"WINDS OF CHANGE"

A HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM

IN

PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES

PLAN B RESEARCH PROJECT
BY KATHY CZAR
INTRODUCTION

The Pacific Ocean is the world's largest geographical feature, covering one-third of the earth's surface, an area greater than all of the world's land masses combined. Scattered throughout this region are many small islands, diverse in their geographic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, as well as their colonial experiences. Often these islands have been portrayed as "paradise" with idyllic beaches, coral seas, and romantic sunsets, where time stands still and all is well. While this image may promote tourism, it does little to represent the islands and Islanders in a "real" sense.

Currently, there are twenty-one Pacific Island entities, many attempting to decolonize and nation-build. They are faced with several challenges, such as rapidly increasing populations, rural to urban migration, limited potential for economic development, and fragile ecosystems. The development of political institutions to meet the challenge of the modern world is a major concern, along with building national and regional identities, while maintaining their own cultural traditions.

International rivalries among larger nations have been played out among the islands creating relationships based on strategic interests, primarily in the form of military bases and nuclear testing, sparking twenty years worth of efforts to establish a nuclear-free Pacific. Much of this area has limited natural resources. Yet, the mineral and marine potential of the islands and their seabeds, though still uncertain and a long way off from being mined, are already attracting global economic interests. Clearly, the Pacific Islands form a vital region today for people on the Pacific Rim and elsewhere around the world, as they face issues with global significance and implications.
There is a real need for a high school curriculum, which offers students in Hawaii the opportunity to learn about Pacific Islands and Pacific Islanders. Not only are the human stories fascinating in and of themselves, they also reflect the larger issue of how people and societies change when faced with the growing demands of the world around them. By studying some of the major issues facing the Pacific today, students can make connections with similar problems here in Hawaii, since our islands face many of the same challenges. In fact, several of our state leaders have often mentioned the importance of Hawaii's role in the Pacific and the need to strengthen our ties with our Pacific neighbors, as many people from Hawaii work throughout Micronesia and elsewhere as teachers, doctors, and construction laborers. Pacific Islanders attend the U.H. Manoa and other learning institutions. Plus, groups of immigrants from the Pacific live and work in Hawaii contributing to the cultural weave of our islands.

A high school course on current issues in the Pacific has much relevance for students. By focusing on the present and connecting the Pacific Islands' problems with similar problems in Hawaii, students confront real issues that directly impact their own lives. Personalizing the issues allows for a greater vested interest in their outcome, through problem solving and decision making. In a world which is rapidly changing and increasingly more complex, nations and individuals are faced with difficult decisions. Life skills, historical lessons, and critical awareness enable us to turn challenges into opportunities and problems into solutions, effectively becoming our own agents of change.

As a teacher of middle school and high school history and geography, I have often been frustrated by the lack of relevant material on the Pacific Islands available for use in the classroom. Most resource material tends to provide a sketchy overview of the three regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, written in an encyclopedic
style with no attempt to give voice to the Islander's aspirations, emotions, and actions. The Honorable Fiame Naome Mata'afa of Western Samoa said at the November 1992 Pacific Islands Conference held in Hilo, Hawaii, “Culture is a searching process. We must look to the past to know our present. Without it there is no future and we become homeless in a cultural sense.” Her statement underscores many of the changes occurring in the Pacific today on a personal, national, and regional level. The struggle to retain cultural identity and in the case of some islands to reassert their cultural identity is reflected in two major movements in the Pacific today, cultural revival and the assertion of land rights for indigenous people. To Pacific Islanders these two items are inseparable and underscore the issue of sovereignty. A course on the Pacific Islands would provide a cultural and historical context for this issue as it impacts upon Islanders today.

Sir Geoffrey Henry, the Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, delivered a speech at the South Pacific Arts Festival held in his country in November 1992, wherein he stated that cultural revival, environmental protection, and nuclear freedom are three areas where Pacific Islands can contribute to the growth of our global community. Nainoa Thompson, the navigator for the Hokule’a, also said at that festival, “Canoe voyaging can serve as a bridge to link the past, the present, and the future”. It can provide the means for understanding Hawaiian/Polynesian culture and history. Today, this interest is evident with media and local enthusiasm for Hokule’a’s and the Hawaii Loa’s expedition to the Marquesas and Tahiti. These voyages have come to symbolize many of the ties that bind Pacific Islanders, especially Hawaiians with Polynesians.

Interestingly, the spirit and skills of Oceanic voyaging have become associated with space exploration. Ben Finney, a founding member of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and Chairman of the Anthropology Department at the University of Hawaii,
Manoa, recently published a book on this subject, entitled From Sea to Space. He discusses how humans, in a earlier phase of cultural evolution, became seafarers venturing into and settling the Pacific and are now becoming "spacefarers", traveling into and settling the far corners of the galaxy and beyond. He calls us "cosmopolynesians", poised on the lunar shore of space, ready and willing to embark on voyages to other worlds. (Finney 1992:113)

The three islanders discussed above, Fiame Naome Mata'afa, Sir Geoffrey Henry, and Nainoa Thompson represent a new generation of Pacific Islanders, outspoken and intensely committed to empowerment of their people and the future of their countries, be they Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Hawaii, or the rest of the Pacific. To them, education provides the necessary skills and tools to forge solutions and shape their futures. With this purpose in mind, I have developed a curriculum that deals with both the issues and dynamics of change occurring in the Pacific today.
COURSE THEME

I call this course “The Winds of Change” because it is the winds that create movement, course, and direction when you are out on the water. How the winds are used requires knowledge, skill, courage, and a strong sense of adventure if the voyage is to succeed. Many winds of change have blown across the Pacific beginning with the origins of the islands themselves, the plants and animals which came to live upon them, and later the waves of settlement and migration which peopled the islands. Outsiders arrived upon the shores with new ideas that challenged and altered existing lifestyles woven together by generations of tradition. Today the winds of change blow strong and fierce across this region. Foreign waves of colonization, nuclear testing, tourism, and trade continue to confront Pacific Islanders who are caught in the tension of maintaining their old ways and traditions while responding to new currents of change. Long ago Pacific Islanders learned to navigate unknown seas with faith in their ancestors, courage, and skill. Today the winds may change and the voyagers may differ, but the canoe continues moving onward towards horizons yet to be revealed.

The handle of my steering paddle thrills to action.
My paddle named Kautu-kite-rangi.
It guides to the horizon but dimly discerned.
To the horizon that lifts before us,
To the horizon that ever recedes,
To the horizon that ever draws near,
To the horizon that causes doubt,
To the horizon that instils dread.
The horizon with unknown power.
The horizon not hitherto pierced.
The lowering skies above.
The raging seas below.
Oppose the untraced path
Our ship must go.

—Polynesian Deep-sea Chantey

* Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), Vikings of the Sunrise, Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs Unlimited, 1954.
COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course entitled "Pacific Islands Studies: The Winds of Change" introduces students to the three culture regions of the Pacific: Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia and examines some of the social, political, and economic issues currently confronting these island societies. It is a one semester (approximately 18 weeks) high school course for the junior and senior grade levels, comparable to a global issues course, but with an area focus. Teachers could use one, or any number of the individual units to supplement their own World History, Global Issues, American Studies, or Hawaiian History courses. The units are multidisciplinary and inquiry based, reinforcing social science skills and methodology of questioning, interpretation, comparison, and analysis. The aim is to facilitate critical thinking, classroom discussion, and individual research.

Each unit is self-contained and designed to take approximately two weeks to complete. The units each begin with a general overview introducing a key theme or issue significant to the Pacific region. A list of student readings is provided along with the articles and suggestions for their use. Each unit is also supplemented with one or two video titles which provide a "you are there" visual experience for the students. Lastly, a list of other readings is included for teachers and students who desire further information related to the unit theme.
COURSE OUTLINE

UNIT 1: THE DIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
The size and diversity of the Pacific region is introduced. Students examine the influence of geography with its varied island types, natural resources, and flora and fauna on the cultures and societies which developed in Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

UNIT 2: PREHISTORY AND VOYAGING
The course of human settlement and the routes of migration in the Pacific are traced with some emphasis on the navigational expertise of early Pacific peoples. In particular, a comparison is made between the voyages of the Kon Tiki and Hokule‘a as examples of efforts to prove theories of migration and the origins of the Polynesians. Data from archeology, cultural anthropology, linguistics, and oral traditions are examined for their contributions to the process of gathering evidence and clues to reconstruct the past.

UNIT 3: THE PACIFIC AS "PARADISE"
Students examine the concept of the Pacific as “Paradise”, a myth created and perpetuated by outsiders about their own perceptions of the islands as a tropical utopia. The unit explores how this myth influenced Western art, literature, and philosophy, and affected Islanders’ attitudes about themselves and their relationships with the outside world.

UNIT 4: COLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE
Three spheres of influence operating in the Pacific are compared: American, French, and British (including New Zealand and Australia) as students examine the political status of the twenty-one island entities today. What issues and challenges face these islands in their efforts to decolonize and build as nations?

UNIT 5: SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENTS TODAY
Issues of land rights and sovereignty efforts are compared among five groups of indigenous Pacific peoples: the Kanaks of New Caledonia, Maori of Aotearoa (New Zealand), and...
Zealand), Chamorro of Guam, Papuans of West Papua (Irian Jaya), and Kanaka Maoli of Hawaii. What similarities and differences exist among these groups and what methods and models seem most effective in reaching their goals?

UNIT 6: NUCLEAR TESTING IN THE PACIFIC

Students examine the policies and activities of nuclear testing in the Pacific since World War II and the movement to make the region nuclear free with the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (SPNFZT). Related issues such as toxic waste disposal and plutonium shipping will also be covered.

UNIT 7: TOURISM AS A MEANS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Tourism is the fastest growing industry among Pacific islands, with vast potential for economic development and cross-cultural enrichment. However, it can undermine cultural traditions and contribute to environmental degradation. This unit examines the socio-economic issue of tourism and analyzes the costs and benefits to Pacific Island countries.

UNIT 8: THE SOUTH PACIFIC ARTS FESTIVAL

Maintaining cultural identity in the face of westernization is a major concern for many Pacific nations. The unit explores the role of the South Pacific Arts Festival in promoting cultural traditions through dance, song, storytelling, and the visual arts.

UNIT 9: REGIONALISM

This unit examines efforts among Pacific Islands to build regionalism through such organizations as the South Pacific Commission (SPC) and the South Pacific Forum (SPF). What advantages and disadvantages do these organizations offer in building economic alliances within a context of global interdependence?
Designing a high school course on Pacific Islands studies has allowed me the opportunity to reflect upon the purpose and scope of such a curriculum, consider what body of information is valuable to know, and how it might best be made relevant and challenging to high school students. What follows is a discussion of key themes and readings which provide a multi-disciplinary base of knowledge in the field of Pacific Islands studies.

To understand the Pacific region it is essential to look to the past, first to the “cultures of the canoe”, tracing settlement patterns through such evidence as Lapita pottery, sea-level rise, myths and legends, art, and wayfinding. Peter Bellwood’s massive volume *Man’s Conquest of the Pacific* or his shorter article, “The Peopling of the Pacific”, provide detailed coverage of man’s entry into the Pacific. Also, Kerry Howe’s *Where the Waves Fall* devotes its first few chapters to this theme, in a more narrative style of reading. Ben Finney’s article on “Voyaging” discusses the origins of the Polynesians and explains the art of traditional non-instrument navigation called wayfinding. Two other books on this subject are worth reading. *East is a Big Bird* by Thomas Gladwin is about navigation and sailing in the Eastern Caroline Islands of Micronesia and *We, the Navigators* by David Lewis is about canoe voyaging and navigation in Polynesia. Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) provides an Islander account of voyaging in his *Vikings of the Sunrise*; he suggests that while indigenous myths and legends do not always agree with scientific theory, they must be considered for understanding Pacific pre-history.
While voyaging and settlement are important for understanding the region, particular emphasis needs to be given to the diversity of the area in its geography (island types, resources, flora/fauna, etc.), linguistics, and cultural patterns, which characterize the three regions known as Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Robert Kiste provides an overall discussion of this subject in his “Oceania, A Regional Study”. A detailed account of the geographical diversity is found in William Thomas’s “The Variety of Physical Environments Among Pacific Islands”. Also, Douglas Oliver’s *The Pacific Islands* provides excellent reading on the cultural characteristics of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

Important to one's knowledge of the past is an exploration of the nature of "contact" and cross-cultural encounter between Islanders and Outsiders. While there is a large amount of literature on this subject, much of the early writings provided by explorers, missionaries, and anthropologists were efforts to "make sense" of the Islanders and their worlds from a western perspective. The notion of the Pacific as "paradise" and the Islanders as "noble savages" influenced European perceptions of the region and its inhabitants. Gavan Daw's *Dream of Islands* considers this notion and its impact on European thought during the 18th and 19th centuries, relating the experiences of the missionary John Williams, the writers Herman Melville and Robert Louis Stevenson, and the painter Paul Gauguin.

Another concept which shaped European perceptions of the Pacific and is reflected in much early literature of the region is the idea addressed in Alan Moorehead's book, *The Fatal Impact*. Many Europeans, from Captain James Cook on, believed that cultural contact produced irreversible damage to the Islanders, their cultures, and their environments. Cultural destruction, depopulation, and
demoralization were the fatal impacts on indigenous populations, who were perceived to be passive victims of European intrusion. Douglas Oliver’s aforementioned book, *The Pacific Islands*, also reflects this idea. While it provides good coverage of Pacific cultures and history prior to World War II, chapter headings reflect the author’s own bias: “Oceanic Eden”, “The Aliens”, “The Dispossessed”, and “Cataclysm”.

The fatal impact theory contrasts significantly with the current trend in Pacific studies which seeks to integrate history, anthropology, and oral traditions into a less Eurocentric framework. Particular emphasis is now placed on Islander agency and indigenous responses to outside forces of change. Several readings come to mind. Perhaps the most important book on this theme, and a “must read” for all Pacific Islands studies scholars, is Greg Dening’s *Islands and Beaches*. Dening uses the metaphors of “islands” and “beaches” to represent cross-cultural encounter, not so much physically, but ideologically, to explain how people construct their worlds and then impose boundaries between them, often colliding in violence and death.

Another significant work by Greg Dening on the same subject is his “Possessing Tahiti”. He discusses culture contact as a transformative process with both sides, in this case the Tahitians and Europeans, attempting to “make sense” of the other and incorporate change through their own sets of cultural symbols. He writes that, “Symbols of the past are cargo of the present”. The past is shaped by how it is perceived and remembered in relationships of the present. Robert Borofsky also explores this concept in his book, *Making History*, suggesting that history is shaped by what is given value and importance in the present. Other important works reflective of this trend in Pacific history are Kerry Howe’s *Where the Waves Fall*, an historical overview of Melanesia and Polynesia, balanced by Francis Hezel’s coverage of Micronesian history in *The First Taint of Civilization*. Further, an insightful case study
of Pohnpei history is provided by David Hanlon in his *Upon a Stone Altar*.

Decolonization and the struggle for self-determination is another important theme in Pacific studies. Both *Blood on Their Banner* by David Robie and *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific* by Hempenstall and Rutherford discuss various colonial and contemporary nationalist movements in the region. Robert Kiste’s article, “New Political Statuses in American Micronesia”, provides an overall account of the current political situation in Micronesia, while Carl Heine’s book *Micronesia at the Crossroads* provides an indigenous response to the political choices facing Micronesians during the negotiations to determine the future political status of the United States Trust Territory in the 1960’s and 1970’s.

John Connell’s article “New Caledonia: Social Change, Political Change and Tradition in a Settler Colony” helps explain France’s involvement in the Pacific, while Helen Fraser’s book *Your Flag’s Blocking Our Sun* portrays Kanak resistance to French colonial rule. British decolonization along with New Zealand and Australian influence are discussed in “Decolonization and the British Withdrawal” by Barrie MacDonald and “Colonial Rule Dismantled” by Terence Wesley-Smith. Both are chapters of a larger volume entitled *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*. Terence Wesley-Smith has also written several fine articles dealing with the Bougainville crisis in Papua New Guinea. To understand the significance of the Fiji coups of 1987, several readings are suggested. “Imaging a Nation” by Martha Kaplan, *The Facade of Democracy* by A. Ravuvu, Rabuka’s autobiography *Rabuka: No Other Way*, and *Broken Waves* by Brij Lal are all efforts to provide the historical context for the coups. They discuss various reasons for the coups, such as race, class, and socioeconomic tensions operating in the newly independent nation. Further, Vilsoni Hereniko’s play, “Monster”, uses theater to
portray the forces of human conflict, power, and reconciliation, brought to surface by
the upheaval of the Fiji coups.

Along with the independence movements and decolonization efforts are the
sovereignty movements for indigenous rights and identity among several Pacific
Island people such as the Kanaks of New Caledonia, the Maori of Aotearoa (New
Zealand), the Chamorros of Guam, and the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) of the
United States. Several readings address this issue. Walker's _Nga Tau_ 
_Tohetohe: Years of Anger_ discusses the Maori struggle in New Zealand. Jonathan 
Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio writes about the role of contemporary music in the Hawaiian 
sovereignty movement in his "Songs of Our Natural Selves: The Enduring Voices of
Nature in Hawaiian Music". Haunani-Kay Trask has also written several articles 
promoting Hawaiian nationalism; one good example is her "Hawaii: Colonization and
Decolonization". Matthew Sprigg's "Facing the Nation: Archeologists and Hawaiians
in the Era of Sovereignty" deals with the politics of archeology and the need for
partnership between the Native Hawaiian community and archeologists for the mutual
purpose of historic preservation.

Cultural revival efforts among Pacific Islanders has led to some controversy
over what is considered "custom" and the invention of tradition to serve contemporary
cultural needs and political goals of sovereignty groups. Jocelyn Linnekin has written
on this subject, as has Roger Keesing. His article "Creating the Past: Custom and
Identity in the Contemporary Pacific" points out the politics of "doing history" with
indigenous efforts to create the past in order to serve the needs of the present.
Keesing is bothered by those who, in his opinion, invent the past for purposes of their
own power in the present. A recent dialogue between Roger Keesing and Haunani-
Kay Trask in _The Contemporary Pacific_ provides good reading on this issue.
Lastly, a scholar in Pacific Islands studies needs to be aware of contemporary issues in development that are transforming the region on many levels. The South Pacific: An Introduction by Ron Crocombe, The Pacific Islands by Te’o Fairbairn, and “Key Issues in Pacific Island Development” by Cole and Parry all elaborate upon a host of issues effecting the island nations in their efforts to build nations. Another good book with several pertinent articles by indigenous writers is Class and Culture edited by Antony Hooper (et al.). Economic development is a major concern for all Pacific Island nations. In their “The MIRAB Economy in Microstates”, Bertram and Watters discuss whether a MIRAB economy reflects dependency or an innovative strategy for development among small islands which have increasing populations and limited resource bases. MIRAB is an acronym for Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy used to reflect the unique situation of small island states. John Connell’s “Island Microstates: Mirage of Development” and Gerry Ward’s “South Pacific Island Futures: Paradise, Prosperity, or Pauperism” also examine economic options for the islands.

Environmental issues are gaining in coverage, particularly as Pacific atolls are extremely vulnerable to environmental changes. Harold Brookfield’s “Global Change and the Pacific: Problems for the Coming Half-Century” elaborates upon several problems from global warming and sea level rise, to drought, and land and ecosystem degradation. He considers the implications for some Pacific island populations that face the possibility of becoming “environmental refugees” and addresses the need to “be prepared” for a range of environmental problems thrust upon the islands by external forces.

Nuclear issues also impact the Pacific region, which has been used by the
Playground is excellent for an overall discussion of this issue. Ben Finney covers the impact of the French nuclear testing program in his “French Polynesia, Nuclear Dependency” while efforts to make the Pacific nuclear free are addressed in Michael Hamel-Green's “Regional Arms Control in the South Pacific: Island State Responses to Australia's Nuclear Free Zone Initiative”. Other environmental issues of concern are health related. Nancy Lewis discusses several in her “More Than Health Care, Health for Pacific Island Peoples”. Nutrition and health are viewed as developmental issues in both Nancy Bloom’s “Health and Nutrition in the Pacific” and Penelope Schoeffel’s “Food, Health, and Development in the Pacific”, which focuses specifically on Micronesia.

Identity issues are profoundly impacting Pacific Islanders as they face increasing westernization and rapidly changing social orders. Gender roles are examined by Helen Hughes in her “Women in Development” and several articles from the 1990 Pacific History Conference held on Guam are devoted to the changing role and status of women in the Pacific. For example, “Micro women: U.S. Colonialism and Micronesian Women Activists” by Teresia Teaiwa deals with the degradation of Micronesian women and their loss of traditional power and status under colonial rule. The Fall 1992 journal issue of ISLA published by the University of Guam is devoted to gender issues and social change.

Cultural identity in the face of westernization is also addressed in Konai Thaman’s “Beyond Hula, Hotels, and Handicraft” where she discusses the exploitation of Islanders and their cultures through tourism for economic gain. Addriene Kaeppler also examines this issue in “Pacific Festivals and Identity”. Much popular literature in the form of short stories and novels by indigenous writers seeks to reconcile the forces of change, westernization, and development. Epeli Hau’ofa uses humor and satire in
Tales of the Tikongs, while Albert Wendt’s writing is darker, more morose in works, such as Ola, Pouliuli, and “Flying Fox in the Freedom Tree”.

Malama Meleisia, Sir Thomas Davis, and Albert Wendt have all written articles about the “art of remembering” and the importance of new trends in the study of the Pacific. Indigenous historians, like Vicente Diaz are recording and interpreting Pacific history creating new directions in Pacific studies. As an example, one should examine Diaz’s “Pious Sites” about Guam. What is exciting for a student in Pacific Islands Studies is the ability to recognize and appreciate the dynamic processes of change which have occurred in the Pacific and continue to transform the region as Islanders seek political, economic, and cultural strategies to shape their own futures. Epeli Hau’ofa, a writer, anthropologist, and professor at the University of the South Pacific, expressed a poignant attitude when he referred to the Pacific not as “islands in the sea”, but as a “sea of islands”. Smallness is merely a state of mind and opportunity is the ability to visualize an ever-expanding horizon beyond the shores of one’s own islands and beaches.
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Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), Vikings of the Sunrise, Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs Unlimited, 1954.


UNIT 1: THE DIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

OVERVIEW: What role does the knowledge of geography play in understanding the Pacific Islands today? This unit deals with the physical location or "place" of the Pacific, in order to understand how environment helps shape culture, providing opportunities and constraints for human interaction with their surroundings. What similarities and differences exist in this sea of islands?

Students are introduced to the vastness of the Pacific by reading the article, "Oceania: A Regional Study", by Robert Kiste. This is followed by a discussion of the various island types and a slide show on the three regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. A case study on the atoll nation of Kiribati is conducted by reading an article and legend and viewing a video from the "Human Face of the Pacific" series. Lastly, a research project on individual islands is assigned with students sharing information through a creative writing exercise.

READINGS/MATERIALS:

1. Oceania: A Regional Study", by Robert Kiste.
2. Map of the Pacific Islands
3. Map of the Culture areas of the Pacific
4. Map quiz
5. Diagram – The Birth of an Atoll
7. "The Way They Are: Kiribati", by Dan Bindman
8. Video review questions on "Kiribati" (Human Face of the Pacific series)
9. Research activity: Pacific Islands Profile
THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Fig. 2
--- New Caledonia
--- Hawaii
--- Tonga
--- Marshall Islands
--- American Samoa
--- Easter Island
--- Tahiti
--- Belau (Palau)
--- Vanuatu
--- New Zealand
--- American Samoa
--- Federated States of Micronesia
--- Kiribati
The birth of an atoll. Coral grows on the sides of a tropical volcano, forming a fringing reef. As the volcano sinks, the coral grows up as well as out, forming a barrier reef with a lagoon. Finally, the volcano disappears leaving only the barrier reef and lagoon.
The Maiden Who Married a Crane


Ideally, Micronesian marriage weaves both the principals and their families into a lifetime network of mutual aid. Hence the importance of a productive son-in-law. As fisherman, Crane has great potential, while the sleek good looks of the others make them suspect. In his final act, Crane both avenges his kin and strikes a blow against unbridled greed.

Long ago there was a girl and her parents who lived on a small island. These parents were the kind of parents who wanted to pick or select a husband for their daughter. The girl's name was Likwaliklik. One day she was on the beach, but her parents were doing some work in the middle of the island. While the girl was on the beach, the plover sailed along the beautiful beach and said to the girl, "Likwaliklik, Likwaliklik. Is there anybody else with you on this island?" And she said, "Yes, my parents and I." Then the plover said, "Where are they?" She replied, "They are in the woods." And the plover said, "What are they doing?" "They are bringing food, white and red," the girl said. "Run and tell them that there is a canoe here." The girl ran into the woods and started calling "Mother?" She answered. "Father?" He answered. "There is a canoe in the lagoon." They asked, "Whose is it?" "The plover," she answered. Then they said to her, "Go and drown him." She ran to the beach and drowned the plover as she was told.

Later came another young man there. A sandpiper came sailing into the harbor calling, "Likwaliklik, Likwaliklik. Is there anybody with you on this island?" "My parents and I." "Where are they?" the sandpiper asked. She answered, "They are somewhere in the island." "What are they doing?" the sandpiper asked. "They are bringing me food, white and red." The sandpiper said, "Run, run and tell them that there is a canoe in the lagoon." She ran to her parents and told them about the canoe. They asked, "Whose canoe is that?" "The sandpiper," she answered. Her parents said, "Go and drown him." She ran back and drowned the sandpiper.

The next day another young handsome man, the tern, came sailing into the harbor calling, "Likwaliklik, Likwaliklik. Is there anybody else besides you on this island?" "My parents and I," she answered. "Then where are they?" the tern asked. She answered: "They are in the woods." "What are they doing?" the tern asked. "They are bringing food, white and red," the girl answered. The tern said, "Then run, run and tell them that there is a canoe in the harbor." She ran to the woods calling "Mother?" She answered. "Father?" He answered. The girl said, "There is a canoe in the lagoon." "Whose is it?" they asked. "The tern's," she answered. "Then go and drown him." She ran to the beach and drowned the tern.

The next day the most handsome man, the frigate bird, came sailing into the harbor calling, "Likwaliklik, Likwaliklik. Is there anybody else besides you on this island?" "My parents and I," she an-
answered. "Where are they?" the frigate bird asked. She replied, "They are somewhere in the woods." "What are they doing?" the frigate bird asked. "They are bringing food, white and red," the girl answered. "Then run, run and tell them that there is a handsome man in the harbor," the frigate bird said to her. She ran to the woods calling, "Father? Father?" He answered. "Mother? Mother?" She answered. "There is a canoe in the harbor," she told her parents. "Who is it?" they asked. "The frigate bird," she replied. Her parents said, "Go and drown him." She ran to the beach and drowned the frigate bird.

The next day an ugly young man, the crane, came sailing into the harbor. This young man had a funny figure. He had a big stomach, a long neck. He had a funny-looking figure. He came with his canoe calling, "Likwaliklik, Likwaliklik. Is there anybody else besides you on this island?" "My parents and I," the girl answered. "Where are they?" the crane asked. "They are somewhere in the woods," the girl answered. "What are they doing?" the crane asked. "They are bringing food, white and red," the girl answered. "Then run, run and tell them that there is a handsome man in the harbor," the crane commanded. The girl ran into the woods calling, "Father? Father?" and he answered. "Mother? Mother?" and she answered. "There is a young man sailing in the harbor," the girl told her parents. "Who is it?" they asked. "It is the crane," the girl answered. "Go get your purse and go with him." She refused and she was crying, but her parents forced her to go with the crane.

The girl went on board the crane's canoe and they sailed away. When they were approaching the first island, the girl asked the crane, "Whose island is that with many breadfruits on it?" "Oh, it belongs to one of my brothers that you did not like." While they were approaching the second island she asked, "What about that one with lots of pandanus?" "Oh, it belongs to my younger brother that you didn't like." "What about that island with lots of coconut trees on it?" the girl asked. "Oh, it belongs to one of my brothers the one you didn't like," the crane answered. But when the girl saw the last island she asked, "Whose island is that with no vegetation on it, but only jungle?" "Oh, that is our island." "But there is no food on it," the girl said to the crane. "You are wrong. There are plenty fishes on that island," the crane said to the girl. "You will have more than you will need." They went ashore and the crane told the girl to wait for him while he went fishing because it was almost supper time. The girl said to him, "It is too late. It is already dark. You will not see any fish." "Don't worry. There are plenty fishes on the island," the crane said to the girl.

He took his basket and went into the woods. He caught lots of lizards and brought them to the girl. She saw them and screamed. She said to the crane, "I thought you were human but you are not. If I had known about you in the first place, I wouldn't have come. Please return me to my parents." The crane became angry and he killed Likwaliklik. He roasted her and the next day he returned her to her parents in a big basket. The parents were very happy that their son-in-law was bringing them food. The crane left the basket with the parents and flew away. When they were about ready to eat they found out that the food was their daughter. When they looked up, they saw the crane on a tree laughing and saying, "Eat your daughter. It is good." The parents really were furious with the crane but they couldn't catch him. The crane flew away.

This is the end.
1. The way they are

'Now people are depending very much on imported foodstuffs; tinned fish, tinned meat and rice are the prestigious foods and very little of the traditional foods is eaten. If the ship is delayed the shops run out of sugar etc and people suffer.'

By Dan Bindman

Isolated atolls: Islands in Kiribati.

Many of the problems of Kiribati are the same being faced by other atoll nations. With few exploitable natural resources at their disposal, the Kiribati have little option but to discourage import dependency among their 70,000-strong population. With its 33 coral atolls, comprising a mere 719 square kilometres of land, and a sea area of over 3 million square kilometres, Kiribati has a greater sea-to-land ratio than any other country on Earth.

This presents huge development and communications problems. For instance, to go from Tarawa to Kiritimati (Christmas Island) at the eastern extremity of the territory until recently involved air travel via the Marshall Islands or Fiji, and Hawaii. Kiribati citizens required United States visas to travel from one part of their country to another.

Well placed to observe these changes and comment on their likely consequences for the country is I-Kiribati Dr. Ueantabo Neemia, of the Institute of Pacific Studies at University of the South Pacific. An expert on Kiribati politics, he is a regular visitor to his home atoll of Arorae, at 620 kilometres from the capital the most southerly of the Tungaru group.

For Neemia the most marked change is in the islanders' eating habits: "You see pandanus fruit rotting away under the trees. That's something I never saw when I was a child. Now people are depending very much on imported foodstuffs; tinned fish, tinned meat and rice are the prestigious foods and very little of the traditional foods is eaten. If the ship is delayed the shops run out of sugar etc and people suffer."

He also sees new technology edging out the old way of life: "The advent of videos has also affected life in the outer islands. When we were children we would look out for when the moon was full and we would light fires on the beach, and the women would pound pandanus leaf that they prepared into masks. People would go every night to the maneaba, the focal point of the social life of the village. Now you don't see those kinds of entertainments."

Tradition becomes ceremonial:

Neemia sees these and other changes as ones in general attitudes, conditioned by outside influences: "The islands have opened up and they are no longer closed systems. Traditional preoccupations are being neglected - people still make sweets, look after their gardens and so on, but they have acquired new tastes which are now everyday things. And traditional things are becoming more ceremonial."

Having spent much of his upbringing in urban Tarawa, Neemia can see both sides of life in Kiribati. His views are a
curious mix of respect and nostalgia for the old outer island ways and disdain for the daily struggle for survival there. "To me it's a very tough life. In the harsh environment of the atolls you have to get up very early in the morning, climb the trees and collect your toddy for breakfast, perhaps with some grated coconut. Then you have to fish for most of the day, come back and cut toddy again in the afternoon. Because you fished the day before, the next day you spend in the bush tending plants and doing the gardens."

It doesn't surprise Neemia that young I-Kiribati leave the outer islands and even the country to find paid employment, whether to work in the phosphate mines of neighbouring Nauru or on German merchant ships: "But Kiribati is always home to them", he says, "they always come back."

It is this remittance income from relatives working in the capital or overseas that has provided the means to buy imported luxury items. "A lot of people who work in Tarawa or elsewhere build homes of permanent materials as a status symbol. After an 18-month contract, workers on ships could have earned S$14,000 in wages. Some spend it on drink, others buy something like solar lighting for their parents - this makes for competition between families and between islanders working overseas to provide this technology for their families."

Neemia doesn't see a return to the old way of life. "I think there is no going back", he says, "the main thing is how people adapt to suit the new conditions, to marry the new and the old." He points to South Tarawa as an example of this in practice, where people in employment suffering rising living costs have supplemented their meagre incomes by doing part subsistence work. "Rather than go to the market people save money and fish themselves. That's the kind of mix you'll get.

Risk of offending traditional belief:
"As far as government is concerned, I think there is a need for better opportunities for people to generate cash income. The only means to get cash at the moment is to sell copra and there are no markets in the outer islands," says Neemia. But while islanders are becoming accustomed to modern living, their instincts are not those of business people. Those who set up their own business risk offending traditional egalitarian beliefs. "There is a stigma attached to selling your products, particularly in the south. People tend to look at it as though you're trying to better yourself at their expense - the main ethos is that people believe they are equal to one another," he says.

But while he believes that government projects to encourage individual initiative are doomed to failure in the south, he sees potential in strengthening the cooperative movement.

This sort of organisation gets around the cultural obstacles by involving the wider community, including the still very powerful councils of elders, the uneiane.

Abortion: Population growth is a great problem in Kiribati as in other atoll countries. In 1989 the population stood at 68,830 and the rate of growth was just over two percent. The population density is about 100 per square kilometres on average. Neemia sees family planning as a must for small atolls and adds that regulating population through abortion, in addition to traditional forms of contraception, is something that lives on, despite the large number of Roman Catholics. "Right from the beginning people are very conscious of pressures population can have on limited resources. There are women experts that are generally consulted for abortion on every island."

One tradition that does not seem to be breaking down is that of hospitality and the sharing of scarce resources. It is one reason why many of the better-off I-Kiribati exiles don't go back to their villages perhaps as often as they would like. "Every time I go back I'm expected to sponsor a lot of feasting and it's very expensive. The night I arrive people come to greet me. We celebrate and my parents and I pay for it. The next day people will ask for a truck to be hired and we'll go round the island singing. We come back and they want a video to watch. Even civil servants based in Tarawa hardly go back to the island because of the expense. In some cases it's an abuse of the system, an excuse for feasting."

But despite these qualms, all things considered the old system is worthwhile, says Neemia: "My wedding was paid for by relatives, that's one good point for kinship as far as I'm concerned."
Video Questions on "Kiribati" - (from "The Human Face of the Pacific" series)

1. In what way does the "maneaba" represent the core of Kiribati culture?

2. Describe some of the gender roles in Kiribati and how they are passed on from one generation to another.

3. What are some of the ways self-sufficiency is achieved on a coral atoll?

4. What role does the supernatural have in canoe-building?

5. Explain the importance of the coconut tree to atoll dwellers.

6. What challenge does Kiribati's size and location pose for its economic development?

7. Why would people choose to live on a coral atoll?
ON ASSIGNMENT...ISLAND STYLE

You are a free lance journalist traveling throughout the Pacific region and have been asked to write a magazine article on any island of your choice. In your article you must include the following information:

1. Describe the environment/geography. Where is the island located in the Pacific, what type of island is it (coral atoll, etc.) what region does it belong to (Melanesia, etc.).

2. What are the people like? How do they live? Describe some interesting customs or cultural traits - clothing, languages, foods, festivals/ceremonies, etc.

3. What is there to see and do? Why would someone want to visit this island?

4. What are its economic resources - main products or exports?

5. Tell about one or two problems or challenges facing this island nation today.

6. What was the high point of your visit?

7. What was the low point of your visit?

8. Create a souvenir from your visit to this island based on what you've learned about the culture.

PACIFIC ISLANDS:

Fiji  Tonga
New Caledonia  American Samoa
Papua New Guinea  Western Samoa
Vanuatu (New Hebrides)  Cook Islands
Solomon Islands  Society Islands (Tahiti)
Guam  Easter Island (Rapa Nui)
Belau (Palau)  Marquesas Islands
FSM (Federated States of Micronesia)  Niue
Marshall Islands  Pitcairn Island
Nauru  New Zealand
FURTHER READINGS;


Oceania
a regional study

The sheer size of Oceania is impressive, as is the scope of the region's contrasts. The Pacific is the biggest and deepest of the world's oceans and is the earth's largest single geographic feature. It occupies more than one-third of the globe's surface, an area greater than all of the world's landmasses lumped together. Within the Pacific region there are about 25,000 islands, more than one-half of the world's total. The discrepancy between land and sea, however, is great. Collectively, the islands comprise somewhat more than 1.6 million square kilometers, but those islands are set in a sea area of more than 88 million square kilometers. The Pacific stretches approximately 16,000 kilometers along the equator, and the north-to-south expanse from the Bering Strait to the Antarctic Circle is about 15,000 kilometers (see fig. 1).

When discussing the cultures and languages of Oceania, anthropologists and linguists usually think of the "insular Pacific" or the "island Pacific" as opposed to the "Pacific rim" or "Pacific basin." The Pacific rim usually refers to the large continental masses and the large nations (or at least their coastlines) that define the ocean's perimeters. The Pacific islands have very few cultural or linguistic connections with the rim as defined in this sense. The term Pacific basin is vague and may or may not include both rim and insular land areas.

Most commonly, Western scholars have divided the insular Pacific into three main cultural areas: Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (see fig. 2). These divisions are somewhat arbitrary and tend to obscure the fact that there are no clear-cut boundaries. Nonetheless, Melanesia, meaning the "black islands," derives from the word melanin, which is the chemical in the skin that accounts for dark pigmentation—a characteristic shared by Melanesians. The islands that are clearly Melanesian are, from west to east: the entire island of New Guinea and its outliers to the east; the Solomon Islands; New Caledonia; and the islands that make up Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides). Fiji is usually included as part of Melanesia, but in reality it is more of a transition area. The Fijians are primarily of Melanesian racial stock but share much in common culturally with Polynesians. Today Fiji uses this somewhat borderline status to its own political advantage and can align with either Melanesian or Polynesian interests. In brief, Melanesia can be considered to have five components that extend from New Guinea to Fiji, all lying south of the equa-
Micronesia, meaning the "little islands," lies north of Melanesia and, with a few exceptions, north of the equator. The label "little islands" is appropriate because a majority of Micronesia's more than 2,000 islands are atoll formations. A band known as the Caroline Islands is situated above New Guinea and the Solomons. It includes at least five culturally distinct groups—Palau and Yap in the west and, moving eastwards through the Carolinian atolls, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae. To the north of the Carolines are the Mariana Islands, the people, language, and culture of which are referred to as Chamorro. The double chain of atolls known as the Marshall Islands forms part of Micronesia's eastern boundary. Another atoll archipelago, the Gilbert Islands (now part of Kiribati), lies to the south and east and extends a few degrees south of the equator. Lastly, the single island of Nauru is southwest of the main body of the Marshalls, also slightly below the equator.

Polynesia ("many islands") is geographically the largest of the Pacific's cultural areas, and distances between island groups are by far the greatest. Polynesia is defined as a triangle drawn from Hawaii in the north, Easter Island in the southeast, and New Zealand in the southwest. However, the western leg of the triangle between New Zealand and Hawaii cannot be a straight line. Using a bit of license, the cartographer must make the line bulge to the west to include Tuvalu (formerly the Ellice Islands) with the rest of Polynesia.

The boundaries between the cultural areas are convenient oversimplifications for the purposes of study. Fiji is one problematic example, and there are others. Although Kiribati, for instance, is always classified as Micronesian, many of its inhabitants exhibit Polynesian cultural traits derived from their Polynesian neighbors of Tuvalu and the Samoan Islands, and many Polynesian words have found their way into the local language, which is without question Micronesian. The elaborate chieftaincies of traditional Ponape and Kosrae in the eastern Carolines of Micronesia have traits that suggest Polynesian influence. At the western end of the Pacific, Palau and Yap appear to have been influenced by Melanesians, and the inhabitants of a few small islands off the north coast of extreme Western New Guinea appear very much like Carolinian atoll dwellers in physical type and material culture; in fact, they have been referred to as para-Micronesians.

All of the above suggests that once the Pacific had been peopled, its inhabitants did not remain in place for the conven-
ience of future observers. After the major movement of peoples into the region, some restless Polynesians moved back in a westerly direction to inhabit islands in Micronesia and Melanesia that are now referred to as Polynesian outliers. The atoll communities of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro south of Ponape in the eastern Carolines are two such examples in Micronesia. A larger number of Polynesian outliers are found directly south and southwest of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro between the Solomons and New Caledonia in Melanesia. Numbering over one dozen, the most well-known are Ontong Java, Tikopia, Bellona, and Rennell.

The place of New Zealand and Australia in the insular Pacific deserves special treatment. When considering the pre-European era, all observers agree that the indigenous Maori people of New Zealand were Polynesians who had modified their culture in ways that were adaptive to their homeland's temperate climate. In fact, there is little doubt that the Maori had their origins in the area of the Cook and Society islands. Aborigines of Australia illustrate a different story. Although the ancient ancestors of the Aborigines and the very first settlers of New Guinea appear to have had some connections, the Aborigines became quite isolated from developments in the insular Pacific and pursued their own course of cultural evolution. They remained adamantly attached to a hunting and gathering way of life, while peoples of the insular Pacific became agriculturists. Most Pacific anthropologists do not categorize the Aborigines among the peoples of the Pacific. In the colonial period, the period of decolonization, and the present, however, both Australia and New Zealand must be viewed as major actors in the region. In this context they are modern nations located in the Pacific and deeply involved in regional affairs.

**Physical Environment**

The islands of the insular Pacific are unequally distributed within the vast expanse of ocean, and large portions of it are indeed quite empty. Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, the first European known to transit the Pacific, discovered this basic fact of geography the hard way. He sighted only a few uninhabited reefs on his journey across the Pacific from South America to the Philippines before he sighted Guam in 1521. Had he missed Guam, he would have thought that the ocean was without human inhabitants.

A discontinuity of underlying rock formations, known as the

**Andesite Line**, separates the continental islands of the western Pacific from the volcanic basalt islands of the central and eastern Pacific. The Andesite Line runs along the eastern side of the two Polynesian groups of New Zealand and Tonga, to the east and north of Melanesia, and then to the east of the three westernmost groups of Micronesia (Palau, Yap, and the Marianas). The islands lying to the west of the line are composed of mixed rock types characteristic of continental masses. They are markedly deformed by folding and faulting, and they contain ancient metamorphic rocks, such as schist, gneiss, and slate, sediments, such as clay, coal, and sandstone, and intrusive granite and siliceous eruptive rocks, such as andesite. Some geologists believe that the line is the easternmost limit of a continental landmass that once extended from Asia into the Pacific.

The discontinuous line proceeds northward, running east of Japan. It then runs south of the Alcuitan Islands and down the western side of the islands that lie off the west coast of the Americas. The area within the loop of the line has been called the "real Pacific basin" and has deep troughs and oceanic volcanic peaks composed primarily of heavy dark basalt. The peaks may be high volcanic islands above the ocean's surface or they may be partially or completely submerged. Upon submerged platforms coral reefs and atolls are found. The average depth of the Pacific Ocean is about 4,200 meters, the extreme depth is about 10,700 meters between Guam and Mindanao.

**Island Types**

Geographer William Thomas has distinguished four major kinds of islands in the region. There are two kinds of "high" islands: continental and volcanic. The best examples of the former are the large islands of Melanesia, which are characterized by extremely rugged interior mountain ranges, divided plateaus, and precipitous interior valleys. Lower and coastal areas tend to be divided by twisting rivers, alternating swampy areas and coastal plains, or narrow coastal shelves. Significantly, the topography creates barriers that function to keep human populations separated and divided into small linguistic and political communities.

Of the high volcanic islands, those of Hawaii are the most familiar. Steep cliffs and mountain ranges are divided by deep valleys, the floors of the latter usually opening to coastal flat zones of varying widths. Erosion of older islands, especially on their exposed windward sides, has produced gentle slopes. Tahiti and many other islands in the Society and Marquesas islands, as well
Just as Barotonga in the Cook Islands, are examples of high volcanic islands. Ponape and Kosrae are examples of high volcanic islands in Micronesia. Most islands of this kind have freshwater sources, but volcanic soils are generally poor for agriculture.

Volcanic islands are often surrounded by fringing reefs that may lie at distances anywhere from a relatively few to several hundred meters from the shoreline. The water areas between shore and reef often provide good fishing grounds. Significantly, however, fringing reefs form another major kind of island—atolls.

There are two kinds of "low" islands. First, there is the atoll, a series of islands that are built upward from a coral reef and that typically enclose a central lagoon of varying shape. Charles Darwin first suggested, and most marine biologists today remain convinced, that atolls were once fringing reefs around volcanic islands that have become submerged. The lagoon is situated where the volcanic peak once stood above the water.

The reefs are built by coral and calcareous algae, which thrive in warm, relatively shallow, clear saline water. Coral is the skeleton of a fleshy polyp, a marine creature that secretes lime from seawater. Such polyps live in large colonies, their interconnected skeletons adhering to the calcareous remains of their ancestors. As the volcanic substrata subside, the polyps continue their reefbuilding and eventually become all that remains above the surface. The coral structures lie at extreme depths. Drilling at Eniwetok in the northern Marshalls reached depths of 1,300 to 1,400 meters before the volcanic basalt bedrock was struck.

Atolls can vary in size, from Kwajalein in the Marshalls, which has a lagoon about 145 kilometers long and 32 kilometers wide, to the smallest, which may be no more than two or three kilometers in diameter. The islets of an atoll are seldom more than three to five meters above high-tide level, and land areas are almost dwarfed by lagoon areas. Soil covers are poor and extremely thin, and the only fresh water that is available is rainwater that is either collected or, on some of the larger islets, floats as a thin lens beneath the soil and the denser salt water that permeates the porous coral rock below sea level. The atolls are extremely vulnerable to severe weather disturbances, such as typhoons, unusually high seas, or droughts.

Not all Pacific islands are in the process of subsiding. To the contrary, numerous raised coral atolls are scattered over the region, and they represent the second kind of low island. In such cases the central lagoon has partially or totally disappeared, and the atoll's border has been elevated above the surrounding sea. Examples of raised coral islands are Nauru, Banaba (formerly Ocean Island), and Niue.

Truk in the central Carolines is an interesting formation. Its fringing reef is quite extensive, and a number of islets are dispersed over it. The volcanic basalt formation at the center appears still to be in the process of sinking, and well over a dozen small and relatively low islets still dot the lagoon. Thomas describes Truk as an "almost atoll" and lists at least eight different combinations of atolls and reef formations.

Atolls occur in most areas of the Pacific, but some archipelagoes are composed solely of the low islands. As noted, most of the Micronesian islands are atolls. The Marshalls and Kiribati consist exclusively of atolls. In the long stretch from the high islands of Palau and Yap in the west and Ponape in the east, "the almost atoll" of Truk is the only exception to a string of atolls that extends for over 3,200 kilometers. In Polynesia all the islands of Tuvalu, Tokelau, and the Tuamotu Archipelago are low islands, as are most of the Cooks.
Climate

With the major exceptions of New Zealand and Easter Island, the Pacific islands lie within the tropics, and humidity is relatively high. Most of the islands have rather uniform and warm year-round temperatures, ranging between nighttime lows near 20°C and highs in the mid- to high twenties. Other variables are quite important. On atolls and the windward side of the higher islands, the warm temperatures and high humidities are somewhat offset by the cooling properties of trade winds. The leeward sides of the high islands and the jungle interiors of the continental islands can be extremely uncomfortable. In contrast, the highlands of the Melanesian islands, particularly New Guinea, can be quite cool, and frost is an occasional threat to crops.

Again, with the exception of New Zealand and Easter Island, there are no abrupt seasonal changes that compare with those in temperate zones. Rather, the year is divided into rainy and dry seasons. North of the equator the heaviest rainfall occurs from June to October and, south of the equator, from November to March. The rainy and dry seasons are directly related to the intensity of the prevailing trade winds. Above the equator the trades come out of the northeast and blow toward the west. Below the equator they come from the southeast, also blowing toward the west.

The trade winds give way to the monsoon winds in the westernmost Pacific, where the alternate cooling and heating of continental Asia produces a seasonal reversal of winds. From November to March the northwest monsoon from Asia brings rain to the western Carolines, New Guinea, and the Solomons. In the summer the southeast monsoon reverses the process.

There are also horizontal zones of wet and dry areas. Some of the heaviest rainfall occurs in a belt that lies between 1°30' and 8°30' north latitude. Rainfall in that region may be as much as 4,500 millimeters annually. North and south of that wet zone is a relatively dry belt that often receives one-third the rainfall of that of the wet zone. Farther north and south of the dry zones, wetter zones are again encountered. Dry spells do occur locally and sometimes across large portions of the area. For example, the atolls south of Ponape in the eastern Carolines experience occasional annual droughts.

The atolls are always more vulnerable to the vagaries of weather because their landmasses are too small to affect meteorological conditions. In contrast, high islands intervene to help shape their own weather system. Hot and humid air rises from the larger landmasses, mixing with the cooler air of higher elevations to form clouds and rainfall. As a consequence, the windward sides of high islands are the first to interact with the incoming trade winds to produce rain. Windward sides receive the most rainfall, have the greatest amount of erosion, and often have the richest and deepest soil covers. The leeward side is generally dry.

The most serious storms in the region are cyclonic storms known as typhoons or hurricanes. Their causes are only partially understood, but they are usually generated in the east and move westward. The winds that spiral around the center of these storms have velocities commonly ranging from about 25 to more than 115 kilometers per hour. Those that cause great destruction and often denude and reshape the configuration of entire atolls have been clocked at over 250 kilometers per hour. Typhoons can occur at any time of the year, but they are most frequent during the rainy season.

Resources

Mineral deposits occur only on the larger continental islands. It has long been known that New Caledonia possesses large amounts of nickel and some chrome and cobalt. Nickel has been the mainstay of that island's economy for years. Fiji has had a gold-mining operation of modest scale. Otherwise, and until quite recently, the mineral resources of the Pacific have been described as extremely limited. It now appears, however, that such a conclusion was premature. The picture began to change in the 1960s and 1970s with the development of an open-pit copper mine on Bougainville in Papua New Guinea. In mid-1984 the Bougainville mine was one of the largest in the world. Copper has also been found in several other areas of mainland Papua New Guinea, but these deposits had yet to be developed as of the mid-1980s.

Major gold deposits have recently been found in Papua New Guinea, and the Ok Tedi mine in the western part of the nation promised to be a major gold producer throughout the 1980s. After 1990 it is projected that Ok Tedi will be mined for copper as well as gold, the latter contains lesser quantities of other metals as well. Smaller gold deposits have been found elsewhere, and it was possible that Papua New Guinea was on the brink of a gold rush in the mid-1980s.

Explorations in Fiji in 1983 produced a major new gold find. This, as well as the recent discoveries in Papua New Guinea,
suggests that there may be room for considerable optimism for similar finds throughout the rest of Melanesia, whose islands share a common geological history. Attempts were under way in 1984 to launch a program to train local geologists to conduct more thorough searches of their home islands.

In 1983 oil was struck in the southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The oil is of extraordinarily high quality, and the field is estimated to hold 100 million barrels. Elsewhere, explorations for oil have occurred mainly off the coastal areas of Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Tonga. As of 1984 none had yielded positive results, but further exploration was focused off the north coast of Papua New Guinea.

Although a brighter picture was developing in Melanesia, there was no reason for such optimism elsewhere. The relatively new volcanic islands rarely contain workable mineral deposits. The only valuable mineral deposits sometimes found on coral islands are phosphate rock. The raised atolls of Banaba and Nauru have been major producers, but the supplies of the former were exhausted, and it was predicted that those of the latter would be depleted within a decade or less.

The flora and fauna of the region are derived from Southeast Asian sources, and the number of species rapidly declines eastward across the Pacific. Prior to human occupation, birds helped to vegetate islands by carrying plant seeds and depositing their droppings on barren landscapes. Other seeds were carried by winds and ocean currents. Humans facilitated the process when they migrated into the area, bringing with them most plants needed for subsistence. Coconuts, breadfruit, pandani (screw pines), bananas, papayas, and tuberous crops, such as taro and yams, were brought from insular Southeast Asia. The full inventory of subsistence crops is usually found only on high islands, and some dry atolls support only coconuts, pandani, and arrowroot—all in all an extremely limited fare.

Such atolls could not have supported human habitation had it not been for the abundant marine life found in lagoons and the surrounding ocean. Lagoons and reef areas provide fish, lobsters, shrimps, eels, octopuses, bivalves, and other sea creatures. Tuna, bonito, and other large fish are caught at sea.

Terrestrial fauna is relatively limited. Bats, rats, and, in New Guinea, a variety of marsupials were the only mammals to precede humans into the western Pacific. Early human migrations helped carry the rat eastward, as well as to introduce pigs, dogs, and chickens. Snakes and lizards are found on most islands, but crocodiles are limited to New Guinea and Palau in the west. Many seabirds provide a minor part of the diet.

The introduction of different species of plants and animals since European times brought further alterations to island ecologies. Cash crops, such as cacao, coffee, vanilla, sugar, pineapple, and citrus fruits were added to the plant inventory. Goats, deer, horses, and cattle are now at home on many high islands.

Prehistory

The Pacific region is distinguished by being "last" in several important respects. It was the last major world area to be occupied by human beings. Hundreds of years after the ancestors of today's Pacific Islanders had reached almost every landmass in the vast ocean, it became the last major area of the world to be probed by representatives of the Western world. The Pacific was also the last major world area to experience colonization at the hands of Western powers and the last major area of the globe to achieve independence and/or self-government. The process began when Western Samoa gained its independence in 1962, and it was almost complete as of the mid-1980s.

The region was also one of the last to be investigated by archaeologists. With the exception of New Zealand, there were no scientific archaeological excavations until after World War II, and well into the 1960s knowledge of Pacific prehistory was still in its infancy. In the last two decades, however, research in archaeology and linguistics has accumulated to the extent that the early movements of Pacific peoples can be outlined with a reasonable degree of confidence. Such confidence is warranted in that the data from archaeological and linguistic research complement each other and point to the same general conclusions.

By 40,000 years ago and perhaps as early as 50,000 years ago, populations of hunters and gatherers had managed to reach Australia and New Guinea from regions in insular Southeast Asia. Distances of open water separating Australia and New Guinea from island Southeast Asia at the time were less than today because of the lower sea levels associated with the Ice Ages of the Pleistocene era. Nonetheless, it appears that the immigrants still had a minimum of 70 kilometers of open water to cross before they could colonize the virgin territories. (As a point of comparison, human populations were not established on Crete and Cyprus in the Mediterranean until about 8,000 years ago, and Cyprus is about 80 kilometers from the mainland.)
It appears that the first people who entered the area were the direct ancestors of modern Australoids. The latter are the Aborigines of Australia, the Highlands peoples of New Guinea, and almost certainly the Negritos found in the interiors of Malaysia and the Philippines. The Melanesians of today are basically Australoids, but some reveal a genetic complexity that resulted from mixtures with later arrivals in the region.

By 6,000 years ago the Australoids had reached the nearby islands of New Britain and New Ireland and perhaps the Solomons. By 4,000 years ago they had probably reached New Caledonia and Vanuatu. Reflecting the great length of time they were in the islands, their languages became widely diversified. It has proved impossible to trace or demonstrate past relationships that may have existed with many of today’s languages. Collectively, they are referred to as Papuan languages, but this is a catchall category and should not be mistaken for a language family as such.

Somewhere around 5,000 years ago, a second movement of people in insular Southeast Asia began. These people were of a Mongoloid racial stock and were speakers of related languages that form the Austronesian (formerly known as the Malayo-Polynesian) language family. Linguists’ reconstruction of proto-Austronesian vocabulary indicates that the early Austronesian speakers made pottery, built seagoing outrigger canoes, and practiced a variety of fishing techniques. Eventually, the Austronesians came to dominate all of insular Southeast Asia, pushing westward through the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar off the coast of Africa and crossing the entire Pacific to become the ancestors of Micronesians and Polynesians.

It appears that the movement of Austronesians into the Pacific first began with settlement along the northern coast of New Guinea. Later, it seems that they moved directly from insular Southeast Asia into the three westernmost archipelagoes of Micronesia—Palau, Yap, and the Marianas, which lie due north of New Guinea. Between 3,500 and 3,000 years ago, the Lapita culture (named after a site in New Caledonia) appeared in the archaeological record all across Melanesia. Distinct forms of pottery were part of the culture, and evidence shows that its people possessed the navigating skills necessary to move easily back and forth across Melanesia. Their agricultural system was based almost entirely on tubers and fruits (taro, yams, breadfruit, bananas, coconuts, and sago palms).

Linguistic evidence indicates that eastern Micronesia was settled by a northward movement from eastern Melanesia in the vicinity of Vanuatu. By about 3,000 years ago, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa had been settled by Lapita people, and thus Polynesia has been penetrated by human beings. During the next thousand years the early forms of Polynesian culture evolved in Tonga and the Samoan Islands. Sometime around the birth of Christ the early Polynesians began their own voyages in large double canoes that could carry the food plants and domestic animals required to found new settlements. The Marquesas Islands in eastern Polynesia were reached by about 300 A.D. Easter Island, one of the most isolated spots on earth, was probably reached a century later. By the end of another 500 years, central Polynesia and the northernmost islands of Hawaii were settled. New Zealand was colonized by around 900 A.D.

Thus, the body of archaeological, botanical, linguistic, and zoological evidence points to insular Southeast Asia as the original homeland for Pacific peoples. There is some evidence that Polynesians had contact with the Pacific coast of South America after the islands were settled, and it appears that they brought the sweet potato back from the area of Peru and Ecuador. Contrary to some popular and fanciful accounts, it is quite certain that Polynesians are not of American Indian ancestry.

Languages

All Pacific languages may be classified either as a member of the Austronesian language family or as one of the Papuan languages, the catchall category that essentially heaps all the non-Austronesian languages. With its distribution from Madagascar to Easter Island, the Austronesian language family is the most widespread in the world. Reflecting the prehistoric migrations of people into the Pacific, all Micronesian languages, all Polynesian languages, and the newer languages in Melanesia (those that are not Papuan) belong to the Austronesian family.

Linguistic diversity in the Pacific is directly related to the length of time that migrants stayed in a particular area. Polynesia, the last to be settled, is linguistically the most homogeneous. Linguists do not agree on the total number of Polynesian languages, however. The languages of each major archipelago and some isolated small islands, such as Niue and Easter, are mutually unintelligible. However, the languages are quite closely related, and Polynesians moving about the area are quick to learn languages other than their own. Bruce Biggs, a linguist and an authority on Polynesian languages, identifies 17 languages within the Polynesian triangle and 11 others among the outliers.
Micronesia is ranked second in its degree of linguistic diversity. The languages of the three westernmost groups, which were settled first and directly out of insular Southeast Asia (Palaus, Yap, and the Marianas), form a subgrouping. They reveal a greater antiquity in the area and are quite different from one another. With the exception of the two Polynesian outliers, all other Micronesian languages are classified as "nuclear Micronesian." They share many grammatical and lexical features and appear to reflect their common origin in eastern Melanesia. Again, linguists disagree about the exact number of separate and mutually unintelligible languages. The languages of the Gilberts, the Marshalls, Nauru, Ponape, and Kosrae are distinct. Trukese is a separate language, but disagreement surrounds the languages from Truk and across the Carolinian atolls. Ulithi and Woleai are distinct from Trukese, but whether the languages of the other atolls should be considered separate languages or simply dialects of the same language is disputed.

With its mixture of Austronesian and Papuan languages and greater length of human settlement, Melanesia is linguistically the most complex. The total number of languages may be conservatively estimated to be in the neighborhood of 1,200. Many of the languages are spoken by only a few hundred people at best, and, not surprisingly, language problems have beset all governments in the cultural area. Variations of a Pidgin English, also known as neo-Melanesian, are spoken in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, and Vanuatu, where it is known as Bislama. It serves as a lingua franca and provides a common bond and identity for the inhabitants of the countries. In Papua New Guinea another lingua franca, known as Motu or Police Motu, was in use in the southern part of the country, but it is less common than the pidgin and may be declining in popularity.

Traditional Societies

The cultures that had evolved in the Pacific by the time of European contact exhibited considerable variability. Generalizations are risky at best when describing so large an area and so many different societies. However, many of the societies in Polynesia and Micronesia had developed certain features that distinguished them from the majority of those in Melanesia. In both Polynesia and Micronesia there was a high degree of social stratification, and social status and rank were associated with control over land, a resource that is relatively scarce on volcanic islands and atolls. In the larger continental islands of Melanesia, the same ruggedness of terrain that kept people separated into many linguistic groups also helped keep groups small, thus, land played a less important role in determining social position.

Polynesia

In the Western world Polynesia has always been the best known or, perhaps more correctly, the most famous region of the Pacific. The reports of such early explorers as James Cook, William Bligh, George Vancouver, and Louis Antoine de Bougainville inflated the imaginations of Europeans and Americans. The kingdoms of Polynesian chiefs and the trappings of their courts were colorful and impressive. The relative ease of life, the seemingly endless bounty of tropical islands, and the accounts of casual sexuality had a tremendous impact upon those who were laboring in the sweatshops of the newly industrialized nations and perhaps all who were caught up in the moral climate of the Victorian era.

Most Polynesian societies were organized around two basic principles: bilateral descent and primogeniture. The basic descent groups have been called rameges to denote their branching characteristics. That is, descent in a ramage was traced to a founding ancestor. That ancestor had a number of children. The firstborn child, whether boy or girl, had the highest rank within the family. Each child in turn became the founder of a branch of the ramage, and the branches were ranked according to the birth order of the founders. This was repeated with succeeding generations, thus adding new branches to the ramage in an ever continuing process of expansion. In recounting genealogies, the line was usually traced through the ancestor of highest rank in each generation, whether male or female. Thus, descent was neither matrilineal nor patrilineal but was bilateral. The system allowed for considerable flexibility. This very flexibility has been viewed as an adaptation to land scarcity because choices of descent group affiliation would tend to establish a balance between available land and population density.

The ramage system has often been misunderstood, however, and has been described as a patrilineal system because of its definite preference for descent through males and for the rule of primogeniture. There was a strong belief in the innate superiority of the firstborn, particularly the firstborn son. Ideally, succession to a chieflyancy was from a male to his eldest son, and a line of senior-ranking males was traced to the founding ancestor.

Close relatives, such as cousins, did not marry, but marriage-
The ramage was common. Thus, a ramage was a group of people related to one another in a complicated variety of ways through either their fathers, their mothers, or sometimes both. Each ramage member could be ranked according to his or her relative position within the ramage genealogy. The oldest male of the senior line, i.e., a long line of firstborn males, had the highest rank. He held the title of chief (variably known as ariki, ali'i, and other names). Males of lesser seniority were chiefs of a lower order and perhaps had authority over subdivisions of the ramage. The junior lines of the ramage were commoners, but the distinctions between aristocrats and commoners were often vague; everyone could claim some relationship to those of chiefly status. Genealogies, especially those of chiefs, were extremely important, and they were recalled for scores of generations.

Chiefs, especially those of senior ranking, possessed mana. It was "power for accomplishment" and could reside in people or inanimate objects. Thus, any person or object capable of more than ordinary performance had mana by definition. A chief skilled in diplomacy, leadership, and warfare, or a hook that caught exceptional quantities of fish had mana, and the fact was self-evident by performance. In some places mana was thought to be inherited so that each successive generation had more than previous generations had.

Mana commanded great respect. Its bearer was both sacred and dangerous. Charged with such invisible power, a chief had to be separated from others by rites of avoidance or tabu (taboo). Powerful chiefs could not come into direct contact with commoners, and objects they touched had to be avoided. Chiefs could declare sections of their domain off-limits or tabu, and the collection of resources was forbidden until the tabu was lifted.

Chiefs had authority and commanded respect and deference. They exercised political and economic leadership, but with certain exceptions they were not "despots," and those of lesser rank were in no way their serfs. All people had rights to land. Although chiefs had some control over basic decisions regarding the use and exploitation of land, lagoons, and reef areas and received symbolic tribute during first fruit and harvest ceremonies, they did not live off the labor of others. Rather, they cultivated food of their own and fished from the sea as did their fellows.

In his monumental book Ancient Polynesian Society, anthropologist Irving Goldman classified the kind of Polynesian society described above as "traditional." Most Polynesian societies were of this type. They included the Maori, who had settled New Zealand relatively late and smaller scale societies found on atolls and the smaller volcanic islands, such as Tikopia. In these societies seniority of descent provided mana and sanctity, established rank, and allocated authority and power in an orderly manner. The traditional society was essentially a religious system headed by a sacred chief and given stability by a religiously sanctioned gradation of worth.

Goldman distinguished two other kinds of Polynesian societies: "open" and "stratified." The open societies appeared to be transitional societies between the traditional and the stratified. In the open system the importance of seniority had become downplayed to allow military and political effectiveness to govern status and political control. It was more strongly military and political than religious, and stability was maintained more directly by the exercise of secular power. Status differences were no longer graded but tended to be sharply defined. Examples of the more open societies were those of Easter Island, the Marquesas, the Samoas, and Niue.

The Marquesas Islands may have been the most fully evolved example of an open society. Genealogical and achieved statuses were of about equal importance. Genealogical status was not adequate in itself, and the ultimate test of political power was the ability of a chief to attract and hold followers. If a chief could not build a following, if he could not control kin and allies alike, he had little to show for his title. He was either a political chief or, for all practical purposes, none at all. In the Samoa Islands descent and seniority of line were of even less importance. Leaders known as matai were, and continue to be, selected by their kinsmen to lead extended kin groupings by reason of their abilities and accomplishments.

Stratified societies developed where populations and resources were the largest. Hawaii, Tahiti, and Tonga were the best examples. Clearly defined and hierarchically ordered social classes were well developed. Because the chiefs ruled thousands of people, genealogical connections could no longer be traced between all segments of society. The chiefs formed a class unto themselves and married within that class. The highest ranking chief possessed all land; commoners were landless subjects. The administration was impersonal and totalitarian.

Hawaii represented the greatest development of a stratified system. There were 11 grades of ali'i. Entire islands or major divisions of the largest islands were held by an ali'i nui, or single chief, and his rule was often despotic. His domain was subdivided among lesser chiefs in return for tribute and service. Actual administration of government was often turned over to a kahimoku,
or land manager. Lesser chiefs could be removed when they displeased the ali`i nui. When the latter died or was overthrown, the lands of the domain were reallocated by his successor. The chiefs had great sanctity, and it was believed that they were descended from gods. In addition to the chiefly and commoner classes, there was a slave or outcast class.

Shortly after European contact, all of the Hawaiian Islands were unified under a single ali`i, who came to be known as King Kamehameha. Although he used Europeans to solidify his rule over all the islands, it appears that the process was already well under way and would have occurred without foreign assistance. There were similar developments in Tahiti and Tonga; the latter remains a monarchy to this very day (see Tonga, ch. 4).

Throughout most of Polynesia there was a pantheon of gods that varied only slightly from one archipelago to another. In Hawaii, Kane was the creator, Lono was the god of rain and agriculture, and Ku was the god of war and warriors. There were a variety of other nature deities, and at all levels of society ancestral gods were important. The proper worship of major gods was conducted by priests drawn from the ranks of the junior ali`i lines, and at the level of commoners, heads of extended families looked after the ancestors. The society of the Samoa Islands was an exception to the general Polynesian pattern, for it was more secular, less attention was paid to the supernatural, and the concept of mana was weak.

Warfare was almost universal. At stake were the power and reputation of rival chiefs. Indeed, status rivalry was particularly acute in Polynesian societies, and this concern made intelligible much of Polynesian behavior. Most of Polynesia has undergone fundamental transformations since European contact, but vestiges of the past have remained. Samoans have proven to be remarkably resilient, and the organization of this society has retained much of its traditional form. On many islands—particularly those that are remote—the ramagage organization still defines the relations among kin and rights to land. Chiefly powers have been greatly diminished everywhere, and they no longer exist at all in highly Westernized Hawaii.

Micronesia

With two major exceptions, Micronesia remained a cultural area in which matrilineal institutions dominated. At birth, individuals, regardless of gender, became members of their mothers' matrilineage. The lineage was usually three to five generations deep, and in most places the corporate group held the land. As in Polynesia, siblings were ranked by their birth order, the head of each lineage being its senior ranking male. Succession to lineage headship was matrilineal, i.e., a male was succeeded by his younger brother in the order of their birth and then by their eldest sister's eldest son.

Aggregations of lineages shared a common name and formed a social category that anthropologists refer to as matriline. The lineages belonging to the same clan were dispersed among several islands or an entire archipelago; usually no genealogical connections were known between them. Nonetheless, clan members had a feeling of common kinship, and the clan was exogamous, i.e., one had to marry outside the clan. The clan was a vehicle for the provision of hospitality, for one was obligated to protect and provide food and shelter for one's fellow clan members, whether strangers or friends. The exogamous and dispersed clans functioned as a security net; one could rely on clan members when in need or when traveling between islands.

The social organization of the Carolinian atolls was quite egalitarian. Within Truk itself, each island within the lagoon was divided into two or more districts, each was occupied by a politically autonomous community. The landholding matrilineages of the community were ranked according to the order in which they were settled in the district. The highest ranking lineage was the first to have settled in the district; its head is also the community's chief. Most of the Carolinian atolls were organized like the communities of Truk.

The Carolinian atolls from Ulithi in the west to those as far east as Namonuito (immediately west of Truk) belonged to a supra-atoll network that has misleadingly been called the Yapese Empire. Until recent times an annual expedition was organized to render tribute to Gatchepan village on the high island of Yap. The atoll communities were progressively ranked from highest to lowest from west to east. Ulithi was ranked the highest; Namonuito, Pulap, Puluwat, and Pulusuk in the east were ranked the lowest. The expedition began with canoes from the eastern atolls sailing west to Lamotrek. There, the higher ranking Lamotrek chief took charge, and the expedition moved farther west to the next stop.

The same process was repeated until Ulithi was reached, whereupon the Ulithi chief took command and the canoes proceeded to Yap, where tribute was rendered. The priests of Gatchepan purportedly protected the atolls from disaster and could send typhoons and/or drought if tribute was not rendered.

Conquest was never involved, and thus it is a misnomer to
rather, the relations between the actors in the network appear to have developed as an effective means of adapting to the ecology of the far-flung atolls. The atoll dwellers received food and commodities not available on the atolls, and they could look to Yap for assistance in times of disaster. It should be noted that the annual expedition moved from east to west, the same direction as the dependable trade winds. Like the system of clans, the empire was essentially a social security system for the coral islanders.

Paramount chieftaincy and distinct social classes characterized the traditional organization of the high islands and the Marshallese atolls. On the high islands of Palau, the Marianas, Ponape, Kosrae, and the Marshalls, certain clans or lineages were of paramount chiefly status, and their members constituted a privileged ruling class. Each of the islands or island groups was divided among the chiefs, who had ultimate control of the land within their respective domains. Their powers were substantial and in most cases included the ability to render judgments of life or death upon members of the commoner class.

The most centralized political regimes occurred on Ponape and Kosrae. In both instances a single chiefly line ruled the entire island. In Ponape the ruling dynasty oversaw the construction of Nan Madol, the largest archaeological site in all of Oceania. It is composed of some 90 artificial islands linked by canals over a complex of more than 36 hectares. Its monumental architecture was constructed from log-shaped basalt crystals each weighing several tons. For reasons that are not clear, the Ponape Dynasty collapsed shortly before the arrival of Europeans, and only Kosrae had a centralized political structure at the time of contact. Ponape was divided into the five separate paramount chiefdoms that are found on the island today.

In the Marshalls the several paramount chiefs were headquartered in ecologically favored areas, for the southern atolls lie within the relatively wet climatic zone above the equator and possess the best soils, largest resource bases, and greatest populations. The chiefs' domains extended into and embraced the northern atolls, which are dry and resource poor and have small populations.

Like the Marshalls, the Gilbert Islands are composed of atolls. The northern atolls also fall within the wet zone. Ecologically, they are very much like the southern Marshalls. Paramount chiefdoms also existed in the northern atolls. Their authority did not, however, extend southward to include the southern atolls, which like the northern Marshalls are dry, resource poor, and
The people of the Gilberts lacked the system of dispersed matrilineages that served to link the residents of different atolls. The Gilberts were influenced greatly by their Polynesian neighbors to the south, and the social organization of the archipelago was a variant of the Polynesian system of bilateral descent. Because the chiefly realms were restricted to the north, the poorly endowed southern atolls had community councils and were more egalitarian.

Yap was unique not only in Micronesia but also in the Pacific as a whole. The exogamous matrilineages of Yapese society were like those found elsewhere in Micronesia but in contrast to the others contained no corporate matrilineages as subunits. Rather, land was held by patrilineages. Each Yapese village was composed of a number of patrilineages that were corporate landholding groups. Within the villages the land parcels, not the social groups, were ranked. The patrilineage that held the highest ranked land was for that reason the highest ranking lineage, and its head was the village chief. A Yapese saying indicates the importance of land on Yap as well as in the entire region: "The man is not chief, the land is chief." Yap was complex in other ways. Villages were divided into higher and lower castes, i.e., the land of the villages was so ranked. The high caste was further divided into five classes, the lower caste was divided into four. Nowhere in the Pacific have distinctions of social class been so pronounced.

With a few exceptions, religious systems in Micronesia were not as complex as those in Polynesia; there was no overall and widespread pantheon of deities. Cosmologies tended to be simple. Ancestral spirits and supernatural beings that resided in objects of nature were important in some areas.

As in Polynesia, warfare was endemic. In an egalitarian society such as Truk, the small political entities engaged in regular conflict. Elsewhere, the paramount chiefs warred among themselves in efforts to extend their respective domains.

The social organization and culture of the Chamorro people of the Marianas were virtually destroyed shortly after European contact, and Kosrae lost its centralized chiefly organization. As have the Samoa Islands in Polynesia, Yap has maintained much of its traditional culture and social organization. The Caroline atolls have also tended to be culturally conservative. Although their power and authority have been substantially decreased, the paramount chiefs of Palau, Ponape, and the Marshalls continue to be quite influential personages. The paramount chiefs of the Gilberts have largely been eclipsed, but the bilateral organization of the society has changed little.

Melanesia

With the exception of New Caledonia, which has been radically altered by colonial rule, a majority of Melanesian societies have retained much of their traditional culture and social organizations. This is certainly the case for the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea, where as much as 90 percent of the populations are still self-sufficient subsistence agriculturists.

