy in Polynesia occurred. (Former Foreign Minister Russell Marshall had long ago earmarked Barrett to open the New Zealand mission in French Polynesia that he had set his heart on, but that proposal has now been shelved for budgetary reasons.)

As it is, Barrett (who served in New Caledonia as vice-consul in the mid-'70s) has a unique opportunity to forge valuable new personal links between Melanesia and New Zealand's Polynesian population, thereby increasing mutual understanding in the region.

WELLINGTON



DAVID  
BARBER

While his appointment gives him enormous satisfaction personally and on behalf of his people, it is this multi-cultural aspect of his new job that he is particularly looking forward to.

"It will be a time of discovery," he told me. "There were some very early Maori connections with the Solomon Islands, going back maybe 1000 years, that I am keen to explore. There are Polynesian people living in the Solomons who speak languages very similar to ours and I'd like to find out more about them.

"I'll be going on voyages of discovery into the Melanesian lifestyle and customs which will be

very very interesting. I think that probably there is a lot we can learn from each other.

"I'm interested in learning what makes the Melanesian people tick and how we can contribute to their development - what we as Maori have learned which could be applicable to them."

Barrett says a lot of Pacific development has been driven by European ideology, customs and traditions. "As Maori, we have started from a different base, but I think there may be things in our development now which we could usefully offer."

He cites as one example the success of the *kohanga ra*o program, which he says has saved the Maori language from extinction. While it may not in itself be applicable to the Solomons, he wonders if it could be adapted to help the islands overcome their acute problem of having only 24 per cent literacy.

Barrett says he would like to see New Zealand's aid — now worth just over \$NZ4 million a year — directed to developing literacy. But he emphasises that he is not going to Honiara with preconceived ideas. "I am not going with all the answers. I want to listen to where they have got and where we can help."

New Zealand's overseas aid budget is dwindling and Barrett admits it is not easy to stretch it to meet all the demands. "But it's quality, not quantity, that counts and we have to make sure that every dollar is spent in the best way."

He is also interested in the political development of the Solomons and regards himself fortunate that he will be there in time to witness next year's elections.

Nobody taking up the post could fail to be aware of the Bougainville issue, and Barrett says New Zealand, which has friends on both sides, will continue to do what it can to help bring about a solution that is satisfactory to both sides.

Barrett, who is from the Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Apakura tribes, is highly respected among his people. His last job in the ministry was as director for Kaupapa Maori, responsible for providing advice on Maori interests at home and abroad.

□

POLITICS

# The charter that spells

By Karin von Strokirch

THE conclusions presented at the end of July by the Development Charter in Tahiti were indicative of the profound social and economic malaise pervading the territory. The reports were the result of a week-long conference by over 30 groups comprising 350 leading members of the community. The participants came from diverse professional backgrounds ranging from public servants and businessmen to religious leaders. Their task was to identify the 10 main obstacles to development in the territory and to propose 10 priority areas for reform. The groups, independently of each other, produced a damning indictment of politicians as a group, regardless of party affiliation. But other sectors, such as the public service, trade unions and churches were also subject to heavy criticism for their part in putting the brakes on development.

It is no coincidence that this comprehensive reflection on the territory's present and future directions came only three months after the announcement of the nuclear test moratorium. The decision sent shock waves through the territory. The temporary, and what must eventually be a permanent, suspension of the tests, has driven home the need for an urgent examination of ways in which the Pacific Test Centre's (CEP) dominant role in the economy for the last 30 years can be replaced.

The concept of a Development Charter was initiated by President Gaston Flosse and agreed to in Paris under a protocol signed by the state and the territory on May 14, 1992. This meeting was to a large extent designed to reassure the territory France would not simply desert it in the wake of the CEP. The first phase of the charter was based in Papeete. Now the charter co-ordinators are consulting with rural districts and outer islands. On the basis of the charter's conclusions and proposals the territorial government will attempt to produce a long term development strategy. The French state, in turn, is committed to assist in the implementation of the new development strategy, entitled Pact for Progress, the terms of which will be negotiated by January 1993.

Although France has signalled its preparedness to participate, the onus is clearly being placed on French Polynesia

to take responsibility for its future. The reports of the Development Charter in late July expressed the utter disillusionment of the population with their political leaders. To quote but one such view: "There can be no real reforms with a political class composed, by a large majority, of incompetent and immature men driven by personal, pecuniary, electoralist and nepotistic motivations." The attack on politicians did not end there, they were also accused of wasting public funds, promoting a climate of instability as a result of their continual factionalism, and failing to provide a long-term vision for development of the territory. After hearing two days of reports in this vein, President Flosse remarked, with a begrudging sense of humour, that in their critique of the territory's leaders the charter groups must have drawn on every abusive word in the French dictionary! On a more serious note, he added, that if they were right there was little hope for the future.

The high degree of disenchantment with local politicians is not surprising given the political mayhem witnessed over the past year. Last September the fragile governing coalition between Flosse's Tahoeeraa party and Emile Vernaudeau's Ai'a Api collapsed only five months after the elections which brought them to power. The new coalition government of Tahoeeraa and Jean Juventin's Here Ai'a was then virtually paralysed until April this year due to a lock-out at the Territorial Assembly, organised by the indignant outgoing assembly president, Vernaudeau. The comedy assumed tragic proportions when, as a result of the lock-out, the assembly was unable to vote on funds for the victims of Cyclone Wasa, which had hit several outer islands at Christmas. This complete dysfunction of the territory's highest democratic institution was severely criticized by the charter. Industrial disputes, featuring prolonged strikes and blockades, in July 1991 and the beginning of 1992, have also contributed to perceptions of a government losing control.

The image of President Flosse personally was tarnished by the decision of a Paris court on April 1 to convict him of abuse of office, for which he received a fine and a six-month suspended sentence. The conviction led to calls for his resignation and for new elections by the opposition parties. The President did not have to resign as he has appealed the court's decision; the appeal was to have been



Listening Int

heard on October 23. The final straw for the government came even as the charter groups were reaching their conclusions when the French High Commissioner seized control of the territorial budget.

France also came under fire for being "lax" in not having fulfilled its responsibilities in the territory, in terms of promoting economic development and ensuring the legal and democratic functioning of the territory's institutions. The statute of autonomy was regarded by many charter groups as being a failure, due to the poor performance of both state and territorial authorities.

The second major area to come under the Development Charter's scrutiny was the economy. It noted that, "The Polynesian economy, based as it has been on atomic rent since 1963, is artificially sustained by external transfers and now exhibits several principal forms of unbalanced and negative development; including high prices, an excessive trade deficit and dependence on imported foods." Another serious constraint on development is the "hypertrophy and low productivity" of the public service, as well as the high salaries and fringe benefits enjoyed by public servants and politicians alike.

Further, it was felt that the territory's

# Disillusionment



President Gaston Flosse and vice-president Michel Buillard at workshops on the charter

fiscal policy, "essentially based on import duties which procure the major part of territorial revenue, is anti-economic and archaic. It blocks investment, limits consumption and is the primary contributor to the high cost of living." Many groups decried the present system of indirect taxation as socially unjust because it hits poor people the hardest while those on high salaries currently escape taxes on their income or wealth.

"Galopping demography" was seen to be a brake on development with an annual populations growth of 2.5 — three per cent far outstripping the ability to create new jobs, currently estimated at 1.5 per cent. Not only government authorities, but also the churches, were criticised for not having given serious consideration to the promotion of family planning. But this is one area where divergent views exist between the urban apocate charter groups and the response from rural Polynesians. The Maohi people regard with suspicion any call to limit the size of their families while one independence party spokesperson went so far as to say it was a deliberate ploy to undermine the numerical majority of the Maohi.

Urgent reforms were seen to be necessary in the area of land tenure laws. It was argued that property speculation

by investors, control of vast tracts of prime land by the churches and confusion over rights to traditional undivided land were posing obstacles to productive use of the land. However, it is unlikely rural families, which have resisted attempts to codify their undivided land for over a century, will be prepared to change. This aspect of the charter's proposals, like that of population control, may also be interpreted as an attack on tradition.

The education system was charged with being an evident failure, particularly with regard to the dropout rate of students. School curricula were considered to be inappropriate and poorly adapted as far as preparing young people for the workforce is concerned. Schools also failed to provide students with an adequate knowledge of Maohi language and history. As a result, many, if not most, young Maohi people have a poor or non-existent grasp of their language. On the basis of an enquiry into the education system started three years ago, an Education Charter was produced (at great expense) and was recently adopted by the Territorial Assembly. Yet some of the Development Charter groups expressed doubts about the government's willingness or ability to implement the report's recommendations.

The third significant theme to emerge from the Development Charter was concern about the marked erosion of traditional social values. This process was brought about by the rapid socio-economic transformation which Polynesia has undergone in the last three decades. All charter reports noted the growth of excessive individualism, materialism, and a tendency towards a hand-out mentality accompanied by the disappearance of family values, civic morals and community spirit. Add to this the social inequality increasingly evident in Tahiti, and the end result is a proliferation of social ills in the form of delinquency, alcoholism and domestic violence. Clearly, Polynesia is not alone in experiencing these problems, but it is widely accepted the effects here have been accelerated by the installation of the CEP. The social impact has been debilitating, particularly for the Maohi people who are, as one report said, disoriented as a result of culture shock".

"The ignorance of Polynesian customs, traditions and history, the folklorisation of their culture with the aim of promoting tourism and their marginalisation in the official education system is provoking social and psychological destabilisation and profound confusion amongst the population." This failure to respect and appreciate indigenous culture, combined with unequal distribution of the benefits of economic growth along ethnic lines, were regarded as sources of potential racism and inter-ethnic conflict. To avoid social unrest in the future, of the kind seen in the October 1987 riots, the charter felt an essential part of a successful development strategy involves providing young Maohi people with employment and a sense of pride in their culture.

The objectives proposed by the charter for a "better life in Polynesia" were the

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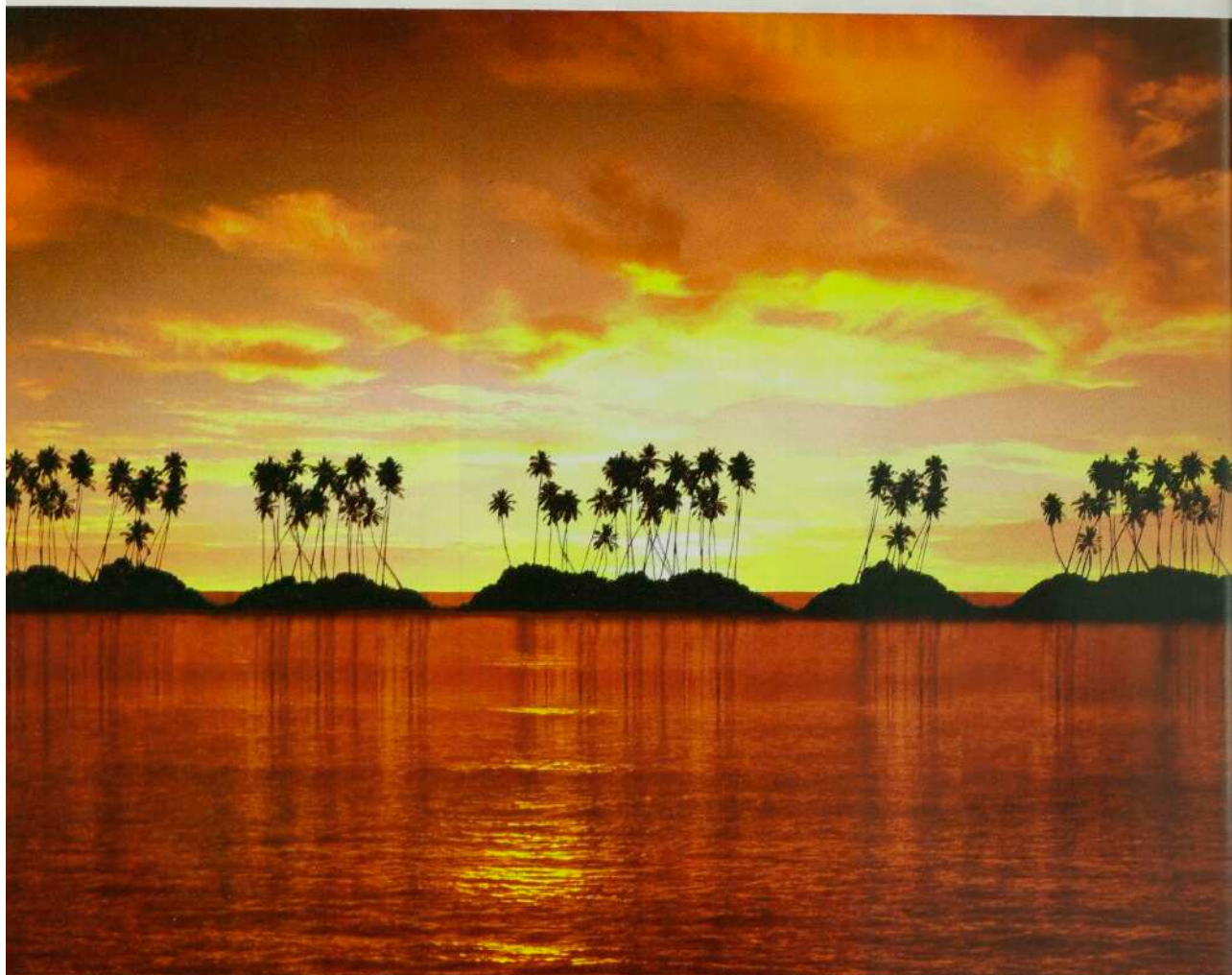
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## POLITICS

inverse of the problems they identified. They emphasized the compelling need to reduce economic dependence on France and particularly the nuclear test program.

The Development Charter has been rigorous in diagnosing French Polynesia's ills and has provided vision for the future. Yet, as President Flosse pointed out, it is one thing to make criticisms and recommendations and another to realise them.

Intransigence on the part of politicians and public servants, based on a desire to protect their existing privileges, poses a major obstacle to numerous recommendations. For example, it will be an up-hill battle to reduce the size and cost of the territorial bureaucracy, as this sector has a lot of political clout, and a strong trade union. The government tried to begin this process in August by freezing the salaries of the public service but the response has been one of outrage and outright refusal by the public service trade union, which has moreover attacked the charter as being a "masquerade". Similarly, there would be resistance to the idea mooted by the charter of prohibiting accumulation of political offices. The extent to which offices can be accumulated was illustrated last year whereby Emile Vernaudeau simultaneously acted as municipal mayor, deputy to the French National Assembly and President of the Territorial Assembly.

A dilemma, which the Development Charter has far from resolved, is determining what kind of development and for whom. A prominent example of differing perceptions is in tourism. The government, private sector and foreign investors are keen to promote large hotel projects with a view to injecting much needed capital and providing employment.

Many Polynesians are not convinced of the employment benefits of such projects, arguing that the majority of jobs for them will be in the form of cleaners and gardeners. One result of this conflicting perception of development is that several major hotel projects have had to be abandoned in recent years in the face of popular opposition. The most notable cases being the construction of a 2000-room hotel on the island of Tupai in the Australs which was opposed by traditional landowners, and the pro-

posed golf-course-hotel condominium at Opunohu on Moorea, which was defeated in a local referendum last year. Now a new controversy has emerged over the Meridien Hotel project in Punaauia, Tahiti. For nearly two months local residents have been camped at the hotel site, preventing construction, in defiance of heavy fines and a court order for them to move. Their position is that there have been irregularities in the granting of construction permits and a failure to consult with the population or to undertake an environmental impact study. Yet, fundamentally, the protestors would be opposed to the project regardless of

blocking incentives for productive economic activity. In order to make realistic plans for the future, territorial authorities need to know whether the test moratorium will continue. Moreover, French Polynesia has no guarantees as to whether the present high level of civil aid from France will be maintained if the CEP shuts down.

The French Socialist government has indicated its commitment to the Development Charter in the form of its contribution to this plan, but the size and quality of its contribution to this plan, which would be crucial to its success, is as yet unknown. The plan has been linked to the Matignon Accords in New Caledonia, with a major difference being that, at this stage, no referendum on independence is envisaged at the end of it. Finally, all the agreements with Paris, including the Pact which will be signed in January 1993, may be renegotiated from scratch if Jacques Chirac's RPR wins the national legislative elections in March 1993.

Local reactions to the Development Charter have been mixed. Cynics argue that the charter is just one in a parade of public debates, conferences and round tables on development in recent years, all of which were soon forgotten. This reference to past forums is inaccurate but optimistic observers believe the charter has presented possibly the most systematic

and honest assessment of the territory's political and socio-economic life seen to date. The importance placed on the charter was evident in the fact that no high-ranking members of government attended the recent regional meeting in Noumea for French diplomats and territorial heads of government; they chose to stay in Tahiti and hear the conclusions of the charter.

One commentator said President Flosse had exhibited a poor sense of timing in holding the debate now as opposed to just after the elections last year when he could have laid the blame for the charter's bleak prognosis on the outgoing government. Instead, the present leadership should be commended for having the courage to initiate such a reflection, at its own peril in political terms, in order to define a sound strategy for Polynesia's future. Now the question remains, does the political will exist, in both Paris and Papeete, to implement the charter's recommendations? □



A Maohi: delivering his report

the processes which led to it because the hotel is to be built on a public park and access to the beach which they want to maintain. The logic of building new hotels has also been questioned given the present inability to fill existing ones in Tahiti, and the number of hotels which have recently been shut down as a result.

A similar deadlock exists over the phosphate mine planned for the island of Mataiva. Locals are all too aware of the environmental damage caused by a previous phosphate mine on the island of Makatea, not to mention the experience of Nauru. It is partly due to the failure of the above projects to proceed, that President Flosse saw the need for a comprehensive debate to determine what people actually want and how their aspirations can be realised.

