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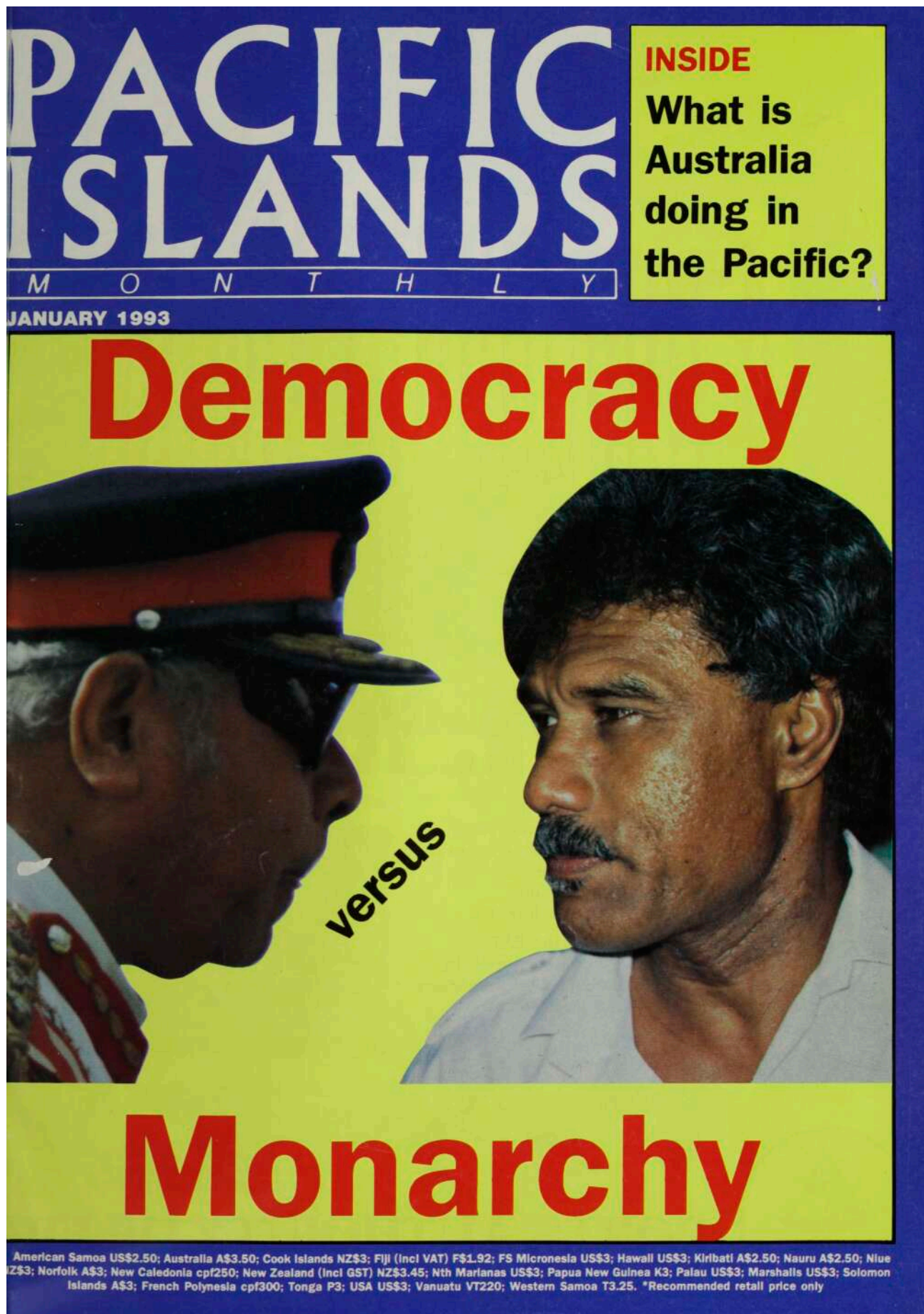
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PACIFIC ISLANDS

M O N T H L Y

Vol 63 No. 1

THE NEWS MAGAZINE

JANUARY 1993

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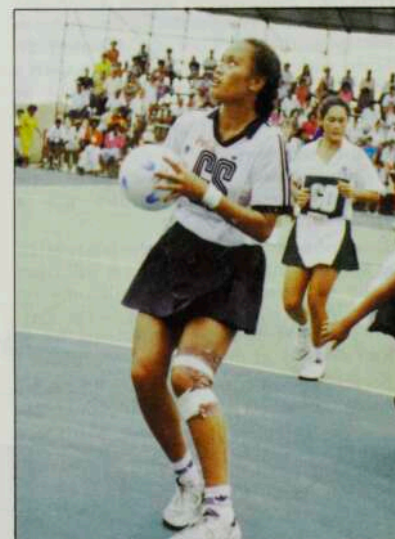
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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

The winds of change

Tonga was jolted out of its reverie in November when a group of determined democracy protagonists staged a four-day convention to highlight the shortcomings of their constitution. That the meeting attracted widespread interest — from within Tonga and internationally — cannot be denied. After all, in a country where any aspersion on the monarchy can be interpreted as sedition, the fact the convention was allowed to take place with little hindrance from the authorities was a surprise in itself.

But just how major a jolt the convention was and how much of an effect it will have on the constitution's future will only be known in the next few months as the Pro-Democracy Movement implements resolutions arrived at during the convention.

So far, almost a month after the event, nothing substantial has been done, although questionnaires distributed to convention participants on how to tackle the task of changing an 117-year-old document have been analysed.

There is growing concern among supporters of the movement that it could dissipate if the momentum gained during the convention is not maintained. For it could very well become a storm in a tea-cup with nothing gained.

The call for changes to the 1875 constitution is not

totally unexpected — there have been rumblings for some years now. But it is difficult to gauge at this stage whether the convention will work to bring Tonga more in line with the 21st century than it is now.

It cannot be argued that the monarch and the nobility cannot continue to shelter behind a constitution written more than a century ago. For Tongans, who are steeped in traditional loyalty and respect for the king, an overthrow is unlikely. There is still a universal adoration for the king — even among the pro-democracy movement — so the situation would have to worsen considerably before any step was taken to oust the him.

Besides that is not what the Tongans want. They do not want to remove their king, just to limit his powers. They want parliament to be the ultimate decision-making body. While there will always

remain a place for the king and his family in government and in the hearts of the people, the general population must take greater responsibility in the running of their affairs.

The idea is not new. But it is commendable. After all, the rest of the world is changing and Tonga cannot afford to remain caught in a web more than a century old.

But to bring about the change, the people first have to have a clear idea what this change will be and how it will be effected.

As things stand now, the Pro-Democracy Movement appears to have a lot of work to do before it can put forward a proposal to the people. They are vague on exactly what sort of role they would prefer the king to play — other than a diminished role.

They are unsure when they expect to bring about these changes.

They are uncertain of the support they have behind them, although the church has pledged its allegiance to change.

Just calling for a change is not enough.

There has to be a well thought out agenda to work from.



The Pro-Democracy Movement: during the convention

Martin Tiffany

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A warm thank you

Madam,

Our 1992 contribution drive was wonderful! It was indeed a rare opportunity for Florence R. Ratieta Memorial Foundation to honour two very special people, Jacob Amos and the Rev. Joseph Tetau, as *tamara* of the year. It was truly an evening of *yokwe* as family and friends from all over the islands gathered together at the Majuro Community Center to recognize these "Ambassadors of Love" for their outstanding contributions to the foundation. Our deepest thanks to everyone who helped make this memorable event possible.

We take this opportunity to thank a few of the people who generously contributed their energy and time to the foundation. Members Lily Amos and Jane Betero both write the profiles on the foundation volunteers, which they have done for two years. To these people, we of Florence R. Ratieta Memorial Foundation say *komol tata* for your commitment and extraordinary skills.

Our membership continuous to grow and our services are reaching more people. It is only through your generous support and enthusiasm that Florence R. Ratieta Memorial Foundation can accomplish its mission — and you will see this done better and in more ways in the coming year.

Before I close, the Board of Trustees of the Foundation wishes all of you, your family and friends, a wonderful Holiday Season and a Happy New Year.

Again, a warm *komol tata*, *yokwe* and *tiakabo*.

Mary Ioane
Secretary for the Foundation
Majuro

Unthoughtful remark

Madam,

I wish to comment on a statement made by the Honourable Prime Minister of the Solomon Islands (*PIM*, October, 1992)

"BRA (Bougainville Revolutionary

Army) has not yet killed any Solomon Islands citizens during this long protracted crisis. This is not the same case with Papua New Guinea and Australia."

This is totally an unthoughtful remark. How could one expect BRA to gun down a Solomon Islander?

The remark made to highlight BRA's respect for Solomon Islands sovereignty in comparison to PNG sovereignty obviously falls short!

Aula Kobale
Queensland,
Australia

Australian parallel

Madam,

The act of the Australian government in supplying the PNG government with IROQUIS helicopters (*PIM*, November 1992) or indirectly participating in the killing of Bougainvilleans is apparently repeating Australia's history of slaughtering indigenous Pacific islanders.

The killing and plundering of native black Australians in the past by whites is parallel to what Australia is now doing in contributing to the killings on Bougainville.

How does Australia value such types of

aid programs? How many more deaths of innocent Bougainvilleans will such aid cause? The purpose for which the helicopters were supplied should no longer be denied.

Spill-over effects into the Solomon Islands and the pragmatic response from other neighbouring countries were only two of the many examples of the extremely outrageous use of the helicopters. It would be better if the aid program is diverted towards law and order problems on PNG mainland which is an everyday night-mare for the citizens of PNG and foreign investors.

Another dimension of the issue is Australia's position on human rights and decolonization both regionally and internationally. It doesn't make sense to see Australia condemning Indonesia for the massacres in East Timor while supporting the killing on Bougainville.

Although most people appreciate Australia's aid programs in the Pacific region, aid must be rational, instead of depriving segments of the society or advocating cabinet ministers/foreign investors interests in recipient countries.

The phenomenon of the helicopters is so out of hand that unless Australia takes a comprehensive look at the situation, the sun will never set on the Bougainville crisis.

Warry Lala
South Pentecost
Vanuatu

PACIFIC ISLANDS MONTHLY

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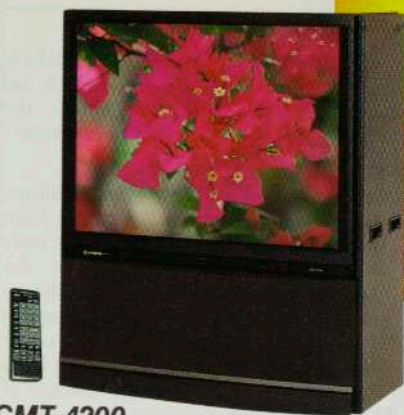
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HEADLINES

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Placer Dome will not sell

Placer Dome, the Canadian mother company of Placer PNG which runs the giant Pogera Gold Mine says it will not sell a further 20 per cent equity to the Papua New Guinea government. In a letter to the PNG government Placer's chairman Fraser Fell said he had been misrepresented and equity was not for sale.

The letter sent to the Sydney Stock Exchange said his statement regarding equity was to cover the situation should the government proceed with unilateral action to compulsorily take an interest in the mine.

Earlier reports quoted Fell as saying Placer was willing to sell a further 20 per cent share of the current market value to the PNG government which would bring the government's equity to 30 per cent.

PNG's Opposition has accused Wingti's senior mining advisor Bob Needham of being responsible for telling the government Pogera would be a marginal project with minimal returns.

Meanwhile companies with resource projects in PNG have suffered further losses on the Australian Stock Exchange over uncertainty over PNG government's policy towards major resource development. There have been fears the PNG government will not pay for the increase in its stake in Pogera although Finance Minister Sir Julius Chan has said it will pay.

COOK ISLANDS

Budget deficit

The Cook Islands government revealed the biggest budget deficit in 20 years when it tabled its budget for the year to July 1993 in Rarotonga on December 3. The deficit of \$US3 million comes mostly from the October Festival of Pacific Arts.

Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Henry has told parliament extraordinary expenses were incurred by the festival, but he says the cost has been well under the \$US2.3 million mark which had been predicted for the event.

He promised the deficit will be wiped out by the time of the next budget and replaced by a surplus. Sir Geoffrey says the Cook Islands is likely to increase its revenues from tourism and its gross domestic product should continue to rise by five per cent a year despite worldwide recession.

The leader of the opposition Democratic Party, Terepai Maoate, has accused the government of creating an artificial economy. Maoate says the budget is what he calls a patch-up job based 90 per cent on loans.

Costs for the arts festival included beautifying the entire island with \$500,000 worth of trees and plants and building a \$NZ11.6 million cultural centre — the main venue for the festivities.

TONGA

Ban on editor

The Tonga Supreme Court has issued a permanent injunction against the editor and publisher of the *Kele'a* newsletter, 'Akilisi Pohiva, restraining him from publishing any information about any accounts held with the Tonga Development Bank. The injunction also covers any business dealings or arrangements between the Tonga Development Bank and any of its customers except when prior consent is given by the bank or its customers.

The bank had sought the court injunction following articles published in *Kele'a* in January 1992 which gave details of accounts which some customers had with the bank. Pohiva is a member of the Tongan Legislature and a pro-democracy activist. He was also ordered by the Supreme Court to identify the person who leaked the information about the bank to the newsletter.



Pohiva: gagged

The bank claimed the information was confidential and therefore could not be published. The court turned down the development bank's claim for damages saying it had not suffered any loss, but ordered Pohiva to pay the bank's court costs. Meanwhile, Pacific Islands News Association is closely monitoring developments in Tonga which could have grave repercussions on freedom of expression and the public's right to know.

EAST TIMOR

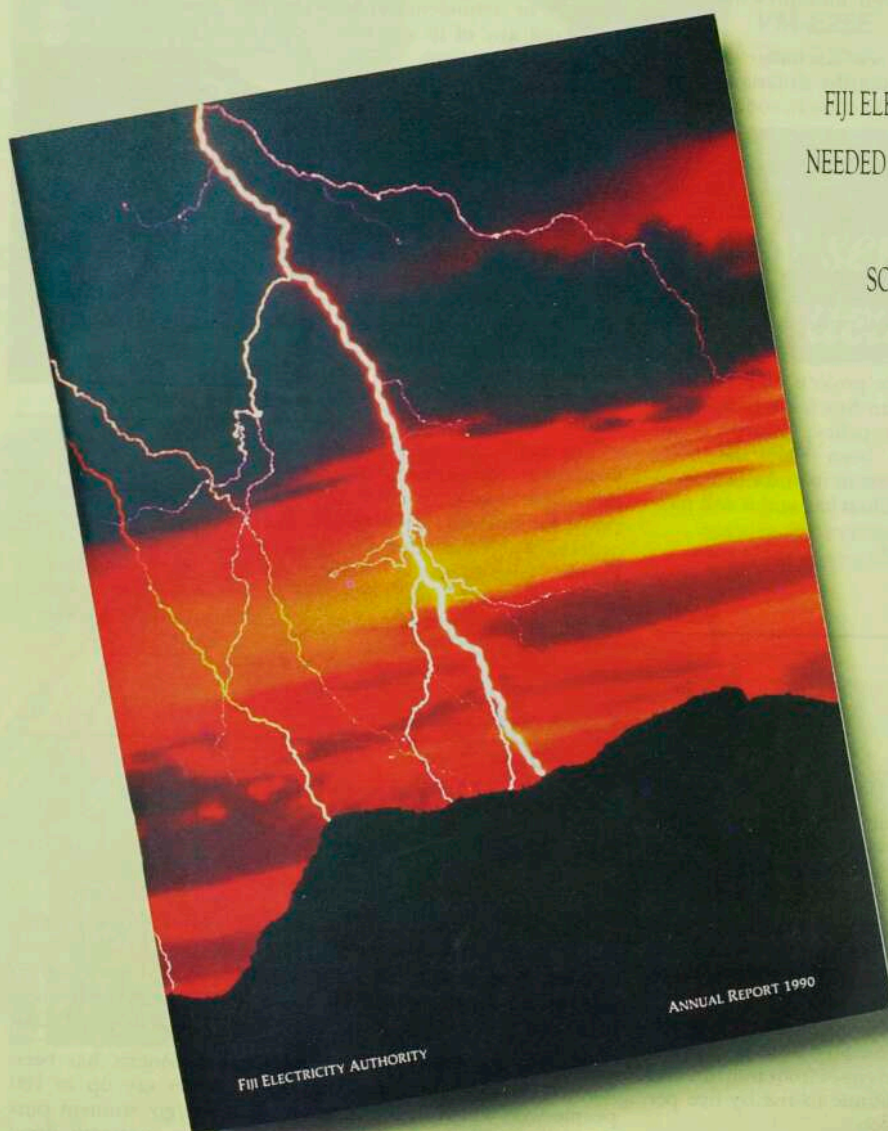
Separatist leader on trial

Indonesia says it will put the captured East Timor separatist leader Xanana Gusmao on trial in a civil court in about three months. A spokesman says the government believes Gusmao was behind the protests which led to last year's mass shooting of civilians by Indonesian soldiers in East Timor's capital, Dili.

He says the trial will be final proof Indonesia has been unfairly blamed for the massacre. Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed in the incident while the government puts the toll at 50 dead with 66 missing. The massacre drew widespread international condemnation.

Gusmao appeared on Indonesian television after his capture to urge his fellow separatists to surrender. The Indonesian military says about 200 of his followers have responded to this call.

A FLASH OF BRILLIANCE?



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HEADLINES

FIJI

Rabuka proposes unity government

Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka stunned parliament on December 4 by offering to facilitate the formation of a government of national unity. While speaking on the country's recent budget, Rabuka unexpectedly made an emotional appeal to the Opposition — two Indian political parties, an extreme indigenous Fijian nationalist group, and an independent — to cross from Opposition to join the government.

At present there are no ethnic Indians on the government side, although they form nearly half the population. Rabuka specifically named all the parties on the other side of the House of Representatives and asked them to "walk across and form a government of national unity".

Early reports said Opposition groupings were meeting to discuss the offer. Rabuka's offer came after *PIM* reported a group was working to undermine his leadership.

The Fiji Labour Party's parliamentary leader, Mahendra Chaudhry, argued in favour of a government of national unity as the "only way forward for Fiji". He told parliament long term stability and security could not be cleared by denying political rights to a large segment of government. Chaudhry said one could not exclude half the population from the decision making process under any democratic system of government.

He said Fiji's long term future could only be served under a power sharing process. Chaudhry also urged government not to drag the constitutional review process and politicise it too much since both sides of the House had agreed on the need for a review. He pointed out that since indigenous Fijian land rights and other vital interests were entrenched, Fijian leaders should "adopt a more conciliatory attitude" towards other races.



Rabuka: stunned parliament

President returns

Fiji's President, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, has returned from three months medical treatment in the United States. Ratu Sir Penaia was rushed to Washington in September on a US military aircraft for intensive care treatment at the Walter Reed Medical Centre.

The 74-year-old President is now confined to a wheelchair after a viral infection caused partial loss of the use of his limbs. The infection came on top of a blood disease.

Ganilau was flown to Fiji on a private jet provided by American multi-millionaire Malcolm Forbes Jr, who owns an island in Fiji. During the President's absence, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara was acting President.

OBITUARY

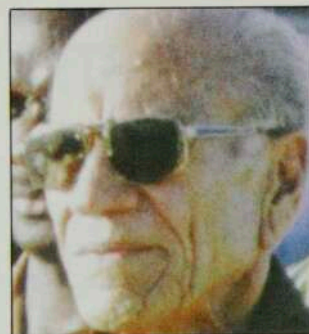
Elder statesman dies

Sir Robert Rex, Niue's longest-serving premier, died on December 13 after a prolonged illness. The 83-year-old premier planned to retire after the general elections in April.

He was buried at his home village of Alofi on December 14 after a church service in accordance with his wishes. Almost the entire 2000 people of Niue were present. Messages of sympathy steadily streamed in from around the South Pacific region with the first coming from Nauru President Bernard Dowiyogo.

Among overseas dignitaries present at the funeral were New Zealand deputy Prime Minister Don McKinnon, New Zealand Opposition MP Richard Prebble who was formerly Minister for Pacific Island's Affairs, the Queen's representative in the Cook Islands, Sir Apenira Short and the Australian High Commissioner in New Zealand.

Sir Robert began his public career in 1952 when he entered the Niue Island Council. He became leader of government business in



Sir Robert: at July's Forum

1974 and premier the same year when the island became self-governing. He held the office of premier until his death, successfully heading off two challenges to his leadership.

In July last year Sir Robert said goodbye to the South Pacific Forum when he attended his last meeting in Honiara. The meeting expressed appreciation for the valuable contribution Sir Robert had made to the Forum and regional cooperation over the years.

October's South Pacific Conference in Suva in October was to have been his last SPC meeting but he was unable to attend because of poor health. Sir Robert's illness saw him seek medical treatment in New Zealand several times this year.

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Mamaloni criticises Keating

Solomon Island Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni has lashed out at Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, saying his recent suggestion for high-level contacts between Port Moresby and Honiara to resolve differences arising from the Bougainville conflict, was "not being helpful".

He says in doing so, Australia appears to be brushing aside its responsibility towards regional stability.

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PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Another crisis for Wingti

By Wally Hiambohn

IF Stephen Pokawin and 18 fellow provincial premiers had it their way Paia Wingti would not be prime minister of Papua New Guinea. Wingti touched a sensitive chord with Pokawin's lot when he announced his intention to abolish the provincial government system and to centralise most government and administrative functions.

The system, first introduced on Bougainville in 1976 and later to all the other 18 provinces, was intended to bring government closer to the people. Most government functions, except for foreign affairs, police, defence and in a few selected cases, finance, were decentralised giving provinces autonomy to make their own decisions on issues affecting their respective provinces and people.