Every anthropologist who has attempted to generalize about Melanesia has emphasized its great diversity. After writing a general survey of the area, Anne Chowning concluded that Melanesia is best regarded as a geographical region in which some culture traits occur with greater frequency than they do in some of the surrounding areas. It contains what might be called smaller cultural areas similar to those that have been defined for parts of Africa.

Ian Hogbin, a long-term observer of the area, has described some of those traits and has commented that Melanesians usually impress Europeans as being hardworking agriculturists, occupied with trade, the accumulation of wealth, the ramifications of kinship, ancestor worship, and secret societies. At the same time, they are motivated by deep-seated fears and insecurities that find outlet in an extreme development of malevolent magic and in constant warfare. It may be added that other very prominent features of Melanesia are the widespread absence of complex and permanent forms of political organization and the small size of political entities. The area is also unhealthy compared with the rest of the Pacific. Malaria, probably the most serious scourge, takes a heavy toll on lowland dwellers.

Groups no larger than a few hundred people were common in the lowlands, the exceptions being in the Sepik River region of New Guinea, where groups could contain a thousand people. The largest groups are found in the Highlands of New Guinea; these may reach several thousand, but numbers of around a thousand are more typical.

Political units were most commonly headed by a man or several men, who were literally called "big men." The position of a big man was largely achieved; he had to create his own following, although it has recently been realized that the sons of big men do have an advantage over others. A big man must be ambitious and energetic, possess the ability to manipulate others and get them in his debt, organize large-scale activities, be successful in the accumulation of wealth (pigs, valuables, and garden produce), and
Generosity in distributing that wealth. In the past and in many areas, a big man also had to prove himself as a warrior and show special magical knowledge. It was common for a big man to have several wives in order to serve as the work force necessary to cultivate adequate gardens and nurture pigs.

There are exceptions to the big-man kind of polity. One such exception is found in the Trobriand (Kiriwina) Islands, which lie off the east coast of New Guinea. (Its people are among the most well-known in Melanesia; volumes have been written about them by Bronislaw Malinowski, a scholar who helped shape modern anthropology.) The Trobriands have ranked matrilineals and paramount chiefs who exert extensive authority. Paramount chiefs in New Caledonia are similar to some chiefs in Polynesia, and a hereditary two-class system with chiefly offices exists in a number of Melanesian societies, mostly on smaller islands. In addition to the Trobriands, other exceptions to the big-man typology are found in the Schouten Islands, the Arawe Islands, Bu, the Buin area of Bougainville, and other parts of the easternmost islands.

Settlement patterns range from elaborately laid out villages, such as those in the Trobriands, to the much more common and very dispersed homesteads found in the New Guinea Highlands. Land tenure systems vary greatly but are often tied to descent groups, and almost every possible variety of the latter is found in the region. In very broad terms matrilineal descent systems are limited and are mostly found in eastern Melanesia: the New Hebrides, the Solomons, New Ireland, the eastern half of New Britain, most of the Massim (the eastern tip of New Guinea out into the Trobriands and other offshore islands), and a few locations along the north coast of New Guinea. Many of the societies of the New Guinea Highlands are patrilineal in ideology but in practice exhibit great flexibility and numerous exceptions to a patrilineal system.

Two forms of wealth are ubiquitous in the area: pigs and small portable valuables. Pig exchanges are an integral part of ceremonial life and are usually involved in the payment of brideprice, a practice common in Melanesia. The small valuables take a variety of forms, depending upon locale, and include dogs' teeth, curved boars' tusks, porpoise teeth, pierced stone disks, red feather belts, and packets of salt—a scarce commodity in the New Guinea Highlands.

Trade and exchange networks are also a common feature. In many instances food and utilitarian items are exchanged along well-established networks that apparently are of considerable antiquity. Fish and shells are traded inland from coastal areas. Some villages specialize in the manufacture of pottery and exchange their products for food and other items. The exchange of valuables also follows long-established routes. The most well-known of these are great ceremonial trading expeditions known as the kula ring in the Trobriands. Two types of heirloom jewelry are circulated among the islands. Red shell necklaces move along a clockwise route, and white shell armbands are exchanged in a counterclockwise direction. Pieces of the jewelry that have made many complete circuits around the ring and have been owned by men of great prestige are especially valuable. Utilitarian items are also exchanged during the kula transactions.

Nowhere in Oceania are the differences between the sexes as marked as in Melanesia. Women suffer an inferior status, and yet they are commonly feared by men. Women are viewed as sexually, physically, and spiritually draining. Too much sex and contact with women is to be avoided. Especially during menstruation and after childbirth, women are considered to be dangerous and contaminating, not just to men but to everything with which they might come into contact. In many places men and women sleep apart in separate houses, and men, as if to emphasize their separateness, may belong to secret societies whose centers are huge, elaborately decorated clubhouses.

More than anywhere else in the Pacific, the Melanesian concern with magic and sorcery amounts almost to an obsession. Practically every facet of life has its associated rituals. There are magical spells to ensure the growth of crops, bring success in fishing, guarantee victory in war, and cure sickness. Certain rites bring harm and failure to personal and community enemies. The writings of Malinowski on Trobriand magic and anthropologist Reo Fortune's account of sorcery on Dobi in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands reflect the Melanesian preoccupation with these concerns and the attention they have received in the literature.

In Melanesia it is impossible to make a clear distinction between magic and religion. Experts agree that spiritual beings are usually part of the ordinary physical world and are not transcendent. Ancestor worship is almost universal, and roughly the same sorts of spiritual beings are parts of the belief systems of many different peoples. Generally, there is no great concern with the creation or origin of the world or the universe.

In the past, warfare was also a constant feature of Melanesian life; it has remained so in the New Guinea Highlands. Virtually every community continually worried with at least some of its neighbors. Revenge was the most frequent cause. Each killing or
injury had to be repaid, and the process was literally endless. Head-hunting and cannibalism were common in many areas.

Melanesian creativity reached its zenith in its elaborate art forms, particularly in the lowlands. Painting, wood carving, and inlay work are lavish and are found in such ceremonial objects as masks, human and animal figures, drums, canoes, and innumerable other items. In some areas of New Guinea and the Solomons, almost every object, no matter how utilitarian, is decorated. In other areas, particularly the New Guinea Highlands, decoration is focused on the human body, taking the form of facial and body paint, elaborate headdresses, and costumes. In many respects Melanesian societies tend to represent the extremes. Indeed, anthropologist Ronald Berndt used the title *Excess and Restraint* for his study of four linguistic groups in the eastern New Guinea Highlands.

**Era of European Discovery**

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had established themselves in the East Indies, maintaining trading posts at Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, the Moluccas (Spice Islands; present-day Maluku Islands in Indonesia), and a few other locations. They arrived at these distant outposts by voyaging around the Cape of Good Hope, up the east coast of Africa, and east across the Indian Ocean, bringing them to the edge of, but not into, the insular Pacific.

Seeking to challenge Portugal's hold on the East Indies, Spain sought alternate routes to the area as well as another potential prize. As far back as the sixth century B.C., it had been posited that the world was a globe and that there was a great landmass on the southern part that gave balance to the northern landforms. Armchair geographers had come to call the unseen southern continent Terra Australis Incognita. For Christopher Columbus and others centuries later, the two Americas represented barriers to a western route from Europe to the East Indies and the southern continent.

Like Columbus, Magellan was convinced that there was a route around the Americas, and, finding only skepticism at home, he eventually led an expedition from Spain. He sailed around the southern tip of South America and through the strait that now bears his name. He proceeded from southeast to northwest across the Pacific and reached Guam in 1521. Magellan pushed on farther westward and discovered the Philippines, where he was killed in an encounter with the indigenous people. His voyage demonstrated the immense size of the Pacific, and his crew continued homeward to complete the first circumnavigation of the earth.

The Spanish failed to dislodge the Portuguese in the East Indies, but they eventually took possession of the Philippines in 1565. To link the Philippines to the motherland, a trans-Pacific route was established from Manila to Acapulco, Mexico, overland to the Caribbean, and on to Spain.

During the remainder of the sixteenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese were the dominant explorers in the region. Representatives of both countries sighted and claimed the large landmass of New Guinea. Sailing to the Peruvian port of Callao, the Spaniard Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira discovered the Solomon Islands in the late 1560s. Attempting to retrace his voyage, he sailed again from Callao in 1595. He discovered the Marquesas Islands—the first inhabited Polynesian islands seen by Europeans.

Mendaña did not live to see the end of his voyage, and his command passed to his chief pilot, Pedro Fernández de Quiros, who became obsessed with finding the southern continent. Setting sail in 1605, he traveled through the Tuamotus, which were of little interest to him, and went on to discover the New Hebrides Islands, which he wrongly identified as the sought-after continent. Quiros returned to Mexico, but his own chief pilot, Luis Vázquez de Torres, sailed from Manila after passing along the southern coast of New Guinea through what is now called the Torres Strait. His voyage demonstrated that New Guinea is an island and not part of the undiscovered continent.

By 1602 the Dutch had replaced the Portuguese in the East Indies, and during the seventeenth century they made the major explorations in the Pacific. The Dutch United East India Company monopolized trade in the Indies, and its investors tended to be conservative. Where the Spanish and Portuguese had been adventurers seeking gold, new lands, and souls for the glory of church and state, the Dutch were primarily pragmatic entrepreneurs searching for new trade routes and new markets.

In 1606 Dutch navigators discovered northern Australia while exploring the southern coast of New Guinea. Several exploratory voyages sponsored by the company in the 1620s and 1630s helped to map the northern and western coasts of Australia, which they called New Holland. They did not establish with certainty, however, that all the territory explored formed part of the long-sought-after southern continent. In 1642 Captain Abel Tasman sailed around the southern coast of Australia and encoun-
tered the island now known as Tasmania. Continuing around Australia, he discovered New Zealand, Tonga, and parts of Fiji early the next year. Tasman was the first European navigator to enter the Pacific from the west; he was also the first to make a complete circuit around Australia. After a second voyage in 1644, Tasman had contributed more knowledge about the Pacific than any other European up to his time.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch concentrated on their business concerns, and although voyages to New Guinea and western Australia occurred, no vigorous exploratory effort was pursued. After Tasman’s voyages, no major discoveries were made in the South Pacific until the voyage of another Dutchman, Admiral Jacob Roggeveen, about 80 years later. Roggeveen, who was not affiliated with the Dutch United East India Company, discovered exotic Easter Island, part of the Tuamotus, and the Samoa Islands in 1722. His efforts were not appreciated by the Dutch; instead, Roggeveen was accused of having trespassed on the company’s monopoly. His discoveries rekindled interest in Pacific geography and exploration elsewhere.

Much of that interest, however, was carried on by armchair geographers in Europe. The reports and maps from previous expeditions were subjected to scrutiny and debate in academia. The Dutch had not freely shared the results of their explorations, and for others the uncertainty about Terra Australis Incognita remained.

Beginning in 1764 the tempo of actual exploration in the Pacific gained momentum, and within a relatively short time a series of voyages by four Englishmen and one Frenchman occurred. Douglas L. Oliver, a dean of Pacific anthropology, has described the period as one in which Oceania geography was transformed from a speculative into an exact science. Between 1764 and 1769 the three English captains John Byron, Samuel Wallis, and Philip Carteret made significant voyages of exploration. Wallis discovered Tahiti; Carteret sailed over much unexplored but vacant ocean, thereby eliminating many of the areas where the southern continent might possibly have been located.

In an effort to challenge the British and restore prestige that had been damaged by events in Europe, the Frenchman Louis Antoine de Bougainville was instructed to circumnavigate the globe. Bougainville followed Wallis to Tahiti. Thereafter, he proceeded to the Samoa Islands. His next landfalls were the islands of the New Hebrides, New Guinea, and the Solomons.

Although Bougainville’s accomplishments were considerable, the eighteenth-century voyages of exploration in the Pacific were dominated by the British. Captain James Cook proved to be the most formidable of them all. Cook made three voyages—the first in 1768–71 and the others in 1772–75 and 1776–79. Although all of Cook’s accomplishments cannot be recounted here, he further explored the Society Islands during his first voyage and surveyed the coasts of New Zealand and most of the eastern coast of Australia. During the second voyage he came close to Antarctica, discovered Nineteen, New Caledonia, and Norfolk Island, and charted new islands in the Tuamotus, Cooks, and Marquesas. His third voyage took Cook along the American northwest coast and Alaska in search of the hoped-for northwest passage. Among other discoveries, Cook came upon the Hawaiian Islands; it was there that he met his death in 1779.

The era of major exploration and new discoveries essentially ended by 1780 after the voyages of Cook. One observer reported that “he left his successors with little to do but admire.” Certainly the major archipelagos had been located and mapped, and Cook’s observations and charts later proved to be remarkably accurate.

The explorers not only made a significant impact on the people of the Pacific but their accounts also captured the imagination of Westerners. Both sides had learned that there were new and unfamiliar peoples in the world. Trade for food and water supplies had taken place, and islanders had come to appreciate the value of iron and other Western goods. Romantic myths about the south sea islands were launched in Europe and America, and philosophers took island peoples to be examples of humans in a pristine state of nature. After their long voyages sailors had found island women especially attractive; thus, the mixture of races had begun. Cook lamented that venereal disease was already evident by the time of his last voyage.

In the initial contacts with islanders, misunderstanding and violence occurred often. In fact, violence accompanied the beginning and the end of the era. During his call at Guam in 1521, Magellan was angered when some Chamorros made away with his vessel’s skiff. He took 40 men ashore, burned 40 or 50 houses and several canoes, killed seven men, and recovered the skiff. A stolen vessel was also the immediate cause of Captain Cook’s death at Kealakekua Bay in Hawaii in 1779. On this occasion a cutter was stolen, and when Cook went ashore to demand its return, he lost his life at the hands of the Hawaiians.
The Interlopers

From the 1790s until about the 1860s, the first interlopers who actually established residence in the Pacific appeared. Polynesia and Micronesia received the most attention. Melanesia was initially avoided because of the hostility of the inhabitants and the inhospitable environment. Further, the widespread absence of chiefs made it more difficult to deal with the Melanesians.

The outsiders may be divided into two categories: the sacred and the profane. Usually the latter arrived first. They have been variously labeled as beachcombers, sealers, whalers, and traders, and some individuals changed labels as they shifted from one enterprise to another. Engaged in the affairs of the sacred, the missionaries usually appeared after the beachcomber communities had been established. The two groups were often at loggerheads with each other.

Beachcombers, who first began to appear with the explorers, were men who had jumped ship or were the survivors of shipwrecks. They were later joined by escapees from British and French penal colonies in Australia, Norfolk Island, and New Caledonia and by men who were malcontents at home or simply adventurers fascinated by tales of the south seas. The beachcombers have commonly been described as being overly fond of alcohol and as having unsavory characters. They came from almost every nation in Europe and the Americas.

Although it is true that many were undesirables and that most did not make a great impact on history, the importance of some cannot be denied. The beachcombers were the first foreigners to establish residence in the islands and to learn the indigenous languages. Many married or formed long-term liaisons with island women and left numerous offspring. Some were attached to chiefly families and were used by chiefs to serve as advisers and/or intermediaries in relations with Europeans. Their service as interpreters gave them some control over communication. Missionaries new to the field abhorred dependence upon the beachcombers and were usually quick to learn the local language themselves. A few gained considerable prominence and influence and remained in the islands for the rest of their lives. Some adopted trading as a profession, while others, perhaps the majority, left or died without a trace.

A few left more than a trace and became well-known. For example, Isaac Davis and John Young were detained in Hawaii by King Kamehameha and became advisers who helped him solidify his rule over the archipelago. David Whippy was left by an entrepreneur in Fiji and became a major figure in Fijian politics at the time Fiji lost its sovereignty. William Mariner, a young Englishman, was detained in Tonga by a chiefly family for four years (1806–10); he was a keen observer and provided an excellent account of Tongan society and language. Herman Melville spent time in the Marquesas as a beachcomber, later incorporating his experiences in two novels, Typee and Omoo. James O'Connell, a colorful Irishman and somewhat of a rogue, left a valuable account of several years on Ponape in the late 1820s and early 1830s.

Beginning in the late 1790s, commercial ships began to carry sealers and fur traders between the northwest coast of America and China. Trade in salt pork was established between Tahiti, where it was produced, and Sydney. The sealers and fur traders visited the islands as they plied their vessels across the Pacific, trading primarily to obtain food and freshwater supplies. For them, as well as for the whalers who followed them, the islands were well liked as recreation spots.

Sandalwood, which had long been valued in China, caused considerable excitement when it was discovered in Polynesia and Melanesia. Although the sandalwood trade did not last long, it brought violence and bad relations almost everywhere. Generally, the sandalwooders had a very bad reputation; they often attempted to shortchange islanders, sometimes bullying them into participating in the trade. Chiefs, especially those in Hawaii, used the trade to enhance their own welfare at the expense of the commoners. It was a blessing that the trade ran its course in relatively short order. The three main areas first affected were Fiji (1804–16), Hawaii (1811–28), and the Marquesas (1813–17). Trade was first established in the 1820s in Melanesia—primarily among the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia—and lasted until about 1865. Other Pacific products also found markets in China, and traders promoted the collection of bêche-de-mer (or trepang—a sea cucumber used for soups), mother of pearl, and tortoiseshell.

More importantly, the Pacific was found to have rich whaling grounds. By the 1820s whalers were operating all over the region. The enterprise began with both British and American whalers, but it soon became dominated by New England interests out of Nantucket and New Bedford. The crews, however, were a mixed bag composed of not only New Englanders but also American Indians, runaway slaves, renegade British sailors, Europeans of several nationalities, and Pacific islanders, especially Hawaiians.

The whaling industry grew rapidly, many more than 700 American vessels worked the Pacific during the peak decade of
the 1850s. Through the 1860s and 1870s the industry declined as whaling grounds were depleted and as whale oil for lamps was replaced by kerosene.

Ports of call sprang up in response to the industry. Whalers put ashore to restore and resupply vessels for what came to be known as "refreshment." The latter referred to all kinds of activities: a relief from the rigors of sea, fresh foods, the excitement of new faces, the swilling of booze, and the securing of willing sexual partners. Liquor, guns, hardware, and textiles were traded for the commodities and services required by the seafarers. Hawaii, Tahiti, and the Marquesas were the first to feel the impact in Polynesia. Ponape and Kosrae became favorite spots in Micronesia. Eventually New Zealand was very much involved. Three ports were especially famous for their refreshments: Honolulu in Hawaii, Papeete in Tahiti, and Kororareka in New Zealand. Honolulu and Papeete survived and continued to thrive after the decline of whaling, Kororareka did not. Everywhere the whalers had a deleterious impact on indigenous peoples. The incidence of venereal disease as well as other diseases increased, violence was common, alcohol ravaged people unaccustomed to strong drink, and firearms heightened the seriousness of indigenous conflicts. Depopulation began to be a serious problem in many island groups, one that would continue throughout the twentieth century.

The copra trade also had a great impact on the islands; in fact, no other Western economic activity has touched the lives of so many Pacific islanders. By the mid-nineteenth century there was a large demand for tropical vegetable oils in Europe; thus, the oil of the meat of the coconut became of value.

Germans launched the copra trade. The firm of Johann Cesar Godefroy and Son began with an oil-processing plant in Western Samoa in 1856. It soon changed to exporting copra, which was later processed in Europe. Godefroy acquired large plantations in the Samoa Islands and by the 1870s had agents scattered across the Pacific from Tahiti to the Marianas.

Later, other plantations were established, and other large-scale companies became involved with copra and other commerce. However, the consequences were much more widespread. The coconut palm grows almost everywhere, even thriving on coral atolls, and copra production is simple, requiring little or no capital investment. In the most basic form of production, the white meat of a mature nut is cut from its shell and dried in the sun. Consequently, copra production is suited for even the poorest and most remote spots in the Pacific. The boats of small traders as well as large trading firms can collect copra throughout an island chain, exchanging cash and goods in return. In spite of difficulties stemming from price fluctuations, copra has therefore been a natural product for the islands and has been a major income earner for the inhabitants. As increased numbers of coconut palms were planted, the copra trade altered the landscapes of entire islands, especially the atolls. A coral atoll whose islands are entirely covered with the palms is a post-copra-trade phenomenon.

It is an understatement to say that the last category of foreigners to be considered, the missionaries, also had an immeasurable impact on Pacific societies. The missions have been as successful, if not more so, in the Pacific as in any other place in the world. It all began with the Spanish and conversions to Catholicism. The Spanish sailing route between Mexico and the Philippines made Guam, the southernmost of the Marianas, a convenient port of call for reprovisioning and refreshment. In 1668 a Catholic mission and military garrison were established there. Initially, the effort seemed successful, and the priests adopted a strategy that was later to become commonplace. They first worked to bring the paramount chiefs into the fold, soon the more common folk followed.

In 1670 a few priests and catechists were killed after a misunderstanding with the Chamorros; the Spanish soldiers retaliated, and the Chamorro wars followed. The Spanish were nothing less than ruthless, and by 1694 Spain's conquest of the entire Marianas was complete. Of an estimated 100,000 Chamorros, the indigenous population was reduced to about 5,000. For administrative convenience and to provide a labor force close at hand, most of these were resettled on Guam. Spain had, in effect, established the first European colony in the Pacific. Within a short time Chamorro culture was essentially lost as the surviving Chamorros intermarried with their Spanish masters and Filipinos. The language survives, although in a much altered form.

The next round of missionization did not occur until over a century later, when the Protestants entered Polynesia. In 1797 the London Missionary Society landed its first contingent of missionaries in Tahiti. Like the earlier priests on Guam, these missionaries quickly developed the same sociological insight. If the chiefs could be converted, the process would quickly spread downward through the lower ranks of the stratified society. Within twenty years the Tahitian mission had enjoyed consider-
able success. By the 1830s the efforts of the London Missionary Society had spread westward, through the Society Islands to the Cook and Samoa islands.

Other Protestant groups followed close on the heels of the London Missionary Society and, like the latter, for the most part came from Britain. The Church Missionary Society, organized in Britain, moved to New Zealand in 1814 to spread the gospel among the Maori. The British-based Wesleyan Missionary Society established a station in New Zealand in 1819; within a few years it was at work in Tonga, Fiji, and the Loyalty Islands, the latter representing intrusions into insular Melanesia. The Melanesian Mission was started in New Zealand; its initial work was with people in the Banks, Loyalty, and Solomon islands. By 1866 a mission school was established on Norfolk Island, and Melanesians were brought there for instruction.

The Americans entered the field when the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) landed its first missionaries in Hawaii in 1820. The ABCFM effort, also known as the Boston Mission, followed the pattern of working through the highest chiefs. Success was relatively quick. By mid-century ABCFM missionaries, including a few Hawaiian converts, extended their work to the eastern Carolines, the Marshalls, and eventually to the Gilberts.

The first serious effort launched by Catholics in the eastern Pacific came in 1827, when a band of priests arrived in Hawaii. In an act that characterized future relations between the two branches of Christianity, the Protestants expelled the unwanted competition. The Catholics retreated for a few years and then reentered Polynesia with an adroit move, landing priests in the remote Mangareva Islands southeast of Tahiti in 1834, where they were not watcht and were unopposed. After gaining a command of the language, they established missions in Tahiti in 1836 and in the Marquesas in 1838. They were also the first missionaries to reach New Caledonia, in 1843. Fiji and the Samoa Islands saw their first Catholic missions in 1844.

By the 1850s and 1860s missionaries were at work in all the island groups. Melanesia, as usual, came last and was the most difficult to penetrate. The widespread absence of chiefs, the fragmented and small political units, and the great diversity of languages made it a true nightmare. Indeed, the American and European missionaries often did not take up the challenge; they sent a good number of their recent Polynesian converts in their stead.

The Protestants and Catholics could not have been more different. The Protestants wanted to bring not only their religion but also their own New England and British habits and work ethic. They insisted on clothing the women from head to toe and urged islanders to adopt Western-style houses. They attempted to suppress sexuality and railed against the evils of demon rum and tobacco. Their message contained more hellfire and brimstone than brotherly love and compassion.

The Protestants received much encouragement but not a great amount of financial support from home, and this helped form a particular style of missionization. An emphasis was placed on training indigenous pastors and making the new congregations become economically self-supporting. The missionaries themselves sometimes engaged in farming and trading. At times their own offspring became influential in island economies. The ultimate goal for the mission effort, however, was to train the indigenous pastors and church committees to take charge of the entire operation. For the most part, the strategy worked. The missionaries also got involved often in local politics and were very influential in shaping the monarchies that developed in Hawaii, Tahiti, and Tonga.

In contrast the Catholics were French, and the same motives that caused the French to send Bougainville on his voyage around the world were evident in the mission field. France was trying to regain its global prestige; its main rival was Britain. The French government had colonial ambitions in the Pacific and gave support to the Catholic effort. The Catholic missionaries promoted French language and culture as well as the dogma of their faith. No effort was made to create an indigenous church, and the French fathers remained very much in charge. They were also as much agents of French imperialism as of their faith.

The Protestants had agreed to divide the Pacific among themselves and respected one another’s bailiwicks. The Catholics did not play by the same rules, for in areas where Protestants had become established, Catholics confronted them. Eventually, the two branches of Christianity overlapped almost everywhere, but in most island groups one side was dominant. Both evidenced a considerable amount of intolerance and bigotry, and each claimed to have the legitimate faith, portraying the other’s message as an untruth at best. Religious wars were fought among island people in a few places. Even today the rifts between the two are often great. As recently as a few years ago, the people of one atoll in the Marshalls could not cooperate to form a local community council to govern their affairs because of the deep antagonisms between Protestants and Catholics.
On the positive side, missions provided education and, in some cases, modest medical care before colonial governments would concern themselves with such things. More important, the missionaries developed orthographies for many of the previously unwritten languages. In order to read the Scriptures, it was necessary to be literate, and the art of reading was taught with great vigor. Today most people of the Pacific are literate in either their vernacular or, in the case of Melanesia, the local pidgin.

By the mid-nineteenth century the initial stage of pioneering in the Pacific by outsiders was over, and circumstances were in place for two major developments during the latter half of the century. First, greater commercial development was to occur for the benefit of Europeans and Americans. Second, and related to the first, the process that had begun on Guam—the partitioning of the Pacific among the colonial powers—would be completed.

With regard to commercial development in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Douglas L. Oliver, in his now classic book, The Pacific Islands, has identified three kinds of people as having had the greatest importance: planters, blackbirders, and merchants. Although some planters had arrived earlier, a great many more arrived during the late 1800s, most from Australia and New Zealand. As Oliver has pointed out, the planter was a new kind of man; he did not come for refreshment or in search of souls. He came to stay and make a commitment to the development of a plantation, and he wanted land. Although other tropical plants were tried, the only ones of any real significance were copra, sugar, coffee, cacao, vanilla, fruit, cotton, and rubber. The last was mainly limited to New Guinea, and cotton only enjoyed a boom on Fiji during the American Civil War, when supplies from the American South to the rest of the world were cut off. Copra plantations have been the most numerous and widespread.

Planters needed cheap labor, but they did not find what they wanted among Polynesians and Micronesians. People from both areas worked extremely hard in short spurts when some culturally valued task was at hand, but they would not tolerate the monotonous routines of daily plantation chores. There were two solutions. For the sugar plantations of Hawaii and Fiji, laborers from outside the region were imported. In Hawaii, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos were brought in, and they stayed to become part of the archipelago's society. In Fiji, Indians were imported as indentured laborers; they too stayed and came to comprise about one-half the population. The sugar industry produced revolutionary changes in both island groups.

For plantations elsewhere in the islands and the sugar fields of Queensland in Australia, Melanesians became the primary targets for blackbirding. In theory, blackbirding was a system of indentured labor whereby islanders obligated themselves for a few years of labor in exchange for being fed, paid a small wage, and returned home with a bonus of cash and goods or some variant thereof. In reality, islanders were often tricked or trapped into the arrangement, and their rewards were not always what they expected. Blackbirders delivered newly acquired "recruits" to their new masters and made handsome profits for themselves. Some of the laborers were treated reasonably well. Others were not, and some never saw their homes again. In the last analysis, blackbirding was a form of slavery. As the colonial powers divided the Pacific, they brought the seamy practice to an end.

Following the planters and blackbirders, several large mercantile firms emerged, including the German firm of Godeffroy, which collapsed and was succeeded for a while by other German firms. New Zealand and Australian interests became dominant, however, and several firms came to take up the major share of trade. They absorbed smaller trading operations, or smaller traders became their agents. Auckland and Sydney essentially became the financial capitals of the Pacific.

The Partitioning of the Pacific

Before the mid-nineteenth century, only two colonial powers had laid claim to territory in the insular Pacific. Guam and the rest of the Marianas were firmly under Spanish rule. Spain also claimed much of the remainder of Micronesia but had made no move to establish any real control. As a result of their involvement in the East Indies, the Dutch had been familiar with the western portion of New Guinea since the seventeenth century. In 1828 they laid formal claim to the western half of the island, but the Dutch did not establish a permanent administrative post until some 70 years later. Britain had founded its penal colony in Australia in 1788, and the continent was eventually divided into several separate colonies; unification came later.

Convicts who had served their time and free settlers from Australia and Britain soon spilled over into New Zealand. In 1840 Britain took possession of New Zealand, which in 1841 separated as a colony from Australia. Thereafter, Australia and New Zealand, particularly the former, strongly urged Britain to annex every island and reef in the Pacific. Britain's position was that it did not wish to commit itself to greater overseas expansion in the
Pacific. The Dutch did not have further ambitions outside of western New Guinea. The United States was still very much involved in whaling and the fur trade in the northern Pacific; it had no possessions in the Pacific and was not seeking territorial expansion in the area at the time.

France did have ambitions. A proposal to build the Panama Canal was being revived at the time, and it appeared that the Marquesas and Tahiti might become valuable as ports along a sailing route between the canal and Australia and New Zealand. France made its move in 1842 by declaring its sovereignty in the Marquesas and a protectorate over Tahiti. In the same year the smaller Wallis Island also came under French control. New Caledonia, a major prize, was next to come under the tricolor when France declared its sovereignty there in 1853; the French priests who had been working there unopposed were very much involved in the process. New Caledonia was used as a penal colony from 1865 to 1894, and nickel mining began in the 1870s. With Tahiti and New Caledonia in hand, France had established itself as a colonial power in the Pacific. Later, between 1881 and 1887, France annexed other islands in and around Tahiti to become dominant in eastern Polynesia and consolidate what is now French Polynesia.

After New Caledonia came under French rule, the next major territorial acquisition was made by Britain. In 1874 feuding chiefs ceded Fiji to the British, and the situation was essentially a salvage operation. On this occasion and later, the British acquired territories to satisfy Australia and New Zealand and to bring stability and law and order. In Fiji, British, American, and other planters had been pleading for protection; the warring chiefs could not bring about any stability, and blackbirding was rife. Britain was under pressure to provide a solution and did so with some reluctance.

Australia and New Zealand were pleased that Britain had finally taken action. The two had been disturbed by France’s takeover of New Caledonia to their north. They were further concerned, if not alarmed, at Germany’s entry into the Pacific. The German firm of Godeffroy had begun operations in the Samoa Islands in 1856 and had spread its agents out across the Pacific within a few years. Within the Samoa Islands the Americans, British, and Germans tried several schemes of governance, none of which succeeded. The United States was primarily interested in the excellent harbor at Pago Pago; the Germans were concerned with the protection of their economic investment and plantations. The British had less at stake, and the Samoans were engaged in civil war among themselves. As in Fiji, some stability was needed, but the rivalry among the three major powers did not allow for an easy solution.

In the meantime, Germany continued to expand its commercial interests and made its first territorial acquisition when it annexed northeast New Guinea and the adjacent Bismarck Archipelago in 1884. Germany declared a protectorate over the Marshalls in the following year.

Germany’s action in New Guinea caused great concern in Australia; the last thing the Australians wanted was another non-English-speaking and potentially hostile foreign power to their north; New Caledonia had been quite enough. The still reluctant British moved at last and claimed the southeastern portion of New Guinea, immediately north of Australia. In 1885 the British and the Germans agreed upon the boundary between the German northeast portion (German New Guinea) and the Australian southeast portion (British New Guinea, or Papua). In 1888 Britain assumed full sovereignty over Papua. In the same year, Germany added Nauru to its empire at the insistence of German traders, who had been on the island for about two decades.

In the next few years Britain began to exercise what in Australia’s view was its proper role in the area. Its next acquisitions were not impressive, however; they were mostly atolls. British protectorates were declared over the Cook, Phoenix, Tokelau, and Gilbert and Ellice islands by 1892. The Australians and New Zealanders were pleased when Britain declared a protectorate over most of the Solomon Islands on their northern flanks in 1883. The New Hebrides remained the only group in Melanesia not claimed by an outsider power.

The years 1898 and 1899 witnessed the end of Spain’s presence in the Pacific, the entry of the United States, further German expansion, and the resolution of the problem in the Samoa Islands. In 1898 the United States defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War and acquired the Philippines and Guam, the latter still valued as a coaling station. For a mere pittance Germany bought the rest of Spanish Micronesia.

With the aid of the United States Marines, the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown by a group of businessmen of American birth or descent in 1893. Although there was some initial opposition, including that of President Grover Cleveland for a few years, Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. The United States had acquired its second Pacific territory, which became the fiftieth state of the union in 1959.
Tiring of the situation in the Samoa Islands, Britain, Germany, and the United States arrived at a solution. In 1899 Britain renounced its claim, and the next year Germany and the United States divided the archipelago. Germany got the lion's share, which became Western Samoa. The United States acquired the smaller eastern portion with its coveted Pago Pago harbor, and American Samoa was born. Britain also got something out of the deal, for Germany renounced potential rights or claims to Tonga and Niue in favor of Britain and gave the British undisputed claim to all of the Solomon Islands east and southeast of Bougainville and Buka. That left the New Hebrides as the only remaining sizable island group that was not an official colony. Before that was to be changed, however, several minor items were to be taken care of. In 1900 Niue was claimed as a British protectorate, and in the following year Britain turned both it and the Cook Islands over to New Zealand for annexation. In 1900 Tonga and Britain signed a treaty in which Tonga essentially agreed to turn over its foreign affairs but in reality was extensively guided and influenced by the British.

Finally came the New Hebrides. After a couple of decades of rule by a joint British and French naval commission, Britain and France, fearful of further German ambitions, established a condominium government over the archipelago in 1906. The arrangement was always awkward and never satisfactory to anyone, but it closed the islands to others. Also in 1906, Australia, whose separate colonies had been joined in a federation only five years previously, assumed the administration of Papua. What had begun on Guam in 1668 was completed: the Pacific had been partitioned by eight colonial powers. One of the eight, Spain, had been forced out, leaving Australia, Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United States.

World War I and Aftermath

From the turn of the century until the outbreak of World War I, the region was a sleepy and peaceful backwater of the world. The white man was firmly in charge. Planters extended their holdings and increased the scope of their operations. Missionaries brought increased routinization to their established mission stations and continued to search out the pagan peoples. As islanders became more dependent on Western imports, they became more locked into the world economic order. Colonial governments increased the effectiveness of their rule, and in Molucca efforts were made to bring more of the interior highlands people under administrative authority.

The viewpoint in the Pacific was that World War I was by and large a white man's folly fought on the other side of the world. The main consequences were the ouster of Germany from the region and the introduction of Japan as a colonial power. Germany's colonial era in the Pacific thus turned out to be brief, lasting about three decades.

When the war broke out, the Japanese navy occupied Germany's Micronesian possessions north of the equator. Germany's possessions south of the equator went to Britain or its two offshoots, Australia and New Zealand, and the Pacific became more of a "British lake" than ever before. Australia took German New Guinea, New Zealand acquired Western Samoa, and Britain, Australia, and New Zealand jointly claimed Nauru, although Australia exercised administrative responsibility. After the war all of the former German colonies were legally assigned to the new administering powers as Class C Mandates within the framework of the League of Nations. Essentially, the mandates were areas of the world judged to be not yet capable of self-government.

After the war the equator became a major dividing line, profoundly affecting events in the Pacific. In the northeast, remote Hawaii remained outside the mainstream of island affairs. Guam remained an isolated American bastion in western Micronesia. The bulk of Micronesia, however, was Japan's mandate, and Japan had a clear-cut colonial policy: establish Japanese settlers in the islands, develop the islands economically for the benefit of Japan, make the islanders conversant in the Japanese language and appreciative of Japanese culture, and restrict access to all but Japanese citizens. The policy was followed without fail, and Japan essentially integrated its mandate into its expanding empire. There was very little communication with the rest of the Pacific, and in the late 1930s Japan began to fortify the islands. By that time the estimated 50,000 Micronesians were outnumbered two to one by Japanese and their imported Okinawan and Korean laborers. The title of a book by journalist Willard Price, Japan's Islands of Mystery, reflected the rest of the world's view of Japanese Micronesia.

South of the equator, France had its three possessions: French Polynesia, tiny Wallis and Futuna (the latter was combined with Wallis for administrative purposes in 1909), and New Caledonia. It shared the New Hebrides condominium with Britain. The Dutch colony of West New Guinea and American Samoa were the other two exceptions to the "British lake" south of the
equator, and the colonies in the area moved more and more into the economic and political spheres of Australia and New Zealand. In the 1920s Britain shed one of its unwanted responsibilities, turning the Tokelaus over to New Zealand.

The interwar years were peaceful, and the Pacific returned to its sleepy backwater status in the world. The colonial order was firmly established and largely unquestioned. Pacific Islands Monthly, affectionately known to its readers as PIM, was founded in 1930 by R.W. Robson in Sydney. It became quite influential and helped to give the Pacific south of the equator a regional identity. By sharing news and views each month, people began to think of the larger Pacific as a whole and not just as the smaller regions with which they had special interests. Robson was an advocate of regionalism; he believed there should be cooperation and a sharing of information among the governments of the Pacific.

Some advancements in the welfare of the indigenous peoples were made during this period. Depopulation had largely ceased, most populations had stabilized, and some were making a recovery. Also, following a worldwide trend, there was an increased concern for the welfare of dependent peoples, which had some tangible consequences in the islands, especially in the area of health and medicine—a fact reflected in population trends. Education, however, was largely left to the missions. Douglas L. Oliver has suggested that, influenced by anthropologists, some colonial administrations became somewhat more enlightened, but this would appear to have been the exception rather than the rule.

World War II and Aftermath

December 7, 1941, marked the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the beginning of the war in the Pacific that forever changed the region. Micronesia and Melanesia felt the brunt of it. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Japan invaded Nauru and the Gilberts in the east and Guam in the west, and for the first time in history, all of Micronesia was under one rule. New Guinea—especially the northeastern mandated area—experienced a massive Japanese invasion, which was repelled at great cost to all, including the indigenous peoples. The Japanese advance carried eastward into the Solomons, and Bougainville and Guadalcanal saw some of the heaviest fighting of the war (see World War II, ch. 5).

The war experience in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides was different, for there was no ground combat there. Nouméa in New Caledonia became the headquarters of much of the United States effort in the southwest Pacific. Thousands of American troops were stationed there, and the United States military essentially ran the island and kept the mining operations going. The three major American bases in the New Hebrides were used as staging zones for operations elsewhere.

The American invasion of Micronesia began at Tarawa in the Gilberts in 1943. The Marshalls were next, and air attacks destroyed the Japanese naval fleet in the Truk lagoon in early 1944, although neither Truk nor any other islands in central Micronesia were invaded. Instead, they were bypassed when the United States went straight on to Guam and the Northern Marianas in June and July. It was from Tinian in the Northern Marianas that the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were launched in early August 1945.

Least affected by the war was Polynesia. Air, communication, and supply bases were established at one time or another on Tonga, Tahiti, the Samoa Islands, and the Cooks. Duty for service personnel in these areas was often slow, and outside the militarized islands the war had little effect other than causing shortages in imported goods and interruptions in shipping—conditions that were more or less universal in the wartime Pacific.

At the end of the war the economies of eastern New Guinea and Micronesia were in shambles. Local peoples had suffered greatly, and the physical infrastructures of both lay in ruins. In the Solomons only the localized areas affected by the war were similarly disrupted. The rest of Melanesia was in reasonably good shape; Polynesia had been the most fortunate.

It soon became apparent, however, that the war had made intangible changes in the society. Pacific islanders would never again view their colonial masters in the same light. During the early stages of the war, the Australians in New Guinea were forced to flee from the Japanese invaders, and it was quite evident to all that the help of the Americans had been required to bring about a victory. Some confidence in the white colonial rulers was lost. Further, Americans had interacted with islanders on a more egalitarian basis than the latter had ever experienced under colonial rule, and this raised questions about the older social order. It was significant—especially in Melanesia—that islanders saw American blacks working alongside their white counterparts and in possession of the marvels of Western technology. The dependent status of darker skinned people was opened to reconsideration.

Also evident was a general postwar restlessness in which de-
Regionalism and Independence

Reflecting the new ideological notions in the air, Australia and New Zealand invited the other four colonial powers—or, as they were coming to be known, metropolitan powers (much more polite than "colonial")—to join them in the formation of the South Pacific Commission (SPC) in 1947. The SPC was to encourage international cooperation in promoting the economic and social welfare of the dependent peoples of the Pacific. The United States made its former military headquarters in Nouméa available for the SPC's headquarters. The SPC was to engage in research and act as an advisory body to colonial administrations. Its functions were restricted to noncontroversial matters, such as economic development, social welfare, education, and health. The metropolitan powers did not wish others to intervene in their own colonial administration, and political and military issues were explicitly ruled beyond the pale of the SPC.

The SPC functioned as planned. Results of research in the noncontroversial areas were shared, and training programs in the areas of health, pest control, education, and other practical matters were developed. In 1950 the South Pacific Conference was held for the first time. The conference, an auxiliary body of the SPC, was composed of delegates from the Pacific islands and met every third year to advise the commission. The conference was to become extremely important in ways that had not been foreseen.

For the first time, representatives of countries from all western Pacific met on a face-to-face basis. They found the experience very much to their liking, and there began to emerge a new regional identity—that of a "Pacific Islander," as opposed to more local identities, such as Samoan, Maori, or Tongan.

Originally, only representatives of the six colonial powers actually belonged to the SPC and held ultimate authority. Over time, Pacific islanders at the conference insisted on having a greater voice in the decision-making processes and lobbied for an annual conference. Such requests became difficult to delay after 1962. Western Samoa had never really accepted the yoke of colonial rule. Movements of self-rule and expressions of extreme discontent had occurred during the New Zealand administration, and in 1962 Western Samoa became the first Pacific nation to achieve political independence. In the face of some resistance it joined the colonial powers, taking a seat in the SPC in 1965. By that date, however, one of the original colonial powers had been lost to the SPC. When Indonesia occupied West New Guinea in 1962, the Netherlands was no longer involved in the Pacific, and it ceased being an SPC member. After the Dutch departed, the number of colonial powers was reduced to five: Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, and the United States. Today former West New Guinea is known as Irian Jaya and is considered part of Indonesia.

Once begun, the momentum toward decolonization could not be stopped. Eight other island countries had joined Western Samoa as sovereign nations by mid-1984: Nauru (1968), Fiji (1970), Tonga (1970), Papua New Guinea (1975), Solomon Islands (1978), Tuvalu (1978), Kiribati (1979), and Vanuatu (1980). The name changes of the latter three occurred with independence. Five of the new states—Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa—were members of the United Nations.

The Cook Islands and Niue, both former dependencies of New Zealand have carved out a status known as "free association" that is novel to the world political arena. The Cook Islands were the first to achieve this status, in 1962. The Cooks had neither the resources nor the personnel to move immediately toward total independence, so it was agreed that they would be self-governing in internal affairs. New Zealand would handle defense and, insofar as requested, external affairs. The Cooks received financial support from New Zealand, and either side could unilaterally terminate the understanding. The formal agreement was intentionally left somewhat vague, and the free association relationship has
been allowed to evolve in its form and substance. Initially, New Zealand handled most of the external affairs of the Cooks. Subsequently, the Cooks began to represent itself in regional affairs, taking greater control of its international relations and negotiating several bilateral treaties with other countries. Nine followed suit in 1974, and to date it has been content to let New Zealand handle most of its external affairs.

As more countries achieved independence or self-government, reform of the SPC became increasingly necessary. Some change did occur during the late 1960s and 1970s. The conference became an annual affair and gained greater control over SPC programs. Eventually, the islander-dominated conference became the superior body, having ultimate decision-making authority, and the commission became its executive branch. The child had become the parent, the parent had become the child. At the 1983 conference in Saipan, all past voting inequities were erased; every member of the conference gained an equal vote.

The SPC, however, remained a troubled organization in the mid-1980s. It began as a metropolitan body and will probably never shed that image. The metropolitan powers contributed by far the bulk of the SPC’s budget, and although they attempted to keep a low profile, it was felt that they used their financial contributions as leverage to gain undue influence. Moreover, the SPC remained an apolitical organization, as was reaffirmed in its 1983 publication, *The South Pacific Commission: History, Aims, and Activities*, which clearly stated that the SPC “does not concern itself with the politics of the states and territories within the region....”

The SPC included all states, territories, and dependencies in the Pacific, which made for strange political bedfellows. The inability to engage in political debate was an irritant, for the self-governing countries wished to consider the incomplete process of the decolonization of the region as well as issues relating to the testing, storage, dumping, and deployment of nuclear weapons and the transit of nuclear-powered vessels.

Such frustrations were not new; they led to the founding of a separate regional organization, the South Pacific Forum, in 1971. The forum included the heads of governments of the newly independent and self-governing nations in addition to Australia and New Zealand. The latter two were recognized as being geographically a part of the region and integrally involved in its economies and politics. The forum met annually and exercised quite substantial influence in that it spoke for the governments that had shed their colonial masters.

In 1972 the forum established as its executive arm the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC), headquartered in Fiji. That organization carried out the directives of the forum and as of the mid-1980s had promoted regional economic projects in areas of trade, investment, shipping, air services, telecommunications, marketing, and aid. SPEC has played a primary role in assisting in consultations between the forum and external organizations, such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the UN’s Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), and the European Economic Community (EEC). The forum has expressed strong criticism of the slow pace of decolonization in French Oceania and the continued nuclear testing by France on Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia. To date, the forum’s major disagreements with the United States have been related to the American failure to ratify the international treaty drafted after years of negotiation by the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, proposals to store or dump nuclear wastes in the Pacific, and deployment of nuclear ships and weapons in the region. In response to proposals put forth on the Law of the Sea, the island states claimed jurisdiction over all resources within the 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ—see Glossary) extending off their shores. The United States rejected the applicability of this claim over highly migratory species, such as tuna—a position the island states viewed as an attempt to invade their resources.

Some forum members were strongly of the opinion that the SPC was a vestige of colonialism. Forum members belong to both organizations, and some claimed that it was too expensive and time-consuming to maintain two major regional organizations. Since the late 1970s Papua New Guinea in particular has taken the stance that there should only be one major regional organization and that the forum and the SPC should be merged. The notion seems to be that the functions of the SPC should be absorbed by SPEC in ways that would reduce the influence of those countries geographically outside the region, i.e., Britain, France, and the United States.

The forum was very much a club of the states of the Commonwealth of Nations. In the decolonization process Australia, Britain, and New Zealand shed almost all of their Pacific dependencies. There were only two minor exceptions. Small Tokelau, which had fewer than 2,000 residents and only three atolls, desired to maintain its ties with New Zealand—a position it had made clear to the UN. The tiny and isolated Pitcairn Islands, populated by about 45 people descended from the mutineers of...
In this context, France and the United States were in somewhat of a delicate position; they were viewed in the region as the last representatives of the old colonialism in the Pacific. As of mid-1984 France continued to hold French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, and New Caledonia. These had the status of overseas territories, were considered an integral part of France, and had elected representation in the French government. France has been the target of considerable criticism because it has insisted on maintaining its presence in the Pacific, and the French feel strongly that their language and culture should be perpetuated in the islands. Events during 1983 and 1984 suggested, however, that France might be softening its position and that greater autonomy and perhaps even independence might be a possibility for New Caledonia. Any such development would surely have repercussions in French Polynesia, where pro-independence groups have been strong in the past.

American Samoa and Guam remained United States territories; there was little likelihood of any significant change in their political status. The United States continued to be the administering authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). Negotiations on the TTPI’s future political status began in the late 1960s and lasted a long time. Initially, it was assumed that the TTPI would remain unified while its new status was negotiated. Instead, for a variety of complex reasons, fragmentation occurred, and four political units emerged: the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the last including the former TTPI administrative districts of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae.

In 1975 the Northern Marianas voted for commonwealth status, which would make it a part of the United States; the United States Congress approved the action the next year. Legally, however, the Northern Marianas would remain part of the TTPI until the trusteeship was dissolved. After 1976, however, both sides operated under a convenient fiction, acting as if the Northern Marianas had already achieved commonwealth status; it elected its own governor and legislature.

For a time it appeared that the FSM, Marshalls, and Palau were headed toward free association arrangements initially based on the model of the Cooks and Niue. As negotiations proceeded, however, significant differences from that model developed. The Compacts of Free Association in Micronesia are lengthy and very complex legal documents. They deny strategic access to any pow-
terence in island affairs if and when it determines that such action is vital to its own national defense. The financial subsidies being offered the three countries are in the magnitude of multiples of millions annually, and they are the envy of others. In essence, it can be said that the three are granting the United States a number of rights and prerogatives that limit their own autonomy in exchange for large financial subsidies. It was clear that the United States would maintain a considerable presence and substantial influence in these island groups.

In 1979 the FSM and the Marshalls formed their own constitutional governments. Palau followed in 1981. Each polity elected a president and legislature. Plebiscites in the FSM and Marshalls approved the Compacts, and the agreements were sent to the United States Congress with the support of the administration of Ronald Reagan in mid-1984. Free association was not approved in Palau because of incompatibilities between the Palauan Constitution and the terms of the Compact in regard to nuclear concerns. Negotiations were continuing in mid-1984.

The Future

The decolonization of the Pacific, although not complete, has been peaceful and has proceeded relatively smoothly. The strains within the two major regional organizations will probably result in some reorganization or realignment in the next few years, but the process will not be rushed. Part of the new Pacific identity involves what islanders refer to as the "Pacific Way." It is said that Pacific islanders share a common heritage and have their own style, one that differs from that of the West. The people do not rush, human relations are conducted peacefully, and decisions are made through discussion and consensus. Confrontation is avoided, and social values take precedence over materialistic values.

Pacific islanders contend that they have always lived and behaved in such a manner. Considering the warfare and feuding of the past, this contention is not historically accurate, and certain elements of the Pacific Way are a myth—but a good myth that stresses that the conduct of human relations should be carried out in ways that show care and concern for the welfare of all. Perhaps the notion of the Pacific Way will assist insular peoples and their governments in approaching the problems of the future in cooperative and constructive ways.
It would seem that the greatest set of problems in the near future will be those stemming from rapidly increasing populations. Since the stabilization of populations and the end of depopulation during the period between the two wars, there has been a turnaround, and improved health and medical care since World War II has contributed to great growth rates of Pacific populations. Perhaps the most extreme example was in the TTPI, where the population almost tripled from about 50,000 during World War II to 140,000 in mid-1984. The population of French Polynesia has increased from 98,400 to 159,000 in mid-1984. Tonga has seen an increase from 77,500 to 104,000 in the same period. Fiji experienced an increase from roughly 500,000 to 680,000 in mid-1984.

The Pacific islands have only a limited capacity to accommodate increased populations, and the present rates of increase will soon strain island economies and ecosystems. To date, however, family planning and birth control programs have not proved popular anywhere. Urbanization has also occurred at a rapid pace. In part, the increased tempo of urban growth is the result of increased population sizes, but, as everywhere in the world, the urban centers draw from the rural areas those people who are in search of employment, education, health and medical care, and the diversions available there. Urban centers are placing an increased burden on local ecosystems; thus, facilities necessary for the support of urban life are often strained. The capitals of atoll nations are the most difficult of all to sustain, for the limited environment of the atoll is in no way suited for high-density and large populations. Local governments and SPC programs have attempted to make rural life more attractive, but to date the population movement continues from the countryside to the city.

With the exceptions of Papua New Guinea, nickel-rich New Caledonia, and perhaps Fiji, island economies are limited and fragile. Cash crops are few and, in the atolls, limited to copra. The islands are vulnerable to typhoons, drought, and plant infestations. A single disaster can bring damage requiring years of recovery. Indigenous commercial fishing operations are few and underdeveloped, but island governments have great hopes for the future exploitation of the ocean. With two or three exceptions, countries are heavily dependent upon economic aid from abroad, in most cases from the former colonial power. In this respect many of the old ties and linkages remain.

The challenges of the future are great, and the political stability of governments will in large part depend upon how successful they are in developing strategies to cope with the very real problems at hand. There is no doubt that external assistance will continue to be required. This very fact creates yet another problem for the island states in maintaining true sovereignty over their affairs while also depending on foreign donors.
UNIT 2: VOYAGING AND SETTLEMENT

OVERVIEW: Viewing a map of the vast Pacific Ocean one can easily ponder how these islands, spread over such great distances, came to be settled. What skills and knowledge, motivations and dreams did Oceanic voyagers have which enabled them to cross the seas and settle unknown shores.

In this unit students will trace the course of human settlement in the Pacific. First, they will read an article on "Early Migrations" by Ron Crocombe, discussing the initial settlement patterns into the Pacific from Southeast Asia. Then they will focus on the origins of the Polynesians through an article "The Polynesians: A Pacific Odyssey" by Patrick Kirch and compare the voyages of the Kon Tiki and the Hokule'a as efforts to prove settlement theories of Polynesia. They will read origin legends and voyaging chants to gain an understanding of the important role that oral traditions have in the study of Pacific prehistory and they will compose their own poems or tales to reflect on this experience. Lastly, students will view the video "The Navigators" to learn how voyaging skills and knowledge were passed on from one generation to another generation and how the Hokule'a perpetuates this cultural tradition.

READINGS/MATERIALS:


2. "The Polynesians: A Pacific Odyssey", Patrick Kirch


4. Legend - "Fishing Up the Land" (The origin of Aotearoa by Maui the demi-god)

5. Review questions for the above articles

6. Two articles on the Kon Tiki and the Hokule'a


8. Discussion questions for the video "The Navigators"

9. Essay assignment on the Hokule'a/ Storytelling Assignment...

10. List of further readings
Early migrations

Almost all the people, plants and animals in the Pacific originated from Asia in the distant past. The first people probably arrived about 50,000 years ago, moving from what is now Indonesia into western New Guinea. At that time human technology was very simple, and canoe transport probably did not yet exist. The water spaces between Indonesia and New Guinea were then much narrower than today because the sea level was considerably lower and land was visible throughout, so the crossings were probably made by raft, log or other simple craft. Though an earlier form of man had lived in the Indonesian region for much longer, modern humans (*homo sapiens*) seem to have been there for a relatively short time (though still some thousands of years) before spreading to New Guinea and Australia. They reached New Ireland by 33,000 years ago.1

The migrants presumably came in extremely small numbers, at very long intervals of time, and probably in situations of crisis — either escaping or being blown away. Most would have died out, but on the few occasions when they had females with them a new human community could develop. These early settlers lived by hunting and gathering, which necessitates a very large area of land to support an individual — perhaps only one or two people per square kilometre. They continued to filter into and spread over this huge and rugged island but their technology did not enable them to get much past Australia. The adjustment to the extremely diverse climatic and biotic environments of that region must have caused both acute suffering and its consequence — fast learning for those who survived.

With the ending of the last Ice Age, sea levels throughout the world rose slowly over a period from 8000 to 10,000 years ago. Dug out canoes began to appear at about this time. The rising water covered an extensive area of land with what we now call the Torres Straits and the Arafura Sea, and separated New Guinea from Australia. Thus a secondary migration to northern Australia about 7000 years ago (presumably direct from the Indonesia region) brought some cultural changes to Australia which did not affect New Guinea. Likewise, there is evidence of new
migrants to New Guinea, and the evolution of agriculture and pig husbandry there over the past 9000 years, whereas neither reached Australia. Though Australians and New Guineans have common first ancestors, subsequent genetic and cultural infusions to each seem not to have had any significant impact on the other.

Agriculture, the domestication of animals and minor improvements in technology had been evolving slowly in Southeast Asia, and no doubt occasional migrants or castaways scattered elements of those new cultural systems along the northwestern coasts of New Guinea. Unlike hunting and gathering, efficient agriculture can support about one hundred people per square kilometre, so population multiplied.

Among other things, later immigrants from Asia who lived by fishing and agriculture, brought pottery, a new kind of stone technology, and the manufacture of bark cloth. The technology of bark cloth-making, and even the words for it in many Pacific languages, can be traced back to south China. They also brought more efficient techniques of water transport. There is archaeological evidence of their being settled in the New Britain/New Ireland area more than 5000 years ago. Having consolidated there for more than a thousand years, they expanded slowly southeastwards in the only direction of reasonably close available land, probably as a result of developments in canoe technology combined with population growth, through the long chain of Solomons Islands. Thus far one island was visible from another as far back as Malaysia. Vanuatu seems to have become the next focal point of consolidation and then of further dispersal. The crossing to Vanuatu required going out of sight of land. Canoe transport was presumably being refined and developed with time and changing environmental conditions, and the growing population of these coastal fishermen would also have led to an increasing number of canoes on the water, irrespective of purpose.

The move south from Vanuatu to the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia did not involve great distances, but from there south and east lie vast expanses of open water, and there is no evidence of these people having reached New Zealand or Australia. Some sailed from Vanuatu across the greatest stretches of ocean yet crossed with evidence of survival, north to Micronesia. The earliest archaeological evidence so far shows their having settled in the Marshall Islands at least 4000 years ago, though whether from Vanuatu or from western Micronesia we do not know. The first people of Fiji, arriving at least 3500 years ago, were very probably from Vanuatu.

These endless minor movements, over many thousands of years, involved very small numbers of diverse peoples. The diversity resulting from the small size and relative isolation of each group is reflected in the fact that the 600000 people of Melanesia today speak over 1100 languages. Linguistic fragmentation is greater in Melanesia than anywhere else in the world; so much so that nearly one-quarter of all the world’s languages are in Melanesia.

Fiji, which is isolated by considerable distances, became the next focus of consolidation. The diversity of human language and culture, like the number of species of plants, birds and animals, is less in Fiji than further westward, and it reduces sharply from Fiji eastward, for the same reasons: the decreasing size and increasing isolation of the islands, and consequent difficulty of access and establishment. Only the ancestors of those people now known as Polynesians, all of whose languages and cultures are closely related, reached beyond Fiji.

The track of archaeological evidence, which is generally confirmed by linguistic and genetic research, traces the movement east from Fiji through the Lau Islands to its closest neighbour, Tonga, and thence to the next nearest lands: Niue and Samoa, where human settlement was established 2500 years ago. There is also a connection between Micronesia and Polynesia via Kiribati and Tuvalu, but the details of it are not yet clear.

The next expansion, with the possible exception of Tokelau (480 kilometres north of Samoa) and the northern Cook Islands, where extensive archaeological research has not yet been undertaken, seems not to have taken place until some hundreds of years later. This is understandable given the vast distances that isolate Samoa, as well as the physical structure of those islands and the present wind and current patterns around them, which are not as conducive to the development of long-range voyaging as the scattered archipelagos of Tonga or Fiji for example. This makes it the more surprising that when the expansion did occur it was not to Samoa’s closest neighbours (The Cook and Society Islands) but in an enormous leap of nearly 4000 kilometres to the Marquesas, about 2200 years ago. It could have been reached in a single voyage, as much more recent examples show that this would be possible though extremely difficult, and there is no clear indication of any intermediate population at that time. From the Marquesas there is evidence of movement over enormous distances in every direction in which land existed (and probably also in every direction in which it did not — though those would not survive) — north to Hawaii, southeast to Easter Island and southwest to Mangareva, the Tuamotu and Society Islands. This last became the new consolidation and dispersal point from which were derived the main immigrants to the Austral and Cook Islands and ultimately New Zealand, which was probably first settled 1200 years ago.

Thus Polynesia became the last part of the earth’s surface (Antarctica excluded) to be settled by man. How many epic voyages were involved
in this, one of the greatest sagas of human history, we have little conception. At each place the immigrants seem to have consolidated and expanded over a number of generations before migrating to neighbouring small islands and then undertaking long-range movements. In addition to the major trends, there has always been a great deal of movement in all directions throughout the Pacific. Even in recent years drift voyages occur. A few years ago a small boat sailing from Rakahanga in the northern Cook Islands to Manihiki about forty kilometres distant, was caught in a storm and landed 3000 kilometres away in Vanuatu, more than two months later. There were only a few survivors. In December 1975, three men set sail to travel between two islands of Kiribati but the one survivor reached an island in Truk six months later. Every year several such incidents are reported from various parts of the Pacific. This sort of haphazard, small group movement, sometimes through crisis and sometimes through design, sometimes by navigation and sometimes by drift, and in a great diversity of directions, has occurred throughout the Pacific for hundreds of years.  

People and ideas from South America also reached the Pacific Islands in eastern Polynesia. That contact however was late, small and culturally not very significant. There was some contact between parts of Polynesia and parts of America (quite probably in both directions) but almost all the economic plants came from Asia or western Melanesia. The sweet potato (kumara) is the main plant of South American origin, but even that was propagated in the islands by techniques derived from Southeast Asia rather than the Americas (see Yen, 1963). The major linguistic affiliations are clearly with Southeast Asia, though some South American influence is probable in Easter Island and possibly other parts of eastern Polynesia (see Langdon and Tryon, 1983). Culturally too, the dominant linkages seem to be westward, though the probability of some contacts from the Americas and elsewhere in Asia needs to be kept in mind. Current research should make the details of the picture much clearer before the end of this century.

The coming of Europeans

The next major phase in the history of the Pacific began about 400 years ago with the expansion of European influence. For over 1000 years Polynesia probably had the most highly developed sea transport in the world, but its continued evolution was restricted by its very small population, limited resources and lack of metals. Polynesian marine technology had probably reached its peak at the time that European technology was making the major advances which led to the movement of people from Europe into the Pacific. Like the whole process of expansion that has been going on in the Pacific for thousands of years, this expansion from Europe brought new peoples into contact, sometimes to mutual advantage and therefore harmoniously, sometimes to apparent disadvantage and therefore with hostility and conflict. The areas most suited to migrants from Europe, because of similar environments, were Australia and New Zealand, which soon became settled by Europeans whose population multiplied rapidly. The Maoris had not exploited New Zealand’s resources intensively, for after more than 900 years of occupation the Maori population had only grown to about 250 000. The adaptation of the tropical Maori technology to the cold climate, like any human adaptation, was very slow and was interrupted by the arrival of migrants from Europe.

People often explain the contrast between the impact of European migrants on Aboriginal society in Australia and on Maori society in New Zealand in terms of the better quality of the English migrants in New Zealand. But the different adjustments made by the competing human populations in Australia and in New Zealand were much more influenced by the differences in indigenous demography (Maori population density was about 30 times that of Aborigines), social organization (Maoris had a single language and culture, and a hierarchical system of organization), and technology (as a result of population density and leadership system, and a much richer environment with some agriculture, military technology was much more highly developed among Maoris). All these factors gave them a much greater negotiating leverage.

European settlement in the Pacific was intensive in temperate areas like Australia and New Zealand, substantial in New Caledonia and Hawaii which are marginally temperate, sparse and scattered in the tropical islands like the Solomons and New Guinea, and negligible on the atolls. People from Europe still find it very difficult to adjust to the more extreme tropical environments, especially deserts and atolls, to which their indigenous inhabitants have adjusted well.

New migrants from Asia

There seems to be much more awareness of the Europeans who came to the Pacific than of the Asians. But in fact more Asians have come to the Islands in the last 100 years than Europeans. By the time of their arrival, however, the dominant roles in government, commerce, missions, and the military were already taken by Europeans, and the Asian people came mainly as unskilled workers or small traders. In Hawaii and Fiji, Asians came to outnumber the indigenous people, although not nearly to the same extent as the European populations of New Zealand and Australia.
The Polynesians: A Pacific Odyssey

On remote tropical islands, scientists discover clues to the ocean voyages of an ancient seafaring people.

By Patrick V. Kirch, Ph.D.

The tropical sun beat down on the sandy plain where I worked with my Tongan assistants to clear iau trees and tangled underbrush from the site of an ancient Polynesian village. From where I stood, on a gentle rise, I looked out at the lagoon surrounding the Tongan island of Niuatoputapu. The deep azure waters of the lagoon lapped at a glistening white beach. Geologists have determined that Niuatoputapu is rising—tectonic plates the size of continents beneath the Pacific Ocean are thrusting the island slowly and inexorably upward. If this is true, I reasoned that the ancient beach and its accompanying settlements would now be found above the modern beach, somewhere on this gentle sandy slope.

"Sio mai, Peru." One of my assistants had spotted something. As we pulled away the tangled brush, I saw it too—a small, seemingly insignificant potsherd. On the surface of the sherd were complex geometrical designs, which the ancient potter had pressed into the clay while it was still damp. The designs were familiar. Other archaeologists had found similar pottery throughout the southwestern Pacific. Called Lapita, its discovery here on this remote Polynesian island would help archaeologists understand a puzzle that has intrigued us for many years: Who were the Polynesians? Where had they come from? How had they settled such a vast area of the Pacific?

Polynesia (the term literally means "many islands") forms a triangle with Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand at the apices, containing an area more than twice the size of the continental United States. Today, we can travel by jet from London to Hawaii in less than a day. Centuries ago, the great European navigators who "discovered" the Pacific spent months, even years at sea to make the same journey. Imagine their surprise, after slowly tacking their way across thousands of miles of uncharted waters, to find even the most remote islands of the Pacific had already been discovered and colonized.

The people of these islands had no written language. They used no compass, charts or navigational instruments. Their conquest of the Pacific was a mystifying feat.

The more astute European explorers, like Captain James Cook of the British Royal Navy, quickly realized that the native peoples of such widely scattered islands as Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand were closely related. These islanders spoke mutually intelligible languages and shared many cultural traits. "How shall we account for this Nation spreading itself over such a vast ocean?" Cook asked upon discovering the Hawaiian islands in A.D. 1778. In the two centuries following Cook's discovery of Hawaii, many theories have been proposed to explain the settlement of this vast ocean area. One theory held that the Polynesians were descendants of South American Indians who drifted into the Pacific on rafts; another proposed that the islands were settled from Asia, during a slow process or accidental discovery by canoes blown out to sea during violent storms; and, for a time, the most radical theory was that Polynesia had been settled by a seafaring people who sailed from Southeast Asia on intentional voyages of discovery. This last theory would eventually win out, but only after a long process of collaborative research by scientists in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, ethnobotany and archaeology.

One of the first clues to the origins of the Polynesians was found by examining the crops they grew. According to ethnobotanists, who study how human societies use and interact with the plant world, all or the plants that we now cultivate were domesticated from species that once grew wild. The process of domesticating wild plants led to varieties that yielded much greater harvests, but could only grow and reproduce with the aid of man.

The ancient Polynesians cultivated a wide variety of plants such as taro, breadfruit, yams, and bananas. Ethnobotanists have discovered that the wild ancestors of all these Polynesian crops are found in the region of Southeast Asia and New Guinea. It was here that they were first domesticated, to be carried throughout the Pacific by adventurous seafarers. Similarly, the three
...mals kept by the Polynesians—pigs, dogs, and fowl—were also domesticated in Asia and were unknown in the Americas until after the time of Columbus. Thus, even before systematic archaeological excavations, the evidence provided by domesticated plants and animals indicated that the Polynesians migrated from the west.

Linguistic research supports this picture. A first step in linguistic analysis is the comparison of words. Captain James Cook noted that all the Polynesian languages, such as Tahitian, Hawaiian, and Samoan, shared similar words and so he guessed that all these languages were related. Modern linguistic studies now also show that Polynesian languages share similarities with hundreds of languages throughout the western Pacific and island Southeast Asia. One such language is Malay, spoken in many areas of island Southeast Asia. The Malay word for “coconut,” a staple crop in both Malaysia and Polynesia, is Niur. In Hawaiian the word is Niu. The Malay word for “eye,” mata, compares with the Hawaiian equivalent, maka; and the word for “five,” is lima in both languages. These languages share hundreds of similar words because both Hawaiian and Malay are descended from an ancient tongue called Proto-Austronesian. Proto-Austronesian is an extinct language once spoken somewhere in the area of Indonesia, Taiwan, and the Philippines. As the ancestors of the Polynesians spread out from this homeland, linguists argue, their language underwent slow and regular changes, gradually becoming the family of languages we now call Polynesian. The languages spoken by the people who remained in the Proto-Austronesian homeland diversified and gradually evolved into the many languages spoken throughout island Southeast Asia today.

By studying the similarities and differences in Pacific languages, a family tree can be constructed. This tree shows that the ancestors of the people now speaking Tahitian and Hawaiian branched off from each other relatively recently; while the ancestors of both Tahitian and Hawaiian speakers branched off from Proto-Austronesian speakers in the very distant past, perhaps six thousand years ago. Thus linguists are able to demonstrate not only that the homeland of the ancestral Polynesians was in Southeast Asia, but also that the direction of their Pacific migration was from west to east.

While ethno­botanists and linguists can show that the ancestral Polynesians originated in the west, they cannot tell us exactly when these seafarers pointed their canoes toward the rising sun, or what routes they followed to settle the most remote islands of the eastern Pacific. Answers to these questions are provided by archaeology, the scientific excavation of the material remains (such as pottery and stone tools) left behind by the settlers of the Pacific.

Before 1950, most scholars assumed that the Polynesians and other Pacific islanders had migrated into the Pacific relatively recently, perhaps only a few hundred years before the arrival of the first Europeans. They further assumed that archaeological excavations would yield few material remains from the prehistoric period. These assumptions were shown to be utterly false in the decade following World War II when pioneering archaeologists like Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum, and Edward Gifford of California put spade to earth in Pacific island sites and found large arrays of prehistoric stone, bone, and shell tools and ornaments, as well as pottery sherds.

In 1950, a revolutionary scientific technique was developed that provided a way to date archaeological materials such as those from Polynesia. Called radiocarbon (or carbon 14) dating, this technique uses the steady rate of decay of radioactive carbon atoms as a “natural clock.” Radioactive carbon exists naturally in our atmosphere and is taken into plants during photosynthesis. Plants, in turn, are eaten by animals and so carbon 14 atoms are taken into their bodies as well. While they are alive, the amount of radioactive carbon
14 in plants and animals is in equilibrium with that in the atmosphere. When they die, however, no new carbon 14 is taken in and these atoms begin to decay, to lose their radioactivity. The rate of decay is now known, so organic materials can be dated by measuring the amount of radioactive carbon that remains in them. One of the most common artifacts used in such dating is wood charcoal from ancient hearths.

Radiocarbon dates showed that Tonga had been settled by 1250 B.C., thousands of years earlier than had been supposed. With this discovery, scientists realized that the Polynesian islands were settled during a process that required many thousands of years to complete, and that the prehistory of Polynesia was a rich and complex subject, worthy of intensive study. Archaeological surveys and excavations have now been conducted throughout Polynesia, as well as on Melanesian and Micronesian islands further west. As a result, the story of the peopling of the Pacific islands is rapidly emerging.

Perhaps the single most important archaeological clue to the actual voyaging routes of the first Pacific settlers is a style of pottery called Lapita. This reddish earthenware pottery is distinguished by a rich embroidery of designs made by pressing wooden tools into the clay while it was still damp. The artistic style of these designs is so distinctive that archaeologists are able to say that Lapita pottery was made by people who shared a common culture—the "Lapita people." Lapita pottery has now been discovered in dozens of archaeological sites from New Guinea and the Bismark archipelago in the west, through the Solomons, New Hebrides and on to the islands of Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga, 2800 miles to the east. Artifacts from archaeological excavations on these islands (including finds of adzes, fishhooks, ornaments, coral tiles, and Lapita pottery) document the rapid migration of this early seafaring people, the ancestors of the modern Polynesians, the eastern Melanesians, and many of the Micronesian peoples.

In 1976, I was able to fill in an important piece of the Lapita puzzle through my excavations on the Tongan island of Niutatoputapu. As the leader of a Bishop Museum archaeological expedition, I had gone there to excavate the settlements of the first people to discover and colonize Niutatoputapu, people who had brought Lapita pottery with them aboard their voyaging canoes. We soon discovered that the island was rich in the vestiges of ancient Lapita villages. Excavating in the earliest sites, we found pottery decorated with intricate geometric patterns arranged to form ornate and beautiful designs. Several years later, when I was excavating an early settlement on the island of Tikopia, more than 900 miles to the west of Niutatoputapu, I found more of this decorated Lapita pottery. The designs were virtually identical, testifying to the common cultural roots of the early Pacific peoples.

Other archaeological clues also affirm that the Lapita people were expert seafarers. Flake tools made of obsidian and chert are frequently found in Lapita sites. By using spectrographic analysis, archaeologists have been able to detect minute differences in the chemical make-up of these materials—a "chemical fingerprint." This research shows that some of the obsidian was quarried in Talasea, New Britain (an island just north of New Guinea) and carried by canoe to the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, 1200 miles away. This inter-island trade flourished for more than six centuries, a testament to the navigational skills of the ancient "Lapita people."

The makers of Lapita pottery reached...
The Pacific was settled by one of the most extensive migrations in human history. Scientists are now trying to trace these daring ocean voyages and date the discovery of the Pacific’s minor islands. (Courtesy Bishop Museum)

Niutoputapu and other Tongan islands by about 1250 B.C., and probably colonized the Samoan islands not long after. These were the first Polynesian islands to be settled. Although the archaeological picture for Micronesia is not yet well understood, pottery has been found in early sites on Ponape and Truk, and more finds are expected. It would appear that these islands were also settled by descendants of the Lapita people, perhaps beginning in the first millennium B.C. Thus the people of central and eastern Micronesia, including those of Sarawal (the home of Mau Piaulug) probably share a common ancestry with the Polynesians.

Once the Lapita people had settled Tonga and Samoa, a number of gradual changes in language and culture over the next several hundred years resulted in the development of a uniquely Polynesian culture. One of the most important changes was the gradual loss of the potter’s art, for reasons that we can only guess at. It may also be that in the widely scattered islands of Tonga and Samoa, the first true Polynesians sharpened their voyaging and navigational skills, to the point where they would be able to discover and settle nearly every spot of land in the remote eastern Pacific.