The wildcard factor in French Polynesia's development is the role to be played by France. On the one hand the nuclear tests have constituted an important form of revenue for the territory, on the other, they are widely recognised as

## BOUGAINVILLE

# A sequence of events

By Wally Hiambohn

The following is a chronological list of illegal crossings and related incidences as recorded by the Solomon Islands government.

1989

**November 1-** PNG's Police Commissioner, Paul Tohian (Controller, Bougainville Crisis) warned that "any Solomon Islands citizens who cross into North Solomons Province of PNG are liable for prosecution under the Emergency (Bougainville) (General Powers) Act 1989 for breach of the Emergency Order".

**November 11** — Three Bougainvilleans all of Orava — Golo, Manasah and Kanaka — violated the border ban and were seen at a Samanago Village, Fauro.

**November 17** — Solomon Islands Police Commissioner informs PNG police of violation of their border cross ban

1990

**June** — On two occasions Solomon Islands security forces encountered five and three speed boats with dozens of armed BRA rascals a few miles from a PNG patrol boat which failed to give chase in its waters.

**August 5** — Seven armed Bougainvilleans landed at Baola, Shortlands at 3.00am threatening villagers and forcefully bought fuel.

**August 6** — A canoe with Shortland villagers was approached in the sea and robbed by several gunmen. Sea shells and other items were stolen.

**November 23** — Thomas Kanave,

**Before the September 12 raid, the Solomon Islands government had recorded at least 22 incursions by PNG troops and illegal crossings by thhe BRA**



**PNG troops:** operating on an injured civilian from Bougainville

Leveuas Magasu Mangu, Joe Prel, Timothy Ama were charged with illegal crossing. They were discharged but bound not to commit any further offence within three months.

1991

**April 11** — PNGDF Nomad aircraft flew over Balalae and later took off in

Bougainville direction.

**April 13** — The aircraft flew over medical ship *Tulagi* several times and frightened crew then landed at Balalae.

**July** — Bougainvilleans named Glen John and Simon Tourika are questioned for illegal possession of .22 rifle and ammunitions.

**August 1-6** — Wounded Bougainvilleans arrived and treated at Central Hospital for gun wounds.

1992

**January 1** — Modesto Buin of Koliae village with two Bougainvilleans were captured. His 15 HP Yamaha Engine, tank and tools, one paddle and 20 litres of petrol were seized by PNG patrol boat 03 at Maohu Island. Buin escaped and was now at home. Patrol boat remained within SI territory (Tuluve Island) until January 4.

**January 13-14** — patrol boat still within SI waters.

**January 2** — Solomon Islander, Uaba, was arrested by PNG patrol boat while transporting 49 drums of fuel to Bougainville after being hired by two

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Bougainvillean businessmen. He was punched in the face four times and beaten twice with rifle butt.

**January 16** — PNG patrol boat 02 seen off Komailae.

**February 2** — PNG patrol boat called at Komalie village to enable Uaba to say goodbye to his family before being taken for trial in Rabaul.

**March 12** — At 8.00pm outboard engines sounds were heard. 9.00pm engine sounds stopped. Moments later a flare was fired over Bomana petrol depot. Shots were then fired towards the petrol depot. After that one dingy and two ray boats with nine persons on board were

seen leaving. Investigation revealed 1200-litre drum of petrol (full) and one empty container were damaged. Bullet shots found on a coconut trunk suggested an M-16 rifle was used.

**March 18** — Eight men from Gaomae arrested by PNG Defence and taken to Tuaroto camp for questioning. Defence personnel pointed guns at them during questioning. The men were fishing on Tuluve Island on SI side.

**March 21** — While Lata was at Kariki with DCP Sircheti on board, PNG Defence chased three canoes from Bougainville who escaped to Kariki. PNG speed crafts turned back when they

spotted the presence of Lata. Bougainvilleans were handed over to Police Korovou.

**April 2** — PNG Defence entered Solomon Islands by motorised boat and landed at Kava Kava Bay, south west of Fauro and travelled on foot to Kariki village. They claimed they were searching for BRA crossers. All were heavily armed and threatened villagers. After they failed to find any BRA members they travelled to Samanago village still on Fauro, again terrorising villagers.

**April 8** — Police Korovou confirmed PNG Defence ray boat called at Samanago village on April 4. □

## Towards resolution

By Evelyn Hogan

The "Bougainville Crisis — Towards Resolution" conference in Canberra on September 29 brought together Bougainvilleans — both pro- and anti-secessionist — who shared an intense experience of suffering.

Joseph Egilio, member of parliament for Central Bougainville, said the saddest thing about the conflict was the disunity among the people. He said, "First we were against the company, then the PNG government, then we were at each other's throats: clan against clan, families against families, brothers against brothers".

It was the third Bougainville conference organised by the Department of Political and Social Change in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University.

UPNG's Professor of Political Studies, Yaw Saffu, started with an academic analysis of events. Egilio read a statement by Minister for State for Matters Relating to Bougainville, Michael Ogio, which set out the objectives of the Wingti government. These are to restore law and order, legal authority and rehabilitate the young people; accelerate delivery of goods and services through the interim authorities; revive the functioning of the churches, NGOs and youth organisations; and create incentives to resurrect commercial life and infrastructure. When this in place they would begin negotiations for a lasting political solution.

Moses Havini and Mike Forster represented the secessionists, and Egilio, Nic Peniai and Leo Hannett those who now wish to remain within Papua New Guinea. Ruth Saovana-Springs gave an insight in the role of chiefs, the particular burdens imposed on women and vividly described the psychological impact of the

conflict on children.

Macquarie University expert in Conflict Resolution, Dr Greg Tillett, suggested several possible courses of action.

In response to the PNG government's request to Solomon Islands to remove the Bougainville Revolutionary Army office in Honiara, Mike Forster asked, if the humanitarian office was a negative thing? It is through Martin Miriori in Honiara that negotiations have already taken place, he said.

There was a lack of participation by non-Bougainvillean Papua New Guineans. Foreign Minister, John Kaputin, who is very understanding of the complexities of the situation, had been invited but was unable to attend. Several PNG students and Canberra-based Papua New Guineans attended, but no non-Bougainvilleans and few academics asked questions from the floor.

Egilio, who had previously been with the secessionist interim government in Arawa, said they had found the BRA unco-operative. He withdrew and concentrated on working with the Wakunai council of chiefs. He complained the Kietas denied the Wakunai people the right to export cocoa through their port. So he went to Buka and asked for ships to be brought to Numa Numa. His conversion came when the PNG government showed its sincerity in lifting the blockade and greater organising capacity by sending a ship three days later.

Leo Hannett, former Premier of North Solomons Province, lamented that more than 40 well-educated Bougainvilleans had been killed during the crisis — leaving few new leaders to take initiatives. But there is a new generation of leaders arising throughout Papua New Guinea. They are closer to their traditional elders and more practically oriented, with a broader range of professional and technical training, than the first generation of university gradu-

ates.

Nic Peniai, engineering graduate and Chairman of the South Bougainville Interim Authority, is one such man. He reported that when Minister Ogio visited the South Bougainville area in late September he could not believe how much had been achieved by the Interim Authority in just two months, and not only in the revival of health services and schools. There had also been a political reconciliation process involving the chiefs, the former BRA (who are now resistance workers), the PNG Defence Force and the Interim Authority.

Peneciai is a complex man of gentle toughness. With fingertips callused playing guitar, the grinding of back teeth belies an underlying tension. Trim and healthy after four years of blockade-imposed subsistence, he is lucky to be alive. In March he was one of seven taken prisoner with Anthony Anugu, former MP for South Bougainville, to the BRA camp at Panguna. After Anugu and two others were tortured and killed, Peniai cheated death and escaped with the other four captives.

He returned to South Bougainville to help lay the foundation for reconciliation and restoration. Because of BRA attacks on their leaders, Buin and Siwai chiefs had already invited the PNG Defence Force in to secure the area.

Peniai said, "I have lost two brothers and a mother through the activities of the BRA. Any more delay will be another death."

All participants expressed the need for peace and continuing dialogue among all parties to the dispute. Over time, a process of reconciliation including other Papua New Guineans is needed as well. □

## COVER STORIES



Pro-democracy movement: gaining momentum

Ed Rampell

# Hawaiian nationalism — the wild card

By Ed Rampell

**A** CENTURY after the deposing of Queen Liliuokalani, 95 years after US annexation, and 34 years after statehood, these Polynesians have become an oppressed, landless and, often homeless, minority in their own ancestral homeland. Yet, a revived Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement is fighting for native land and cultural rights. As University of Hawaii Professor Noel Kent points out, the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement is "the wild card in Hawaii politics, the only force willing to go beyond the parameters established by the powers-that-be."

As Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) trustee Moanikeala Akaka points out, "Back in the 1970s, when we started the Hawaiian Renaissance, if one talked about 'sovereignty', you were regarded as the 'lunatic fringe'." But in the 1990s, sovereignty has become respected at all levels — even fashionable. Media polls reveal a majority of the public-at-large sympathises with *Kanaka Maoli* (indigenous Hawaiian) rights.

As the centennial of the *coup d'état* that toppled the sovereign Hawaiian state approaches, where is the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement at today? Who are the key players? What exactly does "sovereignty" mean? What will happen in Hawaii this January?

"We're at the point of civil disobedience," asserts activist attorney Mililani Trask, recently arrested during the Halawa Valley land/religious rights struggle. "The battle lines are being drawn. Sides are being clearly enunciated, political positions are being taken. There will be increased attacks on people's personal lives by the state and feds. They are trying to squelch the native voice. There's an incredible response . . . arrest overskills . . . At Iolani

Palace [during the June protest] there was a SWAT team, choppers, submachine guns, 100 police versus 35 demonstrators. At Halawa 13 women versus 60 SWAP [riot police], arresting an 88-year-old woman. There's official paranoia against civil disobedience," insists Mililani, *Kia Aina* (governor) of Ka La Hui Hawaii, the Sovereign Hawaiian Nation. "This is a warning, do not get in the way of state and federal projects and cool it in January."

Will Hawaii erupt in January like New Caledonia — or a mini-Los Angeles? An explosive mix of native militancy and government repression during a sensitive anniversary could ignite with explosive results if care is not taken. Frustrated by 100 years of working within the system with little to show for it and by the US failure to resolve the Hawaiian question, today's nationalists re-examine their past and some embrace confrontational tactics.

Mililani concludes, "Two critical errors were made in 1893. Number one: to trust in American justice. America has never given justice to people of colour. Number two: the Kingdom did not assume full defence for the sovereign Hawaiian nation . . . Trust was misplaced — and we are living with the ramifications today."

Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahele says, "It was a mistake" for Hawaiians not to militarily resist the US Marines and the coup plotters. (The Queen's armed forces outnumbered the conspirators and Marines, although the latter had superior weapons). The brawny ex-con with the black panther and Polynesian tattoos is no stranger to armed resistance: "We're born with this, brah, this whatever you call, militant feeling. We call that our birthright. So no leave the fight, if you're



Maui Loa, chief of the Hou Hawaiians: honouring native Hawaiians

Ed Rampell

gonna die, you all die together. So, when you got all that history in your blood — we all have this . . . For Hawaiians . . . it's like one right. It's just like part of your body," says Bumpy, who belongs to La Ea O Hawaii'i Nei, a Hawaiian sovereignty council.

Kawehi Gill, La Ea candidate for OHA, eschews the word "militant" in favour of a Hawaiian term: "for us we are warriors." Bumpy was involved in an armed stand-off between a SWAT team and natives occupying an abandoned US Coast Guard base for two months at Makapuu, Oahu in 1987. He was sentenced to about a year in jail and Levi Kaawa, high chief of La Ea O Hawaii'i Nei, to five years probation and 100 hours of community service — which he hasn't complied with since "I know who I am and I don't recognise the state and the US," declares Levi, who says he's descended from royalty.

More recently, there have been two other confrontations between SWAT teams and Kanaka Maoli dissidents. On June 11, King Kamehameha Day, La Ea held a religious company and demonstration to honour Hawaii's first monarch's birthday at Iolani Palace. After confusion about the length of time the activists could stay in palace grounds, protesters demanded to stay overnight, disobeying a 5:00pm deadline. Men led by Bumpy and Levi ascended the palace steps. The thought of militant Hawaiians



**Hawaiian demonstrators:** in front of Iolani Palace



**Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahale:** went to jail

possibly taking over Iolani Palace was too much for the state. Thirty-five nationalists were arrested during a mass act of civil disobedience. All charges were subsequently dropped.

In April a Bishop Museum archaeologist announced that an extremely rare male and female pre-Christian temple complex was found in the way of a billion-dollar freeway construction site, and that the museum was covering up the significance of the Heiau. The archaeologist was fired, Hawaiians demonstrated at the museum, and Hawaiian women occupied the Heiau in an attempt to preserve the purported temple and stop the H-3 freeway. The State Transportation Department allowed the occupiers on the site on condition they did not interfere with construction. On August 29 the women held pre-contact religious ceremonies on the access road connecting a huge freeway off-ramp with a tunnel blasted through the mountains. A convoy of cement trucks was turned away, at great expense, by the women, who had erected an altar on the road. But on the second day of the ceremony police arrested Miliani and the other occupiers. Two weeks later, however, the women staged a mass march in Halawa. The state and feds deny the site is religious but say they will enroute H-3 around the ruins.

**A**S the centennial of the overthrow nears, there's a move toward unity. There are no less than three united front groups with members from various factions and organizations with different viewpoints that nevertheless share one thing in common: an interest in sovereignty.

According to Dr Kekuni Blaisdell, UH

professor of medicine: "The Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group meets every Thursday at 5.00pm at the university. It was founded January 1989, following the Native Hawaiian Sovereignty conference at the State Capitol . . . to keep the momentum going in the sovereignty movement so it will not falter . . . We're dedicated to education and research on Hawaiian sovereignty. We publish a newsletter."

"Ka Pakaukau [the Round Table]," says Kekuni, "is a coalition of 12 Hawaiian sovereignty organizations which meets the first Sunday of every month. Ka Pakaukau is committed to the full exercise of our Kanaka Maoli inherent sovereignty and self determination, which means complete independence, separate from the administering, illegal power, the U.S. . . . Members include Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific; Pele Defense Fund, based mainly at the Big Island, which opposes geothermal development from the volcano. Protect Kahoolawe Ohana, devoted to not only stopping the illegal military bombing of Kahoolawe, but returning that island intact to the sovereign Hawaiian nation . . . La Ea O Hawai'i . . . Ka La Hui Hawaii . . . sends a liaison."

Kekuni explains "Ka Pakaukau is an action group. Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group is not inaction, but it's mainly education and research providing information, documented evidence, and making this available to Ka Pakaukau."

According to head Elizabeth Pa Martin, Hui Na'auao has a "million-dollar grant over three years [from the U.S. Administration for Native Americans]. We have a staff of five people . . . and

meetings every two weeks . . . Our important education project is the workshops, geared to reaching those unaware of what the sovereignty movement is all about . . . We have TV broadcasting . . . inform them of their history . . . They're a conquered people in their own homeland, to get them to realize that, but then, what are we going to do about it? Don't stop there, don't keep them feeling as victim, there is something positive we can do." Hui Na'auao presents sovereignty and decolonization models; the federally funded education organization began May 1991 and has about 40 members.

The definition of sovereignty itself is hotly debated. Ka La Hui Hawaii calls for extending to Hawaiians the same rights and entitlements all other Native Americans — Indians, Eskimos, Inuits — already have and establishing a nation-within-a-nation, with a government-to-government relationship with Washington, loosely along Indian tribal lines. Ka La Hui leader Mililani Trask stresses this is an interim step toward independence, which other activists, such as Hayden Burgess of the Pacific-Asia Council of Indigenous People, advocate outright. Hayden points out "the colonizer has changed the internationally accepted definition of sovereignty. Under international law, it means independence." OHA favors a more bureaucratic approach, vesting sovereignty in OHA itself, as the Hawaiian self governance mechanism with a trust relationship with the federal government.

But at sovereignty's core is land. Two major public land trusts with hundreds of thousands of hectares are supposed to benefit Native Hawaiians, as is the



# Pacifically Speaking

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## COVER STORIES

Bishop estate, Hawaii's largest private landowner (8 per cent of land). All sovereignty models seek, in varying degrees, control of ceded and homeland lands and revenues derived from them. More radical nationalists seek the entire chain (from Midway to Johnston Atoll) breaking up the land monopoly of private estates, closing large military bases like Pearl Harbor, and redistributing the land to Hawaiians.

Despite greater unification, there's still a split in the sovereignty movement — between grass roots natives and official Hawaiians. Generally, the chasm is between autonomous groups, such as Ka La Hui and La Ea, who are to the left of US and state government funded and affiliated entities, such as OHA and Governor John Waihee.

OHA is seriously factionalized. Trustee Louis Hao publicly writes of "the turmoil of poor trustee relationships, bad publicity and probably the low level of trust in OHA . . . history. The past two years presented dismal situations . . . this cycle of self destruction." OHA Trustee Akaka says, "OHA is too close to the state."

Divisiveness is also exacerbated by the blood quantum dispute, with two different legal classifications for Hawaiians with more or less than 50 per cent Hawaiian ancestry.

Activists seek to bring their case to the international arena. Dr Blaisdell proclaims Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group's tribunal will "kick off October 23-25, 1992, we draft and publicly announce the indictment of the US for its crimes against the Kanaka Maoli nation, this will serve notice on the US which will be invited to defend itself at the tribunal proper to be conducted August 12-21, 1993." Kekuni interfaces with the International Indian Treaty Council (Indians are indicting Columbus for genocide during the quicentennial this October) and seeking distinguished leaders from the Pacific to participate as judges (Cuba may be asked to participate).

Nationalists also reach out to the United Nations. Lawyer Hayden Burgess, of the Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs is president of the Pacific-Asia Council of Indigenous People, a non-governmental organization (NGO) affiliated with the World Council of Indigenous People and linked to the UN. Like La Ea, Burgess — who presents Hawaii's case at international bodies in Geneva and elsewhere — asserts Article 73 of the UN Charter

guarantees Hawaiians self determination. The lawyer insists Hawaii's 1959 "plebiscite" was not a legitimate act of self determination because the vote gave Hawaiians a choice between statehood or remaining a territory, but not for independence.

