was formerly a village constable and secretary to Fakaofo's Council of Elders.

Similar outcomes occurred in the pulenuku elections, held immediately following the announcement of the faipule results. In these elections only one incumbent (Lui Kelekolio, on Fakaofo) won reelection. On Nukunonu the position was won by Ioane Tumua, a teacher (and deputy principal) who was a candidate younger than the person he defeated. On Atafu, Amusia Patea, who had returned to the island after living in New Zealand for six years, was defeated as faipule, but subsequently elected pulenuku.

Some economic initiatives also took place. Tokelau's balance of payments was likely to benefit from increased sales of stamps to collectors, with anticipated revenues of around NZ$200,000 per year. Receipts from fishing in 1992 were substantially over the norm, exceeding NZ$1 million. Development priorities continued to focus on telecommunications and ongoing projects, including the repair of Tokelau's sea walls.

STEPHEN LEVINE

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

The state and the churches once again became embroiled during the year as supporters sought to better define and organize the prodemocracy movement as a politically and socially influential tool. The movement has been gathering support over the last few years among the better educated members of the commoner electorate and smaller independent entrepreneurs, especially in Tongatapu. When it was formally established in August 1992, the leading positions on the committee were taken by church people, whose increasing support for the thrust towards greater democracy was also apparent in outspoken public statements and writings. Seluini Akau'ola, Roman Catholic priest and pastor of the nation's capital, Nuku'alofa, became the first chair of the committee. In his absence, Reverend Simote Vea from the Free Wesleyan Church has been the acting chair.

The Convention on the Constitution and Democracy, which had been widely mooted for some months, became the movement's first project and was staged in the basilica of the Catholic cathedral in Nuku'alofa in November 1992. For four days, Tongan churchpeople, scholars, educators, and others spoke to an audience of several hundred people about issues of social justice and political reform. Most speakers advocated moderation, slow growth of democratic institutions, and political change through education. In the absence of members of the government and representatives of the monarch, no amendments to the constitution could be made. Thus the convention became largely an educational exercise, with teachers and reformers instructing the people about peaceful change and democracy. It was opened by active spokesperson for reform and former head of the Free Wesleyan Church Reverend Dr 'Amanaki Havea, and was closed by the Roman Catholic Bishop of all Tonga and Niue, Patelisio Finau, who continues to campaign strongly for greater social justice and democracy in Tonga.
Influential academics such as Dr Epeli Hau'ofa, Dr 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, Futa Helu, and churchmen such as Dr Sione Latukefu, Dr 'Amanaki Havea, and Siupeli Talai spoke of the need for change, the kinds of change desirable, and the need for patience. Democracy may appeal philosophically to a few, but is poorly understood by the mass of the electorate, and opposed by a powerful social and political elite. The convention helped to polarize the opposition, with the Minister of Police denying foreigners entry to the country to attend the convention, banning foreign journalists, and even threatening to revoke the visa of an outspoken Tongan participant traveling on an American passport.

The constitutional convention marked the beginning of intense preparation for the February 1993 elections. Conservative elements, represented by the cabinet and the nobles’ representatives in Parliament, attempted to divide church support for democracy by asking church leaders to find less radical candidates for the commoners’ votes in the election. Prime Minister Baron Vaea called together cabinet ministers and church leaders to discuss the formation of a Christian Democratic Party, working on the principle that if you can’t beat them, appear to join them. But no one was fooled, and neither move came to anything. The conservatives finally had to return nine noble candidates, some of whom entered Parliament for the first time and are, if anything, more politically conservative than their predecessors.

In the prodemocracy camp, matters did not always proceed smoothly either. Laki Niu split publicly with 'Akilisi Pohiva over the latter’s plans to form a political party that would consolidate the prodemocracy vote in Parliament. Also, although Niu wanted political reform, he believed that Tonga should not elect its leaders democratically, and opposed leaders who wanted democracy at all costs. The lack of coordination among prodemocracy parliamentarians meant that Pohiva and Uiliami Fukofuka were the only truly outspoken representatives of the movement in the final sessions of the outgoing Parliament. The prodemocracy sitting members ran as independents, and Niu lost his seat.

Because six of the nine representatives returned by the people were identified as prodemocracy candidates, some have seen a definite call for change in the results of the 1993 election. However, the results were equivocal. Despite winning 56 percent of the overall vote, prodemocracy parliamentarians have no party, no platform, and are unlikely to vote together. Given the degree of ambivalence and confusion surrounding the key issues, it is difficult to estimate the movement’s strength, or to predict what its representatives could achieve even if they remained united. In the present system, they are heavily outnumbered by noble representatives and members of cabinet.