Possibly as early as 200 B.C., but certainly no later than 300 A.D., at least one voyaging canoe laden with crop plants and domestic animals made the long upwind voyage from western Polynesia (perhaps Samoa) to discover the Marquesas Islands. Not long after, the Society Islands (including the famous isle of Tahiti) were settled. On the verdant island of Huahine, about 100 miles northwest of Tahiti, my colleague Yoshihiko Sinoto of the Bishop Museum has made startling archaeological discoveries which bring these voyages to life. In 1981, Sinoto excavated two planks, a steering paddle, and a mast from a Polynesian voyaging canoe. These wooden artifacts were miraculously preserved by a tidal wave which inundated the village more than 1100 years ago, burying them in a protective layer of mud. From the length of the paddle, Sinoto estimates that the canoe belonged to must have been 30 feet long. Here at last was the tangible evidence that allows us to reconstruct the kinds of canoes that made the longest voyages of all—to New Zealand, Easter Island, and Hawaii.

Easter Island and the Hawaiian Islands were probably settled by voyagers from the Marquesas as early as the fourth century A.D. In the Haalava valley, on the eastern end of Molokai, I excavated an early Hawaiian site during the summers of 1969 and 1970. In this fertile valley, a permanent stream and rich alluvial soils provided ideal conditions for taro irrigation. Here, early seafarers found the kind of environment they were seeking on their long voyages. Haalava was an ideal place to plant crops, harvest the deep bay for fish and mollusks, and establish a new community. From the dark, charcoal-stained layers that mark the remains of their village, we recovered artifacts that were unlike those seen by Cook when he discovered Hawaii centuries later. These early adzes, fishhooks, and ornaments are closer in style to those found in early Marquesan sites providing evidence that the first Hawaiians came from the Marquesas, thousands of miles to the south. Other early Hawaiian sites, on Oahu and at South Point on Hawaii, provide similar evidence. Some centuries after the first settlement of Hawaii from the Marquesas, later voyagers arrived from the Society Islands, bringing new ideas and new types of artifacts.

New Zealand was settled from the Society Islands by about 900 A.D. Before the close of the first millennium after Christ, Polynesian navigators had managed the incredible feat of discovering and settling the most remote islands on earth.

Breadfruit is a clue to Polynesian origins.

What motives lay behind these great feats of voyaging and discovery? Perhaps the pressure of growing populations on small islands, and subsequent wars for scarce land and food, drove weaker factions off in search of unoccupied lands. While some islands may have been settled in this manner, it is unlikely that “population pressure” can explain the whole picture of Polynesian dispersal. Perhaps the younger sons of chieftains set out to discover lands where they could be chiefs themselves and establish their own lines as dominant. Or could it simply have been that the ancestral Polynesians were imbued with a sort of “wanderlust,” a culturally-ingrained desire to search ever
The Canoe

The Polynesian canoe was a refined voyaging craft developed through thousands of years of practical experience. The first Europeans to encounter these canoes were amazed by their speed and their ability to carry large crews and heavy cargoes. Cook estimated that a Tongan double canoe could make about seven knots “close-hauled,” or heading almost directly into the wind. He described one group of large double canoes as so fast to windward that they “...sailed round us apparently with the same ease as if we had been at anchor.”

Cook’s ships were primarily rigged with square sails, designed to be most efficient with a steady wind from astern which tills the sails and pushes the ship on her way. Modern sails work on an entirely different principle. They are designed like airfoils so the wind flowing over them causes a partial vacuum along the leeward side of the sail which actually pulls the boat forward. This kind of airfoil design allows a vessel to sail more directly into the wind than a vessel equipped with square sails. It was the “modern” design of Polynesian sails that allowed ancient canoes to voyage against the winds from Southeast Asia.

Large Polynesian canoes, often more than 100 feet long, were not simple “dug-outs,” but small ships made from planks. The keel was fashioned from logs hollowed out and joined together. Lacking metal to fasten the planks of their craft, the ancient Polynesians (and the Micronesians today) lashed them together with coconut-fiber rope (sennit). Coconut fiber and breadfruit sap were placed between the planks, as caulking, to keep the water out. By fastening two hulls together with stout cross pieces, a large deck could be built over the hulls to carry cargo and crew.

Provisions

Without refrigeration or vacuum-packed tins, the Polynesians developed ingenious techniques to preserve food for long voyages under the hot tropical sun. Breadfruit, buried in earthen pits sheathed with leaves, went through a controlled process of fermentation which preserved it. Dried and salted fish would last for months, and fresh fish was caught regularly. Fresh coconuts contained water, and the coconut’s meat provided protein. Water was also carried in gourds or stoppered bamboo containers. Cooked and dried yams and sweet potatoes were wrapped in pandanus leaves and stored in gourds. Stalks of sugar cane, sealed at each end with breadfruit gum, would last for even the longest voyage. Pigs, dogs and chickens were probably carried in cages. Those not used as breeding stock would have provided a welcome dietary supplement.

eastwards, in the anticipation that new islands would always rise above the horizon? One thing is certain, the Polynesians did not just drift to their island homes. They were skilled seafarers and navigators who had the courage to set forth on purposeful voyages of discovery and colonization.

Curiously, once most of the distant islands had been discovered and permanently settled, the long-distance voyages ceased. In some regions, such as Tonga, large vessels continued to be used to carry people and cargo back and forth between Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa. In the remoter islands, however, voyaging and navigation underwent a decline. There is no evidence, for example, that voyages between Hawaii and the Society Islands persisted after about 1300 A.D. By the time Cook arrived, Hawaiians were no longer building or using large ocean-going canoes. Instead, their vessels were built for fishing and shorter travel between the inter-visible islands. Had the news that all of the previously empty islands had been found and occupied been communicated back to the more westerly islands?

Once the Polynesian islanders were exposed to European methods of ship construction and navigation, they quickly lost traditional skills. Today, not a single Polynesian navigator practices the ancient methods. Only a few navigators of Micronesia, who share distant roots with the Polynesians, carry on traditional canoe-building and voyaging skills. The methods used by Mau Piailug and other Micronesian navigators probably differ in detail from those once used by the Polynesians, but they are basically similar, relying on the natural patterns of wind and wave, and the observation of star paths.

There is now a cultural revival among younger Polynesians, a heightened awareness and growing interest in the great feats and knowledge of their long-departed ancestors. The voyage of Hokule’a made the findings of archaeologists come alive with a new intensity. The Polynesian peoples have a right to be proud of their seafaring ancestors, for the story of the settlement of Polynesia surely ranks among the great human sagas of all time.

Dr. Patrick Kirch is a foremost archaeologist and head of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum’s archaeology division. He has excavated on many Pacific Islands.
Tahitian Pahi
The Tahitian Pahi was a large double canoe rigged with crab-claw sails similar to those of Hawaii. Captain James Cook measured two large Pahi and found them to be 76 feet long. "They have high curved stems," he reported, "the head also curves a little, and both are ornamented with the image of a man carved in wood. They manage them very dexterously and I believe perform long and distant voyages in them."

Tongan Tongiai
This double canoe of Tonga was reported by early explorers to average 70 feet in length. In 1616 the Dutch captain, William Schouten, recounted his impressions of a Tongiai, "...the rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few ships in Holland that could overhail them."

Wa a Kautua of Hawaii
A double hulled canoe designed primarily for sailing short distances between Hawaii's islands, the Wa a Kautua is probably a specialized adaptation from earlier and more powerful long distance voyaging canoes. By the time Captain Cook discovered Hawaii in 1778, long distance voyaging between Hawaii and other Polynesian islands had ceased. According to measurements made by Cook, a canoe like this would be about 70 feet in length with a beam of 12 feet.

Illustrations, Claudian Berry
Canoe House Tales: The Poetry of Discovery

A window on the past, the wisdom of Pacific Islanders is handed down to us in poetry and chant.

By Marjorie Sinclair

The canoe has been at sea for a month, sailing northeast from Tahiti, guided by a navigator who follows ancient star paths. For the last two hours, he has been steering toward an almost imperceptible smudge in the sky—a low cloud that seems to hang over one spot of ocean. Slowly, the land is revealed beneath the cloud. It is one of the high islands in the Hawaiian chain. A kahuna—a priest—composes a chant to celebrate this hard-won landfall, one of many made by voyagers from Tahiti.

Here is Hawaii, an island, a man
Hawaii is a man indeed
Hawaii is a man
A child of Tahiti...

This chant is dedicated to Moikeha, one of the leaders of an early migration from Tahiti to Hawaii. The chanter may have been Kamahualele, “child of the flying spray,” a renowned kahuna.

Such chants and the myths and legends of Polynesia are a rich source of insight into the lives of this ancient people. Some chants celebrate the glory of voyages across broad sea stretches beneath the overarching sky—a world of winds, currents and stars that contained all the information needed by a navigator to make landfall. Others tell of the creation of the land and sea from a great void, the birth of gods and goddesses, and the adventures of great heroes. Without writing, the ancient Polynesians composed a vast oral literature which may be compared to the archaic Greek poem of Odysseus; to the creation stories of the Bible; and the great mystic adventures of Beowulf.

One of the mysteries the Polynesians puzzled over was the creation of the islands themselves. How, they asked, did the islands rise out of such expanses of ocean? To explain the mystery, generations of kahunas created the tales of Maui—trickster, hero, demi-god; and of Tahaki, another demigod blessed with beautiful red skin (a sacred color), curly red hair, towering shoulders and penetrating brown eyes. The stories of their exploits were sung by bards during celebrations, by men in community houses while making canoes, by mothers to their children.

Maui’s story is long and complicated, changing in detail from island group to island group. In one version, his mother threw him at birth into the sea. Seaweed and waves cradled the baby; jellyfish swaddled him in their flesh for protection; winds carried him to shore. Grown to manhood, Maui performed outstanding feats. With a rope made of his sister’s pubic hair he captured the sun. That is why (say the legends) the sun moves slowly through the sky and people can cook their food before dark. Maui stole the secret of fire from the fire god, a Polynesian Prometheus. With his magic fishhook, he pulled islands into daylight from the darkness at the bottom of the sea. He fished up New Zealand with a hook made from a jawbone. It was tough work and he chanted an incantation to make the heavy weight of the island/fish lighter: “Why, Oh Tonga Nui! Art thou sulky?!” Biting below there?...” Finally the fish, which was also land, emerged. Leaving it in the care of his brothers, he went to fetch a kahuna to perform appropriate religious rites. While Maui was gone, his brothers began to cut up the fish and eat it. This is why, today, New Zealand has rugged mountain landscapes.
Manauakalani is the great fishhook of Maui.
The whole earth was the fishline tied to the hook.
Kauiki was bound to the earth and towed high.
There Manauakamaalama lived.
The muddhen of Hina was the bait.
The bait tangled to the bitter death.
Lifting up the very base of the island.
Drawing it to the surface of the sea.

Tahaki was another Polynesian fisher of islands. In Tahiti he was called Ta'ata'i or by one of his more elaborate names, Ta'ata'i-uni-te-tia'i-Hawai'i, meaning "By-revelation-piloting-in-the-sea-of-Hawai'i." A fisher of islands and a great navigator, Tahaki went on two long quests in search of his father and in search of a beautiful wife. Such quests are a basic theme of legends in many lands—Odysseus's great voyage was a quest for home. Tahaki journeyed in a giant double-hulled canoe named "Rainbow." He served as a navigator and astrologer. His paddle was so heavy that no one else could lift it. A Hawaiian chant enlarges, as poetry does, the meaning of the canoe called Rainbow. In Hawaii Tahaki was called Kaha'i.

The rainbow was the path of Kahai:
Kahai climbed, Kahai strove;
He was girded with the mystic enchantment of Kane;
He was fascinated by the eyes of Aliki.
Kahai mounted on the flashing rays of light
Flashing on men and canoes.

Tahaki's island fishing in the Pacific is a long and exciting tale. Aboard Rainbow he and his men sailed from the island of Tahiti to Moorea. There they thrust spears into the island to anchor it. They traveled in all directions, fishing up new islands or anchoring them with their spears. They journeyed as far as the Tuamotus where they pulled up "those beautiful atolls and islets fringed with beds of coral or all hues and with pearl oysters."

They sailed far to the north and found the Hawaiian islands clustered together beneath the sea. Tahaki, like Maui, fished up those islands. The first one Tahaki pulled up was Hawaii "whose high twin mountains rose up from their watery bed and went on rising until they reached an amazing height and were lost in the clouds." The second island he pulled from the sea Tahaki named after the demigod, Maui.

The unwritten poetry of Polynesia contains many of these stories. But most importantly it reveals the perceptions, the inner feelings of the people who inhabited the Pacific. In many societies the words spoken in chant and poetry have a special power. They not only convey information or knowledge about past events, they also influence events in the future—the words have magical potency.

In the isolated atolls of Micronesia's central Caroline Islands, the people still live as the ancient Polynesians, in a world without writing—a world in which the spoken word conveys all of society's accumulated wisdom. Here the techniques of navigation, the locations of schools of fish, and the proper ways to make a canoe or build a house are passed on orally from father to son. Here too, the words have power.

Using a special effigy and a potent magical incantation, a Micronesian navigator can change the weather:

Black weather pass to either side.
Go away to the south.
Go away to the north.
No more wind! Like an inland pool . . .
Divindle, divindle, rain
Go away, go away, rain
I send fire. I send fire
Fear the strong fire. Fear the strong fire.

Other chants are used to prepare oneself for sea. Before setting off on a voyage, a navigator from Ifaluk atoll may first invoke the spirit of navigation. Then he rubs sand on his chest and chants:

Sand. Sand
kindle a fire within me.
Sand. Sand, that it may be light in there.

The "light" and the "fire" are knowledge, the clarity of vision needed to follow the star paths and the courage needed to remain steadfast. A second song repeats the request for knowledge:

Mau a fire light up inside me...
Wax a torch inside me to keep it light.

A chant recorded from the island of Puluwat, not far from Satawal, tells the adventures of a fisherman who probes the reefs around various islands with a stick. A parrot fish is disturbed and flees before the probing stick, swimming to the reef surrounding another island. Again the probing stick, and again the fish swims, each time he follows a star course from one island to the next. Told in canoe houses for generations, the story of this fisherman's journey contains the knowledge that young navigators must memorize, the sailing directions between these islands.

In the seafaring society of Micronesia, the women are often left at home. They yearn for their husbands and lovers and are anxious about their safety. They often compose and sing songs while weaving or cooking in the company of other women.

He could not sleep at night.
As I lay by him, he said, "I must go away."
I have no heart for work,
I lie and think of him.
I think, "If only he could have stayed."

I think of my beloved gone to Yap.
While my body sleeps here,
Can I go to him in a dream?
Can I go to him like rain falling?

The Micronesian Pulu, like the ancient Polynesian navigator, carries his complicated knowledge of the sea with him—the appearance and the sequence of stars moving across the horizon, the significance of bird and fish, the direction of sea-swells, the vagaries of wind. Around this heroic figure gather human feelings—yearning, danger, dream and achievement—expressed in poetry, song and chant.

In the Pacific, poetry is not a separate artistic act, it is part of daily life. The recitation of a chant may be a religious act; the conveying of history, a family chronicle or genealogy. The spoken word is the only way that wisdom is passed on, so it is sacred. A mistake of one word in a sacred chant may bring death or disaster. At one time, long ago, everyone in the Pacific heard the chants—they were in everyone's thoughts and dreams. Some of the words have endured. Now written down, they open a window on the past, they are a gift to us from unknown composers from a nearly vanished world. A Tongan poet still sings:

If I give you a mat it will rot,
If I give cloth, it will be torn.
The poem is bad, yet take it.
That it can be a boat and house to you.

Author and teacher Mariorie Sinclair has spent the greater part of her life studying and writing about the oral literature of the Pacific.

"The Navigators" is presented by your public library and the Hawaii Committee for the Humanities as part of an on-going series of interpretive humanities programs, "Exploring Hawaii's Heritage."
AFTER this feat Maui returned again to his house on the island of Havaiki. The beautiful Hina became his wife and they lived there and lived there and lived there.

One day his brothers went out fishing while Maui stayed idly at home doing nothing. This brought a flood of mockings and complainings from his wife and the wives of his brothers and their children saying that Tiki-tiki was too lazy to go out and catch fish for them.
TALES OF MAUI

At length he called out to them, "Never mind, O mothers; you and your children have nothing to fear. Have I not performed many marvelous deeds? Do you think it would be any trouble for as great a man as I am to do this trifling work for you? Why, if I go get a fish for you, it will be so huge that you will not be able to finish eating it before it will spoil."

During the next few days Maui set to work fashioning an enchanted fishhook out of rainbow-colored pearl shell. First he drilled holes in the portion of the shell he wished to use, outlining the fine curves of his hook. Next he broke off the pieces of shell that he did not need, to leave a roughly shaped hook. Then, with small round pieces of coral to fit the turns and twists, he slowly filed the edges smooth and polished them with pumice. He knotted a strong fish-line of braided coconut to the snood of the hook and, last of all, fastened at the sharp tip a piece of the jawbone of his ancestress Ranganua.

His brothers in the meantime had been preparing and fitting the high sideboards of their canoe so they could lash them to the hull and go far out amongst the high waves of the open sea for their fishing. As soon as they launched the built-up canoe, Maui jumped aboard. His brothers, who were by now afraid of his enchantments and did not wish to become involved in another strenuous adventure like the snaring of the sun, immediately cried out, "Go ashore, Tiki-tiki. You cannot come with us this time! We are badly in need of fresh fish, and your magical arts and mischievous ways will surely delay us and get us into all kinds of trouble."

When the wives cried out also, Maui jumped ashore and watched his brothers paddle off. But they had bad luck that day and came back in the evening without a single fish.
TALES OF MAUI

During the night when it was very dark, Maui changed himself into a little black ocean bird, a sooty tern, and hid himself away in the hollow place under the sternboard of the canoe. The next morning his brothers launched their boat without ever seeing him and paddled out to sea.

When they were well away from land, Maui crept out and took his natural shape. As soon as his brothers saw him, they exclaimed, “Oho! We had better get back to shore again as fast as we can, since this fellow is on board.”

But Maui, with his magic, stretched out the sea so that the shore quickly became very distant from them. By the time they could turn themselves around to look for it, it was out of sight.

Maui said, “You had better let me go along with you. I can at least bail the water out of the canoe for you.”

The brothers consented and paddled on over the purple-blue sea. They were about to drop their lines when Maui urged them to paddle farther. This happened several times, with Maui always urging them to go on and on, until they were many hundred leagues from Hawaiki, to the southwest. At last Maui said they had gone far enough.

Lo! the brothers had hardly let their hooks down when each pulled up a good-sized fish, and soon they had so many that their fish basket was full.

Then his brothers said to Maui, “Come, brother, let us all return now.”

But Maui answered, “Stay awhile. Let me also throw my hook into the sea.”

“Why, where did you get a hook?”
"Oh, never mind. You will see that I have one." As he pulled it out from under his bark loincloth, the light flashed from the beautiful mother-of-pearl, and they were astonished. Maui asked his brothers to give him a bit of bait, but they refused, so he took a knife and cut off the lobe of his left ear and set it on the point of the hook. Then he cast it into the sea.

Down it sank, down, down, down
through the dark waters of the ocean to the earth below, where it caught under the ridgepole of the house of his ancestor Tonganui, grandson of Tangaroa and god of the depths of the ocean.

Maui, feeling something on his hook, began to haul in his line. Aha! there caught on his hook the house of that old fellow.

Up!

Up!

Up it came!
TALES OF MAUI

As it rose higher, how his hook was strained with the great weight upon it, for a portion of the rock of the ocean floor clung to the foundation of the house.

Then out of the ocean came foam and bubbles and jets of spray, as if an island was emerging from the sea!

His brothers opened their mouths and cried aloud.

All this time Maui was chanting his magic spells. Then he raised his voice in triumph:

"Why you, O Tonganui,
Art thou sulking
Biting below there?

On thee has come
The power of Ranganua
To bind thee together.

The foam and noise
Gathered into small space
Draw to the surface.

Shout my triumph
Over the grandson
Of great Tangaroa!"
When he had finished his chant, there floated up, attached to his hook, the “fish of Maui,” a portion of the earth later called Aotea. Because of Maui’s magic, this mighty island in the early stages of its birth came from the ocean depths in the form of a huge live fish.

Alas! Aue! Their canoe lay hard aground on the fish’s back.

Maui said to his brothers, “Now I must return quickly to our island, to the marae of Tapu-tapu-tea at Opoa, to make an offering to the gods of their portion of this catch. Do not touch this fish nor eat any food until I return. Only be patient and we will then cut up this great fish and each will have his share.”

Maui had hardly gone when the brothers trampled under their feet the words they had heard him speak. They began at once to cut up the fish and to eat. But Maui had not yet reached the sacred place with his offerings. Alas! Aue! Those foolish, thoughtless brothers of his to cut up the fish! Behold, the gods turned with wrath upon them! Then the great fish began to toss about his head from side to side, to lash his tail, to raise high the fins on his back, and snap his jaws. Aha! Well done, O Tangaroa! He springs about on shore as briskly as if he was leaping in the deep water!

And that is the reason why this island of Aotea, that the white man later named New Zealand, is now so rough and uneven, why here stand wrinkled mountains and broken plains, here crooked harbors and steep cliffs. If the brothers of Maui had not acted so deceitfully and irreverently, the huge fish would have lain flat and smooth and the islands of the Great Ocean would have been made up of gentle slopes and plains much easier for people to cultivate and walk upon. For this great island that Maui fished up in the south-western part of the ocean was only the first of many more to come up in different regions of the sea and it was a model for all the rest of the lands for the present generations of men.
Review questions for Origins of the Polynesians:

Our understanding of the origins of the Polynesians, their routes of migration and navigational expertise, is the result of research by humanities scholars in such fields as archeology, anthropology, linguistics, history, and mythology.

1. What kinds of questions do these scholars ask?

2. What kinds of evidence do they use to answer them?

3. What specific clues do they use to determine the migration routes of the Polynesians?

4. How does the combination of different research techniques allow us to come to conclusions about the origins of the Polynesians and the timing and manner of their migration throughout the Pacific?

5. What evidence exists that the Polynesians were skilled navigators and seafarers?

6. How are the journals of early Europeans who explored the Pacific invaluable tools for Polynesian research?

7. What can we learn from legends and chants about early Polynesians and their oceanic voyages?
In 1947, Thor Heyerdahl and a five-man crew set off from Peru aboard Kon Tiki to prove that South American Indians could have settled Polynesia. Heyerdahl’s theory was supported by early anthropological and archaeological studies which purported to demonstrate similarities between Polynesian and American Indian cultures, and by prevailing winds and currents which flow from east to west, from the American continent directly into the heart of the Pacific. Aboard even the most primitive craft, it seemed possible to drift with these winds and currents to one of Polynesia’s many islands.

Kon Tiki was made by lashing together nine balsa logs. A small hut was built atop the raft to provide shelter for the crew, and a mast was rigged with a square sail to take advantage of the following winds.

As Heyerdahl gave the order to set sail, dire predictions rang in his ears; the balsa logs would become waterlogged and sink, the lashings would fray and break, or heavy seas would wash the men overboard.

To the crew’s delight, the raft quickly demonstrated her seaworthiness. Waves big enough to crash aboard simply washed through the spaces between the logs; the balsawood was so soft that it cushioned the rope lashings and prevented them from chafing; and sap in the logs made them almost waterproof so the raft easily maintained her buoyancy. The sea also provided an unexpected bounty—the crew caught so many fish they could have subsisted without the tinned rations they had stowed aboard.

On August 7th, 1947, Kon Tiki crashed on a reef that surrounds Raroia Island in the Tuamotu chain, just east of Tahiti, demonstrating that Polynesia could have been settled by drift voyages from South America. But proving such voyages possible does not mean they actually took place.

Modern research has now shown that the ancestors of the Polynesians were skilled navigators who set out to explore the Pacific from Island Southeast Asia, not Peru. Although Heyerdahl’s theories are no longer accepted by an overwhelming majority of scholars, the voyage of Kon Tiki was a courageous experiment and a stimulus for the later voyage of Hōkūle'a, a replica of a Polynesian double canoe that sailed against the prevailing winds from Hawaii to Tahiti in 1976.

Photograph from Kon-Tiki by Thor Heyerdahl. ©1950, 1978 by Thor Heyerdahl. (Courtesy Rand McNally & Company.)
With her strangely shaped crabclaw sails, and her narrow twin hulls spanned by a deck lashed to crossbeams, Hokulea seems to be an apparition from some distant planet. She is, in fact, a replica of an ancient Polynesian canoe—just a copy as science can make. The canoe is named after the star that seems to hang over Hawaii (the Hawaiian word, Hokulea, means “star of joy”), a star that may have been a celestial beacon for early navigators who discovered Hawaii from islands to the south.

If the Polynesians made intentional voyages of discovery, they must have possessed both an accurate system of navigation and a seaworthy ocean-going canoe. Hokulea's scientific mission was to sail round-trip between Hawaii and Tahiti to demonstrate the seaworthiness and sailing ability of her ancient design, and to show that a trained non-instrumental navigator, Mau Piailug, could guide the canoe across 2500 miles of open ocean to an accurate landfall.

Hokulea's twin hulls are each 62'3" long. They are spanned by crossbeams ('iako) which are 17'6" long and spaced 6' apart. A platform 42'6" by 9'6" is lashed atop the 'iako. The canoe's sails are shaped like giant crabclaws, following the pattern depicted in ancient petroglyphs and in sketches made by early European explorers. In practice, the upward curve of the booms allowed the crew to move about easily on deck, and the scoop formed at the top of the sail spilled wind during heavy gusts so that the rigging was not strained.

The knowledge necessary to build a voyaging canoe from traditional materials has been lost in Hawaii, so Hokulea was constructed of modern laminated woods and fiberglass. She is a "performance replica"—her shape is true to ancient design so that the performance of such canoes could be tested.

On May 1, 1976, Hokulea sailed from the island of Maui with a crew of 17 and 6 tons of cargo, bound for Tahiti. Making an average speed of more than 3.5 knots during the trip, she covered 2,800 miles in 33 days without major incident. On her return to Hawaii, Hokulea encountered more favorable winds and sailed 2600 miles in 22 days. The voyage demonstrated the canoe could sail into the wind; carry a large enough crew and sufficient supplies to colonize distant islands; and that she was indeed sufficiently seaworthy to make long ocean passages.

Among Polynesians throughout the Pacific, Hokulea's voyage rekindled an ancient pride of accomplishment that had been dimmed by 200 years of European domination. Today the canoe sails on educational voyages among the Hawaiian islands where her crew educates Hawaiian children in the skills of their ancestors. For many years to come, Hokulea will continue to sail in the hearts and minds of a people whose ancestors were among the most daring seafarers on earth.

(Courtesy Polynesian Voyaging Society.)
Mau Plailug, left, Micronesian master navigator, and Tava Taupu, Marquesan canoe builder and adze maker, work on a koa log being transformed into a traditional single-hull coastal sailing canoe. Using traditional implements as well as materials and observing traditional protocol and ceremonies, the two men are leading the canoe construction process, which began with a two-year search for a suitable tree. Ultimately, the 60-ft. koa was found on the southeast slope of Hawaii’s Mauna Kea. The centuries-old koa was replaced by 3,000 seedlings.

In 1973, Finney, Tommy Holmes and Herb Kane founded the Polynesian Voyaging Society to raise money to build a voyaging canoe and sponsor a voyage of rediscovery from Hawaii to Tahiti. In 1976, the Hokule'a, of traditional design and with Micronesian Mau Plailug as navigator, made navigational and anthropological history with a successful sail from Hawaii to Tahiti, with Mau relying only on his own experience and natural signs to navigate.

It was on Hokule'a’s return voyage to Hawaii that Thompson made his first major voyage as a member of the crew. Later, he apprenticed as a navigator under Plailug and studied extensively with astronomer Will Kyselka.

Relinquishing the role
Since achieving acclaim as a navigator in his own right, Nainoa has steered Hokule’a on several major voyages and worked tirelessly under the leadership of Myron Thompson, his father and president of Polynesian Voyaging Society, to train crews and navigators. His first relinquishing of the role of navigator was to begin in June on a training and research voyage to Tahiti, the Tuamotus, Raitete and Huahine.

As hosts of the festival this October, the Cook Islanders have challenged other island nations to build and sail their own canoes to Rarotonga. Setting an example that will be hard to best, the Cook Islanders will have seven canoes.

As of late May, other islands expecting to send canoes include Papua New Guinea, with two; New Zealand, with a canoe that was already undergoing trials this spring, and Majuro in the Marshall Islands, with a beautiful canoe finished in May. At the last minute, Tahiti decided to make a canoe. Whether it’ll be finished in time is unknown. Leading the way will be Hawaii with Hokule’a.

Canoes established Hawaiians
“There’s so much,” said Nainoa, “to know about the canoe. If it weren’t for the voyaging canoe and navigators and competent sailors, there would be no Hawaiians. The voyaging canoe really is the vehicle for the first human history in Hawaii.

“I think,” he continued, “the canoe clearly illustrates that we’re all related, because of the ability of our ancestors to voyage. Things like the Pacific Arts Festival and the voyage of the Hokule’a indicate that, culturally, we are one nation—that we are all related ancestrally.

by Mazeppa Costa
In the mid-20th century, the idea of heroic—and deliberate—voyages by Pacific Islanders received little respect.

Thor Heyerdahl’s Kon-Tiki theory had Polynesia populated by drifters from America. Andrew Sharp of New Zealand said that Polynesian’s could not navigate more than 200 miles out of sight of land.

True, there were no living memories of extraordinary voyages, nor any voyaging canoes in Polynesia. And traditional navigators were all but extinct. Well, how things have changed!

Anthropologists now credit Polynesians with having been the greatest navigators in the world. This wasn’t simply an armchair decision.

Today, Polynesians think, “We can prove thereof by relearning the traditions and making significant voyages. They nurture the traditions and pride through practice and by sharing their recovered knowledge and skills.

A giant step in the perpetuation process is now in preparation, as several island nations ready canoes, crews and navigators to sail in voyaging canoes to the Pacific Islands Festival in Rarotonga, Cook Islands, in October.

The spearhead of the return to voyaging tradition, according to esteemed Hokule’a navigator Nainoa Thompson, was anthropologist Ben Finney who felt that the anthropological debate could go on forever and nothing would happen.

Challenging the doubts
As early as 1958, “he wanted to make a valid attempt to challenge the ideas about the origins of Polynesians and the Polynesians as seafarers. Ben felt the only way you could mount the challenge was to build a canoe and sail it,” Thompson said. He did just that.

By 1966, he had built a 40-ft. double-hulled canoe and tested it in Hawaiian waters. This was the beginning of the long voyage, first, to reclaim and, now, to perpetuate Polynesian—Pacific—voying traditions.

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We're all in the same predicament—that we need to recover and maintain our traditions to maintain our identity as a people. Actually, all nations have the same challenge.” He continued:

“Helping other nations in their quest for renewed tradition is a great opportunity for Hawaii to participate and to share. It’s one thing to show people about their traditions, just for people to witness, so they can take pride in what their ancestors were capable of. But, it’s an entirely different matter when someone learns how to do it themselves.

Functioning within traditions

“That’s what the attempt is now, in the overall—to hit that very deep level of not just being able to witness traditions but to understand them and function within them in daily life. That’s when a culture becomes strong.”

Hawaii’s cultural strength is represented by its own sailing mastery—it’s navigators, its crews, its support organizations—and by the spread of this mastery to nations throughout the Pacific, thus helping all Pacific Islanders appreciate their commonality.

Tava Taupu displays a traditional stone adze that he fashioned.

Into the Navigator’s Realm; ‘Your Turn to Take the Task’

In May, seven Cook Island navigators-in-training were in Honolulu to study with Nainoa Thompson in preparation for the sailing of seven Cook Island canoes from the islands of Aitutaki, Mauke, Mangaia, Atiu, Mitiaro and Rarotonga to the Pacific Arts Festival in Rarotonga in October. Open-sea sailing hasn’t been done by Cook Islanders in remembered times.

Before leaving Oahu, the Cook Islanders prepared an umu feast of succulence and rich variety for a tightly focused group associated with the canoe project. When all hands were sated and gift presentations made, Hokule’a’s revered navigator addressed his students—softly, seriously and poignantly—recapping for the voyagers where they were in their training and where they have yet to go. Every ear was attentive. Not even the dogs made noise:

“We don’t celebrate on your departure tonight. We celebrate when we all know the sail’s been well done. You guys are good crew members already, but you’re not stepping into the realm of the sailor. You’re stepping into the realm of the navigator.

“You are all going to fly home to your own islands and we’re not going with you. What’s needed are people who are fearless and fierce about believing in what you’re doing and never giving up. That’s what it takes—believing in what training we’ve been doing has been heavily based on science and math. That and all the work we’ve been doing is only to give you a conceptual framework of navigation; the level of science. But, navigation is really a form of art.

“When we were in the planetarium and I was giving you numbers and angles and degrees, I was giving you the science of navigation. But, I wasn’t giving you the whole thing. I’m looking toward the day when you come and tell me you see the art in navigation. When the inner strength is there inside and you have it all.

“You can achieve a deep understanding of navigation, where you can navigate without the numbers, without the angles. At that time, you step into a whole different realm; separate yourself; step through a window of time; through the layers of time. Then, you will truly see the role of our ancestors.

“Be confident that what you have is enough to know. Be confident that the people of Hawaii deeply want to support you and will train you enough to make your trip. Be confident when you take your test trip to Taputapuatae. You are ready to go. Prepare the canoe. Take care of your crew. Believe in what you do.

“I’ll see you in September. I’ll see you in Rarotonga.” Nainoa Thompson’s job was done.

M.C.
CULTURAL TRADITIONS

1. In Micronesian society, knowledge and information about the seas and stars gives the navigator power and status. In Western society, which professions have status and power? Where does their power come from? How is it maintained?

2. From the two lists below select what you think are the most important things to learn and write them out in order of importance. What could you incorporate from the oral tradition into our school? How would our school be different with an emphasis on oral traditions rather than written traditions?

Comparing oral and literate societies

There are a number of significant differences between the approach to learning in a literate society and in an oral society. Read the following extract and think about these differences before doing the activities.

Literate societies

1. Success-failure image begins with early literacy experience in schools.
2. Laws rules for social organisation and conduct codified by specialists in a written text.
3. History documented, presented as a formal subject of study, in written, public, limited data on minority cultures, disconnected from living past.
4. Information stored; data books, files, archives, libraries, memory disrespect.
5. Literature stories are heard, through print, great literature is read only in school setting.
6. Logical, analytic, linear thinking taught in schools and held as the perfect model.

Non-literate or oral societies

1. Each individual has an appropriate place in the system, even in a hierarchical one.
2. Custom rules for social organisation and conduct known and understood by all; arbitrator are village leaders.
3. Legend retold in human memory of [chosen] individuals, rich in data connected with living past through oral transmission.
4. Memory storage: select individuals are [storytellers]; information memory is honoured and developed.
5. Oral literature stories told to living audiences, great stories are presented and translated by popular demand.
6. Wholistic approach; less concern with analysis of parts, but rather how they work together (looking at the whole thing, not just the parts).
Imagine you are living in a society which has an oral tradition. Try to write a story about something which is 'not accepted' in your society. The story will help to educate the rest of the community not to indulge in things. For example, it could be about:

- greed
- deceit
- stealing

List the things you believe are most important to know in order to survive in society. This could be placed in a time capsule for the next generation.
ESSAY ASSIGNMENT: What has the Hokule'a come to symbolize for Polynesians and all Pacific Islanders?

ART ACTIVITY: Design a T-shirt celebrating the spirit and achievements of the Hokule'a.
WRITING ASSIGNMENT: The early Polynesians had no written language. Their knowledge and traditions were passed on from generation to generation through storytelling. You are to write a story about a voyage to Hawaii providing vivid and interesting details of this adventure, while also demonstrating your knowledge of canoe making, migration, and non-instrument navigation, etc. You may also illustrate this tale for extra credit.

Situation: You are living in the Marquesas Islands over a thousand years ago and you have decided to leave the "comforts of home" and seek out the legendary Hawaii. Your intent is to settle in this new land of promise.

I. Describe your life in the Marquesas. Why have you decided to leave your homeland?

II. Who would go along on your voyage? Remember, you plan to settle here. You've got to think of your future needs, so you have to take the right kinds of people along with you.
   A. People with what skills and talents?
   B. People of what ages?

III. Preparations for the voyage.
   A. How would you travel?
      1. What kind of canoe would you build?
      2. How large would you build it?
      3. How would you go about making it?
   B. Food provisions
      1. What kinds of food would you take?
      2. How would you prepare and preserve them?
      3. How would you contain and store your food?
   C. What kind of plants would you take? For what purposes will they be used?
   D. What kinds of animals would you take?
   E. What kind of tools and weapons would you take?

IV. The voyage itself
   A. What distance will you have to travel?
   B. How will you tell your direction and position without the use of a compass?
   C. What dangers, adventures do you encounter?
   D. What does the voyage come to mean to you?
FURTHER READINGS:


Lewis, David, We the Navigators, Honolulu, Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1972.

Howe, Kerry, Where the Waves Fall, Honolulu, Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1984.
UNIT 3: THE PACIFIC AS PARADISE

OVERVIEW: The Pacific has long been portrayed as a "paradise", on earth", a romantic haven of innocence and calm, where time stands still and all is well. How did this idea originate? When Europeans first ventured into the Pacific, what did they really "discover"? What preconceived ideas and attitudes did they bring with them on their voyages of discovery? To what extent did they see and experience what they already expected and wanted to discover? How were their beliefs and attitudes changed through contact with the islands and islanders? Moreover, what attitudes did Islanders adopt towards Europeans, their technology, ideas, and mannerisms? To what extent is this concept of Paradise perpetuated in the Pacific today - at what cost and for whose benefit?

In this unit, students will experience the challenges of "first contact" by roleplaying Europeans and Islanders meeting on the shore for the first time. We will tie this experience to the mutiny on the Bounty, which occurred in 1789. In this case, crewmen on the British ship, H.M.S. Bounty, under Captain William Bligh, overthrew the established order and authority aboard ship for an opportunity to "live in paradise".

Students will read an excerpt from the novel, Mutiny on the Bounty, and view the film version* of the story. Then, they will evaluate the use of film as a means of portraying history and cross-cultural encounter.

* 1984 film "The Bounty" starring Mel Gibson and Anthony Hopkins.

READINGS/MATERIALS:

1. Article - "A Dream of Islands", Gavin Daws
2. Drawing of a New Zealand Chief
3. Drawing of Omai (Tahiti)
4. Drawing of Hawaiian dancers
5. Journal excerpts from Louis Bougainville
6. Excerpt from Mutiny on the Bounty (Nordhoff and Hall, Boston, Little Brown Publ. 1932)
7. Article: "Problems come to Paradise", Alain Rollat
8. Article: "Hawaii has Problems with Utopia Image", Pete Pichaske
In April, 1768, the French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville, sailing the South Pacific, sighted an island new to him, not down on any map that he carried. He was experiencing discovery. The land mass rose out of the sea before him like a superb work of art; amphitheatrical mountains, high and forest-covered, with one spectacular isolated peak like a pyramid in the middle distance, garlanded as if by the hand of some skilful decorator; open plains and groves of trees lower down; and a foreground along the shore of banana and coconut trees, with the nuts of the islanders intermingled.

Here in the South Seas, Bougainville's ships were the bearers of civilization. He was a naval commander on serious business, extending the influence of the French Empire, broadening Europe's scientific knowledge of the world. For months his crewmen had been cooped up doing hard labor that was dangerous when it was not monotonous, living under harsh discipline, subsisting on appalling food. The ships were rat-ridden, cockroach-infested, stinking of sweat and bilge water and excrement. Now before the eyes of the crew a sweet green island shimmered in warm sunlight.

"As we approached the land," wrote Bougainville, "the natives surrounded the ships. The crush of canoes about the vessels was so heavy that we had great trouble mooring amid the crowd and the noise. They all came shouting *tayo*, which means *friend*, and giving us a thousand evidences of it . . ." The canoes brought young women who "for charm of face yielded nothing to most Europeans, and who, for bodily beauty, could compete with any at advantage." Most were naked, "because the men and old women who accompanied them had taken off them the loincloth with which they usually covered themselves." The bare-skinned women offered themselves enticingly, and the men of the island made things even more clear: "they pressed us to choose a woman, to follow her ashore, and unequivocal gestures demonstrated the manner in which her acquaintance was to be made." "I ask," wrote Bougainville, "how to keep
Voyage around the world and Nouvel-Cythere, New Cythera, after the Greek
his own expense. In a cross to signify the king of Spain's "indisputable right" to the
rencilinen h a matter understood, "was the fear of losing Ule
Wallis's men mat­
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men the shapely
Vallis ~oculllent "Padys
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had already rone and gone, in miJ-1767,
The Irishman, to be sure, was doing no more than
over­
ashore against orders, located a willing girl,
a carved
naked to receive her new
himself surrounded by islanders who stripped him naked and
stood on the quarterdeck. on one of the
There
the island the name of his sovereign, King George
ishmd
~
and
shepherd: she
isborn
lookers complete with flute player, there was no unhappy ending.

Bougainville and his men did not know it, but by a matter of months
they had been beaten to the honor of discovering Tahiti for the West. The
British explorer Samuel Wallis had already come and gone, in mid-1767,
and was close to home again. Wallis took possession of the island "by right
of conquest" and raised the British flag. And it was his men who first
became—as Wallis's sailing master, George Robertson, put it—"madly
fond of the shore." What Robertson called "the old trade" between sailors
and Tahitian women began at once. There was trouble, but only over mat­
ters of style. "A dear Irish boy one of our Marins," wrote Robertson, "was
the first that began the trade, for which he got a very sever cobing," a
thrusting, "from the Liberty men for not beginning in a more decent
manner, in some house or at the back of some bush or tree.

They hastened to see if I was formed like the inhabitants of their land."
This time, despite the gathering of another crowd of interested Tahitian
onlookers complete with flute player, there was no unhappy ending.

This was Tahiti, the Tahitian welcome was sexual, and it could be over­
powering. Soon after Bougainville's ships anchored, one of the cooks
lipped ashore against orders, located a willing girl, and then suddenly
bound himself surrounded by islanders who stripped him naked and
examined every part of his body in a tumult of excitement. They meant him
to harm, but they scared him out of his wits, and when their curiosity was
satisfied and they urged him to go ahead with the girl, he could not
manage it. He got his clothes back and went on board again "more dead
han alive," telling Bougainville it would do no good to reprimand him—
nothing could frighten him as much as what he had just been through.

Even when the Tahitians were quieter about their curiosity it was un­
serving, at least to begin with. Some of Bougainville's men were wel­
comed to a grass hut with food and the music of a nose flute, and a girl was
flered, very young, with the breasts of a Helen of Troy, as one of the
elighted visitors said. She lay naked to receive her new lover; but, inter­
ested though he was, he could not put out of his mind the fifty Tahitians,
so interested, who were watching in a circle. So a fine occasion came to
nothing because of what one Frenchman, philosophically inclined, called
the corruption of our customs.

On the same day, though, several other Frenchmen were able to over­
come the corruption of their civilized upbringing. One of Bougainville’s
assengers was a young aristocrat, Prince Charles Nicholas Othon of
 Nassau-Siegen. Caught in the rain, he took shelter in a "maisonette"
here by chance there were six pretty girls. They welcomed him with
reat sweetness, took off their clothing, "that impediment to pleasure,"
isplayed all their charms, and drew his attention in detail to the shapely
race of their perfect bodies. Then they undressed him. "The whiteness
fa European body ravished them," Nassau-Siegen wrote in his journal.

As Commerson described Tahiti, everything about the place and its
before Bougainville decided on the name New Tahiti, Commerson was privately calling the island a utopia. Tahitians, he wrote, were born under the most beautiful of skies. Wise in the ways of nature, they were nourished by the fruits of an earth fecund without cultivation. Their chiefs were family fathers rather than harsh kings, and the people lived free of dissension, need, prejudice, or vice. And they spoke a language of "noble simplicity," in which the "workings of the soul, the beatings of the heart" were one with the movement of the lips.

More remarkable still, the Tahitians knew "no other god but love; every day is consecrated to it, the whole island is its temple, all the women are its idols, all the men its worshippers." The mating of the sexes was an "act of religion," performed in public, watched and encouraged by well-wishers, its consummation applauded. Most delightful of all, the stranger too was admitted to these "happy mysteries." It was even a "hospitality duty" to invite him to take part. An austere censor, said Commerson, would find in this only moral excess, horrible prostitution, the height of shamelessness. But Commerson insisted that what Tahiti unveiled to the world was "the condition of natural man, born essentially good, free of all preconception, and following without diffidence or remorse the sweet impulses of an instinct always sound, because it has not yet degenerated into reason."

So in Europe Tahiti came to stand for the South Seas, and the South Seas came to stand for release from the constraints of civilized life, for the life of nature, for freedom and delight. Not every encounter between white men and South Sea islanders was like the first meeting that Bougainville and Commerson described, and indeed there was more to their encounter with the Tahitians than that. But it was the joyful parts of the Tahitian experience that struck a particular chord in Europe, as something worth considering among the rewards of the age of exploration, along with advances in scientific knowledge and extensions of European imperial power.

White men were never single-minded about what they expected to gain by exploring the world. They wanted to accumulate treasure, pile up knowledge, assert dominion—own the earth. But the kind of experience Bougainville wrote about offered something different—a chance for Europeans to ask themselves deep, self-critical questions about their own civilization, if they wanted to. At least some Europeans of Bougainville's day were receptive to the thought that the life of Polynesians might offer Westerners a lesson about the way they lived their own lives.

This was what Philibert Commerson was proposing when he called Tahiti a utopia. Commerson and Bougainville had read Jean-Jacques Rousseau on the subject of the Noble Savage. Rousseau did not coin that phrase; the English poet John Dryden did. But Rousseau's name was most closely associated with the idea, at a time when a good many European thinkers were becoming preoccupied with questions about what was basic to human nature, and when the argument was being put forward that perhaps civilization of the Western kind was a crushing weight that produced deformities in humanity.

There were any number of notions about the perfect human being, the perfect society, the perfect natural environment, and what the connections between them might be. The phrase "Noble Savage" was new, but some of the ideas that clustered around the phrase were as old as ancient Greece. The Greeks themselves wrote of a time, lost and gone beyond recovery, when humanity lived a life of perfect happiness in a golden age. Christians had a Bible that began with the story of a man and a woman living in Eden, in freedom and delight, until the catastrophe of the Fall, which they brought on themselves; then they were driven from the garden, never to return. In these views, the long arc of human history was downward, a degeneration from perfect beginnings. An alternative view was that if only society could be arranged so as to bring out the best and not the worst qualities in human nature, then the perfect human being might appear on earth in the future. Then again, in the age of exploration it became possible to think that even if Europeans themselves had lost forever the perfect life of unspoiled man in an unspoiled state of nature, this happy condition might still exist somewhere on earth, waiting to be discovered by Westerners. It was an exciting thought. One of the earliest impulses for European exploring, especially by sea, was the search for some sort of earthly paradise.

When Columbus first sighted the Caribbean islands off the American continent, he was convinced that he was, if not in paradise, at least close to it. The "Indians" he found there seemed to him beautiful in their nakedness. And their physical beauty was the outward sign of a beautiful nature, peaceable, cordial, hospitable, frank, trusting, naturally good. They did not seem to be concerned about matters of rank and status, or about accumulating property for themselves, things which obsessed Westerners. So in every respect they were different from the white man, and superior to him. They were the first noble savages of the age of exploration.

As new places one after another were revealed to Westerners, new types of human beings were held up to inspection. Inevitably, as more and more of the world was mapped, the hope of finding perfect people in an earthly paradise diminished. But the vision persisted, and travelers'
tales became the basis for general discussions about the nature of man and the prospects for improving European society. The perfect society was put down on paper in many forms, called utopias. Utopian writing was frequently satirical to the point of being scathing about existing European society. Invariably, Utopia was located far away from Europe, and there was something poignant about the whole concept. *Eu-topia* meant a good place; *ou-topia* meant no place, nowhere. Europeans were condemned to seek but not to find.

Columbus's Caribbean Indian turned out to be flawed, and so did the great cold-weather savage, the North American Indian. The black African in his turn failed to be perfect, and in the end was considered to be good only as a slave. Civilized nonwhites—Chinese, Persians, and others—disqualified themselves as possible noble savages by being too civilized.

The question, literally, was: Where in the world might the noble savage still be found? Far away, certainly. Goodness was likely to be distant from badness, and the more prolonged and difficult the voyage the more the traveler had the right to want to be rewarded for his effort. Overseas, then; and the voyage would wash away the grime of civilization. On an island, very likely. Western civilization was continental, and perfect societies of the kind described in utopian writing were by their nature small. And the island would be warm. Visions of the earthly paradise usually had tropical overtones, and for fairly obvious reasons. The noble savage would go naked, not hiding himself, displaying his body as the outward sign of inner spiritual beauty. Freedom of physical movement would be matched by social freedom. The noble savage would not be bound by restrictive clothes, or enslaved by restrictive custom. He would not be poor, and neither would he be graspingly rich. Nature would provide for him. He would be exempt from the grumbling work needed to stay alive and then prosper in a situation of scarcity. And there would be no grumbling meanness in his sexuality either, no repressive, constraining, monogamous Christian marital bonds, but instead the open realization of pleasure, freedom, and delight. And then Bougainville's ships put in at Tahiti, and the dream was made flesh.

The Tahitian body was seen, by those who knew about such things, as classically beautiful. Cultivated voyagers could not help seeing the islanders as Polynesian Greeks of some hazy golden age, living statues of a color between bronze and marble. Bougainville came across men who could have been models for Hercules and Mars. A later explorer measured a Polynesian chief and found his dimensions exactly the same as those of the Apollo Belvedere. The Englishman Joseph Banks, who sailed with James Cook on his first voyage to the South Seas, immediately gave Tahitian men Greek names: another Hercules, an Ajax, a Lycurgus, an Epicurus. As for the women, Banks was rhapsodic: "I have no where seen such Elegant women as those of Otaheite such the Grecians were from whose model the Venus de Medicis was copied undistorted by bandages. Nature has full liberty... and amply does she repay this indulgence in producing such forms as exist here (in Europe) only in marble or Canvas may such as might even defy the imitation of the Chizzel of a Phidias or the pencil of an Apelles." And both the bodies and the souls of the women were made for love, the pleasure of the Tahitian garden, "model'd into the utmost perfection for that soft science..."

How was it possible, one of Bougainville's men wondered to himself, for such a charming people, so fair to European eyes, to exist so far from Europe? Time and time again, Tahitians and other eastern Polynesians were described as resembling Europeans. The possibility does exist of a real affinity. Long before Wallis and Bougainville, some white men may have lived and died on shore in Polynesia—though not by choice. They were shipwrecked Spanish sailors from an expedition that followed Magellan's into the Pacific in the 1520s. They were never heard of again in the West, and had been forgotten by history. If they were cast away among eastern Polynesians, they could well have left descendants by island women, and their physical legacy, surviving visibly, could have contributed something essential to the mysterious shock of recognition so characteristic of first meetings between Polynesians and white explorers.

So the European voyagers of the late eighteenth century may indeed have been looking at versions of themselves embodied in islanders. This would have made it easier still for whites to be carried away by the beauties of the South Seas. They could imagine that they were seeing a human picture of themselves when young, before freedom and delight were civilized away from them, before guilt made them clothe their bodies. There was Eden before the Fall to think about, and the sexual universe of the Greek myths as well, in which gods and humans and animals could join in mating. So Tahiti came to stand for the power of the erotic; and dreams that were damped down by life in civilized society, forced to the underside of consciousness, surfaced again in all their seductiveness in the South Seas.

The Tahitians, of course, had more on their minds than just offering their women to white men. They wanted to get things from the ships. Here the women were useful. Their value came to be measured in iron.
Metal in all its forms was one of the great wonders of the white man's world. The Polynesians had none. A great deal of the interchange between ship and shore had to do with sex and technology, and this had been so since the earliest days of European exploration. On Ferdinand Magellan's voyage, off the coast of South America, so a member of the expedition wrote, "one day a pretty young woman came aboard the Captain General's vessel for no other reason than to find something to take. And glancing around the Master's cabin, she saw a nail somewhat longer than a finger, and at once she seized it and neatly thrust it into her vagina, and suddenly jumped overboard and left." At Tahiti, once the islanders found out about iron on board Wallis' ship, it became the prize trade item. It would buy drinking water, firewood, fruit, chickens, pigs, and women.

At first a woman cost a twenty-penny nail (meaning a nail that cost twenty pennies a hundred). The law of supply and demand pushed the price up. When Wallis's men went ashore on liberty, "young girls," as George Robertson wrote, very seldom "failed to carry off a nail from every man of the party." The ship's guards relieved each other regularly, and "got Value for their nail, and returned back to their duty, some of the fellows was so Extravagant that . . . they spent two Nails . . . ." Within a couple of weeks the ship's carpenter was complaining that "every cleat in the Ship was drawn, and all the Nails carried off," and the boatswain was reporting that two thirds of the men were "obliged to lie on the Deck for want of nails to hang their Hамmocks." Robertson stopped liberty and made inquiries, and was told that the "Young Girls . . . hade now rose their price . . . from a twenty or thirty penny nail, to a forty penny, and some was so Extravagant as to demand a Seven or nine Inch Spick, this was a plain proof of the way the large nails went." Bougainville in turn found the natives to be "fine traders," clamoring for iron. In one of the canoes that came out on the first day, there was "a young and pretty girl almost naked, who showed her sex for some little nails . . . ." The cycle had begun again.

The "old trade," to be sure, was not exclusively for nails. It was a way for Tahitians to make human discoveries, just as exciting to them as Phillipert Commerson's were to him. An obvious puzzle for the islanders was why such big ships with so many white men aboard had no women. One Polynesian theory was that there were no women where the white men came from, and this was why they went exploring. At Tahiti the puzzle was quickly cleared up. Wallis's men showed a young chief a miniature of a "very handsome well drest young Lady." They made him understand, wrote Robertson, "that this was the picture of the women in our country and if he went with us he should have one of them always to Sleep with." In "raptures of Joy," the chief "hugd the picture in his breast and kiss it twenty times, and made several other odd motions, to show us how happy he would be with so fine a woman . . . ."

The greatest sensation occurred during Bougainville's stay. A young Tahitian man was aboard ship, being dressed in Western clothes and shown himself in a mirror, learning how to eat food Western style, when he caught sight of Commerson's servant and called out in his own language that it was a woman. And so it was, a woman dressed as a man. All the way from France to Tahiti she had kept herself more or less successfully disguised among several hundred Frenchmen, only to be unerringly identified by an islander as soon as he set eyes on her at close quarters. Her name was Jeanne Bäre, and her story was that she was an orphan in desperate straits who had saved herself by deciding to live a man's life. She went to sea out of curiosity, and she became the first woman known to have circumnavigated the world.

Once her secret was out at Tahiti she had a difficult time. First the well-dressed islander made "propositions" to her in front of the crew. Then one day when she was ashore collecting seashells for Commerson, she was set upon by the other servants, "who found on her the conchus venereis, a precious shell they had been searching for." The Tahitians pursued her as well, shouting and wanting "to do her the honors of the island." Bäre did not go ashore again. She stayed aboard with loaded pistols. But excitement spread among the Tahitians, until any French sailor who looked in the least feminine was likely to be hunted down and seized, forced in his own interest to produce "the certificate of his sex." What Commerson with his scientist's eye had observed about the sex of his servant is not known. Bäre had been working for him for some years; surely he must have had some notion. In any case, Bäre was useful to him, and he remembered her in his will. He also named a plant after her, Baretia, for its "uncertain sexual characteristics."

* * *

The Tahitian who saw through Bäre's disguise was named Ahutoru.* He wanted to take his discoveries further, in fact was eager to go with Bougainville back to France. Should an islander be taken away from his home with no certainty that he could ever be returned? It was a moral problem. But Ahutoru was persistent, and Bougainville could see advantages in bringing home a live exhibit from Tahiti. So it was agreed.

* Bougainville wrote this down as Aotourou.
Ahutoru did his best to take care of Bougainville’s men. Finding a sailor temporarily unable to perform one of those daunting public acts of love, Ahutoru volunteered to show him how it was done. As Bougainville’s ships were leaving Tahiti with Ahutoru aboard, he offered while he was still in familiar waters to steer them to another island where there were pretty girls. He hoped that he would be looked after in the same way where Bougainville lived, indeed was anxious about it. He said that if there were no white women for him where they were going, he would cut his throat.

He did not have to. He was the sensation of 1769 in France. As a Parisian remarked, for Bougainville to have sailed around the world and brought home a South Sea islander was like an “aeronaut” bringing back an inhabitant of one of the other planets. Ahutoru was presented to the king, and was inspected and interviewed by learned men. The wife of Bougainville’s patron, the Duc de Choiseul, “adopted” him. Ahutoru learned his way about Paris, and developed a taste for the opera, especially the dancing. He liked to meet actresses, and “one night, he pretended to tattoo . . . a young German dancer in the Tahitian fashion.” As he made clear from the beginning, his “grand passion” was women, and as a chronicler of the time wrote, he gave himself up to them “indiscriminately.”

The British got their own islander. On James Cook’s first voyage to the South Seas, following Wallis’s discovery of Tahiti, the question came up of bringing home a Polynesian. Sailing with Cook was a well-born, wealthy, talented, and highly self-confident young man named Joseph Banks, a naturalist, interested in the idea of collecting specimens of all sorts. He liked the idea of a human one. There was a willing volunteer, an intelligent man named Tupaia, a priest in the Tahitian religion, who was knowledgeable about navigation. “I therefore have resolved to take him,” Banks wrote in his journal. “I do not know why I may not keep him as a curiosities, as well as some of my neighbours do lions and tigers at a larger expense than he will probably ever put me to; the amusement I shall have in his future conversation and the benefit he will be of to this ship, as well as what he may be if another should be sent into these seas, will I think fully repay me.” But Tupaia and the young attendant who went with him fell ill and died along the way, and not till Cook’s second expedition was an islander brought alive to England.

This was a young man named Mai. * He had no particular talents, but he had been obliging to Cook’s people. And when in 1774 he came to London—where Banks took him under his wing—he was a great success, just as Ahutoru had been in France. Mai learned an engagingly mangled brand of English, was presented to King George (“How do, King Tosh”), developed good taste in food and clothes, liked the theater, enjoyed the company of well-bred and less well-bred ladies who enjoyed him, and handled his dress sword gracefully. So well did he accommodate himself to the ways of the high-born that Dr. Samuel Johnson, a great eighteenth-century authority on everything and by no means a lover of the uncivilized (“one set of Savages is like another”), was led to remark that Mai at the dinner table with the light behind him was indistinguishable from an aristocrat.

Mai and Ahutoru had their moment of celebrity in Europe, then, and a Polynesian vogue persisted for some time. Travel literature was popular, and the idea of the South Sea islands was something new to play with. “Tahitian” items were manufactured for sale, toys and jewelry. “Tahitian” verandas were designed for country houses; Polynesian wallpaper was fashionable; artificial “South Seas” lakes were built into landscaped vistas. Cook’s ethnographic collections were exhibited in London. The work of his expeditions’ artists formed the basis for costume designs used in a spectacularly successful pantomime titled Omai. There was a French ballet about Cook, and a French play that had as a hero an islander who had lived for a long time in France, and as a villain another islander who had lived for a long time in England. Joseph Banks came back from Tahiti with a small tattoo, and common sailors had themselves decorated more extensively. Tatu was one of the great Polynesian arts, fascinating to white men seeing for the first time blue skin-breeches and intricate lacework patterns applied directly to the flesh of men and women. The word entered the English and French languages from the Pacific, and the time would come when a white castaway or beachcomber returning to civilization with a complete cover of tattoo could exhibit himself for money.

The “old trade” of Tahiti interested Europeans even at a distance, and a French publication with illustrations showed the “amusements” of the “Otahitians” and the “Anglais.” In London, these amusements were staged live by a famous brothel keeper named Charlotte Hayes. Madam Hayes had evidently seen a popular published collection of British voyages to the islands, edited by a man of letters named John Hawkesworth. The story that caught her eye was from Cook’s first expedition. One Sunday at Tahiti, after the British had held divine service, the Tahitians offered a variation on Vespers. A young man “above 6 feet high lay

* Cook and his men heard this as Omai.
discovered for the West and named by the Spanish expedition of Álvaro de Mendaña at the end of the sixteenth century. The chief pilot, Pedro Fernández de Quiros, was struck by the physical beauty of the young Marquesan men, especially a boy with the face of an angel. Quiros was a good Catholic, and never in his life, so he said, had he felt such pain as when he thought that “so fair a creature should be left to go to perdition.”

But the Spanish ships carried soldiers with guns, and while the sign of the cross was being made and mass was being celebrated, and it was being proposed that white men should marry Marquesan women and colonize the islands, Marquesans were being shot and killed. It was one soldier’s “diligence to kill, because he liked to kill,” another’s pride that he could shoot two with one shot and thus maintain his reputation as a skilled marksman. When the expedition sailed away, it left something like two hundred islanders dead.

In the late eighteenth century, the supreme moment of the Noble Savage, when the Polynesian was regarded as the noblest savage of them all, perhaps the embodiment of perfect humanity, white men still fired their guns at Polynesians. When Samuel Wallis declared that he was taking possession of Tahiti by “right of conquest,” he did not mean that he literally laid waste the island. But in fact in his first days there he fired musket and cannon at the Tahitians, killing he did not know how many—probably dozens. He found this necessary in order to persuade the population to be obliging. Bougainville’s men killed Tahitians. And when the greatest white explorer of the Pacific, James Cook, in the course of his three technically superb voyages between 1768 and 1779, added most of uncharted Polynesia to the eighteenth-century map of the world, along the way he destroyed property and several times took lives.

So what was the proper relation between whites and islanders to be? If nonwhites, anywhere in the world, were seen to be useless or a problem, they could be disregarded or disposed of. Again, if they were taken to be not fully human, then presumably they could be exploited in good conscience, as black Africans were. But if they were seen as fully human, however different from Europeans, then the question arose as to what white men might owe them as fellow human beings.

It was beginning to appear that any kind of contact might turn out to be hazardous to the islanders. This was true, from the beginning, even of enjoyable sexual contact. With the “old trade,” no matter where it was practiced, went venereal disease, and this was a vexing problem. It was everywhere in Europe, in Charlotte Hayes’s establishment, no doubt in the House of Commons too; and certainly Western ships carried it to the South Seas. But was it—or something like it—already present in the
islands when the white man arrived? And if not, who brought it—the British, the French, or the Spanish? No one wanted to accept the honor of being the first in this regard. Yet with each ship that visited the South Pacific, an increase was noted in venereal diseases among Polynesians. And in other Western diseases. The age of exploration was the age of contamination.

Ahutoru and Mai knew about this. Ahutoru, going home to the islands in 1770, after eleven months in Paris, got only as far as Madagascar, off the east coast of Africa. There he had to wait for a ship to take him the rest of the way. Compared with Paris, the island was not exciting, and something he saw made him somber and thoughtful, as well it might; a black slave with an iron collar on his neck. Before another French expedition was formed for the Pacific, Ahutoru fell ill and died, possibly of venereal disease. As for Mai, he went home in 1776 with the third expedition of James Cook, outfitted with a horse, a suit of armor, guns, some toy soldiers, fireworks, a "Lectrifying Machine" given to him by Joseph Banks, a hand organ, a globe of the world, port wine, and on and on. Evidently Mai took venereal disease back with him too.

What did South Sea islanders gain by being discovered, then? Looking at what was becoming of them as early as the 1770s, James Cook was somber. "Such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans and what is still more to our Shame civilized Christians," he wrote, "we debase their Morals already too prone to vice and we intercede among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serves only to disturb that happy tranquility they and their fore Fathers had enjoy'd." The French thinker Denis Diderot read the book that Bougainville published about his voyage and wrote his own philosophical "supplement" to it, in which an old Tahitian cursed the French as they sailed away leaving disease behind them, their future return threatening invasion and enslavement, the sword and the cross of Europe's corrupt civilization poised to bring down ruin on a culture beautifully in tune with nature and its own gods.

In this view, then, it would be in the islanders' interest if white men went away forever. Another view was that the islanders were becoming so dependent on European goods that they could not do without them. They were, so to speak, addicted to the outside world now, and this made it a duty for the West to supply what had become indispensable. Then again, perhaps it was positively good for islanders to become part of the greater world. It would enlarge their ideas and heighten their aspirations, in general improve them.

There was, of course, no chance that the West would leave the South Seas alone. Europe was in its expansionist phase, had been ever since Columbus, and would be all through the eighteenth, the nineteenth, and on into the twentieth century. Polynesians were just one kind of people in a world full of different peoples encountered, inspected, evaluated, and made use of by white men.

And this meant that the question of the relative merits of life in the South Seas and life in civilization went on being ruminated by thoughtful white men. What was the particular quality of the islander's life? Surely it was that he did not seem to have to work hard. Joseph Banks was certain that Tahitians had so much time for love because they did not have to labor. By his calculations, a Tahitian who planted four breadfruit trees, "a work which can not last more than an hour," did as much for his generation as a European who with "yearly returning toil" had to plant, harvest, and store corn for his family. So the Tahitian had "Leisure," which was given up to "Love." Surely, release from grinding labor had something to do with happiness. The paradox was that civilization was built on work. Subsistence on the savage level might be pleasant because it was effortless. But civilized men had risen far beyond that, and it had taken toil of all sort. John Hawkesworth saw the quandary. Tahiti made nonsense out of any theory of human improvement, human progress. "If we admit that they are on the whole happier than we," he wrote, "we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views." Hawkesworth, a Londoner who never saw the South Seas, concluded that civilization was worth the trouble after all.

In the same way, one of the scientists who sailed with Cook thought that islanders who knew nothing of the world beyond their shores might indeed be happier than white men, but that it was simple-minded of white men to think of finding long-lasting happiness among islanders. Some sailors disagreed. Once they had sighted paradise in the South Seas they did not want to go home to civilization. Ship captains one after another had to deal with desertions, and it was Polynesia that gave the world its most famous naval mutiny. William Bligh, who became an involuntary expert on why sailors rebelled against civilized authority, was succinct about the reasons for the mutiny on the _Bounty_. Tahitian chiefs seemed to like Englishmen, even common sailors, and promised to provide for them if they would stay; and Tahitian women were beautiful. So the mutineers imagined it "in their power . . . to fix themselves in the midst of plenty in the finest Island in the World where they need not
labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are more than equal to anything that can be conceived.” In their revolt against civilization the 
Bounty mutineers—nearly all of whom, incidentally, got themselves tattooed—chose the sweetest possible version of savagery.

The difficulty was that once the mutineers had got rid of Bligh, they themselves turned into Blighs and worse among the islanders. Their idea of happiness was to control others without setting controls on themselves. In these civilized men there was savagery. They kidnapped Tahitian men and women and took them to Pitcairn Island. They forced the men to do hard labor, and quarreled with them over the women. The human bill for all this excess inevitably came due for payment. Liquor was being distilled and drunk on Pitcairn, and a great rage brewed up over race and sex and dominance. It led to plots and ambushes and ax murders, a welter of blood and destruction.

Mutinous sailors with little education were not the only ones attracted by the idea of exercising control over islands and islanders. Joseph Banks, for one, thought of enjoyment and dominance in the same breath. At Tahiti he tried everything new. He sampled baked dog and liked it, got himself tattooed (within reason), took off his clothes and had himself smeared black so that he could take part in a funeral ceremony, and dallied with the beautiful island women. Voyager, Amoroso, Monster Hunter, a satirist called him. But Banks never had any intention of ceasing to be Banks the Englishman, and part of his project was to expand his dominion, to impose himself on the world. Banks had fun with this idea, but the drive was a powerful one. When he was considering sailing with Cook a second time, on a voyage to the Antarctic, he wrote: “O how glorious to set my heel upon the Pole! and turn myself around three hundred and sixty degrees in a second.” At Tahiti, his first journal entry described the pleasant shade of breadfruit trees and coconut palms, and a Tahitian “creeping” almost on hands and knees with tokens of peace, and Banks summed up the scene as the truest picture the imagination could form of an “arcadia”—of which, he went on, “we were to be kings.”

Bougainville, for his part, having sailed around the world and returned safely home, immediately put forward a plan to colonize Tahiti. He had had this sort of thing in mind for another set of islands he was involved with earlier in his career, the Falklands in the South Atlantic. Tahiti was more attractive in all ways. The islands of the Pacific in general were rich and interesting. European livestock would flourish, and so would certain kinds of European plants. Tahitians were intelligent, and they were agreeable to the idea of being colonized—witness Ahutoru, who had been taught to calling himself Poutaveri, his way of saying Bougainville. And of course Bougainville considered himself just the man to govern Eden. This unquestioning assumption of the right to rule was strong in him. He was before his time in suggesting the colonization of Tahiti, but what he proposed was essence of Europe.

There were two great texts about white men and islanders composed long before the islands of the South Seas were charted. One was Shakespeare’s play The Tempest, written with the Caribbean in mind. Prospero on his island had power through his magic, a technology that the natives lacked; and he dealt out rewards and punishments with absolute authority. The other was Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe, in which the first word Crusoe taught Friday was “Master.”

So if white men were pleased to have found noble savages in the South Seas and were even willing to learn something from them, they were ready for other sorts of experience as well. In fact they were ready for anything. Along with the theory of the Great Southern Continent as a physical counterweight to Europe went a corresponding notion, that of an ethnic counterpoise, the idea being that people discovered on the other side of the globe, standing with their feet toward Europe, might very well behave—so to speak—upside down. It was an interesting idea to play with. It included, for example, the possibility that explorers might discover not only perfect human beings but also monsters in human form—the possibility that savages might not be noble at all, but ignoble.

And in reality, not every savage the explorers saw on the way to the South Seas and back was attractive to European eyes. One people who lived at the extreme south of South America, on the very fringes of human existence, were given the name Big Foot, Patagonian. They were supposed to be giants, and travelers’ tales multiplied about the strangeness of their cold, harsh, outlandish life. They could push arrows halfway down their throats. They ate rats without skinning them. (Bougainville noted that the men “pissed squatting,” and wondered if this was “the natural way.” Here he allowed himself an educated man’s joke about Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the philosopher of the Noble Savage. Rousseau had a congenital urinary difficulty, and Bougainville concluded that the great apostle of noble savagism, “who pisses very badly our way, should adopt the other. He refers us so often to savage man!”)

Bougainville, so he said, had no time for salon philosophers. He was a practical man, he had been around the world, and he placed his reliance on facts, not on airy systems of thought that had no basis in experience.
This was the same man who told Europe about the Tahitian Eden. But the fact was that after the magical first days at Tahiti, which left an indelible impression, Bougainville had months to talk to Ahutoru, and what he learned changed his views of Tahitians. The same thing happened to other white men who visited the islands, were enraptured, then learned more, and as often as not came home reporting distasteful things. So almost as soon as the Polynesian was announced to the world as the new and definitive Noble Savage, experience began to show that he was a fallible human being like all others, with some special flaws all his own.

Polynesians were thieves. If they did not steal among themselves, they were certainly ingenious about making off with European property. The beautiful burnish on the skin of the island women came from coconut oil, massaged into the body in a delightful way; but in the subtropical heat the oil sometimes went rancid, and the smell was bad. The islanders had lice in their hair, and they would groom each other, catching and eating the vermin. Healthy animal passion in women was something that sailors were grateful for; but they were staggered to see Polynesian women, including female chiefs, being physically affectionate with their pet dogs and pigs, beyond anything that would be called decent in Europe, to the point of literally suckling baby animals. William Bligh reported homosexuality at Tahiti, and the island turned out to have a bizarre specialty in men called *mahuku*, who dressed as women and did women's work. Perhaps most disconcerting, the *ariot*, those performers of exciting sexual theater, also practiced infanticide. Denis Diderot, who was in favor of incest in principle, and applauded the Tahitians for practicing it, would have also practiced infanticide. Denis Diderot, who was in favor of incest in principle, and applauded the Tahitians for practicing it, would have balked at some of these other practices, which in Europe were taken as evidence of Polynesian perversity. There was one late eighteenth-century Frenchman, though, who paid close attention to explorers' accounts of savage life as a guide to all the possible pleasures and pains of the human body. This was the Marquis de Sade.

Polynesian chiefs turned out not to be loving family fathers. They could be as arrogant and despotic as any European king who claimed to rule by divine right. At their command, islanders waged war and clubbed their captives to death. The chiefs and priests offered human sacrifices to their gods; Cook saw this ceremony on his third visit to Tahiti. Some Polynesians took heads, and some ate human flesh. Cannibalism caused a horrified shiver among Europeans at home, and of course even more among sailors in savage seas, especially after a boatload of Cook's men were killed and eaten at New Zealand. Polynesia was only one of many places in the world where flesh eating was known, and in the age of exploration a folklore grew up among sailors about cannibals who could tell the nationality of a white man by his taste. Among Polynesians, the Marquesans preferred Englishmen to Frenchmen, according to an Englishman; but the general verdict seemed to be that white men as a dish were too salty, and that tobacco smokers tasted particularly objectionable. If it was any comfort, at least the Polynesian appetite for flesh seemed to be more restrained than that of some Melanesians. There were stories about islands in the western Pacific where whole shipwrecked crews washed up on shore might be herded together, kept for killing and eating at festival times. (As for white women, in 1814, a little more than half a century after Jeanne Baré circumnavigated the globe by way of the islands. Ann Butcher, the "consort" of a trading captain, made melancholy history by becoming the first—and apparently the only—white woman to be eaten by Polynesians. She was eaten by Rarotangans, from an archipelago several hundred miles southwest of Tahiti. The crew she was sailing with got mixed up in local feuding, and were committing the customary visitors' depredations, stealing food, property, and women. Some of them were killed, Ann Butcher too, and she was baked in an oven.)

This was the white man and woman as victim for once. In many ways, of course, the white man was a deliberate victimizer. And in other ways his presence did encourage bad habits among islanders, even if in principle the islanders had the choice whether or not to indulge in the bad habit. The traffic in women's bodies with iron as the payment turned out to include a traffic in disease. White men traded in alcohol, which was new in the islands, and in guns—also new. In New Zealand, which was cool-weather, warlike Polynesia, a particularly gruesome trading arrangement was made. The Maori traditionally kept tattooed heads taken from enemies as trophies. Whites liked these as curios, and would trade guns for them. For many years the customs house at Sydney, the port of the British penal colony of New South Wales on the east coast of Australia, listed "baked heads" as a separate item of import; and even after the trade was prohibited by law in 1831, it went on illegally. Business was brisk, so if enemy heads taken in battle lacked markings, the Maoris would tattoo them *post mortem*, the more the markings the higher the price. Maori chiefs even took to tattooing their slaves, who ordinarily would not have the privilege of being decorated, and decapitated them to order.