Mililani and Laa Ea want Hawaii reinscribed on the UN Decolonization Committee's list of non-self governing territories, like New Caledonia was. They hope Pacific members of the UN will assist them in their self determination drive in the international arena, as they did the Kanaks.

What will happen in January during the observance of the centennial of the overthrow is anybody's guess. Will nationalists try taking over Iolani Palace



Ed Rampell

Activist attorney: Mililani Trask



Ed Rampell

Land rights demonstration: using ancient religion

and reinstating themselves on the throne? Will the state and feds try co-opting the movement in order to prevent violence?

Will Washington announce a permanent end to the bombing of Kahoolawe and even return it to the Hawaiians? Will the \$112 million-plus so-called "historic ceded lands settlement" money, the state, OHA, and Governor agreed to, finally be disbursed? Will the US Congress ratify Senator Dan Akaka's resolution that America apologize for the invasion? Will there be reparations?

There will be official observances. Activist marches, demonstrations, and vigils will take place. Nationalists Haunani-Kay Trask and Puhipau are making a documentary *Act of War*. Singer Marlene Sai stars as Liliuokalani in the docu-drama *Betrayal*. The play *Liliuokalani* has been staged. Mass spec-

tacles recreating the 1893 coup are supposed to take place at the palace and environs.

It will be a hot time in the old town. It remains to be seen if, when the next confrontation takes place, Governor Waihee, a Hawaiian, will heed the call of demonstrators to come and talk?

Buzz Agard of the Council of Hawaiian Organizations says in January, the Hawaiian nation should pick up where the Queen left off. "She prorogued the legislature — now, 100 years later, it's time to call it back into session."

But what is really on everybody's minds, especially those Hawaiians camping on the beaches, getting evicted, arrested, abused, ill, landless, unemployed — will there be the "enlightened justice" President Cleveland spoke of 100 long years ago?

□

COVER STORIES

# The coup against sovereignty

By Ed Rampell

## A historical perspective

THE history of the Hawaiian holocaust begins in 1778 with Cook's voyages, his death at Kealakekua Bay, and the British reprisal. Protestant missionaries from New England arrived in 1820, filling a cultural vacuum created by the breaking of the precontact religion's Kapu system in 1819. The missionaries ended up as a merchant and landowning class.

By the 1880s, the conflict between the ascendancy of the oligarchy of largely American missionary-descended merchants and planters and native aspirations — exacerbated by US economic and military interests — erupts into violence. King Kalakaua tries unifying Polynesia into a confederacy of isles and further angers the Caucasian oligarchy with his nativistic revival of traditional culture, such as hula, and a "Merry Monarch" life style the puritans perceived as debauched and profligate.

The US military demands exclusive rights in 1886 to Pearl Harbor as a condition for renewing the Reciprocity Treaty, which gave Hawaii planters

tariff-free access to US markets; the King and grass roots Hawaiians strongly oppose territorial cession. In January 1887, Lorrin Thurston, Sanford Dole and other oligarchs form a pro-annexationist secret society, the Hawaiian League.

Triggered by a May 1887 opium scandal, the Hawaiian League and the para-military, all-Haole Honolulu Rifles confront King Kalakaua and impose the "Bayonet Constitution" allowing Kalakaua to reign but not rule. A new Cabinet is formed with Thurston as Interior Minister, Pearl Harbour is ceded to Washington, and the Reciprocity Treaty is renewed.

But the sovereignty struggle continues. Kalakaua insists on using his last political prerogative — veto power. On July 30, 1889 Hawaiian nationalist Robert Wilcox and his "Redshirts" stage an armed revolt against the Bayonet Constitution, which is put down; troops from the *USS Adams* patrol Honolulu. The following year Wilcox turns to the

electoral process — his Hawaiian Political Association joins forces with working class whites in the Mechanics' and Workingmen's Political Protective Association. Their National Reform Party wins half of the legislature's seats, weakening the Bayonet Constitution's cabinet, amidst talk of a constitutional convention. Suffering from ill health, King Kalakaua dies on January 20, 1891 at San Francisco.

His younger sister Liliuokalani accedes to the throne determined to revive royal power. The McKinley act removes the tariff on raw sugar entering America and gives a two-cent per pound bounty for domestic sugar, undermining the Reciprocity Treaty, threatening to destroy Hawaii's planter-ocracy. Thurston forms another cabal — the Annexation Club.

In January 1893, the missionary descendants oppose opium and lottery bills as sugar's depression deepens. On January 14 Queen Liliuokalani proclaims the legislature and prepares for an incendiary act.

Her Majesty attempts promulgating a new constitution which two-thirds of the Hawaiians petitioned for that would reverse the Bayonet Constitution and reinvest political power in the monarchy and native electorate. Deeming her plan to be "revolutionary", Thurston forms the Committee of Safety — 12 of its original 13 members are Annexation Club members. The pro-annexationist, anti-indigenous tone of US President Harrison and Minister Stevens stimulated the high treason.

How did the *coup d'état* and American take-over of the of Hawaii happen?

**Monday, January 16, 1893**

**9.00am-12.00pm:** The Committee of Public Safety, mainly of businessmen with American backgrounds, meet at the Honolulu law office of Lorrin Thurston. The co-conspirators arrange a mass meeting and sign a letter to US Minister John Stevens: "... the public safety is menaced and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command

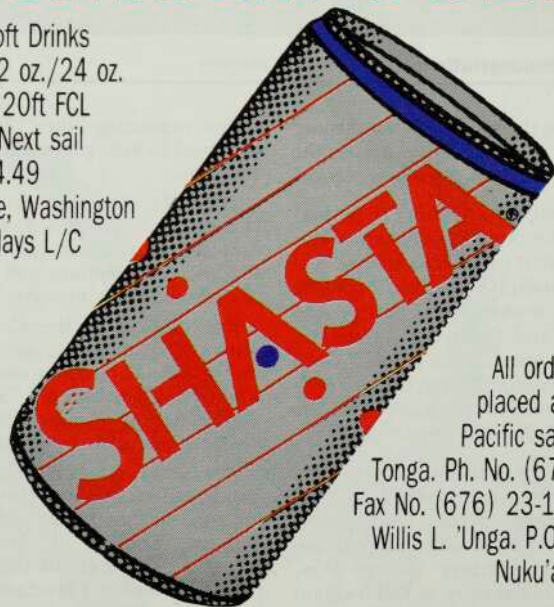
for assistance ... we pray for the protection of the United States forces" upon "a further request received from the committee."

**11.00am:** American attorney and committee member Henry Cooper goes to Honolulu Harbour to notify *USS Boston*

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**DEALS! DEALS! DEALS! DEALS!**

Captain Wiltse of the committee's request — but Wiltse, anticipating the request, had already ordered his troops to prepare for landing.

**5.00pm** — After their early supper, Lt. Commander Swinburne lands 162 Marines with Gatling (machine) guns, Howitzer cannons, double cartridge belts filled with ammunition, and carbines on four boats at Nuuanu Avenue. The troops march up Fort Street to Merchant Street, rifles pointing in the direction of Iolani Palace, seat of the Hawaiian monarchy. Some blue-jackets are posted at the US consulate and legation. The Marines march past Iolani Palace on King Street, halting across from Kawaiahao Church. Shortly afterwards, the invaders halt at the Atherton estate at King and Alapai Streets.

**8.00pm** — The Committee of Safety set up a Provisional Government (PG) and select Sanford Dole as president.

**Tuesday, January 17, 1893**

**Early morning** — Thurston dictates a proclamation deposing the queen, annulling the monarchy, and creating a Provisional Government until America annexes Hawaii.

**9.00am** — Aware of the Committee of Safety's activities, Queen Liliuokalani meets with Samuel Damon, a businessman close to her. Her Majesty advises him to join the committee's advisory council, in order to influence them.

**10.00am** — Dole gives Minister Stevens a letter announcing the establishment of the PG and asking for US recognition. Stevens responds: "I think you have a great opportunity".

**2.00pm** — The Queen's cabinet ministers go to the US legation. As Stevens claims to be sick, he meets briefly with Foreign Minister Parker and Attorney-General Peterson. The A-G says Stevens refuses to assist the Queen and threatens the Marines will intervene if royalist forces fight the committee. Stevens also reportedly asserts he will recognize a Provisional Government if it set up.

**2.30pm** — Committee members sign Thurston's proclamation at Smith's office. The committee prepares to go to government House. A native policeman grabs the reins of a horse pulling a wagon full of ammunition leaving E.O. Hall &

Son's King Street store, delayed by a tram. The insurgents' ordinance officer, Captain John Good, shoots the policeman. The bullet enters Lialoha's arm and left breast. In the confusion, the Committee of Safety quickly goes unobserved to the Government Building.

There, at nearly empty Ali'iolani Hale, American Henry Cooper — who had come to Hawaii in 1892 and is not a citizen of the Kingdom — reads Thurston's proclamation abrogating the monarchy and establishing a "Provisional Government ... until terms of a union with the United States have been negotiated and agreed upon."

The Provisional Government puts ammunition in the hall, declares martial law, closes saloons, proclaims the "death penalty for an act of treason", and

**4.00-5.00pm** — Stevens sends a note to the Cabinet recognizing the PG. Minister Stevens' note to Dole announcing: "A Provisional Government ... being in full possession of the Government Building, the Archives, and the treasury and in control of the capital of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby recognize said Provisional Government as the de facto Government of the Hawaiian Islands."

**5.00pm** — The Cabinet meets with Liliuokalani. Supporters of the PG led by the Queen's trusted adviser Damon meet with Her Majesty at Iolani Palace. Damon warns, "If you resist, there will be bloodshed and a great many killed. You will probably be killed." Joseph Carter and Damon tell Liliuokalani they would help her formulate any desired protest. Attorney Paul Neumann cleverly drafts the protest:

"... I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused the United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declaring he would support such provisional government. Now to avoid col-

lision of armed forces and perhaps loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by such forces, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

**7.00pm** — Dole accepts without reading the queen's carefully crafted statement, which Dole endorses. Marshal Wilson finally surrenders the police station. Captain Samuel Nowlin's 272-man Queen's Royal Guard surrenders.

**8.00pm** — The PG executive and advisory councils undertake the day's final act, deciding to send three commissioners — Thurston, Wilder, and Castle — to Washington to negotiate annexation by the United States.

The independent Kingdom of Hawaii is overthrown. □



Clayton Hee, Chairman of OHA Trustees board: and portrait of Queen Liliuokalani

notifies the diplomatic corps of the take over. Committee member C.L. Carter takes a note by Dole to Minister Stevens announcing the insurrection.

**2.45pm** — At the police station — which Marshal Wilson refuses to surrender without written orders from the Queen and her ministers — the Cabinet writes to Minister Stevens a note asking if he has recognised the PG "and, if not ... respectfully requests the assistance of your government in preserving the peace of the country." Charles Hopkins delivers the note to the US legation. Hopkins insists upon an immediate reply when Stevens' daughter requests an hour delay on account of her father's illness.

**3.10pm** — Hopkins returns to the police station with a note for Foreign Minister Parker. [NOTE: There is dispute on this point and it's timing.] The Cabinet is ready to repress the uprising until receiving Minister Stevens' response, leading them "to surrender, and yield to America."

**BUSINESS**

# Regulating casinos — a

By David North

*Island governments needing economic development, and having few natural resources, often think about a particularly lush form of tourism — gambling casinos.*

*They seem to provide high-rolling off-shore customers, do not take up much space, do not damage the forests and the reefs, and promise jobs for the residents and taxes for the government.*

*However, as Tinian, in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Island, is learning casinos (even unbuilt, not-yet-planned casinos) can provide a lot of headaches for all concerned.*

*THE basic problem is organised crime. The racketeers are as attracted to casinos as ants are to a picnic — keeping the criminal out of the gambling business is a terrible challenge to well-established governments with strong records of regulating business.*

*What happens when you bring that challenge to an island with about 2000 people where there is no experience with urban, organised crime, and where the government does little more than run the schools and fill the pot-holes in the roads?*

TINIAN is such an island, and its early-on experiences in simply issuing a licence to a casino has been gut-wrenching.

There are three principal islands in CNMI. There is Saipan, which has the government, most of the population, and virtually all of the economic development (the very controversial garment factories and the less controversial hotels for the Japanese tourists.) Then there are Rota and Tinian, only a few miles away, which had felt left out of the economic boom. Each island has three senators, so while economically weak, both Rota and Tinian have some serious political power; as a result, the CNMI constitution gives substantial local authority to each of the island governments.

Tinian wanted legalised gambling, and voted for it overwhelmingly in a 1988 referendum. Given the state of the constitution Tinian was given its way, though the CNMI leadership, which had not banned prostitution, fought the notion of legalised gambling. (And maybe they were right).

The island's leaders looked around for a good model for regulating casinos and found one in the US East Coast state of New Jersey. New Jersey, unlike the other big casino state, Nevada, has always run a pretty clean gambling operation in Atlantic City, a previously down-at-the-heels beachfront resort city. The state's painfully honest governors, both Democrats and Republicans, have given the Gaming Control Commission independence, strong laws, and straight-shooting commissioners, each serving a fixed term. The governors have leaned over backwards not to influence the commission's decisions.

Meanwhile the casinos, like Harrah's are doing well, and are pumping jobs and taxes into the local economy.

Tinian not only adopted the New Jersey model, it hired a young New Jersey lawyer, who had been deputy director of the N.J commission, Frederick E. Gushin. Then, looking for another mainland model, it did an interesting thing — it hired as its counsel Francis Lame Bull, a native American (American Indian) from Montana, who knew something about the experience that American Indian tribes have had with legalised gambling. (The US, partially to ease a sense of guilt about its historic treatment of the Indians, have given Indian tribes legalised gambling rights which are denied to most other American institutions).

The founding chairman of the Tinian Gaming Control Commission was John



Hofshneider, a local resident whom Gushin has since described as a model public servant. (Gushin subsequently reported on his year on Tinian to the International Asian Organized Crime Conference in Calgary, Canada, and in a long interview with *PIM*). Hofshneider died early in his term, and was replaced as chairman by Joseph Mendiola, brother of, and appointee of the mayor of Tinian, James Mendiola.

In his Calgary speech, the New Jersey lawyer spelled out the attractions of a casino to the Yakuza, Japan's organized crime.

"In addition to casino ownership and the opportunity to skim casino funds, the Yakuza saw Tinian as a vehicle to launder money. Most importantly, doing business in Tinian gave the Yakuza a back door entry into the US and might facilitate their ability to secure US passports. Remember, immigration and

# Government challenge



**Caesars Atlantic City:** a major tourist attraction

ustoms are not controlled by the US government. All of this made Tinian an irresistible lure that was impossible for the Yakuza to ignore."

The Tinian commission did not announce globally that it was entertaining applications for a casino licence, but soon even applications were in hand. None came from major firms with either casino experience or the well-documented deep pockets needed to start a casino. Gushin regards those credentials as essential to prevent organised crime from taking over a casino.

The seven applications either showed (on examination) Yakuza connections, or too little capital. All were rejected. One applicant asked for a hearing in an effort to overturn the report (written by Gushin and adopted by the commission).

Its chief executive officer and owner of

92 per cent of the stock was, according to the report, "a front for the Yakuza".

According to Gushin there was a "pattern of behaviour which we believed typified one who was so associated. For example, in 1979 he had been arrested and convicted for loan sharking, a typical Yakuza activity at the time. His primary business was to 'negotiate' with property owners for the sale of their properties to third parties. Again this is a typical Yakuza activity in Japan. Moreover, he was closely associated with Japanese gun-runners in the Philippines."

At this point Tinian's resolve to stay clear of gambling began to dissolve. The commission, now headed by the mayor's brother, held back funds to mount an investigation of the application, releasing them only three and a half weeks before the hearing.

The hearing itself was one-sided, with the applicant's lawyers making no effort to deny the staff report showing inadequate financing, and ties to the Yakuza. "I believe that they thought that they had the political leadership on their side and therefore did not have to present a case," Gushin told the Canadian meeting.

The public scrutiny, and the intense press attention were such, however, that the commission voted to reject its application again.

Gushin is not optimistic about the future of legalised gaming on Tinian. Since the decision the Tinian commission had decided that it no longer needed to demand fully-documented applications complete with details on the sources of financing for the proposed casinos, a fatal weakness to Gushin.

There is a circularity to gaming regulation, according to the N.J. lawyer. Jurisdictions with tight regulations usually require their licensees to obtain the state's permission before opening another casino in another area. If the second area does not have equally tight regulations, then permission is denied. So the major, legitimate operators are, in effect, barred from seeking licences in under-regulated areas, leaving the field open to only new, marginal and/or corrupt operators.

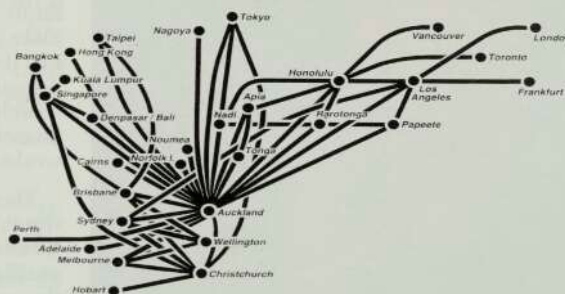
Gushin is now back in New Jersey practising law. At the end of his one-year contract with Tinian he decided to return. "I felt threatened," he said.

His colleague, Francis Lame Bull, has also gone back to the United States. □



**New Jersey casino:** a pretty clean operation

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BUSINESS

# Sugar's not-so-sweet deal

By David North

RECENTLY announced US government decisions regarding sugar imports offered little solace to hard-pressed sugar producers in Fiji and Papua-New Guinea.