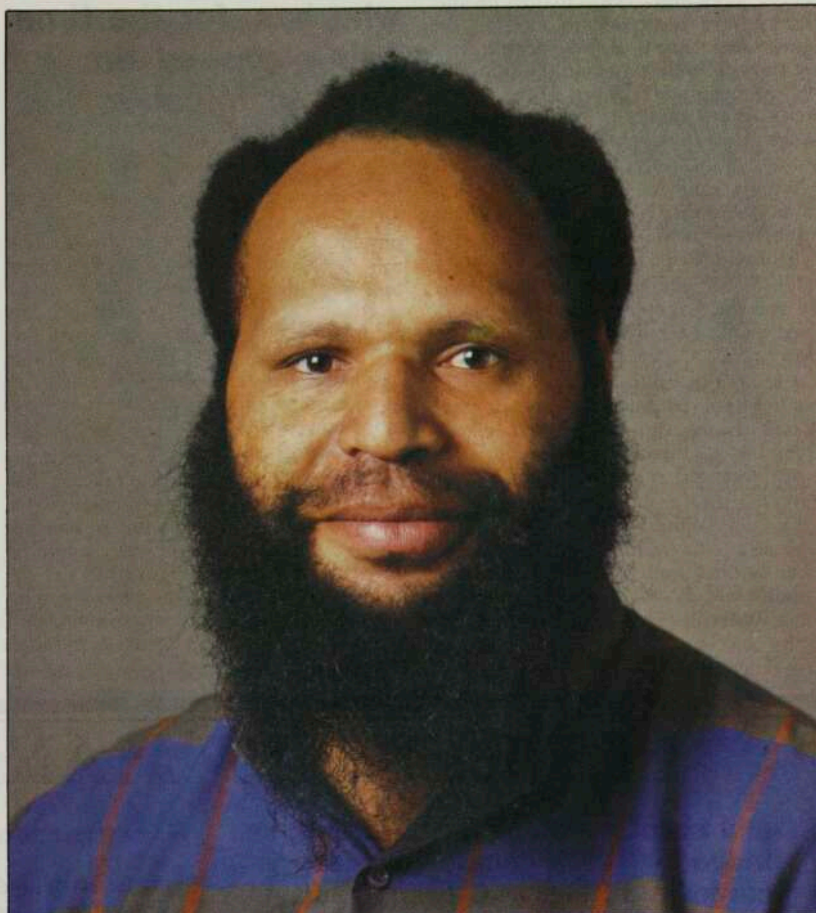
But after 16 years, Wingti says, the system is "too costly" and achieving little of the objectives it was initially set up for. The whole dream and purpose of provincial governments has gone wrong," Wingti said on October 7, when announcing his government's intention to do away with the system.

"They are becoming a power unto themselves to the point of downright disrespect and disobedience of national government directions," he lamented.

Premiers in regional blocs shot back fast, telling Wingti he could not possibly remove their governments without expecting severe consequences. While they agreed there was a need for a review of the system, abolition, they said, was out of the question. They blamed the government for inadequate funding which had caused a disintegration of social and economic development in rural areas.

Pokawin, who once lectured in political science at the University of PNG, and now premier of the northern-most tiny island province of Manus, led premiers of five of the island provinces, including representatives from Bougainville, for a crisis meeting in Rabaul. Their reaction to the whole issue was, as expected, most extreme.

They announced after the meeting that secession of the five provinces was now a possibility. "Independence is not out of reach," they declared. "The option of a separate state of the combined provinces of the New Guinea island region remains on the agenda, and shall do so for as long as the prime minister, the deputy prime minister and their colleagues in the national government intend to gain exclusive control over all aspects of government administration throughout the country."



Paia Wingti: 'the whole dream has gone wrong'

"It is clear that the motive behind abolishing provincial governments is simply to place control over the exploitation of our nation's natural resources in the hands of a small number of national leaders in Waigani (national government headquarters in Port Moresby).

"Either Mr Wingti must go or the region must, and it is not of great concern to us which one it is."

The islands' leaders even resolved to draw up their own national anthem and flag and to remove those of PNG.

Furthermore, they wrote to Solomon Islands Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni suggesting discussions in Honiara for future political association. Mamaloni's response to premier Pokawin and his invitation to premiers to travel to Honiara was received with total disbelief in PNG.

Mamaloni made known his strong

straight-forward views on provincial governments, and even Bougainville, in this response.

Prime Minister Wingti personally wrote back to complain Mamaloni was meddling in PNG's internal affairs. On the other hand, Wingti took the islands' premiers' stand calmly, saying it was to be expected. He said the vast majority of people supported his move.

Only the premiers who had vested interests in seeing the continuation of provincial governments were opposed to it, Wingti said. Debate has since ensued on the issue.

One person opposed to the system wrote, "Papua New Guinea's population of four million people is over-governed, and is a major drain on the nation's purse. There seem to be 19 different prime ministers with 133 Cabinet ministers throughout the 19 provinces, with a

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

huge number of provincial government staff draining the provincial budget."

In its editorial, *The Post-Courier* newspaper said, "It is true that many provincial governments have failed to deliver goods and services to their people. Others have succeeded in meeting the development needs of their people. It is not the system that is at fault, but leaders who were supposed to serve the needs of their people and in doing so have undermined the original objectives of the system."

Wingti said in his October 7 announcement that K329 million — almost a quarter of the national budget — went into provincial governments annually.

Up to 550 provincial politicians took up over K10 million in 1991 in wages alone. This excluded perks and privileges.

Adding this number of politicians to the 109 national politicians gives a total of 659. Comparatively, New Zealand, which had a similar population but a far more advanced economy, had only 97 politicians.

This 97, Wingti said, cost the New Zealand tax-payer K3.5 million a year to cover salaries and allowances. On this basis, he said, PNG's 109 politicians were being under-utilised.

"By any test, provincial governments have failed to give people basic services,"

The controversy was too much for Wingti, who has, for the time being, passed the buck to Micah's committee

he said. Provincial governments were established through the organic law on provincial governments. It was first introduced on Bougainville in 1976 when that part of the country first tried to secede in 1975. Ironically, when they are again trying to secede, and when the increased autonomy is among one of the options available to the government, it now wants to withdraw rather than give more powers.

Said Wingti, "Whether we like it or not this nation was forced to take on this costly second tier of government as a result of a blackmail from one provincial grouping. This blackmail was essentially — give us provincial governments or Bougainville secedes. Once was enough. We will not allow the same blackmail again."

The government had planned to first

seek parliament's approval in its last session in November, but the controversy was too much for it to do just yet.

In a move seen as backing off from its initial tough stand, the Wingti government has now appointed a parliamentary bipartisan committee to tour provinces and seek a cross-section of views on an alternative to provincial governments.

One proposal, by Provincial Affairs Minister John Ninkare, is the establishment of less costly and less cumbersome provincial and local authorities. These would basically comprise of reputable local leaders and national politicians.

With the bipartisan committee, provincial governments would see it as their chance to lobby hard and build up enough influence for at least the system to stay on. They may agree to a major revamp of the system but not total abolition.

Already they have had an encouraging sign when the head of the committee, Ben Micah, a first term parliamentarian, announced soon after his appointment that the system would not be abolished.

Provincial premiers will also be lobbying among the national members of parliament to vote against abolition when it is put to the vote in the House. Wingti has, for the time being, passed the buck on to Micah's committee.

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Touching a racial nerve

WELLINGTON



DAVID
BARBER

I'M NOT sure whether it's because New Zealand is a multi-cultural society or in spite of the fact, but we do have a depressing ability in this country to stir up racial hornets' nests with all too great a frequency.

The most casual comment on differences between the races can touch racial nerves and explode a barrage of recriminations which seldom clear the air or clarify the issue but inevitably make the situation worse.

For this reason, racial questions which probably need to be discussed in any healthy society are often ignored, shoved to the back of the nation's consciousness or only lightly touched upon before being hurriedly dispatched to that Pandora's box of subjects which are not polite to talk about.

Nobody likes to be tagged a racist or to be unpopular, and if there is anything else certain in this world other than death or taxes, it is that it's impossible to raise a racial issue in New Zealand without being put into one of those categories.

Social Welfare Minister Jenny Shipley found this out recently when she reported on the dramatic increase in child abuse and the disproportionate number of Maori and Pacific island cases.

She produced statistics showing that reported child abuse cases had jumped from 10,600 to nearly 25,000 in five years. She said Pacific island people accounted for nearly eight per cent of the family group conferences called when a child was deemed to be in need of care and protection, although they were only 3.6 per cent of the population.

Maori (about 12 per cent of the population) figured in 42 per cent of the case conferences, while *pakeha* (79 per cent) accounted for about 47 per cent of the meetings.

"We know that culturally as the Pacific island population increases in New Zealand there may be a factor there.... that is unspoken," she said. "But it is an issue that must be spoken about in New Zealand society."

Although she was at pains to say there were significant amounts of unreported child abuse in all three communities, the reaction was predictable.

She was accused of naked racism, vilified on talk-back radio and made subject of a volley of complaints to the Race Relations Office. Few critics echoed her concern about the rising number of child abuse cases; most centred only on her references to a possible link with the rising Pacific island population.

The real issue — that more and more New Zealanders are beating the hell out of their kids — was obscured as the racial nerve was exposed. Sadly, as all too often happens, the subject

was quickly dropped because of its racial sensitivities, and that means the country has again evaded a debate on a pressing social issue that it needs to have.

"If abuse of our children is to be dealt with, we cannot continue to gloss over, blame, justify or walk away from the hard facts," Shipley said.

Pacific Island Affairs Minister Don McKinnon moved to calm the row, pointing out it was culturally inappropriate to use a *pakeha* definition of child abuse when studying Pacific island communities. The island peoples were traditionally strong disciplinarians, he said, with

a strong sense of family which was lacking in some *pakeha* communities.

"There are differences between what Pacific island communities and others might define as discipline or abuse."

McKinnon said Pacific island people had different social values which should not be "shoe-horned into a *pakeha* set of values of what is right and what is wrong".

But the fact that the Pacific island community was growing rapidly did mean the incidence of child abuse — as defined in *pakeha* terms — was increasing too.

Significantly, Shipley did win support from an Auckland-based island social worker, Amalaini Ligalevu, who congratulated her for raising an issue she said had been swept under the carpet for far too long.

She said a lot of child abuse was not reported because the women were too afraid and church ministers said reporting cases would reflect badly on the Pacific island community.

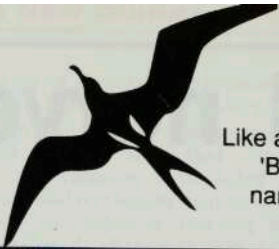
"Child abuse is child abuse and there is nothing cultural about it," she said.

She was backed up by Maori author Alan Duff who accused school principals of covering up Maori parental neglect and abuse because they were afraid to speak out for fear of being labelled racist. He said they were better placed than anyone to know what was going on in families.

Where Shipley was vulnerable was in ignoring the impact of her government's economic policies, which have hit Pacific island people harder than most, on the child abuse question.

Critics pointed out at least one in four Pacific islander is unemployed (against a national rate of 10 per cent) and said hardship and poverty put stresses on families that created tensions and increased the likelihood of abuse.

□



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Heads they win, tails you lose

DO YOUR eyes glaze over as the latest hysterical news story on the impenetrably complex GATT negotiations comes over the radio. You are certainly not alone. I would guess there are probably only one or two per cent of people who actually understand the gobbledygook spoken in the name of GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

But if you are like me you may also have been wondering whether now is the time to start worrying about GATT. For the island nations the answer may be yes because, however the issue resolves itself, trading conditions for them are going to get tougher.

The hysteria over the French decision not to back the historic compromise reached between the United States and Europe in November on agricultural subsidies gives the impression we may be facing "the end of civilisation as we know it". With the US decision to retaliate with punitive tariffs, the doomsday predictions of an escalating world trade war which would plunge the globe into a massive depression is looking more possible.

Originally GATT was intended as a means of getting international trade, the lifeblood of all 20th century economies, onto a fairer footing; to reduce tariff barriers which block entry to many goods particularly those made in the third world and to reduce government subsidies to industries which give inefficient producers an unfair advantage over their counterparts in non-subsidising countries.

If concluded successfully the latest round of negotiations, known as the Uruguay round would, roughly speaking, lead to a worldwide reduction of tariffs of one third — a big achievement.

In all there have been 14 different sets of negotiations involved in the Uruguay round on everything from tropical products through to financial services and intellectual property. The sticking point has been the fact that for any of the new regimes to come into operation there must be international agreement on all 14 areas, all of which are highly technical. The French government, perhaps more than others, has found some measures extremely unpalatable to those of its constituents whose jobs depend on the tariffs under threat.

Now, six years into the Uruguay round, agriculture is the only sticking point. Until the November agreement between Europe and the United States the talks had looked so badly stalled that it was feared they may fail. France's decision to hold out on the hard fought deal has been greeted with outrage.

So, was the United State's retaliation the beginning of the trade war? The answer is probably no. Sure, France looks pretty dug-in but after the March general election a solution may be easier to find.

Economists estimate success with the GATT negotiations will lead to a \$200-billion dollar increase in the value of world trade. Despite its farmers' opposition to the agricultural provisions France cannot afford to miss out on the benefits in other areas.

What is needed now is a face saving device. And that is just what is being prepared. Work on the main body of the GATT agreement is now under way again and it is hoped the focus on this and its benefits will give time for a compromise on agriculture to emerge in a less politically charged atmosphere.

It's a way out that the embattled French government has not rejected.

For the Pacific islands, either outcome from the GATT negotiations presents problems. While obviously an international trade war would be a disaster for the islands, the tariff reductions offered by a successful conclusion to the agreement are in fact

AUSTRALIA



**JEMIMA
GARRETT**

a disadvantage for island exporters. Why? Because at the moment the island nations have very advantageous special agreements with all the big markets (US and Europe for instance) which give almost tariff-free access. Therefore, any reduction in tariffs will only help their competitors.

In textiles the situation is even worse. Much of the Malaysian investment in Fiji for instance is because Malaysia has filled its quota in some of the crucial western markets. Once those quotas meet their GATT-induced end it is very likely cheaper costs at home will mean a flight of capital.

The good news is that tariff and quota reductions will not take place overnight. If the problems with the GATT negotiations are solved the new agreement will come into effect on January 1, 1994, with tariff reductions

taking place in phases over a number of years.

In textiles the multi-fibre agreement gives a 10-year phase-in period. That gives the islands just one decade to become internationally competitive or find another business.

PEOPLE from Fiji and Tonga have topped the list of those deported from Australia for overstaying their visas. The latest figures from the Immigration Department, which cover the financial year 1991-92, show that 10.8 per cent of all deportees came from Fiji and a further 9.9 per cent from Tonga. Only Britain rivalled those rates, with 10.7 per cent.

For island communities the immigration crackdown, which began two years ago, is having serious consequences particularly for children. Kids born to illegal immigrants after August 1986 are not eligible to attend school.

According to Tongan community worker Losenna Ma'ake, up to 50 or 60 per cent of the members of the Sydney Tongan community are illegal immigrants and significant numbers have children in the affected age group. While many kids are beating the system by enrolling in Catholic schools, Ma'ake says there are still quite a few children getting no education.

Community workers put islanders' high deportation rates down to a belief that deportation makes no difference to an individual's ability to return later to visit relatives.

Many people believe once someone has been marked as illegal he goes on a black-list of those not to be given visas again.

The rules say an illegal who goes home under his own steam is eligible to return immediately while a deportee is banned for five years. In practice it is likely to be hard for any individual with a record of illegality to obtain a visitors' visa in the future.

A spokesman for the Immigration Department admits officials would be very vigorous in assessing applications, often looking for more than just a return ticket as proof that an applicant was not likely to overstay.

In some cases only a convincing job and close family to return to will be enough.

The crackdown has now reduced the number of Fijian and Tongan over-stayers by one third and is likely to continue. Immigration officials say, if anything, the compliance effort is now stronger than when the crackdown began in 1990.

As a next step the government is considering introducing legislation which would require all employers to check job seekers' immigration status before taking them on.

□

COVER STORIES



BENEATH the seemingly tranquil and happy exterior of the tiny island kingdom of Tonga throbs a heart of unrest. A heart whose beat has gained rhythm and momentum in recent months as the unthinkable — for modern times anyway — is happening. The King is being opposed.

In the 1770s during his voyages to Tonga Captain James Cook dubbed the kingdom "The Friendly Islands". Certainly modern Tonga seems to fit that description — smiling people living a laid-back slow-paced life. However, in November this sleepy kingdom was shaken awake as people were jolted out of their routine life.

On November 24-27 the country's pro-democracy movement — formed in August this year — held a public convention on democracy, the constitution and political change in Nuku'alofa. It aimed to explain to the people of Tonga what a democratic government was and how the constitution had to be amended to allow for a more democratic style of government — basically, why power should be taken away from the country's near-absolute monarch, King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, and the noble ruling class, and given to the people.

It will not be easy. Nowhere in history have the people in power handed over the reins just because they were asked to. The royal family have held power for generations and this power was guaranteed under the 1875 constitution. The King — and his nobles — have no reason to relinquish power. They have everything to lose.

The pro-democracy movement want the King to be a constitutional monarch. He doesn't seem interested in their suggestion even though they guarantee he will retain his privileges.

Some speakers at the convention suggested there could be trouble if the people did not get what they want in two or three years. Tongan academic Professor Futa Helu said political change could occur either through the shedding of blood in a revolution or by peaceful and legal democratic means.

He cited examples of the French and Russian revolutions saying in both cases the need for change had been ignored or suppressed until revolt was inevitable.

Most see as unlikely the possibility of violence and bloodshed because, with a population of less than 100,000, and many of them related through blood or marriage, everyone knew every one else.

Tonga's cal

By Martin Tiffany



The royal palace

As one speaker commented, it would be like brother killing brother.

However, Tonga's traditional kingship has a history of murder and assassination and the country has a bloody civil war to its credit.

At present the Tongan parliament is made up of nine people's representatives (representing the 94,000-plus population), nine nobles elected from the 33 noble titles and 12 cabinet ministers appointed for life by the King — giving the nobles almost complete power.

As Australian academic Dr Guy Powles explains, one fundamental right found in most written constitutions is missing in Tonga. This is the right of every adult citizen to vote for elected representatives in the legislature.

Dr Powles, an Associate Professor of Law at Melbourne's Monash University and a student of the Tongan constitution, was invited to speak at the November convention. But in October Tonga's Immigration and Police Minister 'Akau'ola — a noble — said visas would

be denied to foreigners trying to participate in the convention. Dr Powles and other foreign participants — mainly international constitutional law experts from Australia and New Zealand — were unable to attend but sent their papers to be read out at the meeting.

According to Dr Powles' paper, the constitution discriminates against commoners, and nobles and commoners are not equal under all laws.

"The reality is that, while some laws such as the criminal law treat all persons the same, other laws relating to political rights and land tenure make distinctions between classes. This means the Tongan constitution can and does, give greater weight or value to the vote of a noble citizen than to the vote of a commoner citizen," said Dr Powles. He said if Tonga had been a former colony seeking independence under United Nations supervision, the UN would not have permitted Tonga to become independent without a more representative electoral system for the legislature.

for democracy



THE constitution "granted" to the people of Tonga by King Tupou I in 1875 has been amended over the years but it has been ensured the changes have not threatened the power of the monarch who is protected by the document. The sovereignty of the monarch is declared in its absolute authority to govern Tonga.

As Powles points out, an important aspect of this authority is the monarch's power over the prime minister and the ministers who are responsible to the monarch for administering the government. The monarch may appoint and dismiss (the prime minister and other ministers) at any time (clause 51).

All land is the property of the monarch

(clause 104); the monarch alone may grant hereditary titles and estates (clause 44 and 104); and such estates will revert to the monarch in the absence of an heir (clause 112). The constitution guarantees perpetual succession to the lineage of the monarch (clause 32) and the reigning monarch cannot be impeached (clause 41).

Most importantly, the constitution which protects the monarch cannot be changed without his consent (clauses 67 and 79).

The driving forces behind the pro-democracy movement are Catholic priest Father Seluini 'Akau'ola and people's representatives to the Tongan Legislative Assembly 'Akilisi Pohiva and Viliami Fukofuka.

Father Seluini said his objective for the movement was to enable people to come together to air their grievances in peace, and then present their submissions to the King and his government.

For their part the government found itself in strange waters and seemed unsure how to react.

Prime Minister Baron Vaea earlier indicated his government would take part in the convention. On November 3 the government said it would boycott the convention. And while all along the government said foreigners would not be allowed to participate in the convention, it said it would allow Tongans travelling on foreign passports to take part. It then changed its mind.

On the eve of the convention, Filia Uipi, a Tongan with American citizenship and a member of the legislature of the State of Utah in the United States, was refused entry into Tonga. He was manhandled by police back on the Hawaiian Airlines flight on which he had arrived. His wife was put back on the plane with him.

Convention organisers asked on what grounds the government denied Uipi and his wife entry. The government remained silent. At the end of it, the pro-democracy movement gained by the incident because of the wide coverage it got in Tonga and overseas. Within hours of his being kicked out, foreign journalists in Nuku'alofa were filing stories on the incident.

Police also detained Dr Litia Niumeitolu — another Utah Tongan — who spoke at the convention. She was taken by a plain-clothes policeman to Police Inspector Lute Tu'uhoko, the Chief Immigration Officer, as they had been informed she had a US passport in

addition to her Tongan one. She told them she only had a Tongan one and then ran out of the police station, yelling, to the prime minister's office where her younger brother works.

But it was lunch hour and no one was around so she was escorted back to the police station, questioned again about her passport and then released. This too received wide-spread media coverage and again brought attention to the convention. The pro-democracy movement has taken legal advice on the matter and is talking about bringing a civil suit against the Ministry of Police and Immigration.

During the convention a number of plain-clothes policemen were among the audience, supposedly undercover. However because of the closeness of Tongan society everybody knew who they were. They were there to intimidate by taking the names of those in attendance, but people did not really seem too worried about them, having an average of 400 attending daily.

The government played hard-to-get when overseas journalists tried to get a response from them on the situation — to date they have been quite on the issue. Prime Minister Baron Vaea was conveniently on 10-days official leave in Ha'apai and his deputy Dr Hu'akavameiliku was overseas during the convention. This left Minister of Police and Immigration 'Akau'ola acting as deputy Prime Minister, much to the dismay of the convention organisers.