For a brief moment in the eighteenth century the savage, and especially the Polynesian, had seemed to offer the white man a vision of what it might be like to go naked in the world once more. The idea of some sort
of earthly paradise in the South Seas in fact lived on into the nineteenth
century. It was by its nature inextinguishable, irrepressible. The nine-
teenth century repressed it. It returned, only to be repressed again, only
to return once more. But it no longer represented—if it ever had—the
dominant view of the great civilizations of the West. In fact, those who
continued to believe that savages could teach civilized men how to live
were more and more regarded as maladjusted—strange people such as
writers and artists, who went wandering in the tabooed and subterranean
regions of the mind. As early as the turn of the nineteenth century, and
more and more as time went on, those Europeans who thought about
such things concluded that there was very little to be said for savagery of
any kind, and a great deal to be said for civilization. The workings of world
history were teaching lessons about whose way of life was superior and
whose was inferior, and the civilized way was winning. Obviously—look
at the political map of the world.

The nineteenth century turned into the century of imperialism, in
which the white man stood above all others. Increasingly it was thought
that the best that could be done with the savage was to control him. This
was part of a great exercise in control in the nineteenth century, control
over self as much as control over the world. Decade by decade, Euro-
peans more and more took charge of themselves and took charge of the
world. The civilization that recoiled in horror from cannibalism was itself
swallowing up place after place, the islands of the South Seas along with
the rest. Polynesia was being incorporated in the body politic of the
world.

The white man deserved to rule: this was the truth that made the West
strong in the nineteenth century, and it was a truth that the West set out
to teach all the peoples of the world. That truth came to the South Seas by
way of the Bible. The nineteenth century was the great missionary era in
the Pacific, as elsewhere.

In its way missionary work was a form of imperialism, and in Polynesia
the empire of God in the making was British. The founders of this new
empire had been seized by the grand vision revealed to them by the
eighteenth-century explorers of the Pacific. The Englishman William
Carey, a driving force in the setting up of overseas missions in his day,
had read the published voyages of James Cook. Carey was a bootmaker,
and over his workbench he kept a map of the world on which were shown
the natural resources of the earth and the various religions of man, civi-
лизed and uncivilized. Carey’s idea was that as the world was made to yield
up all its treasures, so all its religions would become one, and that one
would be evangelical Christianity.
From the Diary of Bougainville

As we pulled into the bay, I felt the air was fragrant with the scent of flowers and the melody of singing birds. I thought I had been transported to paradise. Everything seemed so perfect and beautiful, a momentary experience of bliss.

Louis Antoine de Bougainville

The aspect of the coast offered a most enchaniting prospect. Notwithstanding the height of the mountains, they had an appearance of interest; every part was covered with snow. When we approached near the coast, we saw a peak covered with trees right up to its summit. At a distance it might have been taken for a Greek mountain, which the hand of an able sculptor had adorned with garlands and festoons. The less elevated hills were interspersed with meadows and gardens, and along the coast ran a strip of low and level land, bordered with fields, bordering on one side the sea and on the other side the mountains. Here we could see the houses of the islanders amidst banana, coconut, and other trees hidden with foliage.

As we neared the shore, the number of islanders surrounding our ship increased. Soon we saw so many that we had difficulty counting them amidst the small islands and the vast sea. A throng of people crying in a language we had not heard before, the language of their ancestors. The islanders, both the males and females, who paraded in a peculiar manner which we learned was their way of greeting. The males were well muscled, and the females dressed in colorful and ornate clothing. Our sails were lowered, and we were expected to unload our cargo. It was a sight of the people's hospitality, to keep at their doors all young French women who had come down to the docks to see us off. Despite all our precautions, a young girl managed to climb aboard our ship, almost unnoticed. The captain, near one of the watchmen, noticed her, and appeared to the eyes of all passengers as Venus itself, descending to the Phrygian shepherd, having entered the celestial form of that goddess. Never was a captain more taken with more admittance!
At least one effort, at the beginning of September, to keep some of them in the inner part of the settlement, in order to gain the good will of the people and to make them understand the advantages of trade, proved ineffective. After a few days, they left the settlement and went off to the forests, taking the women and children with them. In the meantime, the situation on the island was further complicated by the arrival of Tahitians, who had been attracted by tales of trade. They thought in those days that there was nowhere where the interest of those people could not be catered to simultaneously byarming them with part of the body. After having observed for a while, they started with their clothes, possessions, the goods they had taken out, and brought the girls in line behind them. In one of those places, where the Tahitian people bought them clothes and food. But all their previous conversations had provided them with the courage to bring the goods back; and he said: 'I brought them back as much as I wanted, but I could never frighten him any more, as he had just been frightened of us.'

Soon, to quote Bougainville's Diary:

Our people were walking about the island alone and unarmed. They were invited into the islanders' homes and offered food and young girls, the hut being quickly filled with a current of cold to make a circle round the looters. They seemed surprised at the impression our people were in, not understanding that our customs do not permit these public proceedings. However, I would not say that every one of our men found it impossible to conquer their repugnance and conform to the custom of their country.
“I cannot sign,” insisted Fryer, a note of anger in his voice; "not in conscience, sir!"

“But you can sign,” shouted Bligh in a rage; “and what is more, you shall!” He went stamping up the ladderway and on to the deck. "Mr. Christian!" I heard him shout to the officer of the watch. "Call all hands on deck this instant!"

The order was piped and shouted forward and, when we assembled, the captain, flushed with anger, uncovered and read the Articles of War. Mr. Samuel then came forward with his book and a pen and ink.

"Now, sir!" Bligh ordered the master, "sign this book!"

There was a dead silence while Fryer took up the pen reluctantly.

"Mr. Bligh," he said, controlling his temper with difficulty, "the ship's people will bear witness that I sign in obedience to your orders, but please to recollect, sir, that this matter may be reopened later on."

At that moment a long-drawn shout came from the man in the foretop. "Land ho!"

V

TAHITI

The lookout had sighted Mehetia, a small, high island forty miles to the southeast of Tahiti. I stared ahead, half incredulously, at the tiny motionless projection on the horizon line. The wind died away toward sunset and we were all night working up to the land.

I went off watch at eight bells, but could not sleep; an hour later, perched on the fore-topgallant crosstrees, I watched the new day dawn. The beauty of that sunrise seemed ample compensation for all of the hardships suffered during the voyage: a sunrise such as only the seaman knows, and then only in the regions between the tropics, remote from home. Saving the light, fluffy "fair-weather clouds" just above the vast ring of horizon which encircled us, the sky was clear. The stars paled gradually; as the rosy light grew stronger, the velvet of the heavens faded and turned blue. Then the sun, still below the horizon, began to tint the little clouds in the east with every shade of mother-of-pearl.

An hour later we were skirting the reef, before a light air from the south. For the first time in my life I saw the slender, graceful trunk and green fronds of the far-famed coconut tree, the thatched cottages of the South Sea Islanders, set in their shady groves, and the people themselves, numbers of whom walked along the reef not more than a cable's length away. They waved large pieces of white cloth and shouted what I supposed were invitations to come ashore, though their voices were drowned in the noise of a surf which would have
made landing impossible even had Mr. Bligh hove-to and lowered a boat.

Mehetia is high and round in shape, and not more than three miles in its greatest extent. The village is at the southern end, where there is a tolerably flat shelf of land at the base of the mountain, but elsewhere the green cliffs are steep-to, with the sea breaking at their feet. The white line of the breakers, the vivid emerald of the tropical vegetation covering the mountains everywhere, the rich foliage of the breadfruit trees in the little valleys, and the plumed tops of the coconut palms growing in clusters here and there, made up a picture which enchanted me. The island had the air of a little paradise, newly created, all fresh and dewy in the dawn, stocked with everything needful for the comfort and happiness of man.

The men walking along the shelf of reef at the base of the cliffs were too far away for inspection, but they seemed fine stout fellows, taller than Englishmen. They were dressed in girdles of bark cloth which shone with a dazzling whiteness in the morning sunlight. They were naked except for these girdles, and they laughed and shouted to one another as they followed us along, clambering with great agility over the rocks.

As we rounded the northern end of the island, Smith hailed me from the top. “Look, Mr. Byam!” he shouted, pointing ahead eagerly. There, many leagues away, I saw the outlines of a mighty mountain rising from the sea,—sweeping ridges falling away symmetrically from a tall central peak,—all pale blue and ghostly in the morning light.

The breeze was making up now, and the Bounty, heeling a little on the larboard tack, was leaving a broad white wake. When I reached the deck I found Mr. Bligh in a rarely pleasant mood. I bade him good morning, standing to leeward of him on the quarter-deck, and he saluted me with a clap on the back.

“There it is, young man,” he said, pointing to the high ghostly outlines of the land ahead. “Tahiti! We have made a long passage of it, a long hard passage, but, by God, there is the island at last!”

“It looks a beautiful island, sir,” I remarked.

“Indeed it is — none more so. Captain Cook loved it only next to England; were I an old man, with my work done and no family at home, I should ask nothing better than to end my days under its palms! And you will find the people as friendly and hospitable as the land they inhabit. Aye—and some of the Indian girls as beautiful. We have come a long way to visit them! Last night I was computing the distance we have run by log since leaving England. To-morrow morning, when we drop anchor in Matavai Bay, we shall have sailed more than twenty-seven thousand miles!”

Since that morning, so many years ago, I have sailed all the seas of the world and visited most of the islands in them, including the West Indies, and the Asiatic Archipelago. But of all the islands I have seen, none approaches Tahiti in lovelines.

As we drew nearer to the land, with the rising sun behind us, there was not a man on board the Bounty who did not gaze ahead with emotions that differed in each case, no doubt, but in which awe and wonder played a part. But I am wrong — there was one. Toward six bells, when we were only a few miles off the southern extremity of the island, Old Bacchus came stumping on deck. Standing by the mizenmast, with a hand on a swivel-stock, he stared indifferently for a moment at the wooded precipices, the waterfalls and sharp green peaks, now abeam of the ship. Then he shrugged his shoulders.

“They're all the same,” he remarked indifferently. “When you've seen one island in the tropics, you've seen the lot.”

The surgeon went stumping to the ladderway, and, as he disappeared, Mr. Nelson ceased his pacing of the deck to stand
at my side. The botanist was a believer in exercise and kept his muscles hard and his colour fresh by walking two or three miles on deck each morning the weather permitted.

"Well, Byam," he remarked, "I'm glad to be back! Many a time, since my voyage with Captain Cook, I've dreamed of revisiting Tahiti, without the faintest hope that the dream might come true. Yet here we are! I can scarcely wait to set foot on shore!"

We were skirting the windward coast of Taiarapu, the richest and loveliest part of the island, and I could not take my eyes off the land. In the foreground, a mile or more offshore, a reef of coral broke the roll of the sea, and the calm waters of the lagoon inside formed a highway on which the Indians travel back and forth in their canoes. Behind the inner beach was the narrow belt of flat land where the rustic dwellings of the people were scattered picturesquely among their neat plantations of the ava and the cloth plant, shaded by groves of breadfruit and coconut. In the background were the mountains—rising fantastically in turrets, spires, and precipices, wooded to their very tops. Innumerable waterfalls plunged over the cliffs and hung like suspended threads of silver, many of them a thousand feet or more in height and visible at a great distance against the background of dark green. Seen for the first time by European eyes, this coast is like nothing else on our workaday planet; a landscape, rather, of some fantastic dream.

Nelson was pointing ahead to a break in the line of reef. "Captain Cook nearly lost his ship yonder," he said, "when the current set him on the reef during a calm. One of his anchors lies there to this day—there where the sea breaks high. I know this part of the island well. As you can see, Tahiti is made up of two lands, connected by the low isthmus the Indians call Taravao. This before us is the lesser, called Taiarapu or Tahiti Iti; the great island yonder they call Tahiti Nui. Vehiatua is the king of the smaller one—the most powerful of the Indian princes. His realm is richer and more populous than those of his rivals."

All through the afternoon we skirted the land, passing the low isthmus between the two islands, coasting the rich verdant districts of Faaone and Hitiaa, and toward evening, as the light breeze died away, moving slowly along the rock-bound coast of Tiarei, where the reef ends and the sea thunders at the base of cliffs.

There was little sleeping aboard the Bounty that night. The ship lay becalmed about a league off the mouth of the great valley of Papenoo, and the faint land breeze, wandering down from the heights of the interior, and out to sea, brought with it the sweet smell of the land and of growing things. We sniffed it eagerly, our noses grown keen from the long months at sea, detecting the scent of strange flowers, of wood smoke, and of Mother Earth herself—sweetest of all smells to a sailor. The sufferers from scurvy, breathing deep of the land breeze, seemed to draw in new life; their apathy and silence left them as they spoke eagerly of the fruits they hoped to eat on the morrow, fruits they craved as a man dying of thirst craves water.

We sighted Eimeo a little before sunset: the small lofty island which lies to the west of Tahiti, four leagues distant. The sun went down over the spires and pinnacles of Eimeo's skyline, and was followed into the sea by the thin golden crescent of the new moon. There is little twilight in these latitudes and, almost immediately it seemed to me, the stars came out in a cloudless dome of sky. One great planet, low in the west, sent a shimmering track of light over the sea. I saw the Cross and the Magellanic Clouds in the south, and constellations unknown to dwellers in the Northern Hemisphere, all close and warm and golden against the black sky. A faint burst of song came from the surgeon's cabin below, where he was carousing with Peckover; every other man on the ship, I believe, was on deck.
All along shore we could see the flare of innumerable torches, where the Indians went about their fishing or traveled from house to house along the beach. The men of the *Bounty* stood by the bulwarks or on the booms, speaking in low voices and gazing toward the dark loom of the land. A change seemed to come over all of us that night: all unhappiness, all discontent, seemed banished, giving way to a tranquil content and the happiest anticipation of what the morrow would bring. Mr. Bligh himself, walking the deck with Christian, was rarely affable; as they passed me from time to time I overheard snatches of his talk: "Not a bad voyage, eh? . . . Only four down with scurvy, and we'll have them right in a week ashore. . . . The ship's sound as a walnut. . . . Bad anchorage. . . . We'll soon shift out of Matavai Bay. . . . A fine place for refreshments. . . ."

I was in the master's watch, and toward midnight Mr. Fryer chanced to notice me stifling a yawn, for it was many hours since I had slept.

"Take a caulk, Mr. Byam," he said kindly. "Take a caulk! All's quiet to-night. I'll see that you are waked if we need you."

I chose a place in the shadow of the bitts, just abaft of the main hatch, and lay down on deck, but, though I yawned with heavy eyes, it was long before sleep came to me. When I awoke, the grey light of dawn was in the East.

We had drifted some distance to the west during the night, and now the ship lay off the valley of Vaipoopoo, from which runs the river that empties into the sea at the tip of Point Venus, the most northerly point of Tahiti Nui. It was here that the *Dolphin*, Captain Wallis, had approached the newly discovered land, and here on this long, low point Captain Cook had set up his observatory to study the transit of the planet which gave the place its name. Far off in the interior of the island, its base framed in the vertical cliffs bordering the valley, rose the tall central mountain called Orohena, a sharp pinnacle of volcanic rock which rises to a height of seven thousand feet and is perhaps as difficult of ascent as any peak in the world. Its summit was now touched by the sun, and as the light of day grew stronger, driving the shadows from the valley and illuminating the foothills and the rich smiling coastal land, I fancied that I had never gazed on a scene more pleasing to the eye. The whole aspect of the coast about Matavai Bay was open, sunny, and hospitable.

The entrance to the bay bore southwest by west, little more than a league distant, and a great number of canoes were now putting out to us. Most of them were small, holding only four or five persons; strange-looking craft, with an outrigger on the larboard side and a high stern sweeping up in a shape almost semicircular. There were two or three double canoes among them, each holding thirty or more people. The Indian craft approached us rapidly. Their paddlers took half a dozen short quick strokes on one side, and then, at a signal from the man astern, all shifted to the other side. As the leading canoes drew near, I heard questioning shouts: "Taiio? Peritane? Rima?" which is to say: "Friend? British? Lima?"

In the latter case, they were asking whether the *Bounty* was a Spanish ship from Peru. "Taiio!" shouted Bligh, who knew some words of the Tahitian language. "Taiio! Peritane!"

Next moment the first boatload of Indians came springing over the bulwarks, and I had my first glimpse at close quarters of this far-famed race.

Most of our visitors were men — tall, handsome, stalwart fellows, of a light copper colour. They wore kilts of figured cloth of their own manufacture, light fringed capes thrown over their shoulders and joined at the throat, and turbans of brown cloth on their heads. Some of them, naked from the waist up, displayed the arms and torsos of veritable giants; others, instead of turbans, wore on their heads the little bonnets of freshly plaited coconut leaves they call *taumata*. Their countenances, like those of children, mirrored every
passing mood, and when they smiled, which was often, I was astonished at the whiteness and perfection of their teeth. The few women who came on board at this time were all of the lower orders of society, and uncommonly diminutive as compared with the men. They wore skirts of white cloth falling in graceful folds, and cloaks of the same material to protect their shoulders from the sun, draped to leave the right arm free, and not unlike the toga of the Romans. Their faces were expressive of good nature, kindness, and mirth, and it was easy to perceive why so many of our seamen in former times had formed attachments among girls who seemed to have all the amiable qualities of their sex.

Mr. Bligh had given orders that the Indians were to be treated with the greatest kindness by everyone on board, though watched closely to prevent the thefts to which the commoners among them were prone. As the morning breeze freshened and we worked in toward the entrance with yards braced up on the larboard tack, the hubbub all the ship was deafening. At least a hundred men and a quarter as many women overran the decks, shouting, laughing, gesticulating, and addressing our people in the most animated manner, as if taking for granted that their unintelligible harangues were understood. The seamen found the feminine portion of our visitors so engaging that we had difficulty in keeping them at their stations. The breeze continued to freshen, and before long we sailed through the narrow passage between the westerly point of the reef before Point Venus and the sunken rock called the Dolphin Bank, on which Captain Wallis so nearly lost his ship. At nine in the forenoon we dropped anchor in Matavai Bay, in thirteen fathoms.

A vast throng of visitors set out immediately from the beach in their canoes, but for some time no persons of consequence came on board. I was joking with a party of girls to whom I had given some trifling gifts, when Mr. Bligh's servant came on deck to tell me that the captain desired to see me below. I found him alone in his cabin, bending over a chart of Matavai Bay.

"Ah, Mr. Byam," he said, motioning me to sit down on his chest. "I want a word with you. We shall probably lie here for several months while Mr. Nelson collects our young breadfruit plants. I am going to release you from further duties on board so that you may be free to carry out the wishes of my worthy friend, Sir Joseph Banks. I have given the matter some thought and believe that you will best accomplish your task by living ashore amongst the natives. Everything now depends on your choice of a taio, or friend, and let me advise you to go slowly. Persons of consequence in Tahiti, as elsewhere, do not wear their hearts on their sleeves, and should you make the mistake of choosing a friend among the lower orders of their society, you will find yourself greatly handicapped in your work."

He paused and I said, "I think I understand, sir."

"Yes," he went on. "By all means go slowly. Spend as much time as you wish on shore for a day or two, and when you have found a family to your liking inform me of the fact, so that I may make inquiries as to their standing. Once you have settled on a taio you can move your chest and writing materials ashore. After that I expect to see no more of you except when you report your progress to me once each week."

He gave me a curt but friendly nod, and perceiving that the interview was at an end, I rose and took leave of him. On deck, Mr. Fryer, the master, beckoned me to him.

"You have seen Mr. Bligh?" he asked, raising his voice to make the words audible in the din. "He informed me last night that on our arrival here you were to be relieved of duty on board the ship. There is nothing to fear from the Indians. Go ashore at any time you wish. You are free to make gifts of your own things to the Indians, but remember — no trading.
The captain has placed all of the trading in the hands of Mr. Peckover. You are to make a dictionary of the Indian tongue, I understand?"

"Yes, sir — at the desire of Sir Joseph Banks."

"A praiseworthy task — a praiseworthy task! Some slight knowledge of the language will no doubt be of great service to future mariners in this sea. And you're a lucky lad, Mr. Byam, a lucky lad! I envy you, on my word I do!"

At that moment a double canoe, which had brought out a handsome gift of pigs from some chief ashore, cast off from the ship. I was all eagerness to set foot on land. "May I go with those people if they 'll have me?" I asked the master.

"Off with you, by all means. Give them a hail."

I sprang to the bulwarks and shouted to catch the attention of a man in the stern of one of the canoes, who seemed to be in a position of authority. As I caught his eye, I pointed to myself, then to the canoe, and then to the beach a cable's length away. He caught my meaning instantly and shouted some order to his paddlers. They backed water so that the high stern of one of the canoes came close alongside, rising well above the Bounty's bulwarks. As I sprang over the rail and slid down the hollowed-out stern into the canoe, the paddlers, glancing back over their shoulders and grinning at me, raised a cheer. The Indian captain gave a shout, a score of paddles dug into the water simultaneously, and the canoe moved away toward the land.

From One Tree Hill to Point Venus a curving beach of black volcanic sand stretches for about a mile and a half. We were heading for a spot about midway between these two boundaries of Matavai Bay, and I saw that a considerable surf was pounding on the steep beach. As we drew near the breakers the man in the stern of the other canoe snatched up a heavy steering paddle and shouted an order which caused the men to cease paddling while four or five waves passed under us. A dense throng of Indians stood on the beach, awaiting our arrival with eagerness. Suddenly the man beside me began to shout, gripping the haft of his steering paddle strongly.

"A boe!" he shouted. "Teie te are rabi!" (Paddle! Here is the great wave!) I recollect the words, for I was destined to hear them many times.

The men bent to their work, all shouting together; the canoe shot forward as a wave larger than the others lifted us high in the air and sent us racing for the sands. While the steersman held us stern-on, with efforts that made the muscles of his arms bulge mightily, we sped far up the beach, where a score of willing hands seized our little vessel to hold her against the backwash of the sea. I sprang out as the wave receded and made my way to high-water mark, while rollers were fetched and the double canoe hauled ashore with much shouting and laughter, to be housed under a long thatched shed.

Next moment I was surrounded by a throng so dense that I could scarcely breathe. But the crowd was good-natured and civil as no crowd in England could be; all seemed desirous to welcome me with every sign of pleasure. The clamour was deafening, for all talked and shouted at once. Small children with bright dark eyes clung to their mothers' skirts and stared at me apprehensively, while their mothers and fathers pushed forward to shake my hand, a form of greeting, as I was to learn with some surprise, immemorially old among the Tahitians.

Then, suddenly as the clamour of voices had begun, it ceased. The people fell back deferentially to make way for a man of middle age, who was approaching me with an air of easy authority and good-natured assurance. A murmur ran through the crowd: "O Hitihiti!"

The newcomer was smooth-shaven, unlike most of the Indian men, who wore short beards. His hair, thick and sprinkled with grey, was close-cropped, and his kilt and short fringed cloak were of the finest workmanship and spotlessly clean. He was well over six feet in height, lighter-skinned than the run of his countrymen, and magnificently pro-
portioned; his face, frank, firm, and humorous, attracted me instantly.

This gentleman — for I recognized at a glance that he was of a class different from any of the Indians I had seen hitherto — approached me with dignity, shook my hand warmly, and then, seizing me by the shoulders, applied his nose to my cheek, giving several loud sniffs as he did so. I was startled by the suddenness and novelty of the greeting, but I realized that this must be what Captain Cook and other navigators had termed "nose-rubbing," though in reality it is a smelling of cheeks, and corresponds to our kiss. On releasing me, my new friend stepped back a pace while a loud murmur of approval went through the crowd. He then pointed to his broad chest and said: "Me Hitihiti! You midshipman! What name?"

I was so taken aback at these words of English that I stared at him for a moment before I replied. The people had evidently been waiting to see what effect the marvelous accomplishment of their compatriot would produce, and my display of astonishment turned out to be precisely what they were hoping for. There were nods and exclamations of satisfaction on all sides, and Hitihiti, now thoroughly pleased with himself and with me, repeated his question, "What name?"

"Byam," I replied; and he said, "Byam! Byam!" nodding violently, while "Byam, Byam, Byam," echoed throughout the crowd.

Hitihiti again pointed to his chest. "Fourteen year now," he said with an air of pride, "me sail Captain Cook!" "Tuté! Tuté!" exclaimed a little old man close by, as if afraid that I might not understand.

"Could I have a drink of water?" I asked, for it was long since I had tasted any but the foul water aboard ship. Hitihiti started, and seized my hand.

He shouted an order to the people about us, which sent some of the boys and young men scampering off inland. He then led me up the steep rise behind the beach to a rustic shed where several young women made haste to spread a mat. We sat down side by side, and the crowd, increasing rapidly as parties of Indians arrived from up and down the coast, seated themselves on the grass outside. A dripping gourd, filled to the brim with clear sparkling water from the brook near by, was handed me, and I drank deep, setting it down half empty with a sigh of satisfaction.

I was then given a young coconut to drink — my first taste of this cool, sweet wine of the South Sea — and a broad leaf was spread beside me, on which the young women laid ripe bananas and one or two kinds of fruit I had not seen before. While I set to greedily on these delicacies, I heard a shout go up from the crowd, and saw that the *Bounty*’s launch was coming in through the surf, with Bligh in the stern sheets. My host sprang to his feet. "O Parai!" he exclaimed, and, as we waited for the boat to land, "You, me, taio, eh?"

Hitihiti was the first of the Indians to greet Bligh, whom he seemed to know well. And the captain recognized my friend at once.

"Hitihiti," he said as he shook the Indian's hand, "you've grown little older, my friend, though you've some grey hairs now."

Hitihiti laughed. "Ten year, eh? Plenty long time! By God! Parai, you get fat!"

It was now the captain's turn to laugh, as he touched his waist, by no means small in girth.

"Come ashore," the Indian went on emphatically. "Eat plenty pig! Where Captain Cook? He come Tahiti soon?"

"My father?"

Hitihiti looked at Bligh in astonishment. "Captain Cook your father?" he asked.

"Certainly — did n't you know that?"

For a moment the Indian chief stood in silent amazement; then, with extraordinary animation, he raised a hand for silence and addressed the crowd. The words were unintelligible to
me, but I perceived at once that Hitihiti was a trained orator, and I knew that he was telling them that Bligh was the son of Captain Cook. Mr. Bligh stood close beside me as the chief went on with his harangue.

"I have instructed all of the people not to let the Indians know that Captain Cook is dead," he said in a low voice. "And I believe that we shall accomplish our mission the quicker for their belief that I am his son."

While I was somewhat taken aback by this piece of deception, I knew the reverence in which the people of Tahiti held the name of Cook, and perceived that, according to the Jesuitical idea that the end justifies the means, Mr. Bligh was right.

As Hitihiti ceased to speak there was a buzz of excited talk among the Indians, who looked at Bligh with fresh interest, not unmixed with awe. In their eyes, Captain Cook's son was little less than a god. I took the opportunity to inform Mr. Bligh that Hitihiti had offered to become my taio, and that with his approval I thought well of the idea, since I should be able to communicate to some extent with my Indian friend.

"Excellent," said the captain with a nod. "He is a chief of consequence on this part of the island, and nearly related to all of the principal families. And, as you say, the English he picked up on board the Resolution should be of great assistance to you in your work." He turned to the Indian. "Hitihiti!"

"Yes, Parai."

"Mr. Byam informs me that you and he are to be friends."

Hitihiti nodded. "Me, Byam, taio!"

"Good!" said Bligh. "Mr. Byam is the son of a chief in his own land. He will have gifts for you, and in return I want you to take him to your house, where he will stop. His work, while we are here, is to learn your language, so that British seamen may be able to converse with your people. Do you understand?"

Hitihiti turned to face me and stretched out an enormous hand. "Taio, eh?" he remarked smilingly, and we shook hands on the bargain.

Presently a canoe was launched to fetch my things from the ship, and that night I slept in the house of my new friend—Hitihiti-Te-Atua-Iri-Hau, chief of Mahina and Ahonu, and hereditary high priest of the temple of Fareroi.
Problems Come to Paradise

Social tensions and political strife in a picture postcard setting.

By ALAIN ROLLAT.

THREATS OF economic recession, power struggles and several changes in the political balance since the resignation of Gaston Flosse as President of the local Assembly, has led to French Polynesia going through a period of gloomy introspection. The depression is particularly apparent in Tahiti where the growing unemployment has added to existing social tension.

Paradise has changed its address. It is said that one can still find a few vestiges in the remote Marquesas, Tuamotus and Austral islands but no longer in Tahiti. Superficially, Papeete is as it always was. Its facade still looks like a postcard: the coconut palms, the beautiful girls, the tiare flowers, the guitarists at the international airport day and night to welcome tourists, the elegant yachts lining the wharfs, the pirogue races on the emerald lagoon with, on the horizon, the mysterious summits of the sister island, Moorea. On the surface, everything is there.

The lord of these islands, Gaston Flosse, French Secretary of State for the South Pacific, freely emphasizes, not without reason, that French Polynesia is, in every respect, becoming a better place than the independent micro-states of the region. With its shops, markets, banks, its traffic and its freeways, and waterfronts resembling those in the south of France, does it not reek of prosperity?

But all these visions cannot change the reality: paradise has moved on, it has left Tahiti. The proof? On the artificial beaches of the luxury hotels, the lagoon water is often polluted by the wastes of the city. Swimming is generally forbidden, but the tourists don't know about this because "considerate hands" have removed the official warning signs.

In one of the three daily papers, the charms of Miss Tahiti 1987, a beautiful vision from the Tuamotus, share the page with news of delinquency, drugs, alcoholism and street crime.

On the mountainsides, in the squatter settlements, although the houses are clean and covered in flowers, there are numerous poor families uprooted from their distant home islands, victims of dreams of urban riches that have been transformed into misery. Such families must now send their youngest children to distant relatives and friends to be adopted. Adoption has become just another commercial transaction.

Tahiti is also discovering unemployment. While not yet comparable to the chronic unemployment of other French overseas territories, it is something new for Tahiti. Being unemployed and poor is difficult for those used to a consumer society and who now must "daily count the cost of the luxuries shamelessly displayed by the privileged and the super-privileged," according to the Mayor of Mahina, Emile Vernaudon, one of the principal leaders of the opposition to the majority party of Gaston Flosse.

In the mountains around Papeete and its suburbs, at Arue, Faaa and Mahina, the crude shantytowns are juxtaposed with magnificent villas that would not disgrace Beverly Hills. Emile Vernaudon points out: "A new social phenomenon is now apparent in Polynesia: class consciousness. This infernal system is being established so fast that for us it is a 'revolution'."

The old political "patron" of French Polynesia, Francis Sanford, the spiritual leader of autonomy and reformist deputy who has now withdrawn from public life, shares his pessimism: "We thought that the Centre D'Experimentation du Pacifique (Pacific Experimentation Centre) was going to lead to enormous wealth. It was an illusion. It brought money but destroyed our lifestyle. We have the politics and the attitudes of the Arab states, but we have absolutely no resources. One day everything is going to disintegrate."
The French state that lies at the heart of the dangers: political success, economic growth and hampering economic growth. It is difficult to forecast all the consequences of the social changes that have now transformed Tahiti, but there are two obvious immediate consequences. One is the real threat to continued economic growth on which the French state based its liberal political economy (despite the opposition of Polynesian businessmen supporting the local opposition), led by a territorial minority obsessed by the models of Hawaii, Hong Kong and Singapore. Because of the analysis that has characterised the territorial government, led by Jacques Teufira since the resignation of Gaston Flosse last February, it appears the political reform must come quickly.

Ten years ago the word "independence" was taboo in French Polynesia, and any meeting of independentists was closely controlled by the police. Today, the independence parties have almost total freedom and are represented by five members (out of 41) in the territorial assembly.

The Secretary General of La Mana Te Nuna (Power to the People), Jacky Drollet, a former marine biologist and a firm believer in economic independence, has been received in great style in New Zealand, where he had a one-hour interview with the Prime Minister, David Lange. His party, in the March 1986 territorial elections, received 4410 votes in the Iles du Vent constituency (Tahiti and Moorea), only 8.17 percent of all the votes. His principal rival, Oscar Temaru, leader of Tavini Huiraatina (Polynesian Liberation Front) and Mayor of Faaa, gained a slightly better result with 4547 votes (8.43 per cent), though in the commune where he was born and where there are many of Tahiti's poor, he gained 38.48 per cent of the vote. This is why the former customs officer is an increasingly happy militant: "We have made a great leap forward. Nobody should doubt it. We demand a referendum on our future."

In his office, this former minister of religion has fixed on the wall the flag of the New Caledonian FLNKS alongside a pacifist slogan "No more Hiroshima", with between them and positioned just above the official Mayor's chair, an effigy of Christ and his halo. Who says that in Tahiti the faith of the independentists will not one day come true? 

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**Amen.**

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Still, statistics also show that
Inouye's clout only goes so far. When the figures on federal spending are broken down, they show Hawaii ranks second among the states in per-capita military spending — but only 44th for nonmilitary spending.

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**HAWAII: image of a paradise can backfire**

Continued from Page A-1

The view of Hawaii as a frivolous paradise takes both obvious and subtle forms. Hawaii residents working here regularly put up with remarks they find flippant — and occasionally offensive.

"I don't know how many times
I've been asked if I can dance the hula," said one female congressio­
nal staffer. "It's part of the image of
Hawaii as all sandy beaches and hula dances."

On the more subtle side, consid­
er the reaction to Sen. Daniel
Akaka's recent questioning of a
presidential appointment. Akaka was sounding out the future solic­
tor for the U.S. Department of
Interior on whether the Clinton
administration would acknowled­
ged federal trust responsibility for
native Hawaiians.

It is an issue dear to the hearts of
Hawaiians. Yet Akaka's questioning was greeted with impatience and even some quiet laughter by many at the hearing, who clearly viewed the matter as inconsequential.

The perception is that Hawaii is so perfect, any problems we have, "don't carry the same urgency as other places," said Akaka aide Robert T. Ogawa.

Occasionally, that attitude stirs resentment, even anger.

Ten years ago, Congress set up a commission to study the needs and concerns of native Hawaiians. The lack of respect given the panel prompted several members to issue a dissenting report that included the following passage:

"The greatest obstacle to facing
the problem, not only by the Com­
mission, but the possibility of not being taken seriously. The popular per­
ception of Hawaii as a vacation playground whose residents are to
be envied for their year-round sun and surf has been a burden to the
work of this Commission. At one
point, the very life of the Commissi­
on was called into question when
an Administration official labeled
the study a boondoggle."

While the pervasiveness of the
attitude toward Hawaii here is
clear, its implications are not.
Statistics indicate that the state
gets its share of federal help. For
example, Hawaii ranks fifth among the states in total per-capita
expenditures by the federal
government, according to figures compiled by the Northeast-Mid­
west Congressional Coalition, a
people shop of lawmakers.

More specifically, federal aid to
the state after Hurricane Iniki was
widely regarded as prompt and
generous, and Hawaii has been
spared the devastating military base closings facing other states.

Most observers credit much of
Hawaii's success to the clout of
Sen. Daniel Inouye, a 30-year
member of the Senate.

"He's thought to be a pretty
powerful senator and is well
known as a man who's not afraid
to earmark appropriations for the
interest of his state," said Glenn R.
Simpson, political reporter for
Roll Call, a newspaper considered
an authority on Capitol Hill.

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By Pete Pichoske
Phillips News Service

WASHINGTON — When
he appeared before a
Senate subcommittee
here several weeks
ago, Wayne Matsuo, executive di­
rector of the state Office of Youth
Services, began his plea for feder­
al aid with a quote.

"Winston Churchill said we all
have a cross to bear," Matsuo said.

"For Hawaii, that cross is a percep­
tion of paradise."

To which many of his fellow
Hawaii residents who deal with
Washington would say, "Amen."

To a person, Hawaii residents
here say they have a hard time
convincing Washington their
state is anything more than an
island paradise — a utopia of sun and endless fun.

"It requires constant effort to
get colleagues to perceive of Ha­
awaii as having any problems that
need to be addressed," said U.S.
Rep. Nell Abercrombie of HawaiI.

"A lot of people here think
Hawaii is so wonderful that difficul­
ties don't exist. . . . It's kind of a
reverse image problem," said Lau­
ra Efurd, a long-time Capitol HIli
staffer who now works for Rep.
Palaiy Mink of Hawaii.

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"The problem is, we've sold our­selves as paradise."
Vacation image can haunt isles

By Pete Pichoske
Philips News Service

WASHINGTON — Getting decision-makers here to visit Hawaii and observe the issues and concerns first-hand has become virtually impossible. In Washington, there is no such thing as a "business trip" to Hawaii.

Just ask Larry LaRocco, a Democratic congressman from Idaho.

In March, LaRocco, a member of the House Banking Committee, flew to Hawaii to speak to a group of bankers. Although he was in the state for only 27 hours and had been invited by a constituent, a banker from Idaho, LaRocco was roasted for making the trip.

"Bon voyage: LaRocco off to Hawaii," read the headline in one Idaho newspaper.

"If the same event had been in Idaho or Oregon or a lot of other states, no eyebrows would've been raised," said LaRocco spokesman Tom Knappenberger. "Whenever you say the word 'Hawaii,' people immediately think 'vacation.' It's not fair to the groups that meet there and probably not fair to Hawaiians."

Would LaRocco think twice before returning to Hawaii as a congressman?

"You'd like to say 'no,' but he'd have to take what happened into account," Knappenberger acknowledged.

A lot of elected officials here have taken the lessons learned the hard way by LaRocco and others to heart. Which is why efforts to get representatives to hold a hearing in Hawaii on oil spill clean-up preparedness or to view a beach on Oahu being considered for national park designation have failed.

"They're terrified of going to Hawaii for a hearing or for fact finding," said Mike Slackman, spokesman for U.S. Rep. Neil Abercrombie, who represents the First Congressional District (Urban Honolulu). "They're afraid of getting bashed for being on a junket."

Nor is it just elected officials who fear the junket label that comes with journeys to the 50th state.

Two years ago, the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitation Services in the U.S. Department of Education held a regional conference for groups that run parent training and information centers.

The conference was to be held in Honolulu, and preliminary arrangements had already been made when education officials changed their minds and decided to meet in Lake Tahoe instead.

Their reason, according to those familiar with the conference, was that they thought it "wouldn't look good" to meet in such an exotic locale.

"It's an example of how we suffer," said Kathleen Gould, executive director of the Learning Disabilities Association of Hawaii, which had been counting on the conference to bring state-of-the-art news to Hawaii.

"Experts needing or wanting to come out here to give information can't because it's seen as just a wonderful resort."

"We already have a problem anyway because we're so geographically isolated," added Gould. "But this perception of the state just increases the problem. We are really isolated here."
RESEARCH ACTIVITY: COLONIZATION

Prepare a profile on your Pacific island nation by completing the following information:

1. Current political status and date of independence
2. Current leader and form of government
3. When and why was this island colonized? By which nation?
4. How did the islanders respond to colonial rule?
5. Current population
6. Major industry/village economy
7. Religion
8. Current relationship with former colonizer
9. Major challenges facing the nation today
10. Create a visual metaphor

VISUAL METAPHOR: (Group activity)

In this activity, students will create a visual metaphor that represents the relationship between an island and its colonizer. The metaphor must include factual evidence to support the students' point of view and indicate their final stand on this issue:

A. "Should the British be praised for their colonial efforts in Fiji"?
B. "Should the French be praised for their colonial efforts in Tahiti"?
C. "Should the United States be praised for their colonial efforts in Belau"?
UNIT 4: COLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE

OVERVIEW: The Pacific Islands region was one of the last areas in the world to be colonized and the last region to gain independence. Decolonization began in the 1960's with Western Samoa gaining independence in 1962, and continues today with most island nations choosing complete political independence or free association with the former colonizer. Some islands remain colonies, as is the case with French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna, being part of the French Overseas Empire. Belau, in Micronesia, just recently voted to end its Trust Territory status, choosing Free association with the United States, while Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, and American Samoa remain U.S. possessions.

In this unit, students will compare three spheres of influence in the Pacific: British, French, and American. The students will form groups to conduct library research on three colonial relationships - Fiji and Britain, French Polynesia and France, and Belau and the United States. We will share this information in a forum setting and create visual metaphors, which represent the colonial relationships between the islands and metropolitan power.

READINGS/ MATERIALS:

1. "Pacific Island Politics", (The Pacific Islands, by Te'o Fairbairn
3. "Political Status of Pacific Islands" - chart
4. Map - Political entities of the Pacific Islands
5. "Recolonizing Islands and Decolonizing History", Francis X. Hezel
6. Videos: Belau (Hawaiian Moving Company)
   Tahiti - "Human Face of the Pacific" series
   Fiji - "Human Face of the Pacific" series
7. Group research activity: Visual Metaphor
UNIT 5: SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENTS TODAY

OVERVIEW: Throughout the Pacific today, there are several groups of indigenous peoples still pushing for sovereignty and seeking compensation, land reform, or outright independence. At the heart of the issue is land, the basis of family, ancestral ties, identity, status, and wealth. This unit seeks to compare key sovereignty movements in the Pacific in an effort to understand their goals and strategies for achieving them.

Students will divide into groups to conduct research on five indigenous groups in the Pacific: Maori of New Zealand, Kanak of New Caledonia, West Papuans of Irian Jaya (West Papua), Chamorro of Guam, and Tahitians of French Polynesia. They will roleplay as members of those sovereignty groups attending a Round Table Forum on Sovereignty. Then, we will turn to the sovereignty movement in Hawaii among the Kanaka Maoli and compare the efforts of OHA (Office of Hawaiian Affairs), Ohana Council, and Ka Lahui. What can the Hawaiian sovereignty movement learn from other sovereignty movements in the Pacific? What model(s) might be best for Hawaii?

READINGS/MATERIALS:
1. Group assignment on an indigenous people
2. Series of articles on five groups of peoples
3. Round Table Discussion questions for Sovereignty Forum
6. Essay question comparing sovereignty movements
Each of you will pair up, choose an indigenous people to research, answer the following questions, and present your findings in class on Thursday, 10/14.

Questions:

1. Who are these people - briefly describe where they live and some cultural traits about them.
2. What colonial power still exerts influence in their country - why?
3. How has colonization affected these people and their culture?
4. In what ways do the colonial and indigenous cultures differ?
5. Are there different ways in which the colonizers and indigenous people view land rights?
6. What are the main reasons for the continuing conflict?
7. What are the future options for the indigenous people?
INTRODUCTION
The Pacific island region was the last major region of the world to be decolonized. The transition from colony to full independence or greater self-government has been relatively slow, peaceful, and democratic.

Still relatively young—most have been politically independent or self-governing for less than 20 years—the Pacific island nations are now having to deal with larger, more complex issues in the region than the domestic problems they faced in the early years of independence and self-government. A new generation that is more outspoken and better educated is dissatisfied with the status quo and is pressing for solutions to the low standard of living caused by economic difficulties compounded by isolation. Ethnic, regional, and cultural differences are fueling political instability. These domestic challenges coupled with external concerns occupy the political agenda of the region.

The 1980s have been especially volatile: coups in Fiji, riots in French Polynesia and Vanuatu, escalated violence in New Caledonia, increased lawlessness in Papua New Guinea, and a guerrilla war on Bougainville Island. This chapter will examine the political development of the Pacific islands and current trends.

COLONIZATION
By the early twentieth century the Western powers (the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and France) in their international scramble for territory and influence had completed colonization of the Pacific island region. All islands had been annexed or had become protectorates by 1906 when France and the United Kingdom established a joint "condominium" over the New Hebrides (now known as Vanuatu).

Colonial control of some of the islands changed hands during the first half of the twentieth century. The Spanish-American War in 1898 ended Spain's hold in the region, as Micronesia was divided between the United States (Guam) and Germany (what now comprises the
Northern Marianas, the Marshalls, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Palau). The Samoas were divided between the United States (American Samoa) and Germany (Western Samoa) in a 1899 treaty in which the United Kingdom withdrew its interests in these islands in exchange for German concessions in Tonga, Niue, and Solomon Islands. After World War I, Germany went the way of Spain, losing control of its Pacific island territories. Under a tripartite League of Nations mandate, Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand took over the administration of Nauru, which had been a German protectorate since 1888. New Zealand acquired control over German Western Samoa at the outbreak of the war, while Japan gained Germany's Micronesian islands. After the defeat of Japan in World War II, the United States took control of Micronesia under a United Nations trusteeship.

Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Tuvalu (formerly the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, respectively), and Fiji remained under United Kingdom control until the 1970s. The New Hebrides continued under joint British-French rule until its independence in 1980. The United Kingdom turned over administrative control of Niue and Cook Islands to New Zealand in 1901. And Tokelau, a United Kingdom protectorate from 1877, became a territory of New Zealand in 1925.

By the start of the twentieth century, the island of New Guinea was divided between the United Kingdom (the southeast region known as Papua), Germany (the northeast region, or New Guinea), and the Netherlands (Netherlands New Guinea, or West Irian). In 1905, Australia took possession of Papua from the United Kingdom, German New Guinea came under Australian administration during World War I, and after the war a League of Nations mandate confirmed the former German colony under Australian control. After World War II, a United Nations trusteeship was established aiming at eventual independence and unification of both Papua and New Guinea, and Australia was appointed as trustee. West Irian remained under the control of the Netherlands until it came under the UN Temporary Executive Authority in 1962. Indonesia took over in 1963, eventually incorporating the region as a province in 1969 and renaming it Irian Jaya in 1973.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

The populations of most Pacific islands are small and, except for Guam, Niue, and Nauru, each island group is made up of a collection of islands and islets that are widely scattered over a vast area with great cultural and linguistic differences. The small size of most communities and their isolation from each other not only limited the extent to which people could meet and organize, but also encouraged affiliations to villages and regions which inhibited development of a national base for independence movements. Prior to World War II, only Western Samoa, with a long history of resistance to colonial rule, had a genuine indigenous independence movement.

The 1960 UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples accelerated global decolonization, and by 1965 only a few dependent territories remained. However, concern over smallness and limited economic resources slowed the decolonization process in the islands. Also, the options of integration or free association with another state in many cases offered attractive alternatives to full independence.

The colonial powers had taken differing approaches to administrative control in their colonies, granting varying degrees of local autonomy. These administrative approaches, as well as the nature of the individual societies to which they were applied, determined the pace and extent of the decolonization process.

Those societies that were more cohesive and less scattered geographically, like the Polynesian islands of Tonga and Western Samoa, were able to resist external control more effectively. Tonga was the only island group that was not formally colonized, having signed a Treaty of Friendship and Protection with the United Kingdom only in 1900, and was not administered as a colony. Under the treaty, the United Kingdom oversaw Tonga's foreign affairs until 1970. Western Samoa was the first of the island groups to gain full independence in 1962.

While the Polynesian cultures are relatively homogeneous, Melanesia consists of highly diverse, culturally fragmented societies. Both Polynesia and Micronesia have aristocratic, hierarchical social structures with traditional authority vested in chiefs, while in Melanesia the social structure is more egalitarian, with authority and status usually based on skills and achievement. In Tonga and Western Samoa these traditions continue to play a major role in politics. In other Polynesian and Micronesian societies, constitutional and other privileges are still granted to chiefs, although their role may only be in an advisory capacity or limited to traditional matters and customs—such as the House of Ariki of Cook Islands, and the House of Iroij in the Marshall Islands.

The British colonizers (including Australia and New Zealand) utilized the traditional systems as a framework for colonial rule. Islander legislative councils were first established to act in advisory capacities to the colonial administrations. These advisory councils ultimately evolved into elected and appointed parliaments. It is noteworthy that all nine Pacific island states that achieved full independence between 1962 and 1980 are former British colonies.

However, independence was not achieved without struggle. Western Samoa as early as the 1920s pushed for independence. The Mau of Pule
movement, founded in 1908, first resisted German rule and then in the 1920s opposed New Zealand control, eventually achieving limited self-government under a UN trusteeship. In 1947 New Zealand instituted constitutional legislation that led to full Samoan independence in 1962. Nauruans had already begun preparations in the 1950s for independence from their UN trustees, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, through the establishment of the Nauru Local Government Council. By 1966, a legislative council was set up with a large measure of self-government. Complete independence followed two years later, and Nauru became a republic.

In Papua New Guinea (PNG), concerted preparations for independence from Australia began only in the 1960s, when Australia felt pressure from the growing numbers of ex-colonial states in the UN. In 1964, the first general election was held for the House of Assembly. The process of establishing self-government steadily accelerated, and full independence was granted in 1975. Nineteen provincial governments, each with its own elected assembly, executive council, and premier, were established by constitutional amendment in 1976.


While the British preserved the traditional ruling systems, the French contrast followed a practice of assimilation aimed at replacing the traditional authorities with their own, and pursued a colonial policy entered on the French metropolitan government. None of the French territories, with the exception of Vanuatu that was under French-British dominion, has gained full independence. Only recently, after the ramatic events in New Caledonia discussed below, has France held the possibility of greater independence for any of its remaining Pacific territories, which also include Wallis and Futuna, and French Polynesia.

Joint rule of Vanuatu resulted in rivalry between the colonizing powers for indigenous loyalties and support, and a split between Anglo-Catholic and Franco-Catholic segments of the local communities. The British-backed New Hebrides National Party, now the Vanu’aku Pati, sought independence in opposition to the French-backed Union of Moderate Parties (UMP). Independence was ultimately achieved in 1980, but not without violence—a separatist movement on the northern island of Espiritu Santo and the southern island of Tanna was quelled only after Papua New Guinea troops were called in to support the new government.

Where both the British and the French had explicit colonial policies, the United States never developed a theory of colonial rule. Politically, the U.S. territories are governed under a system based on the U.S. federal structure that balances national and local interests. All the U.S. island territories have opted now for a self-governing status, with the U.S. government exercising direct control only over defense and security-related issues.

Under the UN Trusteeship Agreement of 1947, the U.S. Micronesian territories formed the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), consisting of the Marshall Islands, the Northern Marianas, Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia (formerly the Caroline Islands). The UN anticipated that the islands would remain as one political unit after the trusteeship ended. However, the islanders thought otherwise. Although TTPI islanders belong to the Micronesian grouping, differences in language and traditional customs exist, and there was a long precolonial history of autonomy on the part of the four island groups.

The people of the Northern Marianas launched a campaign to become a commonwealth in 1976, and the United States agreed to split the territories. The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Palau all in turn negotiated Compacts of Free Association (CFA) with the United States that were approved by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President Ronald Reagan in 1986. However, the political future of Palau’s CFA is still uncertain. A conflict remains between the Palauan constitution’s antinuclear provisions and U.S. defense rights under the compact. The U.S. government has taken the position that the CFA cannot be implemented and the trusteeship status terminated until the Palauan constitution is reconciled with the compact. On 22 December 1990 the UN Security Council voted to dissolve the 43-year-old UN Trusteeship over the Northern Marianas, Marshall Islands, and FSM, leaving Palau as the only remaining part of the Trust Territory.

**POLITICAL SYSTEMS**

**Independent Island States**

The independent Pacific island states, whether fully independent or self-governing, generally have adopted governmental systems modeled on the structure and processes of their metropolitan power. The former British colonies have modified forms of the British model for their constitutional framework. All have elected parliaments, but with variations in electoral arrangements. Except for Tonga, which is ruled...
by a monarchy, the heads of government are elected by parliament; with the exception of Western Samoa, Nauru, Kiribati, and Fiji, the head of state is a governor-general appointed by the British queen upon the advice of the prime minister or government. In Western Samoa the Parliament appoints the head of state and does not acknowledge the queen. All are members of the Commonwealth, with the recent exception of Fiji which was excluded when it became a republic following the coups in 1987.

In most of these island nations, executive power resides in a cabinet headed and selected by a prime minister who is either the head of a political party or is directly elected by parliament from among its members. The cabinet is selected from members of parliament or from political parties within parliament, resulting in a government answerable to that body.

Both Western Samoa and Tonga operate to a substantial degree on traditional precedents. Under Western Samoa's constitution, the head of state must be chosen from holders of the four paramount titles, and 45 of the 47 members of the country's unicameral parliament were traditional chiefs, or matai, who were elected by their peers—other titled Samoans; while the remaining two members of Parliament were non-Samoans elected by universal suffrage from rolls of individual voters. An October 1990 referendum changed this, allowing universal suffrage for Samoans 21 years or older. However, it remains that only matai can be candidates for 45 of the 47 parliamentary seats. In Tonga, the constitutional monarchy in 1875 established a Privy Council as the highest executive body, headed by the king, with ministers and two governors appointed by the king. In the 28-seat Legislative Assembly, 9 members are elected by popular vote, another 9 are nobles elected by the aristocratic families, and the remaining 10 are appointed by the king with cabinet rank. The cabinet is headed by a prime minister.

The republics of Nauru and Kiribati both have presidents as head of state. In Kiribati the president is also the head of government, and in Nauru he is the de facto prime minister. Both presidents are elected from among nominated members selected from and by the members of parliament.

In the more fragmented societies of Melanesia, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea governments have slowly become more decentralized. Solomon Islands is divided into 8 provincial governments, and Papua New Guinea has 19 provincial governments each with its own elected legislature and premier.

Fiji, which had been invaded by Tonga prior to European arrival, developed a Polynesian-style traditional hierarchy of hereditary chiefs who still play an important role in politics. From the time of independence in 1970 up until the coups of 1987, Fiji was governed by a parliamentary democracy. In a multiracial country where indigenous Fijians were at the time a minority, constitutional legislation preserved a balance between the Fijians, Fiji Indians, and other racial groups. The prime minister was chosen by majority vote in the lower house of a bicameral parliament consisting of an elected House of Representatives and a Senate. The members of the Senate were nominated by the Great Council of Chiefs, the prime minister, the Council of Rotuma, and the leader of the opposition. In postcoup Fiji, a new draft constitution was promulgated in July 1990 to provide stronger guarantees of indigenous Fijian political supremacy.

Fiji, Vanuatu, Cook Islands, and Western Samoa all have well-developed political party systems. The other island states, however, despite their adoption of the British model, lack cohesive parties. Fiji’s ethnic sensitivities are evident in the development of its main pre-coup political parties: the Alliance Party, the dominant party since independence, consisting of a majority of ethnic Fijians; and the National Federation Party, dominated by Fiji Indians. This latter party merged with the urban-based Labour Party for the April 1987 election, which brought to power for the first time an Indian-dominated government.

In Vanuatu, regional sentiments are strong and parties are mainly split along the lines of colonial affiliation: the Vanua’aku Pati (Anglo-Protestant) and the Union of Moderates (Franco-Catholic). Recently, however, new parties have emerged in Vanuatu: the trade union-backed Labour Party, the educated young professionals’ New Peoples’ Party, and the National Democratic Party. In 1988, due to rivalry between members of the ruling Vanua’aku Pati, that party split, creating the New Melanesian Progressive Party.

Parties in Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea are characterized primarily by shifting alliances centered around prominent individual figures. Western Samoa shares this characteristic to some degree, in that parties are fluid and based on individuals and organizations. However, Western Samoa’s parties are less fragmented, due to that country’s long tradition of a closely knit society in contrast to PNG’s and Solomon Islands’ cultural diversity and lack of a strong national identity.

Solomon Islands and PNG also share the same voting system: single-member constituencies and a “first-past-the-post” rule whereby the candidate with the most votes wins even if the total falls short of a majority. In PNG this system, combined with the large number of candidates running for office, allows for members of parliament to be elected on the basis of quite small percentages of the vote. Party switching and tribal conflicts between supporters of opposing parties often erupt after elections. This fragility of party allegiances also means that governments...
have to depend upon coalitions to remain in power. During the course of a coalition’s life, policy differences are settled by compromise and bargaining. However, personalism, localism, and regionalism dominate politics as each group seeks to gain what it can, leading to persistent parliamentary instability.

Voting in Solomon Islands runs largely along personal and regional lines. The Parliament has seen a high turnover of members in the three elections since 1978. In the most recent election, in March 1989, 257 candidates contested 38 parliament seats.

Political parties have been absent in Tonga, Tuvalu, Kiribati and, until recently, Nauru. In these island nations, the cabinet acts as the government and the rest of parliament acts as an “opposition.” As a result, decisions are often made through consensus.

Self-Governing States
In most cases, the islander communities have not wished to lose the benefits of financial aid and the other opportunities available through ties with the metropolitan power. This is evident both in the continued close relationships between the fully independent states and their former colonizers, and in the number of island entities that have chosen the status of “self-governing in free association” instead of full independence: Cook Islands (1965) and Niue (1974) in association with New Zealand; the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau (Belau) with the United States. The Northern Mariana Islands have a similar status under another name: they constitute the self-governing Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas in union with the United States under a covenant.

Although the essence of the free-association relationships with the United States and New Zealand is the same, there is a difference in the legal basis in each case. In Cook Islands and Niue, association status is written into their constitutions. Association can only be repealed by a constitutional amendment endorsed by a two-thirds majority vote of the islands’ legislative assembly in a referendum. New Zealand assumes responsibility for the defense of both, and foreign affairs for Niue; Cook Islands now essentially runs its own foreign affairs.

The FSM, Marshall Islands, and Palau association arrangements are the product of treaties delegating defense rights and responsibilities to the United States and committing the United States to provide financial and other assistance. The commonwealth covenant granting internal self-government to the Northern Marianas also gives the United States control over defense and foreign relations. The treaties acknowledge the sovereignty of the island states, and they formally became members of the international community upon the dissolution of the UN trusteeship in December 1990. They have the right to terminate the Compact arrangements on the expiration of the agreed period (15 years).

As with the independent island states, the freely associated islands have adopted political systems modeled on those of the metropolitan powers. The British parliamentary system serves as a model for New Zealand’s freely associated states of Niue and Cook Islands. Niue, consisting of a single raised atoll, has a Legislative Assembly of 14 members representing individual village constituencies, and another 6 elected at large by popular vote. The first Niuean political party, the Niue People’s Action Party (NPAP) was formed in 1987.

Cook Islands, with constituents scattered across seven northern atolls and eight larger southern islands, is characterized by political fragmentation. Parliament consists of 24 members representing single-member constituencies. Politics have been significantly destabilized by party switching, with communities split among multiple parties. There were five successive governments and two general elections in 1983 because of factionalism and the inability to achieve consensus on issues. Since then there have been four prime ministers, with the latest elections having taken place in January 1989.

The U.S.-associated states adopted the presidential form of government, with differing specific structures. The Northern Marianas’ governing body has a bicameral legislature composed of elected members in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. The head of government is an elected governor, and the head of state is the U.S. president. The Republic of the Marshalls, on the other hand, incorporates British as well as U.S. elements. The legislative branch of government is the Nitijela (parliament), which is advised by the Council of Iroij (local chiefs). The parliament elects a president from among its members.

Marshallese culture has a complex clan system from which political factions have developed. Traditional loyalties to family and party hinder groups from working together, and local issues rather than broad programs become the focal point of politics. Similar factional rivalries also characterize Palauan politics. Palau’s Council of Chiefs still plays an advisory role to the president on traditional laws and customs, but the government is modeled after U.S. representative assemblies—a bicameral legislature composed of a House of Delegates and a Senate. Both the president and vice president of Palau are elected by direct popular vote.

The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) comprises four island states: Pohnpei (Ponape), Truk, Yap, and Kosrae. Each, except for Kosrae, has several islands within its group. There is a wide range of cultural and linguistic attributes within these island states, and each has its own
constitution and government, headed by a governor. A 14-member unicameral federal congress, the governing body, is located in Pohnpei, the capital of FSM. Each of the four state governments has 1 representative in this congress; the other 10 members are elected directly, on the basis of population, for two-year terms. This federal congress elects a president and vice president.

Palau's political status remains in limbo. It continues as the world's last UN trusteeship under U.S. administrative authority because of repeated failure of referenda to change Palau's constitution in a way that would meet U.S. requirements in the Compact of Free Association. Seven referendums have been held on the compact, the most recent having taken place in February 1990; all have failed to yield the constitutionally required 75 percent majority vote necessary to amend the constitution. As of mid-1990 the Palauan legislature was considering legislation that would amend the 75 percent requirement.

Dependent Territories

A few of the island entities remain territories under the control of the colonial power: Guam and American Samoa under the United States; the French territories of New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, and French Polynesia; and New Zealand's Tokelau.

Both Guam and American Samoa were governed by the U.S. Navy until 1951, at which time the Department of the Interior took over administrative control. Both territories have a popularly elected governor under the overall direction of the Department of the Interior. However, Guam has a unicameral legislature of senators elected by four districts, while American Samoa incorporates chiefly traditions into its political structure. In American Samoa's bicameral legislature, or Fono, the Senate consists of members elected under Polynesian custom by chiefly Samoan families and is made up of matai (traditional chiefs), whereas the House of Representatives is elected by popular vote.

In Guam, in recent years there has been movement towards greater autonomy. In 1987 the populace voted to seek Commonwealth status within the United States, along the lines of the Northern Marianas system. Although not advocating full independence, many Guamanians see Commonwealth status as offering a greater degree of home rule and increased economic freedom.

New Zealand's remaining territory, Tokelau, is made up of three atolls, each with its own administration run by an elected commissioner and village mayor, and with a Council of Elders as the dominant political unit at the village level. Ultimate authority lies with the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs that appoints an administrator and an official secretary. Seven directors responsible to the official secretary administrator the various government departments.

France's three Pacific territories are each governed by the Government Council, headed by a French high commissioner and with members selected by the Territorial Assembly—the legislative arm—which is elected by popular vote. The three territories are represented in the French National Assembly by elected deputies (two each from French Polynesia and New Caledonia, and one from Wallis and Futuna) and one senator each. Each territory also is represented in the French Economic and Social Council.

The traditional chiefly system is still very much a part of politics in Wallis and Futuna. The senator, elected by the Territorial Assembly by majority vote, and the deputy, elected by universal suffrage, who represent the islands in Paris, are linked to the royal chiefly family of Wallis and Futuna.

RECENT TRENDS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

The Pacific islands' political systems are still in a transitional stage and are experiencing adaptation pains. The adoption of Western political models mixed with traditional aspects has given rise to a number of problems. The personalistic nature of the political cultures has contributed to a "revolving-door" characteristic of island politics. Loyalties to clan and region often override national interests, and there can be a fine line between what is viewed as corruption by Western standards and island cultural traditions of leaders' obligations to clan and family. Economic underdevelopment and uneven distribution of wealth have placed increased importance on money. This combination of personalistic politics and the issue of wealth has produced problems of corruption. For example, a Solomon Islands auditor-general's report (August 1989) raised questions about the non-accountability of funds received from the European Community. The Cook Islands government of Upukele Robati was dogged by allegations of corruption, abuse of parliamentary allowances, and misappropriation of funds during 1987-88. At the time of his suicide in August 1988, former Palau President Lazarus Salii was under U.S. congressional investigation for allegations of bribery, corruption, mismanagement of funds, and drug trafficking. Subsequently, in August 1989 a U.S. General Accounting Office report questioned Palau's fundamental ability to manage itself given evidence of budget deficits, cash flow problems, debt, and improper spending.

Since the emergence of party politics in the political life of Western Samoa, there has been a scramble for increasing the number of matai in politics because the constitution limits membership in parliament to matai (except for two members on the commoner-individual voter
rolls). As a result _matai_ titles have been newly designated to people courting them for political reasons.

Generational changes taking place in the islands have added other pressures. A younger generation not satisfied with the status quo is calling for change. In the hierarchical, aristocratic societies of Polynesia and Micronesia, where the elders and chiefs are the greatest beneficiaries of wealth and power, these problems are most evident. In Tonga, for example, commoners are challenging the traditions of political power resting in the hands of the noble families. In September 1989, 6 ordinary (commoner) members of the Legislative Assembly, after a two-week boycott, presented a motion for major constitutional change. They called for reducing the number of noble representatives in the assembly from 9 to 3, increasing the number of members elected by popular vote from 9 to 15, and allowing ordinary members to introduce legislation. An additional motion called for an amendment to the constitution to provide for a two-party parliamentary system.

The action by the commoner members was a protest against what they considered misuse and waste of public funds by the aristocratic elite, taking place at a time when the country was facing difficult economic problems. In a system where the nobles always vote with the government, the commoners’ motion would have created a genuine mechanism for checking the performance of the government. The 15 February 1990 election saw the reelection of the main leader of the commoner legislators, Samuela “Akilisi” Pohiva, by an overwhelming majority, indicating that the commoners as a group are not satisfied with the present system and are seeking more democratic representation and greater accountability by government leaders.

**Land and Ethnicity**

Underlying all these debates and conflicts are issues of land and ethnicity which have traditionally been critical factors in the lives of the Pacific islanders. Today they continue to play an important role in the social and political arenas. Of the three main cultural groupings, Melanesians have emerged as an area of particular volatility: two coups in Fiji, a determined independence movement in New Caledonia, a failed rebellion in Vanuatu, and the convulsive politics of Papua New Guinea. Root issues of land and ethnicity, or regional differences, can be found behind all these events.

In all Pacific island cultures there is a deep emotional attachment to the land. Land tenure holds social, economic, and political importance to the islanders, and is central to feelings of self-worth and security. Land-use and distribution rights are tied to traditional kinship and social relationships. They are a source of political power by which the traditional chiefly systems are sustained. Prior to Western contact, land was communally owned and transferred through inheritance or warfare. Land could be made available to others for use, but it belonged to the clan in perpetuity.

Colonial domination changed the traditional patterns by introducing private land ownership and commercial exploitation. Alienation of land by Western colonization aroused feelings of dispossession and loss of identity for the indigenous peoples. Agitation for the return of alienated land was a cause of unrest under colonial rule and played a role in independence movements. The prevention of land alienation was one of the major reasons behind the earliest Pacific constitution—the Tongan Constitution of 1875. Island leaders, during their quest for independence in the 1960s and 1970s, used constitutional legislation to correct the alienation suffered under colonial rule and preserve indigenous land ownership.

Land issues remain very much a concern for the Pacific nations. In Nauru, the most pressing current issues revolve around the exploitation and destruction of the land through years of phosphate mining, started under German colonization in 1907 and continued under the UN trustees—Australia, New Zealand, and Britain. Mining has left the island a moonscape, and Nauru has begun legal proceedings in the International Court of Justice to gain compensation from the former trustees for loss of land and royalties. In Guam, the indigenous Chamorro voted in favor of the Guam Commonwealth Act in 1987 largely out of concern over losing control of their land to outsiders. The act, now under U.S. congressional review, includes a provision requiring the United States to pay for 44,300 acres (about one-third of Guam’s total land area), which it uses for military and federal purposes. More recently, in Papua New Guinea, disputes over land compensation have produced a number of violent confrontations between landowners and government.

As elsewhere, colonization of the Pacific islands did not take into consideration ethnic and regional diversities. Different groups were often lumped together under a single colonial administration. The decolonization process stimulated a resurgence of cultural and ethnic pride, and in some instances tried to “correct” the lumping together of diverse groups under colonial rule. Thus, Niue split from Cook Islands (although the two were never formally united, they shared a common administration under New Zealand); the Micronesian Trust Territory fragmented; and Polynesian Tuvalu separated from Micronesian Kiribati. In addition, decolonization stirred secessionist efforts, as demonstrated by Bougainville Island’s move to split from Papua New Guinea at the time of independence.
In some island nations ethnicity has played a major role in political alignments. On an individual island basis, such alignments can be seen in the political parties of Fiji—the Melanesian-backed Alliance Party and the Indian-dominated National Federation Party—and in New Caledonia’s Melanesian-supported Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) and the European-dominated pro-French, or anti-independence, Rally for New Caledonia in the Republic (RPCR). On a transnational basis, such ethnic alignments are evidenced by regional formations such as the Melanesian Spearhead Group comprising Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu, and proposals for a corresponding Polynesian grouping to include French Polynesia, Cook Islands, Niue, American Samoa, Western Samoa, Tonga, and Hawaii (see chapter 4).

In the fragmented societies of Melanesia and Micronesia there are also sharp political divisions within ethnic groups based on cultural, language, or regional differences. Examples are the clan rivalries of the Marshall Islands and Palau, and the regional differences played out in the party politics of Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. In the cases of Vanuatu and Kiribati, cleavages left by colonialism continue to divide loyalties: Francophone and Anglophone rivalries in Vanuatu, and church-based rivalries between the northern Catholic-dominant and southern Protestant-dominant areas of Kiribati split communities and election results.

Conflicts stemming from political-economic domination of the indigenes by the settler population have increased. These tensions create political instabilities, and have played a part in the growth of indigenous political movements—the Taukei Movement in Fiji, the Polynesian Liberation Front in French Polynesia, and the FLNKS in New Caledonia.

In Irian Jaya, internal migration from other parts of Indonesia has given impetus to the Free Papua Movement. An indigenous Melanesian independence movement, the Free Papua organization operates along the border with Papua New Guinea. Although the movement has lacked effective support locally and internationally, Irianese refugees crossing the border into Papua New Guinea have caused friction between that country and Indonesia.

While there is no independence movement in Wallis and Futuna, where politics focus largely on local issues, in both French Polynesia and New Caledonia there are independence movements that have become more active in recent years. In French Polynesia the independence movement, the Polynesian Liberation Front, is relatively small and is split between the majority who desire internal self-government with gradual independence, and a minority who are pressing for immediate independence. Those supporting continued French association fear losing French economic aid and the comparatively high standard of living that comes with such aid. However, social tensions have increased because of a rising cost of living and unemployment. A leading opposition figure in the Territorial Assembly, Gaston Flosse, has called for a free-association arrangement similar to that between New Zealand and Cook Islands.

The Polynesian Liberation Front’s popularity among the indigenes has been aided by the growing economic and social gaps between the races. The economic successes and political advances of the French, Chinese, and those of mixed race are seen as a threat by the Polynesians who make up about 65 percent of the population. These tensions culminated in a riot in late 1987 when striking dockworkers protesting their growing workload rampaged through the streets of the capital of Papeete on the island of Tahiti, causing extensive damage. The economically and politically disadvantaged groups may increasingly be attracted to a pro-independence and even violent stance.

New Caledonia

Of all the Pacific territories, New Caledonia has been the most troubled. The New Caledonian independence movement is well organized and strongly entrenched among the indigenous Kanak population. The territory is split politically between the Kanaks, now a minority of the population (43 percent), who want independence, and the immigrant settler population. The settlers, or loyalists, are themselves a polyglot group, consisting of ethnic French (including refugees from former French colonies of Vietnam and Algeria), descendants of Javanese and Tonkinese laborers brought in to work the nickel mines, and islanders from Wallis and Futuna, but all want to remain a part of the French republic and fear a political takeover by the Kanaks. The loyalists dominate the economy of New Caledonia, and control Noumea, the main urban center and capital.

The Kanaks were part of a multiracial movement for local self-government during the 1960s. However, in the 1980s they intensified their struggle for independence from France and the restoration of sovereignty over their land. In 1980, Jean-Marie Tjibaou was elected vice president of the Government Council, the governing body of New Caledonia. This was the first time a Melanesian had reached such a political level. From 1980 to 1984, while Tjibaou was vice president, negotiations between the New Caledonia Government Council and France failed to reach a compromise on an interim statute for independence. The Melanesians consolidated their political organization under the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), a coalition

THE CONTEMPORARY PACIFIC

Robert C. Kiste

The Pacific Ocean is the world's largest geographical feature, covering one-third of the globe's surface. The "insular Pacific" refers only to the islands located in the vast region, while the "Pacific Rim" denotes the large masses that provide the ocean's borders: North and South American, the Asian continent, and Australia. The term "Pacific Basin" is ambiguous, but often refers to both the insular and rim areas.

Traditionally, scholars have divided the insular Pacific into three culture areas: Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. The islands of each of the three have similarities in their languages and cultures. Polynesia ("many islands") is roughly defined by a triangle that may be drawn from the northern apex of Hawaii to New Zealand in the southwest and over to Easter Island in the southeast. Melanesia ("black islands") includes five island groups south of the equator from the large island of New Guinea in the west to Fiji in the east. The Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, and Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) fall between the two. The islands of Micronesia ("tiny islands") are mostly located north of Melanesia and north of the equator. The Northern Marianas, Guam, Yap, and Palau form the western boundary of Micronesian and the area extends to the Marshalls, Kiribati (formerly the Gilbert Islands), and Nauru in the east.

Today, the region is divided into 21 political entities. Diversity is the rule. Geographically, the range is from the large and continental islands of Melanesia to the small coral atoll states of Micronesia. In Melanesia particularly, there is great linguistic and cultural diversity. Papua New Guinea alone has over 800 languages. At the other extreme, a number of countries are homogeneous with regard to language and ethnic composition. The islands also vary greatly with regard to population size. A few countries have only a few thousand people while Papua New Guinea has over three and one-half million.

With regard to contemporary concerns, it is sometimes useful to conceptually organize the region by political and economic characteristics rather than culture areas. Basically, island countries fall within three major spheres
of influence. First, some islands have historical connections to the United States; others have past and/or present links with the British Commonwealth, and three groupings are considered as integral parts of France.

The American Sphere

American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), and Guam are politically integrated with the US. American Samoa and Guam are US territories (or possessions), and as its name indicates, the CNMI is a commonwealth of the US. The people of the CNMI and Guam are American citizens while American Samoans have the status of US nationals, giving them the right of entry to reside and work in the US and its territories. Collectively, the three island groups and the State of Hawaii are known as the "American flag islands."

Three other island groups have close ties with the US. At the close of World War II, the US acquired most of Micronesia as the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (USTTPI). The USTTPI was never an American possession as such; rather, it was administered by the US as a trusteeship under the nominal supervision of the United Nations.

The trusteeship was never more than a temporary arrangement. Over the last dozen or so years, self-determination came to Micronesia, and the USTTPI was divided into four political entities. As implied above, the people of the Northern Marianas elected to become an American commonwealth.

Two of the other Micronesian entities opted to become self-governing states in "free association" with the US: the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). The latter is composed of the four states of Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk (formerly Truk), and Yap. The freely associated states are very closely tied to the US. They are self-governing with regard to both internal and external affairs, while the US is responsible for defense and security and provides generous subsidies for the new states. The peoples of the Marshalls and the FSM are citizens of their own countries, but like Samoan nationals, they are free to enter and find employment in the US.

For a series of complicated reasons, Palau has yet to decide upon its future political status, and it remains the final remnant of the USTTPI under the ultimate authority of the UN.
While their political statuses vary, all of the island countries in the American sphere have very close connections with the US. Their political institutions are similar to those of America. In one way or another, they are financially subsidized by the US, and the US dollar is the legal tender of all of the entities. Young islanders attend American colleges and universities for tertiary education. The governors of the four American flag islands form the Pacific Basin Development Council (PBDC); it has headquarters in Honolulu, coordinates relations with the federal government, and promotes cooperation and economic development.