With the prospect of substantial reductions in their access to the heavily-subsidized European sugar markets, the Fiji sugar industry learned that its quota for the subsidized US market had been reduced yet again.

(The PNG quota, already established at the rock bottom level of one (rather small) shipload, remained the same.)

The US sugar system is roughly like that of the Europeans; the market is rigged by law to create artificially high prices on the US market, for the benefit of both large corporate growers of sugar cane in Florida, and for family sugar beet farms in the Middle West. The narrowing difference between growing American production and relatively stable domestic consumption is allocated by a complex formula to overseas producers, such as those in Fiji and PNG.

While the US quotas are decreasing, they are worthwhile, if not as valuable as the European ones. The world (free market price) of a metric tonne of sugar was about \$190 at the start of October, compared to \$485 for the US market price; in comparison, Fiji sold its 1990 crop in Europe for \$880 a tonne. (The US price quoted above is for New York, and contains shipping and insurance costs.)

In August the US Secretary of Agriculture announced the 1992-1993 quotas for sugar imports. Fiji, which had had about 18,000 metric tonnes in 1982-83 and 11,892 in 1991-92, was allocated 10,495 tonnes for the coming season. PNG, which had had about 15,000 tonnes in the 1982-1983 season, was granted 7258 for each of the 1991-92 and the 1992-93 seasons.

US sugar allocations are usually made for 12-month periods; this time from October 1, 1992 through September 30, 1993; the Secretary can, however, adjust these dates later, and he could also raise the quotas, should there be a short-fall in Stateside sugar production. (Hurricane Andrew, which did enormous damage to southern Florida, managed to miss the Florida sugar cane fields, but later did some damage to those in Louisiana; not enough, however, to lift the overseas quotas.)

A further complication for both Fiji and PNG may come if the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is ratified by the US Congress. That would give Mexico access to US market, and would tend to encourage the growing of sugar cane in that nation, lowering still further the overseas quotas.

On a more cheerful note, the Fiji Sugar Corporation has announced that it has worked out a deal with Canada for the shipment of 36,000 tonnes of sugar to that nation in coming season. This is newly re-opened market (Canada grows sugar beets, but no cane), but one that might be endangered by Mexican sugar in the future. The Canadian pricing arrangements were not immediately available, but the first 14,000 tonnes of sugar were expected to leave from Fiji for Canada in November.

Meanwhile a freighter carrying a Canadian name, *Thunder Bay*, and PNG's entire US quota worth of sugar, left PNG on July 30, arriving in New Orleans on September 6. PNG tends to ship at the end of the crop year, while Fiji's shipment to the US takes place at the beginning of the period. The Fiji shipment of more than 10,000 tonnes (its yearly allocation) left Suva on the *Kopalnia Jastrzebie* on September 5, arriving in Savannah, Georgia, on October 6. □



Crushing in season: at a Fiji sugar mill

Atsuh Law

**BUSINESS**

# Fiji's struggle to bridge

By Akanisi Motufaga

THE lack of participation of indigenous Fijians in business has been an issue for debates and discussions since the last decade. In 1982 the Great Council of Chiefs discussed it and a committee tabled their report a year later highlighting the problems.

The political events of 1987 heightened the awareness of the lack of Fijian participation in business and led to the implementation of a nine-point plan by the interim government, part of which has already been implemented. After the elections in May this year, the new cabinet agreed in principle to certain policies also aimed at bridging the gap between indigenous Fijians and non-Fijians in the business sector.

The new government's policies included the setting up of a business agency, a 20-year tax-free holiday to businesses where Fijians held at least 51-per-cent shareholding, a \$1-million grant to each provincial council, an increase in scholarship funds for Fijian education and that Fijian Holdings Limited, an investment company, be given first priority in buying government

shares in commercial enterprises that are privatised.

These policies were a direct result of representations from the Fijian Initiative, a group of indigenous Fijians who act in an advisory capacity to government.

While some people have said such policies will help government achieve its aims, others have stated otherwise.

Former Finance Minister in the interim government Josevata Kamikamica has described the new policies and grant to provincial councils as "spoon-feeding." He said Fijians should not be spoon-fed but left to compete with non-Fijians on an equal footing in the business world.

But, he said, the interim government had addressed the problem by formulating a nine-point plan which included, among other things, a \$20-million interest-free grant to the Fijian Affairs Board to invest in Fijian Holdings Limited, the strengthening of the board to implement policies aimed at improving Fijians in all sectors, the setting up of a Compulsory Savings Scheme for Fijians and more concessions for Fijian loans to be managed by the Fiji Development Bank.

Kamikamica attributed the problems

Fijians in business face to their lack of capital, training and discipline, as well as to the belief most Fijians have that money is the root of all evil. In order to bridge the gap between Fijian and non-Fijian representation in business, Kamikamica said young people should be trained, developed and led through the proper channel and that incentives should be provided for joint ventures.

Referring to Fijian Holdings, an investment firm solely for indigenous people, Kamikamica said Fijian capital now existed on a national level but the real problem lay within the corporate level. Fijian Holdings receives investment from indigenous-owned firms and individuals and buys shares in other profitable companies.

In order to address the lack of Fijian representation in business, the company has embarked on a training scheme where Fijian graduates will be trained for a year and then hired to work for the company or its subsidiaries.

Company chief executive officer Sitiveni Welcilakeba said there was a definite lack of Fijian representation in



**Commercial activity in Suva:** dominated by non-Fijians

# the economic gap

top level management in some companies and that the program would help address the problem.

"The key thing is that we are doing this not to Fijianise the whole thing (but) to train people to take away the responsibility from other races. We won't be compromising the quality and efficiency of the organisation for the sake of putting in Fijians," he said.

He said Fijians had to learn to save, discipline themselves and change their attitude towards business. "The attitude of the Fijian is that whenever they have money, they see it as their money and start spending. They still have the spoon-fed mentality (and) expect government to give them assistance all the time," he added.

According to Kamikamica, more Fijians were now aware of the need to save to overcome the problem of lack of capital. He said Indian business people had received training from an early age by helping in family shops, unlike Fijians.

He added there was not much difference in business failures while comparing Fijians and non-Fijians.

"For us, because we are new in business, any failure is highlighted and what I am also concerned about is that Fijians should not think that with one failure, they should lose hope," Weleilakeba said.

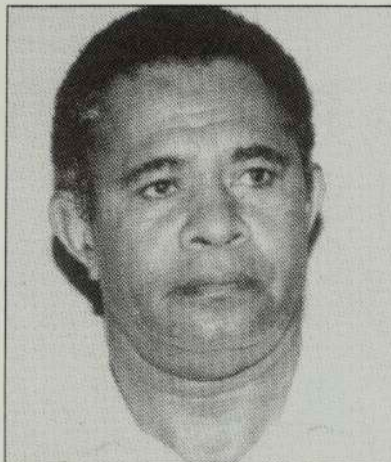
"Of course some people say Fijians are constrained by their cultural environment, maybe there is something in that.

"But I think now more than ever there is an awareness in the Fijian community. They've got to participate and in doing so they can succeed if they are allowed to compete on an equal basis," he added.

Kamikamica also stressed that if the tax holiday was to work, government would have to screen companies very carefully. He said there had been incidents where foreign investors had established joint ventures with indigenous people to make use of the incentive and had left when problems arose.

He added that if the Rabuka government could set aside money for provincial councils, then why couldn't they do the same for the Indian Advisory Council.

Prominent hotelier, and a successful indigenous Fijian in his own right, Qereqeretabua, said it was important "positive discrimination" for Fijians be practised so they could catch-up with non-Fijians in the business world. Qereqeretabua, who is general manager of The Fijian Resort and chairman of the Fijian Initiative, said long-term political stability in the



Kamikamica: spoon-feeding no answer

country could be achieved if there was economic parity between Fijians and non-Fijians in the business sector. "The back-lash of the political situation came to the fore in 1987 but we believe that it is very very important positive discrimination be practised for the Fijians to catch-up with the other communities in the commerce and business sectors. So we believe very strongly that it is government's role to legislate for the Fijians in the short to medium-term to ensure the long-term stability of the country," he said. He attributed the lack of success in Fijian businesses to capital shortage, lack of discipline and know-how.

"Traditional obligations are a stumbling block in so far as the businessman has not disciplined himself. No Fijian can escape from his traditional obligations but there must be that balance or control," Qereqeretabua said.

On the business agency proposed by government, Qereqeretabua said it would act as the legal advisor, or assist in finding legal advice for indigenous people, especially those wishing to enter into joint ventures with foreign investors.

Qereqeretabua stressed the selection of people who will help Fijians in business was extremely important. "I believe that has also been one of the failures of Fijian businesses. This was in fact identified by the Council of Chiefs committee in their findings," he said.

"They cite one of the reasons for failure has been that the personnel selection has not been done properly. As a result people with no qualifications or no relevant experiences were appointed to key positions."

On the \$1-million grant to provincial councils, Qereqeretabua said there should be a mechanism in place so that

some funds are invested by the province and the remaining given to individual Fijians to start businesses.

Qereqeretabua said government backing was necessary for assistance or resources from friendly countries like Israel and Malaysia.

The Fijian Initiative has sought assistance from Malaysia to strengthen the Fijian Commercial Development Unit - a branch of the Finance Ministry - because the *bumiputras* (Malaysian indigenous people) had gone through a similar experience and Malaysian investment in the country was now high.

The group also intends to conduct :

- a government-sponsored congress for Fijians where all medium-term proposed blueprint can be adopted, and

- workshop-cum-conferences for all Fijians in business. Problems faced by ordinary Fijian businessmen will be discussed and the group hopes to submit a proposal to government.

Successful indigenous businesswoman Mere Samisoni welcomed government's new policies describing them as "very supportive." However, she stressed there was a need to formulate appropriate policies to assist people with abilities in business, have more government-owned buildings with good commercial sites which could be leased to Fijians.

According to Samisoni, the change from a subsistence economy to a cash economy was a major problem Fijians faced. Education and lack of policies were also other problems experienced by the indigenous people.

Samisoni is managing director of The Hot Bread Kitchen, a highly successful chain of bread shops in Fiji and the Solomon Islands, with expansion plans for Tuvalu.

Samisoni said the Fiji Development Bank had been supportive in granting loans for her business. The bank's annual report last year revealed its Special Loans Scheme Division, catering specifically to the indigenous population, had expanded rapidly in the last three years with the 3453 Fijian and Rotuman clients representing 28 per cent of the bank's clients.

In its financial ended June 30, 1991, the bank granted loans worth \$F34.243 million to Fijians. The report said the transport sector was the most popular industry for aspiring Fijian businessmen but stressed the need for more diversification.

All in all, the lack of capital, education as well as the lack of discipline are considered the main problems indigenous people face in the commercial sector. □

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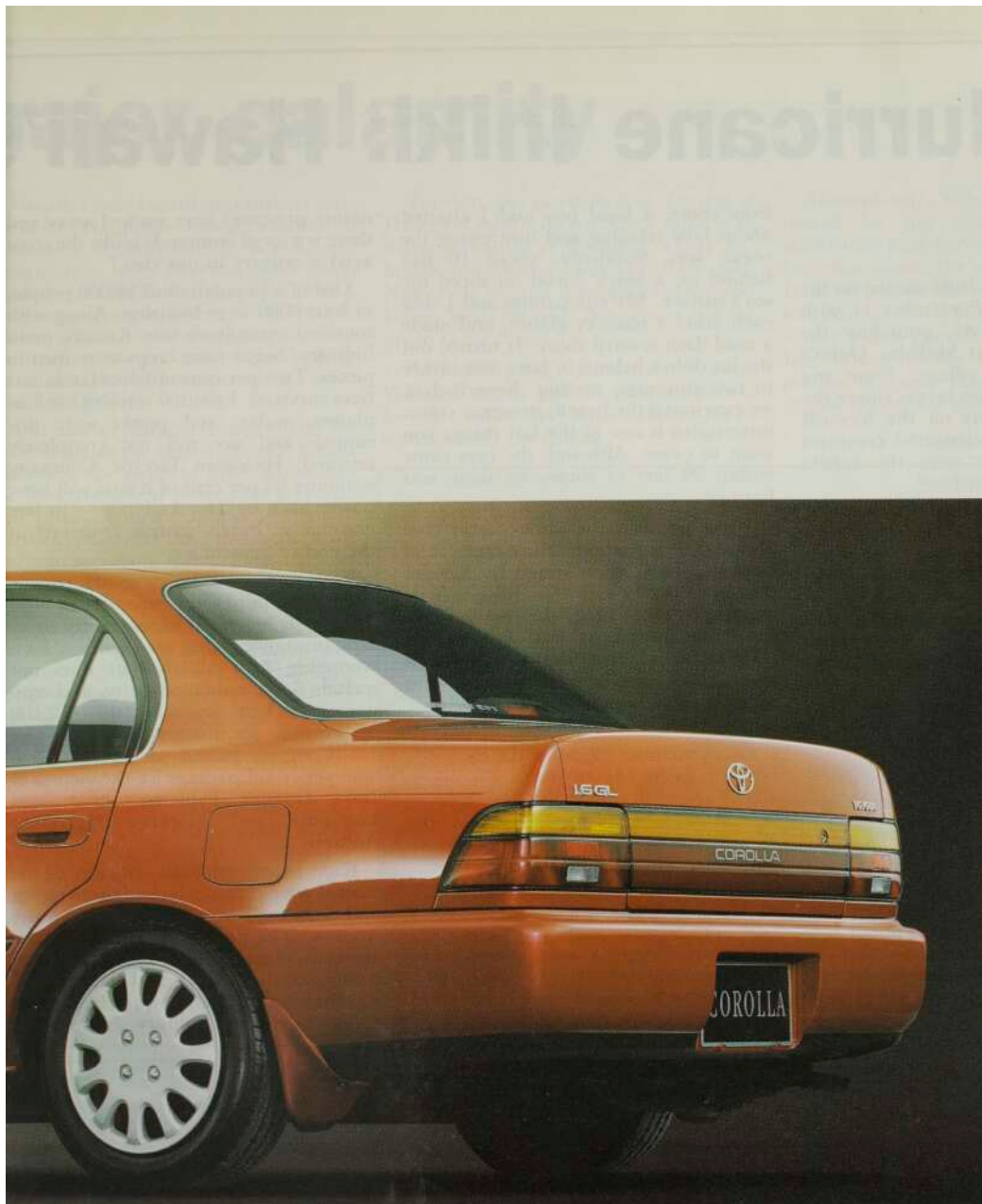
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 **TOYOTA**

DISASTER

# Hurricane Iniki: Hawaii's

By Ed Rampell

FOR me, Hurricane Iniki started on the morning of Friday, September 11 with ominously high waves, pounding the beach where I live at Makaha, Oahu's most northwestern village. From my lanai, I saw at least two turtles riding the crest of the pounders off the leeward coast. Were these endangered creatures truly in danger, or were the turtles merely having fun, surfing?

Fearful that my top floor apartment at the Makaha Beach cabanas could turn into a wind tunnel, blasting razor sharp shards of glass from the front windows and lanai door, I evacuated to the house of Hawaiian friends about six miles away at Nanakuli. En route, Farrington Highway was whipped by high winds at 2.30pm., as sand and debris flew across the four-lane road. Glass bottles blew across the path, and I was forced to drive on the wrong side of the road.

But I made it, turning off the coastal highway and inland at Nanakuli. My Hawaiian friends were prepared with lanterns (the electricity went out around 11.00am), propane stove, plenty of batteries for radios, and food. The brunt of Iniki spared most of Waianae, the closest part of Oahu to Kauai about 100 miles northwest, as the hurricane zoomed in a frenzy toward the Garden Isle. We passed the storm in relative safety and comfort.

For me, Hurricane Iniki ended on Monday, when, for the first time since the storm churned the sea, I was able to go back into the water. About 50 feet

from shore, a local boy and I chatted about how relaxing and unstressing the ocean was. Suddenly, about 10 feet behind us, a black dorsal fin sliced the sea's surface. My companion and I shot each other a panicky glance, and made a mad dash toward shore. It turned out the fin didn't belong to jaws, but rather to two stingrays, mating. Nevertheless, we evacuated the beach; stingray coitus interruptus is one of the last things you want to cause. Although the rays came within 20 feet of shore, no none was harmed.

Unfortunately, the same wasn't true about Kauai, where Hurricane Iniki battered the Garden Island by 3.30pm on September 11 with 165-mile-per-hour winds. By the time the eye of the hurricane passed, at least four people (one at Oahu) died from storm-related causes, 100 people were injured, and more than a billion dollars islandwide damage was done to Kauai.

On September 12, after the cyclone's fury was spent, Mayor JoAnn Yukimura and Governor John Waihee took a 90-minute helicopter ride across the 33-mile wide, 25-mile long island so renowned for its beauty that movies starring Elvis, King Kong, and the current release *Honeymoon In Vegas* were shot on location there. Hundreds of thousands of tourists per year flocked to the Hawaiian destination; many took chopper tours.

But after her flight, Mayor Yukimura, local girl, gasped, "I saw totall destruction — it broke my heart... Huge chunks of shoreline along the Na Pali Coast (Kauai's famed northwestern seaside

nature preserve) were washed away and there is a lot of erosion. It is like the coast aged a century in one day."

Out of a population of 50,000 people, at least 8000 were homeless. Along with tourism, agriculture was Kauai's main industry. Sugar cane crops were torn to pieces. Two per cent of macadamia nut trees survived. Essential services, such as phones, water, and power were disrupted, and are still not completely restored. Hawaiian Electric Company estimates 85 per cent of Kauai will have power back by Thanksgiving — in late November. Public schools reopened at the end of September.

The insurance industry says Hurricane Iniki is the third most expensive natural disaster in American history. Fifty thousand insurance claims are expected, for a whopping \$1.6 billion that does not include flood, public property, and crop damage. There are more than 12,100 applications for disaster assistance. The US Congress passed an \$11.1 billion emergency aid package for the victims of Iniki, Guam's Typhoon Omar, and Louisiana and Florida's Hurricane Andrew.