A number of members of the pro-democracy movement have been critical of 'Akau'ola and have never seen eye-to-eye with him over the sale of Tongan passports to foreigners and have accused him of "misleading His Majesty's government". Fukofuka also hinted at a possible link between Uipi's forced deportation on November 23 and the fact 'Akau'ola was made acting deputy Prime Minister on the same day. According to Fukofuka a week earlier he had spoken to chief superintendent of police Sinilau Kolokihakaufisi and had been given an assurance all Tongans living overseas, including those who were citizens of other countries, would be allowed in the country to attend the convention.

Asked for his reaction to the pro-democracy movement and its convention 'Akau'ola said he would first like to let the convention run its course.

"Responding to ad hoc questions, at this state, of their proceedings is an exercise in futility which I do not wish to contemplate," said 'Akau'ola.

How the government works

ACCORDING to Clause 30 of the Tongan constitution the government of the Kingdom is divided into three bodies - (1) the King, Privy Council and Cabinet, (2) the Legislature Assembly and (3) the Judiciary. But as Australian academic and student of the Tongan constitution Dr Guy Powles points out, the clause does not itself guarantee the idea of the "separation of powers".

This, according to Dr Powles, is regarded as essential in states which wish to ensure the "rule of law". He said in Tonga, it is left to the courts to decide whether to import this principle, and if so, to what extent it should be applied.

Dr Powles said the next clause, 31, appears to confirm the principle that the government of Tonga is to be constitutional "under His Majesty, his heirs and successors". While this clause confers no specific powers on the King, it is one of several clauses which may be used by the courts to interpret the constitution in a particular way.

"The clauses seem to confirm the reality that the constitution intends the King to have the real political and legal powers unaffected by the sort of unwritten constitutional conventional conventions which normally limit the powers of the crown," said Dr Powles. Also the present make-up of the Tongan parliament gives the nobles complete dominance. Parliament comprises nine commoner members or people's representatives — representing 95 per cent of the population — nine nobles representing the 33 noble titles and 12 cabinet ministers appointed for life by the King. □

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Helu: revolution inevitable

"Once the meeting has wound up and submissions, if any, presented to His Majesty's government then the Prime Minister and his cabinet will decide on an appropriate course of action."

Father Seluini said they will take up the offer and present the convention's recommendations to "His Majesty's government".

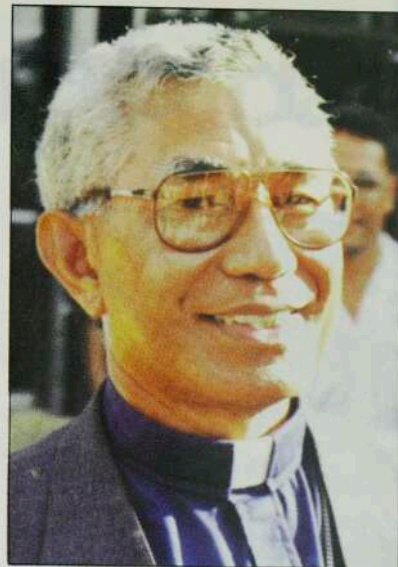
"But we certainly hope these will not be treated like the various recommendations the people's representatives in Parliament have made in the recent past. That is to say, we hope they will not be simply dumped in the rubbish bin," said Father Seluini.

In a sitting of parliament before the convention Minister of Foreign Affairs, Crown Prince Tupouto'a, said some of the people's representatives in parliament were unbalanced and may have personality disorders. He said a recent report from the Health Department indicated an increase in mental illness in Tonga. The Crown Prince referred to some of the people's representatives as being mentally ill, not of the psychosis type but of the personality disorder type.

"Personality disorders are characterised by the behaviour of a person who insists he alone is right, and tries to win the rest of society to his way of thinking," said Crown Prince Tupouto'a. He cited Adolf Hitler as a classic case of personality disorder.

When people's representative Laki Niu tried to interrupt the Crown Prince, he was used as an example of what he was talking about — "he does not want me to speak....he alone wants to speak".

Another noble and speaker of the Tongan Legislative Assembly Fusitu'a said the convention organisers had a chip



Bishop Finau: church's blessings

on their shoulder and described the convention as a ripple that would be gone in a few days. He added church leaders involved in the meeting were out of step.

Responding to this, Bishop Patelesio Finau, the head of the Catholic Church in Tonga, said the problem with Fusitu'a was he was out of touch with what was happening in the country.

Bishop Finau has for a long time been critical of the nobility-dominated government and has been a driving force behind the pro-democracy movement. He was one of seven members of the clergy who spoke at the convention and one of a number involved in the pro-democracy movement. Church represented included Catholic, Uniting, Methodist and Free Wesleyan.

Many asked how and why the church were involved in politics. Father Seluini explained, with a smile, this was a movement and not a political party so "I'm alright". The other clergymen came up with similar answers. It is interesting to note that as Bishop Finau has no Archbishop he reports directly to Rome. He has obviously been given the go ahead to participate.

The churches say they are involved basically to peacefully disagree with things they regard as immoral — basically the nobles having all the power.

However the involvement of the church could cloud the vision of many Tongans. Being a Christian country with almost the total population avid church-goers, the church is an important part of Tongan life.

There is the possibility that with the closeness of the church and the pro-democracy movement people are unable to separate the two. This could prove an

important factor as the people are having to be taught what a democratically elected government is and why it is wrong for the King and the nobles to have the power and only nine members represent the greater majority of Tongan citizenry.

For generations the Tongan people have accepted the King as ruler and the nobles as the upper class. What the pro-democracy movement has to do now is show the people an alternative and what this alternative will mean.

While there was good attendance — representing a fairly good cross-section of people — at the Nuku'alofa convention on the island of Tongatapu, the job now will be to spread the message to the other islands. It will also not only be a matter of telling the people but convincing them the power the monarchy has is wrong. Many non-nobles have deep affection for the King and would maybe not be too keen to go against him.

There is also a difference of opinion when it comes to the question of what happens now. Some want a referendum within two years, some see a gradual change over a long time and others want change overnight. It is difficult to judge what will happen. Talking to the man on the street in Nuku'alofa the feeling on the matter ranges from total opposition to the movement and loyalty to the King to total support for the pro-democracy group. There is also a lot of apathy and there many who do not really understand what the pro-democracy movement is all about.

Four hundred evaluation sheets were distributed at the end of the conference with 230 returned completed. On what was missing from the meeting the respondees almost unanimously said the government and the nobles. A few also suggested the King should have participated. While many felt it was time for change in Tonga, concern was expressed that the most appropriate democratic system for Tonga was not clearly spelt out nor clearly understood at the convention. There was a call for some form of public education about the constitution, democracy and changes which needed to be made.

Some of the people who sent back the evaluation sheet suggested a constitutional committee be formed to work on a draft of a new Tongan constitution.

Perhaps the feeling of the people and the new face of Tonga is best summed up by a 70-year-old man who stood up during the meeting and said he was ashamed — ashamed that it had taken him 70 years to realise he was being used.

□

The king of Tonga

His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV was crowned King of Tonga on July 4, 1967 in the Royal Chapel in Nuku'alofa. He succeeded his late mother Queen Salote Tupou.

The position held by the King is a complex one. The various powers and responsibilities are collected together in one office called "Monarch". Most of these are contained in the constitution, however some of the more traditional attributes of status and chiefly responsibilities of the head of the highest Tongan lineage are unwritten. These are part of the customary law of the Kingdom. The monarch combines traditional status with constitutional office.

In constitutional terms, the position of the monarch combines the following offices—

* Head of State of the independent Kingdom of Tonga, recognised as such under international law.



* Head of the executive branch of government (clause 30).

* Commander-in-Chief of the military forces (clause 36).

Other countries which recognise a monarch as a head of state do not allow the monarch to have a final say in the running of the country. In those countries, elected parliament

has full and final control of law making and the governing cabinet of ministers is responsible solely to parliament.

The reality in Tonga is the constitution confers absolute powers on the monarch who can choose whether to exercise them in person or to delegate them to others. The monarch is not concerned with the details of the day-to-day government of the country, but has the constitutional power to intervene at will.

Election of representatives

FEBRUARY is the month for Tonga's elections — elections which are held every three years to choose the nine people's representatives and the nine nobles to parliament. The other 12 members of parliament are cabinet ministers appointed for life — or until they are asked to resign — by the King.

The people's representatives are elected by 95 per cent of the population (around 94,000) while the nobles have elections among themselves to choose their nine representatives from the 33 noble titles.

In November in a meeting between church leaders and cabinet ministers, Prime Minister Baron Vaea put forward the idea of forming the kingdom's first political party — the Christian Democrat Party. Previously candidates contested as individuals.

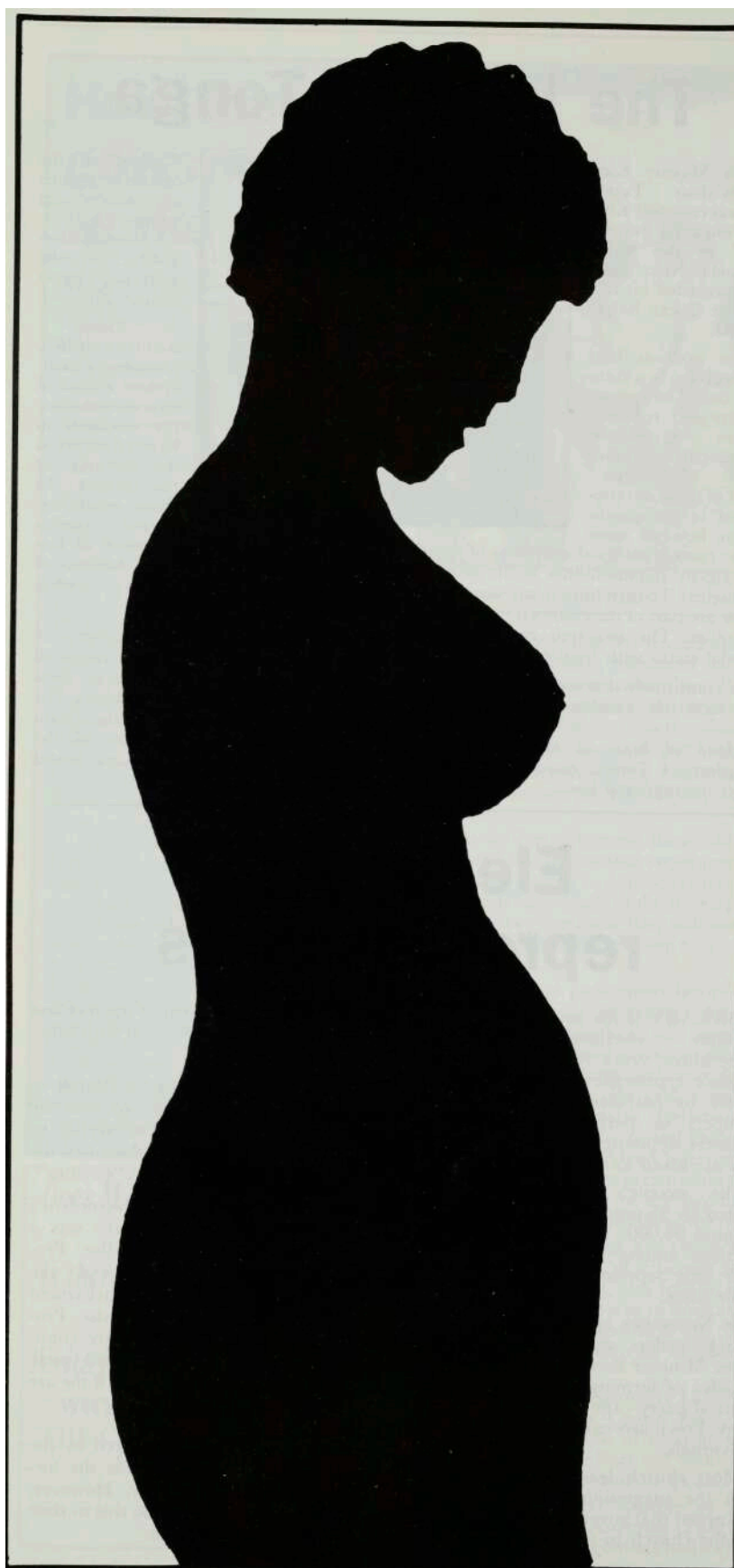
Most church leaders were unhappy with the suggestion saying they were concerned that government was trying to use the church to further its own ends.

What was communicated at the meeting was so vague that it left them with more unanswered questions.

The head of the Catholic church in Tonga, Bishop Patelesio Finau, said the government appeared to be trying to manipulate the church and described the plans for the political party as "devious".

Some observers see the government's suggestion for a political party was a panic reaction to oppose the Pro-democracy Movement. Four of the people's representatives in Parliament are behind the forming of the Pro-democracy Movement. They are confident of retaining their seats. It will surely indicate the mood of the people if they are not re-elected.

One of the options considered by the pro-democracy movement was the formation of a political party. However, they have been unable to do this in time for the February elections.



LAW

Guam's

By David North

GUAM'S law banning abortions has been overturned by the United States Supreme Court. Guam thus remains the only place in Micronesia where a woman can obtain a legal abortion.

While the Supreme Court only rarely rules on Pacific island matters, the decision did not come as a complete surprise as the court had indicated last June it was opposed (by a slim 5-4 majority) to sweeping laws against abortion. The Guam law was sweeping — no abortions would be legal unless two doctors asserted the woman's life was in danger, or unless the pregnancy was outside the woman's womb.

An even more sweeping provision of the Guam law, later made moot, would have made it a crime to give advice about abortion to a pregnant woman. After that provision came under heavy fire for apparently violating the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, Guam's Attorney-General (a woman who had a dim view of the legislation anyway) decided not to try to implement it. The entire anti-abortion law was never enforced, anyway, as the Federal District Court for Guam suspended it until the higher courts could rule on it. As a result, abortions continued to be performed on the island.

Meanwhile, the nearby Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, which has a different relationship to Washington, has a territorial constitutional provision against abortion, which, however, lacks legislatively-set penalties and has not been tested in court. The few women resident in FSM and the Marshalls seeking abortions typically leave those islands and fly to either Guam or Honolulu.

The battle over abortion in Guam goes back a couple of years when the ranking Catholic clergyman in highly Catholic Guam launched a crusade against abortion. Soon the 21-member, one-house Territorial Legislature — including both Democrats and Republicans — voted unanimously for the legislation. Democratic Senator Elizabeth Arriola pushed the bill through the Legislature, and Republican Governor Joe Ada soon signed it (despite his Attorney-General's advice).

abortion ban reversed

The US Supreme Court rules and makes Guam the only place in Micronesia where abortion is a legal option.

Some weeks after the bill passed the legislature, the Mainland press found out about it, and its passage made the front page of the *New York Times* and other major papers, as well as top billing on the television news shows.

Meanwhile, back on the island a group of physicians, the Guam Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, supported by the American Civil Liberties Union and various women's groups, sued the governor saying the bill was unconstitutional.

The basis for the suit was the fiercely controversial *Roe v. Wade* case decided by the Supreme Court back in 1973. At the time the Court said women had a constitutional right to privacy, including the right to an abortion, and states could not pass legislation denying that right.

The *Roe* case led to two decades of battles between those wanting to make abortions illegal, the so-called "pro-life" forces, and those who, while not advocating abortions, want to make them legal. These are the "pro-choice" groups.

The pro-lifers are largely conservative, often with strong religious views, and often with traditional theories about male-female relationships. The pro-choice forces are usually on the liberal side of the political spectrum and are sympathetic to women's rights generally.

Allied with the pro-choice forces are the libertarians, people opposed to anything but the most minimal governmental regulation on any subject.

By the time Governor Ada signed Arriola's bill there was hope in the pro-life camp that 10 years of judicial appointments by Ronald Reagan and George Bush had changed the Supreme Court enough so that *Roe* was about to be overturned; it was thought that perhaps the Guam law would come before the court, and the court would give state and territorial legislature a green light, allowing them to make abortions illegal should they so choose.

Judge Alex Munson, who usually sits in the Marianas US District Court, ruled the Guam law unconstitutional. Guam (and the pro-life forces) appealed the case to the next higher court, the US Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The



Governor Ada: signed Arriola's bill

Ninth Circuit heard the arguments and accepted those of Arriola, but these were the pro-choice arguments of the Senator's lawyer daughter, Anita Arriola, who made quite a name for herself fighting against her mother's legislation. The Ninth Circuit ruling against Guam set up the case for appeal to the Supreme Court.

But the notion that Guam's case might set a national precedent fell foul of the intricacies of judicial timing; another anti-abortion law, a less drastic one passed in Pennsylvania, got to the Supreme Court before the Guam case did. The Pennsylvania dispute marked the high tide of the anti-abortion force on the Mainland. By a five-to-four vote the Court decided to uphold the *Roe* precedent — mostly — but said under certain circumstances states could pass laws regulating but not abolishing abortion.

Subsequently America elected Governor Bill Clinton, who has made it clear he will appoint no one to the high court who will make abortions illegal.

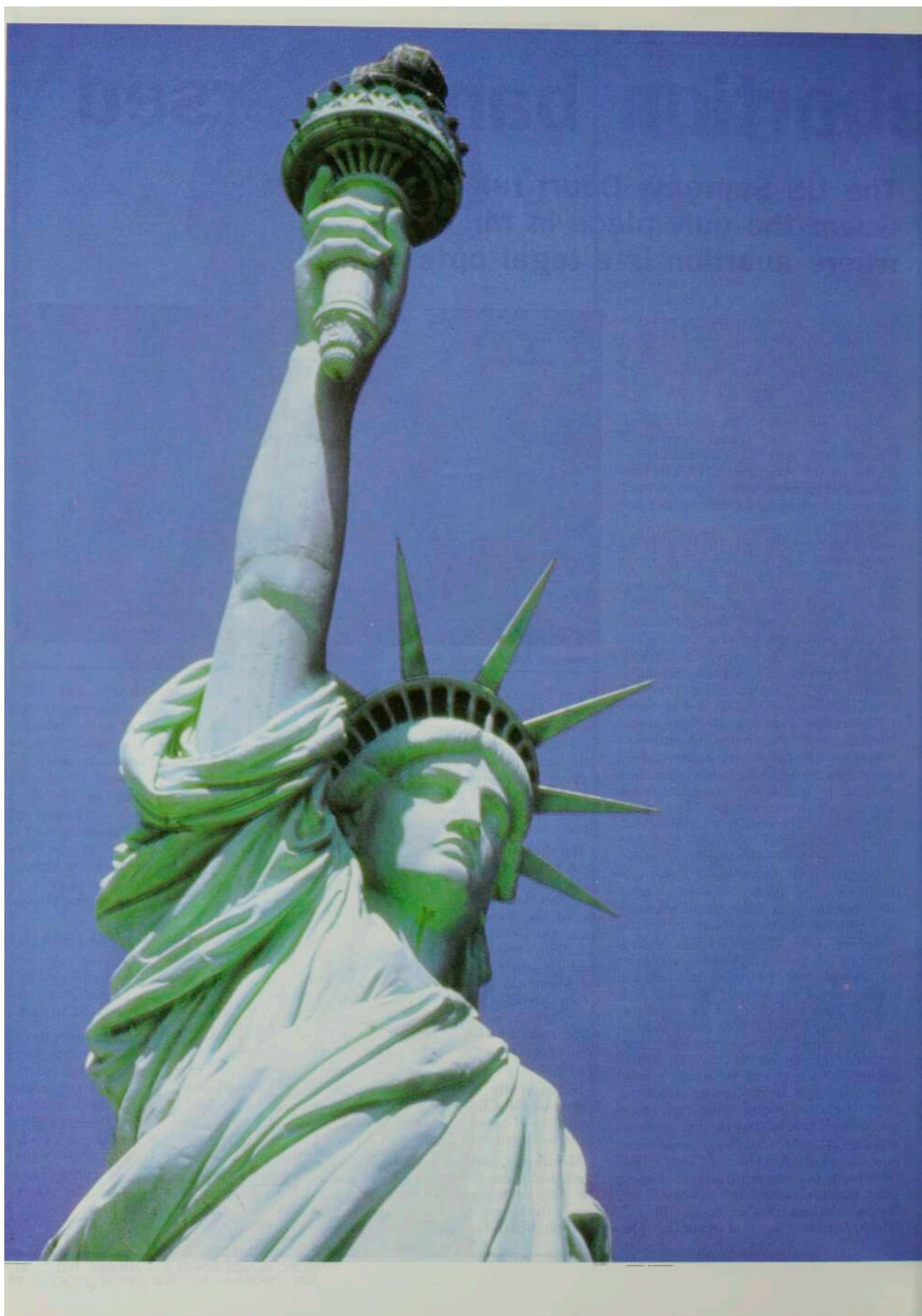
Meanwhile, and totally ignored by the Mainland press, the Guam case gave the US judicial system an opportunity to decide the Guam case on the question of Mainland-island relations rather than on

the battle between "choice" and "life" but it declined to do so. Arguing before the Ninth Circuit, Guam's lawyer, Arnold Leibowitz of Washington, said, in effect, had the Guam law been passed by a Mainland state it would be clearly unconstitutional as long as the *Roe* precedent stood — but it was passed by the legislature of an unincorporated territory, and only parts of the US constitution applied to such territories. He said the constitutional test of privacy did not, therefore, apply to the Guam law.

His argument was not accepted by the Ninth Circuit, and that issue was not raised in the appeal nor mentioned by either side when the Supreme Court, six to three, refused to hear the Guam case.

But while Guam lost its lawsuit — without even getting the pomp and circumstance of an oral argument before the robed justices — it again got front-page attention in the nation's media. And, in the wake of the Supreme Court decision, the younger Arriola got a lot of television time as the Cable News Network (CNN) showed film clips of her earlier appearance before the Ninth Circuit judges in Honolulu.

□



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SPECIAL REPORT

Where are we headed?

The Pacific region, with its unique circumstances, finds itself ill-prepared for the century ahead.