The French Sphere

The French Pacific is far less complicated than the American. France has three island groups: French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna (a small group also in Polynesia), and New Caledonia in Melanesia. All are overseas territories and integral parts of France. The people enjoy French citizenship; they vote in national elections and elect their own representatives to the French Parliament.

Like the islands linked to the US, the French entities are heavily subsidized by the metropolitan power. French is the language of commerce and government, and many people are bilingual. The educational system is a mirror image of that in France, and most islanders who pursue tertiary education do so in Paris. French Polynesia and New Caledonia are very dependent on imports from France, and the common currency is the French Pacific franc (directly tied to the European French franc). Papeete and Noumea, the capitals of French Polynesia and New Caledonia respectively, are quite French in character. Tourism is a major industry in both countries. French Polynesia derives a great amount of its income from France’s nuclear testing program in the territory, and New Caledonia has the third largest deposit of nickel in the world. Wallis and Futuna is mainly rural in character.

The Commonwealth Area

Most of the remainder of the insular Pacific has historical links to the British Commonwealth, and the islands were colonies of Australia, Great Britain, and New Zealand. The decolonization of the region began after World War II, and it has realized its greatest manifestation in the Commonwealth area. Nine of the nations are fully independent: Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu (actually a joint
colony of Britain and France), and Western Samoa. Two others are self-governing states in free association with New Zealand: the Cook Islands and Niue. Tiny Tokelau remains a dependency of New Zealand.

Most of these island countries have Westminster forms of government and educational and legal systems based on Commonwealth models. The peoples of the independent states are citizens of their own countries. Islanders of the two freely associated states and the Tokelau dependency have dual citizenship; they are citizens of both New Zealand as well as that of their own countries. Most of the countries have their own currency, but the Australian and New Zealand dollars are used in some.

There is great variation in the economies and natural resources. Fiji and Papua New Guinea have the largest populations of all the Pacific with about three-quarters of a million and three and one-half million respectively. Papua New Guinea is the giant of the region and is the most richly endowed in natural resources. The economy of Fiji is the most sophisticated, and the nation is the hub of commerce and transportation in the South Pacific.
Table 1.2 Political Status of Pacific Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former Colonial Power</th>
<th>Current or Former Colonial Power</th>
<th>Independent Nation</th>
<th>Self-governing in Free Association</th>
<th>Continued Dependent Status</th>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>Australia</td>
<td>Nauru (1968)</td>
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<td>*Papua New Guinea (1975)</td>
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<td>New Caledonia</td>
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<td>Wallis &amp; Futuna</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Federated States of Micronesia</td>
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<td>Guam</td>
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<td>Palau</td>
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* = United Nations Member

Notes:
1. Years in parentheses indicate dates independence or free association was achieved.
2. Vanuatu appears twice in the list of independent nations as it was jointly ruled by the United Kingdom and France.
3. Tonga signed a Treaty of Friendship and Protection with the United Kingdom in 1900, but was not administered as a colony. The United Kingdom oversaw Tonga's foreign affairs until 1970 when Tonga reentered the comity of nations.

POLITICAL ENTITIES OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Prepared for the Center for Pacific Islands Studies
University of Hawaii at Manoa
by Manoe Mapworks, 1987
Revised 1991

The solid lines surrounding island groups do not represent territorial boundaries.
Their sole purpose is to separate the islands by jurisdiction.
Recolonizing Islands and Decolonizing History

Francis X. Hezel

Here we are, gathered together from all quarters of the Pacific and beyond, to take time to reflect on where Pacific history—and we who have some stake in it—is headed. Here we meet, on Guam, "where America's day begins," as the masthead of the local daily paper once proclaimed. Guam, host to the US military since the turn of the century, is now one of the most popular tourist destinations for the newly affluent Japanese. Over there on Tumon Bay, where we will be holding our sessions, is the heart of the tourist trade that brings some 600,000 visitors each year. It is also the spot where, 300 years ago, the Jesuit priest Diego Luis de Sanvitores met his death—a death that some see as martyrdom and others claim was just retribution for the calamities his compatriots unleashed on the island. Guam is a destination of another sort for the hundreds of Micronesians who have begun streaming into the island since the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands signed the Compact of Free Association with the US in 1986. Guam, colonized for over 300 years and still a US territory, now has satellites of its own in its surrounding islands.

I hope you are not disappointed with this venue for our conference, you who may have expected something a little more small-islandish. No one expects to see nipa huts at a conference site anymore, but wooden frame houses on wave-washed shores are still a pleasant reminder of the ambience that everyone associates with the Pacific. Still, Guam is an ideal site for this conference, not only because of the warm hospitality of its people (who remain profoundly Micronesian, appearances sometimes to the contrary), but because the island exemplifies so much of what has happened and is happening throughout the Pacific.

Every island group in the Pacific has a wealth of indigenous wisdom embedded in its unique cultural legacy, the experience of a parade of foreigners—traders, missionaries, naval parties and others—that crossed its shores to bring the mixed blessings of what Westerners called "civilization," and, of course, colonization.

Virtually every group in the Pacific has been colonized at one time or another, and some still are. Micronesia's distinction for Pacific historians, however, may lie in the duration and variety of its colonial experiences. And no island in Oceania has had a longer colonial history than the one on which we are now meeting. Together with the rest of the Marianas, it was first colonized long before most other island groups even found a place on Western maps. We might consider island Micronesia, then, a showcase of colonialism, past and present.

The Carolines, Marshalls and Marianas were ruled by four different nations in turn, one of them an Asian country (Japan). Each of these colonizing nations espoused its goals and employed its own strategies in the islands it ruled. This procession of colonial powers offers a rare opportunity for us to compare the colonization process under several flags. But it offers us much more than this. It affords us a view of the differing ways in which six or more cultural groups responded to the various forms of colonial rule.

The Yapese, for instance, collaborated as willingly with the Germans as the Marshallse did, but for quite different reasons. Marshallse chiefs, who had extensive land rights, profited so handsomely from tax collection and their cut of the copra trade that some of them had a higher yearly income than the German commissioner. Yapese village chiefs, who had no claim over any other land than their own estates, did not stand to profit financially, but could call on the German police force to bolster their authority among the villagers and punish those who were slow in responding to their call for village labor. In Chuuk people found in German rule what they needed: a strong central government that would rid them of the enervating warfare they had carried on from time
immemorial. In Palau and Pohnpei people were more divided in their response—the former along status lines and the latter by geographical districts. In Palau the chiefs worked with the Germans to rid themselves of the powerful sorcerers who were threatening to usurp them. On Pohnpei, the northern kingdom of Sokehs had especially strong grievances against the Germans, that lead to an uprising there, while the other kingdoms complied outwardly with German demands.

There are sometimes more effective ways of defeating colonialism than by open rebellion. Micronesians became skilled in working around foreign rulers to accomplish what they wanted. Most island societies worked out ways to satisfy, at least to a minimal degree, the expectations of their current colonial ruler, while using the system to achieve their own aims and minimizing damage to their societies. Yapese chiefs, for example, used two or three colonial administrations to shore up their authority, but successfully prevented their rulers from intruding in village affairs. Neither Germans nor Japanese ever tampered with the political workings of the village, acquired land within the villages, or even intermarried with Yapese to any notable degree. Other island groups drew the line differently. Palau encouraged intermarriage and surrendered large amounts of land, especially to the Japanese, to provide the inflow of money needed to fuel the competitive accumulation of riches that had always been central to the Palauan way of life.

The experience of working around foreign governments for a century stood Micronesians in good stead in recent years as the new nation states negotiated for their future political status. Well aware that the US intended to maintain its political influence in the northern Pacific, the island nations have accepted this as a non-negotiable premise and tried to turn it to their advantage. In an effort to make the best of the geopolitical realities and the battle between superpowers for dominance in the Pacific, they have maintained strong ties with the US in their new political statuses. To the newly independent countries of the south Pacific, this may have seemed like an unacceptable compromise. To Micronesian decision-makers, however, it appeared the only realistic course.

Consequently, the Micronesian states, even those that proclaim their sovereignty, have chosen to maintain continuing political and economic bonds with their former colonizer, the US. While accepting the realities of their situation, as they were compelled to do in earlier colonial times, they are using their present political status to advance their own programs and goals. As a result, there are now multiple political systems in Micronesia: commonwealth, territorial status, and free association with the US in all its finer variations. There is also, of course, the outright independence that Nauru and Kiribati have enjoyed for some years now.

Even these quasi-legal terms mask some of the differences between the societies and what they hope to achieve. Chuuk, one of the states of the FSM, has come to depend on an external government to keep the peace, for it has never had a very highly developed system of government beyond the lineage. Yap and Pohnpei have had more elaborate traditional political systems, and Kosrae was forced to invent one after the collapse of its indigenous chiefly system in the last century. All need the American money to some degree or other. They feel that, with US financial aid and their control over their own government, they can gradually move towards self support and a greater degree of political autonomy in the future. The irony is that Guam and the Northern Marianas, which have made such rapid economic gains that they can now support their own governments, are bound much more tightly to the US by virtue of their political status than their more indigent neighbors. Guam and the Northern Marianas may have the money to become independent, but they no longer enjoy this political option, and may have even lost the will to be independent.

It may be worth noting that Micronesia, unlike some other parts of the Pacific, has had a
relatively free hand in realigning its boundaries. Nauru, for instance, was joined with the Marshall Islands under German rule for a time. At the beginning of World War I, it was seized by Australia and subsequently ruled as a trust territory. It became independent in 1968, some years before the Ellice Islands separated from the Gilberts to become independent. Whatever fragile unity the Carolines, Marshalls and Marianas enjoyed since the beginning of this century was fractured in the course of its status negotiations during the 1970s. What was once the Trust Territory of the Pacific has now become four separate political entities. All of which simply shows that even the boundaries established or ratified during colonial years are far from permanent.

But this conference proposes to do more than consider examples of colonization at work. In fact, one of its major concerns is the decolonization of history. There are several issues that we can expect will be discussed here, even if not addressed explicitly in the presentations. It may be well to review some of these here.

First, there is the old question that has dogged Americans, Australians and Europeans for years. Who may presume to do Pacific history, and under what terms? By what right do we Westerners presume to make the judgments and interpretations that are so much a part of our craft? Who are the people we are attempting to describe and what claim do they have upon our work—not only to be portrayed accurately, but to be represented in making the judgments that we have arrogated to ourselves? An old and tiresome question, as I was once told when I tried to discuss this with someone, but important nonetheless. Let me simply say that the number of Islanders participating in this conference is an encouraging sign. There are new indigenous voices being heard today, and they are well represented at this conference.

Second, what is the proper medium of history? Many of the best intentioned of us foreigners have assumed that the natural vehicle of history was the written word. But this assumption, I am happy to note, is being challenged in one of the conference sessions on historiography. History need not be read; it can be performed. Other media—dance, song, oral tales and the graphic arts—are just as suitable for expressing history and far more congenial to most island peoples. If the only thing we did at this conference was to broaden the term "historian" to include more than those of us who fill blank pieces of paper with words, we would have done a great thing. At least we would have finally rid ourselves of the arrogance of thinking that we possess a monopoly on Pacific history. This may not completely still the identity concerns that plague Western practitioners of history (and perhaps it should not), but it could free us to do what we can do best, even as it calls our attention to the many others who can rightly be called our colleagues.

Third, what additional tools of the trade do we need in order to practice history in the Pacific? What do we foreigners have to learn from Pacific Islanders by way of a methodology of history? How can we see to it that the people we describe will not become mere objects rather than subjects, voiceless because we do not possess their words. What can we do to ensure that they do not become simply a generalized faceless mass? I believe that this issue will emerge in the sessions on historiography, but let me touch briefly on one or two possible implications.

If history of the Pacific is really to be done island-style, then it will have to be history by consensus, a point taken up by DeVerne Smith (1991) in a review of Parmentier's book on Palau. It is not enough to record the "truth" of the matter; that truth must be asserted by all parties with a major stake in the question. Hence the historian is not the final arbiter of truth, the one who after analyzing and contrasting variant forms makes the judgment as to what actually happened and why. He or she is more the meeting house secretary, or the chairman of the committee, the one who
negotiates the compromise that will prove acceptable to all parties. In island practice, variant forms or ideas are not openly discussed, but are hidden from view so as not to disturb the appearance of consensus.

What meaning does this have for those of us who are accustomed to doing history in the solitary splendor of our office or study? However far-ranging our sources, we do history by ourselves, as individuals seeking to understand and impose meaning on what we have heard or read or experienced. Very few of us work in the meeting house where agreement must be worked out slowly and political deals made over kava or the local drink of choice. We who are so concerned about "Pacificizing" our histories might take better account of what meaning consensus history might have for us as we practice our trade. This is all the more true since, as Smith points out, our histories take on an authoritativeness that we may never have intended. In this day of increasing literacy in the Pacific, they are often consulted by Islanders and used for their own historical reconstructions on such sensitive issues as land law, chiefly genealogies, migration, and other things.

And that leads us to the fourth and final question: What is the proper point of departure for historical inquiry? Western historians, in principle if not always in practice, pride themselves on serving the truth. We toil in the belief that there is an essence, buried deep within the complexity of the facts and the one-sided accounts with which we work, that can be reached. Our hope is that what comes from our word processors will approach "what truly was," even if we know that we can never entirely capture it. Yet, I know of few Islander historians who would adopt such a clinically sterile notion of the truth. Micronesians are unabashedly pragmatic about their goals: to serve the "truth" of society as it exists today, or as it should exist if the present order were properly righted.

The reconstruction of island history that is going on today might be compared to the "invention of custom" that is absorbing the attention of anthropologists everywhere in the Pacific. Both may serve the very practical, and often political, purpose of furnishing the underpinnings for the present social order. This should be no surprise to any of us, for Herodotus, the authors of the Pentateuch, and just about everyone else who did history for so long worked from the same premises and for the same reasons. The canons that guide our historical research today are a recent invention, no more than a century or two old.

My point here is not to belittle local historical methods at the expense of the modern ones in which some of us were trained. It is to ask Western historians and those Islanders trained in that tradition how far they are prepared to go to accommodate island history. If we are going to pride ourselves on doing history Pacific-style, then we should be ready to go a good deal further than we have already. Authentic Pacific history means far more than a pen in a brown hand rather than a white hand. In fact, it may mean taking up the nose flute or guitar rather than the pen, in the first place. It also means different presuppositions about "truth," and different modes of inquiry into the truth. It means a very different orientation to our work, far more different than we have acknowledged in our historiographical musings up to now. Perhaps far more different than any of us in this room is capable of making.

These four issues, and the many others that are related to them, will not be resolved at this conference, but they may form the backdrop of our dialogue in the various sessions. Whatever happens, we should at least recognize one thing. The genuine indigenization of Pacific history involves more complex questions than are normally dealt with in the prefaces of our books. Let us not be discouraged, however; we can do good history without trying to pass it off as bogus "tropicalized" history.

Lastly, I would like to offer an observation or two on the direction of Pacific history in our day, even at the risk of appearing banal. Pacific history, like all history, begins with a story to
tell. For many reasons, its story has tended to focus on the confluence of traditions, local and Western, in the area. Its concern has been largely to impact of these more recent forces on these island societies, small and vulnerable as they are. What changes did the early copra trader bring to these islands? How were the islands affected by the Spanish-American War? For that matter, what has been the effect of the oil price hike on the local economy?

On another level, however, Pacific history tries to tell the story behind the story. Its growing interest is not just to chronicle the evolution of the island societies as one group after another—from early European explorers to the US Marines—hit the beach. Pacific history today tries to lay bare the workings of these societies, their psycho-cultural guts, to reveal the why and wherefore of their response to the outsiders' imposition. It is not enough, for example, to know that the Pohnpei chieftainship survived German land reforms in which land was granted fee simple to people who had been only tenants before. We must know why. How is it that certain foreign elements were totally rejected, others adopted with some modification, and still others incorporated with almost no change?

Our pursuit is to understand not just how meanings have changed, but the very dynamics of the change process in each culture. Like the anthropologists with whom they fraternize and collaborate, historians are becoming absorbed in the study of the cultural workings of Pacific societies. It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that we are on a quest to identify the shape of some cultural analogue to the DNA molecule—the inner mechanism that determines the shape and form of the future society.

There are other levels, too. As we historians run out of shoreline to survey on these rather small islands, there is nowhere to go but inward. So we explore other questions, on still other levels, often having to do with our own identity. Who are we, self-proclaimed historians with degrees on the wall to attest to our competence, to practice our trade in others' homelands? What are the epistemological assumptions under which we work, and how do these differ from those of the people we study? What claim do the people whose history we study have upon our work? Is our historical work, when all is said and done, a truer image of ourselves than of the peoples about whom we write?

All of this leads us full circle, in our work as in this talk. Yet we—and, we can hope, the people whose past we study—are richer for all our academic meanderings. My sincere hope is that this conference will, in some small way, contribute to the fruitfulness of our studies, just as they will have contributed, again in a small way, to the self-identity of the peoples of the Pacific.

REFERENCES

own needs." Australian Senator Patricia Giles indulged in some uncommon self-criticism by referring to the Royal Commission on the deaths of Aborigines in police custody which, she said, indicated the 99 people who died "were victims of entrenched and institutionalized racism and discrimination".

The government, however, had accepted almost all the recommendations of the commission and was determined to stop such incidents in future.

Fiji's Senator Afi Litia Cakobau, unsurprisingly, invoked the intentions of the year to bless the new constitution which, she said, was intended to "protect and promote the special "indigenous position" of the indigenous Fijian people by giving them a majority of seats and by according recognition to the Great Council of Chiefs. This was, she claimed, in accordance with the "protective provisions in the constitutions of several other member countries of the UN". It was an interesting analogy, which was not, however, pursued by anyone else.

By the end of the evening, the weary delegates found the cultural evening had started without them. Indeed one group of about 30 was prevented from entering the auditorium by the UN security guards. Despite their motley costumes, they did not have the right pass.

But there was one clear victory for the first people that day. The guard backed down when he saw the determination and anger of the crowd shouting that "it's our evening". It was a neat parable, of the fact that the peoples have to fight to gain control of their own year, let alone their own lands.

The New Zealand proof

NEW ZEALAND has continued to work towards addressing and trying to resolve claims of the Maori people since the Treaty of Waitangi Act, passed by parliament in 1975. In its reports to the United Nations working group, the New Zealand delegate has outlined the steps being taken in New Zealand.

New Zealand's attempts to address Maori claims began in 1975 when parliament passed the Treaty of Waitangi Act, which in turn established the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate claims from 1975. This was amended in 1985 to allow addressing claims dating back to the first signing of the treaty on February 6, 1840.

In his statement to the UN, the head of the New Zealand delegation outlined his country's determination "to face up to matters which have gone wrong in the past, and to seek agreement to resolve them in a satisfactory way". There has also been a quickening of the pace at which claims are to be resolved. "Our approach to negotiations is far less adversarial than in the past", says delegation head Roger Farrell.

Significant developments he outlined to the UN last year were - a procedure by which surplus Crown land held by Railcorp would be disposed of allowing Maori interests to be protected; commitment to rebuild Maori presence in the fishing industry; the Ka Awea report relating to Maori health, education, training and economic resource development; the setting up of the Ministry of Maori Development. The government is also determined disparities between Maori and other New Zealanders in education, training, health and resource development do not continue.

Above all, the government is committed to looking at the treaty "for guidance as we navigate this last decade of the 20th century".
Colonial Rule Dismantled: Australia and New Zealand
by
Terence Wesley-Smith
(24 February 1992)

INTRODUCTION

World War II marked the beginning of the end for Australian and New Zealand colonial rule in the Pacific. The disruption and destruction of war caused discontent among some of the colonised, and obliged the colonial powers to take a much more active interest in their dependencies than heretofore. More important, the war and its aftermath forced Australia and New Zealand to redefine their roles in a rapidly-changing international order. It was international considerations and pressures, more than the needs and demands of the colonised, that caused Australia and New Zealand to withdraw from their Pacific territories in the decades after World War II.

THE GLOBAL AND METROPOLITAN CONTEXTS

Post-war foreign policies in Australia and New Zealand were conditioned by the ongoing realities of small size, lack of military and diplomatic resources, and isolation from global centers of political and economic power. Considerable diplomatic energy was devoted to creating new international and regional organisations in a search for collective security. In this work, the leaders of both countries took a special interest in the fate of the colonised peoples of the world.¹

¹This excerpt from article discusses the Treaty of Waitangi.
positions, New Zealand officials began to promote the idea that it should become the instrument of the fono rather than of the New Zealand government.

With the establishment of the budget advisory committee in 1979 as a cabinet-like body, the stage was set for a rapid transition to a fully responsible Westminster system of government when the time came. Tokelau inched closer to this goal in 1988 when it formally adopted its own symbols of nationhood, a flag and a national anthem.

DECOLONISING NEW ZEALAND

Although New Zealand was spurred by changing international norms and attitudes to decolonise its Pacific Island territories, there was no immediate pressure to dismantle colonial structures within New Zealand itself. Dispossessed of most of their land in the nineteenth century, Maori tribes remained dominated politically, economically, and culturally by the Pakeha (European) majority. Dissident Maori movements had been intermittent and localised, and posed little threat to Pakeha hegemony. With no compelling reason to change its paternalistic ways, the Department of Maori Affairs continued to espouse an ideology of "one people" that envisioned the eventual assimilation of Maori people into the cultural mainstream.39

Pressure for change came from Maori movements that became increasingly aware, assertive, and politically mobilised in the decades after World War II. Dramatic demographic changes provided an important impetus for the post-War Maori resurgence. Not only
was the Maori segment of the population growing rapidly, but it was becoming increasingly urbanised. Before World War II, about 90 percent of the Maori population lived in rural areas. By 1990, the Maori population had quadrupled to more than 400,000, 75 percent of whom lived in urban areas.  

Urbanisation heightened Maori awareness of the unequal distribution of economic and political power in New Zealand, and facilitated political mobilisation. Given the significance of land for Maori culture and identity, it was not surprising that land issues were the catalyst for the Maori mobilisation of the 1970s. The massive land rights protest march from the north of the North Island to Wellington in 1975, the ongoing conflict over the ownership of the Raglan golf course, and the occupation of disputed land at Bastion Point in Auckland between January 1977 and May 1978, were among the events that served to raise Maori political consciousness.

Some land grievances concerned the historical alienation of Maori land, while others involved more recent incursions by the state. All drew attention to the state's failure to honor the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, by which Maori chiefs had ostensibly accepted the sovereignty of the British Crown in 1840 in return for the protection of their property rights and culture.

As Maori dissent gathered strength in the 1980s, highly educated and articulate Maori leaders made the Treaty of Waitangi the focus of their activism. By continually drawing attention to the Treaty, groups like the Waitangi Action Committee appealed to
an emphasis on legalism and justice in Pakeha political ideology. It was no surprise when Mana Motuhake, a political party formed by a disaffected former Minister of Maori Affairs Matiu Rata in 1980, made ratification of the Treaty one of its central policy objectives.41

Focussing on the Treaty gave moderate Maori leaders an opportunity to seek redress within Pakeha legal and political structures, but it also allowed more radical leaders to denounce as fraudulent the process by which Britain had acquired sovereignty over New Zealand in 1840. In the English language version of the Treaty, the purpose of the first article is clearly to transfer sovereignty over New Zealand from the Maori chiefs who signed the Treaty to the British Crown. However, in the Maori language version the neologism kawanatanga is used for "sovereignty," even though its literal meaning is closer to "governance". As Ward notes, it is likely that the chiefs in 1840 understood this kawanatanga to be "a kind of overarching authority, intended mainly to protect their chieftainships and their lands".42 It is highly unlikely that they would have signed the Treaty if the full meaning of sovereignty had been represented. For radicals like Donna Awatere, this was a further justification for the full restoration of Maori sovereignty.43

By the early 1980s, the movement for Maori self-determination had gained considerable ideological coherence, and was fast becoming a force to be reckoned with in New Zealand politics. In the face of competition for voters from Mana Motuhake, the Labour Party committed itself to some fundamental
reforms in Maori affairs before the 1984 general election. After Labour was elected to government, legislation was introduced to greatly strengthen the Waitangi Tribunal, a body established in 1975 "to provide for the observance and confirmation of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi". By extending the jurisdiction of the tribunal retrospectively to 1840, and making considerable resources available to it, the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 "opened the whole of New Zealand's colonial history to scrutiny, on terms laid down by the Maori".44

Although the Tribunal had only recommendatory powers, some of its findings were given the force of judicial precedent by the superior courts. The landmark decision in this respect came in June 1987 when the Court of Appeal found in favor of the Maori Council in a case concerning the State Owned Enterprises Act of 1986. The Court noted that Section 9 of the act in question had invoked the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and concluded that this had "the impact of a constitutional guarantee" within the field covered by the act.45

The Court of Appeal also argued that the principles of the Treaty would have to be defined, since they had been given the full force of law in this and other statutes. In 1989 the government announced a set of five principles by which the state would act "when dealing with issues that arise from the Treaty of Waitangi." The principles reflected and formalised recent government practice on such matters, but were greeted with outrage by many Maori leaders.46
The first three of these principles arose from the wording of the Treaty itself, and from the findings of the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal. The Kawanatanga Principle (or Principle of Government), confirmed that the basis of the treaty was an exchange of sovereignty, which gave the government the right to make laws, for protection of rangatiratanga (chieftainship). Rangatiratanga was defined in the Principle of Self Management to mean a guarantee to Maori iwi (tribes) of "the control and enjoyment of those resources and taonga (possessions) which it is their wish to retain". The Principal of Equality defined equality in terms of the actual enjoyment of social benefits, as well as equality before the law.

The most significant practical expression of these three principles was the 1988 proposal to radically restructure the mechanisms by which government services were delivered to Maori communities. This involved the devolution of the bulk of the power and resources of the Department of Maori Affairs to a plethora of self-governing iwi authorities representing the various tribes. For some, the empowerment of iwi authorities represented a genuine attempt to make government more responsive to Maori aspirations and needs. For others, however, it represented an abrogation of the state’s responsibility to address Maori grievances, and a threat to pan-Maori solidarity.

Although the final two principles identified by government had been foreshadowed in the pronouncements of the Tribunal and the courts, they owed more to political pragmatism than to the substance of the Treaty. The Principle of Co-operation suggested
that the two communities are united by a sense of common purpose, and appeals to them to exercise good faith, reason, and balance, in the resolution of issues. Finally, the Principle of Redress imposes a responsibility on the Crown to provide a process for the resolution of grievances. However, the provision of redress "must take account of its practical impact and the need to avoid the creation of fresh injustice." These two principles were of crucial importance because they effectively set limits on the social and economic revolution that might result from the full implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The limiting effect of these two principles was clearly demonstrated in the resolution of tribal claims under the Treaty of Waitangi to ownership of the whole of New Zealand's fisheries. These rights were effectively confirmed in 1987 by the Court of Appeal, which ordered the government to reach a settlement with the Maori claimants. After considerable negotiation, the parties agreed to a fifty-fifty split of the disputed fishing quotas, but with the tribes' share being transferred over a twenty-year period. However, the government was forced to retreat from even this position in the face of considerable opposition from the fishing industry and the Pakeha electorate. It offered instead 10 percent of the fishery, to be transferred over a four-year period, along with an immediate grant of $NZ10 million to develop the Maori commercial fishing industry. The fate of the remaining 90 percent was deferred, to be fought over in the courts.
In this instance, Maori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi were substantially modified by appeals to the Principle of Cooperation, and by the pragmatic need to take account of the "practical impact" of government actions on the entrenched interests of the Pakeha majority.

The events of the post-War decades, and especially since the mid-1980s, have transformed the Maori community into an effective political force, "awakened, articulate and assertive".\(^{51}\) Maori aspirations are no longer seen in terms of concessions to be wrung from a paternalistic and Pakeha-dominated state, but in terms of indigenous rights arising, in the first instance, from the Treaty of Waitangi. The struggle is for the systematic dismantling of structures, institutions, and ideologies that have insured the domination of Maori by Pakeha since the nineteenth century.

The decolonisation of New Zealand is incomplete. By the time the labour government lost office in 1990, the initial enthusiasm for its reform efforts had given way to widespread frustration. Few Maori leaders believed that government’s version of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi would deliver the desired true partnership with the Pakeha. For more radical leaders, the principles represented yet another cynical attempt to maintain the colonial status quo. If aroused Maori expectations are not realised in the future, alternative visions of a separate Maori nation, or even full Maori sovereignty over Aotearoa, may acquire broader significance and support.
Another factor likely to keep the momentum going is the increasing recognition accorded to "indigenous rights" in international bodies such as the International Labour Organization and various agencies of the United Nations. New Zealand has played an active role in the development of these emerging norms of international law and is likely to take them just as seriously as it did earlier formulations of the principle of self-determination.\textsuperscript{52}

CHANGING AUSTRALIAN PRIORITIES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

In 1946, Australian Prime Minister J.B. Chifley told parliament that New Guinea was "of such importance to the safety of this country that nothing but absolute control" could form the basis of the proposed trusteeship agreement with the United Nations.\textsuperscript{53} Nevertheless, other terms of the agreement for New Guinea, as well as United Nations provisions applicable to the non-self-governing territory of Papua, ensured that Australia's "absolute control" of these territories would cease eventually.\textsuperscript{54}

The pace and direction of change in Papua New Guinea in the post-war period were profoundly influenced by the philosophy and priorities of Paul Hasluck, minister for territories from 1951 to 1963.\textsuperscript{55} Hasluck's policy of "uniform development" was based on the premise that all Papua New Guineans should benefit equally from development efforts. He committed significant resources to improvements in public health, and towards the goal of universal primary education.\textsuperscript{56} He also initiated the rapid expansion of administrative control, especially into the great Highlands
Culture and Commerce
— the double-edged sword of the Maori fight-back

By Karen Mangnall

JOHN TAMIHIRE is a renaissance man. He’s in the vanguard of a Maori awakening. As the chief executive of West Auckland’s Te Whanau o Waipareira Trust, John Tamihere, goes into battle clad in a natty business suit, wielding his law degree and the corporate plan. Local Maori are “clients” who achieve “successful outcomes” by “accessing” the trust’s “outputs”.

“For us to be around in five or 10 years, there’s nothing better than talking back to the powers-that-be in their own language.” Tamihere gives a saboteur’s grin. “It excites them to see a clone.” Tamihere admits his vocabulary is a shock to some Maori. “They’re happy hiding on a mattress at a hui on a marae,” he says. “But when they get around a conference table they’re not up to it.” Tamihere says. “We must always hold true to the traditions handed down by our ancestors... but have to learn the skills of the Pakeha.”

Te Whanau o Waipareira is learning those skills so well, and training Maori so effectively, the trust is beginning to erode the monopoly of education and skills training held by state schools and polytechnics. So far 680 trainees have passed through Waipareira’s vocational training programs ranging from agriculture, bone carving, catering and computers to telemarketing and panel beating.

“We say the polytechs are imposters,” says Tamihere. “So started our own training. This year Waipareira filled half the 260 jobs created nationally from Maori ACCESS programs.” Tamihere says Waipareira has an 85 per cent pass rate on its own vocational schemes compared to the massive attrition Maori students suffer at polytechnics. “We train people, not just Maori either, ranging from illiterates to those wanting to start their own businesses.”

The trust has an above average success rate in its MANA venture capital fund. Of the 60 entrepreneurs put through small business training, 30 are now in business. They are kept under close monthly scrutiny by Waipareira’s accounting and legal units, plus an advisory group of 15 successful retired business people from West Auckland.

“We are now the only Maori organisation in the country contracted by the Labour Department to provide this range and level of skills training,” says Tamihere. Waipareira has taken the program one step further and now employs some of its graduates to provide contract services, like garbage collection, for local authorities and other agencies.

Waipareira and the nearby Hoani Waititi Marae are pan-tribal, reflecting the 85 per cent of Maori who now live in urban areas. John Tamihere says Waipareira is putting together the pieces of Maori social and economic structures shattered by decades of relocating Maori workers to manual labour in the cities, and by “pepper-potting” Maori families in Pakeha suburbs. The appalling statistics on health, unemployment, crime and imprisonment bear witness to the lost generations of Maori.

“Everybody calls them Maori, but do they know who they are? No,” says Tamihere, “So we need to bridge that lack of self-esteem and language is the key component in that.”

In 1983, Aroha Sharples helped set up at Hoani Waititi Marae one of the first kohanga reo, or Maori pre-schools, in New Zealand. Aroha Sharples says initially kohanga reo graduates would get to a state primary school and be assessed as illiterate in English. “But because no-one measured their competancy in Maori language, these children were considered to be completely illiterate. So we had parents refusing to send their five-year-olds to primary school. That’s why we started the kura kaupapa in 1985.”

The country’s first Maori primary and intermediate school has enabled kohanga reo graduates to continue their education using Maori as the sole language of instruction and directly involving the children’s extended families in their schooling. As kura kaupapa principal from 1988 to the end of 1991, Aroha Sharples says the benefits of the system are now evident as the first crop of graduates entered state secondary schools this year.

“I see those students being very confident about furthering their education at higher levels,” she says. “All five graduates are in the third form but two of them are studying for School Certificate Maori and the other three are...
SOUTH PACIFIC REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME (SPREP)

- COASTAL MANAGEMENT OFFICER

...for the position of Coastal Management Officer with the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), based in Apia, Western Samoa.

The organisation established by the governments and administrations of countries and territories of the South Pacific to provide advice and assistance directly or through consultants, for formulating and implementing SPREP Action Plan and for securing donor assistance. It is headed by a Deputy Director, and aided by a team of professional staff recruited from the region and support staff recruited in Western Samoa.

As a coastal officer, you would undertake a variety of tasks. 

1. Management of coastal resources. 
2. Project management. 
3. Coordinating activities with other regional bodies. 
4. Preparing reports and proposals. 
5. Conducting field surveys. 
6. Public relations.

...the position of Coastal Management Officer with SPREP, based in Apia, Western Samoa...
WEST PAPUA

When Indonesia became independent in 1949, nationalists claimed all former Dutch territory in the area as Indonesian. West Papua, however, remained a Dutch colony under UN supervision as it was a culturally and geographically distinct territory. In 1962 Indonesia invaded West Papua and US diplomatic pressure helped secure UN acceptance of the takeover. The following year the UN transferred control of West Papua to Indonesia on the condition that a plebiscite be held in 1969 to allow West Papuans the right to self-determination. At the plebiscite - the so-called "Act of Free Choice" - only 1,025 carefully selected West Papuans had a vote. Despite widespread protest the process was accepted by the General Assembly of the UN. West Papua, renamed Irian Jaya, became the 26th province of Indonesia.

The vast, unexploited resources of West Papua had attracted Indonesian attention. West Papuans have been forcibly resettled to make way for mining and other foreign investment projects. Papuan forest communities have even been subjected to forced labour for logging companies. In an attempt to integrate West Papua into Indonesia, the Indonesian government has moved hundreds of thousands of Javanese and Sumatrans to West Papua, under its transmigration program. The Indonesian goal is to submerge and assimilate the indigenous West Papuans.

All West Papua political organisation were banned in 1963. With no legal redress for their opposition, many resorted to armed resistance and joined the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Free West Papua Movement). Resistance to Indonesian occupation remains strong. The OPM continues rural guerilla warfare and there are periodic urban demonstrations against Indonesian rule. Human rights violations and increased violence by the Indonesian armed forces, coupled with land alienation resulting from transmigration, has caused over 10,000 West Papuans to cross the border into Papua New Guinea as refugees.
The lost world of Irian Jaya

IRIAN JAYA - or West Papua - is a corner of our planet conducive to superlatives because of its natural and cultural wonders. But it often falls victim to cliches about man emerging from the stone-age and over-simplifications.

The western part of the island of New Guinea - taken over by Indonesia from the Dutch during the 1960s - embraces unique cultures and a fantastic array of flora and fauna. But man, beast and plant alike are all threatened by outside pressures. For example, virtually all of Irian Jaya is covered by logging licences.

The shortcomings of the Indonesian colonists - whether arising from indifference, ethnocentrism or greed - are only partly balanced by more positive influences.

Irian Jaya's rugged central mountain range - 2000 kilometres long with peaks more than 4500 metres high - was formed only a few million years ago, as tectonic plates on the earth's surface collided. As a result of those geological events, it is possible today to stand on the snow covered glacier of the Cartensz Pyramid - only four degrees south of the equator - and view the Arafura Sea in the distance.

Australian Robert Mitton, whose family posthumously compiled the marvelous book The Last World of Irian Jaya from his writings, was captivated by the natural beauty of these mountains. He wrote of bare grey summits rupturing the green skin of the forest. Mitton also became engrossed with the land's peoples. The rich cultural tapestry ranges from penis-gourd wearing highlanders with sophisticated agricultural irrigation systems to wood-carving lowland Asmat gatherers of the sago palm, who traditionally lived their lives totally naked.

While Asian neighbours had long-traded with the Papuan people of the coast, and the Dutch explorer Jan Carstenz made contact in 1623, it was not until 1848 that the Dutch East Indies government claimed the western half of the island of New Guinea. And it was only in 1938 that the first expedition reached the densely populated Grand Baliem Valley off the central plateau. Dutch colonial rule was largely confined to the coast until World War II, with Christian missionaries - some of whom fell victim to cannibalism - constituting the only substantive influence in parts of the interior. Other areas remained free of outside contact until the 1970s and there are still isolated peoples in Irian Jaya who live lifestyles largely unaffected by the 20th century.

The Dutch colonialists, having succumbed to Indonesian nationalists further west, tried in vain to hold on to Dutch New Guinea, which they said was being prepared for democracy and independence. A 1969 United Nations-demanded act of self-determination for the people of Irian Jaya to decide their future political status was manipulated by Indonesia to the point where it became a farce. In the 20-odd years since, there have been bow-and-arrow supported guerilla activity and the movement of more than 12,000 refugees into neighbouring Papua New Guinea. Small-scale raids on Indonesian outposts and international protests seem unlikely to convince Jakarta to pack up their neo-colonial administration in Irian Jaya, and go home. In the 1980s there had been fears that expanding official trans-migration of settlers from other parts of Indonesia would numerically submerge the indigenous populations, alienating their land and resources, swamping their cultures. This threat has been eased by the economic failure of many trans-migration projects - with tragic consequences for the settlers themselves - and loss of financial backing.

Cultural dilemmas remain. While some Irian Javans cling tenaciously to life in inaccessible areas of forest or swamp, others live urban lives in the Indonesianised northern capital, Jayapura. In between are the bulk of Irian Jaya's estimated 1.2 million Melanesian inhabitants who straddle the cultural divide.

Back in the early 1980s, indigenous academic Dr Arnold Ap was building the Mambesak cultural movement, highlighting traditional dance and song, and building a museum at Cenderawasih University. While cooking and sowing had become the stuff of village-based training activities for women, Ap and his supporters promoted teaching of traditional crafts such as pottery and weaving. But the drive to retain cultural roots in the face of an overwhelming Indonesian administrative presence inevitably became politicised. Revitalised interest in indigenous culture spurred demands for a greater say in land-use and development planning. Ap - identified by ruthless elements in the Indonesian military as a trouble-maker - was arrested. Authorities said he was killed after escaping from prison, but family and supporters say he was tortured and murdered. His wife, Cory Ap, became a refugee at the now closed Blackwater refugee camp near Vanimo in PNG, but later resettled in Europe where she draws attention to the need to defend the cultural integrity of her homeland.

The museum Ap founded has since suffered from neglect and lack of funding. Recent visitors say many of the exhibits - including intricate and rare carvings - are deteriorating through lack of resources for proper conservation and that other exhibits seem to be missing.

The lament: children of Irian Jayan refugees at Blackwater refugee camp on the PNG/Irian Jaya border lamenting Indonesian rule during a visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation in the mid-1980s.
Pride and joy: Papeete's new Hotel de Ville, a $14.5 million showpiece inaugurated by French President Mitterand last month.

• COVER STORIES

A town like Papeete

There is no other place like this

By Karen Mangnall

Did you get to the party in Papeete last month? Papeete, capital of French Polynesia, the pearl of the Pacific, the island of love, entered its second century as a town.

The 100th birthday party was stupendous. Five weeks of dancing, singing, eating, drinking, sports, music and cultural exhibitions. All the best people were there.

The French President Francois Mitterand, his Prime Minister Michel Rocard and eight, count them, eight French Cabinet Ministers. Outrigger canoe teams from New Zealand, dancers from California and the Pacific Islands.

You didn't manage to make it? Well, you probably wouldn't afford it. And Papeete is beginning to wonder whether it can afford it, too. A town of 25,000 spending US$20M on a birthday party with tourism sliding downhill, a 90 per cent trade deficit, an estimated US$80 million territorial debt rising by US$5 million a month and 10,000 mainly young Tahitians jobless.

"It's true," said a local businessman. "Everybody fears for the future."

* * *

When President Mitterand inaugurated Papeete's new US$14.5M Town Hall, his words were captured in the ceremony of Apora's Parau and placed forever in a closed umete, or carved
“While we look at the beauty of your islands, we can also dream of their development. But your greatest wealth, after your people, is beauty. Nature. You must master nature while respecting it, and you must not allow, in any shape or form, the destruction of your natural heritage which is not only an immense source of potential wealth for you, but for the whole of humanity.”

“I await the day when Papeete, Tahiti and French Polynesia take their rightful place among the nations of the South Pacific... forward as equals among all the other peoples of this vast ocean.”

The omen joined his words with those of Mayor Jean Juventin:

“Papeete has been the melting pot of the cultural progress which today cements Polynesian firmly to the 21st century.

“Our capital, economic, administrative and political centre, has been the magnet which lures and holds people. It’s been the engineer of Polynesia’s expansion. Papeete’s history is merged with that of French Polynesia.”

The town is a tidal estuary of humanity, only 25,000 actually live in Papeete but each weekday twice as many pour in to work. Tahiti has about 60,000 cars, not counting commercial vehicles, and the ubiquitous Vespas.

The distant rumble begins about 5.30 each morning. By rush hour it’s nose-to-tail along the Boulevard Pomare. Papeete is the only Pacific Island country where you can sit for an hour in a traffic jam, to make a trip of a few kilometres. A brown haze coalesces above the main routes.

A French military census in 1847 recorded Papeete as having 1444 residents, 1045 chickens, 834 pigs — and 102 horses. A decade later, the French Governor ordered: “It is forbidden to gallop horses between Camp Uranie and Papeava bridge.” Offenders were liable for a 20 franc fine and any civil damages.

In Papeete, the way you drive is a cultural statement. “There’s a speed limit in Tahiti of 60km,” says one local. “But that’s not fast enough, so everybody does 90km an hour and still someone is passing you.” It’s the same on the motorway link, where the limit’s higher. Every day the two newspapers fill a column each with road accidents and deaths.

“Did you count how many traffic lights they’ve got?” asked an official Fijian visitor. “How many in Suva? Three? And one of those is a pedestrian crossing light.”

Once you’ve made it into Papeete, you park. “They have parking metres in Papeete,” says our motoring expert. “They’re beautiful parking metres: you can hang your fish on it or dry your shirt on it. But there’s no money in it.”

The traffic levels out from about 9am, hits a mini peak over the lunch hour, and tapers off mid-afternoon. Whatever the time of day, the main preoccupation is people watching. The best place is sitting in one of the many sidewalk cafes, lingering over a coffee, juice or local Hinano beer. But the second best place is behind the driving wheel. Every driver’s head is turned to check out who’s checking them out from the sidewalk. Prang city.

Even the relatively high price of petrol — about US$96c/litre doesn’t discourage locals from hopping in the car to go 200 metres down the road to the shops. In 1985, the French Assemblyman George Perrin noted: “In this country, the Europeans don’t take three steps on foot.”

At 4pm, the rumble begins again as the shopkeepers, clerks, bureaucrats, bank tellers and office workers head home to their villas in Pirae or Punaanui, or their lodgings in Fa’a. As the roar bounces off the waterfront buildings, and the oily haze filters up into the tree canopies, it wakes the old men who’ve slept the day away on a park bench in the shade of a banyan. They straighten their baseball caps and sit a bit dopily, backs to the traffic, quietly watching the ocean turn silver at dusk.

The map of Papeete is an anatomy of Tahiti’s power, wealth and race. Along the Pomare are the highrise shops and office complexes, the bastions of the Chinese and the demis, descendents of the Tahitians who married into European capital.

Behind are the government buildings, where the predominantly European bureaucrats multiply their tasks and budgets. Their business is recycling the US$5 million in direct French subsidies each month into wages, construction and services, the parasitic industries of aid dependence.

Even two or three blocks behind the wealthy waterfront face, the elegant, solid concrete buildings leach quickly into battered, two storey wooden shops with crowded apartments above, washing hanging on the balconies. And then back to the foothills are the modest houses, and the pockets of shanty accommodation, dotted with the local minmarkets. The population here is overwhelmingly Tahitian.

The average family has five children.

“There’s a subsidy of US$50 per month for each child until the age of 18,” says one observer. “If your rent is US$600 a month and the car payment is US$500, then there’s every incentive for low income families to have more children get a little extra to pay off the...
France pays, France controls

By Karen Mangnall

A DISGRUNTLED Les Nouvelles headline farewellled Francois Mitterrand from Tahiti last month after three days of relentless feasting: "A Presidential Visit to Polynesia for Nothing?" On the surface, an unexpected post from a francophobe bastion after only the third visit to the territory by a French head of state, and Mitterrand's first as President.

The customarily overwhelming Tahitian welcome was matched by the political wattage of Mitterrand's entourage. The President was joined by Prime Minister Michel Rocard and eight other Ministers of the Republic for the second meeting of the South Pacific Council.

Mitterrand himself was chief attraction at the inauguration of Papeete's Hotel de Ville, a US$14.5 million rose-and-cream replica of Queen Pomare IV's Palace. Mayor Jean Juventin said Papeete deserved a town hall to match its ambitions, which in this capital obviously run to Imperial chic — parquet floors, hand-painted wallpapers, chandeliers, palest green leather couches, satin drapes and wood paneling. The inauguration kicked off a month of celebrating Papeete's centenary, a marathon of dances, cultural festivals, sports and exhibitions costing an extra US$6 million. Not bad for a town of only 25,000 residents.

This widening gap between lavish expenditure and modest resources was Mitterrand's public focus, although he diplomatically avoided highlighting Papeete's own excesses. Residents who'd hoped for promises of more State subsidies to bail out French Polynesia's deepening economic recession, hoped in vain. What they got was a blunt economic diagnosis:

- Exports cover at most 10 per cent of imports;
- Rapid urban drift has sidelined agriculture and industry remains feeble;
- The burgeoning tertiary sector, with attractive salaries, thanks to massive metropolitan subsidies, has stimulated an "economy of consumption" with rocketing imports;
- The social cost is 15 per cent unemployment, the vast majority of the unemployed being young Tahitians, particularly those recently arrived on Tahiti nui from the islands;
- This disruptive threat is accentuated by demographics. The estimated population of 130,000 is growing rapidly and three-quarters live on Tahiti itself, many in the insanitary slums of bidonvilles, around Papeete, and Faa'a. Half this population is aged under 20.

Mitterrand acknowledged the widening gap between rich and poor is reflected all the more as Tahiti is touted as having one of the region's highest per capita incomes. The state is contributing US$25 million over the next five years to build 200 low-cost houses a year. Mitterrand sees education as the key to dealing with Tahiti's young workforce and developing the territory's agriculture, fisheries and tourism. But his lauding of the Augmenting gap between rich and poor is re-

The distribution of Papeete's wealth is in inverse proportion to Tahiti's population, three-quarters of which now lives on Tahiti-nui and depends on Papeete's economy: 68 per cent Polynesian, 17 per cent demi Polynesian, 10 per cent European and 5 per cent Chinese. More than half the population is under the age of 20. Most of the youth are Tahitian. Most have low educational qualifications. The Tahitian population is growing rapidly.

A new car — a Renault, Peugeot, Ford or Mitsubishi — costs about US$20,000. Each year Papeete sells some 3500 new cars, a stove will sell you back up to a thousand dollars, but who cooks in these modern kitchens?

And of course, cars.

A new car — a Renault, Peugeot, Ford and Mitsubishi — costs about US$20,000. Each year Papeete sells some 3500 new cars, a stove will sell you back up to a thousand dollars, but who cooks in Papeete, anyway? "The average house here has a colour television or microwave oven, he goes to Honolulu. Even with the price of the ticket, it works out cheaper. You see there are children. These guys get off the plane at Faa'a loaded up with goodies, feeling pleased with themselves for getting it at half the price of Papeete. They're smiling." And then they get to customs. "But that's okay because all these goodies are actually for your cousin over there who's a customs officer himself, and they wave you through."

Black pearls, Parisian designer jewelery, fashion clothes, imported shoes, stereos, televisions, stoves, washing machines, clothes driers. Clothes driers? Glassfronted patisseries with rows of fantastically rich pastries, pyramids of imported chocolates.

In the youth range, there's the skateboards, American surfwear, beach buggies, Surf Hawaii t-shirts, sneakers, shades, walkmans, the latest American pop cassettes, vespa motorcycles, windsurfers.

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These smiggies include the 35 per cent of Tahiti's workforce who pour into Papeete's government departments each day. At the day's end they go home to their US$1500 a month rented house in Pirae or Punaauia, or a US$600 a month apartment or small house in Papeete.

But if you're one of the 15 per cent unemployed, with your nose pressed to the glass, all that conspicuous consumption is an invitation of another kind.

Papeete's artificial economy, says French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, is a vicious cycle of more aid and greater dependence, with no break in sight.

It's an easy life, he says, but the aid can only last so long. "One day or another, under the
The economic situation is deteriorating. Tourism is in a major slump, imports rose 5 per cent last year to US$320 million while exports amounted to US$103 million, of which only US$46 million was locally produced, mostly from sales of black pearls.

Agribusiness, fisheries and aquaculture haven't shown any signs of becoming big employers or export earners despite millions spent in recent years on world-class R & D. And this exposes the great distortion of Mitterrand's economic diagnosis: the totally distorting effect of the Centre d'Expérimentation du Pacifique (CEP) and the Commission d'Énergie Atomique (CEA). To keep its nuclear force up with the superpowers, France pours about US$55 million per month directly into Tahiti's economy. The CEP alone provides 12.5% of local jobs, 55 per cent of all the territory's external financial aid, accounts for 25 per cent of imports and 22 per cent of the GDP.

The crushing impact of the CEP/CEA can be seen in the employment figures over the past 5 years. In 1962, before the CEP moved to French Polynesia, the primary sector provided 54 per cent of jobs and the tertiary only one third. Today, the service sector provides nearly three-quarters of all jobs and the primary sector only 11 per cent.

Today French Polynesia's main business is government. More than a third of employees are in the public sector (22 per cent in France), recycling metropolitan subsidies, particularly by spending inflated wages on imported goods sold by the rest of the tertiary sector at notorious markups. Tahiti's high cost structure — caused by the CEP, its welfare system, and import taxes ranging from 20-200 per cent — poses a daunting disincentive to potential investors.

So Francois Mitterrand struck at the core of French Polynesia's handout mentality by strongly suggesting the Territory soon adopt a direct tax on incomes. "The Polynesian tax system," he said, "based almost exclusively on consumption, can hardly respond to the obligation to distribute wealth more fairly." French Polynesia, he added, couldn't continue to be an exception within the Republic.

It sent a shiver through the middle class lay of government and private salaried workers. Personal income taxes would hit the most, rather than the small proportion of extremely wealthy businessmen. The main political parties rely on the middle class to win the voters so, with a difficult territorial election looming next March, it was no surprise that Territorial President Alexandre Leontieff indicated it would be politically expedient to leave the issue for the next Parliament.

The Territory raises about 80 per cent of its annual budget — US$750 million this year — from import taxes, so Leontieff's evasion was understandable. But it was precisely the attitude which Mitterrand addressed in his speech calling on the Territory to apply some rigorous accounting controls, and live within its budget. Leontieff insisted the 1990 budget would be balanced: a feat only possible after he'd squeezed Paris for a multimillion dollar to help compensate for a drop in revenue from the CEP's cutback in staff and imported materials.

Mitterrand said Tahiti, with the constant support of the State, now enjoyed "responsibility for its own affairs, the mastery of its own destiny." The Territory should settle down to explore its existing powers under the 1984 Statute (and modifications soon to be ratified by the French Parliament), exploring autonomy "to its limits".

Asphalted into the future, the French lai say: he who pays, controls. And, Tahiti hopes, vice versa.

**Selling fish from the back of a van.**

weight of inequality and its accumulated violence, there's going to be an explosion," he said.

Like the one in October 1987, when all the tensions of Tahiti's growing social inequalities, came together during a dockworkers' strike. In central Papeete, near the market, one empty shell of a shop stands as the sole reminder of the night of burning, looting and rioting which left Papeete looking like a war zone.

The outburst destroyed eight buildings, damaged more than 100 others at a cost of US$50 million.

Tahiti's consumption-based economy, warns President Francois Mitterand, cannot redistribute wealth fairly. Papeete's politicians should urgently consider taxing income, slowing down the spend, spend, spend, of the smigges, and encouraging investment in productive activities. Low cost housing and job training schemes are short term measures. What Papeete needs is jobs.

But Territorial President Alexandre Leontieff is preparing for a tough election in March so the tax debate is off until next year, if ever. Meanwhile, Papeete will soon get something new to spend money on — lotto. Leontieff expects Tahitians will spend US$10 million annually.

**A parable of neocolonial consumerism.** "Most of our cars are from Europe so they have yellow fog headlights. We have no fog here. And when it rains, as it does in Papeete, it's very hard to see at night with these yellow fog lights."

Papeete is a Chinese kind of town. About 100 Chinese labourers came to the town in the late 1860s when the Ati­maono cotton plantation went bust. They
The Chinese have the power but they don't have the people

a family basis.

Despite the inevitable jealousy such success brings, Tonseau doubts it will ever cause racial conflict like in Fiji or New Caledonia.

"In Tahiti, the Chinese have the power but they don't have the people. So that Tahitians are still living in their own country because they're a majority."

He attributes racial hostility in New Caledonia and Fiji to the fact that the major races "didn't have the chance to live together." The Chinese in Tahiti had abandoned their belief in living as a closed community: the younger generation was mixing more with the other races, French and Polynesian.

"Today you see a lot of Chinese living well with the French or Polynesians," he says. "But in Fiji, it is very very rare to see a Fijian and Indian married."

Such integration was inevitable, given Tahiti's Polynesian cultural roots and the French dominance of the education system.

"It is very difficult for today's generation to understand the past very clearly. My generation didn't get the chance to learn the Chinese language, roots or culture because it was a French education system and we didn't have the choice."

Tanseau describes himself as Polynesian with Chinese thinking. "The Chinese thinking makes the whole difference: it's more detailed than the Polynesians," he says.

But the Polynesian culture has taught the hardworking Chinese "happiness of living".

The older Chinese generation didn't know how to enjoy life because of their sheer drive for survival, Tanseau says. "But the Polynesians, being in their own land, enjoy living more. Integration is very good. The more integration you have, the more life goes easy."

Some occasional observations on Papeete from its connoisseurs:

"It has to be one of the most subsidised places in the world. There's not much prostitution here, they give that for free. But there's a prostitution mentality; how much money will you give me for this? How much money will France give me?"

"The French and Tahitians are very similar in some ways. Papeete combines some of the worst characteristics: you put the Tahitian attitude of iu with the French laissez faire and it's terrible."

Hollywood and the nuclear bomb can be considered the parents of modern Papeete.

In 1961, Hollywood's MGM studio decided to remake their 1930s blockbuster Mutiny on the Bounty, with Marlon Brando starring as Fletcher Christian. It coincided with the opening of Tahiti's new international airport at Faa'a and by November that year, MGM had more than 100 staff on location. Hundreds of Tahitians were on the MGM payroll as extras or technicians.

The unheard of payrates knocked the bottom out of the local labour market. "I used to get my trees aluminium-banded for five francs each," complained one plantation owner. "Now I offer 10 or 20 francs but nobody's interested. They're working for MGM."

Production squabbles dragged the filming on for a year. By the end, MGM's largesse had filtered into virtually every Tahitian home. The filming and a new burst of tourist had placed a premium on accommodation, pushing rents and property prices through the roof. Agriculture was abandoned as Tahitians began the exodus to Papeete and its environs which continues to this day. The service industry — cafes, restaurants, hotels, shops — boomed and prices rocketed.

Then the film crews departed, leaving Papeete desperate for something to take up the slack. They didn't have long to wait.
In 1963, President Charles De Gaul announced Tahiti, and Mururoa in particular, would host France's nuclear test programme. Local politicians had barely drawn breath to object when Papeete was flooded with 5000 soldiers, Foreign Legionnaires, and technicians.

There were no houses ready for them so they set up tents and then moved into hastily built shacks with no sanitation. Out of 35 acres of reclaimed coral reef, they created the Port of Papeete, a white claw dominating the town's harbour.

The expansion drew a huge workforce from the outer islands and a new wave of business people came out from France to cash in on the service industry boom. Papeete's population exploded to 15,000 people, creating insurmountable problems for the municipal council.

The arrival of the Contra d'Expérimentation du Pacifique (CEP), polarised politics. At first the opponents of nuclear testing, Pouvanaa's fellow activists for internal economy, Pouvanana's fellow activists for internal economy, were in the ascendant. Through the 1970s, the pendulum swung over to Pouvanaa's nominal successors whose agenda focussed on tapping into the massive French subsidies to mitigate rather than oppose the socio-economic impact of the CEP.

In 1977, Jean Juventin led Pupu Here Aia to a sweeping victory in the Papeete municipal elections and the new majority settled down to old preoccupations:

"Reconcile the town with its more disadvantaged citizens, correct the mistakes created by massive urbanisation, invent a new lifestyle and social interaction, renew the old and rundown areas, ease traffic flows and encourage a true collaboration with the town's residents."

The formula, actually delivered by Juventin at the May 16, 1990 Town Hall opening, has been a constant throughout Papeete's history.

Back in the 1880s, after King Pomare V finally ceded Tahiti to France, the Colony's General Council complained nothing was being done to help the chiefs of Pare to cope with the huge technical and financial demands of Papeete, a port of some 3000 residents.

On May 20, 1890, Papeete became a French Commune or municipality and the leader of the General Council, Francois Cardella, also became mayor — setting a trend of cross-fertilisation between territorial and municipal politics which continues today.

In 1891, a fellow councillor, Victor Raoulx, railed against Papeete's "infested boulves", its "piles of excrement" breeding infections, and the danger to public health by having abattoirs within the township. Raoulx caustically drew a contrast with the large sums of municipal funds devoted to entertainment and dances.

In 1950, Robert Auzelle drew up Papeete's first town plan while deploiring its overcrowded and rundown buildings, built on swampy ground often soaked with excrement because of bad sanitation systems.

Last month, Juventin said: "Only 100 years ago, Papeete was mere swampland. A century has not been long enough to overcome this great handicap."

The priorities? A new sewage system, a new road flanking the town to relieve traffic congestion, and a five-year State-sponsored programme to replace the bidonvilles, or slum areas, with low-cost housing.

Says a local politician on the problems of independence:

"Our problem is we live beyond our means. But it's done. There's nothing we can do about it. It's just too bad we've become a totally subsidised country. It's too late to say we wish it wasn't like this."

"The average Tahitian family is very, very materialistic. We cannot ask them to forget their video, their colour tv, their cars. If we ask people to sacrifice their material standard of living, to go back 20 years, there would be a riot.

"What we must do is prevent the inflation of this materialistic mentality. But it's true, we must stop somewhere."

Everyday when you open the newspaper, at every festival or public ceremony, they're there. Les Miss. The beauty queens. Dozens of them. Virtually every company worth its promotions budget sponsors a Miss.

The French sailors on R & R like to have their photos taken beside a Miss. "You see her," points one, a white line between his sunburn and new crew-nut. "That's a Miss Tahiti. I'm Mr Tahiti." And rushes off with his instamatic.

"I've never been chased as hard or as deliberately by women as I have since I got here," says a New Zealander posted to Papeete by his company. "It's practically the national sport here. I've heard it described like that as a joke, but it's actually true."

Papeete makes the chase easy. It has more than a dozen nightclubs not to mention the late-night bistro, bars and restaurants. Then there's the stroll. On an evening, you wander along the Boulevard Pomare, or to eat at dozens of restaurants, food vans, lined up with their neon signs along the waterfront.

It's a ritual almost as old as Papeete, writers earlier this century described it, only half jokingly, as the meat market.

Papeete has had 15 Aids deaths, with about 80 carriers diagnosed so far.
THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE:

KANAKY/NEW CALEDONIA
After the French annexed Kanaky in 1853 its indigenous people, called the Kanaks, were forced on to reservations. Although in the 1950s the Kanaks were given the rights to circulate freely out of the reservations and to vote, today they remain largely excluded from the mainstream of political and economic life. Unlike the Maohi, who comprise a majority of the population in Tahiti-Polynesia, the Kanaks comprise a 43% minority in Kanaky. With 30% of the world's nickel reserves, Kanaky is the world's third largest nickel producer. French interests control the export of nickel, which provides 98% of the colony's export earnings.

In 1984 the four main Kanak independence parties formed a coalition - the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) - headed by Jean-Marie Tjibaou. In the 1985 regional elections the FLNKS gained control of three of the four regions of Kanaky. French settlers countered with organized opposition. Violence and intimidation against Kanak communities intensified.

Tensions exploded in April-May 1988 when Kanak activists held 27 French soldiers hostage in caves at Ouvea. Though the Kanaks announced that no harm would come to the hostages, FLNKS attempts to negotiate a peaceful solution were rejected and the French government ordered a military attack on Ouvea. In the so-called "rescue" operation that followed French militia killed 19 Kanaks.

Tjibaou was still prepared to negotiate directly with the French Prime Minister and in August 1988 signed the Matignon Accords. A vote on independence will be held in 1998 and in the interim three autonomous provinces were created, two with a Kanak majority. While there were concessions on both sides, some Kanaks were disappointed that Tjibaou had not pressed harder in the negotiations. FLNKS leaders Tjibaou and Yeiwene were assassinated by extremist Kanaks on May 4, 1989. Yet, despite opposition on both sides, the Matignon Accords have so far prevented civil war in Kanaky/New Caledonia.
Can New Caledonia find consensus?

By Brendon Burns

THREE years after the signing of the Matignon Accords which ended a near civil war in New Caledonia, the peace is shattered only by the sounds of development. France is pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into the territory each year, as it attempts to “rebalance” the territory’s economy to give a greater share of resources to Kanaks.

But beyond the din of earthmoving machines and hammers, a different noise can now be heard. It is the early and sometimes ritualistic response to the word “consensus”.

The Matignon Accords are a process for developing New Caledonia’s economic and political infrastructure, not a solution on whether the territory should stay with France or become independent. All it provides on this score is the legal framework for a 1998 referendum, with scant detail on what voters will be asked to decide.

Jacques Lafleur, leader of the RCPR, Rally for Caledonia within the Republic, raised the issue of a consensus last April. Reputedly France’s fifth richest man, Lafleur has enormous mana in New Caledonia with white voters. His opponents also hold him in some respect for his role in negotiating in the Matignon Accords with Jean-Marie Tjibaou, FLNKS president until his assassination by a Kanak extremist in 1989.

In a recent press conference with visiting New Zealand journalists, Lafleur said the scheduled 1998 self-determination referendum will not settle the issue which divides Kanaks and Caledonians. At present, about 45 percent of the population are Kanak, a third claim French ancestry. Whatever the result of the 1998 vote, Lafleur said a decision cannot be imposed on a sizable minority of people.

Still noted for his sometimes hardline position, Lafleur does not now seem to automatically recoil from the word “independence”. He said he is not afraid of independence but is trying to understand what it might mean. “We are trying to be wise,” he told journalists in English at his waterfront office in the territorial assembly building in Noumea.

“At one time words would mean much more than we thought.”

A constitutional model suggested for post-1998 New Caledonia has been that of the Cook Islands. It is independent but Cook Islanders are citizens of New Zealand, which retains nominal responsibility for foreign affairs and defence. “It would be possible if everybody wants it,” said Lafleur, although this model is not quite what he would wish. “I have to tell you I am not willing independence. I am not going to lose my culture”.

Lafleur thereby signals the fears of many whites in New Caledonia. That under an independent New Caledonia (which would become Kanaky), they would lose their French lifestyle and culture.

“People who think they have rights because they are first in a country are going to have to stop saying because of this reason they have all the rights.”

Lafleur’s call for a consensus prior to 1998 has caused a split in the ranks of the Kanak Socialist Liberation Front. FLNKS president, Paul Neaoutyine, said Lafleur does not support independence, so there is nothing to talk about. He judges Lafleur to be simply trying to prolong the time for which New Caledonia remains a part of France. As far as he is concerned, accepting the Matignon Accords was the extent of compromise for Kanaks. Now, he said they should be working towards the goal of independence.

Neaoutyine is leader of Palika, the second biggest party within the FLNKS umbrella. The majority member is Union Caledonienne, whose leader, Francois Bureck, is prepared to attempt to reach a consensus with the RPCR. He said after meeting with President...
Mitterrand earlier this year that the concept of independence had “evolved and is no longer taken as meaning a break with France but rather a partnership.”

One interpretation is that the differences are more in public than private. Jacques Iekaw is a Kanak and senior administrator for economic development. Testifying to his broad acceptability is his recent appointment as the next Secretary-General of the South Pacific Commission, which oversees aid and development projects throughout the region. He said a confluence of opinion was emerging. No one wanted to go through another bout of civil war. Each side had to speak publicly to placate its militants, he said. But privately things were moving towards consensus.

Iekaw sees a fragmentation of the FLNKS as perhaps the biggest barrier to some negotiated settlement emerging. The potential for this can already be seen in the different positions towards consensus adopted by the more moderate Union Caledonienne and the somewhat radically-inclined Palika, although both support independence.

Through strength of personality, Jacques Lalleur has masked the disquiet in the white community about the accords and the on-set of the 1998 independence vote. The presence of three National Front members in the Southern province assembly indicates these concerns. National Front leader Guy George dismisses the Accords process as “bullshit”.

“I do not believe in miracles that make it possible to suddenly shake hands with your enemy.”

Many more people in New Caledonia question whether the process could continue if Jacques Lalleur were to quit or die. He has already had a heart attack. While being photographed on his office balcony he confessed to complete strangers a wish to stop working, something he has repeatedly voiced.

On a horsestall near La Foa, an hour and half’s drive from Noumea, Michel Lethizer said it would be a bad thing for Lalleur to quit or die. His respect for the UC leader is obvious, although he said if he were Lalleur he would get out of politics and enjoy the fortune amassed from nickel mining and investments.

Sporting a Penrith Panthers cap and Fosters t-shirt, this fifth-generation Caledonian could be Australian but for the language difference.

Lethizer looked for a farm in Queensland during the 1984 uprising. But his heart and need to converse in his native tongue brought him back to New Caledonia, where he now breeds some of the territory’s best racehorses. Lethizer is staunchly loyal, yet the only time he has been to France was to do his year’s compulsory military service.

While the Matignon Accords were working well, he thinks there is the potential for things to go bad again in the future. Pointing to the dry earth, he said this was where he intended to die. Even with the language barrier, his point was clear. Watching that determination is Paul Neautouine, who said while the FLNKS wanted to achieve the creation of Kanaky, a return to the unrest of the past is possible. “If we don’t obtain this, we will continue our struggle for independence.”

In the interim, much of his energy is taken watching the process towards the self-determination vote. He holds fears that participation may extend beyond the proposal to limit voters to those living in New Caledonia in 1998 and their descendants.

In spite of the potential for further conflict, a sense of hope has to be accorded New Caledonia. It has wealth unknown in other parts of the South Pacific. The supposed risk posed by an FLNKS policy to nationalise the lucrative nickel mines is not the bogey it may seem. The mining companies only lease their licences from the state, rather than own them. With a third of the world’s nickel output, New Caledonia has a valuable dimension to its economy which many countries would envy.

Already, the Kanak-controlled Northern Province has bought Jacques Lalleur’s huge mine at a give-away price that he proclaimed as a symbol of what could happen more widely. The mine is helping fund other development projects such as a new Club Med at Hienghene.

For all their generosity, the Matignon Accords have created a division which may need to be addressed in next year’s scheduled review.

Union Oceanienne represents those from Wallis Island, a French territory, and other minorities. Until recently, the Wallisians had solidly backed the RPCR. But Union Oceanienne leader Michel Hema said the Matignon Accords have excluded Wallisians from the fruits of development. Now, he proclaims very good relations with the FLNKS, although he remains hesitant about full-scale supporting independence. Essentially, if either of the two main alliances, FLNKS or RPCR, do not look after the interests of Wallisians, they will lose the support of this significant third force within New Caledonian politics.

In the interim, Michel Hema said his people, whom he insists are the poorest in the territory, want some of the benefits which the Matignon Accords are bringing to Kanaks.

Even if they have not healed all the divisions in New Caledonia, the Matignon Accords are an extraordinary process. Where else in the world has a colonial power been able to convince parties to put down their arms and spend 10 years working peacefully towards an independence vote?

Although sometimes dubbed “victims of history”, there is wide acceptance by Kanaks of the rights of those descended from French settlers to call New Caledonia their home, while retaining links with France. The form of this future linkage is the key to whatever consensus emerges. France’s attitude to the possible loss of its territory are unclear but Paris may be forced to show its hand on what plans it has for New Caledonia.

Michel Rocard, the French Prime Minister who signed the Accords, was doing more than playing for time and being nice to the Kanaks. He was trying to maintain France as a mid-sized power with a worldwide presence, including territories in the South Pacific, Caribbean and Indian Ocean. Equally, he was recognising France could no longer ignore the Kanak call for independence and continue to listen only to those who wish to remain loyal.

The French government also wants New Caledonia to look more to its own region and less to France. This would improve France’s standing in the South Pacific and reduce dependence on Paris. But so far, only Kanak leaders have shown any inclination to identify with their home region. Most whites in New Caledonia, not least Jacques Lalleur, feel some identity with New Zealand and Australia, but look disdainfully at other South Pacific nations.

France’s global ambitions already clash with its efforts to improve relations with the South Pacific. The determination to have a nuclear deterrent does not accord with the region’s wishes to be nuclear free.

Clearly, the hope in Paris is that 10 years of catch-up largesse will produce a majority vote in New Caledonia to remain French in the 1998 poll.

The Matignon Accords have created a 10-year breathing space for France, Caledonians and Kanaks. But no amount of “rebalancing” can deliver a political equilibrium acceptable to all. Then again, neither will a simple vote. For now at least, New Caledonia has time on its side and an inherent wish to avoid reliving its recent history.
Kanak laments French ploy

THE FLNKS is due to evaluate its position on the accords this year. But, writes Susanna Ounel, disillusioned young Kanaks are already deciding.

The writer was born into a family of 15 children on the island of Ouvea in New Caledonia in 1945. She has been active in the movement for Kanak liberation since 1968, and was a founding member of the group Atsai, the parties Palika and Kanak Socialist Liberation (LKS), and the Kanak and Exploited Workers Union (USTKE).

She was publisher of the FLNKS newspaper, Bwenando. As founding president of the Kanak women’s group, GFKEL, she served on the political bureau of the FLNKS. Expelled from the French education system at the age of 15, she has just completed a degree in sociology at New Zealand’s Canterbury University.

Until recently she has been forced to live in exile because the French government banned her New Zealand husband, David Small, from entering New Caledonia with her. The restriction has now been lifted. In this article, an edited extract from a new book published last month, Tu Gaala: Social Change in the Pacific, Susanna Ounel reveals the impact of the Maitignon Accords on her people.

How is it that our independence movement can have some elements acceptable to France and others that must be excluded?

The history of Kanak liberation struggle shows that many of the political aims and strategies that earned myself and others the “extremist” label have since gained wide support among our people.

Contrary to popular myth, the Maitignon Accords have never been accepted by the Kanak people. The Accords might be isolating the so-called extremists from the French government, but they are also beginning to isolate the people who support the Accords from the mass of the Kanak population, especially the youth.

Frustrated by the slow reformism of our parents’ generation in the Caledonian Union (UC, later the major party in the FLNKS), young Kanaks in the late 1960s and the 1970s began to build our own political groups.

We began by reasserting our culture and demanding the return of our stolen land – and then began to call for independence. But when we looked more closely at the sort of neocolonial independence given to other former colonies in the Pacific and around the world, we decided that a flag and a national anthem were not enough for us.

We were certainly not interested in encouraging our people to struggle and suffer, only to end up with neocolonialism – formal independence with all the political and economic power being controlled by foreign capital and a small Kanak elite of well-paid politicians, civil servants and junior business partners.

We wanted Kanak Socialist Independence – full political, economic and cultural sovereignty.
Although we were branded as extremists, we quickly attracted a big following especially among Kanak youth. 'Our hope for the future comes from what we do for ourselves, not what France decides it will give us.'

Some of us also raised the issue of the treatment of women in our society, teenage pregnancy, rape and violence against women are common. And in the movement women are expected to be secretaries, cooks, cleaners and mistresses while the men make all the important decisions.

We became the extremists among the extremists. Very few took our concerns seriously and attempts were made to undermine us by creating non-threatening ‘femine sections’ to make cakes and sew dresses to raise money for the party. We agree that we must fight for independence alongside our brothers, but we want to be clear about what sort of society we are fighting for.

Many young people feel this way, too, because the movement relies on them but often excludes them from important decisions. At times of mobilisation, for example, the leaders make radical declarations that encourage the young people to take great personal risks.

But then they come to negotiate, they make political compromises without consulting the people.

One of the leaders who refused to compromise was Eloi Machoro. It was Eloi’s determination to defy the ultimatum of French presidential envoy Edgar Pisani and continue the mobilisation that led him to being isolated by other FLNKS leaders and murdered by French sharpshooters on 12 January 1985.

There were no foreign dignitaries at Eloi’s funeral because he died an ‘extremist’. France erected no monument in his honour, but he will live forever in the hearts of the Kanak people.

Eloi Machoro was the sort of person the Matignon Accords were designed to exclude from the political process. Like Alphonse Dianou and Djubelly Wea, he knew that France would never give away its power in Kanaky and he decided that his people’s liberation was more important than his own life.

After Eloi’s death and the FLNKS acceptance of the Fabius Plan, there was a general feeling of disillusionment among the young activists whose courage had forced France to abandon the Lemoine Statute it had been trying to impose.

To have risked their lives on the barricades did not count as a qualification when it came to applying for jobs in the regions. The young people in Pierre Lengucette (the Kanak ghetto I was living in), for example, had organised round-the-clock security for the area so that people could sleep at night during the mobilisation.

Within a few months, some within the movement were referring to these same people as “delinquents” who had to be “kept under control” by their leaders. The young people felt they had been used and discarded.