Kuau benefitted from criticism of the federal government's lack of preparation and response to August's Hurricane Andrew. The Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Small Business Administration (SBA), and the Internal Revenue Service moved quickly to assist Kauai, as did the military, National



**Destruction:** in the wake of Iniki



**Makahu, Oahu:** Iniki gets ready to strike

Ed Rampell

# major calamity

Guard, Coast Guard, and various state agencies. The public raised hundreds of thousands to contribute to Kauai, and entertainers held benefits. The SBA, aided by Hawaii's own Pat Saiki, interviewed more than 5500 people seeking disaster assistance loans. Among many volunteers who came to help Kauai was the US vice-president's wife, Marilyn Quayle.

And the devastated Garden Isle no more needs all the help it can get. Kauai really feels the pinch of Iniki. Kauai has not fully recovered from 1982's Hurricane Iwa, which wasn't nearly as destructive as Iniki. And due to the Gulf war and recession, the \$1-billion a year tourism industry, with 7600 hotel rooms, is already hurting. It is estimated Iniki will cost Kauai tourism \$500 million. Only one major hotel, the Kauai Hilton and adjoining Aston Kauai Beach Villas, are open. Most of the 500 guests are relief workers (there's concern that Kauai's getting too crowded due to the influx of military and aid personnel, and traffic jams are reported).

About half of Kauai's 28,700-person labour force may be out of work. Before Iniki, only 118 individuals filed for unemployment insurance; afterwards, more than 6000 workers filed for unemployment benefits. Nevertheless, Hawaiians are going on with their lives. There's talk some resorts may reopen by Christmas and on September 19, undecided voters went to the polls.

Tourism was unaffected at the rest of Hawaii. Oahu suffered \$25.7 million in damage, mostly at Waianae, where 387 homes and 84 businesses were damaged. Numerous ground floor apartments and homes were flooded. Power was out for up to three days.

Predominantly Hawaiian, some Waianae storm victims were neglected by the state as relief efforts were concentrated on Kauai.

Miraculously, Niihau — the privately owned isle just southwest of Kauai, where only pure Hawaiian are allowed to live, was spared the wrath of Hurricane Iniki. When Governor Waihee went on a helicopter there, Hawaii was treated to a rare video glimpse of the Forbidden Isle, where a few hundreds of past remaining pure Hawaiians live in a simple plantation type village.



Ed Rampell

**Military assistance:** with cleaning up at a native park



Ed Rampell

**Makaha:** tonnes of sand on the road

ADVERTISING FEATURE

# Malaysia-Fiji trade links sealed

By Akanisi Motufaga

MALAYSIA'S investment presence in Fiji goes back 20 years with the sale of Fiji Resorts Limited to the Kuok Group.

The local hotel company owned Fiji Mocambo Hotel and The Fijian.

Over the years the investment has grown with the establishment of textile factories, hotels, trading firms and the introduction of Malaysian-made cars.

For some companies, it was the quota-free access into other overseas markets which attracted them to invest in Fiji, while for others it was the encouragement by Malaysian Prime Minister Mohammed Mahathir.

Apart from Fiji, Malaysian investment is also present in Papua New Guinea in the form of merchant banks, insurance companies, travel agencies and timber yards.

Malaysia's ambassador to Fiji, Hai

Bak Ng, said Prime Minister Mahathir had always stressed the need to have closer trade links — which was one of the reasons for setting up an embassy in Fiji.

Ambassador Ng said Malaysian companies were looking at investment in other Pacific countries but wanted to learn first from the Fiji experience.

"It is like a chicken and egg situation. Do we go there and hope for the sea and air transport to improve or do we wait for them to improve and then go?" he said.

On investment potential, Ambassador Ng said there was trust by Malaysian investors and this was evident in expansion plans currently being carried out by Malaysian-owned hotels.

For instance, The Fijian, which is now called Shangri-La's Fijian Resort, has embarked on a \$10-million facelift. This will be completed in next December.

In the last five years, the parent company has spent \$15.5 million on The Fijian and \$2.5 million on Fiji Mocambo. This involves the upgrading of facilities and extensions. "Even with Courtesy Inn they spent a sum in investment.

"Although the Malaysian presence is, by comparison, a small presence, it is helping in the economic sense. It is providing the customer an alternative supply of goods and services," he said.

He said Fiji and Malaysia had a strong friendship bond and a close bilateral relationship which was why Malaysia was the only ASEAN country with a resident embassy in Fiji.

There are currently three hotels, two textile factories, a bank and trading store that are Malaysian-owned.

Berjaya Group of Malaysia owns Courtesy Inn and has shares in textile factories.

Inter-Pacific Trading Sdn Bhd., is a trading firm specialising in the distribution of goods which includes office equipment, durable and non-durable consumer goods and furniture.

The other hotels are Fiji Mocambo and Shangri-La's Fijian Resort while the bank, National MBI Finance (Fiji) Limited, is a joint venture between MBI Finance Berhad and Fiji-government-owned National Bank of Fiji.

A former Malaysian-owned company, SIA International (Fiji) Limited, recently changed hands while a Fijian-owned company, Nakiti Holdings, has embarked on a supplier arrangement with a Malaysian firm.

Recently, five Proton Saga cars were imported from Perusahaan Otomobil Nasional Berhad in Malaysia. The local agents are Pala's Auto Services Limited.

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# Banking on the future

FIRST it was leasing and hire-purchasing then factoring and later Mastercard. Now National MBF Finance (Fiji) Limited plans to introduce another type of credit card - a Travel Mastercard.

The credit card will be separate from its standard and gold cards and is expected to be available next year.

These plans are just part of what the finance company intends to introduce over the next few years.

National MBF, a joint venture between government-owned National Bank of Fiji and MBF Finance Berhad of Malaysia, has an operating capital of SF1 million with a SF500,000 investment in computer software and hardware for Mastercard alone.

The parent company, which is present in Fiji and Papua New Guinea, is looking at investing in Tonga. It has a diversified business interest which includes insurance firms, supermarkets, manufacturing, banking and so on.

In Fiji, National MBF has established a credit card branch in the western division and is installing Mastercard terminals at all NBF branches.

The finance company is also finalising details on the factoring service which will be available soon.

The service will be open to businesses which perform well financially, have potential, and are good debtors. For example, businesses which export goods are expected to make payments including duty on the items. The receiver of the goods will usually ask for 60 days or more before paying for the items.

When this happens, most businesses face cash flow problems until the payment is made. In order to avoid such problems, National MBF enters the scene with a factoring service.

The finance company will be able to pay as much as 80 per cent of the value of the items within 24 to 48 hours without asking for collaterals. It also up-lifts the invoice for the items from the business. Companies will have to pay a factoring fee of one to three percent, depending on the value of the invoice and an interest rate calculated according to the number of withdrawals.

Leasing and hire-purchasing are also important services available at National MBF. Leasing involves the renting of equipment like heavy machinery, medical and dental equipment and computers. The equipment, which is bought by the finance company, can either be sold to the users or substituted for a new machine.

"The market here is not too bad. It is

quite attractive even though it is small. Our commitment here is quite substantial," said National MBF's assistant vice president, Sinclair Wong.

Despite National MBF's range of services and future plans in Fiji, the company has expressed concern at the absence of an overall association aimed at protecting foreign investors. "The only concern we have is that we have to safeguard the industry as a whole. If somebody does something wrong, the government passes an act and everybody suffers," Wong said. "In financial lines, we are a bit concerned because if financial companies come in and act irresponsibly, there is no central organisation which can look after these things. Our investment here is long-term." □



National MBF's Sinclair Wong



The Mastercard: a National MBF service

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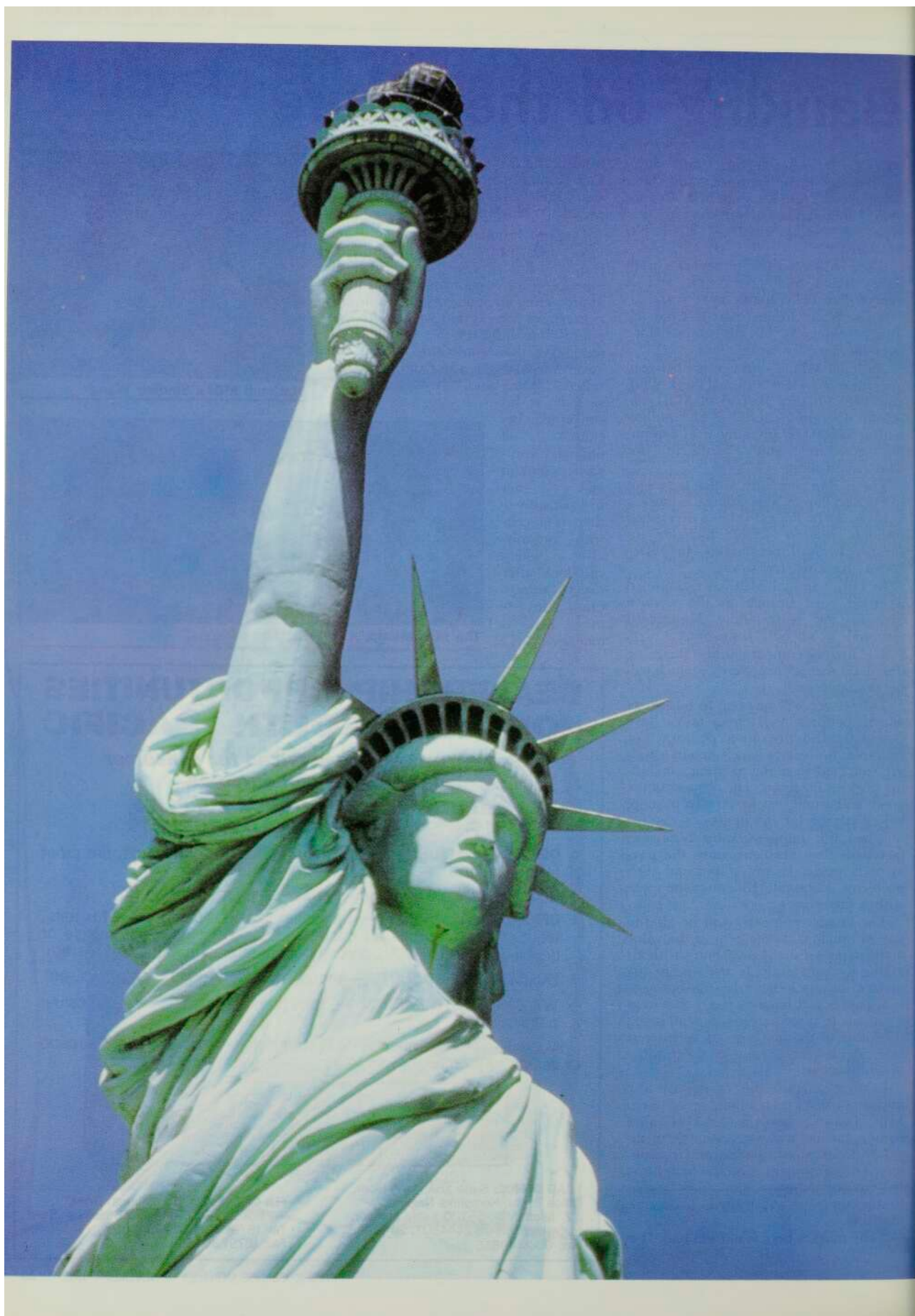
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ADVERTISING FEATURE

# Courtesy is paying off

By Akanisi Motufaga

SUVA Courtesy Inn, a stone's throw from the heart of the town, is known for "putting courtesy in" its services.

The 50-room hotel which overlooks the harbour has been undergoing renovations since the hotel changed hands in April 1989. The new owners, Berjaya Group of Malaysia, have so far invested \$F1.2 million in the first phase of its renovations. This involved extending the lobby, opening a coffee shop and terrace on the ground floor and renovating the swimming pool.

On the second floor, the hotel set up a Malaysian restaurant, called Kampong Ku Malaysian, and a bar. Berjaya is expected to spend another \$F900,000 in its second phase involving renovating the bathrooms and changing the carpets and furniture.

Apart from the renovations, the parent company also invested \$F2.6 million by borrowing \$F900,000 from the National Bank of Fiji. The remaining amount was obtained from the hotel's cash flow.

Although the investment is not much compared to other hotels Berjaya Group has invested in, the hotel's resident manager, Hwa Phuay Chua, said the company did not regret buying it from the former owners - a group of Australian investors.

Courtesy Inn caters mainly for businessmen and has a rate of \$F85 per night for locals and \$F115 for foreigners.

Apart from Courtesy Inn, Berjaya has shares in two garment factories. Fiji is the only Pacific island country that Berjaya has invested in.

"Actually we came here because of the tax free zone," Chua said.

After investing in two garment factories, the company decided to buy the Grand Pacific Hotel but realised the Nauruans had bought the property three days earlier.

From GPH, the company focused its attention on Scotts Hotel but decided



Suva's Courtesy Inn: a popular dining spot



Women at work: at a Malaysian-owned garment factory

against it due to bank problems as the property had been under a mortgagee sale.

"Our directors were at Travelodge and one day they came over here for dinner. They thought it was an interesting place and wondered if it was for sale. It so happened that it was and so they bought the property," Chua explained.

The hotel is manned by three Malaysians - Chua and two chefs - and 58 local staff, some of who have been sent to the Fiji Institute of Technology for training.

Chua feels it does not need to worry about competition from other major hotels in Suva like GPH because of the competitive rates Courtesy Inn offers and the market potential in middle-class people.

Chua said the hotel's occupancy rate had increased from 54 per cent two years ago to 70 per cent in the last three months.

"We will be making good money if we maintain our occupancy rate and no big hotels come up in Suva."

□

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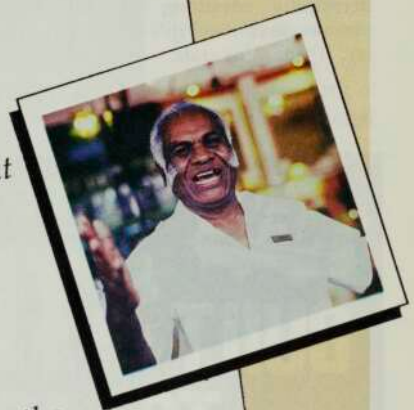
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EDUCATION

# The power of knowledge

By Debbie Singh

FIJI's education system is too academic and examination oriented, with teachers constantly under pressure to complete syllabuses and students being denied personally enriching subjects in the process, says the Fiji's education minister, Taufa Vakatale.

"Non examinable subjects like religious teaching, literature, drama, cul-

Fiji's Education Minister, Taufa Vakatale, speaks on the shortcomings of the system

ture and physical education are swapped in favour of physics, chemistry and biology, and teachers don't digress when teaching these," she says.

"So when an opportunity crops up and we need to stress values — we don't. For instance, teachers could spend a period

on male-female stereotyping in biology or social science classes, but they don't pick up opportunities to digress.

"I find it very disturbing that if secondary school students miss a mathematics or physics class, they use a physical education class to make up for it. They shouldn't be doing this but it stems from the fact that we have become very examination conscious and as a result, very narrow-minded", Vakatale says.

"So our children have become competitive in a very negative way and schools are competing with other schools for 100 per cent pass rates (in exams)," she says.

"But I don't see education as a means of getting jobs — I see it as a means of preparing a child to cope with life and, perhaps this is a rather radical thing for one to be thinking of, especially as minister for education. But I'm not too worried if we teach subjects in schools that are irrelevant to the employment market".

"Teachers are not worried about the full development of the child or whether they have been enriched by other things.

"For instance, most Fiji schools gear students toward scoring high marks in subjects such as economics, accounting, mathematics and english, thus narrowing them into taking the barest minimum subjects," Vakatale says.

"We need to have more core requirements — like arts students taking science subjects and vice-versa".

Vakatale says the only way the system can be improved is by cutting the link between employment and what is achieved via a certificate in schools. She recommends employers put prospective applicants through aptitude tests before interviewing them and then look at their examination results. "For instance, why should a care-taker need to have a pass in english in the Fiji School Leaving Certificate examination? I think all he needs is to be vigilant, have a strong body, be awake at night and in good health. Why should a pass in english be a qualifying thing?" Vakatale asks.

She says only when this link is cut, can schools relax and treat an examination pass as just a pass and not judge it on the merit of its grades.

"Why should we look at marks? They have their certificate and that's it", she says.

"They'll need their marks if they decide to go to university but they don't

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need their marks to get a job. Some people might say, it's all very well for her — she's already got her degree and is now minister for education. Okay, I accept that. But I look at my own family too. I go back and see my family in the village and they have never got out of the rut of living in the village and just going up to class 6, or even class 4. So they've given up the whole idea of ever progressing in that way," she says.

Vakatale goes on to say that schools do not equip leavers for work and their knowledge of the workforce is gained after securing jobs. She says school leavers should be taught work ethics to enable them to respect all kinds of

work, discipline and work conduct.

"I think school curriculums are trying to prepare and adapt to the school systems' desire to get students to pass exams, but in practice, this is not relevant.

"Often subjects are dished out to students just to sit exams and these are all forgotten when students pass their Fiji School Leaving Certificate or Form 7 exams," she says.

"While the curriculum is relevant to the job market, it is only good for those going on to university and tertiary institutions. Those who drop out and enter the work system are hopeless. And it's not their fault, it's the fault of the parents and the school system," Vakatale says.

"The content is there but the way this is communicated to the students and the way they absorb it, is not there. And again, I go back to the weakness of the system, which is the fact that it is too examination oriented," she says.

"But schools can be recognised for other things such as boasting a good choir or good sports or cultural teams."

Vakatale, who attended the country's top Fijian girls school says, "Adi Cakobau School takes the cream of the Fijian

girls. "And these girls can afford to have their time filled up with other things and still pass their exams because they're boarding as well.