While Pohiva and Fukofuka retained their seats as representatives for Tongatapu with overwhelming majorities, the sitting prodemocracy members in the Ha’apai and Vava’u constituencies were replaced by new members who professed to be reformist. An
incoming member for Vava'u, who had been in Parliament between 1966 and 1986, and was returned on a reformist ticket, stated after the elections that 60 percent of the Vava'u electorate do not comprehend the pros and cons of democracy. While he was pro-democracy, he would not support the introduction of full democracy or party politics to Tonga (Tonga Chronicle, 11 Feb 1993, 2, 8). The dissension against the status quo expressed in the anonymity of the private ballot was qualified or contradicted by opinions for which people might be held responsible.

The movement remained strongest in Tongatapu. Pohiva continued to press for the publication of confidential information regarding government finances and argued, with some success, that the freedom of the press should be protected, as stated in the constitution. The success of some reformist goals, however, should not be confused with a desire for western-style democracy. Much of the popular support for Pohiva and Fukofuka in Tongatapu came from rural areas. This may be interpreted as populist support for parliamentarians who are willing to fight the system in ways that ordinary people can, or dare, not. But this support can also be related to sectional economic interests. In recent years, the success of commercial farming in Tongatapu, especially the export of pumpkin squash to Japan, has aggravated problems of land shortage and insecurity of tenure which the government has failed to address constructively. Small commercial farmers have also encountered difficulties marketing their squash through the seven companies which have been granted export quotas. Many of these companies are controlled by members of the aristocracy and wealthy business people. Support for Pohiva and other pro-democracy parliamentarians may be one way small farmers can protest the way they have been treated by the companies. But this support does not necessarily indicate support for broader democratic ideals. Uncertainty about the outcome of political reforms, or a desire for some reform without threatening the monarchy and the present three-tiered system of rank in government (consisting of monarch, nobles, and the people), is perhaps why there was a poorer voter turnout in 1993 than in the previous two elections.

Progovernment conservatives, such as 'Eseta Fusitu'a, deputy secretary to the cabinet and wife of the noble Speaker of the House, maintained that the majority of the electorate voted against the reformists. They interpreted this as a vote for the establishment or, at least, as a win for both sides and not a landslide victory for the prodemocracy movement. Mrs Fusitu'a pointed out that while the pro-democracy parliamentarians won all three seats on Tongatapu, their total vote dropped, while that of the pro-status quo candidates increased by 50 percent to capture 60 percent of the total vote. With a voter turnout of only 59 percent overall, the results cannot be seen as a mandate for democratic reform. However, the government is also clearly on the defensive. A new government information office has been set up, and has acquired radio time for Mrs Fusitu'a to explain its actions to the nation. The cabinet also
began to reactivate local government to improve its image and communications with village people. The police minister continued to speak against the pro-democracy supporters in his weekly column in the government-run newspaper the Tonga Chronicle, and has even threatened them with violence. After the election he wrote “The continually hints of corruption and dishonesty against His Majesty’s Government without proof is going to rebound with multiple traumatic consequences on those concerned” (Tonga Chronicle, 11 Feb 1993, 3).

In addition, not all members of the churches are behind their leaders’ call for political reform. People have asked that church newspapers omit political comment and concentrate only on the teachings of the gospel and church news. An advisor is to be appointed to counsel Free Wesleyan Church members regarding the denomination’s official stands on political and social issues (Tonga Chronicle, 20 May 1993, 5). The Mormon Church has never supported the pro-democratic position. The government also points to the fact that the Tonga National Council of Churches did not officially participate in the constitutional convention, because one of its four member churches (Roman Catholic, Free Wesleyan, Anglican, and Free Constitutional Church of Tonga) did not wish to do so. Members of all these churches attended as individuals, but the council as an entity was not represented. Other letters to the press indicate a country very much divided on whether to move towards reform or to fight, literally, to retain the present system. Many Tongans feel that moves towards democracy are disrespectful to the monarch and nobles, and threaten Tonga’s heritage. The pro-democracy supporters are equally convinced that steps forward can be made peacefully by a gradual education of the electorate. The increasing number of non-government controlled newsheets, papers, and magazines launched in Tonga play an important role in increasing people’s awareness of significant issues. Several popular leaders have emerged. But the cabinet together with the nobles’ representatives still controls the majority in Parliament, and the king retains the power to create ministers of state who will support the oligarchy. It is difficult, therefore, to see how democratic change might occur in the foreseeable future, except by royal fiat which would imply an emphatic change of royal heart. The present situation, which is one of stalemate, shows that the pro-democracy movement still has a lot of educating to do.

KERRY JAMES

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

The major event of the period under review was the earthquake that shook the island of Futuna during the night of 12 March 1993. The quake, which registered 6.5 on the Richter scale, caused the death of three people and substantial damage to the island. Land and rock slides blocked off some of the roads, complicating the task of the relief operations launched from Wallis and New Caledonia. Public utilities were heavily disrupted. Power and telephone lines were restored quickly, but