By Martin Tiffany

PEEL away the glossy tourist-brochure image from the Pacific islands and you will find island economies in trouble. With problems that are unique to the region, all Pacific island nations are facing constraints to development of varying magnitudes.

On top of this there is the apparent volatility of Pacific island economies, made worse by the countries' relatively small size where the results of almost every event, good or bad, are quickly transmitted throughout the entire nation. This last observation is made by Rodney Cole from the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Cole, research director of the Islands/Australia Program at the National Centre for Development Studies (NCDS), is part of an ambitious project looking at the future of the region and the difficulties that may emerge as a result of high levels of population growth.

He said governments are so immersed in the problems that confront them day-to-day that they have been unable to devote time to thinking ahead, seeking to establish plans and programs now which, while accommodating the problems of the present, would look at least easing difficulties which can expect to emerge in the future.

These difficulties involve a range of issues, including relatively high population growth and a possibility that available resources — from land and sea

— will diminish over time. In order to highlight these problems the NCDS has initiated a program called Pacific 2010, based on demographic projections for the major island states of the Pacific to about the year 2010, which seeks to identify problems likely to emerge as a direct result of population growth.

Projects under Pacific 2010 are not concerned with population control or family planning but with the economic implications of an expanding number of people, particularly young people, at a time when employment opportunities, if not decreasing are at least not to be expanding.

According to Cole, over the last decade, on average, the island economies, as measured by GNP, have failed to perform satisfactorily, with some countries in fact going backwards in terms of per capita income.

Failure to perform can be attributed to a wide range of factors, some of which can be controlled while others are beyond the influence of island governments.

Hurricanes, cyclones, drought, frost, and flood are features of some or all Pacific islands.

While the international community is generous in response to these disasters, support is usually of a humanitarian variety and has little long term effect on the national product.

Some countries have a restricted range of exports, usually the legacy of poverty in the country's resource base. Most of the regional countries have small, fragmented domestic markets and are remote

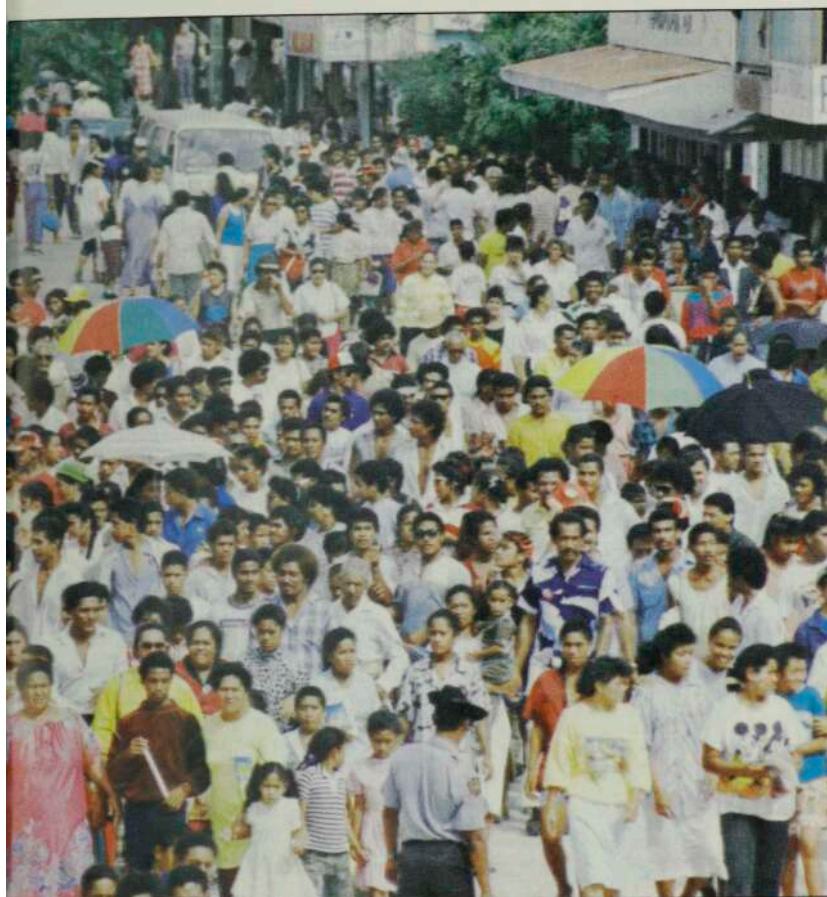


from foreign markets, access to which is made more difficult by high transport costs.

Most island nations have high levels of population growth and problems with skills development. Young people move to the greener pastures of developed countries overseas. This influences the efforts of government to encourage foreign investment although remittances from Pacific islanders working abroad can play a major role in supporting the balance of payments of some countries.

Land tenure can sometimes prove a difficult issue in the negotiation of agreements affecting investment, particularly in the mining sector. Especially in countries where traditional boundaries have not been clearly defined. Law and order problems in some countries have serious implications for investment decisions.

Also as Cole points out, "being price takers for most of their domestic production, particularly in the agricultural sector, the islands are inevitably subject to the vagaries of international market



Pacific population: *outpacing economic growth*

and the often savage price shifts." Despite the relief offered by such devices as STABEX, some governments have been forced, for political and social reasons, to provide price support schemes involving resources which could under other circumstances be better used elsewhere.

These are serious problems which need to be addressed to promote island development. But it is not all doom and gloom.

Since gaining independence the regional governments have enjoyed the generosity of an increasing range of aid donors. Generous levels of aid have, however, often masked real structural problems and caused governments to defer or avoid decisions necessary to meet their shifting social and economic needs.

It has been argued that aid might give way to trade and become a more positive feature of donor/recipient relations. Increasingly the islands seek improved options for their activities and have argued that aid funds should be diverted to support trading operations.

Trade treaties like SPARTECA and PATCRA have been put in place by

Australia and New Zealand to foster Pacific trading ventures and help island entrepreneurs enter their markets. In addition, the Lome Convention of the European Community, the Market Access and Regional Competitiveness Scheme of the USAID program and a number of other bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements exist to provide opportunities for the islands to develop trading links with the rest of the world.

But, with the possible exception of Fiji's garment industry, there has been little to show for the opportunities available. The global nature of the world's trading operations makes it imperative these small economies recognise their limitations and advantages and act accordingly. Cole suggests they must seek to use the labour they possess, their often unique climatic and geographic locations, the treaties which provide special advantages and the natural attractions of their environment.

Some countries have made the break. Fiji took advantage of the 1987 military coups to de-regulate labour practices, devalue its currency and introduce incentives for foreign investors. All positive

steps which have led to substantial growth in the manufacturing sector, particularly in the field of garments. Tonga has identified a niche market in Japan for a particular variety of squash pumpkin and developed an important, short-season export industry. Western Samoa took advantage of cheap, skilled labour to have a Japanese firm begin manufacturing electrical harnesses for motor vehicles. One thousand jobs are expected to be created.

While island leaders seek to develop policies which provide an improved way of life for their people, the manner in which this might be achieved does not become any easier, despite increasing aid flows and improved trading opportunities. The accepted measure of growth, GNP per capita, continues either to fall or grow only slowly over time.

According to Cole the reason is clear. Populations continue to grow despite efforts by some countries to support family planning in the interests of higher living standards. In some instances there is a "safety net" in the form of emigration and this is evident in the population growth rate figures for Tonga and Western Samoa. Other countries which do not have the same opportunities for emigration have had access to land which has helped absorb population growth.

Cole says the question to be addressed is whether these options for absorbing population increases will always be open. If the countries to which Polynesian emigrants have moved should become less accommodating, what will the results then be? In those countries where land has been the "safety net" can this position continue?

Some suggest that in future the only option open to many Pacific islanders will be subsistence agriculture. But with much of the available arable land in most Pacific countries already being used, will this option be available in the future?

Traditional unprocessed commodity exports are the prime feature of most South Pacific economies — copper and timber in PNG, phosphate in Nauru, copra in Kiribati, sugar in Fiji and coconut oil in Western Samoa — presently share declining terms of trade. These exports are extremely vulnerable to world market fluctuations.

Semi-subsistence agriculture and fisheries are the backbone of many Pacific economies. According to Suva-based Forum Secretariat these have not sustained growth in the 1980s basically because of the sharp decline in prices for traditional primary export commodities.

As Cole sees it, the conclusion, "inevitable from the available evidence, is that, as of now, the islands of the Pacific Ocean are coping with existing levels of population, but only just. Standards of living, as measured by conventional methods are in gradual decline; pressures on land and thus the subsistence sector, are increasing."

"There are opportunities for improving the contributions of the manufacturing sector to the national economy. This however requires careful management to avoid entering into competition with

those countries better able to meet the demands of a fickle international market than small isolated states. Niche markets appear to offer prospects of success. This scenario calls for careful examination of policies towards the future."

The National Centre for Development Studies through the program Pacific 2010 will seek to present to governments and those involved in resource management, an indication of likely implications of population growth in various sectors of national economies. It will also seek to identify possible options which might be

considered, at least to minimize the effects of population growth. The first book from the program — 'Pacific 2010-Challenging the future?' — is due for publication soon. It should provide some sobering thoughts to governments and private sectors alike.

As Cole says, the leaders of today should take heed of the 'dooms-day' scenario the population projections of Pacific 2010 imply. After all, they are responsible for the consequences for the next generation. He is confident that national leadership and the international community want to face up to the question of tomorrow and steps can be taken to meet the challenge population growth implies. □



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Population Figures

THE TOTAL population of the 13 Forum Island Countries is about 5.3 million people. Seventy per cent live in Papua New Guinea. Fiji has the second biggest population accounting for 13 per cent of the region's total. In sharp contrast is Niue with less than 2500 people — 0.04 per cent of the region's population.

The 13 FICs are the Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Western Samoa. Their size, climate and make up vary widely. But there is one thing they do have in common — a relatively high rate of population growth, averaging 2.2 per cent across the region.

The particularly high growth rates in Melanesian countries reflect declining mortality and very high fertility rates. According to World Bank figures, between 1980 and 1988, the net population growth rate was 3.5 per cent in the Solomon Islands and 2.9 per cent in Vanuatu. In other countries fertility rates were lower.

Kiribati, Western Samoa and Tonga have relatively high natural growth rates of 2.3, 2.2 and 2.9 per cent respectively. Only high rates of emigration from the three countries mean the net population growth is low there. However, migration also results in the loss of skilled workers. The situation is the same in Niue, the Cook Islands and Fiji where migration reduces potential growth rates but results in skilled human resource depletion.

Because of the high population growth rates, children comprise a high proportion of the total population, producing relatively high dependency ratios. □

SPECIAL REPORT

The people - our hope

By Martin Tiffany

THE people of the South Pacific have long captured the imagination of European writers and poets and fascinated explorers, adventurers, tourists and arm-chair readers alike. Normally seen as kind, friendly and beautiful, living a perfect life in a lush tropical paradise, Pacific people seem to live as close to heaven on earth as one can get.

Generally the lot of the Pacific islander is comfortable. There is virtually no absolute poverty in South Pacific island economies and those who still practise a traditional lifestyle have an adequate and enjoyable existence. However it is the people themselves — or at least their growth — that is predicted to be the single biggest problem the region will face.

While population growth has been high in South Pacific countries over the last 20 to 30 years, the rates of economic growth have been low. Poor human resource development among this growing population has played a key part in the dismal economic growth.

As Australian academic, Ken Gannicott, explains, "The reason for the low rates of economic growth is complex, but it is clear that deficiencies in human resource development are at least part of the story."

In its recent survey of the prospects for higher growth in the region, the World Bank remarked that "the acute shortage of qualified and experienced personnel represents a fundamental constraint to development in the South Pacific".

Gannicott, a Professor of Education at Wollongong University, said Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu registered negative growth in per capita incomes during the 1980s and without large scale migration Tonga and Western Samoa would have shown similar decline. He pointed out that in the Polynesian countries, lifestyles are subsidised by the remittances of those who go to work overseas. In the region as a whole, per capita aid levels are among the world's highest.

Dennis Miller, the director of the Forum Secretariat's Trade and Investment Division, in Suva, sees the region's high population growth — averaging 2.2 per cent for the region per annum — as arguably the biggest constraint to economic growth. He said population spills over into everything else and will put pressure on the already-burdened education system. This again leads to skill

Poor human resource development among the growing population has led to the dismal economic growth



Asaeli Lave

Pacific education system: needs a complete overhaul

shortages.

As Gannicott points out, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands became independent with such low levels of labour skills, it is hardly surprising that skill shortages should continue to be a key feature of their human resource development. What is of particular interest is the same theme emerges in Kiribati, Western Samoa and Tonga, despite all having well-developed educational systems and an overall level of human resource which is high by the standards of other developing countries.

"These shortages are not simply transient features of normal labour market

adjustments, but constitute a long-standing structural problem," said Gannicott.

One of the most obvious features of skill shortage is that even in the second or third decade after independence many countries are still short of trained teachers. The result is a continued heavy reliance on expatriate teachers.

Gannicott feels one of the main problems lies in the poor quality of education and the poor standard of preparation in primary and secondary school.

For example, the Solomon Islands is very short of post-secondary labour, but



Today's youngster: *what does the future hold?*

Asaelli Lave

the problem is not because of the shortage of tertiary places. In fact, the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education has excess capacity, and donors fund a large number of tertiary fellowships at overseas institutions.

The real problem is the low standard of secondary education means there aren't enough students of adequate standard coming through the secondary system, and those selected for overseas training often require remedial training.

Gannicott indicates the quality of education in the region cannot be improved without a substantial increase in funding and there is a need to get

enough books and supplies.

He said such material is in chronically short supply almost everywhere in the South Pacific. In Tonga, for example, there continues to be a critical shortage of textbooks, reading material, science equipment and even such basic items as exercise books, pens and rulers.

The shortage of trained teachers also contributes significantly to the low quality of schooling. Substantial proportions of secondary school teachers have no more education than the pupils they teach.

Of the approximately 200 Solomon Island secondary teachers in 1987, half



What lies ahead?

Asaelli Lave

had no more than Grade 9 schooling. In Tonga, 47 per cent of secondary teachers have no more than secondary education and in Vanuatu 25 per cent of non-expatriate secondary teachers have nothing higher than grade 10 education.

The region's relatively high population growth means a fast-growing school-age population. This would mean more spending on education but, as Gannicott points out, this may only mean maintaining current enrolment rates and current standards.

Gannicott says all countries in the region need to improve their schools both quantitatively and qualitatively. He said to do this the countries will have to generate more national savings or divert investments from areas such as health, power or transport.

"If a country is unable or unwilling to make those sacrifices, spending must be spread over a large group of school children, to the detriment of school quality, or a growing number of children will have to be excluded from education."

But Gannicott warns a well educated population does not necessarily mean a fast growing economy.

"Whether the countries of the South Pacific then come merely to emulate Sri Lanka and the Philippines as well-educated but slow growing economies, or whether those investments pay off in enduring economic growth, will depend crucially on whether the essential complementary policy reforms instil a dynamic culture of growth."

The ball is now in the region's court and the future truly lies in the hands of the people. □

BUSINESS

Capitalising on timber

By Liz Thompson

PAPUA New Guinea has approximately 33 million hectares of closed forests, about 15 million of which have forestry potential. To date it is estimated that approximately 5 million have either been logged or are under logging permits. In 1987 the forest industries exported 1450 cubic metres of timber worth 103 million kina and in 1988 timber accounted for eight per cent of total exports. It is an industry which has the potential to provide great return and yet it has been beset by problems resulting in the squandering of a national resource for little return. In 1987 the Wingti government started a commission of inquiry into the operations of the timber industry in PNG under the chairing of Justice Thomas Barnett. The enquiry pointed to a number of the industry's main problems and its findings, along with those of the Tropical Forest Action Plan (TFAP) set up under the directions of the World Bank, resulted in the setting up of a moratorium on the granting of logging concessions.

Paul Chatterton is currently working for the World Wildlife Fund helping them organize their Conservation Programmes in PNG and was a founding member of the Asia Pacific Action Group which was responsible for publishing a condensed and extremely influential version of the 5500-page Barnett Report which was never made available to the public. He works with community groups in PNG and has long been concerned with the rapacious nature of the timber industry. Here he talks about some of the issues involved.

L.T. The Barnett Report stated that in 1987 the PNG government lost \$27,500,000 in foreign currency earnings and around \$4,270,000 on company profits through transfer pricing. Can you

explain what this is?

P.C. — Well that happens when a company puts the name of a less valuable log on the log it is exporting, so that they don't have to pay royalties on the real

value and, in many instances, the logs are declared by Japanese company officials. They write in Japanese and the forestry officials can't understand and there aren't enough officials to check all the timber export operations.

L.T. — The Barnett Report also pointed out that landowners receive inadequate returns for their timber and that often contractual obligations, such as the development of roads, schools and hospitals are not fulfilled, why is this?

P.C. — As Barnett said, almost every logging company in the last 10 years hasn't provided the benefits it promised. In very few cases have they replanted and if they have it is seldom to the extent required under contract. They're usually fly-by-night, low capital operations that go in to make a quick buck and get out before the people have to deal with the consequences.

L.T. — The report also implicated many political figures in the corruption. How effective is the leadership tribunal in enforcing control?

P.C. — They are enforcing some control, it was the tribunal which took



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BUSINESS



Raw timber logs: awaiting collection on the river

Paul Chatterton

Ted Diro to task and forced him to step down from parliament over 70 charges which all referred to allegations brought up in the enquiry. The problem is the mechanisms are snowed under, the report implicated so many people that the tribunal and the courts just simply aren't able to deal with it all.

L.T. — Clearly logging raw timber is not a profitable venture and secondary processing would prove far more lucrative. But, according to the report, local processing has declined to less than a twentieth of its 1979 levels. What's happening? Wouldn't it be the right time to develop secondary processing manufacturing, given that in the transition other resources will provide a reliable income?

P.C. — Yes. It is paradoxical that it's so difficult because there are good economic returns to be made. Part of why it hasn't happened I think is because of the timber lobby which is driven largely by multinational companies who make their profit shipping out logs rather than sawn timber.

But I think PNG is strong enough to take this on. I also think this is a good place for the involvement of Australian aid in supporting, at least in the early stages, a sawn timber market, furniture manufacturing, a training program for walk-about saw mill operators and a marketing program for their timber and also perhaps the support of research of non-timber forest products

and their markets.

L.T. — How viable are non-timber forest products?

P.C. — Well the East Sepik Council of Women has been looking into alternative sources of income like gum of cowrie pine. It can be tapped like rubber and the gum can be used for lacquer in Europe. In Indonesia they've developed a strong industry exporting non-timber forest products like rattan bark and gum, that industry earned them \$239 million in 1987.

L.T. — The PNG government is imposing higher taxes on timber products, but aren't they also imposing higher taxes on rattan and so on?

P.C. — They are and that's actually killed the rattan industry in the last couple of years and I think that's crazy but there are other things like traditional medicines, for example. If PNG were to exploit the materials it has in the forest the potential to find important cures is significant and the value inestimable.

L.T. — Some NGOs suggest that while secondary manufacturing processes are

established there should be a total ban on the export of raw timber. Japan has said that it would lobby for its nationals' interests. What do you think of the NGOs angle?

P.C. — Alternatives have to be developed that make it stupid to export logs. Everyone knows it's crazy exporting logs. PNG should be exporting sawn timber at least,

better still furniture. There are about 600 portable saw mills that can be carried out into the forest to produce at a sustainable level and there's a massive market for it. There's a major timber chain in the UK that has 200 stores and they want to change all their sales over to sustainably produced timber. PNG can meet that market but it has to get its industries going now.

L.T. — Clearly that is the direction to go in but establishing secondary processing and non-timber forest products is a process that will take number of years. In the interim there needs to be more adequate policing of the industry. Do you think it will benefit PNG to employ a contractor like the international Swiss firm, Societe Generale de Surveillance, which is currently tendered to monitor Indonesia loggers.

P.C. — I think it would be a great idea and I know the government is talking with such a contractor at the moment to like go into mineral exports.

L.T. — Obviously a lot of landowners who feel they've been exploited by logging contractors will be resentful in years to come. Do you think that has potential to cause future problems?

P.C. — Well, the people who own the land under the April Salumei concession have decided they don't believe there was proper consultation. They're going to try and take the government to court. If it happens it will be quite a historic case — the first time landowners in PNG have stood up and said 'no' to a logging concession before it actually gets going. □

An optimistic future

TRADEWINDS



**BILL
McCABE**

IN COMMERCE, as in anything else, the beginning of a new year is the time to look ahead and see where we're going, and the soundest predictions are often best arrived at by consulting the past.

I think anybody able to look back 20 years at the progress that has made in island economies will be fairly optimistic about the future. And that's despite the fact that the past year or two haven't been very encouraging. The economic downturn has been worldwide, and everybody suffers until things pick up again.

But pick up they will. I've been in trade long enough to know they always do.

When the revival occurs, the majority of the Forum nations won't be facing some of the dilemmas they had under colonial administrations — notably their dependence on large, tied grants from the metropolitan countries, usually with directions attached on what the money was to be spent on, and subject to all sorts of bureaucratic checks and balances that removed any opportunity for local initiative. And forbade any chance of gaining some practical experience on how to spend money to make more money, such as putting up venture capital.

The days are not really so far behind us when island administrations, and island companies being directed by boards overseas, brought in expatriates to work as clerks, counterhands and truck drivers and paid twice the local wage to get them — plus fringe benefit such as subsidised housing and air fares home. The usual argument was that this has to be done because not enough locals were trained to fill the jobs competently.

The moves to independence and the need for economies to be home-grown if they were to survive without bigger and bigger grants, changed that through the simple expedient of the emerging island governments restricting hundreds of job categories to locals only. Both quality and speed of training followed almost automatically, and what, in turn,

followed was the recognition by the expatriate firms that it was sensible and more efficient to localise, and to localise right to the top. It was the expatriates, not the islanders, who were forced to change their way of thinking.