By early 1988, the aggressive violence of the Chirac/Pons government had forced us reunite. The strongest resistance came from Canala and Ouvea. In Canala, the French military lost control of everything except a few key buildings.

But on Ouvea, a very small island, it was possible for the military to completely isolate it and concentrate a massive force there.

A group of activists from throughout the island tried to occupy the gendarmerie at Fayaoué. The officer in charge called on his gendarmes not to resist, but some did.

The gunfight that followed left four gendarmes dead. The activists, led by Alphonse Dianou, decided to take 27 other gendarmes hostage and head for the bush.

After this, the military cut off all communications and transport to and from the island as they tried to find the hostages. With Ouvea totally isolated, the military declared war on the people and broke all international war conventions.

In the Kanak Popular School (EPK) building in Gossanah, the French military set up the headquarters to coordinate their campaign—locking up civilians in inhuman conditions, tying civilian prisoners to posts, beating them and torturing them with electric shock.

They also tried to break the spirit of the Kanak prisoners by humiliating them, stripping them naked in front of their brothers and sisters. The civilian populations of Gossanah and Teouta were locked in a small hut for two days and two nights.

When it came to those holding the hostages, France had to use more underhand tactics.
When Saddam Hussein put his prisoners of war on television France joined the chorus calling for him to be tried for war crimes. Where was the international outrage about French war crimes on Ouvea? It was covered over by the Matignon Accords.

The blood of our brothers killed by the French military had barely dried. And, without even visiting Ouvea or consulting the movement, a few leaders made a deal with France.

The Matignon Accords were signed in blood - the blood of my brothers and cousins and nephews from Ouvea. Beneath the appearance of the peaceful agreement lies extreme state violence.

President Mitterand was in power before, during and after the Ouvea massacre and the Matignon Accords. Bernard Pons and Jacques Chirac are still in Parliament and the military is still commanded by the same generals.

Michel Rocard was not directly responsible for the torture and executions himself, but the implicit threat that such acts could happen again helped his government to regain authority over my people and our land. The Matignon Accords are simply a more subtle way for France to achieve this aim.

A massive media campaign urging voters to back the accord: in the November 1983 referendum was endorsed by the FLNKS leadership, which argued that Kanaks should vote "yes" to free the political prisoners. The results showed that a very large numbers of Kanaks ignored the party leaders and did not vote.

The overall rate of abstention in the territory was 37 per cent, but in the Kanak areas the rate was much higher.
History will decide how the Kanak people will judge Djabelly. What French officials and foreign commentators think of him is of no importance. The Kanak people know that Djabelly was not a nobody and he was not a hired hit-man.

Even those who disagree with his action cannot deny that he was a sincere and committed political leader who sacrificed his own life for what he believed in increasingly.

Kanak people are recognising the real dangers in the Matignon Accords and are coming to understand what pushed Djabelly Wea to his last sacrificial act.

The French government likes to talk about all the money it is giving to aid "development" in Kanaky. One of the weaknesses of our movement is that it has never resolved this issue of what kind of development we want – what kind of future society we want to build.

The Kanak people are not paying the price for these issues being ignored. The money from the Matignon Accords is not meeting the real needs of the Kanak people – it is going on big contracts for French multinationals.

The Matignon Accords are good business for the big companies, providing them with political stability and financial subsidies.

If the development of Kanaky is designed to make our country the same as France, Kanak people know what roles are reserved for us – beggars and servants! Our hope for the future comes from what we do for ourselves not what France decides it will give us.

Kanak youth are now highly politicised – too politically aware to allow a few Kanak leaders to set up a neo-colonial state in collaboration with the French government and local businessmen. There are hardly any political people of my generation who are respected by the youth. The young ones took all the risks and have gained none of the rewards.

The Matignon Accords have alienated and excluded more than just a handful of so-called "extremists". Among the Kanak people, few ever embraced the accords enthusiastically, a few more went along with them because they had already been signed, and others voted for them out of a concern for the political prisoners. The most cynical of all are the young people – and they are the majority. They are the force of our movement and they are the future.

The FLNKS is due to evaluate its position on the accords this year, but young people are already making their assessment. As one young activist told me: "Every time the young people die, it is a few leaders who fill their pockets. We are sick of being used. When they come back to see us for barricades we will tell them, it's their turn to build the barricades and stand in front – but we will not go to die for them."
Man of the Decade

'We are from here and nowhere else. You are from here but also from somewhere else'

Few men have so captured the spirit of the Pacific Islands like Jean-Marie Tjibaou. Even in death he continues to be the symbol of hope for the people of New Caledonia — Kanaks and settlers alike. He was a Man of Peace. He was always full of charisma and love. He is the Pacific Man of the Decade. Helen Fraser, who knew him personally, profiles Tjibaou, and tells of his dream and hope for a New Caledonia of the future.

JEAN-Marie Tjibaou described the historic signing of the Matignon peace accords in June 1988 as leading from a clear choice — "either build peace or make war". The choice for peace was made after the dramatic and violent events of May 1988 on Ouvea Island had taken the lives of 19 Kanaks.

It was a choice that he made, admitting that the symbolic handshake between himself and anti-independence leader Jacques Lafleur would be "a gesture criticised from one side and the other, refused by some, but which constitutes a hope for many — which I think is important for the future".

But the decision to opt for building peace instead of continuing a colonial war against France, cost Jean-Marie Tjibaou his life. For his assassin was convinced, as a small faction outside the mainstream independence movement...
still are, that Tjibaou had betrayed the goal of Kanak independence by settling on a plan that involved 10 years of transition, of training for Kanaks and development of the economically underprivileged largely Kanak areas of the islands and the countryside — leading to an independence vote in 1998 in which Kanaks and long-term settlers would take part.

For Jean-Marie Tjibaou the option of militant strategy for the independence movement against the French Governments of recent history was always the last choice, a decision that was made in each case after the rejection by France of compromises from Kanak leaders. The decision to boycott and disrupt the April 1988 territorial elections — held on the same day as the French Presidential elections — was made by Tjibaou as leader in the face of what he described as colonial repression of the rightful Chirac Government.

"We are on a battlefield and we are just dead people awaiting our turn to die, because the balance of power is such that if we didn't have international support the colonial power could wipe us out."

The statute planned for the territory which the elections were to usher in was described by Tjibaou as leading "to the death of the Kanak people", a statute under which Kanaks would have been left with control of the most underdeveloped, resource-less areas of New Caledonia while the anti-independence settlers would have controlled the wealthy urban area of Noumea and the better farming areas.

The decision to turn to violence was also made after Tjibaou's Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) had tried again what they termed the "institutional road to independence" only to find by April 1988 that it was a cul de sac. It was an experience that was not new.

Three and a half years before, Tjibaou had led the independence movement into an earlier militant campaign against the French, of boycotting and disrupting territorial elections that would have ushered in a previous autonomy plan, and again one which the Kanak leaders had seen as leading to the domination of the Kanak people in demographic and political terms.

Again, the move to militancy was not lightly made but came after the rejection by the French Government of the independence movement's suggested modifications to the autonomy statute. Two factors particularly licensed Tjibaou as leader of the then Independence Front; firstly that France could, in 1985, formally recognise "the innate and active right to independence of the Kanak people" and then through the Lemoine autonomy statute in 1984 deny Kanaks the chance to exercise this right; and secondly that Roch Pidjot, the "grand-pere" of the independence movement and the man who had decades earlier asked France to grant autonomy, had seen his amendments to the 1984 autonomy statute flatly rejected by the French Socialist Government. And as in 1988 the move to militancy came after several years of trying the "institutional road to independence. . . ."

Tjibaou as leader of the independence movement was not only focussed on the French Government of the day, but also on the other communities in New Caledonia — the 'Caldoche' settlers, the Indonesians, the Vietnamese, the French Polynesians and the Wallis Islanders. Tjibaou sought to persuade those not in the independence camp of the non-threatening, indeed of the very necessity of independence for the well-being of the country. Thus was evident in the decision to form a coalition Government in June 1982 not only with the Centre Party, FNOSC, but also with his brother-in-law Henry Wetta who was a member of the anti-independence RPCR, in his decision to reverse the annual Kanak depiction of September 24, the anniversary of French colonisation, as a day of mourning for Kanaks and instead celebrate a day of Kanak culture in Noumea's "place des Cocotiers" with all communities invited to share in it, in his patient explanations through the 1980s that independence meant recognition of Kanak sovereignty and once sovereign the welcoming by Kanaks of the other communities as inhabitants of Kanaky.

In 1983 he told RPCR leader Jacques LaFleur and all New Caledonians in a televised round table discussion: "We say that we are the only people not to be recognised as people of a country. You are French nationalist — it's this message that you don't absorb, that you refuse to absorb."

"We are from here and nowhere else. You are from here but also from somewhere else."

Tjibaou from as early on as his party congress of 1982 insisted that Kanaks had to achieve economic independence and take their place in the circuits of New Caledonia's economy before independence was truly viable. And his vision of the kind of socialism he wanted to see in an independent state of Kanaky was one he described as where you didn't have people who are very rich living alongside people who are very poor.

In 1985 after months of Kanak militancy he had accepted the Fabius/Pisani plan for a transition period to an independence referendum, which, like the Maingon plan three years later, was to be accompanied by major judicial, economic and social reforms in the aim of
as he described it "helping people to find their identity in today's world which dominates them . . . they need to know the laws the circuits that regulate the situation — where to go, how to get information on commerce, credit, the administration, training — to dominate this world one must know about it and learn about it."

His work in the area of Kanak culture is well-known, in particular the spectacular success of the Melanesia 2000 festival held in Noumea in 1977. It was a time when his reputation as a poet was also well established — poems that, like his political speeches later, reflected his harmony with the world around him, of the sea, rocks, pine trees, mountains and rivers. He saw one of the main problems of the Caldoche settlers of New Caledonia as their being "an impoverished people, a people without a culture — they reject Kanaks just as they reject the (metropolitan) French."

He entered politics as part of the "push" of 1977 following the Union Caledonienne Bourail congress, along with Eloi Machoro, Pierre Declercq, Yeiwene Yeiwene and Francois Burck. The latter, now Tjibaou's successor as President of Union Caledonienne, is the only survivor of that group. Declercq was assassinated at his Noumea home in 1981, Machoro was gunned down by French para military marksmen in 1985 and Yeiwene was assassinated along with Tjibaou last May.

As the FLNKS felt forced to adopt a militant strategy in late 1984 to try to force France to negotiate a path towards independence the personal toll on Tjibaou grew heavy. Just a short time after meeting to accept an end to the roadblocks that were crippling the Territory by December 1984, 10 militants from Tiendanite were killed in an ambush by mixed-race settlers. Two of Tjibaou's brothers were among the dead. The fathers, brothers and sons of the tiny tribe were decimated. Tjibaou was also prevented from attending the mass funeral because there were fears for his life as the killers — later acquitted by a non-Kanak jury on the grounds of legitimate defence — were still at large.

Talking about the enormous personal sacrifice involved in leading the independence movement, Tjibaou said it was something that was experienced every day in practical terms. "But it's not only my wife, it's the wives of my brothers, of the people who are dead, of those whose homes are burnt. It's not a new situation."

"After the 1917 uprising our people didn't count the dead. The village was again burnt to the ground. There was no-one left. The women were sent out to work for the settlers and the men were sent to prison in Noumea. The land was taken away from us."

"We live through something that has always been our lot."

In 1983 Tjibaou made his first visit to Algeria, the former French colony which had won a hard and bitter war of independence against France 20 years earlier. He said his first trip to Algeria had an enormous effect on him: "What affected me the most was to see the places where all the people were killed, but also to see the strength of the Algerian people against the whites . . . ."

For Tjibaou and his wife Marie-Claude, parents to four boys and an adopted daughter, their home at Hien-ghene was the retreat away from the more pressing demands of leaders of a political struggle. Talking about his priorities for relaxation, Tjibaou said they were:

"Fishing . . . . I really like diving for fish, because I feel at peace, or when I work in the fields . . . ."

"and I look after the ducks and the pigeons. Feeding the pigeons is very relaxing."

A fine singer, he admitted to playing the piano into the small hours of the morning — "more for dreaming like when one looks at the sea . . . . it's my little pleasure!"
lessening the gaps between Kanaks and non-Kanaks.

With enormous enthusiasm Tjibaou, after electoral successes at the start of the transition period, led the Kanak independence movement into what he termed "the green revolution". He was confident that if Kanaks had the chance to show what they could achieve and how their regional governments could succeed, then along with the experience of Kanaks and non-Kanaks working together, would win over enough people for independence to be a reality.

But a change of government in Paris in 1986 brought obstructions to the reforms and the functioning of the Kanak regions, and in any case New Caledonia did not appear ready to welcome non-Kanaks and Kanaks working together on economic development — for many settlers who did embark on projects with Kanaks found themselves the targets of extreme rightwing violence.

Three years later Tjibaou was again offered the chance of choosing this peaceful road to independence, and now, under the Matignon Accord the reforms were to be deeper and more widespread. It was the same bet, or gamble, he had accepted in 1985 — although this time the finishing post was to be 10 years away.

"The first time I was asked at Matignon about the 10-year duration I wept for the people who are in prison, the people who have lost family members. But to leave through the front door with and anthem and a flag only to come back begging through the back door — Not!"

The weeks before his death were filled with a whirlwind timetable of consultations with French officials, architects, agricultural experts, engineers and development planners as the territory moved towards, the start of provincial government. Tjibaou was as excited by his vision of what could be done in the two provinces that would come under Kanak control as he was by the Calderoche small-businessmen who were eager to come and set up their factories and businesses in the Kanak areas.

It was a vision tempered by reality, however: "There are development projects moving ahead, but there is always a timelag between our goals — which are static — and the setting up of the process to achieve results, and this timelag is hard to accept for those who take part in the determining goals but who don't have any power over the process to achieve them." Lack of confidence in the French administration was also a handicap, Tjibaou said. "But what's terrific is that we're now underway — and it will be up to us to get the results."

Tjibaou had a personality more suited to "building the peace than making war" for he was a seductive figure even to those opposed to his ideas: the first quality that all use to try and paint his portrait with as a wonderful, deliciously wicked at times, sense of humour. Although this quality was in evidence even during some of the blackest periods of recent Kanak history, it was a humour at its best when the mood was one of optimism.

His style as leader of the independence movement was not confrontational — on several cases when consensus decisions did not go his way, he preferred to let the matter go for a few days while he quietly worked at reversing the decision. On very important occasions, when some sections of the independence movement criticised him after the 1985 death of Eloi Machoro, he withdrew to his home at Hienghene for over a month and left the FLNKS to discover life without Tjibaou as leader. It was a point that was well made, and when he emerged from his "retreat" his control was reinforced.

And when asked what he would do if his support of the Matignon Accords was not accepted by the grassroots of his party, he replied that "I will go home to Hienghene to plant yams and (French Prime Minister and fellow peace architect) Rocard — he'll go and plant cabbages."

Tjibaou's leadership was not a sole leadership; with Machoro he shared a partnership that saw the latter develop as the tactical strategist of the independence movement while Tjibaou concentrated on diplomacy and negotiations. And as leader of the FLNKS Tjibaou was particularly close with his deputy, Yeiwene Yeiwene, who offered both support and objective criticism at times of major decision making, but above all who gave to the partnership with Tjibaou a buoyant optimism and his own brand of warm friendliness.

Throughout the South Pacific, France and internationally Tjibaou made warm friendships, particularly with the leaders of Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands as well as in French Polynesia. As he put it once, he was very attracted to people whose language was the language of dreaming... His vision for the future of "Kanaky" did not stop at the frontier of the country but was for a neutral, nuclear free South Pacific:

"It is very important that the day can come when we can perhaps negotiate a sort of neutrality pact with the superpowers.

"It is more important for our development and for regional development to negotiate a neutrality pact with the superpowers than to amuse ourselves learning to play like big countries in a game made for big countries. We can only be toys in this game."
Pacific Islands Studies

Round Table Forum on Sovereignty

Questions:

1. Introduce yourselves, tell about your goals and any achievements so far.

2. Are the indigenous people a minority or majority in your country?

2. Do you control your own government?

3. Which of your particular situations would you regard as the most urgently needing attention?

4. What is your strategy to help along this process of decolonization?

5. Has the military been involved, or any fatalities involved?

6. Examples of a situation where one indigenous people feels oppressed or discriminated against by another indigenous group within the same country?

7. What has been the most celebrated or fascinating experience for you in the process of self-determination?

8. What has been the most frustrating?

9. What are some of the major challenges you've faced in the process of decolonization?

10. Many of your movement leaders are western educated. Is it important to be able to walk between both worlds, or is this some sort of accommodation, conciliation?

11. Is it possible to have democracy and western education within the framework of traditional lifestyles?

12. Land is an important issue throughout the Pacific. What are your views on land ownership?

12. Is capitalism opposed to communal or traditional ownership of property?

14. Do you feel sovereignty will be achieved in the near future, or is it a long way off?

15. Are you optimistic that governments and int'l organizations will respond to your efforts and goals?
Prelude to Resistance — The Colonization of Hawai‘i

The foreign songs have only eroticism, no spiritual meaning. The dances are lascivious; there is no sacred interpretation. The land is ravaged by concrete monsters; neither the sea nor the sky is safe from destruction. There is racism — which our ancestors never knew. And neither the young nor the old can lie down by the wayside in safety as Kamehameha I decreed. There is nothing Hawaiian left; it is all haole (white) now.

Lydia K. Aholo, 1978
hanai (adopted) daughter of Queen Lili‘uokalani

Despite America’s global ideological position as the main force of anti-colonialism around the world, Hawai‘i has been, and continues to be a colony of the United States. Through economic domination (beginning in 1810) and political incorporation (annexation in 1898), America came to control the lands and indigenous people of Hawai‘i in less than a century.

As in the case of American Indians, this control began with European explorers and missionaries in search of provisions and souls and was completed by American capitalists bent on profits and power. Conquest, depopulation, land alienation, Christian proselytizing, white settlements, and military invasion worked their singular purpose in the 18th and 19th centuries to leave Hawaiians a subjugated minority in their native land.

Disease, Private Property, and Gunboat Diplomacy

Nearly two thousand years of Hawai‘i’s isolation from the West was shattered by adventurers who brought disease and death to a “primitive” people in 1778. Syphilis, introduced by the original “tourist” to Hawai‘i, Capt. James Cook, was but the first of a European scourge of bewildering, incurable diseases that maimed and killed Hawaiians by the tens of thousands. Because of these haole (white) diseases (among them tuberculosis, influenza, measles, and cholera), Hawaiians suffered enormous depopulation. From an estimated 500,000 people at contact, less than 45,000 remained in 1878, a decline by a ratio of more than 10 to 1.

With the demise of the people came the rapid demise of their culture. The decentralized kinship system of chiefly stewardship was replaced by a monarchy soon after contact and as a direct result of the introduction of Western firearms. With unification of the islands under one chief, King Kamehameha I, came other kinds of exploitation: heavy taxation, a large administrative structure, and finally, a Western legal system aimed at the establishment of private property land tenure as a replacement for traditional land use where no one owned the land and everyone had rights of use and access to both land and sea. Paramount among these legal modifications was the Great Māhele of 1848 and the Kuleana Act of 1850. These acts comprised a major land redistribution forced onto the monarchy by Westerners (ex-missionaries and businessmen) who needed security of tenure of large plantations.

Hailed as bringing fee simple ownership to Hawaiians, these land divisions actually alienated the land from them. The Māhele and the Kuleana Act divided the lands thus: 1.6 million acres, about 39% of the land, went to 248 Chiefs; 1 million acres, about 24% of the land, went to the king; 1.5 million acres, about 36% of the land, went to the Crown; and only 28,600 acres, less than 1% of the land, went to the common people who worked the land, the maka‘ainana. This last group of Hawaiians made up about 99% of the population (Kelly 1980: 65-66).

While the Māhele divided the lands between the chiefs, king and government, the Kuleana Act supposedly guaranteed to the maka‘ainana fee simple title to small plots of land. However, these lands could only include that which the tenant “really cultivated”. They did not include common pasturage or lands cultivated with others. Since taro cultivation, like fishing, was a group endeavour, separation of the individual from the group — a...
Western value — meant starvation for most of the people. Apart from the fact that few maka‘ainana received any land at all (only 30% of the adult male population), the plots which they did receive were often too small to cultivate successfully. As a result, Hawaiians either sold their lands or were prohibited from subsisting on them (Kelly, 1980: 65-66).

The ostensible justification for these land acts was that they would preserve the rights of the people while satisfying the needs of foreigners for land. This, of course, did not happen. In the first place, the needs of foreigners for land could not be satisfied, since their economic system depended on its success on the continual expansion of profits. Thus foreign desire for land might be temporarily abated by the Māhele but it would never be quenched, as the subsequent history of 20th century Hawai‘i shows. The enormous economic power of Americans was on the rise and it was essential that land become a spur to profits rather than an obstacle.

In the second place, traditional land rights had been successfully protected through the use of these rights by hundreds of thousands of Hawaiians over numerous centuries. The sudden division of the lands with a new alternative of private property could not possibly have had the beneficial effect on Hawaiians claimed for it. Of course, the history of the Māhele shows that private property land tenure was the death knell of the maka‘ainana. They received less than 1% of the land. The chiefs, and the king did better but, under increased pressure to sell these lands as well, the bulk of the a‘ina (land) found its way into the plantation economy.

The haole (whites) triumphed. They were enabled to buy vast acreages, either from the maka‘ainana who were starving, or from the chiefs and the government who were heavily indebted to Western merchants. In both cases, the results were the same. The great bulk of the land came under Western ownership. Marion Kelly, scholar of the Māhele, judges the role of the haole and the purpose of the land division in the following way:

It was the American missionaries who changed the Hawaiian land tenure system into the American system of private ownership of land. This was done to provide land for American enterprise and safe investment schemes for American money. (Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report, Vol. 1, 1983: 712).

Such an imperialist design, with such devastating effects on the common people, can hardly be called the birth of democracy. It is more accurately described as a triumph of colonial policy: the power of American foreigners to dispossess and subjugate an indigenous people — the Hawaiians.

The victory of the white settlers meant, in the words of political scientist Noel Kent, “cultural debasement, economic destitution, and a third-rate status for Hawaiians in their own homeland”. Meanwhile, “the division of the lands continued the policy of appropriating Hawaiian resources to further the ends of capitalist accumulation and had the ultimate effect of undermining once and for all, the viability of the ‘Hawaiian way’”. For the white entrepreneurial class, “... dispossession of the Hawaiians was an essential precondition for the flourishing of capitalist export agriculture” (Kent, 1983: 32).

The export was to be sugar, grown on vast acreages of what was once the land base of the Hawaiian people. Thanks to a host of Americans, missionaries and businessmen alike, foreign power had changed “Hawai‘i’s laws and customs to reflect those in the United States, and land legislation and agricultural practices [were] brought into line with foreign notions” (Kent, 1983: 29).

It is important to point out the role of Western law in this land seizure. The imposition of Western concepts through the Great Māhele and the Kuleana Act was crucial to the taking of the lands. Legal scholar Neil Levy has written about this in the following terms:

... Western property concepts were imposed on the legal structure and would facilitate the rapid, steady takeover of Hawaiian owned lands during the next several decades. Moreover, the government’s commitment to selling its remaining land put Westerners, with their access to capital, in a position to take Hawaiian land through the legal procedures they had established. Western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration. (Levy 1975: 857, emphasis added)

As trade was introduced throughout the 19th century, Hawaiians became increasingly embroiled in the needs of expanding European and American capitalism for various commodities: provisions, sandalwood, whale products, and, into the 20th century, sugar and resort lands. British, French, and American military forces guaranteed access to these resources for their respective entrepreneurial countrymen, while the ali‘i (chiefly class), enamored of Western luxury items, attempted in vain to control trade. Like their elite counterparts in the Third World, the ali‘i became unknowing conduits for Western imperialism.

It is crucial to note not only that Western economic expansion directly contributed to the destruction of Hawaiian society, but that America, among others, pressed its commercial interests with military power. Even the so-called “dean” of Western historians of Hawai‘i, Ralph Kuykendall, admitted that:

The traders brought their difficulties to the attention of the United
States Government, with the result that in 1826 two American warships visited the islands, their commanders instructed to investigate the situation and render all proper aid to American commerce. . . . Herein we see the genesis of the national debt in Hawai'i (Kuykendall, 1938: 91).

The practice of supplementing verbal demands with warships was used by nations other than the United States. For example, 1836 saw British, French, and American gunboats in Honolulu within a period of two months. In 1839, the captain of a French gunboat forced the Hawaiian king to sign a treaty. And in 1842, the French man-of-war that had taken over the Marquesas Islands and established a French protectorate in Tahiti, arrived in Honolulu amidst fear that the French would take Hawai'i. In 1843, Lord George Paulet of England confiscated the Islands and ruled them for five months. Another foreigner, Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, restored the Kingdom to the Hawaiians later that year. But in 1849, the French took possession of the Hawaiian fort, again over a dispute involving debts, and forced an unequal treaty on Hawaiians (Kelly, 1980: 59).

Throughout the 19th century, Hawaiians were at the mercy of foreign traders and warships. They were increasingly disadvantaged by forced treaties and agreements, and they were pressured into finding allies among the foreigners themselves. The pattern which emerges here is a classic one of colonization: the more powerful country dictates the economic direction of the less powerful nation, which in turn becomes increasingly dependent and helpless in the face of the colonizer's superior military strength.

Simultaneous with these military pressures had come missionary pressures for religious conversion, and, as we have seen, for a change in land tenure. When Ka'ahumanu, astute and politically ambitious wife of Kamehameha I, broke the religious kapu (sacred prohibitions and prescriptions of Hawaiian culture) affecting eating, the people were cut adrift in a confusing world. Their fellows were dying in record numbers while their ali'i were dismantling rather than upholding the traditional way of life. The breaking of the kapu was, like other major changes in the 19th century, the result of foreign impingement.

The example of the foreigners, their disregard of the kapu, and their occasional efforts to convince the Hawaiians by argument that their system was wrong, were the most potent forces undermining the beliefs of the people (Kuykendall, 1938: 67).

This judgement is confirmed by Marshall Sahlins in his recent work, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (1981). As an interpretation of Western contact in Hawai'i, Sahlins' analysis supports the general conclusion that foreign impact was directly, rather than indirectly, responsible for the breaking of the kapu (Sahlins, 1981).

**Christianity**

When the missionaries arrived from Boston in 1820, the population had already declined by more than 50%. There was a religious vacuum because the kapu had been abrogated the year before. Once the ali'i converted, especially Ka'ahumanu, the people willingly followed. In 1824, Kamehameha II died in England, and his brother, Kauikeaouli, became king. Because he was a minor, Ka'ahumanu assumed the Regency. Under her leadership, Hawai'i was officially a Christian nation by 1840 (Bradley, 1968: 168-213).

More than the merchants, the missionaries were powerful agents of cultural destruction. While the traders came expressly for profit, leaving disease and alcohol in their wake, the missionaries came to settle. Boring from within, they spread throughout the islands, with churches in Wai'anae, Hilo, Honolulu, and Kaua'i. Convinced of their duty to "Christianize" and "civilize", the missionaries insisted that Hawaiians convert not only to a "superior" religion but to a "superior" culture as well. Toward this end, the missionaries continually pressed the ali'i for work-free Sabbaths, the abolition of the hula (Hawaiian dance), the adoption of Western dress (to hide "shameful" nakedness), the construction of Western houses, even the practice of Western burial. As the "most trusted counselor of Ka'ahumanu", haughty Hiram Bingham, self-styled leader of the mission, relentlessly instructed her in the necessity of "moral reform" through legislation. Thus, in 1824, Ka'ahumanu ordered her people to cease work on the Sabbath, which, in some cases, created real hardships for a people dependent on work in the fields and ocean for sustenance (Bradley, 1968: 173-174).

The missionaries also wrought cultural havoc through the establishment of a Western-style educational system. Aided by the newly-converted ali'i, the missionaries succeeded in opening some 900 schools by the late 1820s to teach reading and writing. Once again, Ka'ahumanu had paved the way when, in 1824, she required her subjects to receive a haole, i.e. missionary education. Predictably, the first textbook was the Bible. From that small volume, Hawaiians were indoctrinated with a foreign morality based on original sin and the evil of man. And they were taught this frightening moral and philosophical system in their own native tongue.

Beyond the technical changes made by the missionaries in their reduction of the language to written form, the most critical change was in
the use of the language as a tool of colonization. Where the language had once
been inseparable from the people and their history, communicating
their heritage between and among generations, it now came to be used as the
very vehicle of alienation from their habits of life. The missionaries used the
language to inculcate in Hawaiians a yearning to be Western and a sense of
inferiority regarding the Hawaiians’ own culture, including their dance,
habits of dress, their laws and rituals, even their matings and affections. Thus,
as Frantz Fanon has remarked about missionaries in general, they did
“not call the native to God’s ways, but to the ways of the white man, of the
master, of the oppressor” (Fanon, 1965: 32).

Hymns that told of a suffering Jesus and a sinful humanity replaced
chants of the origins of the universe, the evolution of life forms, and the
genealogy of an entire people. No longer was an ancient history recited, no
longer were new chants composed. A repressive sexual morality reduced
the fecund, sensual imagery of the Hawaiians to concepts of evil and filth. For
example, where Hawaiians once eroticized their environment with sexual
names, they were, under Christian influence, to rename their natural world,
as their children, with safe English language references. Indeed, an 1860 law
required Hawaiians to have two names, where before they had had only one,
and to call themselves by a Christian first name (Kimura, 1983: 173-197).
This is how the Hawaiian people came to have so many Ruths and Davids,
Miriams and Johns among them. Meanwhile, a foreign tale about a foreign
god was daily recited and the Hawaiian ‘aumakua (family gods) were
gradually neglected for the story of a Jewish child from a far-away land.
Hawaiians were unknowingly removed from the spiritual strength of their
own time and place, and refocused on another people — a white people —
from a strange time and an alien place. Native history and native culture
were all but lost along the way.

Fanon and others, like Albert Memmi and Vine Deloria Jr., have
analyzed how colonization is, above all, a process of deculturation of the
native people. It is a pervasive totality which seeks “the liquidation” of a
native people’s “systems of reference” as well as the “collapse of its cultural
patterns” (Deloria, 1973; Memmi, 1967; Fanon, 1967: 38-39). Because
missionaries focused on transforming habits of thought (e.g. through their
schools), styles of behaviour (e.g. through their imposition of repressive
sexual morality), and customs of governing (e.g. through their imposition of
Western law), they were engaged in the breaking down of Hawaiian culture.
Their efforts were directed at severing natives from their customary life, then
oppressing them with the artifacts of Western culture which ranged from
Mother Hubbard dresses and the Sabbath, to Constitutions, private
property and the notion of sexual sin. What many Westerners call ac-
culturation to their “civilized” ways is really deculturation, in which, as that
defender of colonization O. Mannoni long ago described, “the personality of
the native is first destroyed through uprooting, enslavement, and the
collapse of the social system” (Mannoni, 1956: 40).

Nowhere was this deculturation more in evidence than in the school
system which was, according to historian Ralph Kuykendall, “in all essential
respects an outgrowth of the work of American Protestant and, to a much
lesser extent, of Roman Catholic missionaries; its form and spirit were
American…” (Kuykendall, 1966: 106).

While the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign
Missions) had explicitly forbidden political activity by the missionaries, they
nevertheless formed an alliance with the ruling ali‘i. By 1826, this alliance
was so thorough, missionary historian Sheldon Dibble acknowledged that a
union between church and state existed “to a very considerable extent”
(Dibble, 1909: 78). Although vehemently protested by the merchant class
who saw clearly that missionary dominance over the government meant
temperance and anti-prostitution laws, the church state union in the early
years of the mission set a dangerous precedent for reliance on the mission-
aries which was to reach its tragic peak during the reign of Kamehameha III.
Then, under the tutelage of missionaries, the lands were officially alienated
from the people.

Thus, not only did American businessmen and missionaries invade
Hawaii in the 19th century, bringing disease and death, but they successfully
penetrated Hawaiian society at the religious, economic, and political levels,
creating a settler colony, a mini-America. Anxious for incorporation into
the United States, these white settlers overthrew the last Hawaiian monarch,
Queen Lili’uokalani, in 1893, with the willing aid of American military
forces. Over a hundred years of American economic and ideological power
in Hawaii was then secured by annexation in 1898 (Kent, 1983).

As a result of American colonization, Hawaiians became a conquer-
ed people, their lands and culture subordinated to another nation. They
were made to feel and survive as inferiors when their sovereignty as a nation
was forcibly ended by American military power. Rendered politically and
economically powerless by the turn of the century, Hawaiians continue to
suffer the effects of American colonization today: land alienation; un-
employment and employment ghettoization; the worst health profile in the
islands; the lowest income level; a deep psychological oppression manifested
in crime, suicide, and aimlessness; and, finally, the grossest commodification
of their culture for the international market of tourism. This latest affliction
of colonialism has meant a particularly insidious form of cultural prostitu-
tion. The hula, for example, has been made ornamental, a form of exotica
for the gaping tourist. Far from encouraging a cultural revival, as tourist industry apologists contend, tourism has appropriated and cheapened the accomplishments of a resurgent interest in things Hawaiian (e.g. the current use of replicas of Hawaiian artifacts like fishing and food implements, capes, helmets and other symbols of ancient power to decorate hotels.) Hawaiian women, meanwhile, are marketed on posters from Paris to Tokyo promising an unfettered, “primitive” sexuality while Hawaiian men bare their bodies for sexually repressed tourists.

This transformation of cultural value into monetary value has been called “commodification” — the process of objectifying a person or a cultural attribute for the purposes of profit-making. While capitalist society commodifies nearly everything, the Hawaiian people suffer particularly because, in addition to all their economic and social burdens, their culture is plasticized for the world market.

But while tourism has grown to monstrous proportions in Hawai‘i, a protest movement of increasing magnitude has accompanied it. Similar to the indigenous Indian Movement on the American mainland, and to other indigenous movements in the South Pacific, the Hawaiian Movement can be seen as one radical response to American colonization.

Resistance and the struggle for autonomy

Kau li‘i mākou
Nui ke aloha no ka 'āina
We are few in number
But our love for the land is great

from Mele o Kaho‘lau
by Harry Kunihi Michell

Like the American Indian Movement, the Hawaiian Movement has evolved from a series of protests against land abuses through land occupations to assertions of native sovereignty based on the seventies and continuing into the eighties, this progression has marked a new consciousness among modern Hawaiians about their history, their culture, and their subjugation to Western values and institutions, including capitalism, formal education, and Christianity.

One result of this consciousness has been a growing activism in rural Hawaiian communities to preserve the remnant of their life-ways against encroaching urbanization and military use. Resistance to evictions, to commercial development of sacred sites and farming areas, to suppression and commercialization of Hawaiian culture, and to military occupation of Hawaiian land, has characterized one part of the Hawaiian Movement. In the meantime, the new consciousness has also given rise to a revival of artistic interest in things Hawaiian: hula kahiko (ancient hula); 'ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language), and various forms of arts and crafts, including canoe-building and lei-making.

Along with this artistic flowering has come a serious search for the spiritual source of Hawaiian culture. As many young people journeyed back through a century and a half of colonial repression to the pre-haole sources of their culture, they discovered, with the help of their elders, that Hawaiian religion was rooted in a profound relationship to the land. Because Hawaiians took their sustenance from the land, their daily activities — planting, fishing, building, even eating — expressed spiritual as well as physical aspects of being. This understanding of life as a relationship between the spirit of the land and the people of the land, between material survival and cultural expression; between work and a respect for the wondrous and varied bounty of nature — all this shaped Hawaiian philosophy, music, art, dance, language, indeed, the daily rhythm of Hawaiian life (Handy, et al., 1972; Handy & Pukui, 1972; Trask, 1983). The gradual re-learning of this cultural heritage led activist Hawaiians to demand what their nineteenth century counterparts had gradually lost: a land base for the practice and transmission of their culture, especially taro cultivation and religious observances.

The Movement's growth from community struggle and cultural resurgence to collective assertions of Hawaiian claims for religious freedom, political power and finally, independence as a sovereign nation, was preceded by a fundamental transformation in Hawai‘i's economy. From dependence on cash crops of sugar and pineapple, and on military expenditures in the first half of the 20th century, Hawai‘i's economy shifted to an increasing dependence on tourism and land speculation with rising investment by multi-national corporations in the second half of the century.

After statehood in 1959, burgeoning tourism led to an overnight boom in hotels, high cost condominium and subdivision developments, and luxury resort complexes which necessitated ever-growing demands for land. Concentrated land ownership, a problem since the onslaught of plantation agriculture in 1800s, had actually increased in the 20th century. Small landowners controlled less than 10% of the land. The military, the State and large private estates, and foreign and American developers owned the remainder. As a result, large landlords drove up the price of land, capitalizing on the post-Statehood rush toward commercial development (Kelly, 1980; Kent, 1983).

Already economically exploited and culturally suppressed, rural Hawaiian communities, which had been relatively untouched during the
plantation period, were besieged by rapid development of their agricultural areas beginning in the late 1960s. These areas — among them, Hana, East Noloka'i, Keaukaha, Nānākuli, Wai'anae, Waimānalo, Hau'ula — had managed to retain many traditional practices such as taro farming, fishing, and the spoken Hawaiian language. Given the effects of educational and religious colonization in the 19th century, and the great decline in the native population, these Hawaiian communities, although remnants of a once dynamic civilization, were nevertheless crucial to the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture. Their threatened extinction by urbanization and other forms of development was correctly perceived by many oppressed Hawaiians as a final attempt to rid Hawai'i of Hawaiians and their culture. In many ways, it was predictable that the Hawaiian Movement would begin and flourish in rural areas where the call for a land base would be the loudest.

While proceeding out of historical abuses of Hawaiian land and people, the Hawaiian Movement should be distinguished from other protest struggles in Hawai'i by the demand for a native land base. (“Other struggles” include those involving the rights of non-Hawaiian residents — e.g. Filipinos in Ota Camp, the Chinese in Chinatown; and those involving preservation of the environment — e.g. the fight to stop the H-3 freeway, and the Save Our Surf (SOS) struggle.) This call for land arises out of an understanding of the native claims of Hawaiians as the indigenous people of Hawai'i.

Many community struggles — e.g. against evictions and development — raised the issue of land rights. At the beginning of the seventies, communities often took a stand in terms of the rights of “local” people. The term “local” included Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian long-time residents of Hawai'i. The assertion of their rights to live on the land was opposed to the rights of property owners like the State, developers, and private estates. But as the decade wore on, the assertion of indigenous Hawaiian rights as historically unique from the rights of immigrants to Hawai'i began to characterize more community struggles. Independent of their “local” supporters, Hawaiians began to protest development by occupying lands, or by refusing to be evicted from land scheduled for development. They also protested through mass demonstrations, legal actions, and through cultural assertions such as the construction of fishing villages. These forms of protest placed the Hawaiians' demand to live and transmit their culture on a specified land base at the front of the Movement. The rights of “locals” were not thereby opposed. But Hawaiians' historic and cultural claims to the land as the first and original claimants were increasingly seen, at least by Hawaiians, as primary.

Struggles at Kuka'ilimoku Village in Kona; at Sand Island, Mokaua Island, Waimānalo, Kahana Valley, Wai'anae and Nānākuli on O'ahu; on the east end of Moloka'i; in Hāna, Maui; and the struggle to stop the bombing of Kaho'olawe all illustrated concerns for a land base for cultural purposes. Emphasis was given to fishing, taro cultivation, Hawaiian religious worship and various aspects of Hawaiian culture, such as dance and language. Unlike other, non-Hawaiian struggles, these rural, Hawaiian struggles were specifically concerned with the practice of Hawaiian culture. Because neither the people nor their culture can flourish without some kind of land base, Hawaiians organized their protests around a crucial common demand: land.

Claims to this land base were presented in several forms: as an argument for reparations from the United States for its involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893 and the subsequent loss of Hawaiian nationhood and sovereignty; as a legal claim to special trust lands abused by the State and Federal governments (nearly 200,000 acres within the Hawaiian Homes Act and another 1.5 million acres of ceded lands in the Admissions Act) and by large estates (e.g. Bishop Estate and Liliuokalani Trust); and finally, as a right of residence by virtue of indigenous status, sometimes called aboriginal rights.

Beginning in 1970, Hawaiian political organizations began to push their native claims at the same time that besieged communities organized against eviction and urban development. “The Hawaiians”, a State-wide, grass-roots political organization, was formed in 1970 to redress abuses in the administration of Hawaiian Home lands. Meanwhile, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian farmers in Kalana Valley tried to resist eviction that same year by the Bishop Estate and Kaiser-Aetna, who sought upper-income residential development on agricultural lands. “Kōkua Kalama”, a militant Hawaiian organization, was formed to help the residents resist eviction. Later, as “Kōkua Hawai'i”, this organization expanded to address the needs of Hawaiians State-wide.

The following year the “Congress of the Hawaiian People” was created as a watchdog over the Bishop Estate, while another State-wide organization was formed in 1972 to lobby for reparations from the U.S. government. Called ALOHA (Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry), this organization's efforts eventually led to the establishment (in 1980) of a Presidential Commission to study the needs and concerns of the Hawaiian people, including reparations.

By 1973, several organizations and struggles had appeared around the State. Tenants at Nāwiliwili-Niumalu on Kaua'i struggled against their eviction and against resort development; kuleana land owners on Windward O'ahu organized as “Hui Mālama 'āina O Ko'olau” (The Association to
Protect the Lands of the Ko'olau to stop development of their agricultural lands; the “Homerule Movement” formed as a political lobbying group for Hawaiians; and the “Waimānalo People’s Organization” fought eviction by the State.

In 1974, the first nationalist organization of the Movement, ‘Ohana o Hawai‘i (Family of Hawai‘i) appeared under the leadership of Peggy Ha'o Ross, who has taken her case for the re-establishment of the Hawaiian Nation to various world forums, including the United Nations. A legal group was incorporated to press for reparations and other native claims (the Hawaiian Coalition of Native Claims, now re-organized as the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation). Meanwhile, grass-roots Hawaiians in Kona occupied a shoreline area, and constructed a traditional fishing village as a cultural action against planned resort development. On O‘ahu, a major struggle erupted between farmers and land owners regarding urban sprawl into Waiāhole and Waikāne Valleys.

In 1975, the island of Moloka‘i witnessed the birth of Hui Ala Loa (the Association of the Long Trails). As a political group representing a large Hawaiian constituency on Moloka‘i, Hui Ala Loa organized around native issues from beach and forest access, to water use and homestead land, to preservation of taro cultivation and fishing areas, to a moratorium on resort development. Meanwhile, on O‘ahu, two community struggles took place: a successful fight by fishermen on Mokauea Island against their eviction by the State, and a less successful struggle against eviction by residents of He'eia Kea on the windward side of the island.

The “Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana” was formed in 1976 to stop U.S. military bombing of the island of Kaho‘olawe. As a State-wide organization, the ‘Ohana served to link various land struggles on each island. It also asserted a Hawaiian cultural alternative — Aloha ‘Aina, love of the land — to Western practices of exploitation of both people and land. In the same year, a non-profit corporation of Wai‘anae homesteaders, “Ho‘ala Kānāwai”, was founded to lay claim to the ceded lands.

In 1977, leprosy patients at Hale Mōhalu began a long fight to prevent their relocation to Le‘ahi Hospital. Their issue was abuse of both the patients (most of whom are Hawaiian) and the land, which has been entrusted to the State by the Federal government expressly for the care of the patients.

In 1978, Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana members, Hawaiian homesteaders, and other supporters, demonstrated at Hilo Airport against abuses of trust lands (part of the airport is built on Homestead land) and the bombing of Kaho‘olawe. Meanwhile, the Hawai‘i State Constitutional Convention passed a package of amendments concerning Hawaiians which called for reforms in the Hawaiian Homes Commission; protection of traditional Hawaiian access rights to the land and sea for religious and cultural purposes and for economic subsistence; the promotion of the study of Hawaiian language, history and culture; the abolition of adverse possession of more than five acres of land; and the establishment of an Office of Hawaiian Affairs administered by trustees elected by Hawaiians, and charged with the care of land, resources, and revenues from the State and Federal governments specially earmarked for Hawaiians.

In 1980, Hawaiian residents of Sand Island, O‘ahu, sought a live-in cultural park but were evicted and arrested by the State. In 1983, Hawaiian residents of Mākua Beach, O‘ahu, asserted their aboriginal rights to live on the shoreline in a traditional way. They were evicted, and several arrests were made. In 1985, there was a replay of beach evictions, this time in Waimānalo on Hawaiian Homelands leased to the City of Honolulu as a park, and in Wai‘anae on public beach land.

For over fifteen years — from 1970 to 1985 — Hawaiian discontent erupted in mass protests against land alienation and cultural destruction around the State. But where community struggles originally stressed the rights of “local” people, the political organizations began with a specific focus on the abuses of Hawaiian lands and Hawaiian people. With the birth of the Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana in 1976, the discourse of protest expanded from a focus on land abuse to an argument for a positive alternative. Phrased in Hawaiian, this alternative of Aloha ‘Aina (love of the land) signalled the merging of political protest with cultural assertion. Thus, Hawaiian communities did more than struggle against land development. They also argued for a preferred alternative to capitalism: Hawaiian land use ethics of preservation, conservation and respect for the sacredness of nature; and harmony between people, their culture and their environment. These ethics were taken directly from Hawaiian culture.

This alternative was increasingly enunciated through the Hawaiian language, evincing another example of the merging of the political and cultural aspects of the Movement. But use of the language also indicated a profound evolution in the Movement itself:

1) Western terms and English language referents were eschewed in favour of Hawaiian terms and Hawaiian language;
2) this was clear evidence that psychological de-colonization had begun;
3) this shift signalled a growing move towards indigenous Hawaiian values;
4) these values gave Hawaiians pride and purpose beyond the activity of struggle; and
5) increased commitment to these cultural values became a
source of increased demands culminating in an ultimate
demand for sovereignty and independence.

While the Hawaiian cultural revival focused attention on Hawaiian
dance, language, and history, Hawaiians active in native claims struggles
began to feel a sense of righteousness about their cause. This sense was
mixed with anger at the discovery that Hawaiians were kept ignorant of
their history by the colonizers. As an example, many Hawaiians learned for
the first time that they were fighting for a land base originally stolen by
sugar planters and missionaries — two colonizing groups customarily
praised in standard history books. They also discovered that the United
States, long described as the “saviour” of Hawai‘i, had actively participated
in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government, and in the extinguishment of
the Hawaiian nation. Pride in things Hawaiian led to a critical look at things
haole, and to a growing understanding that the “Americanization” of
Hawai‘i had meant the repression of Hawaiian people and the decline of
their culture.

Reclamation of a people’s identity through various cultural activities
appears to be a precursor of political and economic struggles for liberation.
It is as if psychological de-colonization must begin before the actual struggle
for political control. Frantz Fanon thought cultural assertion crucial to the
whole process of liberation. Amilcar Cabral, African nationalist from
Guinea-Bissau, believed this progression from cultural to political struggle
was characteristic of independence movements.

For Hawaiians, as for other Third World people, the process of
mental de-colonization led to cultural revival and political organizing. As
Fanon and Cabral had predicted, the freeing of indigenous minds from the
vice of the colonizers gave birth to a struggle for self-determination. The
very presence of the movement threatened the hold of American ideology.

If charted against Western values, the indigenous values that radical
Hawaiians asserted, as well as the threat that they posed, are immediately
clear.

**Hawaiian Values: Aloha ‘Āina**

(Love of the people for the land)

Sacredness of nature
Interdependence of people and nature
Protection and conservation of nature
Respect for the inherent value of each living object
Use and sharing among people of all resources

**Western Values: Capitalism and Individualism**

Primacy of the self, reproduction of profit
Instrumental view of nature
Domination of humans over nature
Exploitation and endless consumption of natural resources
Commodification of people and nature for profit

**‘Ohana (extended family, the collective) as central**

Laulima: cooperation among people; working together in harmony
Lōkahi; unity

Individual ownership and individual benefit
Individual as central
Competition among people — Class against class; individual against individual
Conflict, class antagonism

To Hawaiians in rural communities who wanted to preserve taro
patches, fish ponds, and other bountiful wild areas of nature to feed their
families and to perpetuate their culture, urban and resort development,
freeways, gas stations and the rest, were clear signs of a rapacious,
exploitative value system that placed gain over welfare, waste and
consumption over the needs of the common people.

In stark contrast to Western culture, Hawaiian values revealed a
culture whose religion, politics and economics were grounded in a
fundamental love for the land and its people. This culture presented an
admirable — and to many Hawaiians — a preferred alternative, to the haole
or Western way of life. More than this, such an alternative, if adopted by
Hawaiian communities, would ensure not only the preservation of the ʻaina
but also the perpetuation of Hawaiian people as Hawaiians, rather than as
colonized Americans.

The return to their culture thus gave to Hawaiians a sense of cultural
pride and creative identity denied them by colonization. In addition, the
more Hawaiians came to understand their culture through its actual
practice, the more they came to understand the need for land. Political
direction grew from that need until, by the end of the seventies, there was a
unified call for a land base.

The de-colonization of Hawaiians was aided by connections with
other people of colour early on in the movement. For example, in 1971,
Hawaiian representatives of the Kalama Valley struggle were sent to Black
Panther meetings on the American mainland. Upon their return, the
Kalama Valley support group, “Kōkua Hawai‘i”, was re-organized along the
lines of the Black Panther Party, including the creation of a Minister of
Defence. This re-organization had been preceded by the visit of Panther
Eldridge Cleaver to Hawai‘i. He had spoken about the commonalities
between Hawaiians and Blacks as colonized people. Indeed, an exchange of
militants between struggles formed one part of the outreach effort through­
out the Movement. In 1973, for example, Russell Means and Dennis Banks
visited Hawai‘i. They brought the message of a common oppression as
indigenous people. Hawaiians active in Welfare Rights struggles attended
conferences with Blacks and Chicanos in Los Angeles in the early seventies.
After the occupation of Kahoolawe by Hawaiian activists in 1976, several trips to the mainland were made to link up with Indian activists and other supportive groups. In 1982, Hawaiian activists spoke at the First International American Indian Tribunal, alongside Banks and Means, as well as representatives from Third World countries in Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific, Africa and the Americas. Visits from South Pacific islanders have also occurred. For example, radical Maori, Tahitian and Micronesian delegates to the 1980 Nuclear Free Pacific Conference held in Hawai'i, contributed enormously to the Hawaiians' consciousness regarding their sovereign rights. And the return visits of Hawaiian activists to the South Pacific have guaranteed an additional infusion of radical analysis to the Movement.

The effects of international networking have increased the political sense Hawaiians have gained from community struggle and cultural revival. Both sets of forces have shaped the Hawaiians’ demand for sovereignty. This demand has appeared in several forms: as a call for a completely independent Hawai'i under the exclusive or predominating control of Hawaiians; as a call for “limited sovereignty” on a specified land base administered by a single Hawaiian council, but subject to U.S. Federal regulations; as a call for legally-incorporated, land-based units within existing Hawaiian communities linked by a common, elective council; as a call for a “nation-within-a-nation”, on the model of American Indian nations; as a call for the return to a constitutional Hawaiian monarchy.

While these forms are debated by Hawaiians in the Movement, questions about socialist/communist parties and their role, including their positions on Hawaiian sovereignty, have also received attention. From the beginning of the movement in 1970, the Left and its socialist goals have been the source of intense controversy. For many radical Hawaiians, criticisms of the Left begin from the simple observation that Left parties do not, as a rule, have a substantial Hawaiian membership. Thus, Left participation in the Hawaiian Movement is automatically suspect. Indeed, some Hawaiians resent the Left much as Black radicals resented white liberals who sought to direct Black struggle in the sixties and seventies.

But membership is only the most obvious problem. More troubling to radical Hawaiians is the fact that the Left tends to adhere quite closely to a standard Marxist-Leninist view of history and thus tends to concentrate organizing efforts in urban areas where the working classes live. Now while most Hawaiians live in urban areas, they are not the activists calling for an independent land base and a cultural revival. It is the rural Hawaiians who have carried the Movement and it is to them that the Left’s ideology is abrasive, appearing “too haole” (i.e. Western), anti-cultural, and, in specific, strategic instances, against the interests and rights of the Hawaiian people. This last concern is especially crucial, because rural Hawaiians are most impacted by the continued development of land.

To these Hawaiians, the Left ignores a central Hawaiian focus: culture. Driven by a certain kind of historical analysis and ideology, many Leftists view Hawaiians as regressive, in the sense of historical evolution, because they insist on preserving a spiritual and material relationship to the land. In a Movement grounded in the indigenous people’s land and culture, such a position of neglect or outright hostility by the Left is bound to alienate Hawaiians.

Beyond this blindness is the deeper problem which it suggests to Hawaiians: that Leftists have no genealogical connection to the land, no love of its history, no profound attachments, either culturally or materially, to its great, everlasting presence. Because they have no bonds with the land, Leftists are often perceived as no different from other interlopers: they are not of the `aina, Hawai'i. Rather, they are, as Fanon says of the colonizers, “the others”.

The Hawaiian emphasis on land and culture also raises serious questions about industrialization — a key element in the achievement of socialist designs. From the perspective of Hawaiian nationalists, the Left cannot answer the criticism that industrialization destroys the spiritual relationship between humans and nature. For urban dwellers and other Westernized people, this destruction is almost incidental, an artifact of modern life. To the Left, it is a historical necessity. But to indigenous people whose heritage is defined by such a relationship, the loss of spiritual and material ties to the land signals an end to their way of life. The Left’s often dismissive attitude regarding this concern has further divided them from Hawaiian nationalists. Unfortunately, this division can be so extreme that, in some cases, Hawaiians perceive the Left, rather than the capitalist Establishment, as the enemy of the Hawaiian people and their indigenous rights.

These problems between the Left and radical movement Hawaiians will not be resolved, because the disagreements are fundamental ones of first importance. As in other Movements, such as the American Indian Movement, some members of the Left will continue to support the Hawaiian Movement, despite their disagreements. Other Leftists will not offer support and will, indeed, join the forces of opposition. But the Hawaiian movement will continue, whether or not the Left supports Hawaiian goals.

While members of the Hawaiian community discuss various paths toward self-determination, the question of whether Hawaiians should be
working for a land base recedes into the background. The presence of nearly two million acres (half the State) as Hawaiian trust lands — however abused by the State and Federal governments — fairly guarantees that such a question is no longer at issue. The problem for nationalist Hawaiians, therefore, is how to proceed politically to achieve an independent land base.

Several suggestions have been put forward by various Movement leaders and organizations which can be grouped under the following strategies: active education of Hawaiians about their history and native rights, and about the need for a land base; litigation against the State and Federal governments for abuses of trust lands and for reparations; offensive political demonstrations such as land seizures, illegal protests at restricted places, and disruptions of institutional activity; offensive cultural actions such as religious worship on sacred sites closed to such worship, the construction of fishing villages and taro patches on lands scheduled for other economic activity, and the disruption of tourist attractions which commodify and degrade Hawaiian culture. The purposes of offensive actions are threefold: they awaken both Hawaiians and the general public to Hawaiian problems; they assert rights through direct moves against abuse, or in support of cultural practices; they advance the Movement forward toward independence rather than holding it within the parameters of civil rights actions.

Such strategies have been used throughout the Movement and will continue for the foreseeable future. With these events, it is clear that the Hawaiian Movement has matured into a full-blown nationalist struggle. Whether the quest for independence will lead to the establishment of a sovereign land base for Hawaiians depends on the force of the Movement, and the strategies of its members, particularly networking with international groups. But the desire for independence burns on.

Notes

2. For demographic information on Hawaiians see Schmitt (1968). For a general discussion of Hawaiian health in precontact and postcontact times, see Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell’s report on native health in the *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report* (1983). It should be kept in mind that the estimates for the precontact population are guesses by Europeans who knew nothing about the culture or the inland settlements of the Hawaiians. My feeling is that the Hawaiian population estimate at contact will be revised upward, as the Indian population estimate has been, as a result of better archaeological work and statistical estimations based on it. To my knowledge, no such work has been completed to date. Given my general understanding of Hawai’i at the time of contact, I have chosen the highest recorded estimate by a European because my sense is that the actual population was considerably higher.

3. For one example, among hundreds if not thousands, of tourist industry apologists and their justification in terms of furthering the Hawaiian cultural revival, see the editorial by A.A. Smyser on ‘Hawaiian Problems’ (1982), and my response in ‘A Hawaiian View of Hawaiian Problems’ (1982).

4. For statistics on Hawaiians, see the *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, Vol. I, 1983. By 1970, tourists had increased five-fold, while Hawaiians suffered the worst fate of the five major ethnic groups (the haole, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Hawaiians): higher unemployment; occupational ghettoization in low-paying, non-professional jobs; high drop-out rate for school; lowest income levels; overrepresentation in prison and drug treatment facilities; worst health profile.


6. The analysis in this section is based on my own research through oral histories and primary documents regarding the Hawaiian Movement. The only other analysis readily available is an article by Davianna McGregor-Alegado (1980), but her article fails to distinguish Hawaiian struggles from other ethnic struggles. McGregor-Alegado gives scant treatment to the trend towards nationalism either from a cultural or political perspective, and provides little in the way of a theoretical context through which to appreciate Hawaiian conditions. There is no treatment at all of problems with the Left.

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Possible Forms of Sovereignty

WHAT LANDS WOULD BECOME the sovereign Hawaiian nation? And what would the relationship of this nation be to the United States?

The form Hawaiian sovereignty will take should be decided by the whole Hawaiian people. Some models that have been proposed in recent years are discussed briefly here.

Nationhood Under the Aegis of the United States — "Nation within a Nation" The American Indian Model

There are 309 recognized nations within the territorial United States. American Indians, including Aleuts and Inuits, comprise the first 308. The 309th is the United States of America. Some of the sovereignty groups, such as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, and various individuals who have spoken or written publicly on the topic, are proposing nationhood within the territorial limits of the United States through a treaty or Congressional resolution with the United States. They want a sovereign status similar to that of the native American Indians.

Some people from these groups back this form of sovereignty because they think that America will never allow secession from the Union. The Civil War was fought to prevent secession, and even though the circumstances are entirely different, that war set the degree of commitment
and sacrifice Americans feel they must match in order to prevent secession. Others think that the American military would block secession, or that the one power even stronger than the military—financial interests—would prevent it. Some people support the “nation within a nation” concept because they see it as the first, more viable, step in a process of ultimate total separation. Others support it because they genuinely believe it is the most desirable form of sovereignty. Whatever their reasons, supporters are agreed that what is at least possible at the present time, is self-determination on somewhat the American Indian model.

Consider the “nation within a nation” model of an American Indian tribe: “Tribal’ status entails sovereignty over members of a native group and control of an identified territory. Under this model, sovereignty is limited by the federal government, and the tribe must work with and within the American political and governmental system. But this type of sovereignty does include power to establish a preferred form of government, power to determine membership of the group, police power within native territory, power to administer justice with some limitations, power to exclude persons from native territory, and power to charter business organizations. Under this type of model, Hawaiians would not only have an identified land base, they would also have primary determination as to the development and management of the resources of their territory. The tribal model creates a solid basis for preserving cultural practices and values.”

Addressing the point of the land base which would become the “tribal territory,” Hawaiians are asking for the return of the Ceded Lands. They would form the territory to be governed by the Hawaiian Nation and would provide the tax base to support that government. To give an example, much of downtown Honolulu is privately owned land; much of Kane’ohe belongs to Castle Estate. Both would remain a part of the State of Hawai‘i. But large sections of the Wai‘anae Coast are Ceded Lands, the “government lands” that were set aside by Kamehameha III for the benefit of his people. That area would become part of the Hawaiian nation, and follow the laws and pay taxes to the Hawaiian nation.

When the territory of the new nation is separated from the State, some Hawaiians speak of a willingness to make swaps of some Ceded Lands to arrive at greater contiguity. But they are not willing to wind up with only unproductive lands like they did with the Hawaiian Homes Act, nor are they willing to wind up with only country lands. They do not want to be land rich and money poor, another impoverished native people looked down on by American society because they cannot take care of themselves. Some of the highest tax generating entities in the State sit on Ceded Lands. The Hawaiian nation would need tax support, just as any nation does. Hawaiians should not be expected to trade the lucrative Honolulu International Airport for Kawainui Marsh.

If a form of the American Indian model is adopted, many Hawaiians seriously object to placing the Hawaiian nation under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. History has shown that this would not be desirable. Many question whether any intermediary organization like the Bureau is necessary at all. They would have the United States deal directly with the Hawaiian nation, and have the nation do its own lobbying in Congress.
Those Indian tribes who have the greatest success in their relationships with the federal government deal with it on a “nation” to “nation” status. That is, they relate with it, not as ‘ohana, or homestead organizations, or island-of-Maui residents, nor as “tribes,” nor as native American “peoples.” Treaties have established the most successful tribes as nations. And they deal with the federal government “nation-to-nation,” while remaining nations within a nation.

In a bold step, confident of nationhood, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs has begun a program to develop “tribal rolls,” enrolling all people of Hawaiian ancestry. At present OHA intends to use this enrollment as a numerical power base to give it clout in negotiating with the federal government. State and national censuses show that there are more than 200,000 pure-blood and part-Hawaiian people living in Hawai‘i, in continental America, and throughout the world. The enrollment will create a “tribal roll” of the members of the new Hawaiian nation, naming those who will come under its laws and share its benefits. Defining Hawaiian citizens through such a “tribal roll” is a necessary step if Hawaiians are to pursue “nation within a nation” status according to the American Indian model.

The “Blueprint for Native Hawaiian Entitlements,” (September, 1989) which announces this enrollment, also spells out OHA’s tentative position on what it will seek in the way of nationhood. By contrast with the bold enrollment initiative, what it seeks is extremely conservative. The Blueprint basically suggests asking for the return of only “a substantial portion” of the Ceded Lands, half interest in all resources in submerged lands and offshore waters, back rent for Ceded Lands used by others since 1898, rights to clean water, limited beach access, traditional trail access, fishing, hunting, and gathering rights, freedom for religious practices, and access to historic and cultural sites—along with self-determination and self-governance. Many people feel the “Blueprint” sells the Hawaiian people far too short. It is a working document, however, presented for discussion at public meetings, and intended to be changed through input by the Hawaiian people.

A Distinctively Different, Broader Form of Hawaiian Sovereignty

Hawaiians have a totally unique situation. What they come up with in dealing with the federal government should be unique. This is not the early nineteenth century when most Indian treaties were signed; it is the end of the twentieth. Treaties with the American Indians can be used as precedents, but two hundred years of history offer valuable lessons about what is of value in treaties and what is not.

American Indian sovereignty is limited in various ways, and these limits have not served the Indians well. One area where Hawaiians may need broader rights involves international affairs. Hawaiians are part of the Polynesian race. Steps taken in the last two decades have reestablished and strengthened those ties. Perhaps Hawaiians legitimately require the right to form pacts and treaties with the other peoples of the Pacific.

American Indian law-making and law-enforcement is limited. State laws apply on many Indian reservations. Given the number of Hawaiians who have difficulty with American laws, perhaps Hawaiians need their own system
of law and justice, and complete freedom from state laws within Hawaiian territorial limits.

Taxation is limited among Indian tribes. Hawai‘i is not an arid, desert area. It is a lush, productive island group, where taxation would make the difference between a prosperous nation and an impoverished one. Taxes collected on tourist dollars spent in the Hawaiian nation should stay in the Hawaiian nation.

If the “nation within a nation” concept is eventually adopted, it can be expected that it will include greater actual separation from the U.S. government and greater sovereignty than American Indians enjoy.

A plan being considered by Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i would broaden Hawaiian independence by stages. Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i looks at the most sovereign of the Indian nations, the Iroquois, and sees that they have their own status at the United Nations separate from the United States. Iroquois also travel the world on their own passports. Their degree of sovereignty is indeed great. As a first step for the Hawaiian nation, Ka Lāhui proposes achieving—through treaty—recognition as a sovereign nation within the United States with “nation-to-nation” status like that of the Iroquois. This recognition would also include return of lands which would form the land base for the new Hawaiian nation.

Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i would then move to place the Hawaiian land base on the United Nations’ list of non-self-governing territories, since the land base still lies within the territory of the United States. This would place the Hawaiian nation under United Nations supervision and give it special guarantees of security accorded non-self-governing nations. It would also guarantee Hawaiians the right to further determine the kind of relationship they want with the United States. One relationship model being studied is “free association,” such as is enjoyed by the Trust Territories of the Pacific. This would keep the Hawaiian nation within the American sphere of influence, but would allow it to interact freely in the international arena.

Restoration of the Hawaiian Nation

Another model for sovereignty calls for total separation from the United States and restoration of the sovereign Hawaiian nation. Proposed by both Pōka Laenui (Hayden Burgess) and by Peggie Ha‘o Ross, and their followers, and supported now by many other groups, this call for a truly sovereign and independent Hawaiian nation simply recognizes that the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy was an illegal act of the United States government, and that the way for the United States to right that wrong is to withdraw from the islands and restore them to the rule of a Hawaiian nation. Supporters of this form of sovereignty contend that any settlement which in any way subordinates the Hawaiian islands to the United States is not a restoration of Hawaiian freedom and self-determination. They clearly are talking about total separation of Hawai‘i from the United States.

One should not assume that the proponents of total Hawaiian sovereignty are madmen, or Communists, or traitors, or hot-headed revolutionaries. They are doctors and lawyers and professors and corporation executives, as well as small-business people and laborers and farmers and fishermen—who have studied their history, and who believe
that the only just reparation for the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation is the return of native Hawaiian sovereignty in the form of an independent nation.

These individuals have gone to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, to the United Nations, to the International Labor Organization, and to the World Court, to present the Hawaiian cause before these international bodies.

They point to a basic American tenet which Abraham Lincoln so well espoused in regard to Black slavery in the south: “No man has a right to rule over another without his consent.” They accurately report that Hawaiians have never consented to rule by America. No native Hawaiian participated in the conspiracy that brought about the overthrow of the monarchy or in the overthrow itself. Hawaiians did not participate in the provisional government or in its decision to seek annexation. No vote of the people was taken to approve the treaty of annexation, or the establishment of the Territory of Hawai‘i by the Congress. And when the votes for Statehood were taken, there were no statistics for how native Hawaiians voted, but the vote was phrased in such a way that the voter would remain an American citizen whatever the outcome. Hawaiians have never voted for union with the United States. Proponents of independence contend that Hawaiians would always have preferred their own nation.

Advocates of total separation foresee a restructuring of the new independent island nation around Hawaiian culture, Hawaiian expectations, and Hawaiian goals. They also recognize that they and the people who will constitute the citizenry are products of one hundred years of association with American ideals of democracy and principles of justice and fair play. These ideals and principles will continue to guide their actions. Proponents of total independence anticipate that basic American frameworks will have their place in guiding their formulations of government, just as will the structures adopted by the Hawaiian Kingdom in the past. They also recognize that private property and respect for its ownership were well established during the period of the monarchy.

Regarding citizenship, they note that citizens of the Hawaiian kingdom before 1893 included not only people with native Hawaiian blood, but also children born in Hawai‘i, and people who went through the process of becoming naturalized citizens. Various groups active in the sovereignty movement hesitate to define points too precisely. By keeping concepts somewhat fluid or open to change, they keep the movement open to followers unable to support certain individual tenets. Statements on such things as what would constitute citizenship, therefore, are not nailed down. Pōkē Laenui feels that a real, living relationship with the land is basic, along with a devotion to Hawai‘i and to native Hawaiian culture. He states, “The people I grew up with were from many races, but we all loved Hawai‘i. We identified with the land. We knew we were Hawaiians.” Citizens would at least be those with Hawaiian blood and others born here, if they pledged their support to the nation. “When it came to others...That’s hard...I guess I would want to see attachment to the land, loyalty to the nation, and a real commitment to acculturation.”
Some proponents also say that the independent nation should set its own policies on immigration. Recognizing that the present paving over of Hawai‘i is taking place because of unbridled immigration, advocates of total separation would clamp an immediate freeze on immigration. A limit to the number of foreigners—non-citizens—who could live in the nation also would be set. Thinking ahead to what might happen with the establishment of an independent nation, proponents anticipate that some Americans may leave, wishing to live on American soil and under American laws. Envisioning a refocusing of the Hawaiian government away from fast growth and unchecked pursuit of the Yankee dollar, it is possible that other nationals would also move away. There could be a change in the balance of the races living in the new nation because of this.²

The nation many propose would truly be a Hawaiian nation, distinctively different in the world: a sovereign nation composed of people of many races who felt themselves a part of the islands and who sensed a oneness with the native people: a citizenry that supported the revitalization of Hawaiian culture with its traditional world view and approach to life. A Hawaiian nation ruled by Hawaiians. A nation not lost in its past, but embracing the present and the future from a uniquely Hawaiian perspective, and going about life in “the Hawaiian way.”

Other Models for Sovereignty

Again, many variations are being developed from these basic models. Rather than demanding the whole archipelago for the new, totally independent Hawaiian nation, some speak of settling for parts of the islands, such as the Ceded Lands, or contiguous areas swapped for the Ceded Lands. Others speak of taking a number of islands for the independent Hawaiian nation, and letting the rest of the islands remain part of the United States.

How Nationhood Would Be Restored

A question not yet addressed is how sovereignty would be brought about. The answer varies with the type of sovereignty. If “native-American nation within the U.S. nation” status is decided upon, sovereignty would be granted by the Congress of the United States. Ordinarily this would be done by treaty, in which case the Senate alone would have to approve the treaty by a two-thirds majority. Seemingly, a native-American nation could also be established by a Resolution passed by a simple majority of both houses of Congress.

It can be an amazingly simple process. When the Menominee Indians were seeking the reestablishment of their tribe, one woman, Ada E. Deer, spent just one year in Washington lobbying legislators and lining up the votes of the Congress. When she was sure of enough votes to guarantee passage, the bill was moved to the floor, and the Menominees received not only the return of their tribal lands and tribal rights, but more than they began with when they signed papers of detribalization.³ The Hawaiian situation is much more complex than that of the Menominees, but the process would be the same.

If the Hawaiian people decide they want a totally independent Hawaiian nation, they would also effect this by negotiating a treaty or a Resolution with the Congress of the United States. An international tribunal such as the United
What You Can Do

YOU CAN BECOME INVOLVED—become a real part of the process—even at the greatest distance. Most of the people in America are totally unaware that there is any problem. Talk about it. Get others interested and concerned for the Hawaiian people in their struggle for survival. Follow the progress of the sovereignty movement. But most importantly, write letters to the state legislators of Hawaii and to national congressmen.

Many Americans are caught up in the idea that America is always right, and that the way Americans think and act is best. But Americans have been wrong in Hawaii. America has imposed its values and its economically-based lifestyle on the native people, and then to secure its hold, it has overthrown their monarch, toppled the government, and rewarded the agents of its actions with incredible wealth and power, while allowing them to reduce the native Hawaiian race to the lowest stratum of island existence. Since statehood, America has offered the islands to the rape of developers and speculators who have ignored the beautiful and scoffed at the sacred and pushed the cost of shelter so high that many native people are homeless.

There are few people on the face of the globe who so deeply commune with nature around them as do the Hawaiian people. The world-view which has given direction to Hawaiian life for two thousand years tells the Hawaiian that he is a participant in a conscious interrelating natural community from which he is descended and to
Essay Question:

Compare the nature and origins of the sovereignty movement in Hawaii with the indigenous movement you researched. What are the future prospects for both groups?
UNIT 6: NUCLEAR TESTING IN THE PACIFIC

OVERVIEW: This unit provides a survey of nuclear activities and trends in the Pacific since World War II and examines the impact of superpower rivalry in the region. First, it compares the United States nuclear testing program in the Marshall Islands with the French nuclear testing program in French Polynesia. Second, it considers the short term and long term effects of nuclear testing on Pacific Islanders and their environments. Third, it traces the development of an anti-nuclear movement in the Pacific, with particular reference to the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty signed in 1985 and recent suggestions of using certain islands in the Pacific as nuclear dumping sites.

Students will read several articles on the nuclear testing programs conducted in the Marshall Islands by the United States and Moruroa in the Tuamotu Islands of French Polynesia, used for the French "Force du Frappe". They will discuss efforts among Pacific Islanders to declare the Pacific nuclear free, and they will debate the issue of using the Marshall Islands as a possible site for the dumping of atomic waste.

READINGS/MATERIALS:

1. "The Nuclear History of the Pacific", Stewart Firth
2. "Militarism in the Pacific" (fact sheet by the S. Pacific People's Foundation)
3. Discussion questions for seminar
4. Series of articles on nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands
5. Series of articles on nuclear testing in French Polynesia
6. Series of articles on nuclear-free movement in the Pacific
8. Article - "Nuclear Waste may end up here", (Star Bulletin, 6/24/94)
9. Further Readings
THE NUCLEAR HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC

Nuclear issues have been in the news in the South Pacific in recent years: New Zealand bans nuclear warships from its port and has declared itself nuclear-free; French secret service agents bombed the Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbor in 1985 in order to stop it from sailing on a protest voyage to Moruroa Atoll in French Polynesia, where France continues to test nuclear weapons; Palau, an American trust territory, continues to be deadlocked with the United States over the issue of its nuclear-free constitution; the South Pacific Forum, an organization which brings together the independent and self-governing countries of the South Pacific, has concluded a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty; and another regional treaty now bans the dumping of nuclear waste in the ocean.

Why do many Pacific Islanders feel strongly about nuclear tests and nuclear weapons? Is it because of the influence of the peace movements in the West, or are there specifically Pacific reasons for this anti-nuclear sentiment?

I say that the nuclear history of the Pacific Islands explains why Islanders feel the way they do. More than many people realize, the Islands have been and are the sites of nuclear and nuclear-related experiments. The United States exploded 66 atomic and hydrogen bombs at the Pacific Proving Ground in the Marshall Islands between 1946 and 1958. Although that is past history now, the effects of those tests linger in two ways: in the dislocation of the people of Bikini and Enewetak; and in the health of the remaining people of Rongelap and Utirik [numbering 174 in 1986] who were exposed to fallout by the Bravo H-bomb test of 1954. The story of what happened to the Marshallese is known by many other Pacific Islanders.

The more important influence on Island attitudes, however, comes from French nuclear testing. France exploded 41 nuclear bombs in the atmosphere between 1966 and 1975, and has tested underground at Moruroa Atoll ever since. Unlike the Americans, the French have never admitted to any mistakes in the testing program and have never paid compensation. They claim their tests under the atoll lagoon are perfectly safe. But the response of Pacific peoples is to say: "If your tests are so safe, why not conduct them in France?". The French reply that French Polynesia is indeed part of France.