"They used to be very good at sports but now only excel in athletics — and



Debbie Singh

**Vakatale:** stresses overall development of children

that's because it's big show. They refrain from sports like hockey, netball and table tennis or other little sports not for big audiences," she says.

"Compulsory education is also one of my plans and I'd like to do this because education might not be a priority for some — survival might be. With large families in Fiji the eldest child, usually a girl, stays at home for economic reasons to mind the children, while both parents go out to work.

"She is deprived of education in the process. So legislation for compulsory education might be the answer, as very often those we want to help are in a lower economic bracket and have many more children," Vakatale says.

The minister says her ministry has thrown the idea of compulsory education around for some time and has found it is what the majority of the people want. Vakatale also has plans to strengthen kindergartens and reduce the school entry age from its current six years to five.

"I would also like to see more teachers in classrooms and achieve one teacher per class, rather than work on the current teacher/pupil ratio," she says.

"I also want to introduce more moral

and values education into schools as teachers have lost confidence in teaching something that can be subjective. So I have ordered about 200 copies of a book on moral education in India for our (142) secondary schools and the exercises are very simple and relevant to our country. Anyone can use the book irrespective of race or religion," she says.

Vakatale, who was national President of the Fiji Young Women's Christian Association during the 1970s and is the country's only woman cabinet minister says more emphasis should be placed on education for girls.

"And we must not just concentrate on carpentry and engineering, we must also train girls who want to go into traditional female jobs like home economics, textiles and craft.

"So, if a girl decides she wants to take up sewing, she should be trained in professional tailoring, or food technology should she decide on home economics as a career — emphasis should be placed on more sophisticated things like these," she says.

"The current Fiji Institute of Technology caters mainly for boys and I would like to see some institutions that include girls as well. Girls should be taught fish, prawn and poultry farming or light engineering and motor repair work.

"We must go out of our way to recruit women. For instance, if there is an intake of 30 people, then 10 of them should be women. And boys should be included in cooking and food technology classes as well," Vakatale says.

So, while our education system is relevant, we need to create more blue-collared jobs and teach people to be more self-sufficient and self-employed. The trouble lies in society's perception of blue-collared jobs as being inferior to white-collared ones. Maybe our educators would stop trying to prepare students for the job market and concentrate more on making them good Fiji citizens.

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# EDUCATION

## Adding the local flavour

By Christine Hatcher

IT'S 8.00am. The bells clang, urging "get in line" commands on eight primary and three secondary schools. Another day buzzes into action in the Cook Islands Free Educational system.

Ngereteina Puna, Minister of Education says, "We have come a long way since the Polynesia Way was introduced in late 1989."

He says, "We have an education system that holds on to the arm of New Zealand, rather than being on the back of it."

A recent review of this report, the Education & Training Sector Study (ETSS) in April 1992, has highlighted a need to get in touch with an even more "local flavour" educationally. It encourages community involvement, an increase in textbook availability and has recommended decentralization of decision making.

Chairman of the Polynesia Way Committee, Toua Matamaki, says, "This will take up to five years to realize, due to budgetary constraints." The minister sees education as an economical investment in the future, on a shoe-string budget.

Public perception of the quality of education reported in Polynesia Way is not encouraging. "Low, sometimes rock bottom standards...very poor teaching...ramshackle buildings...outmoded curriculum...poor professional satisfaction...massive inequalities...aimless youth...deteriorating values."

The UNDP Human Development Report 1991 says the Cook Island would need to increase educational expenditure five per cent to reach an average for developing countries. The present budget, the largest allocation at NZ\$7.8 million (1991-1992) expends 85 per cent on salaries leaving 15 per cent.

Only half a million dollars remain to run schools on 13 islands. One-teacher schools exist on Palmerston and Nassau and composite classes on other outer islands are not uncommon. Sometimes, enough money for books and essentials, is absent.

Minister Puna says, "This is not a reflection on government, they are trying to do their best."

While the importance of the "first years" is recognised, this is not reflected in teachers' salaries. However, tertiary qualified teachers and principals in the primary field do exist.

But, says Puna, "I've never known a

rich teacher." He says while better pay might attract good staff, it may attract them for the wrong reasons.

While waiting to see qualified, dedicated staff, he says, "Some of the best teachers I know have no qualifications."

Only six per cent (1991) of Cook Island trained teachers have university degrees, according to the ETSS.

And, dedication may be hard to buy at a starting salary of NZ\$5000 to NZ\$6000 per annum. The highest achievable wage being NZ\$19,500.

Says Puna, "Several teachers are still on NZ\$8000 — we have to do something about that."

*'We have come a long way ... we have an education system that holds on to the arm of New Zealand, rather than being on the back of it.'*

The ETSS cites a need to increase teacher morale.

Despite this, it seems, most children work hard, fare well. But, within any school system, those who cannot "fit in", exist. For those, special dispensation must be granted by the Secretary of Education.

Ther Secretary, Lionel Browne, says, "There are a few. Granted mainly because of pregnancy and to those who find school torture, have a high absenteeism rate. But "drop outs" are virtually unknown. Education is compulsory until the age of 15 and may be raised to 16. But, everyone leaves school able to read."

For those who do not fall by the wayside, a scheme, in operation since the 70s provides basic skills to the large percentage who leave school and become "self-employed".

The basic skills apprenticeship scheme, bridging from school to work-force in hospitality, mechanics, carpentry, block-laying, nursing and the police force, was introduced in the 70s, he explains.

For those who gained an 'A' bursary plus last year, 13 scholarships were

granted by Australia, New Zealand and the States.

For those who miss out, "in-house" training in their fields of choice is encouraged together with correspondence study.

While curriculum says scholarships are awarded on a non-sexist basis, the statistics are confidential. Public opinion however indicates more men than women obtain those scholarships. This is despite a higher percentage (22.2 per cent) (statistics: ETSS).

In a bi-lingual society, gaining employment unless proficient in both Maori and English, is become increasingly difficult.

Ngatokorua says, while universal subjects, such as English, Mathematics and Science are taught to New Zealand School Certificate level, Maori Language and Culture is compulsory to Cook Islands School Certificate level, the minimum qualification.

Ngereteina Puna remembers when speaking Maori during school, was punished.

He says, "I try to see the rationale, but it was a stupid rule. I'm glad those days are over now. Somehow, the attitude changed, we became contemptible towards our own language, our Maori ways of doing things."

Now, the use of local medicine is being practised in primary schools.

"I envisaged schools with herb gardens for school lunches or nutritional drinks," the minister says, looking forward to the day he can outlaw "junk food".

Other pending changes include the controversial amendment to the current education act allowing capital punishment in primary schools, a recent hotly debated issue. The present act allows corporal punishment for male secondary school students.

While two schools, so far, have reacted strongly against the amendment, others have not replied to a letter seeking opinions.

The minister said in August, "To me, disrespect of authority warrants some form of corporal punishment".

He said his attention was drawn to teachers verbally abusing children and there was no place in the system for people like that. Some people had the wrong idea about corporal punishment, he said.

"...It's not using a big stick, it's a smack on the leg"

Corporal punishment, he said, would be clearly defined.

□

EDUCATION

## Discriminating evidence

By David North

FOR years Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands has not been able to organise its higher education system (which produces some teachers) and its wage scales to get enough local residents to teach school. So it had to look elsewhere to hire teachers, and it turned to two quite different labour markets — the mainland and the

Philippines. The attraction of the mainland teachers was that they were available, spoke good English, and could help CNMI kids qualify for mainland colleges. The attraction of the Filipino teachers was that they were inexpensive, and they were particularly adept with Filipino students (though CNMI's immigration policies are such that most of the temporary alien workers from the Philippines are not allowed to bring along their children).

In this meeting CNMI, according to the US Justice Department, erected a three-tier system for the teachers. In the top layer were the mainland teachers, whose transportation to the islands is paid by CNMI, and who are paid better and get better housing than the other teachers.

In the middle level are the indigenous Chamorro and Carolinian teachers. At the bottom are the Filipinos, who are paid less than the Americans, who are housed less well than the mainlanders, and whose hours are longer and working conditions are less favorable than either the Americans or the indigenous teachers. Filipinos, who also must fly to their jobs, secured none of the transportation assistance offered to the mainlanders.

Further the Justice Department charged the Filipinos were not given the same promotional opportunities granted other teachers, and the educational system made no effort to punish students who harassed their Filipino teachers on racial grounds.

Federal law, for many years, has prohibited mainland employers from asking potential employees anything about their family situation — a boss cannot ask a job candidate if he or she is married, much less if she is pregnant. To do so is to suggest gender discrimination.

Juan L. Babauta, CNMI Board of Education Chairman, denied the charges generally, but offered no specifics in rebuttal.

Although he did not say so, a close reading of the Justice Department complaint suggests that the Washington lawyers tossed every conceivable charge into the complaint. For example, the Board of Education was accused of causing the Filipino teachers to leave the islands if they wanted to change employers. This is not a Board of Education decision, it relates to the way CNMI treats all alien workers. CNMI was also accused of insisting that Filipino teachers take an English language test, but it does not make similar requirements of indigenous and mainland teachers. The CNMI requirement is comparable to that made by every American university contemplating an application filed by a student from a nation other than an English-speaking one; those from English-speaking countries do not take a language test. Since English is the language of instruction in CNMI, knowing English would seem to be a plausible condition for employment, as would testing for it among job candidates from a non-English-speaking country.

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## Specialised training

IN MY OFFICE, we have no doubt that there is a real demand for technical training in the Pacific island countries. We've just reviewed the results of the first six months of a pilot program that has allowed us to provide island workers with specialised training courses in Australia, and the results have exceeded our expectations.

We set up the program following suggestions made at a seminar of islands business people held in Suva in April last year. Those who attended, who included business people from the French territories, said there was a great need for local training programs in basic financial and management skills for people setting up small businesses. There was also need for short-term technical training overseas, in areas of expertise not available in the islands.

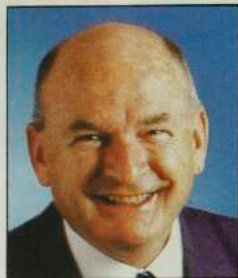
At the end of last year, Australia announced it would provide a budget for these programs, and some others, and they were put under the control of the Market Advisory Service of its Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

The in-country specialist training is being provided by the Australia Executive Service Overseas Program Ltd (AESOP), a self-help program that has benefited hundreds of small businesses throughout the islands. At the Trade Commission, we accepted the request to organise the short-term technical training scheme, its costs met by an Australian-funded budget that provides selected applicants with air fares, accommodation and tuition fees.

Since its launching in March, we have been administering it in a similar fashion to our successful attachment program, whose main purpose is to help island business people market island products. Visits of those who arrive in Australia on attachment to the commission are short, perhaps a week or two and individually tailored to help the visitor get practical information quickly.

But the attachment program is under the umbrella of SPARTECA, and is virtually restricted to marketing matters. Unfortunately, we were also getting applications from people whose

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only needs were for specialist courses, and we had to reject them. We rejected 30 applications in 1991.

The new specialist scheme overcomes that problem.

We are still running the attachments programs, but since we began the specialist courses we have arranged training for 32

people from Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu, Kiribati, Niue, Western Samoa and Tahiti. Their courses have included upholstery, wholesaling of motor vehicle parts, fire-fighting, electrical contracting, motor rewinding, light engineering and fabrication, business planning, computer technical and training courses, butcher shop managing, TV and film operating and editing, sound engineering, drafting and building construction, plant equipment maintenance, studio photography, computer accountancy operations, refrigeration and washing-machine maintenance, business English and accounting, and furniture removing. These courses have lasted from a week to six weeks, most of them for one to two weeks.

Many applicants have been seeking to upgrade their work skills, because it could put them in line for promotion, and others see the potential for starting up small businesses at home and have sought training outside their particular field. Others have wanted to start up their own repair businesses in fields they are familiar with. In most cases, bank loans have been dependent on them completing training courses.

Nada Widdowson, the commission's administration officer, says all those who attended the specialist courses have been prepared to absorb as much as they can in the time, their only regret being they would have liked courses to be longer.

This may be possible. We may be able to train more people for longer, by accepting specialised groups at regular periods, rather than bringing in people individually throughout the year.

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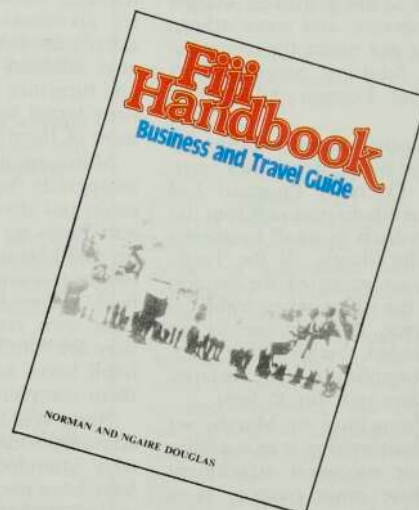
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FASHION

# Lasting impressions



Asaeli Lave

**Simply elegant:** in coconut fronds



Asaeli Lave

**Traditionally exotic:** in croton leaves



Asaeli Lave

**Totally divine:** entirely in makosoi

By George Matai

WESTERN SAMOA's Puletasi of the Year Designers Award in August took a different turn when the organisers surprisingly threw in an act seen for the first time by Samoan people.

The showcase, which preceded the annual revelation of new designs and colours, was put together and sanctioned by Aiono Dr Fannafi Le Tagaloa, Professor of Samoan Studies at the National University of Samoa.

Aiono wrote a script to go with the dramatisation of how Samoans dressed in pre-missionary days, after the arrival of the missionaries, the influence missionaries brought to local wear and how the *puletasi* (two-piece sarong and top) had evolved over the centuries.

The pre-missionary era bracket boasted outfits made of leaves, animal skin, mats; followed by wedding wear, umbrella-type capes and the dress of the *umaga*, men who sat around the *tanoa* during the *ava* (kava) ceremonies.

This was followed by a brief illustration of how missionaries and their wives dressed against the backdrop of the Samoan *matai* (titled Samoans).

Patrons at this stage could clearly visualise what was to follow — the evolution of the traditional Samoan *puletasi*.

It was evident the *lavalava* had maintained its stability over the years despite the continuing influence of westernisation.

Cleverly tapering into the *puletasi* of the 1920s to the 1950s category, the stage was now set for a grand show of the

contemporary designs of the present century.

Model Pania Schwenke then projected into the future with an outfit showing how tastes could match dress sense of the space age.

Twenty-three young local designers then took over the stage for what turned out to be a panorama of styles, colour and taste.

Again, the use of local material — from the coconut tree to the commonest species of the hibiscus flower — were used widely. Accessories were limited to native Samoan armlets, earrings, and articulately designed head gear to compliment the pulled-backed hair-do.

For the more exquisite designs, some models put on make-up to enhance the portrayal of professional themes chosen for the night.

But the Western traits were clearly overshadowed by the elegance of what is purely Polynesian — skin colour, natural hair colour, lovely sets of teeth, genuine smiles and natural deportment.

A week later, during the *Le Tausala Samoa* (Miss Samoa 1992 pageant), cultural wear and use of local material — from the forests, garden and the sea — were encouraged.

The 14 contestants renewed the message of the stability of the *lavalava* in a special category in which an assortment of methods to tie the two-metre length of material was shown.

Days of hardwork were revealed in the *ofu laulau* (traditional wear) category when contestants strode out in intricately woven, stitched and arranged outfits in which they performed the traditional *siva*.

□



Asaeli Lave

**Beautifully sleek:** in pandanus leaves



Asaeli Lave

**Coyly stunning:** in local leaves

**CUISINE**

# The melting pot of

By Dennis Richardson

HAWAII is without a doubt the ethnic melting pot of the Pacific islands — where everyone belongs to a minority (and where, in the 1980 US Census Summary Tables, Hawaiians and other Polynesians do not even rate a mention!)

Of a population of almost one million, 26 per cent are *haole* (Caucasian — including Portuguese), 24 per cent Japanese, 11 per cent Filipino, five per cent Chinese, less than one per cent (9000) pure Hawaiian and the remainder divided between the Korean, Vietnamese, Negro, Samoan, mixed race and "miscellaneous". Moreover, the islands were originally settled by Polynesians from several parts of the Pacific — nominally Tahiti, but *tahiti* in oral tradition means "faraway". There is evidence of immigration from the Marquesas as early as 300 AD, continuing up to 750 AD from the Society Islands.

At the time of James Cook's discovery of Hawaii in 1778 — and his death at Kealekekua Bay the following year — there may have been some 300,000

people living in the island chain.

Within 100 years the number had been reduced (by disease and despair) to less than 60,000, and the frenetic recruitment of plantation labour launched the heterogeneous destiny of the 50th State of the Union.

It might be expected that so variegated a settlement history would have given the Hawaiian Islands a diversity of food habits and cuisines. And indeed there is nowhere in the Pacific islands a greater diversity of eating houses than present-day Ohau. But this richness (and the economy) owe more to the \$2-billion tourist industry and the \$1 billion of federal inputs (largely military-related) than to Hawaii's history of immigration.

In the early days, agriculture was relatively highly developed, and included an ingenious irrigation system for the root staple, taro, which greatly impressed the English explorer George Vancouver in 1791. Yams, sugar, breadfruit, papaya, bananas, coconut, and other fruits (but not pineapple) were grown, while edible dogs and pigs — and a variety of birds (including a domesticated goose) and fish — pre-date the

arrival of James Cook. Goats were introduced by Cook and sheep by Vancouver, but these were protein sources only for royalty. Commoners relied on the astonishing diversity of fish — which many would argue is still the finest feature of Hawaiian foods.

There are over 800 species of fish in Hawaiian waters, many of them edible. These include *kihikihi* (moorish Idols), *alehole* (silver perch), Pacific Blue Marlin (which grows to over 1000 lbs), several other billfish, *mahimahi* (dorado or dolphin), *aku* (skipjack), *ahi* (yellow fin), and six other tuna species, sharks, limpets, oysters, crayfish, prawns and shrimps, squid and octopus.