These measures did not simply safeguard local jobs — they have expanded the island workforce and island expertise, at all levels to top executive, to an extent nobody could have contemplated. I've seen it all happening, and wherever I go I deal with island business people and senior government officers who are on top of their jobs. Island economies have become stronger and the people

who manage the resources, whether at the work place or the government planning departments, are better able to roll with the punches in the tougher times we've been having.

These are some of the reasons why I am optimistic about the future. There is a firmer base of efficiency and initiative in our region. And when the opportunities present themselves, they'll be taken up.

It's human nature for people to see problems before they see opportunities. It's human nature to worry. It's people with vision and initiative who convert information into opportunities, and that's what will help pull the region through.

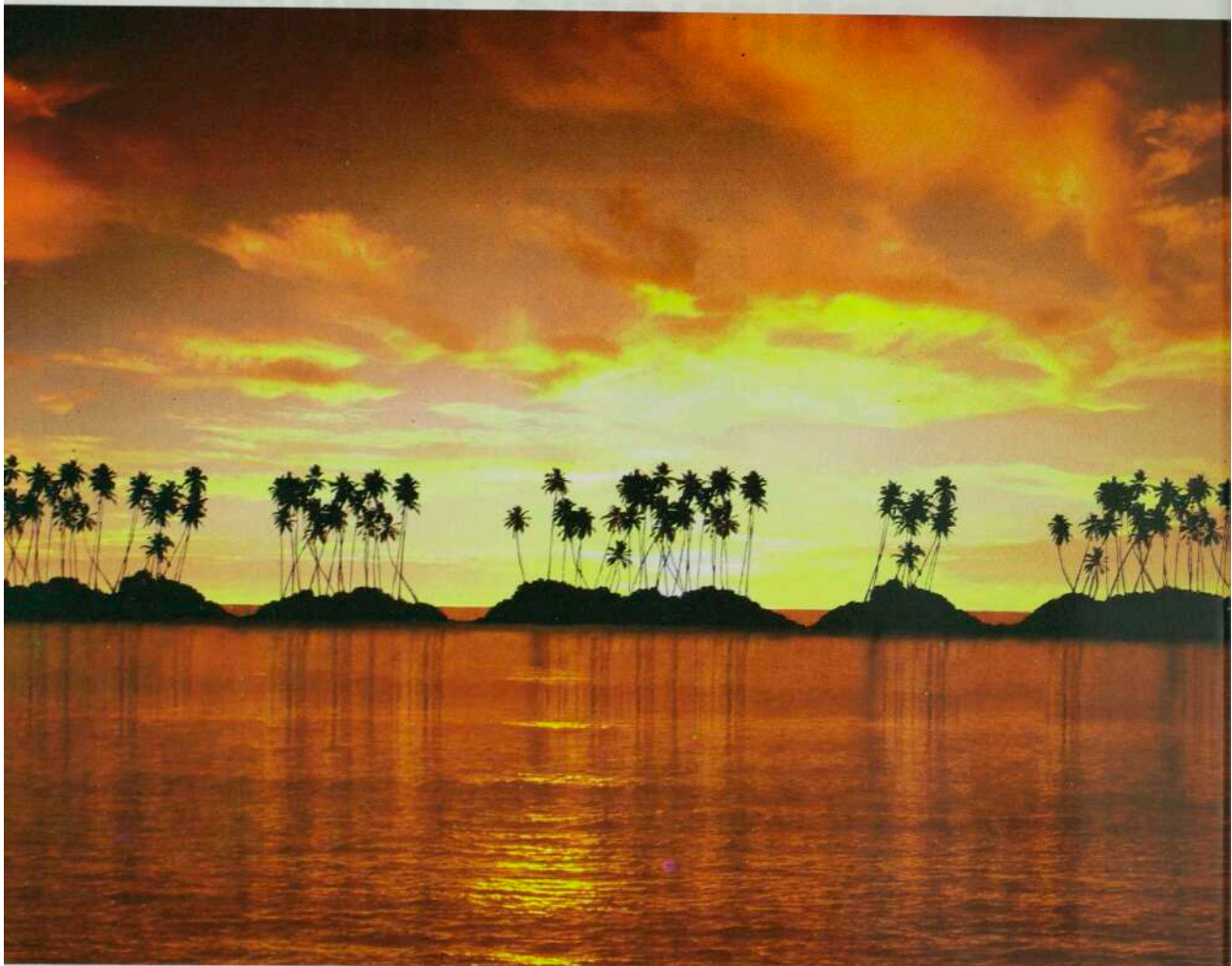
As one example — it is a fact that Australia imports more than 50 per cent of all the seafood it consumes. Fifty per cent! What export opportunities there must be in the islands! One doesn't have to think in terms of bulk fresh fish, but of sophisticated, processed seafood products — smoked, for example — that can be developed by small companies with the initiative to find, or create for themselves, a niche in the market. And of course the right product would have even a wider sale than in Australia. □



Asaelli Lave

Seafood: export opportunities in the islands

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Regional Superpower

By Asha Lakhan

● **Fiji, May 1987** — 120 members of the Australian Operational Deployment Force were airlifted to Norfolk Island to board warships bound for Fiji. The force equipped with heavy infantry support weapons including anti-tank missiles were to land on the island by helicopter on a mission to evacuate foreign nationals together with some 4000 Australian tourists. The scheme was aborted at the last minute but Australian warships were despatched to Fiji waters.

● **Vanuatu, May 1988** — Australian government supplied riot control gear to Vanuatu police to quell disorder. It also had a contingency plan to deploy several hundred troops to Vanuatu to secure the airport and protect Australian/New Zealand nationals there. Australian warships were on the scene.

● **Papua New Guinea, 1990** — The Bougainville crisis — four Australian helicopters given to Papua New Guinea were used to massacre civilians in Bougainville and dump bodies in the sea. Although Australian instructions were specific that the helicopters were not to be used as gunships for assault or attack with mounted weaponry on them, they have been fitted with machine guns.

● **East Timor, Indonesia, 1991** — the Dili Massacre — Australia turned a blind eye to the demands of justice and human rights not only over the Dili massacre when Indonesian troops fired on mourners at a funeral service, but to Indonesian repression of East Timorese in general. It continues to enjoy close trade and defence ties with Indonesia.

Such activities and attitudes are arousing questions about Australia's military role in the region. On the one hand critics accuse it of playing the regional policeman while on the other, it is accused of turning a blind eye to human rights violations in pursuit of its own economic and strategic interests.

Australian critics see their country's increasing military activities in the region as a desire to gain international prestige as well as the sign of a 'maladjusted adolescence marked in nachoism, paranoia and arrogance'.

Both Australian Foreign Minister

Australia's increasing influence in the Pacific has raised questions on its role — regional policeman or spy?



Evans: rejects policeman role

Gareth Evans and former Defence Minister Kim Beazley strongly rejected any pretensions to a regional policeman role. However, it cannot be denied Australia is arming itself to the teeth and is playing an increasing military role in the region. Australia's 1992/93 defence budget is \$9885 million - up \$523 million or 5.6 per cent over last year's allocation. The military budget constitutes nine per cent of the total Federal outlay for the year. In the past decade, Australia's defence outlay has more than doubled from \$4054 in 1981/82 — although it has remained at around 9.8 per cent of the total budget. In the next decade Australia intends to spend something like \$25 billion on new defence capital equipment.

Today, Australia has a highly modern defence force with sophisticated weaponry and a long range strike capability that is likely to cause some disquiet among its neighbours. Critics

maintain its long range capability encompasses the Indonesian archipelago from Java eastwards including Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia.

Under its "defence in depth" strategic policy, Australia aims for an independent long range sea and air strike capability, highly mobile ground force, and joint communications and intelligence operation with the United States. In addition, it has an intricate and highly sophisticated system of intelligence and surveillance network that prompted one critic to remark the government was developing an extraordinary ability to spy into the military, political, economic and personal affairs of Asia-Pacific states and peoples.

The question that arises is against whom or what is Australia arming itself?

Australia's growing militarism must indeed be viewed with alarm by Pacific people because there is the very real danger that its heightened military perceptions could force small island states to concentrate their limited resources more than is necessary on building up their own military strength.

It is interesting both Australia and New Zealand showed what appeared to be rather unseemly haste in restoring defence ties with Fiji severed after the 1987 coups. Australia is now talking of reinforcing military equipment for the Fiji Military Forces, stepping up training links and facilities for the army.

Already Australia's defence policy ropes in the Forum island states into a network of maritime surveillance using patrol boats believed to be very expensive to maintain and run.

Australia's regional strategy based on a 1987 Defence white paper and reinforced by *Australia's Strategic Planning in the 1990s* a 1989 paper, defines the region in two zones:

● The zone of direct military interest which includes Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and the nearby islands of the South West Pacific; and

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

the zone of primary strategic interest which encompasses the Eastern Indian Ocean and the rest of South East Asia and South West Pacific.

Critics see this as both presumptuous and provocative as well as impossible to effectively defend, encompassing as it does some 10 per cent of the earth's surface.

Nonetheless, Australia draws up the delineated areas into its strategic network through a system of defence treaties and alliances, joint military exercises and training schedules, and a maritime surveillance program which includes the Pacific patrol boat project.

Australia's defence co-operation budget in the South Pacific last year was \$23.5 million up from \$19 million in 1989/90.

At a cost of \$14 million last year, the Pacific patrol boat scheme provided the first 15 boats to the region—four to Papua New Guinea, three to Tonga, two to the Federated States of Micronesia and one each to Vanuatu, Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Solomons and the Marshall Islands.

Now that defence links have been restored with Fiji, it will receive three patrol boats along with Tuvalu and Kiribati who will get one each. Fiji's first boat will be available in May 1994 and the other two in 1995. The boats are designed for maritime surveillance and enforcement in addition to search and rescue activities and as police roles.

In a 1989 paper, Senator Gareth Evans re-iterated his government's commitment to "encouraging the development of defence capabilities relevant to the security concerns and interests of the region".

But defence is hardly a pressing concern or priority need for the small island states in the South Pacific. There are no foreseeable external enemies threatening the security of these islands. So just who are these crack defence forces, which Australia is so keen to develop in the region, going to be used against?

Their own civilian populations? As in Fiji in 1987, in Vanuatu in 1988, in New Caledonia and in Bougainville? All these cases indicate the major threat to stability in the Pacific island states are from their own security forces.

In his 1991 book, *Australia's Foreign Relations in the 1990s* co-authored with Bruce Grant, Evans admits the South Pacific region does not have any threats

from major-power competition.

"The pressures on the Pacific island countries are of a different kind — illegal fishing, customs evasion, drug running, commercial violations, financial speculation and potentially some gun-running and terrorism." Activities for which the patrol boat project is perhaps ideal but hardly a build-up of military equipment and know-how.

Australia's military stance — both internal defence programs and regional activities — is coming under vigorous criticism from academics, peace activists, defence personnel and politicians at home.

Their concerns are published in a 1990 publication *The New Australian Militarism*. The book carries a response from Australian Defence Minister Kim Beazley. The group just last month released another series of articles titled *Threats Without Enemies*.

In *The New Australian Militarism* Graeme Cheeseman, a defence adviser to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, questions Australia's claims that it is mindful of the national sensitivities and aspirations of the island states.

In his dealings with the Pacific island states, Evans advocates a policy of constructive criticism — "This entails maintaining and developing a partnership with the Pacific island countries which promotes regional stability through economic development and the encouragement of shared perceptions of strategic and security interests."

But, says Cheeseman, "...the partnership between Australia and the nations of the South Pacific in particular, is being replaced by an arrangement which is dominated by Canberra and which is structured primarily to protect Australian interests."

The Pacific patrol boat scheme, he says, has "coerced (Pacific island states) into accepting a relatively advanced, and expensive to run, naval vessel to police their maritime fishing zones."

The Pacific boat project does, of course, meet genuine maritime surveillance needs of the island states. Together with P-3C Orion surveillance flights over the region, they have already helped in detecting illegal fishing vessels and would no doubt aid in controlling drug smuggling and in search and rescue operations.

But Cheeseman says the crafts could have been simpler and less expensive to



IROQUIS helicopter

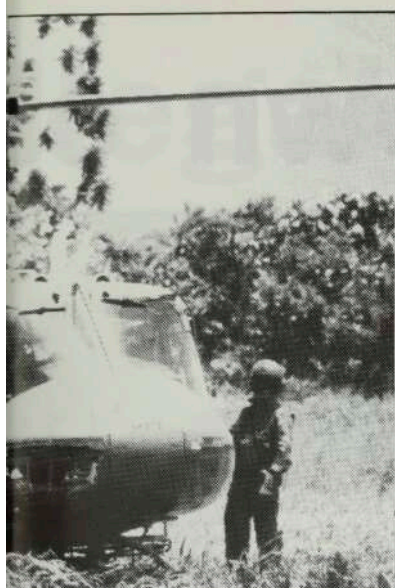
operate. He contends Australia's posture is either being dictated by the belief that external influences, possibly Libyan or French, were challenging or undermining its area of interest or it could be dictated by "purely military concerns".

"The South Pacific lies across our principal military lines of supply to the United States ... Australia cannot afford to leave the surveillance and protection of its vital lines of supply to regional forces and ensure that they are able to operate in a way that protects Australia's interests," he says.

The 1989 *Strategic Planning* paper states clearly that maritime patrol and response "is essential for intercepting hostile forces in the sea and air approaches. And that flexible, rapid reaction land forces were needed to, among other things, provide Australian assistance to countries in the South Pacific and for the protection of Australian nationals there."

The presence of Australian warships arriving immediately on the troubled scene at Fiji and Vanuatu is seen by critics as "gunboat diplomacy".

Australian Defence Minister Kim Beazley's defence of the Vanuatu decision provides some interesting insights into Australian thinking. Vanuatu requested help when the Vila disorders broke out — "At Father Lini's request we helped re-stock the Vanuatu police supply of riot control gear at very short notice. Later Father Lini also asked whether we would be willing to send personnel to help maintain civil order if the situation required, and our Prime Minister indicated that we would be prepared to consider that."



Beazley said the decision was based on a simple set of principles —

- “We had been asked for help by the head of a legitimate and effective government of a close neighbour. That government had reason for concern the situation, if allowed to deteriorate, could have led to a threat to the constitutional processes of government.

- We had been asked for help which we could clearly provide, to achieve a direct and definable goal. The proposition we were considering was operationally feasible.

- beyond the obligation to help our neighbours, we had a direct interest of our own in the safety of Australian residents and visitors to Vanuatu at that time.

- We assessed that Australian help would reduce the chances of further violence and bloodshed.”

Beazley said similar criteria would apply to any future requests for security assistance in the South Pacific. But this view that the country has a legitimate right to intervene when Australian lives are threatened, has come under strong criticism.

Says political researcher Richard Bolt in the *The New Australian Militarism*, “Many forms of political instability in the south-west Pacific states could be said to pose a threat to Australian lives, given the widespread presence of Australian tourists and workers in the region.

“So Beazley has established an almost open-ended pretext to intervene, Grenada-style, in the affairs of regional neighbours. This compromises the sovereignty of Papua New Guinea and the small island states, even if the threat is never actually carried out; they are on

notice to maintain order to the satisfaction of the Australian government.”

Bolt's comments bring to mind Fiji's former prime minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's angry reaction when he accused Australia of being on the verge of invading Fiji at the time of the first coup in May 1987 — Fiji forces would have resisted to the last man, was his message.

Bolt also points out similar principles did not seem to apply at the time of the Tiananmen massacres in Beijing in July 1989. Qantas and not the Australian armed forces had at the time evacuated Australian citizens — “The fact that the latter response has been held in reserve for South Pacific island states indicates the licence Australia has granted itself to act as regional policeman. Evacuation is a useful pretext for intervention.”

Bolt, who described Australia's current militarism as an adolescent display of machoism etc, points out Australia's Defence Co-operation Program in 1989/90 was \$59.9 million of which \$40.9 million went to PNG. He refers to the vast extension of Australian naval visits to the island states recently with 67 in 1987 and a planned 92 in 1988.

There have also been increased deployments of the P-3C Orion aircraft and “the major vehicle for Australian military contacts with the region, the Defence Co-operation Program, has increased steadily over the past few years and includes training, a range of projects ... from communications to engineering tasks and provision for equipment and personnel”. He quoted from the Australian Budget statements for 1989/90.

According to *Threats Without Enemies*, there has been a massive expansion in Australian military aid to Papua New Guinea since the Bougainville crisis in 1989. Regular military aid to PNG went up from \$45 million to \$51 million in 1990-91. In addition, Australia provided it with four helicopters, small arms and ammunition, heavy machine guns, a Special Air Services counter-insurgency training team and training for 450 new troops.

While it builds up PNG's ability to crush the rebels, it continues to ignore the human rights elements of the Bougainville conflict. Peace activists and other concerned groups fear Australia's militaristic stance is endangering the security of Australians and would spark off an arms race in the region. They refer to the growing concentration of arms in the Asia-Pacific region.

Says Joseph Camilleri in *Threats Without Enemies*, “During the greater part of the 1980s, military budgets in East Asia, South Asia and Oceania have experienced considerably higher growth rates than in other parts of the Third World including the Middle East.”

Between 1981 and 1990, military spending by Japan, India, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore each rose by between 50 to 100 per cent in real terms. Japan, China, India, Indonesia are all engaged in significant modernization and build up of their naval forces with fast attack craft, frigates, submarines and Harpoon or Exocet anti-ship missiles, he says.

In Fiji, since 1987 the army has increased from 3000 men to 6000, its budget has expanded from about \$16 million to \$40 million, estimated at 6.5 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product.

Figures provided by Camilleri show arms imports by East Asia doubled from \$US2.6 billion in 1983 to \$US 4.1 in 1988, and in South Asia it almost trebled from \$US2.4 billion to \$US 6.9 billion.

“The acquisition of these weapons systems often heightens regional tensions, and may even unleash a regional arms race. It almost always involves the diversion of scarce financial resources which could be better used to achieve social and economic objectives” says Camilleri.

Critics of Australian and regional military build-up are just as disturbed by the increase in the arms trade within the region. He finds the flow of arms especially destabilising in a region marked by domestic political conflicts, border disputes and inter-state rivalries.

To come back to Australia and the South Pacific, there is no doubt political and economic stability in the region is of paramount interest to Australia. To quote Gareth Evans, “For Australia, the South Pacific must be a region of the highest foreign policy and security significance — we have fundamental, long standing and largely unchanging interests here... we have clear geo-political or strategic interests in preserving and promoting peace in the region”.

Australia is the region's largest investor and trade partner. Total Australian investment in the region is about \$1.6 billion. It is worth about \$85 million in Fiji alone. Australian exports to Pacific island states totalled \$1488 million in 1991 increasing 11 per cent over the previous year.

Its aid package to the island states excluding PNG in 1989/90 was about \$85 million. To PNG it totalled about \$300 million.

Australia's concerns about promoting peace and stability in the region, and of keeping hostile interests out of the region is therefore understandable. But in pursuit of its own strategic and economic interests, it must not overlook the needs of the South Pacific peoples — the need for social and economic development using scant resources that cannot be frittered away in pursuit of military aggrandizement.

□

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Crack down on

FOREIGN fishing vessels continue to face stiff opposition to illegal poaching in the economic zones of South West Pacific islands if a copybook surveillance and apprehension of a Taiwanese long-liner early this month is any guide.

The operation, conducted by Vanuatu nationals with the help of Australian and New Zealand P3 Orion aircraft, resulted in a case so 'watertight' that the master of the offending vessel pleaded guilty before a Port Vila court on November 6 and was ordered to pay a fine and costs totalling the equivalent of about \$US40,000.

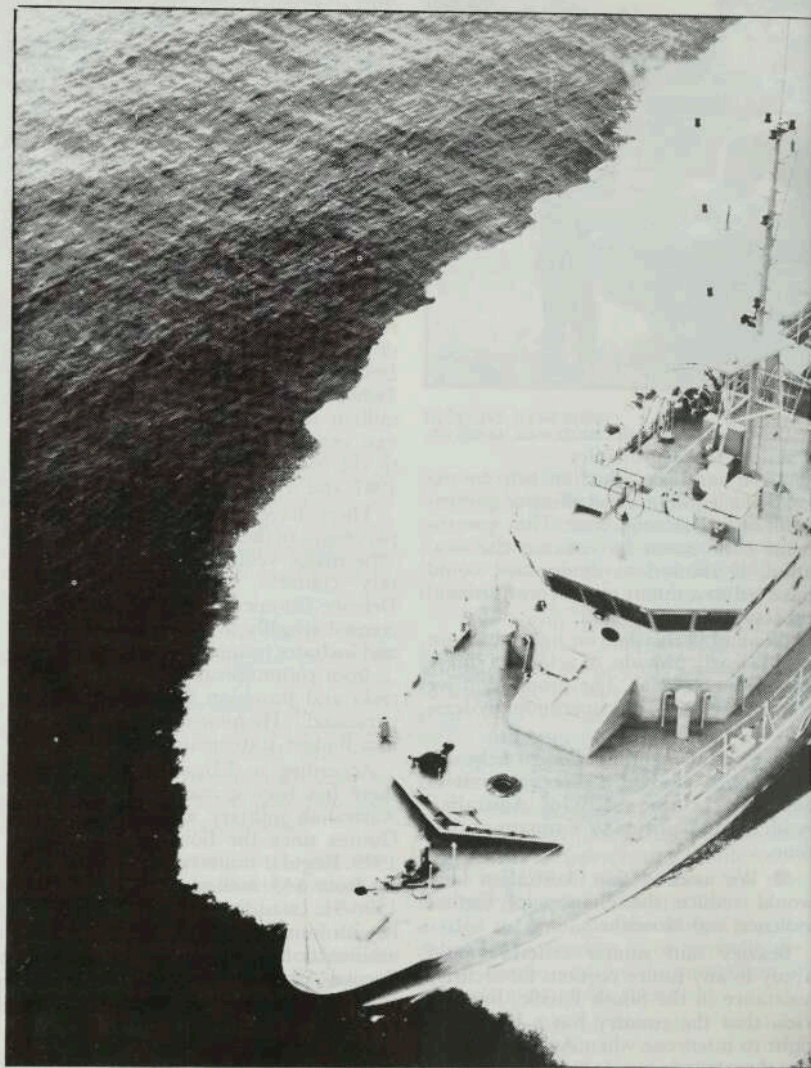
The most recent penalty, according to the Director of (South Pacific) Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), Sir Peter Kenilorea, follows a cash settlement of \$US1 million reached between the owners of purse seiners caught fishing illegally in the waters of Nauru in July and August; and the payment of \$US150,000 by the owners of two Taiwanese purse seiners for illegal activities during the same period.