The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty is meant to put pressure on France to stop testing at Moruroa. Many people in the South Pacific are disappointed that the United
States has not signed the treaty, and that the Americans do not do more to discourage the nuclear activities of the French.

Militarism in the Pacific

A Fact Sheet by The South Pacific Peoples

THE LINK BETWEEN MILITARISM AND COLONIALISM
The Pacific ocean contains some of the world's last vestiges of colonialism. It also continues to suffer from some of the worst effects of militarism, including acting as an unwilling host to the latest round in the nuclear arms race. The link between colonialism, militarism, and the nuclear issue is manifested in the debate regarding nuclear activity.

The debate features two poles of opinion. At one pole are proponents of increased nuclear activity, for whom nuclear weapons are a means of guaranteeing the security of international trade and of protecting strategic interests. At the other pole are popular organizations who reject nuclear activity, proposing instead an alternative means of security based on a comprehensive Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone, linked to independence for non-self-governing Pacific territories. The popular movement for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific views colonialism and militarism - especially use of the Pacific for the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons - as interconnected aspects of a single issue.

MILITARISM IN THE PACIFIC
The most obvious manifestation of militarism in the Pacific is the presence of foreign military bases. There are almost 200 foreign military bases on the smaller Pacific islands. The United States has 167, France 15, and Japan and Chile 1 each. Along the Pacific Rim the US has another 350 bases, Great Britain 13, the USSR 10, and Australia and New Zealand 3 each. US military officials claim that the US build-up in the Pacific merely balances a recent Soviet naval thrust into the region. Although the USSR expanded its Pacific naval forces during the last decade, US numbers and capabilities in the Pacific still far outstrip those of any other nation.

COLONIALISM IN THE PACIFIC
Since the 70s, former British colonies, including Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu, have achieved independence. However, colonialism continues in the Pacific, as the US, France, Great Britain, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, and Chile still have Pacific Island territories. Forms of increased self-government are being negotiated in some territories, while in others, colonial governments are working towards greater integration. Much of contemporary colonialism in the Pacific is motivated in large part by the perceived need of the colonizing powers for military bases and for testing grounds for their military capabilities and technologies.

US NUCLEAR TESTING
The Japanese defeat in the Pacific War left the US in ascendancy in the Pacific. The islands of the North Pacific which make up Micronesia had been key to the US victory over Japan. The aircraft that dropped the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were launched from the island of Tinian. In 1947 these islands were organized into the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), and administration of the trust territory was given to the US. The territory was declared a "strategic" trust, allowing the US to establish military bases there.

In 1946, even before the establishment of the TTPI, the US had begun a series of 23 atmospheric nuclear tests. In 1948 the US commenced a series of 43 atmospheric tests over Enewetok Atoll in the Marshall Islands. At the same time, the US and Great Britain, exploded another 37 nuclear bombs in the atmosphere at Johnston Atoll and Christmas Island. In 1963 the US, together with the USSR and Great Britain, signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty which banned the testing of nuclear bombs in the atmosphere.

Medical Effects of US Nuclear Testing
The Partial Test Ban Treaty came too late for many. Marshall Islanders living on atolls neighbouring the test site, Japanese fishermen, and even US military agents sent out to witness the tests had all been exposed to radioactive fallout. During the testing of Bravo at Bikini, people from the neighbouring atolls of Rongelap and Utirik were exposed to fallout for 2 to 3 days before US ships picked them up.

Many Marshallese believe the delay was deliberate, motivated by the desire of the US Atomic Energy Commission to have an irradiated population for long-term study. The 1975 Brookhaven National Laboratory report on Rongelap and Utirik states: "The group of irradiated Marshallese people offers a most valuable source of data on human beings who have sustained injury from all the possible modes of exposure." The data reveals many cases of radiation sickness and burns, and abnormally high levels of cancers, cataracts, miscarriages, genetic mutations, debilitating diseases, and early death.

Social Effects of US Nuclear Testing
In addition to illness and death caused by radiation exposure, militarism has subjected Pacific Island peoples to dislocation from their islands, destruction of their environment and food-producing resources, loss of cultural traditions and ways of life, and economic dependency.
In the case of US nuclear testing, this cycle of physical dislocation, social dislocation, and economic dependency began in 1946 when the people of Bikini and Enewetok were moved from their islands. Islanders were assured that the relocation was temporary and that they would be returned to their atoll after the tests were concluded. By the end of the testing six islands had been vaporized. The rest were too radioactive for habitation and will remain so for years to come.

The islands chosen for the relocation of Bikini and Enewetok islanders proved economically unviable due to poor fishing grounds, infertile soil, and isolation from trading partners. Unable to return to their native homelands and resume traditional and self-sustaining modes of living, the islanders have been forced to depend on US handouts to survive.

Nuclear Missile Testing: KWAJALEIN

Kwajalein Island, in Kwajalein Atoll, was chosen as the site for a US navy refueling base to service nuclear testing taking place in other parts of the Marshall Islands. In 1951 Kwajalein islanders were evicted and moved to nearby Ebeye island. 550 people were placed in housing built for 370.

When US nuclear testing ended, Kwajalein Lagoon was chosen as the target site for inter-continental ballistic missiles launched from Vandenburg Air Force Base in California. Today the lagoon is also used to test the "Star Wars" space intercepting warheads, and to provide facilities for the Pacific Anti-Satellite system. Two-thirds of the lagoon was designated as the prime target area and several hundred people living on islands in the area were moved to Ebeye. By the mid-60s the population of Ebeye was 4500. Today, in a situation of virtual apartheid, over 9000 Marshall Islanders live crowded in the 33-hectare slum of Ebeye, while American military personnel live in luxury at the base on Kwajalein.

With no space to grow food and traditional fishing restricted by a combination of pollution and prohibition by the US army, people on Ebeye are dependent on the US to supply them with food and clean water. Health facilities on Ebeye are inadequate and there is no secondary school. Kwajalein, 5 km away, has an excellent hospital and secondary school. Both are off-limits to Ebeye residents, who require a special pass to go to Kwajalein and must leave by nightfall.

In 1969 the indigenous landowners began a series of demonstrations in which they set up camps on some of the "off-limits" islands and on Kwajalein itself. In 1982, when the US sought unqualified military rights for a further 50 years, over 1000 Marshallese staged "Operation Homecoming" returning to their native islands. After four months of protest the Marshallese were persuaded to return to Ebeye, with promises of a $10 million fund for improvement of conditions at Ebeye, permission for natives of six islands to return home for three six-week periods each year, and a shortening of the military access agreement from 50 to 30 years.

The Struggle to Remain Nuclear-Free: BELAU

While wishing to terminate the UN Trusteeship for Micronesia, the US has been reluctant to do so at the price of loss of military access to the region. In 1975 the Northern Marianas were incorporated into US territory as a Commonwealth, thus guaranteeing access to Tinian for the US military. In 1985 the US was able to reach agreements with the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. Each "Compact of Free Association" guarantees US strategic interests in return for limited self-government, financial compensation and maintenance of rights of access to the US for Micronesians students and immigrants.

In 1979, Belau adopted a Constitution that bans the storage, testing, and disposal of nuclear materials within its territory without approval of 75% of the votes cast in a referendum. It also bans the expropriation of land for use by foreigners. These provisions conflict with US military plans that include use of 30% of Belau's land for military bases, a weapons storage depot, jungle warfare training operations, transit of nuclear vessels and aircraft, and a deepwater port for Trident submarines. The US sees Belau as a possible alternative location for US bases in the Philippines if the Philippine base agreement is not renewed in 1991.

Since 1979, the people of Belau have resisted US pressure to compromise their nuclear-free status. The US has forced Belau to conduct eleven votes on the Compact and/or Constitution in eleven years, but each time has failed to get approval for its plans. In February 1990 another referendum was held which once again fell short of the 75% needed for approval of the Compact.

War Games in the Pacific: KAOLOLAWE

The US regularly organizes multi-national military war games in the Pacific to increase integration of the Pacific allied forces. RIMPAC is one large-scale, multi-lateral naval
South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty

After a long campaign by the NFIP movement, on August 6, 1985, 8 of the 13 members of the South Pacific Forum, signed the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty (SPNFZT), the Treaty of Rarotonga. The eight members were Australia, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Zealand, Niue, Tuvalu, and West Samoa. Papua New Guinea, Nauru, and the Solomon Islands signed later. Tonga and Vanuatu have not signed.

Yet the signing of the Treaty was only a partial victory. Vanuatu continues to refuse to sign what it considers a limited, "partial treaty." Signatories to the SPNFZT did pledge not to acquire or possess nuclear weapons themselves and to prohibit the stationing or testing of nuclear weapons on their territory. But the treaty does not prohibit transit and port calls by nuclear armed and powered ships, submarines, or aircraft, nor missile testing in the region by China, the USSR, and the US. By allowing for port calls, the treaty enables nuclear weapons to be stationed almost permanently in the harbours of Pacific countries.

CONCLUSION

Despite the end of the cold war in Europe and the UN goal of the erradication of colonialism in all its forms by the year 2000, both militarism and colonialism continue to flourish in the South Pacific. Whether the 21st century proves to be a new era of independence, development, and peace in the Pacific will depend both on the actions of the people of the Pacific Islands and on those outside the region recognizing the right of the people of the Pacific Islands to determine their own fate.
IAN s-the remote, unspoiled Pacific, which is still the essence of Micronesia: men in loincloths, bare-breasted women, palm-thatched huts, outrigger canoes, coconut trees, coral reefs, and sparkling, azure lagoons—a South-Pacific stereotype for the few fortunate travelers willing to look for it, able to find it, and ready to enjoy it.

Like an idyllic on the outer Islands, with no hotels, cars, electricity, drugs, crime, rich or poor, lots of food for everyone, and an almost money-free existence based on fishing and gardening. Where else would you be "lent" an uninhabited sland with dazzling white-powder sand for as long as you wish to stay?

Micronesia is much less developed touristically than the main Pacific islands because few Americans ever get beyond Hawaii, and few Japanese ever get past Saipan/Guam. Everywhere in the Federated States you'll

The Federated States of Micronesia (hereafter FSM) is the largest and most populous political entity to emerge from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. It includes all of the Caroline Islands except Belau. Although they share a common history, each of the four state centers of the Federated States has a character and geography of its own. Pohnpei (formerly Ponape) is a lush, volcanic island with much to entice the hiker and historian, while Kosrae has better beaches and a friendly, easy-going people. Truk is best known for its underwater war wreckage, although its real attraction is a rare chance to get off the beaten tourist track. Yap is a stronghold of traditional Micronesian culture.

The towns where the planes drop you offer most conveniences of modern American life. The adventurer willing to forgo these comforts, however, should explore the outer islands—the remote, unspoiled Pacific, which is still the essence of Micronesia: men in loincloths, bare-breasted women, palm-thatched huts, outrigger canoes, coconut trees, coral reefs, and sparkling, azure lagoons—a South-Pacific stereotype for the few fortunate travelers willing to look for it, able to find it, and ready to enjoy it.

Despite widespread medical problems ranging from cataracts to numerous miscarriages and "jellyfish" babies, the scientists have restricted their studies to thyroid problems. Nineteen out of 21 children on Rongelap at the time of the blast have had thyroid tumors removed; all face premature death from cancer.

In 1971 the U.S. Government terminated a study of the Marshalls begun by a Gensuikin medical team from Japan, and despite numerous requests from the Marshallese no independent health survey has ever been carried out. Instead, information from official U.S. studies has been concealed. Distrustful of Department of Energy scientists, the Rongelapese say they want an independent radiological assessment of the atoll before they will agree to return. West German scientists are to carry out the task. If required, a cleanup of Rongelap could cost $93 million.

In 1978 the Dept. of Energy admitted that a total of 14 atolls in the Marshalls had been contaminated during the U.S. testing, yet only the people of Rongelap and Utirik have ever been checked for radiation-related sickness by U.S. doctors. The 42,000 U.S. servicemen present at the "Operation Crossroads" testing in Bikini were also exposed to significant radiation, yet this situation has never been recognized by the government nor any compensation paid.

The well-publicized events at Rongelap shocked the world, leading to the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England, the Pugwash movement in Nova Scotia, and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in the United States. Public protests forced the U.S. to halt its tests in 1958 and sign the Limited Test Ban Treaty with Britain and the USSR in 1963.
REPUBLIC OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

Courtesy of the U.S. Peace Corps
No Rainbow For Nuclear Refugees

Three years after the irradiated population from the atoll of Rongelap was evacuated, the islanders are still suffering. By David Robie

More than 300 nuclear refugees evacuated from Rongelap atoll by the Rainbow Warrior shortly before the peace ship was bombed in New Zealand three years ago are still looking for a new home after an independent report has confirmed some of their radiation fears.

Elders of the islanders, now living a harsh lifestyle on Mejato in the Marshall Islands, are seeking an uninhabited island on Majuro atoll close to the capital of the republic. But they have not lost hope of returning to their home and are still lobbying for a full health and radiological survey on Rongelap.

The US Department of Energy (DOE) is claimed by the report to have had evidence the Rongelap islanders may have suffered from radiation exposure for several years after the Bravo thermonuclear test in 1954 — yet it lets them live on their contaminated atoll without explaining the medical findings to them. Even though DOE scientists monitored depressed white blood-cell counts and high levels of plutonium in the urine of the Rongelap islanders, the report claims, they interpreted the findings as "anomalous."

The medical data emerged during a recent scientific review of a 1982 DOE report that concluded that all but the atoll's northern ring of islets — the islanders' food larder — was now safe. The United States Congress ordered the review after a second mass exodus by islanders aboard the Rainbow Warrior in May 1985; the population had earlier been evacuated by United States authorities after the Bravo test and allowed to return three years later.

The islanders are not satisfied with the impartiality of the latest survey; they believe they were used as guinea pigs by US authorities to monitor the long-term effects of radiation on a human population, and had sought a study conducted by foreign researchers. They are also still seeking $US6 million to pay for a full radiological survey of their homeland and in compensation for their exile.

The islanders last year sought a three-member team to conduct the investigation: Canadian radiobiologist Dr Rosalie Bertell, author of No Immediate Danger (an expose on how world nuclear authorities cover up the dangers and consequences of irradiation) and a researcher for the Toronto-based International Institute of Concern for Public Health; and West German Dr Ute Boikat, of the University of Bremen, and Bernd Franke, of Heidelberg's Institute of Energy and Environmental Research.

But the Marshall Islands Government, acting under pressure from US authorities, refused to give a clearance for this team under Dr Bertell's direction alone. Another possibility had been a team headed by American radiation specialist Dr Robert Gale, who went to the Soviet Union to perform bone marrow transplants on radiation victims after the 1986 Chernobyl meltdown disaster.

That proposal also fell through.

Instead, an 11-member panel of international experts was set up that included Dr Bertell and Mr Franke. The panel's preliminary report to the Congress house appropriations subcommittee has concluded that returning to Rongelap is "permissible" for adults providing they are given geographical and dietary restrictions. The team deferred any recommendation on children until further review.

Bertell and Franke dissented, calling for more extensive physiological and radioactivity measurements.

Among the majority was Dr Robert Conard, who headed the Marshall Islands medical program for Brookhaven National Laboratory from 1957 to 1980. In his first year in charge, three years after the Bravo Test, the laboratory produced a document that declared: "Greater knowledge of radiation effects on human beings is badly needed ... Though the radioactive contamination of Rongelap island is considered perfectly safe for human habitation, the levels of activity are higher than those found in other inhabited locations in the world. The habitation of these people on the island will afford the most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings."

Thirty-one years of tragedy and suffering forced 320 Rongelap Islanders to abandon their atoll. They were evacuated at their own request less than two months before the Greenpeace movement's flagship was sabotaged by French agents in Auckland harbour on July 10, 1983.

The nuclear refugees settled on Mejato, a 16-hectare uninhabited island on the northeastern tip of the vast Kwajalein atoll across the lagoon from the US missile testing range. Today living conditions remain bleak: a village has been constructed from their stripped buildings on Rongelap, but life remains hard and depressing and food is always running short. The Rongelap elders believe they will be able to build a better life on Majuro atoll, whereas new home is being considered.

Their ordeal began on March 1, 1954 — now known as Bikini Day — when the United States dropped a 15 megaton thermonuclear bomb on Bikini atoll, 160 km west of Rongelap. Taken off three days later, the Rongelap islanders were allowed to return in 1957, but the damage had already been done: a legacy of leukaemia, miscarriages, birth defects, thyroid tumours and damaged genes.

"Like many of our women exposed during the bomb tests, I have many miscarriages; seven," says Lijon Eknilang, one of the island leaders. "I have lived in fear and I feel my life is in danger. I sometimes feel my body is on fire."

Miscarriages used to be rare on Rongelap. "Now miscarriages happen all the time. We take them for granted," Eknilang says. "We never used to have problems with mentally retarded children, or youngsters.
Nuclear Refugees

Evacuation from the atoll of Rongelap was suffering. By David Robie

the Marshall Islands, now acting under pressure from US authorities, requested clearance for this action from Dr. Bertell's directorate. Another possibility is a team headed by radiation specialist Dr. Frank, who went to the Solomon Islands to perform bone marrow samples on radiation victims.

The proposal also fell through. As an 11-member panel of radiation experts was set to take over, Dr. Bertell and the panel's preliminary report to the Congress house subcommittee led that returning to the atoll is "permissible" for providing they are given medical and dietary restrictions, and that the mission deferred any radiation on children either then or in the future.

Dr. Frank also had reservations. "Though the accounts of Dr. Bertell and the others who headed the physical examination of Rongelap Island is considered safe for human habitation, the activity is higher than those places that are inhabited locations in the habitation of these people on the atoll."

The majority was Dr. Bertell, who headed the Marshall Islands medical program at Brookhaven National Laboratory from 1957 to 1960. In his first large three years after the Bravo explosion, the agency produced a document: "Greater knowledge of radiation effects on human beings is badly needed."

Rongelap island is considered safe for human habitation, and activity is higher than those inhabited locations in the habitation of these people on the atoll. The Rongelap elders believe they will be able to build a better life on Majuro atoll, whereas new home is being considered.

Their ordainment began on March 1, 1954 — now known as Bikini Day — when the United States dropped a 15 megaton thermonuclear bomb on Bikini atoll, 160 km west of Rongelap. Taken off three days later, the Rongelap islanders were allowed to return in 1957, but the damage had already been done: a legacy of leukemia, miscarriages, birth defects, thyroid tumors and damaged genes.

"Like many of our women exposed during the bomb tests, I have many miscarriages; seven," says Lijon Ekniglo, one of the island leaders. "I have lived in fear and I feel my life is in danger. I sometimes feel my body is on fire."

Miscarriages used to be rare on Rongelap. "Now miscarriages happen all the time. We take them for granted," Ekniglo says. "We never used to have problems with mentally retarded children, or youngsters with stunted growth. Now it is frequent."

"There have been at least six or seven "jellyfish babies" — they have no face. They have short bodies, stubby legs and look fat and shapeless. They live for half a day or so and then die."

"Losing my homeland really hurts me. It hurts me terribly. It is sad for our children: they'll grow up hearing about our traditional home, but I don't know if they will ever be able to go back there."

Rongelap elders, supported by American lawyers and Bertell and Franke (who obtained the controversial medical data) said the DOE should have investigated what were obvious signs of radiation disease and kept the islanders fully informed. Instead, they claimed, the agency had "covered up" the data to deflect criticism from the US nuclear-weapons program and avoid high compensation claims.

However, officials of the DOE and specialists at Brookhaven laboratory, which has tested the Rongelap Islanders since 1957, claimed the data had "little medical significance" and that radiation "posed no health danger."

The 1982 survey, translated into the Marshallese language and labelled by government scientists as the "last word" on the controversy, neglected to mention the urine and blood tests. Instead it gave assurances that living in the southern part of the atoll and eating local food exposed the islanders to less radiation than the maximum permissible dose in the United States. However, it did not say plutonium levels in the soil were 500 times greater than average levels in the Northern Hemisphere and that radioactivity in local fruit exceeded US standards.

DOE officials denied there had been any coverup. "There were lots of things that might have been added to that report," one official told the Washington Post. "The people who wrote it made their choices based on what they believed to be most significant for the people who had to use it: there was no attempt to conceal information."

However, Bertell, computing averages for the control groups from 1957 to 1961, found abnormally low doses of monocytes associated in bone marrow to fight bacteria. Exposure to high levels of radiation can depress the production of monocytes. Their levels compared with the normal range of 200 to 600 monocytes per cubic millilitre of blood, the control group averaged 169 but scored as low as 60.

Bertell said the data indicated high radiation levels on Rongelap after the 1954 test. The Atomic Energy Commission (which later became the Department of Energy) declared it safe or that fallout from the Bravo test reached further than estimated, to contaminate control group members. "It should've at least raised questions about contamination of Rongelap," she told the Post. "They should never have been allowed to go back in 1957."

Rongelap Islanders, still searching for a home.
Nuclear study: a political hot potato

Everyone has heard of the Bikinians. Those displaced Marshall Islanders have epitomised the destructive legacy of the nuclear age in the Pacific.

The neighboring atoll of Rongelap, however, engulfed in a cloud of nuclear fallout from a massive hydrogen bomb test at Bikini in 1954, has rarely been the focus of media attention.

Since the people evacuated their home over two years ago, with the aid of the ill-fated Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*, they have been waiting for a restudy of their atoll to determine if it is safe for them to return.

Following the much publicized evacuation of Rongelap in 1985, the U.S. Congress agreed to provide funds for the conduct of a radiological assessment of Rongelap by scientists independent of the U.S. Government. Rongelapese have been asking for an independent radiation check for many years.

But the Congress approval of funds was more than two years ago, and Rongelap leaders have been unable to get the Marshall Islands Government to agree on their choice of scientists for the survey. The U.S. law requires the Marshall Islanders to make the selection in consultation with Rongelap leaders.

United States Government scientists have told the Rongelapese since 1957 that their atoll is safe for habitation.

Thirty-three years ago, the U.S. detonated its largest hydrogen bomb on Bikini. Within minutes of the test, Rongelap — 125 miles away — felt a jarring crash of a huge explosion and with it the ground began to shake as if struck by an earthquake.

The entire sky turned red and a few hours later an ashlike substance began falling. Rongelap experienced a snowstorm of radioactive particles.

“When the fallout started,” recalls Rongelapese Mr. Niktimus Antak, “I was eating doughnuts and drinking coffee. I had no idea the ash was poisonous. I brushed the ashes off the doughnuts and continued to eat, but the ashes that fell into my coffee I drank.”

Although U.S. officials insist that an “unpredicted shift in winds” caused the fallout, a 1982 Defence Nuclear Agency report confirmed that test authorities knew the night before the test that winds were blowing towards Rongelap. In addition, the documentary film “Half-Life” shows that a U.S. Navy destroyer was stationed at the entrance to Rongelap lagoon the day of the test but sailed away without evacuating the people. They were evacuated two days after the test.

In 1957 the people were allowed to return to Rongelap for the first time since 1954. No radiological clean-up was performed, but the Atomic Energy Commission (now Department of Energy) scientists pronounced the islands safe.

Since the early 1960s the Rongelap people, 86 of whom were exposed to radiation in 1954, have suffered epidemic levels of thyroid tumors. Every year more Rongelapese sent to U.S. hospitals for surgery. Five children on island are seriously mentally physically handicapped. It is believed that developing in recent years, led people to believe home of generations was their illnesses.

Mr. Antak said the people worried because Rongelap who were not there in 1954 were not getting thyroid tumors and other health disorders today.

Following a special radiological survey of the northern

Three young children being evacuated from Rongelap Atoll on the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*. Photo: Fernando Pereira, who died when the *Rainbow Warrior* was blown up in Auckland Harbour.
The DoE does both health care and nuclear development — which takes precedence?" asked Rongelap elect leader Mr Jeton Anjain, a senator in the Marshalls Parliament. "I'm sure nuclear development takes priority."

Mr Anjain said the people want a scientific team headed by well-known radiation researcher Dr Rosalie Bertell to determine whether or not Rongelap is safe.

Dr Bertell, a biostatistician, has undertaken controversial research into the effects of low level radiation on human beings, and is a critic of the nuclear industry.

Mr Anjain says, however, the DoE officials and the Marshall Islands Government have objected to Dr Bertell's involvement on the ground that she is not "objective".

Instead, he said, Dr Henry Kohn, a scientist involved in recent Bikini Atoll studies, has been recommended by the Marshalls Government and supported by the DoE.

In a strongly worded letter to his government, Mr Anjain rejected Dr Kohn and his proposed scientific team, stating that their ties to U.S. Government agencies called into question their "independence" from the U.S.

Dr Kohn, said the Rongelap senator, served as scientific secretary to a committee of the Atomic Energy Commission between 1956 and 1960. "The advisory committee stated repeatedly (during that time) that continuation of atmospheric tests in the South Pacific and continental United States would not pose health and safety problems," said Mr Anjain's letter. He added that another member of the team endorsed by the DoE was an executive secretary to a program of the Defence Nuclear Agency, directly involved with the U.S. nuclear weapons program.

"We do not trust the people of that department because they always lie," said Mr Anjain.

A new move could end the impasse, however. An American medical doctor who gained fame when he flew to the Soviet Union after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and performed life-saving operations on dozens of the survivors has agreed to oversee the study of radiation hazards at Rongelap, said Mr Anjain.

Dr Robert Gale of the UCLA medical school agreed to head the study after talking to Mr Anjain in May. The Marshall Islands Government must still approve this selection.

Publicly, U.S. officials claim they are happy to have an independent assessment of radiation hazards at Rongelap. But U.S. officials are quietly lobbying Marshall Islands Government officials to endorse Dr Kohn and his team, said Mr Anjain.

At stake for the United States is a series of multi-billion dollar lawsuits from Rongelap Islanders and other Marshallians claiming injury resulting from radiation exposure. If independent scientists find that Rongelap is hazardous, it will strengthen the Marshallian claims. Moreover, it will open up a Pandora's box of questions about the safety of neighboring atolls which the DoE says are safe.

Meanwhile, 350 Rongelapese are still living on Mejato Island in Kwajalein Atoll hoping to return home. Most of the Rongelap people don't like Mejato, but are resigned to living there temporarily. The dramatic evacuation aboard the Rainbow Warrior was made to press the U.S. to act on their demand for an independent radiation assessment.

"Mejato is smaller than Rongelap and the coconut and breadfruit are not as much," said Mr Antak. "But we know that Rongelap is very dangerous to live on. I don't care about myself, I care about the younger children.

"I really really want to go back to Rongelap. It's home, it's a part of me. If the poison is gone, I would go right back that minute to Rongelap." — Giff Johnson.
WHERE RADIOACTIVE ELEMENTS CONCENTRATE IN THE BODY

PART OF BODY
radioactive element(s)
type of rays, length of ½ life
effect
comment

LUNGS
radon 222 (and whole body) alpha, 3.8 days
uranium 233 (and bone) alpha, 162,000 yrs.
plutonium 239 (and bone) alpha, 24,000 yrs.
krypton 85 (and l)*
beta (gamma), 10 yrs.
lung cancer
much higher rate among uranium miners

KIDNEYS
ruthenium 106
gamma (beta), 1 yr.
kidney cancer
difficult to detect early, hard to stop after 5 yrs.

Spleen
polonium 210
alpha, 138 days lymphoma
curable in early stages

LIVER

cobalt 60
beta (gamma), 5 yrs.
liver cancer
higher death rate in women

OVARIIES
The reproductive organs are attacked by all radioactive isotopes emitting gamma radiation. In addition, the deadly plutonium 239 is known to concentrate in the ovaries or testes. The radiation it emits can cause birth defects, mutations and miscarriages in the first generation after exposure and or successive generations.

SKIN

sulfur 35
beta, 87 days
skin cancer
may be cured early

MUSCLE

potassium 42
beta (gamma), 12 hrs.
cesium 137 (and gonads)
beta (gamma), 30 yrs.
sarcoma (cancer of muscle tissue)

MUSCLE

potassium 42
beta (gamma), 12 hrs.
cesium 137 (and gonads)
beta (gamma), 30 yrs.
sarcoma (cancer of muscle tissue)

Source: Siwatibau, S. New Exodus, page 29, 1982
Bikinians Wait Patiently For Final Verdict

by Giff Johnson

“The Bikinians,” wrote U.S. physician David Bradley in 1946 after participating in the first nuclear tests, “are not the first, nor will they be the last, to be left home­less and impoverished by the inexorable Bomb. They have no choice in the matter and very little understanding of it. But, in this, perhaps, they are not so different from us all.”

Suddenly, late last August, scientists declared one of two main islands in Bikini Atoll now is safe for habitation. The Bikinians are expressing hopefulness, but skepticism, too, at the announcement. They do have a choice in the matter today, and after 46 years of living in a “temporary” home, they are taking a cautious look at their former home. Is Bikini really safe?

“To be safe, we want a written declaration from the U.S. government that it is safe to return and have other scientists review the data,” said Bikini spokesman Jack Maaenhal, an American who is married to a Bikinian. “We’re being very careful before the people return.”

“If it’s true, it’s really good news for the Bikini people,” said Mayor Tomaki Juda, after conferring with scientists. “(But) we don’t understand why the radiation has so completely disappeared when not so long ago the scientists told Congress that the Bikinians couldn’t be allowed to live on Eneu Island and eat a 100-percent local diet.

“One meeting on Bikini wasn’t enough to ask questions and receive the information,” Juda continued. “So, we requested a follow-up meeting with the scientists in November.”

Bikini’s own scientist, Dr. Herwig Paretske, reviewed the U.S. data and agrees with the conclusion that Eneu is safe for rehabilitation.

But, the Bikinians have reason to be skeptical of scientific pronouncements. And after living in exile since 1946, they say they aren’t going to rush into a return to the former nuclear test site.

The exile began when the U.S. Navy evacuated the atoll for the first of 23 nuclear tests. Bikini was chosen because it was isolated, under U.S. control and had a small population.

U.S. officials told the people that their islands had been picked for the tests “for the good of mankind and to end all world wars.” The 166 residents were quickly moved to neighboring Rongerik Atoll, given a two-week supply of food and were soon forgotten as Operation Crossroads, as the testing program was called, moved into high gear.

Within months of their arrival, the Bikinians began asking to return home. Navy public relations statements at the time placed a smoke screen around the Bikinians’ predicament.

“The natives are delighted, enthusiastic about the atomic bomb, which has already brought them prosperity and a new promising future,” proclaimed one such release. But, the food crisis worsened in 1948 and the Navy was forced to reevacuate the Bikinians to a temporary tent city at its base on Kwajalein. From there, the islanders traveled south to isolated Kili Island, where they are today.

Although Bikini had become virtually a household word in 1946 because of the media coverage the tests got, the people became the forgotten victims. They were to endure repeated food shortages and neglect into the 1970s, even though the U.S. ended its testing program in the Marshalls in late 1958 after 66 nuclear explosions at Bikini and Enewetak.

By the late 1960s, conditions on Kili had continued to deteriorate, spurring the islanders’ desire to return home. They began to receive extensive international publicity for their struggle to survive in exile, increasing pressure on the U.S. to return them to Bikini.

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson announced that Bikini soon would be returned to its people. A short time later, the Atomic Energy Commission said, “The exposures to radiation that would result from the repatriation of the Bikini people do not offer a significant threat to their health and safety.”

The AEC supervised a perfunctory cleanup of Bikini, that included removing radioactive debris and equipment and dumping them into the ocean near islands to be inhabited. New houses were built as part of the rehabilitation program.

But, the Bikini Council wasn’t impressed with the assurances and voted in 1972 not to return to their atoll as a group. With the U.S. committed to resettlement, it offered Bikinians and Marshallese workers free food and housing if they would move to the atoll. All told, more than 100 people had returned by 1975 when medical exams discovered the presence of low levels of radioactive plutonium in their urine. U.S. scientists, however, don’t consider this “radiologically significant.”

(Continued on page 64)

Technicians chart aerial photographic coverage for the “Able” nuclear test at Bikini during Operation Crossroads in 1946.
Bikinians—

(Continued from page 63)

Other warning signs were ignored as well. In 1975, an AEC study noted that wells previously approved as safe for drinking water use were suddenly too radioactive. By 1977, tests showed an 18-fold increase in the islanders’ body levels of cesium, a radioactive element taken up from the soil by fruit trees grown on the atoll.

Instead of removing the people from this environment, the U.S. began a program of importing food to cut exposure levels people were getting from eating locally grown food.

It didn’t work, and by 1978 a study by the Department of Energy (successor to the AEC) stated bluntly, “All living patterns involving Bikini Island exceed federal (radiation) guidelines for 30-year population doses.” Still, the people were allowed to stay until that September when the people were evacuated again.

Today, the majority of the 1,600 Bikinians live on Kili, where they’ve built a “temporary” home that becomes more permanent every year.

The former Bikini residents have a U.S.-provided trust fund worth $90 million to finance a nuclear cleanup and resettlement of their atoll, with the Interior Department as overseer. Stella Guerra, Interior assistant secretary, became the highest ranking executive branch official to visit the atoll when she attended the August meetings there.

American scientist William Robison, who has been operating radiation experiments for the Energy Department on Bikini and Enewetak since the late 1970s, told about 100 Bikinians attending the meetings that experiments since 1988 demonstrated that Enewetak is safe to live on.

The use of potassium fertilizer as a prophylactic against the uptake by fruit tree roots of radioactive cesium has proved successful during experiments over the past four years, Robison said. The new information has led scientists to revise earlier estimates of when Enewetak would be safe for resettlement.

Enewetak is the second largest island in Bikini Atoll. It is Bikini Island itself where the displaced residents lived that is heavily contaminated. Enewetak has been developed as a base camp for cleaning up Bikini Island, and already the U.S. has funded a power plant, dock, roads, airstrip, warehouses and a large dormitory.

Although Enewetak wasn’t initially planned as a main resettlement site, the announcement that it is now safe, coupled with the infrastructure, could make it very attractive for the Bikinians.

Beginning in 1988, Enewetak was covered with potassium fertilizer to experiment with its ability to limit the absorption of radioactive cesium-137 by coconuts and other crops.

“Robison and the other scientists told us the cesium levels have stayed below the U.S. federal standards,” Niedenthal said. “They say we can return to Enewetak and eat a diet of 100-percent local food.”

Earlier, scientists estimated that the Bikinians would have to eat a diet of at least 50 percent imported food to control the cesium dose they would receive from locally grown fruits and vegetables.

Now, the scientists believe that the use of potassium fertilizer, which has similar chemical properties to cesium, can pave the way for an early resettlement.

But, the Bikinians are reserving judgment, although Niedenthal said the announcement about Enewetak “got people pretty excited.” Scientists at the meetings presented several options for cleaning up residual radioactivity on Bikini Island, the main location considered for future housing.

Niedenthal said one proposal under consideration is scraping contaminated topsoil from the lagoon living area only on Bikini Island and bringing in soil from another source to replace it. The rest of the island would be covered with the fertilizer, as on Enewetak. The scraped-off soil could be encased in a cement tomb.

“The main problem with this option is the cost of scraping and disposing of the contaminated soil,” Niedenthal said. On Enewetak, the U.S. Army disposed of contaminated soil and and nuclear debris from the tests by depositing it in a crater left from an explosion and capping it with cement. The huge dome now stands like a monument to the tests.

Niedenthal said all of these suggestions are preliminary in nature and probably would be discussed further in November. This would give Bikinians time to get independent reviews of U.S. scientific data and to discuss it among themselves, he said.
Radiation Study Started
On Rongelap Atoll

The first independent study of radiation levels on Rongelap Atoll was started in April under the direction of the Marshall Islands Nationwide Radiological Survey office. It is expected to take 15 months.

The study is funded by the U.S. Congress in an effort to resolve the uncertainty of radiation contamination of Rongelap, whose people evacuated their home seven years ago.

U.S. scientists have said the atoll is safe, but Rongelap islanders say they won't return without independent studies to confirm or refute the findings.

Rongelap was exposed to nuclear fallout from the 1954 Bravo hydrogen bomb test at Bikini Atoll, 100 miles to the west. Most of the soil and vegetation samples brought back from Rongelap will be tested at the NRS lab in Majuro. Other samples will be sent off-island.

A separate study will be conducted on Rongelap children now living in exile on Mejato Island to determine what level, if any, of plutonium they would ingest by living on Rongelap. This is the first time that such a survey on plutonium exposure has been done in the Marshalls.

Giff Johnson
PAC MAG MAR/APR 1993

Nuclear Victims Receive
$101-Million So Far

Marshall Islands nuclear victims have gotten $101-million directly or through health-related programs during the first six years of the Compact of Free As-

association with the United States, according to the manager of the Marshalls’ nuclear trust fund.

"The amount of money that’s been paid out is staggering," said Daniel Roland, a vice president with Shearson Lehman Brothers, which supervises investments on Wall Street for the Marshalls government.

A breakdown provided by Roland showed that since the fund was established in 1987, with investments in stocks and bonds in the U.S., Bikini islanders have received $30-million, Enewetak residents $19.5-million, Rongelap islanders $15-million and Utirik residents $9 million.

The health care program on the same islands got $12-million, the Nuclear Claims Tribunal received $12.7-million ($9.7-million for direct compensation payments) and the first nationwide radiological survey of the Marshalls got $2.8-million for its work.

Bikini and Enewetak were sites of 66 U.S. nuclear tests and Rongelap and Utirik were exposed to fallout from a number of those tests in the 1950s.

Through the Compact, the U.S. provided a fund of $150-million for nuclear compensation. The fund is required by the Compact to pay out 12 percent ($18-million) annually to the islanders and various agencies for a total compensation package of $270-million over the 15-year life of the agreement.

Because of the 1987 stock market crash and the general downturn of the U.S. economy in the early 1980s, the fund has been unable to earn a 12-percent return and the principal fund has dwindled to $121-million following December's quarterly payment.

The fund principal is the lowest it's been, but Roland said there would still be money remaining at the end of the 15 years (2001). Bikini, Enewetak, Rongelap and Utirik have received a combined total of $73.5-million, slightly more than half of which has been reinvested into their own trust funds, while a total of $35.3-million has been paid directly to islanders from the four atolls.

Giff Johnson

54—March/April 1993
Pacific Islands Studies

Nuclear Testing in the Pacific

What have been the effects of nuclear testing in the Pacific?

1. Why do countries test nuclear weapons in the Pacific?

2. What sort of effect do you think nuclear weapons tests have had on the environments of the Pacific islands?

3. How do you think nuclear weapons testing effects the indigenous populations?

4. What are the current problems concerning nuclear testing in the region today?

5. What do you think can be done?
Testing begins

In 1945 the United States began to search for a nuclear test site.

**Article 1**

[Their requirements included] a site within control of the USA, uninhabited or subject to evacuation without necessary hardship on large numbers of inhabitants ... offering a protected anchorage at least six miles in diameter.

*US Department of Energy (DOE), 1983*

**Article 2**

The Seabees [naval carpenters] built a model village on Rongerik that anyone would be proud to live in. The natives are delighted, enthusiastic about the atomic bomb, which has already brought them prosperity and a new promising future.

*US Navy press statement, 1946*

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**BIKINI**

When the bikini was invented in 1946, it took the name of this denuded island, an apt choice considering the garment's explosive effect on men. From 1946-1958, 33 nuclear blasts in the atmosphere shook Bikini atoll, at a cost of $91 billion in today's dollars; they left a legacy of contamination, cancer, leukemia, thyroid problems, miscarriages, "jellyfish" babies, and irreversible genetic damage.

For the initial series a captured Japanese war fleet was positioned in the Bikini lagoon to test the use of atomic weapons against naval forces! On 1 July 1948 "Able" was dropped on 90 ships by a B-29 from Kwajalein; on 25 July an underwater explosion code-named "Baker" permanently contaminated the atoll. "Charlie," the third test, was cancelled when it became apparent that the radiation endangered U.S. personnel.

In Feb. 1946 American officials informed the inhabitants of Bikini and Enewetak that their islands were needed—temporarily—for the good of mankind and to end all world wars. The 166 Bikinians were taken to uninhabited Rongerik atoll, but in just two years it became apparent that Rongerik lacked the resources to support them, and they had to be evacuated again.

After a few months on Kwajalein, the Bikinians were resettled on Kili island, an isolated dot in the ocean just southwest of Jaluit. There 650 of them remain to this day, even though Kili is quite a step down for the Bikinians. Bikini's 36 islands are six times larger than Kili in land area; rat-infested Kili doesn't even have a protective lagoon, and fishing is often impossible due to weather conditions.

In the 1960s repeated requests from the Bikinians and considerable controversy induced the U.S. Government to clean up Bikini so the people could return home. It's now clear that the cleanup was done in a haphazard manner, and that the Atomic Energy Commission failed to take sufficient tests before they declared, in 1969, that Bikini was once again safe for habitation.

**Nuclear Nomads**

In 1972, the Bikinians began to move back to their home island; by 1978, out of a total population of 600 Bikinians, 139 were living there again. At this point it was discovered that these 139 had ingested the largest dose of plutonium ever monitored in any population, and the "nuclear nomads" were once again re-evacuated to the "prison island," Kili, where they subsist today. Experts estimate that it will be at least a century (if ever) before the radioactive content on Bikini naturally diminishes to the point where it will be fit to consider for human habitation once more.

Meanwhile each Bikinian receives $39 interest a month from a $6 million trust fund set up by Washington in 1978 after lawsuits and pleas to American benevolence. A further $20.6 million is held in a resettlement fund. In 1984 the U.S. promised to spend $42 million on Bikini cleanup. Four years later only $2.3 million had been appropriated for a "base camp" on Eneu I., to serve as a head-quarters for the cleanup. Decontamination alternatives include flushing sea water through the soil to leach out the contaminants, scraping off the top half meter, and applying potassium-rich fertilizer to block the uptake of cesium-137 by plants. The Bikinians favor the drastic method of topsoil removal, fearing the other two would make them guinea pigs in continuing experiments.

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**ENEWETAK**

In Dec. 1947, officials in Washington announced that Enewetak was to be used for nuclear tests and the 145 inhabitants must be moved immediately. They were taken to Ujelang atoll, an island with a quarter the land area and a 15th the lagoon area of Enawetak. There they lived in exile for over 30 years. Due to the limited resources, they soon faced starvation and became dependent on USDA food handouts.

From 1948-1958, 43 nuclear tests rocked Enewetak, which the U.S. began using after Bikini became too highly contaminated for their purposes. On 1 Nov. 1952 the world's...
first hydrogen bomb was tested here, unleashing more explosive force than all the wars of history combined, and completely vaporizing one of the islands of Eniwetok. In 1958 another H bomb destroyed a second.

In 1976, the U.S. Congress appropriated funds for a $110 million cleanup operation on Eniwetok by the Defense Nuclear Agency. The contaminated waste was scraped off the surface of the atoll and buried in a bomb crater on Runi Island under a gigantic cement dome 45 cm thick. The most dangerous waste there is radioactive plutonium, a cancer-causing agent active 24,000 years—the period Runi will be out-of-bounds to human beings. The dome is already reported to be cracking, with material leaking through the base of the crater.

The Department of Energy reports that the southern islands of the atoll are now safe for habitation, but the northern islands will be unsafe for the next 300 years. In 1980, 542 people returned from Ujelang to Japlan I. on Eniwetok, and some have gone to live on the northern islands where they are today.

**RONGELAP**

On 1 March 1954, 15 megaton "Bravo," largest and dirtiest of the hydrogen bombs, was tested on Bikini. This was the most colossal man-made explosion in history, with an explosive force equal to nearly 1,000 Hiroshima-type bombs, more than twice what its designers expected. The blast sent up a 35-km-high cloud which dropped 3.8 cm of fine white dust on Rongelap atoll four to six hours later, turning the water yellow, contaminating the food, and burning the unprepared people standing in the open. Children played in the radioactive material as if it were snow. The U.S. Navy destroyer which had been stationed at the entrance to Rongelap lagoon on the day of the test quickly sailed off.

After 48 hours of exposure all but the population of Rongelap was evacuated to Kwajalein by Americans wearing protective suits; the people of Ulitok atoll were exposed an additional 24 hours. The evacuees experienced all the symptoms of radiation exposure. One victim, Ery Enos, reported: "When we arrived, we were starting to get burns all over our bodies... After two days, my fingernails came off and my fingers bled. We all had burns on our ears, shoulders, necks and feet, and our eyes were very sore."

At the time U.S. officials blamed the contamination on an unexpected wind shift, but 27 years later five retired U.S. airmen who had operated the weather station on nearby Rongerik shed new light on the matter. They reported that the test was allowed with full knowledge that for weeks previous the prevailing wind had been blowing directly at these islands. Said Gene O. Curbow, senior weather technician on Rongerik at the time and now stricken with leukemia: "The wind had been blowing straight at us for days before the test. It was blowing straight at us during the test, and straight at us after it. The wind never shifted." (See The New York Times, 20 Sept. 1982, page B15.)

Whether this was done deliberately to offer a most valuable source of data on human beings who have sustained injury from all possible modes of exposure (wording from a Brookhaven N.Y. National Laboratory report) may never be known for sure, although Marshallsean Senator Alaji Balos charged U.S. officials with knowing and consciously allowing the people of Rongelap and Ulitok to be exposed so that the United States could use them as guinea pigs in the development of its medical capabilities to treat its citizens who might be exposed to radiation in the event of war with an enemy country. An article by anthropologist Glenn H. Alcalay in the 1987 issue of *Third World Affairs* comes to the same conclusion, but Gene Curbow discounts the conspiracy theory, blaming the incident on military incompetence.

**Paradise Contaminated**

The Ulitok people were moved back to their "lightly contaminated" atoll shortly after the "Bravo" test. In Jan. 1957, U.S. officials decided to allow the Rongelapese to return to Rongelap, although no cleanup had been carried out and the island was still heavily contaminated. A 1958 Brookhaven report commented: "The habitation of these people on the island will afford most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings."

In 1978 the Dept. of Energy placed a quarantine on the northern half of Rongelap which was discovered to have even higher radiation levels than Bikini, but claimed the southern islands were safe. The people were told to stop eating fish and coconuts, and surplus food was shipped in from the U.S. to keep them alive. Often the supply ship arrived months late. In 1983 the Nijtela voted unanimously in favor of relocation after persons not present during "Bravo" began developing thyroid tumors.

Despite an upswing in radiation-related medical problems, repeated pleas for re-evacuation were denied by U.S. officials. In desperation Rongelap Senator Jeton Anjain (whose nephew Lekoj died of leukemia in 1972) turned to Greenpeace for help. Said Anjain: "Our land is our most sacred possession, but our children are more important to us than the land itself." In May 1985 the legendary Rainbow Warrior (latter sunk in New Zealand by French terrorists) was sent to evacuate over 300 "guinea-pig" islanders to Mejato I. near Ebadon at the west tip of Kwajalein atoll.

**Medical Studies**

Money appropriated by the U.S. Congress for health care of the Marshallsean was turned over to the Brookhaven and Livermore laboratories, which have conducted a portion of the Marshallsean population affected by the fallout, and even these victims were
Testing la Bombe
In French Polynesia

by Giff Johnson

To most people outside the Pacific, Tahiti is beautiful beaches, sparkling ocean, and islands living contentedly in a Pacific paradise. Today, however, after fifteen years of atomic testing by France, Polynesia has come of age in a nuclear Pacific.

Driven by its desire to keep up with the Soviet Union's and the United States' advanced nuclear weapons programs, France made plans in the late 1950s to begin its own nuclear testing program. France eliminated all but two possible sites for the tests: Algeria in northern Africa and French Polynesia. It chose the former because of its proximity to France, and began testing in 1960. But two events soon prompted France to shift its testing to the South Pacific.

A miscalculation of weather conditions during one of its Algerian tests brought a dangerous radioactive cloud across the Mediterranean to Europe. Protests pressured France to stop its tests so close to large European populations. And when Algeria won its independence from France in 1962, France looked to its South Pacific colony of Polynesia, despite a statement in 1961 by the French minister for overseas territories that "no nuclear tests will ever be made by France in the Pacific Ocean."

From the first rumors in the early 1960s that France planned to build a nuclear base in Polynesia, elected and traditional leaders there had strongly protested such use of their islands. In 1963, Felix Tefaatau, a Territorial Assembly member, asked, "Since [according to the French government] there is really no danger at all, why does not the French government make these tests in the Marseilles harbor or in the center of Paris?" Pouvanaa a Oopa, a strong proponent of independence for French Polynesia, was considered a threat by the French government as it laid plans to establish a nuclear base in the islands. The highly decorated World War I veteran was arrested in late 1958 on charges of arson and held in jail for a year awaiting trial.

"The reason why it took a whole year to prepare for the trial is to be found in the enormous difficulties the examining judges had in finding any evidence against Pouvanaa," wrote Marie-Therese and Bengt Danielsson in their 1974 book, Moruroa Mon Amour. On top of that, the key prosecution witness for the government admitted to having been bribed to give false testimony. Nonetheless, Pouvanaa was sentenced to eight years of solitary confinement, followed by fifteen years of banishment from French Polynesia. Not until 1968, after years of forceful Polynesian protests, was Pouvanaa finally released from jail to return to Tahiti.

The message was clear: supporting freedom and independence for the Polynesian people was an extremely risky proposition.

In the early 1960s a French military authority, justifying the use of the islands as a nuclear testing site, said: "The uninhabited atolls of Moruroa and Fangataufa ... were chosen for their distance from highly populated areas ... . There are fewer than 40,000 people around Moruroa." The Center d'Experimenteration du Pacifique (CEP) was quickly established to carry out the nuclear experiments, and test sites with airfields, wharves, and towers were built on Moruroa and Fangataufa. A forward base was built on Hao in the Tuamotus so nuclear materials could be transported to Moruroa and Fangataufa, bypassing Tahiti where the strongest critics of the test program were.

Before the French began the first series of bomb tests in 1966, the CEP announced its "danger zone" around Moruroa, into which people could not travel until the tests were completed. When it was noticed that the danger zone included no less than seven inhabited atolls, the CEP apologized for its mistake and simply reduced the size of the zone so that six of the seven atolls were then outside the boundary. The island of Tureia, barely eighty miles north of Moruroa, remained inside the zone.

In early 1963 the French governor in Polynesia, A. Grimald, said of the forthcoming tests: "The amount of radioactive fallout will be negligible thanks to the fact that the tests will be made only when the winds are blowing towards the southern portion of the ocean where there are no islands."

Just three years later, this statement was proved false when General de Gaulle visited Moruroa to witness one of the first nuclear explosions. On the scheduled date of the test the winds were blowing in the wrong direction; the CEP scientists were worried that if the test went ahead radioactivity would spread across the islands to the west—the Tuamotus, the Societies, Cooks, Samoa, Fiji, and elsewhere. So the test was postponed. The following day the weather conditions remained the same, but de Gaulle insisted the test had to take place as scheduled; he had many urgent problems awaiting him in Paris, and he couldn't wait on Moruroa forever.

The nuclear test went ahead, and, as expected, dusted the islands to the west with alarmingly high levels of radio-
France has always put the burden of proof on those who question the nuclear tests, when in fact the burden should be on France—the initiator of the nuclear program—to verify the “safety” of its operations.

out that strontium 90, one radioactive element released by bombs, has a half-life of twenty-eight years. “This element,” he warned, “will fall into the ocean where it will contaminate the sea. The plankton next contaminates the many small fishes which in their turn are swallowed by bigger fishes. At each step the strontium becomes more concentrated. All the while the currents will carry the contaminated plankton to other ocean regions. Under these circumstances, what means are the specialists considering for our protection against these dangers? Probably none; otherwise they would not have made such absurd statements as to assert that the contaminated fish will lose every trace of radioactivity within a few days—before they are captured.”

Although the government was busy asserting the safety of its nuclear testing, it refused to release any relevant health and environmental information. Indeed, as soon as the testing began in 1966, public health records—which include statistics on cancers and other diseases in French Polynesia and which had been regularly published for years—were no longer available. The government has prevented even its own National Radiation Laboratory from conducting studies of the people and environment in French Polynesia. The CEP is staffed entirely by army doctors and scientists; the Papeete hospital is also run by military physicians.

The CEP has frequently noted that the levels of radiation from the above-ground tests were so low that it would not cause harmful effects. But Dr. Baines sharply disagreed: “There is no evidence of a safe level. The International Committee for Radiological Protection’s recommendations are founded on the assumption that any exposure to ionizing radiation may
activity within a short time. Measurements by the conservative New Zealand government National Radiation Laboratory (NRL) in Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, and Fiji confirmed this. But France has never released figures on the amount of radioactivity the Polynesian inhabitants were exposed to.

The New Zealand government's findings may have underestimated the problem, asserted an Australian scientist, Dr. Graham Baines. The NRL data, he said, "give no more than a vague idea of what is happening in the marine food chain, where concentration factors can result in radiation levels up to 200,000 times that of surrounding water."

French atomic energy head, Francis Perrin, in a 1966 letter to Territorial Assembly member John Teariki, reassured the assemblyman: "We must remember that it is only during the first days after a nuclear explosion that the fish will be contaminated to such a point as to constitute a health hazard for the inhabitants, as the radioactive elements are rapidly scattered over the ocean and diluted in huge masses of water.

"All migratory fishes, particularly tuna sold in the principal marketplace in Papeete, will be checked by radio-biologists, so as to remove any possible fears that the population may still harbor," Perrin concluded. No radio-biologists were ever observed sampling the approximately 200 tons of fish sold monthly in the Papeete market, nor were any reports of these activities published.

As early as 1963, Teariki had pointed out that strontium 90, one radioactive element released by bombs, has a half-life of twenty-eight years. "This element," he warned, "will fall into the ocean where it will contaminate the sea. The plankton next contaminates the many small fishes which in their turn are swallowed by bigger fishes. At each step the strontium becomes more concentrated. All the while the currents will carry the contaminated plankton to other ocean regions. Under these circumstances, what means are the specialists considering for our protection against these dangers? Probably none; otherwise they would not have made such absurd statements as to assert that the contaminated fish will lose every trace of radioactivity within a few days—before they are captured."

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slightly and deposit radioactive fallout on inhabited islands bordering the danger zone.

Nevertheless, after a large, 2.5 megaton hydrogen device was exploded in August 1968, the French minister for scientific research, Robert Galley, said proudly, "The radioactive cloud rose rapidly and drifted eastwards... following exactly the bisection of the triangular escape zone."

Because Governor Grimald had said the tests would only occur when the winds were blowing to the south, there was no need at all to evacuate Tureia, said the governor of the one island still

Moruroa Accidents
by Cliff Johnson

For several years the French government has been conducting detonation experiments on Moruroa's surface, which release unknown quantities of radioactive plutonium into the environment. Plutonium is a lethal cancer-causing radioactive element dangerous for 240,000 years. Once released, it will remain in the environment and people virtually forever.

The detonation experiments take place in cement bunkers on the surface of the atoll; following each test, the bunkers are so contaminated with radiation that they have been sealed and abandoned for a new testing site. According to newspaper reports from the Center of Experimentation du Pacifique (CEP), a committee convened in 1978 to revise one of the bunkers for economic reasons.

To decontaminate the bunker so that it could be used again, the interior walls were covered with paper soaked with acetone, a chemical which was supposed to dissolve the plutonium. A fatal accident occurred on July 6, when six decontamination workers entered the bunker and one began enlarging a hole in a metal plate with a drill. A spark from the drill ignited the acetone gas; one man was killed from the intense heat of the blast, which dispersed plutonium across the atoll. A second man was crushed by the bunker door, blown off its hinges by the explosion. The other four were all badly burned.

The French government insisted that the incident was chemical in origin and not nuclear. Although the army conducted medical examinations on the seventy-two Moruroa workers within a thousand feet of the explosion, none of these reports has been published. Within less than three weeks, a second incident occurred at Moruroa. As an atomic bomb was lowered into a shaft drilled in the rim of the atoll, it struck halfway down. The CEP technicians were unable to dislodge it, so it was decided to explode the bomb right where it was, only 2,800 feet underground—instead of the planned 4,200 feet—in the thin coral layer.

Within hours of the blast, a tidal wave, caused by shock waves that went out from the test, washed over Moruroa, overturning vehicles and injuring people on the atoll. The CEP immediately denied that there was any connection between the tidal wave and the nuclear explosion. A CEP spokesman attributed the accident to a freak tidal wave that occasionally occurs in this region. But a short time later, the CEP admitted that the tidal wave had, in fact, resulted from the nuclear test.

On August 17, the Territorial Assembly voted unanimously for a thorough investigation of the accidents. The investigation committee, and requested an independent team of "civilian, impartial, French and foreign radiobiologists" to survey Moruroa. Further, it demanded the establishment of a permanent radiation laboratory in the islands, staffed by independent scientists.

"In view of the strong Territorial Assembly resolution," France responded by quickly sending what was described as a "team of internationally known scientists in the nuclear field" to Moruroa. In reality, the French team consisted of a radiologist professor who had never been to Moruroa and officials from the French Atomic Energy Commission, only one of whom was a radiobiologist.

They invited the five-member Territorial Assembly investigative committee to Moruroa. During a twenty-four-hour stay the committee members attempted to learn more about radiation risks to Moruroa employees under normal weather conditions and following the accidents. All workers were regularly monitored by army doctors, they were informed, but for "security reasons" the committee was denied access to the medical records.

Following their brief visit to Moruroa, the French Atomic Energy Commission team has been investigating the effects of the accidents. They concluded that "there is a threshold below which radiation is too feeble that it is no longer harmful. Every increase of the radioactive dose, however slight it may be, enhances the probability of a mutation." Albert Schweitzer, philosopher, theologian, and medical doctor, was more blunt. In a letter to Teariki, he said, "Those who claim that these tests are harmless are liars."

In spite of the protests, the nuclear testing continued. Between 1966 and 1974 there were forty-one announced atmospheric nuclear blasts. These ranged in size from "small" Hiroshima-size atomic bombs to large thermocoupled hydrogen devices.

Although the CEP had established a danger zone around Moruroa, Teariki pointed out that adequate meteorological information to forecast weather conditions simply did not exist. The one and only meteorological station in the islands had burned down in 1948, and all its records with it. The Tahitians asked what guarantees the French could give that the wind would not shift slightly and deposit radioactive fallout on inhabited islands bordering the danger zone. Therefore, after a large, 2.5 megaton hydrogen device was exploded in August 1968, the French minister for scientific research, Robert Galley, said proudly, "The radioactive cloud rose rapidly and drifted eastwards... following exactly the bisection of the triangular escape zone."

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Those who claim that these tests are harmless are liars.

—Albert Schweitzer

The people of Baja California noticed an increasing level of radioactivity in fish caught off the coast of Mexico—an increase which they attributed to French testing. To the west, a fivefold increase in the radioactivity of rainwater at Suva, Fiji, from the 1968 tests was recorded and later confirmed by the New Zealand National Radiation Laboratory. Because of the obvious environmental pollution, a vocal protest movement sprang up in many South Pacific nations in the early 1970s. What began as a citizens' movement to stop the French bomb tests was soon picked up by the governments of Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, and other independent countries. The South Pacific governments attempted, through diplomatic channels, to obtain information from the French on the amounts of radiation released after each test. However, France refused to release any data to support its claims that the tests were harmless. At the United Nations in 1972, Michel Debre, French minister for defense, said, "Our tests have in no way been harmful to the environment...No scientific proof whatsoever exists to back up the accusations made against the French government." France has always put the burden of proof on those who question the nuclear program, when in fact the burden should be France—the initiator of the nuclear program—to verify the "safety" of its operations. And the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Radiation has frequently criticized France for the "paucity of data" it has provided.
old Stores are

national Court of Justice for an injunction against the tests. The governments presented a strong case, and in June 1973 the Court censured France for its tests that were depositing radioactive fallout on Australian and New Zealand territories, and urged France to halt future tests. But France responded that the International Court had no jurisdiction in matters affecting France’s "national security."

Nevertheless, the protests continued to mount, both inside and outside French Polynesia. The largest antitest demonstration was held in Papeete on June 23, with over 5,000 Tahitians taking part. Encouraging the demonstrators further was the participation of French deputy and newspaper publisher Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and five other Frenchmen, including a highly decorated—but now pacifist—army general.

During this time, the New Zealand government dispatched its navy frigate Otago to patrol the French testing zone at Moruroa; this was the strongest government protest action taken. Meanwhile, the Spirit of Peace, the FRI, and Greenpeace III, all small sailing ships, entered the danger zone as well. Shortly thereafter Peru broke off diplomatic relations, stating that the nuclear tests were endangering the country’s marine life and environment.

Faced with international and local opposition that showed no sign of abating, the French began searching for a suitable location for underground tests, which they hoped would appease the international protests. In 1974 the new French President Giscard d’Estaing announced that from 1975 on all tests would be carried out underground. After a final testing fling in 1974, the CEB began drilling deep holes in Moruroa and Fangataufa for the underground blasts. As the French had hoped, with the tests moving underground the once-volatile international protest movement, which had grown up around the very visible nuclear pollution of atmospheric tests, began to fade away.

On the question of leaks and marine contamination from the underground tests, Defense Minister Yvon Borges wrote to Polynesian Deputy Francis Sanford stating that “it was highly improbable that any radioactivity would leak out, but if it did, only low concentrations of short-lived nuclides that were completely harmless to the environment would escape.” His claim directly conflicted with those of a French volcanologist who was brought to study Fangataufa Atoll at the request so porous and ... lacking in shock resistance that there is a risk of radioactive leakage ... As the tests will be made in spite of all this, the best solution is to request an impartial scientific organization to supervise them.”

This was exactly what the Polynesians had been requesting for years. But the French government’s response remained the same: it was adamantly opposed to independent monitoring of the people or the environment.

So many tests have been conducted at Moruroa that a recent newspaper account described the atoll as “a Swiss cheese.” This has prompted the CEP to investigate the possibility of testing in the lagoon floor, as the islands have been thoroughly devastated.

In early 1980, the government admitted that it has been testing the neutron bomb, which kills people but does not destroy property. The neutron bomb is looked at by the nuclear countries as an “ideal” weapon for limited warfare.

Because the French have refused to publish specific data on the health problems resulting from people’s exposure to the tests, reports from nurses and people living on islands near Moruroa provide the majority of the information available. A nurse working on Mangareva, about 150 miles downwind of Moruroa, reported an unusual number of miscarriages among women on the island. Judging from the Marshallese experiences, which have grown progressively worse each year, the Polynesians may be just beginning to suffer the ill effects of cancer, leukemia, birth defects, and miscarriages.

France is trying to win in an insupportable situation: if the tests are harmless, they should be carried out in France. If they are not, why pollute the Pacific? In fact, if the tests are harmless, it would be in France’s favor to publish solid scientific statistics showing no cancer increases from their testing. No such information, however, has been forthcoming, and France’s commitment to nuclear testing in French Polynesia indefinitely promises an uncertain future for the Polynesian people.

It grows more urgent daily that studies and examinations of the people and environment by independent medical and scientific personnel be conducted without delay. And finally, it is evident to both the political autonomist leaders and the environmentalist anti-nuclear movement that France is unlikely to halt its nuclear testing until the people of French Polynesia gain...
France Puts Its Nuclear Test Program on Hold

After declaring at the start of the year that it would continue the program, France came out with a surprise announcement in April that it is suspending its nuclear bomb tests in the South Pacific for the remainder of 1992.

The action was one of the first made by France’s new prime minister, Pierre Beregovoy, who replaced Edith Cresson after the March elections.

But, it still doesn’t mean the tests won’t be resumed. Foreign Minister Roland Dumas told the National Assembly in Paris that the suspension was meant to set an example for the world. But, if other nuclear powers don’t follow suit, France reserves the right to reverse its decision, he said. The tests have been carried out for the past 26 years, mostly at Moruroa Atoll in French Polynesia.

Nations throughout the Pacific have hailed the decision. Gareth Evans, Australia’s foreign affairs minister, said France should make the moratorium a permanent one. This was echoed by Jeremia Tabai, secretary general of the South Pacific Forum. New Zealand’s foreign minister, Don McKinnon, linked it with the significant political gains being made in France by the ecology parties in the recent elections.

Australia, New Zealand and Pacific Island nations have repeatedly called for France to stop the testing. Greenpeace, the environmental organization, just prior to the announcement, made another effort to enter the test zone to take water samples.

Meanwhile, the leader of the independence movement in Tahiti, Oscar Temaru, said the moratorium is the first step toward independence for French Polynesia, although there is some fear in the French territory that the economy will be adversely affected by stopping the program.
In defence of nuclear testing

By David Robie

FRANCE'S envoy in New Zealand warned at last month's Asia-Pacific security conference that any major reduction in military or nuclear-research activities in French Polynesia would provoke a severe financial crisis for the territory but he was strongly challenged by indigenous Pacific participants.

Defending the French nuclear deterrent as still vital for global security, in spite of the end of the Cold War, Ambassador Gabriel de Bellesizé also said the French-rulled Pacific territories were becoming more involved in the South Pacific region, including security.

"Our military forces are increasingly involved in activities related to the well-being of the people of the South Pacific region," said de Bellesizé. This means that French and European presence in the Pacific is already contributing to the security and the well-being of the region. In the future, this European contribution will increase and will remain a stable feature of the Asia-Pacific security situation.

He added that British and French nuclear deterrents were adding to the global deterrence of the Atlantic Alliance.

"Such has been the mainstay of our defence policy since 1966. The continuity in our position has been remarkable. In recent years, there has been practically no debate in France about our defence policy because the consensus about it is so strong and encompassing all forces of the political spectrum. There has been from time to time criticism of certain aspects of our defence policy. I think it is fair to say that this criticism has not been understood in France because we have this absolute conviction that ... we have been fighting to maintain peace in the world."

His statement provoked an angry response from several indigenous participants and peace researchers at the conference who challenged his views, labelling France's deterrent policy as a colonial anachronism.

Pauline Tangiora, a respected kūia (elder) of Te Whānau Rongomaiwahine and president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Aotearoa, declared that she spoke for many of the Pacific people — not just Māori. Pointing out that the ambassador had said that he had known what it was like to be invaded, she replied: "Why do you remain in the indigenous lands of the Pacific? Why do you invade our land and suppress our people?"

She rejected the envoy's claim that nuclear testing was safe in the Pacific. "Nuclear tests are a crime against the people of the Pacific. When I see my cousins from Tahiti coming to New Zealand for treatment for cancer, when I see them going to France for treatment, then I see your country's military mind doesn't care for the soul of our people... my family, my people. You are trespassing on our land."

Tangiora was also scathing about French aid in the region. "What is a billion dollars? One dollar doesn't allow France the right to colonise the people of Polynesia."

A Solomon Islands participant, Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, condemned French policy in New Caledonia and asked about Moruroa Atoll: "What are you hiding? If you believe it is safe to test in the Pacific then why aren't you testing nuclear weapons in France?"

Stephanie Mills, Greenpeace's anti-nuclear campaigner, told the conference France could be "dragged kicking and screaming" into the post-deterrence era, or it could take a leadership role in shaping a new international security vision.

"Before Moruroa becomes the European test site, before Europe accepts the anachronistic concept of nuclear deterrence as the basis for its future security framework, it is vital that we... the public, the non-government organisations, those involved in the elite debate challenge the assumptions that have underpinned security arrangements in Europe since World War Two," Mills said.

"...key global security problems, including the environmental crisis facing us, cannot be solved by nuclear weapons. A moratorium would drive an initial nail into the coffin of nuclear testing."
“RAINFOUR WARRIOR” SCANDAL

Saboteurs hoist Fran world-wide shame

The sabotage bombing in Auckland Harbor of the Greenpeace protest vessel, Rainbow Warrior captured world-wide attention and caused immense embarrassment to the French government and its defence which, by all accounts, was deeply involved in the execution of a plot which, despite its elements of genuine and outrage, was more like a film farce than real life. In the following pages P.I.M. correspondents, J MANGNALL, in Auckland, SUE WILLIAMS, in Noumea, and MARIE-THERESE and BENGT DANIELS in Papeete, chronicle an affair which has made the French secret service look ludicrous, and shown the steadiness, careful, methodical police work, even against a super-sensitive government department of a major also shows that big city people often under-estimate the powers of curiosity and observation inherent in communities. The spies were spotted, and tracked, quite innocently, even sub-consciously from the moment arrived in New Zealand.
On November 4, the doors of Auckland’s District Court will open on New Zealand’s most celebrated espionage trial. Its ripples have spread to France, implicating the French overseas secret service, the Direction Generale de la Securite Exterieure (D.G.S.E.). Defence Minister, Charles Hernu, and the wavelets have begun lapping at the door of President Mitterrand’s office in the Elysee Palace.

In the dock will be two D.G.S.E. agents, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur. They are charged with murder, arson by use of explosives, and conspiracy to commit arson. Also charged with the same crimes, but in absentia, are three other D.G.S.E. agents, all highly-skilled underwater sabotage frogmen: Roland Verge, Gerald Andries and Jean-Michel Bartelo.

Also on trial will be French nuclear tests at Moruroa and France’s conduct of its foreign and defence policies.

The first police witness is expected to be Greenpeace New Zealand anti-nuclear campaign coordinator, Elaine Shaw, who will set the scene of the Greenpeace protest campaign which brought the 40-metre Rainbow Warrior into Auckland harbor on July 7, 1985.

At ten minutes to midnight on July 10 two huge explosions ripped through the Greenpeace flagship as it was moored at Marsden wharf. The Rainbow Warrior’s inhabitants jumped for the wharf or dived into the water as the ship sank in less than four minutes.

But Greenpeace photographer, Fernando Pereira, ducked below after the first blast to collect his beloved camera gear. He was trapped in his cabin by the second explosion and later discovered to have drowned.

Within minutes of the blasts the largest police (and press) investigation in New Zealand’s history had been launched and was in the weeks following to reveal a sabotage operation flawed by French arrogance towards New Zealanders’ powers of observation and deduction.

At about 9.30 pm on the night of the bombing Auckland police had received calls from an outboard boating club further along Auckland’s waterfront. According to a police evidence document later obtained by the New Zealand Herald, the witnesses saw a man in diving gear and wearing a red wool cap get out of a Zodiac inflatable dinghy. He was met by two persons -- later identified as the Turenges (real names Prieur and Mafart) -- who helped load some gear into a Newmans rental company campervan. Before coming ashore the man dumped a Yamaha outboard motor into Hobsons Bay, and also a small two-litre canister subsequently identified as a re-breather bottle used predominantly by the world’s naval sabotage units to prevent air bubbles from breaking on the water’s surface. All of these mysterious people vanished, but not before the witnesses noted the campervan’s licence plate number.

By the morning of July 11 a police alert was carried throughout Newmans to be on the lookout for the campervan and its two occupants.

Meanwhile, as Royal New Zealand Navy divers scoured the explosion area and tried to discover the extent of the Rainbow Warrior’s damage, the public was flooding Greenpeace’s offices with donations of money and help.

At this point the police had recovered the Zodiac which had been abandoned on rocks near Hobsons Bay, but with its identity tag ripped off.

At 7 am on July 12 the staff of Newmans at an Auckland suburban office arrived at work to find the missing campervan and its two occupants, Prieur and Mafart, calmly waiting on the doorstep to return their deposit money. Police were called and took them into custody where they were later charged with passport irregularities.

Interpol and foreign police agencies had already been called for help and Tahiti police questioned briefly a Frenchman, Francois Verlon, who had been briefly on board the Rainbow Warrior at 8 pm on the night of the explosion.

New Zealand police later flew to Tahiti to question the man further and although they could not charge him with anything, they are still interested in talking to him again.

A public appeal for information on the campervan’s movements in the North Island early in July brought a flood of witnesses from all around the area. One of these witnesses apparently gave such startling information that nine New Zealand detectives leaped aboard a Royal New Zealand Air Force plane on the afternoon of July 15 to fly to the Australian territory of Norfolk Island. There they questioned for several hours the crew of a Noumea-based charter yacht, Ouwea.

The yacht had set sail from the northern port of Whangarei on the morning of July 9. But evidence piled up in later weeks showing that the crew of the Ouwea -- the French frogmen and Dr Maniguet -- had met and entertained French agents Prieur and Mafart in the days preceding the bombing. Dr Maniguet had evaded the Norfolk questioning by flying to Sydney. He was later questioned there by New Zealand police, but was not held on any charge. He later flew to Singapore and then to his home in Dieppe, always protesting his innocence.

But at Norfolk, forensic tests made of the bilges of the Ouwea revealed traces of plastic explosive. Police also found a document belonging to the yacht’s skipper, Verge, which contained the cover name of Mafart, Alain Turenge. Photographs were recovered showing Andries and Bartelo in diving equipment, Bartelo wearing a red woolen cap.

But the police could not hold the Ouwea at that stage and her crew set sail for Noumea and disappeared somewhere in the Pacific ocean several days later.

The last item found on board the Ouwea, a map of Auckland with a private address handwritten on one corner, eventually led the police to Greenpeace headquarters. They put their heads together and came up with another D.G.S.E. agent, known as Frederique Bonlieu.
The Players in the Farce

So many figurative cloaks, daggers, bombs and black hats fill the chronicle of what was, in many respects, an incredible spy farce that it is necessary to provide a cast of characters. They are:

1. **Lieut. Christine Cabon** (alias Frederique Bonlieu). An agent of the Direction Generale de la Seclrcite Externe (D.G.S.E.) in the intelligence-gathering/evaluation unit, assigned to infiltrate Greenpeace in Auckland. In early 1985, using an old D.G.S.E. file to trace a former French anti-nuclear activist, Jean-Marie Vidal, and convince him to give her a written introduction to New Zealand Greenpeace. Cabon, using the name Bonlieu, travels to Auckland in mid-April and makes contact with Greenpeace. She spends time in the office, eventually helping with translation of publicity material. Spends time on her own, checking out Auckland harbor frontages, makes numerous trips around the North Island, taking pictures of remote coastal areas, gains information on yacht hire, camping facilities, diving, etc., leaves Auckland for Tahiti on May 24. Returns later to Paris via San Francisco. Later goes to Israel for archaeological dig, from which she suddenly disappears after sending telegram from the D.G.S.E. that her identity in New Zealand is uncovered.

2. **Capt. Dominique Prieur** (alias Sophie Turenge). D.G.S.E. controller, intelligence-gathering/evaluation unit, and Cabon’s controller. A specialist in European racist and “green” movements. Arrives on a false Swiss passport in Auckland on June 22, with a loss of memory.

3. **Major Alain Mafart** (alias Alain Turenge). D.G.S.E. agent, former deputy director of the University of Paris school in Corsica. Also using a false passport and the name Prieur’s controller, he arrives in Noumea on June 9, and sets up shop in the Rainbow Warrior.