Despite the profusion of sea-fish there was also an ancient pond-fishing culture. Fifteenth century fishponds can still be found on Ohau, Molokai and Kauai; and modern versions have since made Hawaii the pond-fishing capital of the Pacific.

The first western commercial contacts were by the notorious and rapacious European sandalwooders. When the sandalwood was exhausted, North American whalers arrived to exploit the

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# Culinary delight

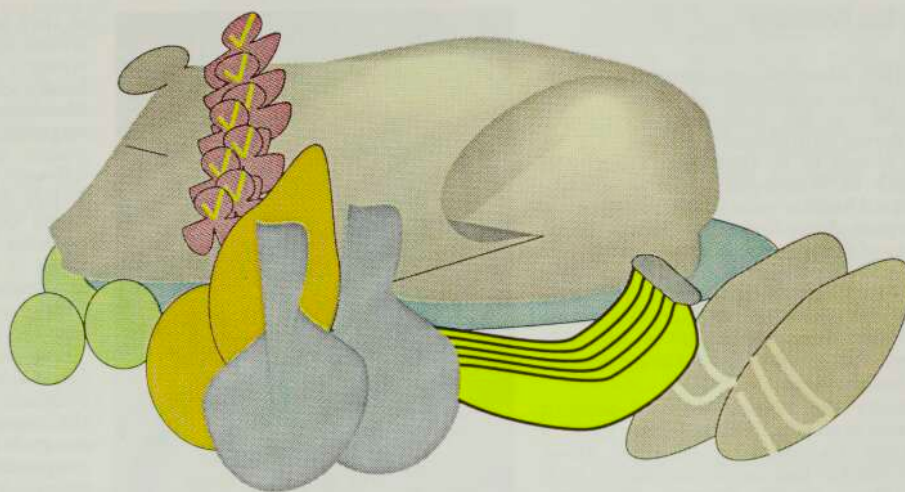
acquired tastes of the chiefs for foreign goods. As many as 500 whaling ships a year have been reported as visiting Honolulu and Lahaina — one of which (in 1843) carried a youthful Herman Melville.

The development of industrial petroleum in the US spelled the end of whaling and widespread alienation and privatisation of land, resulting from the Great Mahele in 1848, enabled the development of plantation sugar and, later, pineapple. Then began the quest for cheap labour. It came from Kwangtung,

Mongolia, Korea, Japan, Puerto Rico, Madeira, the Azores, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Poland (Galicia), Australia, Germany, Norway, Russia, Siberia, Micronesia, Polynesia, Melanesia and the Philippines.

Between 1852 and 1930, over 400,000 men, women and children were transported to the plantations. Illiteracy was considered an advantage (the labourers could not read their contracts and were consequently docile) as was a mixture of origins — a company manager urged the Labour Commission in 1895 (three years before annexation) to "keep a variety of labourers ... and thus prevent any concerted action in case of strikes ..."

The history of Hawaii, thus, was not such as to favour either the survival of the original Polynesian cuisine — or the importation of the more sophisticated components of others. There are, of course, some Polynesian foods — *poi* (pounded taro, nowadays blended, for *aole* visitors, with mashed banana), *kalua* pig steamed in an *umu* or earth oven and *aulau* (pork, beef, salt fish and taro leaves baked in *ti* or banana leaves). There are also distinctive Portuguese contributions — *Pao doce*, a light and sugared round loaf; *malasada*, a kind of doughnut; spicy sausage, eaten with bean soup; and various characteristic marinades). There are Filipino dishes like *lechon kawali* (baked suckling pig); *adobo* (stew); *pancit* (a mixture of shrimp, pork, vegetables and noodles) and the ubiquitous fermented fish paste, *bagoong* — surprisingly, perhaps, the alleged stimulant *balut* does not appear to have



reached the islands) — there is the usual range of foodstuffs which follow Chinese settlement in any country (notably the Chinese introduced a variety of vegetables — beans, snow peas, bamboo, lotus and various cabbages — as well as a range of *dim sum* tid-bits which later became *pupus* or canapes). There are the hot Korean flavours of *kim chee* (pickled vegetables, with garlic and chillies) and *kun koki* (meat marinated in soy, sugar and sesame, broiled and served very crisp), and most importantly, there is a rich Japanese legacy that is unique outside Japan. As with Chinese cuisine, many dishes lend themselves to the American habit of *pupu* — *tempura*, meat and fish in *shoyu*, *sashimi*, *daikon* (white radish) with ginger, *sushi*, *mochi* and others — as well as more formally structured combinations.

But to the visitor, the culinary interest of Hawaii lies in local adaptations of traditional imported recipes — and the converse, imported recipes using local materials. They range from *rumaki* (chicken livers and water chestnuts which may be served with either Chinese mustard, Japanese Shoyu or chillies), *manapua* (a local version of filled Chinese dumplings), *saimin* (a noodle soup invented by Hawaiian Japanese), *teriyaki* beef, and Hawaiian *char siu* (sweet roast pork with white wine) to the use of Macademia nuts in place of almonds, *Mani manju* — sweet beans in a pastry — and a huge variety of American derived desserts, based on tropical fruits (banana, pineapple, poi and guava muffins, papaya and coconut candies, mango tapioca pudding, tropical fruit crepes

and waffles, passionfruit pie, and avocado sherbert). There is even a Moroccan restaurant serving couscous with a local flavour, an Italian trattoria (one of several) offering prosciutto with papaya (instead of melon) and excellent Thai, Indonesian, Swiss, Greek, Portuguese, French and American eating places.

The demands of tourism and defence have also led to a proliferation of takeaways. Inevitably, McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Taco Bell, various Pizza and Pancake chains are there; more unusual are the very good (and cheap) oriental takeaways — including Japanese and Korean outlets. Fast food is appropriate to Hawaii. After all, the European name bestowed upon the islands by Captain Cook commemorates its inventor John Montague, the Fourth Earl of Sandwich.

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## PROFILE

# Taking them under her wing

By Ian Williams

WHEN islanders are transplanted from their own communal and family based societies to the rampant individualism, bordering on selfishness, of America, there are bound to be problems. The city of Seattle in Washington State is now the adopted home of some 25,000 Samoans and Tongans. According to Betty Patu far too many of the younger ones were members of gangs like the United Blood Nation and the Mad Pack, and far too few were graduating from high school. Indeed, Betty says, far too few were attending school at all, while many of those who did were being expelled for bad behaviour.

Recently she became the first Samoan woman to run for public office for the City Council. Unfortunately she failed. However, she has had much more success with her South Pacific Dropout Prevention Program, which has even been featured in the *New York Times*.

Seattle became Betty's home in 1957, when her father came to study to become the first American Samoan minister of the Pentecostal Assembly of God. Instead of returning home, he moved to become a missionary in California where Betty attended college before returning to Seattle in 1971.

"We discovered that there were three or four island families living in one house, with no inside bathroom. The Tongans were being treated like animals by the Immigration officers, and so my father set up the first Samoan/Tongan human services in the early seventies", she explains.

Seattle reminded islanders of home. It is a bit colder than the islands, but the rain, the greenery and the clean air made it attractive. Much less attractive were the social conditions. "Pacific islanders had the highest school dropout and suspension rate, and the lowest academic scores," Betty explains. That applied whether they were born in the USA or the islands — except that the latter were at least two grades behind in school because of their poorer English.

"The island kids have a different learning style as well. They have to see the picture, to feel it, while education here is more like college, with lectures, teaching things in blocks," she explains.

She began the Dropout Program with a federal grant in 1988 when the gang activities were reaching a peak, with young boys — and girls. "Sometimes they were the worst" — involved in shootouts and drive-by shootings.

The program has shown dramatic results. By the end of the 1991 school year the dropout rate had more than halved to just over 8 per cent. Currently 25 Samoans from the city are at college compared with one or two before. Now the team keeps the



Betty Patu: a godsend

pressure on and support students to help them stay the full length to graduation.

The service is comprehensive. It includes Betty Patu arguing with judges and courts to release kids into her custody, conditional on their attendance in the program. "We took 15 kids out of the court system and only one went back to jail," she says proudly.

However, there are no easy solutions. "We get new problems as well. Heavy drinking has become a serious threat in the last few years. You need staff willing to work 24 hours, who'll go looking for absentees, attend to emergencies, and monitor the kids on a daily basis," she says, adding that the three staff — all islanders, do just that. "We really care what happens to these kids — they are our people," she adds, "All of our staff have to speak the language and know the culture".

Indeed one aspect of the culture which still survives is the *matai* system. "We have more chiefs than Indians over here," she jokes. However the survival of the system means that Samoan families on welfare still make traditional offerings to *matai*, who do not seem to accept any reciprocal obligation. The American chiefs do not count back in the islands unless they have been confirmed there. Young people here like to preserve their culture — so they do not share their parent's respect. "In fact the parents sometimes leave their children short so they can give to the *matai*, so it's no wonder they go and steal," she says.

Her tough no-nonsense but caring attitude has led to a lot of respect from the kids. She goes looking for absentees and dresses them down until they return to school. If the police are looking for one, she succeeds where squads fail — and persuades the kids to give themselves up. "They know that we'll speak for them and look after them,

so they won't be abandoned. But when I scream at them — they know they've done wrong", she says indulgently. Far from being scared of the gangs with their bloodthirsty names she makes a point of targeting the gang-leaders. "We took the leaders away, and they recruited their followers to the program," she says.

In fact, she has access through her husband to the "Network", a chain of Pacific island churches and ministers down the West Coast of America, which notifies them of any new arrivals and their gang affiliations. "We're on their doorstep as soon as they arrive".

There was a lot of trouble between the island kids and the Afro-Americans and the Filipinos. "In 1975 there was even a riot," she remembers. "So we are trying to integrate the two cultures — to share their uniqueness".

One piece of uniqueness unlikely to spread to Americans is cricket — one of the sports arranged in the evenings between four and eight to keep the boredom factor down, along with more traditional American pursuits like volleyball and baseball. Another problem is that while most of the kids speak Samoan and Tongan, there is no regular education in the languages. Betty's husband, Paul Patu, runs a parallel program, Samoan Intervention Services, which provides help with alcohol problems, interpretation, and Samoan and Tongan language training. "I'm part Fijian, born in Lomaloma," he says. As well as importing *kava* to keep at least one Pacific tradition alive, he is a sort of Pacific rainbow coalition in person, with Fijian, Tongan, Samoan, Chinese, German and Irish ancestors. Genially, he explains that when people ask him why islanders come to America he explains, "We are just coming to visit our cousins, the American Indians". But he is not joking about the language classes, which are an important means of consolidating the culture. In an atomised America, the islanders' best response is one that brings the strength of their cultures and community into play, and their own language is indispensable for that.

However, one of the big problems is the pressure on the federal and state budget. Despite the success of the program, the US government is much more inclined to spend money on prisons and law enforcement than on social programs like the Drop Out Centre. The program is restricted to two high schools and is thus limited to about 80 or 90 students. And despite the tough regime, "We have a waiting list of 100 to enter the Drop Out program. It's just that the schools by law have to be ethnically mixed, so we are restricted in how many of them we can have in each," complains Betty Patu. "We have the people to do the job, but not enough money," adds her husband.

# Finding the American connection

AMERICAN SAMOA congressional delegate, Eni Faleomavaega, intends to lobby to take over the chairmanship of the powerful East Asia and Pacific Affairs Sub-committee.

Faleomavaega, who is presently vice chairman of the sub-committee, told *PIM* he is "very interested" in assuming the influential job.

The position becomes vacant in unfortunate circumstances following the failure of Stephen Solarz to win re-election to Congress.

Solarz lost his battle for the Democratic Party's nomination for a new seat in New York after the boundaries of his old seat were redrawn.

In the precocious world of politics, Solarz, a Jewish New Yorker, suddenly found himself trying to woo predominantly Hispanic voters.

He had also suffered in the opinion polls when it was revealed he had been one of the worst offenders in the House of Representatives banking scandal and had bounced numerous cheques.

But if his defeat meant little to New York's Hispanic voters, many South Pacific officials are stunned by the prospect of losing this veteran's influence in Congress where he had been an unusually knowledgeable and tireless advocate of Pacific issues.

"It is a great loss to our region," said Faleomavaega.

Under Solarz's stewardship, the Congress launched its first comprehensive review of US policy towards the South Pacific in 1989.

The ensuing report, *Problems in Paradise: United States Interests in the South Pacific*, was a wake-up call to Americans who still viewed the region as a big, sleepy lake.

It changed US policy from one of benign neglect to more active engagement and remains the basis not only for setting policy priorities in Congress but in the State Department, as well.

Faleomavaega worked closely with Solarz on the report which he cites as one of the sub-committee's most outstanding achievements.

While some congressional advocates believe the American Samoan delegate has "a very good chance" of succeeding Solarz, he remains cautious.

"There are more senior members than me and it is likely to go to them."

The most often mentioned is Californian congressman Tom Lantos.

But Faleomavaega likes "to think that I have a fighting chance" because of the uncertainty of the elections in November.

Solarz may not be the only casualty in this volatile year in American politics.

And, among those more senior subcommittee members who do return to Congress, there are signs some might prefer to move onto other committees with a more domestic focus.

While this may favour Faleomavaega's chances, some South Pacific officials view such diminishing interest in

## WASHINGTON



**MARGOT  
O'NEILL**

foreign affairs in Washington with alarm.

For instance, congressmen were so concerned about being seen to be spending too much time on peripheral international issue, that not enough of them were willing to become full-time members of the Foreign Affairs Committee — which was once among the most prestigious.

The committee was forced to appoint associate members instead.

Some South Pacific officials also expressed concern about Faleomavaega's status as a delegate. Although he has voting rights on committees and in party caucuses, he only has speaking rights on the floor of the House.

Thus, he would not have the same

ability to rally votes as Solarz.

"It is going to be difficult to maintain the same degree of presence as Solarz," said one official.

"It is difficult to see how he could project our interests in the same way."

As economic issues jump to the top of everyone's agendas, the South Pacific could sink back into relative obscurity among congressmen when compared to the glittering trade trophies in Asia.

But Faleomavaega's supporters point out that as chairman, he could ensure South Pacific issues would remain on the frontline.

The American Samoan delegate is especially optimistic about Washington's interest in the region if Democrat Bill Clinton is elected president.

At a recent meeting with Clinton, along with other leaders of the Asian-Pacific community, Faleomavaega was impressed by the Democrat candidate's knowledge of the region.

Clinton has spent more time in the Asia-Pacific region than Europe and "seemed quite familiar with our situation," Faleomavaega said.

"His closest associate in the National Governors' Conference is the current chairman, Governor Waihee of Hawaii. He is a close friend of Bill Clinton's."

"Clinton wants to deal more directly with Japan and in a constructive way. And he definitely wants to be involved in the South Pacific," he said.

Faleomavaega points out that first, he also has to win re-election on November 3.

The two-term delegate is facing three Republican opponents.

"They're ganging up on me," he said.

If he comes back, and many believe he probably will, he says his main priorities will include

— implementing the rest of the recommendations in the Solarz report;

— pushing Pacific environmental concerns such as ocean waste dumping;

— and lobbying for France and the United States to become members of the South Pacific Forum.

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# Where has the money gone?

THE donor dollar is diminishing. It is a global problem in the midst of mounting competing demands — a problem that perhaps, many would have liked to ignore.

But no. It is a problem here to stay. The inherent nature of the cash economy which boils down to inter-dependence makes it impossible to avoid being part of the problem and perhaps finding a solution.

Competing demands such as humanitarian needs confronting countries in the African continent, the break-up of the former Soviet Union, rising unemployment in industrialized countries and a host of other considerations have brought home the stark reality that the donor dollar is being stretched to the limit. And as time goes on, the donor dollar is going to be stretched even thinner.

All these made it very difficult for tax-payers in donor countries to keep injecting millions after millions of dollars year after year without some form of accountability. Indeed, gone were the days when donor governments required minimal accountability for every dollar they gave away in foreign aid.

Donors are beginning to think twice about where their money should go, resulting in cutbacks, perhaps for good reasons, in foreign aid by some governments. Recent studies have suggested that although donors have poured literally hundreds of millions of dollars into the South Pacific in the past decade, there has been very little visible economic growth. Where has the money gone?

Just how much was injected into the region, no one really knows. Equally, no one knows what sectors received the bulk in funding and by whom.

But all that is about to change.

In line with a decision by the Forum, the Forum Secretariat's Economic Development Division is working on a regional strategy aimed at strengthening the capacity of the regional countries identify their priorities, and allowing them to choose how best these priorities might be met.

Such a guideline not only allows for a clearer classification of national and regional programs, thereby reducing duplication by donors, but also ensures only those activities best pursued through regional programs are undertaken.

Discussions at the recent Pacific Island Countries/Development Partners' Meeting in Suva earlier this year revolved around the need for a regional strategy.

Subsequent meetings of the Committee on Regional Economic, Issues and Trade (CREIT) and the South Pacific Organisations Co-ordinating Committee (SPOCC) agreed to a broad outline of the major steps involved in developing such a strategy.

Such a strategy will establish how, when and by whom proposals for activities should be developed and implemented. This will also provide donors with a basis for supporting regional activities based on the region's own areas of emphasis.

The final stamp of approval was given by the 23rd Forum in Honiara this year, reiterating "that regional development was best addressed through the application of a regional strategy for the Forum island countries".

According to the Honiara Forum, such a strategy would

## THE FORUM



**ALFRED SASAKO**

encourage the optimal use of resources directed to the areas most in need, but at the same time noted the importance of dialogue and consultation in the development of the strategy.

Since the Forum last July, work has continued in developing strategy and it is expected to be ready by the end of next year.

Developing this strategy is being done in three parts, beginning with a statement of strategy, developing of a supporting regional database and the establishment of an on-going process for monitoring regional priorities and determining how they can be best met.

Among other things, the statement would identify key objectives, programs and activities that can be most effectively delivered through

regional channels. While detailed work has not yet begun, it will involve close consultations with Forum island countries who will enunciate their priorities and classify activities best pursued through regional progress.