Australian Defence experts hailed the Vanuatu operation as the latest in a number of indicators which point to the government's Defence Co-operation program with SW Pacific island nations bearing fruit — both for Australia and for the participating countries.

Australia's present focus to provide fishing surveillance to the South West Pacific region has its genesis in the announcement by Prime Minister Hawke at the 1983 South Pacific Forum in Canberra that it would provide Australian designed and built Pacific Patrol Boats (PPBs) to Forum countries.

Since then a total of 15 of these boats have been built at Australian Shipbuilding Industry's WA plant under the Defence Co-operation program at a cost of some \$A91.7 million. The project, managed by the Royal Australian Navy, has provided four boats to Papua New Guinea, three to Tonga, two each to the Solomon Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia and one each to Vanuatu, the Cook Islands, Western Samoa and the Marshall Islands.

The success of the Pacific Patrol Boat Project has been such that it was recently extended — beyond the original plan for



The patrol boat HMPNGS Tarangau: one of 16 delivered so far to south west Pacific West Australian coast.

15 vessels now delivered and in service. Defence Minister Senator Robert Ray announced after a state visit by Fiji's Prime Minister, Sitiveni Rabuka, earlier this year that Fiji would receive three and the small island nations of Kiribati and Tuvalu one boat each.

Through the project, the Australian government seeks to encourage self-reliance and enhance national sovereignty in the Pacific island countries, and

to promote a sense of regional community on security issues.

The project does not stop at the provision of the boats. It provides a comprehensive range of assistance covering in-country Royal Australian Navy advisory support, crew training, a spares support package and regional through-life logistic and technical arrangements.

All recipients of the patrol boats have fielded police or naval crews training in Western Australia as their boats were

Illegal fishing



s, undergoing pre-delivery trials off the

readied for delivery. Many have since participated in illegal fishing apprehensions, policing actions and in search and rescue, medical evacuation or cyclone relief work in their respective countries.

Surveillance work requires infrastructure and, here too, the Australian government has come to the aid of small Pacific nations. Wharves, workshops and surveillance centres have also been constructed under the Australian Defence

Co-operation Program and this year Australia has agreed to link national surveillance centres by satellite to the regional fisheries management data base at the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) in Honiara.

There is a continuing need for communications, coordination, training and planning, areas in which Australia has made a positive contribution.

And finally there is a need for sensors — ranging from alert eyeballs watching and boarding foreign vessels in their waters, surface radar (in the PPBs and in RAN patrol boats visiting the area), to airborne radar (offered in RAAF and RNZAF P3 Orion maritime patrol aircraft). The RAAF provides 500 hours per year of Orion flying time dedicated to regional Operation Solania patrols. Regular visits by RAN patrol boats throughout the region have provided assistance in developing common operating procedures.

Completion and satellite linking of the national surveillance operations centres with Honiara in the first half of next year (1993) will increase cooperation between the island nations and contribute further to Australia's constructive commitment to the region.

Much of this work is directed at putting the "cutting edge" of fisheries policing — patrol boats such as Vanuatu's boat *RVS Tukoro* — where they're needed, when they're needed. It was *Tukoro* which sprang to prominence briefly this month.

It was a small data base established at Port Vila which, at the start of last year's fishing season in September, threw up the names of five foreign vessels which had breached conditions of their fishing licences. They were targeted for boarding and apprehension.

The operation began late October with a New Zealand Orion aircraft due on October 30 being retasked at short notice to cover a specific area of the Vanuatu exclusive economic zone (EEZ). Information this aircraft provided enabled the *Tukoro* to be positioned in the general vicinity of one of these five "suspect" vessels.

Basic information from the Kiwis was firmed up by a RAAF Orion which had its route altered on one of the regular Operation Solania patrols to enable positive identification of one of the

targeted fishing vessels.

Tukoro was directed by the National Surveillance Centre (NSC) to close the contact, board and escort the vessel to Port Vila.

They boarded the Taiwanese long-liner, *Jin Ding*, at 11pm on Tuesday, November 3, about 31 nautical miles east of Merelava Island and entered Port Vila more than 44 hours later.

The apprehension was carried out under the direction of the Officer-in-Charge of the National Surveillance Centre, Chief Inspector Taleo who took on the task of gathering evidence. He interviewed the master of the *Jin Ding* on arrival, obtaining in the process an admission from the skipper that, contrary to the conditions of his fishing licence, he had failed to maintain fishing logs in the Vanuatu EEZ.

The evidence was compelling but not required. The master of the *Jin Ding* admitted the offence before the court. The boat sailed from Port Vila on November 10 after the \$40,000-penalty had been received by the Vanuatu government.

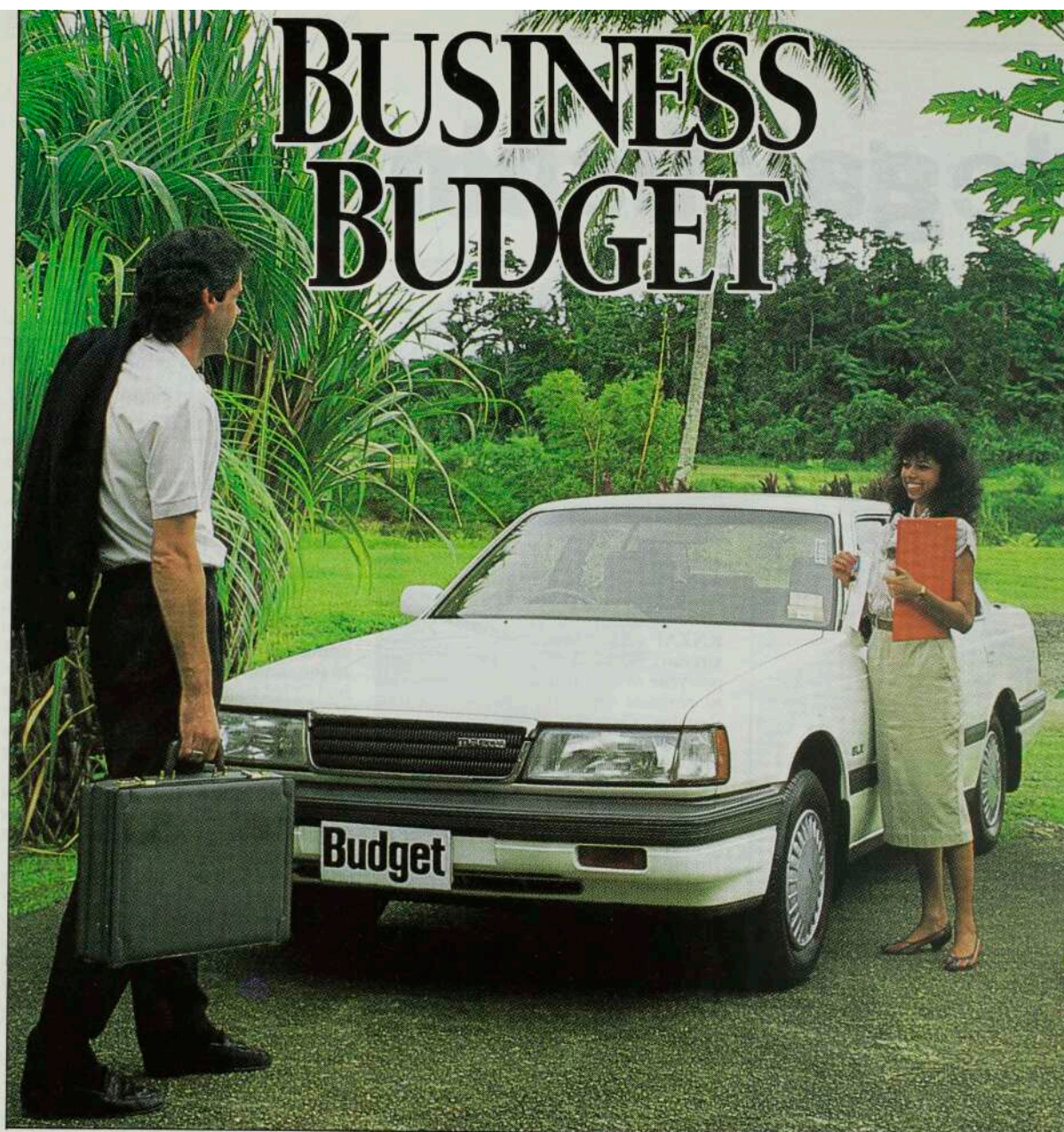
The FFA has praised the "timely deployment of Australian and New Zealand aerial surveillance patrols".

Sir Peter Kenilorea says although illegal fishing "has always been a major problem in the South Pacific region", a regional register system for foreign fishing vessels operated by the FFA should make it more difficult for poachers.

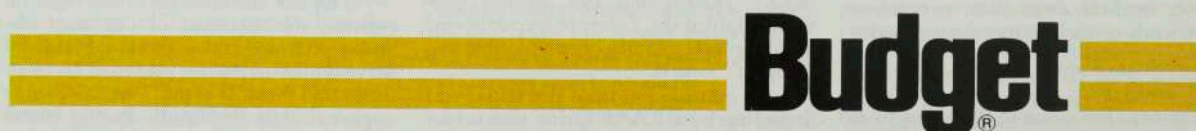
"The system is operated by all 16 of the member countries," he said. "Any vessel caught operating illegally may be suspended from the register. A vessel that is suspended from the register will be refused access by all FFA member countries until it has been dealt with to the satisfaction of the country whose laws it violated."

Sir Peter said unlike the situation in the past, where the island countries had lacked the resources to catch all the offenders, "things are gradually changing".

"With the effectiveness of the regional register, development of our own observer program and with valuable aerial surveillance assistance provided by Australia and New Zealand," he said, "it is apparent that the South Pacific island nations are slowly but surely establishing firmer control over foreign fishing activity in the South Pacific." □



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Weathering cyclones

BILL was enjoying a conversation with his neighbours on a moonless night when suddenly the light north easterly blowing that evening intensified and turned into a killer hurricane. There was no warning on the local radio station about the approaching hurricane.

His family of five were left homeless along with hundreds of others. Thankfully, none of his family members was hurt or injured. One family at the other end of this beachfront village was not so lucky. A 13 year-old girl was killed as she rushed outside to avoid a falling tree. Several fishermen at sea were missing — their fate unknown.

Had the villagers been warned of the approaching cyclone, they would have taken some precaution, but there was no warning.

While this anecdote is fictitious, too often, this depicts the reality in most, if not, all Forum Island Countries. Until recently, there was little advance warning of natural disasters, particularly tropical cyclones and hurricanes. And, some warnings were way off the mark.

This has been due, in large measure, to either out-dated technology used in weather forecasting or to none at all. This, however, will be a thing of the past, thanks to the Australian government and new technology.

An early warning system to help Forum Island Countries respond to a number of weather phenomena including changes in sea level and climate is being put in place in 12 regional countries. The first of these stations, funded by the Australian government as part of its major environmental project in the South Pacific, was commissioned in Fiji last October. It was installed at Lautoka, in the country's western sugar belt.

Similar stations have been or are being installed in Marshall Islands, Cook Islands, Kiribati, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Nauru, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Western Samoa.

This \$A7-million Australian government-funded South Pacific Sea-Level and Climate Monitoring Project, administered by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) is part of Australia's regional development assistance program. Its primary aim is long term sea level monitoring that may require 20 years to be meaningful.

However, there will be some information of immediate relevance to the Pacific Island Countries. These short-term features must be identified and understood if the "greenhouse" sea level trend is ever to be qualified.

These monitoring stations are equipped to provide information on local tidal characteristics and predictions, advance warning of anomalies in sea levels, investigation into storm surges and tropical cyclones, features indicating yearly climate variability, regional sea-level topography and features of large-scale water density.

Scientists working on the project admit much still needs to be learned about the mechanism of climate change, especially in the South Pacific. They are banking on the monitoring stations to provide answers to some important questions, such as, how it is possible to identify sea level rise when there are also movements in the earth's crust. Other questions, such as

THE FORUM



ALFRED SASAKO

the extent of sea level rise due to thermal expansion of the ocean as the climate gets warmer, the shift in latitude of zonal differences in water temperature and salinity, and more water in the oceans as land ice melts, are being looked into.

Each station contains accurate instruments which will constantly measure sea levels and associated weather conditions, provide a range of useful information, such as the pattern of the local weather and material on the incidence of extreme sea level and weather events which may help in predicting tropical cyclones.

This information may also help with studies of the "El Nino" effect which influences weather and seasonal conditions across the Pacific Ocean. It will also serve as navigational aid for vessels and will assist the operations of

ports and harbours.

As the data is gathered by each monitoring station, it will be sent to the National Tidal Facility at Flinders University in Adelaide, South Australia, for analysis. The result will then be fed back to scientists and government planners in Forum Island Countries to keep them fully informed about changing weather conditions and patterns.

Each station has a 20-year life, ensuring a continuous flow of climatic information to the region over that period.

The idea which gave birth to the South Pacific Sea Level and Climate Monitoring Project was first discussed by Forum leaders at their annual summit in 1989. Leaders of Forum Island Countries saw an urgent need to monitor and collect vital scientific data on climate and sea-levels.

Forum Island leaders were concerned that if the prediction on sea-level rise proved correct, many lives would be at risk. Many Forum Island Countries are low-lying atolls and any slight upward change in sea-level would wreak havoc, needing a massive operation to evacuate and resettle people.

Forum Island Countries do not have the resources to mount large scale emergency operations.

The Secretary General of the Forum Secretariat, Ieremia Tabai, highlighted the gratitude of the Forum Island Countries in a recent statement when he thanked the Australian government for investing in this area. Tabai said Forum Island Countries are prone to natural disasters such as cyclones, earthquakes and tidal waves and the installation of this early warning system will be very useful.

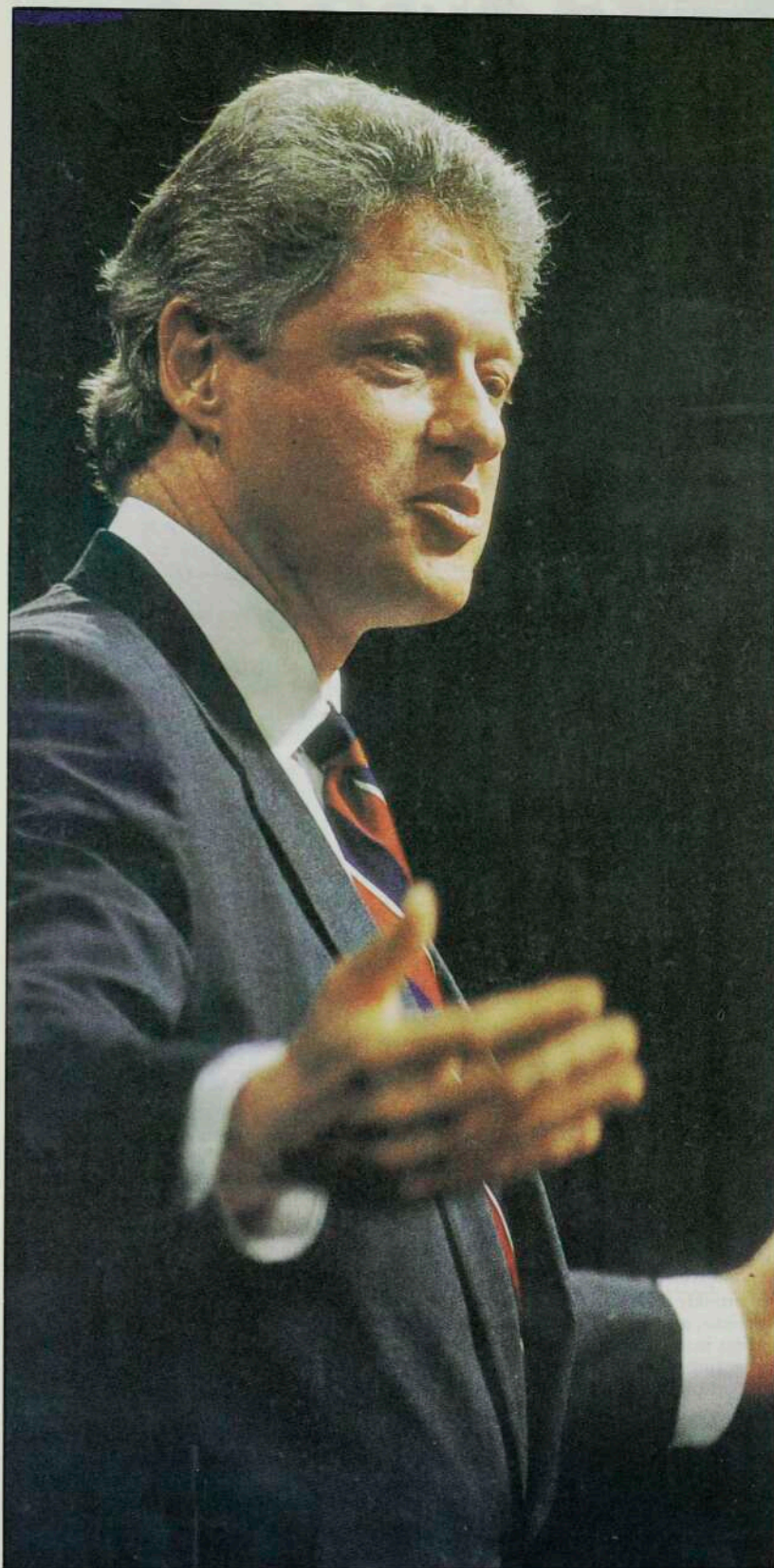
"We in the islands are indebted to the Australian government and people for funding this worthy project," Tabai said.

A committee comprising the Forum Secretariat, the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), Kiribati, representing the Forum's Small Island States, AIDAB, Flinders University's National Tidal Facility, the firm, Kinhill Reidel, and the Australian National Bureau of Meteorology, is co-ordinating the project.

There is no doubt we shall know a lot more than we do now about our climatic surroundings as these stations swing into full operation, helping islanders get advance warnings about sea-level rise, cyclones and other abnormal weather conditions.

□

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



Funda

By David North

The Democrats not only elected Governor Bill Clinton to the White House, and replaced Vice President Dan Quayle with Senator Al Gore, they also elected both the Governor and the Congressman from American Samoa, and a new Congressman from Guam. The sitting Republican governors of Guam and the Northern Marianas were not up for re-election.

Will the Clinton Administration treat the islands differently than the Reagan-Bush Administrations? There was little said directly on this point during the presidential campaign but the fundamental tendencies of the two different camps are well known. I think it is safe to predict that:

- The Clintons will be somewhat more knowledgeable about the islands than the Republicans were;
- They will be much more sympathetic to workers' issues; and
- A little more generous with federal funds.

The Democrats also will probably be more sensitive to ethnic and self-government considerations than their predecessors (remember Dan Quayle's quick stop in Pago Pago in which he managed, in a matter of minutes, to mispronounce the name of the territorial capital and to refer to the Samoans as "happy campers" to the annoyance of his audience).

On the other hand, the continuing, critical, Washington-based audits of island mismanagement of public funds (which is sometimes a problem in Guam and has been a constant one in the Marianas and American Samoa) will go on without interruption.

As for the independent nations of the Pacific, Democrats tend to be more interested in, and sympathetic to the Third World than Republicans and that should be useful. Finally, though it is now a largely passe issue, Democrats are less enthusiastic about nuclear testing than Republicans, so we can expect less pressure on New Zealand to accept nuclear warships, and more on France to make its testing pause a permanent policy.

Back to the US flag islands — it is likely the Clintons will break the Republican pattern of the last 12 years, and appoint at least some people to the islands-relations jobs in the Department of Interior who will arrive with some knowledge of the islands.

mental Differences

Further, a Democratic Congress and a Democratic Labor Department will insist on higher wages for the garment workers on Saipan if the "Made in USA" label continues to be attached to the clothing made there. Stateside unions will see to that. Further, the two Congressmen most interested in this issue, Lewis Payne (D — Virginia) and George Miller (D — California), chair of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee — were re-elected in the recent election, while the House member most likely to speak up for CNMI's establishment, Robert Lagomarsino (R — California) was defeated by a Republican who spent money like water in the primary.

Similarly, the Clintons will approach social issues with more sympathy. It will be easier to introduce food stamps, and maybe there will be a totally different stance — no appointments will be made of any judges or lawyers who would agree with the tough anti-abortion position taken by Guam.

How will the new Democratic appointee handle the continuing desire of the Marianas for more freedom, and of Guam for Commonwealth status? That is hard to say; it depends on who is appointed to what position. While Mainland Democrats routinely have a range of predictable views on the status of women and of ethnic minorities, on workers' rights, and on the need to be supportive of the poor, they do not come with a predictable view about self-government-short-of-statehood within the US system.

One thing is sure, however — securing statehood for the heavily Democratic (and Black) District of Columbia, and for the Hispanic island of Puerto Rico, will be much more pressing issues to the Clinton White House than concerns regarding levels of self-government in any of the Pacific territories.

Here are some specifics about the US-lag islands:

American Samoa — With the President (Clinton) and the new Governor (A. P. Lutali) and the Congressman (Eni F. H. Faleomavaega) all allied to one another, there should be relatively smooth sailing in Mainland-American Samoa relations. Samoa (unlike Guam and CNMI) is not seeking to change its basic relations with Washington, so those horn-y problems are avoided.

While in the past there had been a series of battles between Faleomavaega and former Governor Peter Tali Coleman, often over who was to get credit for certain federal-island pro-

grams, these differences presumably will disappear. The Congressman, the Governor and the Clintons can now move ahead together on such bread-and-butter issues as getting food stamps (a specialized welfare program) for older and disabled Samoans; similarly there will be no barriers to the introduction of a Mainland-subsidised housing program for military veterans. (Many Samoans enlist in the US armed services, retire after 20 years while still relatively young, and then return to the islands with nice

How will the Democratic victories affect relations between Washington and the Pacific Islands?

pensions.)

Guam — Things will be a little more complicated in the Guam-Mainland scene, as there is a Republican Governor, Joe Ada, along with the newly-elected Democratic Congressman, Robert Underwood. They probably will wrestle with each other. It is expected Underwood will be far more vigorous in his pursuit of Chamorro rights than his predecessor, Ben Blaz.

But, in contrast to American Samoa, Guam is largely self-sufficient financially (thanks to all those Japanese tourists) and no Mainland interests are trying to attack a major Guam industry, as is the case with the Marianas. So relations between the island and the Mainland should rock along easily, except for the persisting dispute about Commonwealth status.

The Marianas — The outcome of the 1992 elections left the political leadership of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas in even worse shape than before.

While both American Samoa and Guam have delegates to the House of Representatives, with large federally-funded staffs busily promoting the interests of their islands (though no vote on

the floor of the House) CNMI's able envoy to Washington, Juan N. Babauta, is little more than an elected lobbyist. A Republican, Babauta has one more year to serve of his four-year term as CNMI's Washington Representative.

CNMI, for reasons that are hard to understand, has not opted for the seat in the House of Representatives that it could have for the asking. The seat would give CNMI a place at the table where decisions are made, but apparently the Republican leadership views asking for a seat in the House as committing itself too closely to Washington.

Meanwhile, in addition to this structural problem, the CNMI Governor, Larry Guerrero, has little credibility in Washington. First there was his listless performance last summer at a rare House Committee hearing devoted to his islands, and to the scandalous wages paid to the foreign workers brought into Saipan's garment factories. The Governor showed no signs of appreciating the extent to which his territory was in serious trouble with the Congress over this issue. The clothes, with "Made in USA" labels are brought to the Mainland, while the jobs in question have moved from the Mainland to the islands, irking many Stateside Congressmen who formerly had the jobs in their districts (*PIM* July, 1992).

Then, in a manoeuvre that left Washington heads shaking in disbelief, his press office said Governor Guerrero had held a very fruitful, one-on-one meeting, after the hearing, with the Committee chair, Congressman Miller. But the meeting never happened.

Apparently believing that things said to the media in the islands would never get back to Washington, the Governor's office basked in favourable local press for a couple of days. Then all hell broke loose when the strong-minded Chairman found out about the story; his office issued a furious press release and he immediately sent a team of investigators to find out what was happening on the islands, in the garment factories, and in the barbed-wire enclosed camps where many of the workers live.

So the next time the Marianas want to make their case to the Congress they will not have a Congressman to help them (as Samoa and Guam do), will have a Governor whose word means little to the chairman of the all-powerful House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and will find the White House is no longer in the hands of their political party.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The new decision-makers

By David North

THERE will be a number of new island-focussed decision-makers as a result of Bill Clinton's election as President of the US.

Of particular interest to the US flag islands and Palau, and to some extent FSM and the Marshalls, will be the Assistant Secretary of Interior for Territorial and International Affairs. This is a presidential appointment, and is currently held by Stella Guerra.

Washington speculation is that it is highly unlikely that the Clintons will do what the Republicans have done for over a decade — give that job to a deserving Mainland Hispanic politician with no previous contact with the region.

Pedro San Juan (a one-time John Kennedy appointee who switched to Reagan), Rick Montoya, a New Mexican, and Stella Guerra, a Texan, had some good Washington connections, all wanted to be an assistant secretary of something, and none knew much about the Pacific when they were appointed. (There is some speculation the personnel people at the Republican White House thought the job dealt with Puerto Rico, and its Hispanic residents; it does not, but that did not prevent successive appointments of the Hispanics. It was also regarded as a position in which little harm could be done.)

In contrast, the Clintons might very well appoint someone who actually knows the territory. The principal name discussed currently in Washington, for the Assistant Secretaryship, is that of Muliufi (Mufi) Hanneman. Of Samoan descent, he holds a degree from Harvard, won a prestigious White House Fellowship (there are about a dozen a year), and twice sought the Democratic nomination for Congress from Hawaii. Currently he holds a Cabinet post in the administration of a Clinton ally, Governor John D. Waihee III of Hawaii, who is a native Hawaiian and has himself been mentioned for Secretary of Interior.

Another name heard is that of Jeff Farrow, once the Chairman of the Democratic Party in the US Virgin Islands (in the Caribbean), a one-time staffer to the late, legendary Congressman Phil Burton (D - California) and currently staff director of the House Subcommittee on Insular Affairs. Farrow managed, among other things, the recent hearings in which the Marianas were politely dragged over the coals for the treatment of alien garment workers.

As the Clinton administration prepares to settle in, speculation is rife on who will succeed Stella Guerra.

Hanneman, however, is said to prefer a comparable job in the Department of Commerce, because of his background in business, and Farrow has irked some people in Washington, so the race is still open. It is highly unlikely to be settled until the new Secretary of Interior makes his or her recommendation, and no one has been named to that spot at this writing.

It has been a lonely four years for Guerra. Although she had enough political connections to secure the appointment (being both a woman and a Hispanic helped) she did not have enough allies elsewhere in town (on Capitol Hill, at the White House, and in the other departments) to help her win the inevitable battles. Further, the position of the Bush Administration, or at least that of its budget people, was often at odds with the interests of the islands, so she had scratchy work to do while on business in the Pacific. Back at the department she had a laid-back and not-terribly-supportive boss, Secretary Manuel Lujan, and she had a reputation of giving her subordinates little freedom of operation.

The Interior jobs are worth struggling for. The assistant secretaryship pays \$112,000 a year, while the pay of the politically-appointed deputies varies; Houston was paid \$68,000 and the other deputy \$98,000. And one is obligated, of course, to travel to the islands from time to time, a pleasant duty during Washington's long, cold, and wet winter.

Washington-based salaries are much higher than those in the islands: the Governor of Guam is paid \$75,000 a year, and in American Samoa the governor's salary is \$50,000 a year. Both also occupy territorially-provided gubernatorial mansions.

There will be other personnel shifts as by-products of the November elections. There is some possibility that the delegate from American Samoa, Eni F. H. Faleomavaega, although he has only two terms under his belt, may, just may have enough seniority and luck to move into a sub-committee chairmanship on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, if

several of the longer-termed Democratic members of the Committee choose to accept other sub-committee chairs in other committees. (In the House one cannot hold more than one sub-committee chair.)

Faleomavaega had been deputy sub-committee chair to Congressman Stephen Solarz (D - New York) who was essentially redistricted out of a chance to return to the House. Solarz, who knows a lot about the South Pacific, and who is regarded as very competent, may get a major position in the State Department.

The elections will, indirectly and ultimately, probably remove from the government several old Pacific hands now working at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). The agency provides insurance to US companies investing in what they regard as risky foreign environments. While OPIC, per se, has only a minor role to play in the Pacific, its President, Fred Zeder, had been the Reagan Administration's ambassador in charge of working out the Associated States' relationships with FSM and the Marshalls.

Working with Zeder on the Micronesian arrangements were Jim Berg and Howard Hills, both now ranking officers of OPIC.

Unaffected by the election, at least directly, is Zeder's son, Fred Jr., who runs the Marshall's successful effort to license giant tankers. Both the Marshalls and Vanuatu have entered the ship-licensing business, once the specialty of Panama and Liberia (both recently racked with revolutions and invasions.)

Another Republican about to lose his government job is Grover J. Rees III, currently general counsel to the US Immigration and Naturalisation Service, in the Justice Department. Young, brilliant and very conservative, his first job in the Pacific was as Chief Justice of the High Court of American Samoa, to which he was appointed by Interior Secretary Lujan. (A lawyer, Rees' previous job for Ronald Reagan's Justice Department had been finding staunch conservatives to serve as federal judges.) □



FORUM SECRETARIAT

TENDER NO: 3598

PACIFIC REGIONAL ENERGY PROGRAMME

To be financed by the European Community, European Development Fund

**Photovoltaics Follow-up Project
Project No: 5100.16.94.175
Supply of Equipment**

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Participation is open on equal terms to natural and legal persons governed by public or private law, save for those which are non profit-making, of the EC and/or the ACP States.

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4. SUBMISSIONS

Two sets of submissions should arrive at respectively:

South Pacific Institute for Renewable Energies CEA Compound BP 11530, Mahina Tahiti, French Polynesia attn. Mr H.A. Wade, Senior Engineer	Forum Secretariat Ratu Sukuna Road GPO Box 856 Suva, FIJI attn. Director, Energy Division
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at the latest on 10 March 1993 Tahiti time.

Tenders will be opened in public on 10 March at 11.00 hours Tahiti time.

BOOKS

Robert Burns, the Scots poet, prayed, "Oh, would some Power the giftie gi' us, to see ourselves as others see us". Pacific people have an opportunity to see themselves as the American foreign affairs establishment see them in John C. Dorrance's book, *The United States and the Pacific Islands*.

While the State Department often has a body of expertise on international relations, its policies can be and often are derailed by vociferous domestic lobbies, whether commercial, military or political. Such influences thrive in the absence of public interest in the region in question, and ordinary Americans are notoriously uncaring — indeed ignorant — about the rest of the world. Even more than in other parts of the globe, this is true of the Pacific where, paradoxically, the US probably has more power than anywhere else.

During World War II, the islands were newspaper headlines as Allied troops leap-frogged their way towards Japan. Out of the headlines, they dropped out of public awareness — except when they were illuminated by the glare of nuclear test programs in the fifties. "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn!" Dorrance quotes Henry Kissinger saying of the Micronesian trust territories when he was National Security Adviser. Up to 1990, only three Pacific specialists had been trained in the State Department — and none of them was being used.

However, John Dorrance was one of the few specialists on the region before he died in early 1991. As such, he fought against what he termed the US's "benign neglect" of the Pacific islands. He died before this study was completed, and so the text was adjusted by someone else — who left anomalies — like a discussion of the possibility of UN membership for the Marshalls and FSM, 15 months after they had successfully obtained such membership.

Dorrance's point of view is strangely flawed. He sees facts clearly, but his analysis bears little relation to them. In his analysis of the motives of island leaders he is quick to see "Soviet-inspired," "leftist" or "pacifist" outside influences at work when there is disagree-

By Ian Williams

ment with Washington's whims. Such paranoia sits strangely in a book which chronicles the US's sins of omission and commission quite diligently, and thus gives quite rational, and local reasons for Pacific islanders not to confuse Uncle Sam with Father Christmas. For example, Dorrance points out the US's refusal for years to agree to a fishing agreement; the refusal to sign the Treaty of Rarotonga, the tacit approval of French nuclear testing, the huge arrears to SOPAC and so on.

'Most island states have little or no potential for economic development that promises future self sufficiency; they are probably permanently dependent on aid.'

He makes it plain the American interest, intermittent though it is, has never been that altruistic. From a strategic point of view the islands, as in the War, straddle the Pacific basin, which is now an economic powerhouse rivaling the old trade routes of the Atlan-

tic. The air and sea routes which pass the islands now account for half of American foreign trade. However, he tends to see things as he would like, rather than as they were. His vision of the US role does not, for example, mention the overthrow of independent Hawaii by US marines. In more contemporary times, he mentions the Indonesian threat to Australia and Papua New Guinea, without even a passing reference to East Timor, and the US role there. In discussing Palau, he skips the sordid tale of IPSECO and the power station which has saddled the Palauans with a massive foreign debt — and in which several friends of the White House were closely implicated.

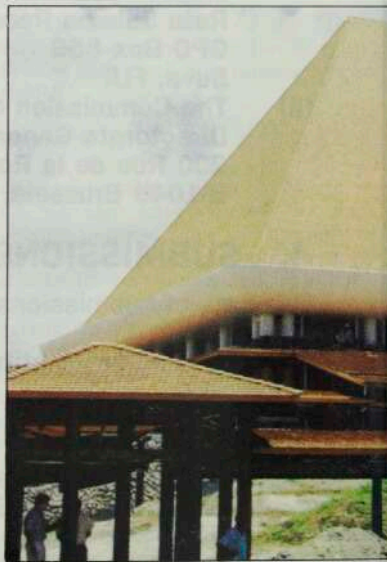
However, he accurately lists the problems of the region — "Most island states have little or no potential for economic development that promises future self sufficiency; they are probably perma-

REDS THE

nently dependent on aid." All are exceptionally vulnerable to world prices for energy and food and they have some of the world's highest youth suicide rates, high rates of alcoholism, as well as internal problems of ethnicity, and economics and, of course, he adds "vulnerability to external mischief makers."

Despite references to problems with conservative nobles in Tonga, and until recently Western Samoa, not to mention the traditionalists in Fiji, he considers that "A major success...has been the blending of Western democratic parliamentary institutions and values with those of traditional cultures into governmental institutions that ensure, with some exceptions, a level of democracy and human rights unmatched elsewhere in the Third World."

He identifies what locals call "the Pacific Way" without ever using the term himself — the need to win a consensus before a vote. But other traits can cause problems — like the unique attachment to and trusteeship for the land that fuelled conflict in Bougainville, Palau, Fiji and



Fiji's parliament building: blending west

UNDER REEF

New Caledonia. He is equally critical of American inattention as when he calls "US policies inadequate in the face of new challenges to old interests." He points out that while island countries attach much importance to their relations with the US, they find their attention is not reciprocated. This, he concludes, leaves the field free to Australia and New Zealand in political and strategic terms, and Japan in economic investment terms. This conscious policy, he claims, ignores island leaders' motives which see the US as a counterbalance to the regional superpower.

In addition he has noticed the locals are sensitive to threats to their sovereignty, but considers they are apt to see "mythical CIA and other US activities ... promoted by US Australian and New Zealand leftists and peace groups and inadequately addressed by the United States" — but then he goes on to suggest the Forum time its meetings to coincide with the ASEAN ministers meetings so the US Secretary of State can attend.



Asalei Lave

...racy with traditional culture

— An American view of the Pacific

This may be a practical suggestion but in its unconscious assumption of superiority, it tends to reflect exactly the same insensitivity he has documented so richly in US/Pacific relations.

The credibility of his study is lowered by his own, even more pronounced, tendency to see reds under every reef in the Pacific. "Much of their data can be traced back to Soviet disinformation," he says of journalists working in the area, while he says of the World Council of Churches and its Pacific affiliate that their work "had the practical effect of Soviet surrogacy."

In fact, as the major victims of nuclear weapons since Nagasaki, islanders have many sane eminently non-ideological reasons for opposing the nuclear weapons programs in the region. Indeed his constant invocation of shadowy pro-Soviet and Leftist external sources, tends to contradict his own more balanced judgments on the insensitivity of the nuclear powers. Neither dead nor red would have been a better summation of the views of most people in the region.

The list of suggestions for the future perhaps does not look forward far enough. One of his suggestions is the US should encourage Japanese economic investment and involvement in the region. In fact, there are few cases in history where such involvement has not been eventually matched by political and military clout so one does not have to consider old stereotypes of Japanese behaviour to consider that when Japan develops a more assertive role, there may well be room for conflict with the US.

Japan has already floated the possibility of membership of the South Pacific Commission. It is difficult to disbelieve the rumours that someone, deep in the Pentagon, is drawing up strategy and

plans for a future Japanese-US conflict, if only to mitigate the strategic unemployment caused by the end of the Cold War.

While reading this book to see what the Washington Security establishment thinks of them, Pacific islanders will also get an insight into the strange nature of American decision-making in the region. Dorrance's determination to see almost anyone who would not

go the whole way with the conservative policies of the Republican Administration as a Soviet stooge, is a throwback to the early fifties. However, he accurately suggests the end of the Cold War may see a lessening of interest in the region — and hence fewer prospects for aid and serious co-operation. If he had lived, one wonders who would be getting the blame for future Pacific "dissidents." Islamic Fundamentalists?

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The United States and the Pacific Islands by John Dorrance, is published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC. ISBN 0-275-94472, US\$14.95 available from CSISBOOKS, 1800 K Street, NW, 400, Washington DC, 20006, USA.

LIFESTYLE

Venturing into the past

By Sally Andrew

"I HAD put all my heart into building my *drua* and now I wondered: How would it sail? We pulled it out of the shelter, rigged it, put it on the beach and raised the huge sail. Wow! It looked good. And when I sailed it across the lagoon it was far beyond my wildest expectations!"

The sparkle of satisfaction in his eyes made it apparent that Vince Beasley was pleased. The launching of his *drua*, *Tabu Soro*, marked the culmination of 18 months of hard work and the realization of a long-term goal. Vince first dreamed of building an ancient voyaging canoe in 1983 when he visited Fiji aboard his parents' 60-foot yacht *Severence*, a 1951 Bermuda racer. During that visit, just one stop during a six-year circumnavigation of the world, the Fijian sailing *drua* captured this Californian's imagination. In 1990 Vince returned to Fiji with his Austrian wife Elfi and began building *Tabu Soro* — "never give up". He had not given up his dream.

Their dream to rediscover this ancient art and sail the islands of Fiji has now come true

The Fijian *drua* was a product of the late eighteenth century, blending Micronesian and Tongan design and sailing features with classic Samoan construction techniques. Cook introduced the South Pacific boat-builders to iron and steel tools which in turn stimulated the use of Fijian timber — *resi* hardwood — and the building of bigger and better canoes. According to Fergus Clunie, foremost authority on these ancient voyaging canoes, "the ancient, twin-bulled Polynesian double canoe was forsaken for a fresh design in which a long, heavy hull bore the mast and sail,

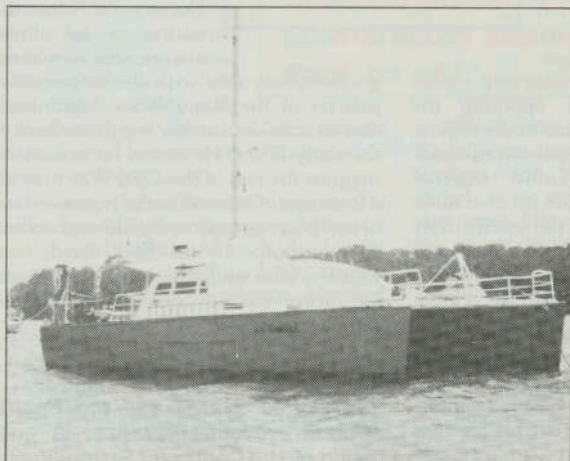
a second and slimmer hull serving as its outrigger. This gave the new canoe the essential sailing characteristics of a Micronesian outrigger without sacrificing the strength and carrying capacity of the old double canoe". Like the smaller outrigger sailing canoes, the *drua* has no fixed bow or stern. The smaller hull, or outrigger, is always kept to windward and when tacking, bow becomes stern and port becomes starboard. Unlike the old outriggers, however, which had a yard resting awkwardly over the fork of a horned masthead, the *drua* had a sail which was raised and lowered by a halyard making it easier to sail. The biggest advantage of the *drua* concept was it could carry huge loads and it could sail to windward. Unlike the old Polynesian doubles that were helpless in all but the mildest weather, the *drua* could sail close to the wind.

Tabu Soro embraces both old and new technology. Using the traditional design that was developed in Fiji (a modified double-hulled canoe with a Micronesian rig), Vince has taken advantage of modern fastenings and tools and has used

AUCTION

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At the helm: Elfi steering Tabu Soro

Sally Andrew

copper nails and sikaflex in order to make the hull watertight and low-maintenance. Two thousand copper nails were used in the construction — 600 three-inch copper nails were used in the deck alone. Construction using traditional lashings and breadfruit sap caulking would have been slow and tedious and would have required a high degree of maintenance. The boat has been solidly built with super fine joints. Access hatches into the hulls for storage of food, clothes, books and spares have been made waterproof by using a raised lip and a bicycle inner tube — the steam comes through the top with a piece of wood protecting it. A few pumps with a bicycle pump . . . presto! The hull is watertight. Inner tubes in the ends of the hulls, plus empty jerry cans, and poured foam in the *cama* provide emergency flotation. Not traditional, but if the *drua* tips over it won't sink.

Druas were originally powered by huge sails of woven pandanus that had to be raised and lowered by several men. "We had the ladies of the village make eight specially sized pandanus mats, then we cut and sewed them all together. We made the sail a little smaller to allow for

stretch. But it's very impractical. It's heavy, especially when wet, and prone to mildew and mould. Instead I made a traditionally-shaped sail of modern materials suitable for the kind of double-handed cruising we will do. You have to remember, the Tongans and Fijians were not "cruising" in these boats. They used them as war machines, sailed to an island or two and then returned back home."

When Elfi and Vince first arrived in Fiji they studied the *drua* on display at the museum in Suva and talked to Fergus Clunie, former curator.

Providentially, they were invited to Fulaga in the Lau Group to observe the installation of the high chief. Only three islands in the Lau have the special *vesi* hardwood needed for the *drua*'s hulls, and only two of these — Fulaga and Ogea — still make and sail outrigger canoes. With the permission of the high chief of Fulaga, Vince and Elfi moved to nearby Ogea where a suitable hardwood *vesi* tree was growing. Here, the two hulls were roughly hewn and hollowed-out in the bush and then brought to the village where they were shaped. Instead of leaving the roundness of the bottom of the tree, Vince peaked the hulls a little bit, faired them super smooth and kept the underwater lines perfectly parallel for top performance. Side boards 18 feet long, 21 inches high and one inch thick were cut and fitted on the top edge of the hull. Inside the hull he fitted 36 frames — each one individually shaped.

Vince and his wife Elfi brought boat-building and practical skills of their own to the project and learned other skills as work progressed. When they first arrived in the Lau Group, they had to build a Robinson Crusoe-type house and learned to weave mats and sew thatch. "My wife



Details of Tabu Soro

Main hull (*kata*) — 36 feet

Outrigger (*cama*) — 30 feet

Mast (*vana*) — 22 feet

Deck platform (*rara*) — 11 feet by 18 feet

Weight — 3 tons

Draft — 1.5 feet

Steering oars (*uli*) — 16 feet long — half blade, half handle. Constructed of very dense *vesi* wood, they weigh about 40 pounds per square foot.

had some hard times in the beginning, (especially with) the isolation. She never dreamed of what we were getting into. Neither did I. She has since come to learn the value and the experience".