All seven regional organisations will also be involved in the process, particularly in defining the activities to be pursued at the regional level.

The database, being developed, will provide a significant input for the proposed regional strategy.

This comprehensive database will allow access to all relevant regional project data to which funds have been formally committed in the seven years to 1991.

This is expected to encourage accountability and development co-ordination, and minimise duplication of effort.

For the first time, it will list, year by year, how much money had come into the region, the sector that has benefitted, the donor(s), the regional organisation which implemented the program and the number(s) of Pacific island countries that benefitted.

This database to be held at the Forum Secretariat will be updated regularly to ensure it is current, inclusive and accurate.

It is envisaged that an initial draft of the regional strategy will be put to the Pacific Island Countries/Development Partners' Meeting in March next year.

This will form the basis for a working document for the meeting at which the proposed strategy is expected to take centre stage.

At this meeting, emphasis is expected to be placed on obtaining the agreement of Forum island countries on proposed guidelines for identifying sectoral strategies and programs and activities to be implemented at the regional level.

Agreement will also be sought on priorities as well as on identifying appropriate modalities for implementation including the role of regional organisations. These will form the framework for the regional strategy.

Having established this, the development partners will then be invited to consult with the region on their regional strategies and proposed programs and activities.

New and traditional donors will also be asked for their commitment to work within the approved regional strategy.

The proposed regional strategy is part of the Forum Secretariat mandate to complement the services provided by national governments of the Forum. □

**YACHTING**

# All in the family

By Sally Andrew

WEATHERING a hurricane on land or at sea is scary. It's not so much the wind and the incredible noise but the confusion and danger when things go bump in the night. Cyclone Val hurled her fury at the two Samoas last December and yachts in Pago Pago harbour prepared themselves for the worst.

In the end it was not the wind but an errant 65-ton crane barge which wreaked the most havoc. The huge barge broke her mooring and drifted through the yacht anchorage. Wind shifts made it impossible to anticipate the path of destruction. The barge hit one boat, then dragged and rammed it into another. Finally the barge broke loose and careened into the custom's dock where it crushed three boats and damaged several others.

Yacht *Zorba*, a Corando 34 from Southern California, was anchored in Pago Pago when Cyclone Val hit. Everything on deck was tied down but with the screaming winds *Zorba* sheared from side to side and was knocked down. Owners Bill and Sarah Chase kept a vigilant watch but

at night you could see nothing. Their three children were anxious and scared, but *Zorba's* anchor held fast. Only when the situation deteriorated and the barge broke loose did the purse seiner *Hornet III* send out her skiff and retrieve the family.

Fortunately, the memory of a few wild days of wind during Cyclone Val is vastly overshadowed by the bigger thrill of sailing from one exotic port to another. Nine-year-olds Etosha and Mika Chase love sailing, as does their father Bill and 11-year-old brother Zeke. The girls claim they never get seasick. "Only the first day there's a good wind. If it's flat calm there's no reason to get sick." With a

giggle they both simultaneously cry, "But mom prefers landfalls to passage-making." They have had lots of slow passages and on the passage from Mexico to the Marquesas the girls learned the true name for the Horse Latitudes, "the DULL-drums". Winds were non-existent, the water glass-smooth, and only the homogeneous swells showed and sign of life. When becalmed, Etosha and Mika while away the time swimming mid-ocean, and reading and playing cards, checkers and chess. Mom breaks up the monotony of long passages with surprise gifts and celebrations for the family.



Sally Andrew

**Schoolwork at the Royal Suva Yacht Club:** 'when your mom's the teacher you have to do your homework'

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snorkelling, shell-collecting and exploring are favourite island activities and Etosha and Mika remember all the good reefs and caves they've discovered along the way. In Vava'u, Tonga, they found the hidden underwater entrance into Lariner's Cave and snorkeled inside where the sunlight shimmered on the walls of the cave. A magical fog came and went with the rise and fall of the ocean swell.

Etosha and Mika are identical twins, pranksters who like to dress alike or swap shirts mid-afternoon to confuse their friends. Their facial expressions are only slightly different — Mika has a mischievous twinkle in her eyes and Etosha often lifts her eyebrows when she laughs. Both are delightful and talkative.

The girls are not quite old enough to read full watches when sailing at night but have been taught all the necessary "abandon ship" procedures. A water maker, grab bag, fishing kit, food and an opener, first-aid kit, sunscreen and extra clothes must be retrieved while all possible options to save the boat are entertained by their mom and dad.

Sailing means chores, and the twins / they are responsible for pumping the bilge, making beds, cleaning the floor, polishing the decks, doing dishes and helping mom cook. On night passages they make sure the cockpit is clear of toys before dark. This leaves mom time to take sights and do the celestial navigation, although a GPS has now been added to the navigational gear on board. At sea, dad is the captain.

School is held every morning on board Zorba with mom the teacher and dad the principal. Lessons are from Calvert Correspondence School. The good part is that schoolwork is done early in the day so there's lots of time to play but they miss their schoolmates. Plus, "when your mom's the teacher you have to do your homework otherwise no lunch." Mika and Etosha keep personal journals in which they write about special days. Their journals were started in 1990 when they were only seven years old!

An 18-year-old girl in Fatu Hiva taught Etosha and Mike how to dance hula-style. Much to their dismay, they discovered that it was not quite the same thing as hula-hooping. Instead it is a wiggly side to side hip wiggling that hurts if you do too much. They both got stomach cramps. They bought traditional grass skirts as souvenirs. Later they watched a special celebration at which two villages competed at dancing men, boys, women and girls.

After an ocean passage, landfalls are always a big thrill. Zeke and Etosha spied out Tahiti, Mika spotted Tonga. They reported that mom hasn't been able to yell "Land Ho!" yet because she's usually below decks — seasick. In Rangiroa they watched "sticks" on the horizon turn into palm trees. A colourful rainbow in the sky heralded their arrival.

Zorba's most recent landfall is Fiji where the twins have been busy exploring, hiking, snorkeling, reef-walking and hanging out on the lawn of the Royal Suva Yacht Club. The family went on a bilibili (rafting) trip down the Wainimala River. The bilibili rafts are constructed of bamboo and are about seven metres long and 1.5 metres wide. With three rafts and three guides to pole them down the river,

they bumped into rocks in the shallows, floated fast and furiously when the river was deeper, and sometimes rafted together and slowly drifted downstream, stopping for lunch, swimming and cave exploration.

The morning of the great bilibili adventure, Etosha decided to go for the whole Fiji experience and tried

her first cup of kava. Traditional "cupped" hand-clapping before and after consuming her bilo (cup) did not help with the aftertaste. Etosha squirmed, "It was horrid ... I tried not to make a face but it tasted like YUCK! It numbed my tongue, and made me full in the stomach".

Mika settled for watching the preparation — the kava roots were pounded in a metal cup with a 25-pound metal bar and then wrapped in a cloth and squeezed in water.

After Fiji, Zorba will head for New Caledonia and Australia. It seems that even the 150-knot winds of Cyclone Val failed to dampen the whirlwind of Etosha and Mika's enthusiasm for sailing.

□



Sally Andrew

Etosha and Mika: or is it Mika and Etosha?

# BALI HAI SERVICE

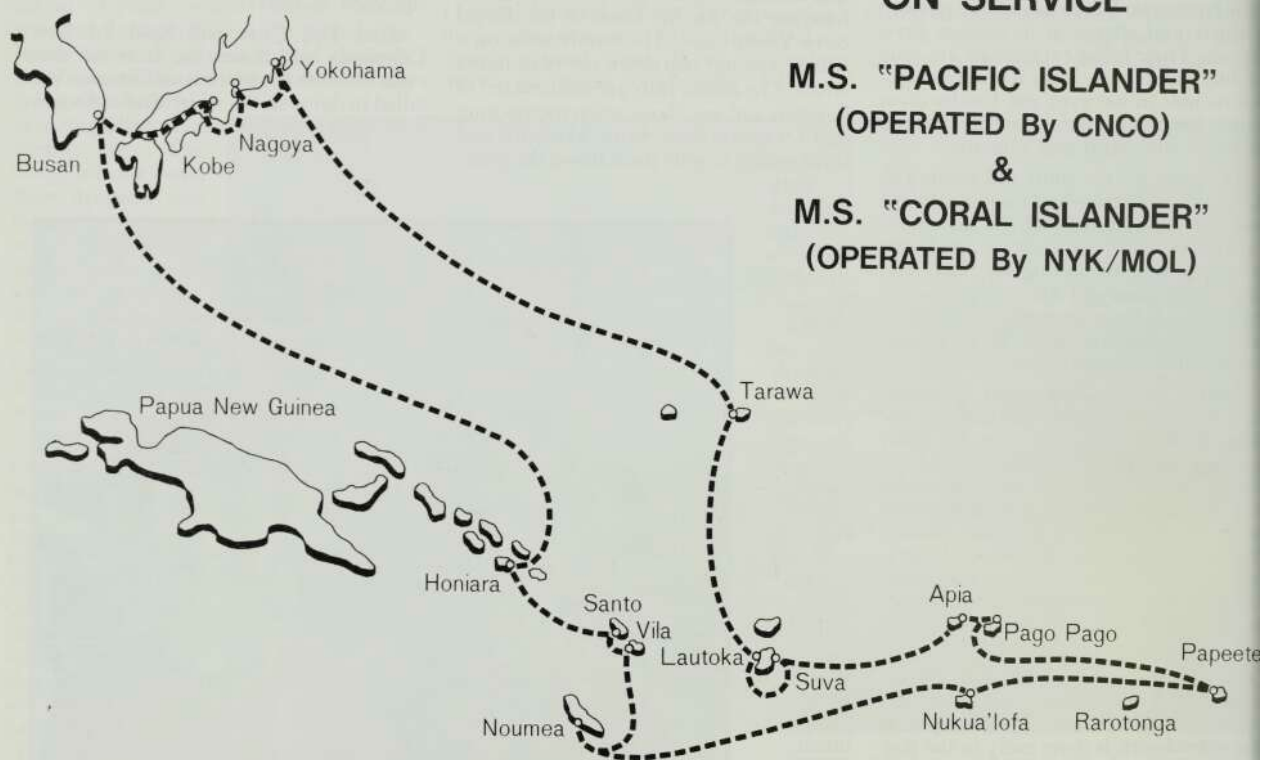
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# SHIPPING SCHEDULES

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Sofrana Unilines operates a fully containerised/breakbulk service every 21 days from Auckland, Tauranga, Lyttleton to Suva and Lautoka. Loading every 21 days, ro/ro service, containers - reefer. Contact Sofrana Unilines, Sofrana House, 101 Customs Street, Auckland, PO Box 3614, Fax (09) 393874, Ph (09) 773279, Tlx NZ 2313. Direct toll free line 00 659-922, Contact Alan Foote, Sofrana Shipping Agencies, PO Box 921 Wellington, Tel (04) 725 661, Fax (04) 725 749, Tlx NZ 4769. Contact Steve Brannigan, Sofrana Unilines Agencies, PO Box 22046 Christchurch, tel (03) 7180, Fax (03) 668 868, TLX NZ4769, Contact Ray Newell, Carpenters Shipping, Private Mail Bag, Suva, Fiji, Tel (679) 312244, Fax (679) 64896, Tlx FJ 2199. Sofrana Unilines, Suva, Fiji, Tel (679) 315645, Fax (679) 300057.

### Australia - Fiji direct

Sofrana Unilines operates a ro/ro container service every three weeks from Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Lautoka and Suva. Contact Sofrana Unilines (Aust) Pty Ltd, PO Box Q136, Seven Victoria Building, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia, Tel (02) 2648944, Fax (02) 2676547, (02) 2676547, Contact Andrew McLachlin, Carpenters Shipping, Suva, Tel (679) 312244,

Fax (679) 301572. Sofrana Unilines Suva, Tel (679) 315 645, Fax (679) 300057. Carpenters Shipping, Lautoka, Tel (679) 63988, Fax (679) 64896. Sofrana Unilines, Lautoka Tel (679) 62921, Fax (679) 64896.

### Australia - Fiji monthly service

Sofrana Unilines (Australia) Pty Ltd operates a regular monthly service with *MV Capitaine Wallis*. Contact Sofrana Unilines, Sydney, Tel (02) 2648944, Tlx AA170090, Fax (02) 267-6547. Carpenters Shipping, Suva, Fiji, Tel (679) 312244, Fax (679) 301572. Sofrana Unilines, Suva, Fiji Tel (679) 315645, Fax (679) 300057. Carpenters Shipping, Lautoka, Tel (679) 63988, Fax (679) 64896. Sofrana Unilines, Lautoka, Fiji, Tel (679) 62921, Fax (679) 64896.

### Far-East - Fiji - New Zealand Service

New Zealand Unit Express (NZUE) operates a monthly service accepting containerised and break-bulk cargoes from Manila, Keelung, Kaoshiung, Hong Kong, Lae to Suva, Lautoka (via Suva) and thence to New Zealand ports.

Contact Carpenters Shipping Suva, Fiji, tel (679) 312244, fax (679) 301572. New Zealand Unit Express, Maritime Building, 2-10 Customs House Quay, PO Box 890, Wellington, Tel 727865, Cables Enzue Man, Wellington, Tlx NZ31340 Nedlitz or Nedlloyd Swire Pty Ltd, Sydney, Tel 20522.

### Japan - South Pacific Service

Same as Burns Philp

### Japan - South Pacific Service - Kyowa Shipping Co Ltd

Kyowa Shipping, Shipping Co Ltd provides a monthly containerised service from Hong Kong

to main ports of Japan, Saipan, Guam. Island ports, Lautoka, Suva via Nukualofa to Pago Pago and Apia. Contact Carpenters Shipping, Neptune House, 3/4 floor, Tofuaa Street, Walu Bay, Suva. Tel 312244, Fax 301572, Tlx FJ2199.

### Europe - Pacific Service

Nedlloyd offers cargo services from Continental Ports to Papeete, Fiji, New Caledonia and Doniambo on slot basis with Bank line. Contact Nedlloyd (Aust) Pty Ltd, Spring Street, Sydney, Tel 273801. Carpenters Shipping, Suva, tel 312244, Tlx FJ2199, Fax 301572. Carpenters Shipping, Lautoka, Tel 63988, Tlx FJ5215, Fax 64896.

### South East Asia - Fiji Service

Nedlloyd Lines (NZEAS) Service operates regular fast cargo service from Jakarta, Pt Keelang, Singapore, Bangkok, Surabaya via Auckland to Suva and Lautoka. Contact Carpenters Shipping, Suva, Tel 312244, Tlx FJ2199, Fax 301572. Carpenters Shipping, Lautoka Tel 63988, Tlx FJ5215, Fax 63988

### South East Asia - Mid South pacific

Columbus Line operates a regular container and breakbulk-heavy lift service from/to Hongkong/Taiwan/Manila/Singapore/Malaysia/Thailand/Indonesia to Port Moresby/Lae/Rabaul/Kimbe/Madang/Newark/Honiara and Noro. Contact Express Freight, Lae, POB 3398, phone 423913 or 423822, fax 425193.

### Far East - Mid South Pacific

China Navigations New Guinea Pacific Line operates a regular container and breakbulk heavy lift service from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Manila, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand to Port

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#### Australia - New Caledonia - Fiji - Samoas - Tonga

Pacific Forum Line operates a fully containerised service (general, reefer and ro-ro) from Sydney and Brisbane to Noumea, Lautoka, Suva, Apia, Pago Pago, Nuku'alofa, Sydney. Cargo centralised from Adelaide and Melbourne. 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 operates a ro-ro/container service every three weeks from Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane to Noumea, Suva and Lautoka with transshipment to the Samoas and Tonga.

#### 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, Bris-

bane then to New Zealand. Contact: Pacific Forum, Auckland, Christchurch; Union Bulkships, Brisbane; Steamships Shipping Port Moresby and Lae Sullivan Ltd, Honiara; Seabridge, Wellington.

#### NZ - Fiji

Translink Pacific Shipping Fiji Agents are: Campbells Shipping Agency Ltd, Ph 314189 Fax 300144 Suva; Ph 662231 Fax 662251 Lautoka. Auckland Agents: McKay Shipping Ph (9) 390229 Fax (9) 3032931. Tauranga Agents, searade agencies Ph (75) 754989 Fax (75) 758380.

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#### NZ - Noumea - Wallis - Futuna

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#### South East Asia - Fiji - Noumea - Papeete - Chile Service

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#### Australia - Fiji - Noumea - Vila - Santa

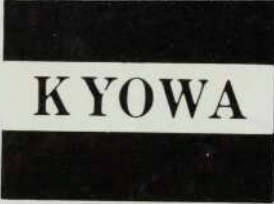
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#### Australia - New Caledonia - Fiji - Hawaii - North America

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#### West Coast of North America - Fiji - New Zealand

Blue Star Line Pacific Coast Service operates a fully containerised/break bulk service every 23 days from Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles to Pago Pago, Suva and New Zealand ports. Blue Star Line also provides a through service to East Coast of North America. Ships are Wellington Star, Southland Star and California Star. Contacts: Blue Star Line, San Francisco Ph 9282026, Tx 184925, Fx 6730355; Blue Star Line, Vancouver Ph 6817300, Tx 0451326, Fx 6835797; Interocean Steamship Corp, Seattle Ph 6829820, Tx 321101, Fx 3437421; Blue Star Line, Los Angeles Ph 5970454, Tx 408564, Fx 5978710. New Zealand Line, Wellington, Ph 739029, Tx 3583, Fx 4992468; New Zealand Line, Auckland Ph 390965, Tx 2556, Fx 3032039; Burns Philp Shipping, Suva Ph 311777, Tx 2168, Fx 301127; Burns Philp Shipping, Lautoka Ph 60777, Tx 5146, Fx 65850.



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# PACIFIC ISLANDS

M O N T H L Y

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