After the hulls were shaped, Vince and Elfi relocated to nearby Fulaga where they finished the deck, the deck-hut and fine-tuned the rig. The villagers helped when they could but many construction problems were solved only by invention. Often Vince and Elfi worked with the materials until they found something that was practical and looked good. Elfi did all the weaving on the deck-hut (*vale-ni-drua*) and the thatching of the roof, creating the design on the side and tying it all together with *magimagi*. Nearly 3000 feet of *magimagi* or coconut twine was used in the deck-hut alone.

Tabu Soro, at 36 feet, has a single *gara in sua* or sculling notch at each end of the deck. Nevertheless, with its shoal draft and huge triangular sail, *Tabu Soro* skims quickly and easily over the shallow blues and greens of an iridescent lagoon. It is a spectacular sight to behold, with Elfi standing lookout on the hut and Vince steering, and one is instantly transported through time.

Tabu Soro's ancient design married with modern needs and construction techniques brings the distant past into the future of Fiji. Vince and Elfi's dream to rediscover this ancient craft and to sail the islands of Fiji has now come true. Never give up — *Tabu Soro*. □

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SPORTS

WINNING STREAK

By Wainikiti Waqa

COOK ISLANDS will remain South Pacific netball champs in the next decade if their performance at the recent World Youth Netball championship in Suva was anything to go by.

The small island nation again stamped its supremacy in the region and on the international scene when it came third at the championship. And if they continue in the same vein, the Cooks will rise to be one of the world's best three in the years ahead. They were rated fifth in the last World Cup in Sydney.

The Cooks, newcomers to the youth championship, pipped the tournament's second-rated English side 51-50, creating the major upset of the week-long tournament. The Margharet Matenga coached side also proved too strong for their South Pacific rivals. Although the Cooks did not play Fiji and Papua New Guinea, it is likely they would have easily beaten both teams.

The Cooks have a lot to thank the Kiwis for. New Zealand has been providing coaching and umpiring clinics for the Cook Islands Netball Association for some years and the New Zealand influence was evident throughout their games.

Matenga, a former Kiwi representative, and her players forced penalties onto their opponents and capitalised on them. She had a great asset in her shooter, Angela Maoate, who stood tall in her shooting position, leaving no doubts for her teammates once she received the ball inside the semi-circle. Apart from Maoate, three other players have played for the Cooks national side.

The Cooks national side have been the South Pacific champs for the last decade after grabbing the title from Fiji in 1983's Western Samoan South Pacific Games. Since then, they have retained their form of play while Fiji have deteriorated, now being relegated to fourth position at the 1991 SPG in PNG.

While other Pacific teams have shown considerable progress in the past years, Fiji netball administrators have been forced to re-examine their development strategies before the World Cup scheduled for Birmingham in 1995. The eight-month training schedules put out for the Fiji youth side had little significance during the tournament.

Fiji players lost concentration, seemed unsettled and nervous during their games. The girls in white were penalised

They came, they played, but they did not go home champs. A look at the performances of the regional teams at the World Youth Netball championships.

constantly for stepping and obstruction,

something missing in the other teams. Both their games against Papua New Guinea proved to be a disappointment for the large home crowd at the Laucala multi-purpose

courts. They lost 57-36 and 52-29.

However, a much improved PNG side finished fifth in the championship. The PNG national side is rated second in the South Pacific. Their progress has been attributed to their government's major program aimed at developing their netball further — further ahead of once netball queens, Fiji.

The PNG side had some of the best junior players from the country's 19 provinces and were hand-picked from PNG's junior development squad. The government program has been in place for two years with young players joining the junior squad before moving on to the national development squad and the national team. The highest grade is the elite squad made up of the best and most experienced players. At all levels players are exposed to international level play, something other Pacific teams lacked.



PNG captain: Jullienne Leka

Arin Chandra

Tonga travelled to Fiji with financial problems not knowing whether they would last the one-week tournament. They did and went home winning a pool game against newcomers Vanuatu. Their game against Wales for the play-off for the ninth and tenth positions, was sweet victory for the Tongans.

The Tongan government gave their youth team only \$5000 and the players had to raise funds personally to meet their other expenses.

The Western Samoans returned to Apia pleased with their achievements and have vowed to field stronger teams

SPORTS

in future international and regional meets. Samoan captain Amanda Dunlop was a New Zealand under-21 squad member while team mates Charmaine Merdith and Erika Tualaulelei are based in Wellington.

Vanuatu came into the tournament seeking international exposure and got exactly that. Disadvantaged by their height, the Vanuatu team played entertaining netball much to the pleasure of the crowd.

The Welsh and Canadian teams went home disappointed with their ratings but this did not deter them from enjoying the brilliant Suva sunshine, which could have contributed to their poor performance.

The English team on the other hand, brought in the tallest player of the tournament, policewoman Alex Wood. Wood's height in the goal shooting semi-circle saw the team through their pool matches.

The team later lost their semi-final game against Australia, before losing to the Cooks in the play-offs for third position.

And it was again a Trans-Tasman battle for the gold medal between New Zealand and Australia. Number one seed, Australia, had to be satisfied with being relegated to second place after a brilliant match against the Kiwis, which

they lost 44-40.

And again in the New Zealand line-up it was the Cook Islanders who stole the show. Two of their sharp shooters, Elaia Taringa and Teresa Tairi, are originally from Rarotonga.

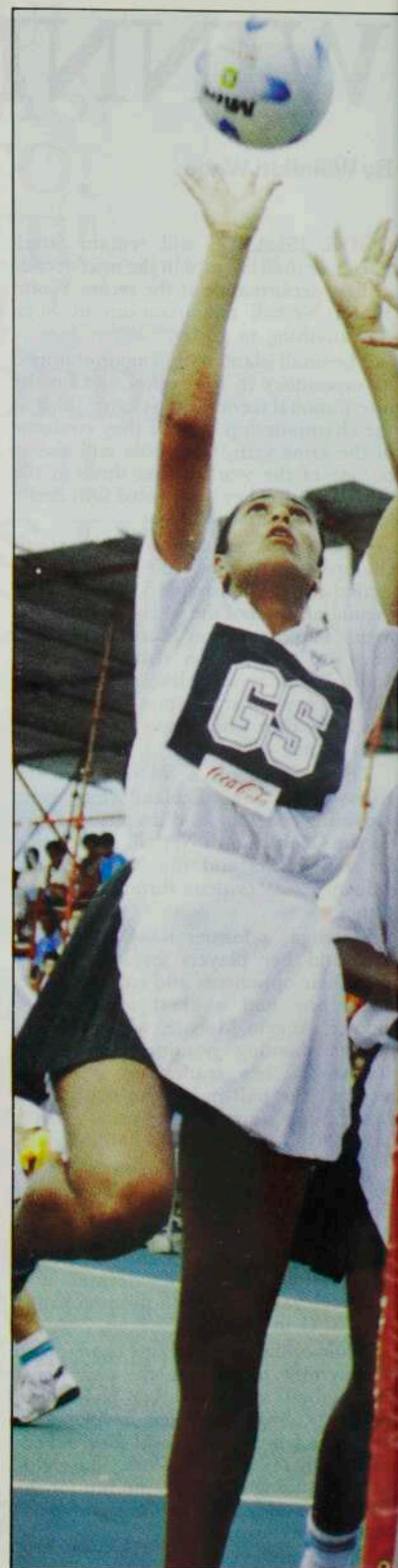
New Zealand's defence made a lot of difference making the whole team almost faultless.

The Australian premeir division are still the world champs and would have to work extra hard if they are to retain their standing.

Most of the present youth players will accelerate to their premier team before the forthcoming Birmingham World Cup.

The Cook Islands and Papua New Guinea can be assured of improving their placings at Birmingham. However, the Fijian side will have to make long term development plans. More overseas exposure should be arranged for most of their promising players. Overseas exposure and international level competitions would have profound positive impact in motivating and inspiring Fiji players to strive for higher standards.

With all this in mind, the Fiji Netball Association must also try to get rid of their \$45,000 debt to various organisations including the Scotland Netball Association. □



Going all out: Cook Islands' Angela Masika

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SPORTS



Ann Chandra

roots against New Zealand

The star of the tournament

NINETEEN-YEAR-OLD Teresa Tairi will stand out in the minds of netball lovers in Fiji, as the player that clinched victory for New Zealand in the deciding match against tournament favourites Australia.

The Kiwis were declared winners after beating their arch rival and neighbours, 44-40 during the one week championship that ended on December 5.

Tairi will be well remembered for her accurate shooting at the goal circle in both attacking and shooting positions. Her cool perception throughout the tournament saw her as a sure starter in the Kiwis first 7. A netball enthusiast described her as "a cool, perfect and talented netball player". She went on to predict Tairi will make the New Zealand national side in the next world tournament.

● The best players from the rest of the Pacific teams.

AUSTRALIA: Goal shooter/attacker Nicole Marshall was impressive with her quick action and accurate shooting from any range within the semi-circle. Solidly built and short she put most defenders to shame with her quick dodging and accurate shooting. She was one of the shortest and most impressive players of the tournament.

COOK ISLANDS: Captain and goal shooter Angela Maoate was the tournament's steadiest shooter. Moate was a tower of strength for her team and had a height (about 6 foot) to supplement it. The Cooks under the watchful eye of their coach and former New Zealand rep Margaret Matenga finished third behind New Zealand and Australia. And with Matenga's coaching Maoate, who's just 18, is poised to become the South Pacific's best shooter for at least the decade ahead.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: The Leka sisters; Mona Lisa and Jullienne. Both sisters read the game well and controlled it as if their lives depended on it, especially those against Fiji. They will both be featured constantly in future netball fixtures in the South Pacific, if they continue with their style of game.

WESTERN SAMOA: Mesepi Kasiano, Western Samoan goal keeper. Kasiano has a talented eye for



Ann Chandra

Tairi: cool, perfect and talented

the ball and is in a class of her own when defending in the goal semi-circle. She has a good sense of defending in space and is an excellent re-bouncer.

TONGA: Siulolo Liku. Tonga's robust centre, turned goal attack. Pint sized Liku, attacked well for Tonga starting off the tournament as centre. She controlled the game well from mid-court but due to poor shooting, she was slotted into goal attack. Her height did not deter her and saw her intercepting some very high balls. Liku is also the kingdom's sprints and hurdles champ.

FIJI: Seventh former Bulou Elena Rabuka was a defender to be reckoned with in her tireless efforts at wing defence. Her efforts saw her intercepting many balls but these were unfortunately wasted by her team shooters. Her participation during the tournament saw her father — Fiji Prime Minister Sitiveni Rabuka — in the VIP stand every time Fiji played.

And athlete in his own right, (national rugby and athletics rep), his second daughter is bound to make it into the national side. Also worth mentioning is wing attack and student teacher, Seforosa Munivai.

VANUATU: Captain Selina Tabe must be congratulated for her team's spirit during the tournament. Although, Vanuatu lost all their games, the girls in yellow and black will be remembered for their entertaining netball. Tabe held her own in goal defence position and her team's height was definitely their disadvantage.

● The final placings: New Zealand, Australia, Cook Islands, England, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Western Samoa, Wales, Tonga, Canada and Vanuatu. □

YACHTING

Warmth of the people and

By Sally Andrew

THIS month, a few Suva sightings.

SEQUEL

Sequel, designed and built by owners Sandy and Sidney Van Zandt, is one of the most interesting yachts cruising the Pacific. She is shoal-draft with internal ballast and parallel bilge boards. With these boards up *Sequel* draws only three feet. This has allowed Sandy and Sidney to poke into many out-of-the-way anchorages inaccessible to deeper draft vessels. With the boards down *Sequel* goes to weather like a champ. This season they made the passage from Bay of Islands, New Zealand to Suva, Fiji in a little over seven days, making better than 150 miles per day. One custom feature on board *Sequel* that is extra-special is a window in the bottom of the hull for

A long way from home and without many of the luxuries of modern-day travel, sea-faring voyagers talk about the special delights of the Pacific

underwater viewing. Sandy also designed *Sequel's* two-piece 10-foot rowing dinghy. Wife Sidney and son Doug (a sailboard sail-maker) helped in the construction of both dinghy and yacht.

Sequel began her journey in Noank, Connecticut on the East Coast of the United States in 1990. Through the Bahamas and the San Blas Islands, *Sequel* transited the Panama Canal before

sailing on to the Galapagos where Sandy and Sidney swam with dozens of seals. The crossing from the Galapagos to the Marquesas was ideal with almost constant days of tradewind sailing and star-filled nights. In Vava'u and Fiji, they were happy to once again converse with the locals in English—the first time since the Bahamas. This made interchanges with the Tongans and Fijians more meaningful.

Sequel returned to Fiji again this year after spending cyclone season in more temperate New Zealand. Sandy and Sidney prefer tropical temperatures but claim that in New Zealand "the warmth of the people and the beauty of the islands made up for the extreme change in temperature".

Sidney echoes the sentiments of most cruises when she says, "It is the people we meet who give a richness to the islands we visit." Special thanks go to Jon and Maureen Cullen of Kerikeri Radio for their SSB marine weather forecasts and to George and Dorothy Bateman in Opuia who give so freely of their time to visiting yachtsmen.

AFFAIRE D'AMOUR

Affaire d'Amour, a 32-foot Downeaster designed by Bob Poole, arrived in Suva this season after a passage of 1100 miles and 39 days from New Zealand. Luckily, Bill Hook and Kathy Cowley think long passages are the best part of cruising.



Jim and Janice: on board *Loke Lani* at landfall in Suva

Sally Andrew

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Beauty of the islands

They enjoy the isolation, good wind, clear skies at night, stars horizon to horizon and long ocean swells where the waves look like they are climbing up.

Bill and Kathy have found that all over the Pacific, people are friendly, loving and giving. In the Tuamotus, children came down to the boat on Sundays and personally escorted them to church. Kathy was delighted to find that every time she walked through the village, she could look down the length of her arms and find a child attached to each finger!

In New Zealand an inauspicious landfall due to engine problems and "blown-out" sails afforded them the opportunity to meet Keith Wright and Graham Flemming of yacht *Waihaka* who ably towed *Affaire d'Amour* into the port of Whangarei last year. While in Whangarei, Bill and Kathy made many good friends who never let them be without entertainment and who always came down to the town basin and shouted out invitations to go hiking, or berry-picking, or Scottish dancing.

Since their departure from Ventura,

California in April 1987 Bill and Kathy have plied the waters of Mexico, French Polynesia, the Cooks, American Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and New Zealand. They hope to continue around the world and complete a circumnavigation. Fair winds *Affaire d'Amour*

LOKE LANI

Loke Lani, a 29-foot Bristol sloop designed by Halsey Herrschoff departed San Francisco in October 1990. Owners Jim and Janice Gustin have had many special experiences and funny encounters along the way. Their reason for living aboard and sailing from island to island is simple — they enjoy meeting new people and visiting different countries. The diverse cultures and geographical settings of the South Pacific nations are fascinating.

Jim and Janice's favourite island in the eastern Pacific was Isla Isabella, a tiny island off the western coast of Mexico. Isla Isabella is a bird sanctuary with frigates, terns, tropic birds, blue-footed boobies and brown boobies. "Being there was like watching a television documentary — in person. The male frigates let

us get within a few feet to observe their bright red balloon-like throats while overhead frigate birds stole food from other birds in flight. We watched boobie chicks being fed, and even saw a pair of blue-footed boobies mate."

On passage from New Zealand north to Fiji this year, *Loke Lani* made a stop at Minerva Reef, an unusual anchorage consisting of two almost circular reefs at latitude 23 degrees 37 minutes south and longitude 178 degrees 56 minutes west. It was strange to be anchored mid-ocean with nothing but the blues of sea and sky in any direction at high tide. Fishing on all tides was easy with abundant fish and lobster. At low tide, Jim and Janice were able to walk the reef and collect shells. Low tide and early afternoon coincided during their stay, so a barbeque on an ever appearing/disappearing sand bar was organized with the other yachts in the anchorage — *Icarus*, *Kavenga*, *Faith of Norfolk* — a delightful and unusual mid-ocean experience.

Loke Lani spent the entire season cruising in Fiji this year, enjoying the hospitality of the outer islands. □



Sandy and Sidney: going ashore at the Royal Suva Yacht Club

Sally Andrew

SHIPPING

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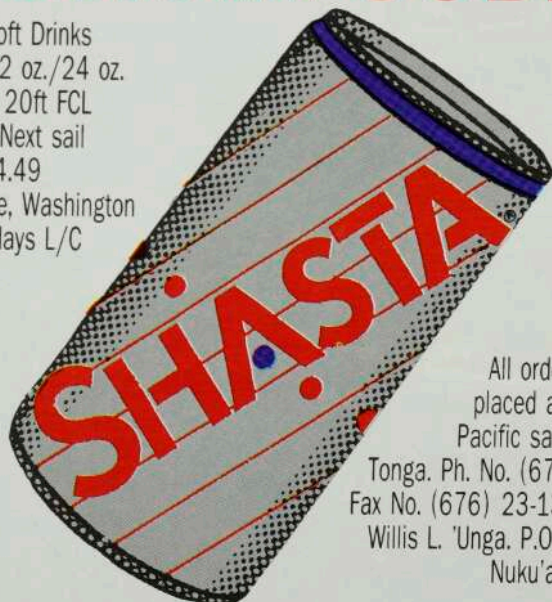
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Blue Star Line Pacific Coast Service operates a fully containerised/break bulk service every 23 days from Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles to Pago Pago, Suva and New Zealand ports. The vessels continue to call Suva on the Northbound voyage from New Zealand every fortnight to pick up Fiji exports such as garments, fresh ginger, etc. for Hawaii and West Coast of North America ports. Blue Star Line also provides a through service to East Coast to 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; Intercocean 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.

Japan - South Pacific Service

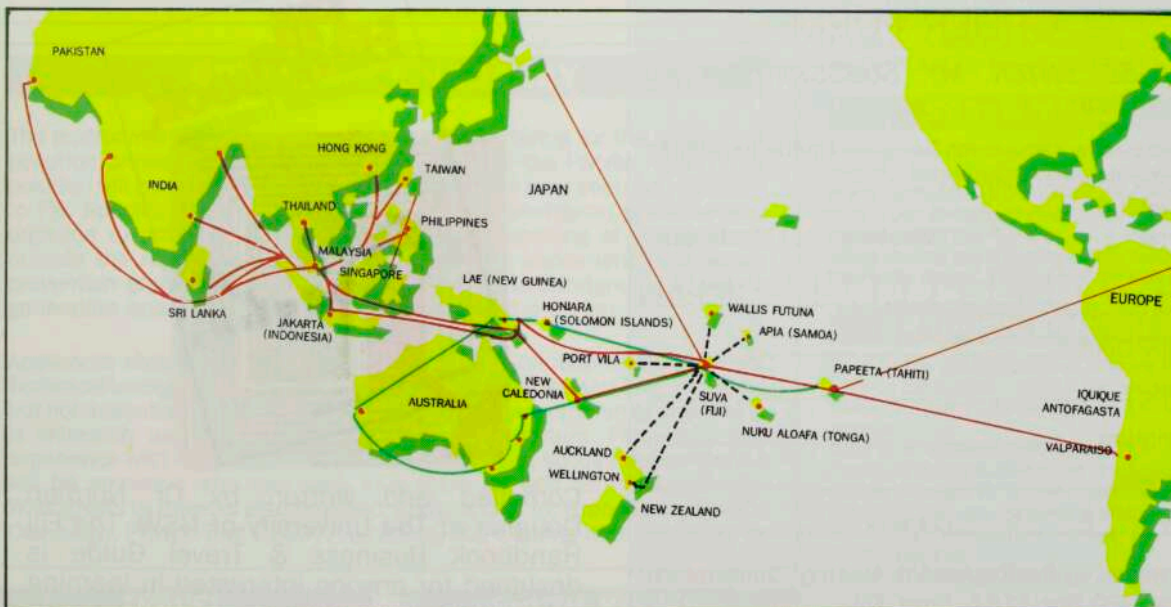
Bali Hai Line a joint service of China Navigation, Mitsui OSK Line and NYK Line operates a fully containerised/break bulk service from Korea, Japan to South Pacific ports on a monthly basis serving ports of Pusan, Kobe, Nagoya, Yokohama, Tarawa, Lautoka, Suva, Apia, Pago Pago, Papeete, Nuku'alofa, Noumea, Vila, Santo. The ships are also fully specialised to carry vehicles on ro/ro basis. Ships are Coral Islander and Pacific Islander. Contacts: John Swire & Sons, Tokyo Ph 32309220, Tx 22248, Fx 3239288; Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Tokyo Ph 3284516, Tx 22236, Fx 32846332; Mitsui OSK Lines, Tokyo Ph 35877086, Tx 22266, Fx 35877732; Burns Philp Shipping, Suva (C/Islander) Ph 311777, Tx 2168, Fx 301127; Carpenters Shipping, Suva (P/Islander) Ph 312244, Tx 2199, Fx 301572; Burns Philp Shipping, Lautoka Ph 60777, Tx 5146, Fx 65850; Carpenters Shipping Ph 63988, Tx 5215, Fx 64896.

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Bank Line Limited operates a monthly service from United Kingdom, Europe to South Pacific ports. Ships: Forthbank, Ivybank, Clydebank, Moraybank. Contacts: Bank Line, London Ph 2650808, Tx 887392, Fx 4814784; Bank Line, Lae Ph 421235, Tx 44265, Fx 422925; Bank Line, Sydney, Ph 9063173, Tx 24063, Fx 9061430; Burns Philp Shipping, Suva Ph 311777, Tx 2168, Fx 301127.

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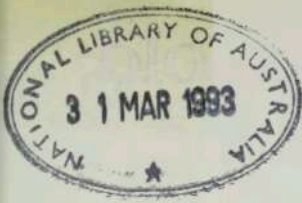
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