5. **Petty Officer Gerald Andries** (alias Eric Andre). D.G.S.E. agent for 14 years, detached to the Rainbow Warrior.


7. **Dr Xavier Maniguet** (alias the true name). A freelance D.G.S.E. agent, a specialist in underwater and diving medicine.

8. **Philippe Dubas** (alias Jean-Michel Dubas). 27 years old, the commander of the Caledonian frogman camp. He travels to New Caledonia to supervise the departure of the yacht Oueva after its charter by Verge, Andries, Bartelo and Maniguet.
Detective-Superintendent Allan Gaibraith ... heading New Zealand police inquiries in France.

Turenges arrested again and faced with the major charges of murder, arson and conspiracy.

On July 26 arrest warrants were issued for the same charges against three of the Ouvea crew, excluding Dr Maniguet whose role could not be identified.

On July 27, in Israel, the Greenpeace infiltrator, Cabon, received an urgent telegram saying, in effect, “father sick, come home.” Bonlieu left immediately, catching a T.W.A. flight from Tel Aviv to Paris. It later emerged that her father had died many years ago. On the day she disappeared Auckland newspapers published for the first time details of her involvement in the sabotage.

During this time the police had begun collecting records of internal and overseas telephone calls placed by all the French agents now identified as being involved in the investigation into the Rainbow Warrior bombing. A second oxygen rebreather bottle was found, quite a distance away from the first one, apparently carried there by tides.

Police started talks with their French counterparts to enable New Zealand detectives to go into France to further investigate the background of the suspects. Other detectives went to Switzerland to trace the background of the false passports used by the couple calling themselves Turenges.

Suddenly information began leaking from the D.G.S.E. in Paris that some of the saboteurs were French agents. Almost simultaneously President Mitterrand went public and ordered a full inquiry to be headed by a counsellor of state, Bernard Tricot.

By August 13, French and New Zealand detectives had begun collecting records of internal and overseas telephone calls. By August 14 the French government had asked French to arrest detain all those suspected wanted in New Zealand for Rainbow W. sabotage. The trial of Turenges w for Noveml By this press re true k ties, M and Priel O Au 22 22.0.A.

By August 13, French and Auckland newspapers had begun revealing a D.G.S.E. plot to blow up the Rainbow Warrior, but the story was sidetracked by claims that the dirty work was actually done by right-wing mercenaries financed on “mate’s rates” by New Caledonian Caldoches helping out the D.G.S.E. Then the Zodiac and the Yamaha outboard engine were traced to a London shop, Barnet Marine. The shop manager identified the purchaser as a Frenchman, perhaps Malart.

Later information revealed that five D.G.S.E. agents, including the crew of the Ouvea, were in London at the time.

The French government had by then begun to strike back against the news revelations by claiming that the sabotage was done by Greenpeace itself, or by “an enemy of France” such as Great Britain, or the Soviet Union.

Inquiries made by the New Zealand Herald suggested that what could have panicked the French into the sabotage was the possibility that the Rainbow Warrior crew could have advanced close enough into Moruroa to see large scale destruction of the atoll and also do anecdotal health surveys of nearby islands. The newspaper also said that this information was probably gained by intercepting Greenpeace correspondence discussing the possibilities with anti-nuclear activists in Tahiti, Bengt Danielsson, and from Cabon’s searching of files in Greenpeace’s Auckland office.

A joint scientific report by Auckland geothermal experts and Greenpeace shows that, based on the recent Tazieff and Atkinson reports on the atoll is substantially aged and probably began leak increasing amour radio-active nucleides in surrounding ocean. (This was subsequently rejected by New Zealand sci and a brisk academic argu was stirred alongside the story). Simultaneously Zeal newspaper article recorded the fairly widported belief that the F will shift their nuclear te Fangataua.

By August 14 the New Zealand police had asked French to arrest detain all those suspected wanted in New Zealand for Rainbow W.
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Top brass in the wings

IN FRANCE

The further characters, involved from afar, included:
9. Minister of Defence, Charles Hernu reported to have become very angry when told of Greenpeace's plan to send a flotilla to the Moruroa atoll. He is reported to have demanded, without specifying how, that the protest must be stopped.
10. Admiral Henri Fages, in charge of France's nuclear test centre and program, who first warned the D.G.S.E. and later the Defence Minister about the threat posed by Greenpeace to Moruroa.
11. Admiral Pierre Lacoste, director of the D.G.S.E., who is said to have interpreted the Defence Minister's anger to mean authorisation for direct action against Rainbow Warrior. He is reported to have subsequently drawn up sabotage plans with.
12. General Roger Emin, the D.G.S.E. deputy director.
13. General Jean Saullier, former military chief of staff to President Mitterrand now retired. Was asked by Admiral Lacoste to approve expenditure on the operation, a manoeuvre known in bureaucratic circles as "covering your arse.
14. Bernard Tricot, a highly respected Gaullist politician, pointed out that Mitterrand and his official French government investigation into French involvement in the sabotage concluded that the D.G.S.E. did not take part in the Rainbow Warrior bombing and that the only orders issued to French agents in New Zealand at the time were to conduct infiltration and surveillance of Greenpeace and the New Zealand peace flotilla. He later conceded press conference statements that his conclusions were only as good as the information he had obtained and that not all of this might be reliable.

Warrior was finally raised from the watery grave, refloating and, leaking badly, was taken slowly across Auckland Harbor to a naval dry dock where the extent of the bomb damage was seen.

A week later Vice-Admiral Rene Hugues was recalled to Paris from the nuclear testing centre in French Polynesia to discuss plans to repel the revamped Greenpeace flotilla.

On August 26 the Tricot report was made public in Paris and, barely an hour before-hand, the three missing Ouvea crew members gave themselves up at a Paris police station but were quickly released. They have not been seen since.

The Tricot report exonerated the D.G.S.E. and the French government but called for a fuller investigation. The French justice authorities indicated at the same time they would refuse any extradition requests from New Zealand of any French nationals suspected of having been involved in the sabotage.

The Tricot report did, however, reveal the correct identities of all the French agents in New Zealand at the time, and that they had been in the country on a legitimate surveillance operation sanctioned as high as President Mitterrand's office.

The Tricot report did not mention the role of a Philippe Dubast, who accompanied the Ouvea frogmen to Noumea. He had been tentatively identified as the commander of France's secret frogman saboteurs' school in Aspretto, Corsica.

The American Federal Bureau of Investigation had meanwhile staked out a California apartment belonging to a supposed friend of the Greenpeace infiltrator, Bonlieu (Caban). The normal occupant, a Greek woman called Antigone Zoumatzis, later returned from the same archaeological dig in Israel where she had accompanied Cabon.

Tahiti reports also suggested that the three Ouvea crew had
been picked up in mid-ocean by the French nuclear submarine, Rubis and dropped off in Papeete on July 22. The French Navy has denied this consistently.

By late August the revelations had tailed off. The French and New Zealand governments had settled into a war of nerves. Prieur and Mafart were shifted to separate prisons - Mafart in Auckland and Prieur in Christchurch - after reports that French mercenaries going to break them out.

The whole episode had blackened over French Zealand relations. New Zealand prime minister, David Lange, but ordered the French ambassador, Jacques Bourgois, back to Paris in the tense following the Tricot report.

Mr Lange displayed his outrage to the assertions in the report, which he claimed was derisory in some of its aspects. He made clear he was convinced of D.G.S.E. and, of course, the French government involvement in the bombing and reacted with outrage to the report's admission that France had five agents on a sanction intelligence mission in New Zealand. He described this violation of New Zealand sovereignty.

No doubt more information will become public between now and November 4 when trial opens, but New Zealand police, while careful in any comment they have so far made, are confident that they can prove the depth of French involvement in the bombing.

French officials have accused the New Zealand police of lacking, or of having fabricated evidence against the couple.

The French have promised an instant and stern reaction against the new Greenpeace vessel, the ocean-going Greenpeace - and any other New Zealand protest vessels - if they poke their bows into the French territorial waters of Moruroa or Fautaua. Another series of neutron bomb tests is apparently due to start at Moruroa in the future.

For the French the incident must be that the bombing of Rainbow Warrior, and the "Pink Panther" style farce around the D.G.S.E. operation, focused wider international attention upon Greenpeace protests, and upon their own nuclear test program, that they had simply ignored. World-wide coverage of the trial of their age could only compound their embarrassment - Karen McNeil in Auckland.

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Every few days or so a big P&O cruise liner docks at one of the South Pacific's most enchanting and popular islands. Some people have even suggested we are the Pacific!

"Take me away, P&O!"
Treaty of Rarotonga

(SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE TREATY)

The Treaty of Rarotonga, presented at the South Pacific Forum in Rarotonga, Cook Islands, in August 1985 is, notwithstanding its critics, a document of considerable significance to a region bordered by nuclear-capable powers and in which nuclear weapons testing is still carried out. Despite the amount of comment it has occasioned, however, the text of the Treaty is not well known.

The treaty was signed at the forum in Rarotonga by eight of the forum countries: Australia (the driving force behind the treaty), Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, New Zealand, Niue, Tuvalu and Western Samoa.

The following months saw New Guinea signed, followed by Nauru in July 1986 and Solomon Islands in May 1987. By early 1988, nine of the signatories had ratified, although the treaty entered into force with the deposit of the eighth instrument of ratification on 11 December 1986.

By early 1988, two members of the South Pacific Forum, Vanuatu and Tonga, had not signed; the former claiming that the treaty did not go far enough in preventing nuclear activity, the latter claiming that its terms left small states vulnerable.

Protocols 2 and 3 to the treaty, to be signed by regional powers with nuclear weapons capabilities, the United Kingdom, France, the Republic of China, the USSR and the USA, had, by early 1988, been signed but not ratified by the USSR, which signed Protocols 2 and 3 on 15 December 1985, and the People's Republic of China, which signed Protocols 2 and 3 on 10 February 1987. Protocol 1, relating to the manufacture, stationing and testing of nuclear weapons within the South Pacific Territories of France, the United Kingdom and the USA, had not been signed by early 1988.

The full text of the treaty and its annexes is reproduced below. The wording of the protocols has been reduced to their most significant articles.

SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE TREATY.

The Parties to this Treaty United in their commitment to a world at peace;

Gravely concerned that the continuing nuclear arms race presents the risk of nuclear war which would have devastating consequences for all people;

Convinced that all countries have an obligation to make every effort to achieve the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons, the terror which they hold for humankind and the threat which they pose to life on earth;

Believing that regional arms control measures can contribute to global efforts to reverse the nuclear arms race and promote the national security of each country in the region and the common security of all;

Determined to ensure, so far as lies within their power, that the bounty and beauty of the land and sea in their region shall remain the heritage of their peoples and their descendants in perpetuity to be enjoyed by all in peace;

Reaffirming the importance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and in contributing to world security;

Noting in particular, that Article VII of the NPT recognises the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories;

Noting that the prohibitions of emplacement and deployment of nuclear weapons on the seabed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof contained in the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof apply in the South Pacific;

Noting also that the prohibition of testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere or under water, including territorial waters or high seas, contained in the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water applies in the South Pacific;

Determined to keep the region free of environmental pollution by radioactive wastes and other radioactive matter.

Guided by the decision of the Fifteenth South Pacific Forum at Tuvalu that a nuclear free zone should be established in the region at the earliest possible opportunity in accordance with the principles set out in the communique of that meeting, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1
Usage of terms

For the purposes of this Treaty and its Protocols:

(a) 'South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone' means the area described in Annex I.

(b) 'Territory' means internal waters, territorial sea and archipelagic waters, the seabed and subsoil beneath, the land territory and the airspace above them.

(c) 'Nuclear explosive device' means any nuclear weapon or other explosive device capable of releasing nuclear energy, irrespective of the purpose for which it could be used. The term includes such a weapon or device in unassembled and partly assembled form, but does not include the means of transport or delivery of such a weapon or device if separate from and not an indivisible part of it.

(d) 'Stationing' means emplacement, deployment, transportation on land or inland waters, stockpiling, storage, installation and deployment.

ARTICLE 2
Application of the Treaty

1. Except where otherwise specified, this Treaty and its Protocols shall apply to territory within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone.

2. Nothing in this Treaty shall prejudice or in any way affect the rights, or the exercise of the rights, of any State under international law with regard to freedom of the seas.

ARTICLE 3
Renunciation of Nuclear Explosive Devices

Each Party undertakes:

(a) not to manufacture or otherwise acquire, possess or have control over any nuclear explosive device by any means anywhere inside or outside the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone;

(b) not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture or acquisition of any nuclear explosive device;

(c) not to take any action to assist or encourage the manufacture or acquisition of any nuclear explosive device by any State.

ARTICLE 4
Peaceful Nuclear Activities

Each Party undertakes:

(a) not to provide source or special fissile material, or equipment or material especially designed or prepared for the processing, use or production of special fissile material for peaceful purposes to:

(i) any non-nuclear-weapon State unless subject to the safeguards required by Article III.1 of the NPT, or

(ii) any nuclear-weapon State unless subject to applicable safeguards agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Any such provision shall be in accordance with strict non-proliferation measures to provide assurance of exclusively peaceful non-explosive use;

(b) to support the continued effectiveness of the international non-proliferation system based on the NPT and the IAEA safeguards system.
ARTICLE 5
Prevention of Stationing of Nuclear Explosive Devices
1. Each Party undertakes to prevent in its territory the stationing of any nuclear explosive device.
2. Each Party in the exercise of its sovereign rights remains free to decide for itself whether to allow visits by foreign ships and aircraft to its ports and airfields, transit of its airspace by foreign aircraft, and navigation by foreign ships in its territorial sea or archipelagic waters in a manner not covered by the rights of innocent passage, archipelagic sea lane passage or transit passage of straits.

ARTICLE 6
Prevention of Testing of Nuclear Explosive Devices
Each Party undertakes:
(a) to prevent in its territory the testing of any nuclear explosive device;
(b) not to take any action to assist or encourage the testing of any nuclear explosive device by any State.

ARTICLE 7
Prevention of Dumping
1. Each Party undertakes:
(a) not to dump radioactive wastes and other radioactive matter at sea anywhere within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone;
(b) to prevent the dumping of radioactive wastes and other radioactive matter in its territorial sea;
(c) not to take any action to assist or encourage the dumping by anyone of radioactive wastes and other radioactive matter at sea anywhere within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone;
(d) to support the conclusion as soon as possible of the proposed Convention relating to the protection of the natural resources and environment of the South Pacific region and its Protocol for the prevention of pollution of the South Pacific region by dumping, with the aim of precluding dumping at sea of radioactive wastes and other radioactive matter by anyone anywhere in the region.

2. Paragraphs 1(a) and 1(b) of this Article shall not apply to areas of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone in respect of which such a Convention and Protocol have entered into force.

ARTICLE 8
Control System
1. The Parties hereby establish a control system for the purpose of verifying compliance with their obligations under this Treaty.
2. The control system shall comprise:
(a) reports and exchange of information as provided for in Article 9;
(b) consultations as provided for in Article 10 and Annex 4(1);
(c) the application to peaceful nuclear activities of safeguards by the IAEA as provided for in Annex 2;
(d) a complaints procedure as provided for in Annex 4.

ARTICLE 9
Reports and Exchanges of Information
1. Each Party shall report to the Director of the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation (the Director) as soon as possible any significant event within its jurisdiction affecting the implementation of this Treaty. The Director shall circulate such reports promptly to all Parties.
2. The Parties shall endeavour to keep each other informed on matters arising under or in relation to this Treaty. They may exchange information by communicating it to the Director, who shall circulate it to all Parties.
3. The Director shall report annually to the South Pacific Forum on the status of this Treaty and matters arising under or in relation to it, incorporating reports and communications made under paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article and matters arising under Articles 8(2)(c) and 10 and Annex 2(4).

ARTICLE 10
Consultations and Review
Without prejudice to the conduct of consultations among Parties by other means, the Director, at the request of any Party, shall convene a meeting of the Consultative Committee established by Annex 3 for consultation and co-operation on any matter arising in relation to this Treaty or for reviewing its operation.

ARTICLE 11
Advisory Committee
The Consultative Committee shall consider proposals for amendment of the provisions of this Treaty proposed by any Party and circulated by the Director to all Parties not less than three months prior to the convening of the Consultative Committee for this purpose. Any proposal agreed upon by consensus by the Consultative Committee shall be communicated to the Director who shall circulate it for acceptance to all Parties. An amendment shall enter into force thirty days after receipt by the depositary of acceptances from all Parties.

ARTICLE 12
Signature and Ratification
1. This Treaty shall be open for signature by any Member of the South Pacific Forum.
2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Director who is hereby designated depositary of this Treaty and its Protocols.
3. If a Member of the South Pacific Forum whose territory is outside the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone becomes a Party to this Treaty, Annex 1 shall be deemed to be amended so far as is required to encompass the area of that Party within the boundaries of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone. The delineation of any area added pursuant to this paragraph shall be approved by the South Pacific Forum.

ARTICLE 13
Withdrawal
1. This Treaty is of a permanent nature and shall remain in force indefinitely, provided that in the event of a violation by any Party of a provision of this Treaty essential to the achievement of the objectives of the Treaty or of the spirit of the Treaty, every other Party shall have the right to withdraw from the Treaty.
2. Withdrawal shall be effected by giving notice twelve months in advance to the Director who shall circulate such notice to all other Parties.

ARTICLE 14
Reservations
This Treaty shall not be subject to reservations.

ARTICLE 15
Entry into Force
1. This Treaty shall enter into force on the date of deposit of the eighth instrument of ratification.
2. For a signatory which ratifies this Treaty after the date of deposit of the eighth instrument of ratification, the Treaty shall enter into force on the date of deposit of its instrument of ratification.

ARTICLE 16
Depositary Functions
The depositary shall register this Treaty and its Protocols pursuant to Article 101 of the Charter of the United Nations and shall transmit certified copies of the Treaty and its Protocols to all Members of the South Pacific Forum and all States eligible to become Party to the Protocols to the Treaty and shall notify them of signatures and ratifications of the Treaty and its Protocols.

ANNEX 1
South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone
A. The area bounded by a line —
1. Commencing at the point of intersection of the Equator by the maritime boundary between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea;
2. running thence northerly along that maritime boundary to its intersection by the outer limit of the exclusive economic zone of Papua New Guinea;
3. thence generally north-easterly, easterly and south-easterly along that outer limit to its intersection by the Equator;
4. thence east along the Equator to its intersection by the meridian of Longitude 163 degrees East;
5. thence north along that meridian to its intersection by the parallel of Latitude 3 degrees North;
6. thence east along that parallel to its intersection by the meridian of Longitude 171 degrees East;
7. thence north along that meridian to its intersection by the parallel of
ANNEX 3
Consultative Committee
1. There is hereby established a Consultative Committee which shall be convened by the Director from time to time pursuant to Articles 10 and 11 and Annex 4 (2). The Consultative Committee shall be constituted of representatives of the Parties, each Party being entitled to appoint one representative who may be accompanied by advisers. Unless otherwise agreed, the Consultative Committee shall be chaired at any given meeting by the representative of the Party which last hosted the meeting of Heads of Government of Members of the South Pacific Forum. A quorum shall be constituted by representatives of half the Parties.

2. Subject to the provisions of Article 11, decisions of the Consultative Committee shall be taken by consensus or, failing consensus, by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. The Consultative Committee shall adopt such other rules of procedure as it sees fit.

3. The costs of the Consultative Committee, including the costs of special inspections pursuant to Annex 4, shall be borne by the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation. It may seek special funding should this be required.

ANNEX 4
Complaints Procedure
1. A Party which considers that there are grounds for a complaint that another Party is in breach of its obligations under this Treaty shall, before bringing a complaint to the Director, notify the Director of the existence of the complaint. Each Party agrees upon the request of any other Party to transmit to it the complaint to the Director for the information of all Parties. A party receiving a complaint shall have as its task the verification of the non-diversion of nuclear material from peaceful nuclear activities to nuclear explosive devices.

2. The Director shall not take any steps to assist the complaint in the absence of a request from the Party concerned or from the Consultative Committee. The Director shall inform the Parties concerned of the complaint and shall request the Parties to make representations in writing to the Consultative Committee. The Consultative Committee may, if it considers it appropriate, request the Director to carry out any inspection activities in the territory of the Party concerned, and to advise the Director promptly of any subsequent findings of the Board of Governors of the IAEA in relation to those conclusions for the information of all Parties.

3. It is hereby established a Consultative Committee which shall be convened by the Director from time to time pursuant to Articles 10 and 11 and Annex 4 (2). The Consultative Committee shall be constituted of representatives of the Parties, each Party being entitled to appoint one representative who may be accompanied by advisers. Unless otherwise agreed, the Consultative Committee shall be chaired at any given meeting by the representative of the Party which last hosted the meeting of Heads of Government of Members of the South Pacific Forum. A quorum shall be constituted by representatives of half the Parties.

4. Subject to the provisions of Article 11, decisions of the Consultative Committee shall be taken by consensus or, failing consensus, by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. The Consultative Committee shall adopt such other rules of procedure as it sees fit.

5. The costs of the Consultative Committee, including the costs of special inspections pursuant to Annex 4, shall be borne by the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation. It may seek special funding should this be required.
inspection, and shall grant to special inspectors privileges and immunities necessary for the performance of their functions, including inviolability for all papers and documents and immunity from arrest, detention and legal process for acts done and words spoken and written, for the purpose of the special inspection.

8. The special inspectors shall report in writing as quickly as possible to the Consultative Committee, outlining their activities, setting out relevant facts and information as ascertained by them, with supporting evidence and documentation as appropriate, and stating their conclusions. The Consultative Committee shall report fully to all Members of the South Pacific Forum, giving its decision as to whether the Party complained of is in breach of its obligations under this Treaty.

9. If the Consultative Committee has decided that the Party complained of is in breach of its obligations under this Treaty, or that the above provisions have not been complied with, or at any time at the request of either the complainant or complained of Party, the Parties shall meet promptly at a meeting of the South Pacific Forum.

PROTOCOL 1
Article 1
Each Party undertakes to apply, in respect of the territories for which it is internationally responsible situated within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, the prohibitions contained in Articles 3, 5 and 6, insofar as they relate to the manufacture, stockpiling and testing of any nuclear explosive device within those territories, and the safeguards specified in Article 8(2)(c) and Annex 2 of the Treaty.

PROTOCOL 2
Article 1
Each Party undertakes not to use or threaten to use any nuclear explosive device against:
(a) Parties to the Treaty; or
(b) any territory within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone for which a State that has become a Party to Protocol 1 is internationally responsible.

PROTOCOL 3
Article 1
Each Party undertakes not to test any nuclear explosive device anywhere within the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone.
NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC

GROUP IN SAIPAN DEMONSTRATING

PACIFIC ISLANDERS PROTESTING FOR A NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC
THE NUCLEAR FREE & INDEPENDENT PACIFIC MOVEMENT

The 6th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) conference was held in 1990 in Aotearoa (New Zealand). The following articles are taken from the Aotearoa Conference report. Lopeti Senituli, General Co-ordinator of the NFIP and Pacific Concerns Resource Centre provides an overview of the NFIP Movement. The Aotearoa Declaration was endorsed by the Steering Committee Meeting 1991 as a summary of the 1990 NFIP Conference.

The Arms Race in the Pacific began at the very moment the James Cooks, the Abel Tasmans and the Ferdinand Magellans set foot on the shores of the inhabited island countries of the region. Following quickly in the wake of these so-called 'discoverers' came the traders and the blackbirders.

Guerilla warfare began with the coming of the settlers and the missionaries through whose combined urgency came institutionalised government. With the 'government' came the regimented outcasts of European society and the drafts of semi-slave indentured labourers from other outposts of so-called European civilisation.

The 'government', of course, came armed with all the paraphernalia and trapping of 'democracy' such as the regimented soldier, the gunboats and, above all, the zeal to civilise the savages. The guerilla wars escalated into civil wars and when the 'savages' were subdued into 'civilised' subservience they were made to fight the government's World Wars. Then came the nuclear bombs.

So for the NFIP Movement the militarisation and nuclearisation of the Pacific is not something that simply popped out of the horizon. Instead it is the latest phase of the colonisation process which has seen the indigenous people of the Pacific become strangers on their own land which in turn had been arbitrarily subdivided by their colonial masters into strategic outposts of so-called 'progress'.

Therefore when the NFIP Movement struggles against the militarisation and nuclearisation of the Pacific, it is not opposing Trident submarines, neutron bombs and sea launched cruise missiles as simply weapons of mass annihilation. Rather it opposes these moral values that give rise to their manufacture and deployment.

Naturally the NFIP focuses on the economic blackmail, the political intimidation, the murders and the systematic cheating that inevitably precede the actual deployment of these weapons in the Pacific. It also focuses on helping the people and governments of the Pacific withstand these devious onslaughts.

In effect this invariably means that the NFIP Movement is constantly confronted with the basic question of why and what political and socio-economic systems, life-style and cultures it is seeking to preserve and nurture in its quest for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

The NFIP Movement is a rich and colourful network of peoples and their organisations. There are church-based groups, trade unions, independence fronts, sovereignty and land rights groups, student unions, peace and justice organisation, environmental groups, women's groups and a whole frenzy of individuals who cannot be categorised.

The origins of the people and their organisations are not confined to the Pacific Islands proper. There are member organisations in virtually every Pacific-rim nation save the Central, Latin and South American sub-continents. Similarly, there are member organisations in Great Britain and Western Europe.

To date, five NFIP conferences have been held: 1975, Suva; 1978, Pohnpei; 1980, Honolulu; 1983, Port Vila; 1987, Manila. The movement is directed by an 8-member Steering Committee serviced by its secretariat, the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC) which has offices in Auckland and Sydney. By the very nature of its membership the NFIP Movement has set itself the almost overwhelming task of establishing working relationships between its members and thus creating a functional movement.

The areas for potential conflict within the Movement are vast given the whole range of personalities, issues, languages, cultures, historical (colonial) experiences, ethnicity and perceptions. Clashes have always been a feature of all five NFIP conferences since 1975.

In the final analysis, however, the peoples and their organisations have always come to the conclusion that there is simply too much at stake to allow their differences to dominate their thinking and be an obstacle to the consolidation of a functional NFIP Movement.

This conclusion is captured in a quotation from Sister Christine Tan from the Philippines in her speech welcoming participants to the 5th NFIP Conference in Manila in November 1987. Sr. Christine was a member of the Philippines Constitutional Commission and is a prominent champion of the poor and oppressed in the Philippines.

She said, and I quote: 'Our battle is for freedom from Nuclear Arms and all the evil this connotes in our people, in our lands, in our seas, in our winds. In this battle we are being made pawns, dumping sites, burial fields, of forces from outside with far more resources and power than we possess.

But regardless of how super these forces and how small our islands are, our political determination surpasses all these threats and manipulation. To these evil powers we therefore say, We the free people of the Pacific refuse to be cowed. We shall overcome.'

Lopeti Senituli, November 1990.
WE, THE PARTICIPANTS of the 6th Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference held in Aotearoa in November 1990, acknowledge and thank the people of Aotearoa for their hospitality and solidarity.

We especially wish to acknowledge their 150 years of survival since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. We remember all those who have gone before us, those who have died for life and the liberation of our peoples, and for Earth Mother who sustains us all.

We reaffirm our continuing solidarity with our sisters and brothers in the Pacific who are suffering from and struggling against oppression and injustice.

We grieve for, and are determined to resist the continued assaults on our cultures, religions and ways of life, that come both from outside and within the Pacific.

We reaffirm the inalienable right of all indigenous peoples to control their lives, lands and waters, practice their religion, exercise the culture of their ancestors and demand their sovereignty and independence from all foreign powers.

We accept that we are a diverse number of groups from different situations and with different priorities, and we resolve to ensure that this diversity is part of our strength as a movement.

We resolve that our political differences will not prevent our working together for justice and freedom for us all, and we acknowledge our interdependence on one another.

We reaffirm the leadership of Pacific Peoples in this Movement, and we commit ourselves to the goals and aims of the Peoples Charter for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific. We commit ourselves to working to increase our peoples participation in this struggle for life and liberty.

We reaffirm our commitment to oppose the whole nuclear cycle in the Pacific: the mining of uranium on Aboriginal and Native American lands; the nuclear submarine testing facility in South East Alaska; the nuclear testing at Moruroa, Fangataufa, Nevada and the missile testing at Kwajalein; toxic waste dumping in the Pacific; and chemical dumping at Kalam Island, also known as Tapuarerangi-o-Tane (the sacred footprint of Tane) and any other island; the presence of all foreign military bases in the Pacific, including the United States bases in Guam, Hawaii, the Philippines, Australia and Japan.

We recognise the urgency with which we must work together in the next decade, to protect the Pacific and Pacific life from the threat of economic invasion and other forms of destruction.

We condemn all governments who suppress the rights of their peoples, and who collaborate with foreign powers to perpetrate these injustices.

We recommend ourselves as indigenous and non indigenous people of the Pacific, to work together for the well being of our world and for all our futures.

We ask our Creator, our guardians and our ancestors for direction and guidance as we strive to carry out the tasks that lie ahead.

NOTE: The Aotearoa Declaration was endorsed by the Steering Committee Meeting of September 1991 as a summary of the 1990 NFIP conference.
The nuclear question

NUCLEAR testing or the resumption of it, is once again making the headlines. After dominating regional politics in the South Pacific for over two decades, the issue was given a breather when two leading nuclear weapons nations decided to halt testing.

France's unilateral moratorium on its nuclear testing program in the South Pacific in April last year was particularly welcomed.

Then US President George Bush announced later his country, too, would suspend its nuclear testing program. Both countries attach one condition to their voluntary decisions — the suspension would remain intact only if other nuclear powers follow their lead.

South Pacific Forum leaders who have been campaigning relentlessly against nuclear testing, especially the use of their backyard to test this weapon of mass destruction, quickly commended France, but at the same time, urged it to extend the suspension indefinitely.

In a communiqué issued after last year's South Pacific Forum the Leaders stated — "The decision of the French government to suspend nuclear testing in 1992 was warmly welcomed. Forum countries have consistently called on France to cease it nuclear testing in the Pacific region and commended French recognition of the sensitivities of Forum members on this issue.

"Indefinite extension of the French cessation of nuclear tests will contribute significantly to improving further the relations between France and the countries of the Pacific."

Forum Leaders wrote to the President of France urging him to suspend his country's testing indefinitely. The communiqué continued — "The Forum expressed the strong hope that his would lead to the permanent cessation of nuclear testing in the South Pacific, which would remove once and for all a major stumbling block in the relations between the countries of the region and France."

The appeal by Forum leaders to France to stop its nuclear testing program did not stop there. The Forum indeed urged other nuclear weapons states "to follow the lead given by France and Russia by suspending their nuclear testing with a view to banning all nuclear testing in all environments for all time. In this regard the Forum sent strong messages to the world's nuclear powers urging the indefinite suspension of nuclear testing."

So far the campaign to resume nuclear testing appear to have been orchestrated by top officials of the Defence establishments in Paris and Washington. The head of France's Atomic Energy Commission Philippe Rouvillois was quoted as saying his country's year-long moratorium should be lifted as the arsenal's effectiveness is at stake. France, he said, needs to keep a competitive edge against the US and Russia.

US under secretary of defence, John Deutch, appearing before a Congressional Committee, told of his department's support for an early resumption of nuclear testing. The US moratorium on nuclear testing ends next month. Deutch said the aim is to ensure the US has a safe, secure, reliable and an effective nuclear deterrent. In the face of a massive military downsizing, especially in the United States, such sentiments are understandable. After all, there are mortgages to pay, bills to settle and yes, food for the kiddies, so the nuclear industry becomes handy to provide employment.

Indeed, there is no question about the right of countries to exercise their prerogative on matters of national security and interests. But there is another side to this argument — the rite of the untold millions the world over opposed to the development and use of nuclear weapons.

The South Pacific is home to some 26 million people, including some who inhabit the atolls and archipelagos of the region. Mururoa Atoll, for instance, has been subjected to heavy bombardment for over 26 years by France's nuclear testing. At stake are the lives of inhabitants, their children and those of generations to come.

Short term gains in employment the nuclear industry provide does not substitute for long-term effects and scars confronting the inhabitants of the region. Even the environment is subjected to harm.

In other words, peaceful co-existence as a long-term consideration, far outweighs any other considerations, military or otherwise.

There is no doubt the new government in France will come under increasing pressure from its military to pressurise the moratorium. Equal pressure is coming from the French public for the government in Paris to put an end to the testing, as shown in a recent survey there. There will also be mounting pressure from the region's politicians, environmentalists and others on France to accommodate the region's sensitivities on the issue.

There is a flicker of hope that recognition of the Forum's sensitivities on this issue by France and the thawing of relations between it and the Forum may just persuade French President Mitterand to decide against lifting the ban.

As far as the US is concerned, it will be a question of conscience — whether the push by some military hardliners to resume nuclear testing sits well with US policy on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Judging from the initial reactions to these reports, there is little doubt that the nuclear testing or the resumption of it, will once again become the buzz word in the corridors of power in the South Pacific as well as in the campaign strategy rooms of organisations such as Greenpeace. It is the one issue, at least in the South Pacific, governments and environmentalists openly oppose together. Why? So the world's estimated 5.5 billion people can live without fear of an accidental or otherwise nuclear attack.

According to published reports, some 14 atmospheric tests and 130 underground ones had taken place in the South Pacific. When the counts in the US, Russia, Britain and others are taken into account, the catalogue is guaranteed to be long.

For now, the question that will continue to be churned in the minds of politicians, environmentalists and the peace-loving people of the region will be — Will France and the US resume nuclear testing, or will they have the resolve and the leadership to say no, making the world a safer place for all of us?
Cashing in on nuclear waste

By David North

THERE'S an old saying, "if you have a lemon, make lemonade". In other words, make the best of a bad situation.

Some major forces in the Republic of the Marshall Islands want to do just that — take one or more of the nuclear-damaged islands, and rent them to the world as sites for atomic waste.

Bikini would be a logical location for such a dump, argue some Marshallse, while others are adamantly opposed to even entertaining the notion. The amounts of money mentioned in connection with such a development are staggering. The New York Times suggested US$50 million a year for 20 years, or $1 billion. RMI's ambassador to the US, Wilfred Kendall, told PIM that PM's annual income could be more than all of the republic's current revenues, from all sources, some $70 million a year. He cautioned, however, that conversations are currently at a "very preliminary phase".

Floating around Washington, however, is an unsigned document, dated February 1, 1994, marked "confidential" dealing with this subject. I was told on good authority that it had at least passed through the hands of the RMI embassy.

The smoothly-written, carefully-worded document seeks funding for a feasibility study on the question of locating a nuclear storage facility on one or more uninhabited or nuclear-damaged islands in the Marshalls. No island names are specified. The heading for the 16-page paper is "Long-term Storage and Permanent Disposal of Nuclear Materials — a Proposal for a Feasibility Study in the Marshall Islands." As one who is familiar with both island and Washington writing styles, my assumption is that it was written by mainland lawyers or consultants. It is clearly intended to persuade a mainland source of money to put up an unspecified, but substantial sum of money to conduct a sophisticated, three-part feasibility study. Speculation is that the study alone, would cost $1 to $2 million. Ambassador Kendall, while not discussing the cost of the study, said that the potential sponsor of the study would be "in the private sector".

The potential financial structure is laid out in some detail. This would be a for-profit activity, involving a US$1.5 billion outlay for a single site way of compensating the Marshalls for the damage to its environment, and for its (presumed) willingness to accept the waste.

Alternatively, such a waste site could conceivably be built without giving the Marshalls a share in the equity, instead, RMI and perhaps some other Marshallse interests (like landowners) would be paid a multi-million dollar yearly fee for the use of the site. Or perhaps some combination of both approaches could be used.

A blessing for the nuclear industry

As the anonymous writers of the document make clear, there is a very strong demand for nuclear waste sites. Not only is there the still dangerous spent fuel from hundreds of nuclear power plants, there is the enormous amount of surplus atomic waste coming from the end of the Cold War.

It is all very well (and of course commendable) for the leaders of the world to decide to reduce the number of nuclear warheads, but someone has to remove the explosives, and the remaining nuclear material has to be stored somewhere.

There are severe technological and political complications to nuclear storage. First, the stuff has to be carefully packaged and placed in deep, secure vaults. The area should be free of earthquakes, and the facility must be protected from would-be nuclear terrorists. Second, for all practical purposes, the storage has to be arranged from here to eternity. The principal element in highly enriched uranium (HEU) is uranium-235, which has a half-life of 700,000,000 years. Plutonium-239, a weapons-grade fuel, has a half-life of a mere 6500 years (approximately three times as long as the period since the time of Christ).

But most important, no one wants an atomic waste site anywhere in their region — and the jurisdiction that accepts the stuff can make a fortune as a result.
Some US Indian tribes are said to be interested in this prospect — and they do have ownership and some political power over thousands of square miles of barren territory in the American West. The tribes, unlike RMI, however, do not have sovereignty and American state governments would have to agree to the dump locations as well.

So there is a major, continuing market for an atomic waste site, if the setting is right, and if the politics are right at the time of shipping the waste. (Second thoughts are not a factor; if the waste is buried somewhere, it is highly unlikely ever to be moved away.) The US has made a major effort to find a spot within the Continental United States to store nuclear waste. This has led to vigorous battles between Washington, on one hand, and state governors and legislators on the other.

The likeliest location, although the politics are not yet clarified, is an extremely remote location in the Nevada desert, where a large abandoned mine is being converted for use as a nuclear storage facility. If agreement can be reached, it would take care of only a portion of America’s atomic waste, and so far no storage has begun. Meanwhile, substantial collections of spent nuclear fuel and other waste sit in temporary locations around the US, near the power plant of bomb factory from whence they came. The situation is similar in other countries, but siting an atomic waste facility is always easier in a dictatorship than in a democracy.

The confidential proposal is quite clear on one related point. While it encourages thinking about the Marshalls as a site for short and long-term storage of nuclear materials, it is opposed to the presumably dangerous process of dismantling nuclear weapons in the islands. That is to be done elsewhere. (Currently the US Army is dismantling nerve gas and other chemical weapons on Johnston Atoll, a US military island in the Central Pacific, some 1500 miles east of the Marshalls.)

The controversies among the Islanders

Meanwhile, the politics of nuclear waste within the Marshalls has become a complex, potentially high-stakes game. At one end of the spectrum are those pressing for the creation of such a facility as the obvious way to end the Marshalls financial problems for decades; and, at the other, there are the staunch environmentalists who do not want to even think about the issue.

The Marshalls also has some of the leading world experts in the dangers of nuclear fall-out. These are families of those people who died of various forms of cancer after Operation Bravo spewed atomic particles on Rongelap and Utirik and many other atolls after the big blast back on March 1, 1954. It carried 750 times the explosive force of the bomb that wiped out Hiroshima. But the struggle over a possible waste site is not just between those interested in the green of the environment and those who favor green is that found on US bills. There are disputes or potential ones between village and national government, between mainland advisers to the Bikinians, and between (we are told) the Marshalls’ two ambassadors in the US.

While no island has been designated for an atomic waste facility, Bikini would be one of the logical choices. It is currently uninhabited except for a few people working on its reclamation; the Bikinians have taken a position that they will not return to the island until the current earth is removed, dumped somewhere, and replaced by nice, new, non-radioactive dirt. This is said to be a $200,000,000 task (even if a dumping ground could be located) and Bikini, despite generous payments from the US Congress, has only half that much money. So Bikini is likely to remain uninhabited for a long time.

Further, Bikini is larger than some of the alternative, uninhabited islands, and there would be few surprises to waste site managers. Bikini is as well mapped as any spot on earth. But, from the point of view of RMI’s government, there are several disadvantages to Bikini, all of them political. There is a village council (the people now live on another island, the 200-acre Kili) and the villagers have been making many of their own decisions for years; dealing with the Bikini C is not like dealing with an uninhabited island.

Further, Bikini and its Wash lawyer, Jonathan Weisgall, have aged to keep the islanders’ funds by both the very conservative inven strategy and by keeping their trust out of the hands of the RMI govern (See PIM, January 1994, page President Amata Kabua’s report es in promoting Bikini or some island as a waste depot clearly rel the needs of his government’s tre and perhaps to those of his own if not to those of Bikini’s trust fund is beyond his control.

According to a story in the New Times Magazine, published on M several weeks after PIM secured earlier mentioned document, B managed to push a bill through Marshalls legislature in February w • recognised Kabua and several tribal chiefs as the owners of Bikini • declared that these chiefs w receive a third of the income from the use of the island. The Time that the legislature’s decision had sit if not stopped, the Bikinians’ con tination of the island as a waste site.

Meanwhile, the village elders, pi up a trick from other politicians in lands, have been holding their qual business meetings in places like Vegas’ Stardust Casino, where J Davis caught up with them for the 7 Davis found them uninterested in prospect of earning $50,000 to $100 a year from low-key tourism (plai divers who would explore the battle sunk in the Bikini Lagoon) and inde about going into tourism in a bigger

He also said that there was a struggle between the islanders’ principal advisers, Wei and his “pragmatic opportunism” ex-Peace Corps volunteer Niedenthal and his idealism.

Weisgall has encouraged the coun think about tourism and about atomic waste possibility, and has Bikini’s struggle over the last 19 yea secure guilt money from the US Cong Davis says he is highly regard his island clients.

Niedenthal, came to Kili to t English, stayed, married a Bikinian, some children, and is now a full-fle member of the community. He serv his resident adviser to the islanders or rest of the world, while Weisgai Washington lawyer, copes with Island relations with the US govern and, with their hands on fund. Niedenthal is flatly opposed waste facility, and would like to see islanders return to something like t traditional life style.

While Bikini would be the r intriguing site (from the point of vie local politics and history) Ambassad
Kendall made it clear to PIM that no island has been selected for a possible site, and that several are under consideration. He mentioned three other islands, all in the northwest corner of the Republic: Eniwetak (the site of atomic testing), Alinginae and Rongerik.

Meanwhile, we gather in Washington that the Marshalls' ambassador to the US, is more interested in exploring the prospect of a waste site in the Marshalls, than is the Marshalls' ambassador to the UN, Carl Heine. We could not talk to the latter, as he was attending a world-wide island conference in Barbados while this was written.

What happens next? It probably will be a slow process. First, the authors of the confidential paper need to find someone willing to fund the feasibility study and once that is under way perhaps the Bikinians will opt for using their island as a waste site. If they do not, there are other islands in the Marshalls, and elsewhere. (If the seas are not impossible, and harbours exist, why not France's uninhabited Kerguelen Islands in the colder part of the Indian Ocean, or Norway's Bouvet Island or Britain's South Georgia Islands, both in the frigid South Atlantic?)

I suspect that we will be reading about where to store atomic waste for the rest of our lives.

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**Fishing boats cause concern**

By Stuart Parker

Concern is growing in the Marshall Islands that Chinese fishermen are damaging fishing stocks and crowding local boats out of the Pacific nation's fledging tuna industry.

The tuna catch in the Marshall Islands has boomed since the first of about 60 Chinese longline fishing boats began arriving late last year under an economic co-operation deal. Recent figures show Marshall Islands waters are on course to produce almost 726 tonnes of tuna this year — more than twice the catch last year. However at the same time, catches by the current fleet of seven Marshallse-owned fishing boats are down almost 50 per cent.

The 60 Chinese vessels arrived after a memorandum of understanding was signed last June between the Marshall Islands Development Authority (MIDA) and the China Shanghai Corporation for Foreign Economic and Technological Cooperation. More Chinese vessels are expected this year. MIDA general manager Justin deBrum admitted the Marshall Islands was worried about its fishing stocks following the arrival of the Chinese.

"We are carrying out an assessment study on fishing stocks and we are also looking at limiting the number of Chinese boats to about 80 for at least the rest of the year," he told AAP.

Because the tuna industry was so new, it was not known how many fishing boats it would support. DeBrum further agreed there was concern local fishermen may be put out of business by the Chinese. A chief reason for higher Chinese catch is that each boat alerts its foreign colleagues when a school of tuna is found. "That has yet to happen with the domestic fleet," deBrum said.

Another worry is the poor state of many of the Chinese fishing boats, compared to the more modern local craft. "There are concerns about environment and pollution which we are addressing," deBrum said.

When the deal was signed with China last year, deBrum said it would boost the one-year-old local industry, and earn vital income for the fishing base in Majuro and for Air Marshall Islands, which exports the tuna to Hawaii and Japan. Many Marshallse complain that the Chinese boats have failed to provide much of a boost to local employment and income, as expected.

However, deBrum said their arrival had had a big impact on Majuro's economy and had created up to 40 jobs at the base. Chinese and Taiwanese fishing boats also are moving in growing numbers into the Federated States of Micronesia, which has no established tuna industry. AAP

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**Greenpeace slams move**

GREENPEACE has called on South Pacific countries to remind the Marshall Islands of the region's nuclear free commitment following news that the islands have offered themselves as a dump site for the world's nuclear waste.

"It is hypocritical that at the same time as South Pacific Forum countries, including the Marshalls, are negotiating a regional treaty to prohibit the import of hazardous waste into the region, the Marshall Islands government is pursuing such a proposal," said Bunny McDiarmid of Greenpeace.

"The treaty's aim is to prevent the Pacific from becoming the world's garbage bin and this proposal by the Marshalls opens the door for just that to happen. It's true, as the Marshall Islands proposal states, that there is a desperate problem worldwide with the storage and disposal of nuclear waste but sending it to a coral atoll in the South Pacific is not solving the problem," McDiarmid said. "It's dumping it on a country that has neither the capacity nor facilities to deal with it."

Many of the northern atolls of the Marshalls are already contaminated by radioactive fall-out from US nuclear tests in the 1940s and 1950s. The proposal claims that storing nuclear waste in the Marshalls would gain revenues that would help its people achieve economic self-sufficiency, but McDiarmid says this is an "economic and environmental time bomb and the best contribution to economic self-sufficiency in the Marshalls would be to stop this in its tracks".

McDiarmid said the proposal would mean shipping high level radioactive waste, including plutonium, through the South Pacific Ocean for permanent storage and was contrary to the international trend towards dealing with waste where it is generated.

Meanwhile, the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre has also slammed the proposal. Director Lopeti Senituli said the Marshall Islands offer was the forerunner of things to come.

"At the Barbados Conference on Sustainable Development for Small Island Developing States, the industrialised countries were not willing to offer new and additional financial assistance to small islands in their pursuit of sustainable development. So the only viable option left for the islands is to become the toilet holes for the industrialised world," Senituli said.
Nuclear waste may end up here

- Pearl Harbor is among 10 storage sites being considered

By Lisa Novans

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Department of Energy has not ruled out Pearl Harbor as a long-term site for storing spent, fuel from nuclear-powered warships, a department official said in releasing a draft environmental impact statement yesterday.

Public opinion and operational costs will ultimately decide the question, he said, with a series of 20 public hearings scheduled across the country in the next three months.

One is scheduled from noon to 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. on July 28 at Leeward Community College Theater, 96-045 Ala Ike St.

A 900-page analysis of 10 sites that could be used for spent naval fuel left the Navy recommending its fuel be sent to a U.S. Energy Department laboratory in Idaho for disposal. But the Energy Department has taken no position on which site it prefers for storing spent fuel for the next 40 years, an Energy Department assistant secretary said.

Other navy sites being considered are shipyards in Maine, Virginia, Washington and the Kesselring prototype reactor site in New York. Energy department facilities also are eyed as central disposal sites are in Idaho, Washington, South Carolina, Tennessee and Nevada.

Because the environmental impacts on all of the proposed storage sites are about the same, public reaction and cost differences will be the major factors in deciding where the radioactive material will go, said Thomas P. Grumblly, assistant secretary for environmental management.

"We all realize dealing with spent fuels is an issue the public is intensely concerned about in some areas of the country." Grumblly said. "There's nobody who enjoys having this material."

The Energy Department will hold 20 public hearings during a 90-day public comment period, double the usual comment period, Grumblly said.

Spent fuel has been accumulated at Pearl Harbor — and at other naval shipyards on the mainland — since a lawsuit stopped shipments to a central disposal facility at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory last summer.

Two storage containers filled with radioactive material are now at Pearl Harbor and six are expected to be on hand by the middle of next year. But the Navy hopes to resume shipment to Idaho by then, if legal problems can be resolved. Meanwhile, the search for alternate sites continues.

The final environmental impact statement is due next April, with a decision on future storage to be made by next June, Grumblly said.

Government officials in Hawaii oppose the storage, saying Pearl Harbor's proximity to Oahu's population center could make for a major disaster in the event of a nuclear accident.

The Navy says the possibility of such an accident is extremely small.

If the Navy had to store its spent waste anywhere, other than at the Idaho site, it would have to build a new $800 million laboratory to examine the fuel at a new site, said Richard Guida, associate director of the Navy's nuclear propulsion program.

To submit comments, call 1-800-622-5563 or write Public Comments on the SNF and INEL EIS. Attention: Tom Wichmann, Department of Energy Idaho Operations Office, P.O. Box 3189, Idaho Falls, Idaho 83403-3189.
FURTHER READINGS:


Tourism in the Pacific Islands

A Fact Sheet by The South Pacific Peoples Foundation of Canada

Tourism is now probably the second largest industry in the world and a major industry in the Pacific Islands. Over 1.4 million tourists visit the South Pacific each year, but postcard perfect pictures do not provide the full picture of the Pacific tourism industry. Many island states are striving to balance investments in tourism promotion and resort development with more fundamental needs in health, education and food production. Most are struggling with limited land and resources, combined with growing population pressures. Nonetheless, many Pacific islands leaders see tourism as an economic sector with high growth potential.

Local, national and regional groups are working to find ways to reap the financial and social benefits of tourism while diminishing the industry's adverse effects on the peoples, culture and environment of the Pacific islands. This is especially challenging when combined with aid dependency, unfavourable balances of trade, urban growth and increasing social pressures. Controversy has grown in regards to dependency on tourism and foreign control of the industry.

TOURISTS: ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS

Since the introduction of jet travel in the late sixties, the tourism industry has grown fairly steadily and it is on the upswing throughout the region. The Pacific Islands receive tourists from three principal areas: Japan, Australia and New Zealand, and North America. Smaller numbers of tourists come from elsewhere in East Asia, Europe and from the Pacific islands themselves.

Although it is difficult to distinguish tourists from other travellers in the official statistics, in 1989 approximately 1.4 million tourists came to the Pacific Islands, excluding Hawaii's 6.2 million visitors. Nearly 800,000 visited Micronesia, almost all of these from Japan. The other Pacific islands received approximately 600,000 visitors in 1989.

Due mostly to accessibility, Australians and New Zealanders frequent the southern islands of Fiji and Polynesia. Most North Americans travel to well known resorts in Hawaii and Fiji, often en route to Australia. Europeans most often travel to former or current colonies, with many French tourists going to Kanaky/New Caledonia and Tahiti.

The Japanese travel extensively into Micronesia. Guam, only a 3-1/2 hour flight from Tokyo, is a favourite destination particularly for short stay holidays. In 1989 the Japanese were 85% (425,000) of the visitor arrivals in Guam, staying an average of four days and spending US$250 per day.

Asian interest in Pacific tourism is not only as a holiday destination. Japanese and Taiwanese investment in resort properties is skyrocketing. The largest hotel in Vanuatu is owned by a Japanese corporation. The largest foreign investment in resort properties in French Polynesia is a recent US$87.5 million, three-hotel purchase by a Japanese corporation which has promised an additional US$51 million plan for further development of the properties. Japan is promoting tourism abroad in an attempt to narrow its wide trade surplus and to increase its ties with other nations.

ARRIVALS OF TOURISTS FROM ABROAD - IN THOUSANDS

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Source: Current Travel and Tourism Indicators, World Tourism Organization, January 1990

TYPES OF TOURIST TRADE

Package Tours: Well-organized package tours account for a large number of Pacific visitors. These tours are popular because they are, for many, the least complicated way to see the Pacific. A disadvantage is that tours are generally confined to well-travelled areas where the larger, internationally-owned resorts can accommodate them. The economic benefits to island countries are limited because the monies involved remain within the international airline, hotel, and tour operator network. The Club Mediterranean complexes in Noumea, New Caledonia and Moorea, French Polynesia are two prime examples of this type of resort.

Cruise Ships: Large, multi-national cruise ship lines account for as much as 50 to 70 per cent of tourist visits in some island groups. Cruise ships were responsible for over half of Tonga's 78,000 visitors in 1984. Yet, the length of stay on any
The island is seldom more than two or three days, and often a matter of hours, giving tourists only a small appreciation of the places visited. There is a positive side to this superficiality. Cruise ships constitute self-contained worlds. There is no need for island nations to build an expensive infrastructure of hotels and runways and the brevity of tourist sojourns ashore limits the potential negative effects of tourism.

Up-Market Tourism: Luxury hotels with exclusive facilities are being identified by Pacific Islands governments and foreign investors as a means for attracting the growing number of wealthy jet setters. Yet, many question the allocation of land and waterfront resources for 18-hole golf courses and "private" beaches for exclusive use by tourists. Others question the economic viability of 5-star resorts in areas where services outside the resort do not reach international standards expected by affluent tourists.

Specialty travellers: There is a growing market amongst Western travellers for more adventurous excursions, such as the Sepik River cruises offered in PNG. Fiji, Vanuatu and Tahiti Polynesia market the beauty of their reefs in order to draw the diving tourist, while PNG, Chuuk (Truk) and Guam promote the presence of World War II wrecks in their waters. "Yachtries", sailing the islands are relatively few in number, but do contribute directly to the local economy by the purchase of supplies, fuel, and artifacts, often in the region’s more remote islands.

Alternative Tourism: The concept of alternative tourism is both a reaction to mass consumerism and mass tourism and a reaction to the exploiting of developing countries. The object of this type of vacation is a more active and culturally sensitive trip. Alternative tourism is inevitably restricted in scale as it seeks to create less impersonal exchanges between paying guests and local hosts. As the desire to travel is unlikely to diminish in the future and as destination areas are often interested in maximizing the revenue potential of their tourism, many argue reform in the structure of the mass tourism industry is a more realistic strategy than focusing on alternative tourism.

FACTORS IN THE RISE AND FALL OF TOURISM
The airlines play a major role in determining destination choices in the islands. Decisions with regard to the frequency of service are often made with little consultation with Pacific Islanders. Full and direct services between North America, Australia and New Zealand are more profitable for the airlines which dominate airways. Many more hundreds of thousands of tourists visit the islands than land in them. Fiji has hired a replacement for major US airlines like American and Pan American who terminated the coups. US tourist numbers remain lower, though. Fiji has succeeded in attracting Qantas and Air New Zealand. LAN Chile's decision, taken in Santiago, to reduce its flight service to Easter Island from two flights to one per week reduced that island's tourist revenue by 50% overnight. A number of island countries, including Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, and the Marshall Islands, have established their own flag-carriers in order to provide inter-island service, connections to Australia and New Zealand, and to offset reductions in service by larger airlines.

Marketing: The resources available for tourism promotion vary greatly, both from year to year and between the various island groups. Tahiti spends heavily on marketing. Its Tourism Promotion Board had a 1990 budget of US$8.5 million, including a 10% increase for their Tokyo office to promote a new government subsidised Tokyo-Papeete flight.

In 1989 Vanuatu began its first cooperative marketing strategy by involving airlines, government and private sector investors. The plan was a US$1.2 million tourism promotion in Australia to counter a number of negative events, beginning with the 1985 termination of Ansett flights. The Papua New Guinea National Tourist Office 1989 budget of US$342,000 was completely cut in the austerity measures which followed the Bougainville mine closure.

Investment in Facilities: To attract foreign tourists many island states have invested heavily in airport or seaport expansions, water and power generation systems. As the limits of these systems are reached, major investment will be required. Costs of infrastructure upgrading will fall primarily on local taxpayers who, as in Guam, may feel they are subsidizing the tourism industry.

There has heavy investment in new accommodation in Belau, Guam, Fiji, Tonga, Cook Islands, and Tahiti. Yet, some of the larger projects proposed are in doubt because of shaky finances or competing land-use claims. In May 1990 two hundred Tahitians claiming to be traditional owners of Tupai occupied the atoll to block its sale to a Japanese-controlled corporation which had announced plans for a one billion dollar resort complex on Tupai Atoll.

Disruption of Services: Disruptions of services caused either by political instability or natural disasters may have serious impacts on tourism. In recent years civil disturbances have occurred in Fiji, Kanaky, Vanuatu, Tahiti and PNG. Fiji has not yet regained its pre-coup tourist numbers of 1986. PNG’s reputation for widespread crime and violence has been further hampered by the insurgency in Bougainville.

All Pacific island nations face danger of hurricanes. In March 1990 tourism in Western Samoa was virtually wiped out by Hurricane Ofa, said to be the worst hurricane to hit Polynesia since 1972. Ofa caused an estimated US$110 million damage in Western Samoa, plus extensive damage in American Samoa, Niue, Tonga, Wallis, and Tuvalu.
UNIT 7: TOURISM AS A MEANS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

OVERVIEW: Tourism is the fastest growing industry in the Pacific today, with vast potential for economic development and cross-cultural enrichment. However, it can undermine cultural traditions and contribute to environmental degradation. This unit examines the socio-economic issues of tourism and analyzes the costs and benefits for Pacific Island countries.

After reading several articles about tourism in the Pacific, students will conduct a hypothetical case study on Western Samoa. The Council of Matai will meet to hear proposals on two ways of promoting tourism for economic growth. One group supports casinos and gambling, while another group believes eco-tourism is better suited for the islands. Which is best for Western Samoa? The Council of Matai will decide after hearing arguments from both groups of developers.

READINGS/MATERIALS:

1. Several articles on tourism in general in the Pacific
2. Article - "Beyond Hula, Hotels, and Handicrafts" A Pacific Islander's Perspective of Tourism Development", Konai Helu-Thaman
3. Article - "Tourism Poses a Threat to the Hawaiian Culture". Mary Sano
4. General information on Western Samoa from Pacific Islands Yearbook
5. Articles on Gambling/casinos, vs. Ecotourism
6. Article; "Iao Needle to be Hollowed out as Gambling Casino!", Maui Eccentric Newspaper
7. List of Further Readings
The attraction of the south sea islands for tourists is indisputable. Tourism is in the Pacific, and it is there to stay.

But the capacity of the Pacific to absorb tourists is clearly limited, and the negative effects cannot be evaded. Practical experience indicates that while tourism may provide much-desired foreign exchange, a significant socio/cultural cost is involved.

Tourism in the South Pacific
Paradise lost?
The question of tourism has increasingly captured the interest and concern of Pacific church leaders as governments and their planners make a greater place for it in national development plans.

Since 1971 tourism has been identified as a priority concern in the Pacific Conferences of Churches' (PCC) assemblies, conferences on integral human development and in Executive Committee meetings.

Tourism and its effect on islanders and their cultures present a very real challenge to Pacific people in the 1980s. Although tourism is often viewed as a way to experience other countries and share with other people, the last 20 years of tourism growth have added greatly to the erosion of cultures receiving tourists and to the threat facing their long-held, often quite biblical values. Pacific islanders are beginning to ask some very serious questions about the benefits they are supposed to be deriving from being hosts to tourists. They are looking very hard at the cost they pay in the long-run when traditional ways of life are altered or lost due to the influences of tourism. These questions are just the beginning of an investigation into present trends in tourism.

Since the Second World War, with the availability of faster aircraft seating more people, and with increasing Western influence, the tourist industry has not only taken root but has grown to be the second largest industry in the world (after the oil industry).

Even so, tourists are only 5% of the world's population and of these, 80% come from industrialized nations. This 5% is made up of workers from industrial societies who have, or have saved money to spend on an adventure, new experiences and a change of pace that they think will renew them for another year of work.

The 'First World' tourist

Tourism provides the tourist with a chance for renewal through relaxation, recreation or exposure to a new way of life through another culture. Leisure has divine sanction, as it is in relaxing that one has an opportunity to reflect upon life and its profound relationships: "Be still and know that I am God" (Ps. 46:10, RSV). Recreation exposes one to one's human weakness and frailty and allows the enjoyment of God's Creation in the natural environment. "Conversion comes through the unexpected"; the different demands and concepts of a new culture may lead one to salvation or renewal through the exposure to a possible new way of living.

Exposure to the great diversity in God's Creation seems more possible through visiting other countries than by staying at home. In this way the venture can allow the tourist to experience the global nature of the Church and the different ways of living out the Christian faith (and other living faiths). One has the potential through travel for understanding life more fully and living it more creatively and abundantly.

Tourism provides the tourist with an opportunity to experience or learn about less wasteful ways of living in this world of limited resources. Tourists from the consumer societies of the First World may begin to question their own consumption patterns and assumed needs when faced with a simpler, less cluttered way of life. People in these less industrialized nations who perhaps face more acute forms of injustice in their daily lives can teach tourists much through the example of their struggle and strong faith in human values. These experiences can enable the tourist to gain a new appreciation and vision of her own or his own culture and heritage, overcoming long-held views.

Tourism is, therefore, a part of the earthly pilgrimage, "a parable of life itself." An examination of this aspect of tourism will benefit from a theological and biblical perspective.

Tourism and Third World economy

Economic benefits of tourism take the form of employment opportunities, a higher standard of living for the employed, higher amounts of foreign exchange to help the nation pay off its debts, and an increase in the demand for local products thereby helping local industries to expand.

In many cases, these benefits are not received. Employment in tourism gives preference to highly-skilled and experienced personnel in administrative and direct-service positions; this means jobs go to expatriates first while local people seek training which may take years. The number of jobs provided by this 'people industry' is an amazingly low percentage of a nation's workforce, as these 1977-78 figures show: 1.2% of Tonga's jobs are in the tourist industry, 4% of Fiji's jobs, and 8.2% of jobs in the Cook Islands. Much of the foreign exchange a nation earns through tourism is lost as it leaks back out of the country in payments for imported goods and ex-
Patriate salaries (paid at Western rates), and as a foreign-owned corporation’s profits are repatriated to their head offices; recent figures for Fiji show that at most 45% of the tourist dollar stays in the country. The rest is ‘Foreign Exchange Leakage’.

Political benefits of tourism may include improved international understanding, maintenance of domestic tranquility (or maintenance of the status quo) and improving the nation’s balance of payments with other nations.

International understanding is improved between two countries when members of one visit the other and have good things to say about their hosts when they return. This depends very heavily on the image the host country has in the tourist-sending country and whether the tourist’s expectations of it are fulfilled.

Domestic tranquility, (or low crime rates and few incidences of anti-government activity) is maintained when measures are taken to ensure the safety of tourists in the host country. The tendency for an increase in the number of crimes against tourists occurs when the profit from tourism does not get distributed to all sectors of the population. In a nation’s urgency to protect tourists, police forces tend to be increased (sometimes to the point of martial law), limiting the freedom and privacy of local people in favour of the tourist’s carefree visit.

Social benefits of tourism may include improved local infrastructure (as in roads, water and electricity made available), new recreational and dining facilities, imported products available for local consumption, and a higher standard of living for employees. In villages profiting from rent collected on land leased to resorts, new homes, schools and churches are often built, jobs are provided and local industry is supported.

Infrastructure improvements are in most cases a government expense. Roads, dams and power stations installed to support tourist resorts and hotels are paid for with the taxes of the people. Yet these improvements may only benefit those few who live near the resort areas; massive amounts of money are diverted as well as water and other resources to serve only one area while other areas are virtually ignored.

Often facilities built for tourists are closed to local people or are outside the reach of public transportation. Sometimes beaches and pools are restricted to tourists’ use only. Access to the ocean, which plays an essential role in the life-support of island peoples traditionally, is often cut off by side-by-side hotel developments on the coastline; this is true for one area on the island of Tahiti where no through pathways were left between hotels for the local people to carry their boats and nets to the sea.

Aesthetic benefits of tourism include improved parks and public facilities which allow for the enjoyment of the natural surroundings and their beauty. Natural areas, plants and rare birds and animals are preserved for the attraction and benefit of tourists. Streets and public facilities are more likely to be cleaned up, improved and looked after for tourists’ use.

But while this great attention is paid to some areas, others are destroyed without a thought given to the long-range effects. Divers break off live coral piece by piece until a reef dies, and other life which depended on the reef for its support is also affected. Land is re-shaped and trees are felled in the development of a resort. Upping the delicate environmental balance on which local plant and animal life depend.

Cultural benefits of tourism include the revival of nearly-forgotten customs and traditional celebrations for the purpose of entertaining tourists. A country might gain a new sense of identity through the process of identifying those elements of the culture which make them unique among tourist destinations. Monuments are restored
and cared for. Previously lacking a new sense of pride is instilled in the culture. Arts such as handicrafts, dance, songs, and drama are rediscovered and reincorporated into the culture.

Customs and celebrations are often altered for the benefit of tourists, shortened to fit into a program, made faster to keep the tourists interested and performed out of season and done so often that their traditional significance is lost. Mass production of crafts for sale to tourists who do not care what they buy (as long as it looks native and doesn't cost too much) has the effect of lowering the traditionally high level of quality, and the effect of confusing non-traditional styles with the traditional. The Tongan “Ali Baba” basket is an example. The pride of making a skillfully crafted piece is dissipated when the tourist would rather buy a poorly made sample because of its lower price.

The real dilemma for the local people and their government is how to attract tourists to their unique culture without prostituting or otherwise ruining the traditions and values that are its very base.

From Pacific Tourism, Contrasts in Values and Expectations, Pacific Conference of Churches.

The South Pacific
Paradise lost?
Questions for group discussion

1. Is tourism fair to everyone involved? Why? Why not? What changes would you suggest to make it more fair to all?

2. What can be done to help tourists learn about the people and the country before they come? Who could do this? How can the church help?

3. Suggest some ideas that would make tourism better.
Tourism can help. But governments should read this warning too

Long tracts are written about the awfulness of tourism. The latest of them is the 76 pages of Impacts of Tourism Development in Pacific Islands, by Luciana Minerbi, of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Hawaii. It has a summary of conclusions beginning with this statement: “Tourism is not an indigenous practice, but a way for large corporations to make as much profit as possible in manners usually incompatible with balanced island developments.”

Minerbi reckons that the benefits of tourism — foreign earnings, jobs and development — are outweighed by the costs. They “remain elusive until the industry is locally controlled and kept in check”.

The costs he means are:

• speculation, mainly in land;
• vulnerability of the local economy to boom and bust cycles, pushing up the cost of food, services, utilities, infrastructure, housing and land beyond the means of local people;
• the monopoly of utilities, services and housing by resorts;
• cutting off of access to beaches, farms, fishing grounds, and forests to local people;
• the creation of snooty, patronising enclaves of foreigners who treat locals with contempt, in between exploiting their cheap labour;
• money laundering, drug dealing, prostitution, gambling, the commercialisation of local culture;
• serious damage and pollution to the local natural environment caused by resort engineering works. The list goes on.

Minerbi finishes: “Tourism has presented itself as a clean and not polluting industry, but its claims have not come true. Instead, its socio-cultural and environmental impacts are serious. Tourism has been adopted as a strategy for local development and local employment, but it has taken abroad most of the profits, has hired outsiders and has saddled the local government with many costs. Tourism has been a way for foreign penetration and political control of the islands where it has taken hold and where it has evolved into a mature industry, as in Hawaii and Guam.”

Minerbi’s observations and conclusion are heavily coloured by the impact of tourism on Hawaii and Guam. There the local populations have been swamped by tourists and by expatriate business people and workers feeding on tourism. In parts of Hawaii the locals have been known to greet tourists not with Aloha but shaking fists, curses and stones.

How are other island states coping with tourism? So far reasonably. Although most large hotels and a lot of related plant have foreign owners and managers, the clash between the industrial and local people has been so far minimal. French Polynesia has displayed some resentment, in one instance enough to successfully kill a golf course scheme.

Most island governments have been cautious, even very cautious, about pushing tourism as a vehicle for local development. But many of them now see tourism as one of the few, and perhaps the only means of achieving the economic growth needed to match population growth.

The other reason is that with exception of Rarotonga, where the ratio of tourists to local population is now more than five tourists to one local, and the Marianas (12 tourists to one local), the islands are not deluged by visitors. Hawaii, close to 10 million a year, and Guam, 1 million, are.

As by far the biggest South Pacific island market, Fiji’s 750,000 people received about 280,000 visitors last year, a comfortable 2.6 locals for every visitor. It is far from becoming another Hawaii, where 1.1 million residents, many of whom are actually expatriates present to serve tourism businesses, exist in a 10:1 ratio in favour of tourists. Predicting the growth of tourism is really guess work. But Fiji is unlikely to be receiving much more than 400,000 visitors a year by the end of this decade, and if it is lucky, or unlucky, depending one’s attitude to the business, certainly not more than 500,000.

Tourism is a vital part of the Fiji economy, but with timber, sugar, gold, tuna canning, garments and a growing number of small manufacturing industries, Fiji does not have all its eggs in one basket.

Tourism is now very important to Tonga, the Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Western Samoa, Vanuatu and New Caledonia. For the Cook Islands and French Polynesia it is essential and is well past the threshold where it has a significant impact on all aspects of local life.

Overall it is a business that seems to have been absorbed as a comfortable, acceptable and generally beneficial part of everyday Pacific Islands life. The warning from Minerbi is that island governments will need to manage tourism carefully if it is to be kept that way. Since tourism thrives by creating idyllic destination images, invariably over-inflated and even verging on falsehood, government leaders need to avoid being beguiled by the industry’s own propaganda. They must not lose touch with planning for local realities. Pacific Islanders are not always smiling and carefree. None of their islands are paradise.
Tourism Declines 4.6% In South Pacific in 1991

There were nearly 30,000 fewer tourists to 12 South Pacific destinations in 1991 than for the previous year, according to a report from the Tourism Council of the South Pacific.

Total visitors last year was 621,734, a drop of 4.6 percent. The only countries or territories among the 12 TCSP members that posted gains were Cook Islands, up 5,766 to 39,984; Vanuatu, up 4,742 to 39,784; Solomon Islands, up 1,910 to 11,105; Tonga, up 605 to 21,524; Niue, up 353 to 993, and Tuvalu, up 305 to 976. The largest percentage gain was in tiny Niue, up 55.2 percent.

Recording losses in 1991 were Fiji, down 19,646 to 259,350; French Polynesia, down 11,423 to 120,938; Western Samoa, down 8,680 to 39,414; American Samoa, down 1,763 to 45,574; Papua New Guinea, down 1,691 to 39,051, and Kiribati, down 291 to 3,041. The largest percentage loss was in Western Samoa, off 18 percent.

A number of factors accounted for the decreases including the worldwide economic recession that kept many would-be tourists home; cyclones that ripped through many of the islands, particularly the Samoas; political uncertainties in some places, and crime problems in others.

As usual, Australia was the biggest provider of tourists, with 154,489. Australia was No. 1 in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. New Zealand provided the most visitors to Cook Islands, Niue and Tonga. Other Pacific Islands brought the most tourists to American Samoa, Western Samoa and Kiribati. Europe was the biggest contributor to French Polynesia.

Although it wasn't the top provider for any individual country, North America ranked second behind Australia in overall visitors in the South Pacific with 123,435. There were 113,483 total visitors from Europe, 80,343 from New Zealand, 75,873 from Pacific Islands, 46,683 from Japan and 27,428 from other countries.
Friendliness Viewed As Fiji’s Greatest Visitor Asset

Fiji is the main focus of two recent studies concerning South Pacific tourism.

The first, prepared by Menlo Consulting Group of Palo Alto, Calif., for the Fiji Visitors Bureau, concerns the potential market for pleasure travel from the U.S. to Fiji. The second, commissioned by the Suva-based Tourism Council of the South Pacific, was undertaken by Mew Research, a British company.

The Menlo study shows that, although the South Pacific as a long-haul destination attracted only 4.6 percent of outbound travelers, the majority of them had some perception of Fiji and only a minor percentage had negative or indifferent thoughts.

More than 78 percent of travelers surveyed expressed some level of interest in visiting Fiji and more than 51 percent showed a high level of interest. The sample suggested this indicates a potential market of about 10.5-million persons, although it admits the market isn’t easy to reach because of its “heterogeneity and complexity.”

California contained the greatest number of potential travelers to Fiji, followed by New York—mostly from major metropolitan areas. The study also found that the potential travelers were reasonably affluent, are college educated and number more women than men. Most would travel independently rather than in groups.

The study claims that “the friendliness of Fijian people probably is Fiji’s greatest asset as a tourist destination” and suggests that this quality be promoted. A long list of other desirable attributes and recommendations also occupied a major part of the survey.

The travel industry, rather than individual travelers, provided the basis for the Mew report commissioned by the TCSP. Respondents included wholesalers, retailers and airlines in Great Britain, France and Germany, representing some of Europe’s largest travel markets.

Fiji usually was the first island country to come to mind among those in Britain and Germany when the South Pacific was mentioned. (Not surprisingly, the French are inclined to think of their territory of Tahiti first.)

Fiji’s “warm, friendly, welcoming local population” again was regarded as one of the country’s strong points. Fiji was also considered to be the best developed for handling visitors among the 14 island countries listed in the survey. In fact, Tahiti was the only other island destination listed that received an endorsement for the quality of its hotels.

What it all means is that Fiji likely will be looking beyond the Pacific to build its tourism in future years.

Norman & Ngaire Douglas
Tourism — at what price?

The cost of a holiday here could be turning visitors away

By Martin Tiffany

Fiji the way the world should be. Seven or eight years ago under that banner the country seemed to have got its image — especially its tourism image — right. A land full of beautiful sunshine, friendly people and miles of white sandy beaches with affordable accommodation and a quality of life that was the envy of the rest of the world.

Then in May 1987 the unthinkable happened — a coup in paradise, followed, not long after, by another. The world watched, stunned. They certainly did not come to get a first hand look as visitor numbers plummeted from a healthy 257,824 in 1986 to 189,866 in 1987.

Not being a country to take things lying down, Fiji picked itself up, brushed itself off and recorded a record 278,996 visitors in 1990 and 259,350 last year. Although Fiji’s are being sung by pre-coup visitors, what sort of image has the country now got for the intending tourist?

‘Pricey’ and ‘expensive’ are two words that come to the fore when Fiji tourism is mentioned — expensive airfares, expensive accommodation, expensive meals at hotels.

Comparisons given are with specials to Bali or Hawaii where for around A$960 you can get airfares from Australia plus five nights accommodation. That amount would get you little more than your normal airfare to Fiji. It is interesting to note that travel agents and wholesalers in Australia and New Zealand say Air Pacific airfares to Fiji are competitive although things can get expensive on the ground. But the perception of people is that it is expensive to go for a holiday to Fiji.

Tourism industry people naturally argue that their prices are competitive, they too have good package deals and perhaps most importantly — can Bali compare to the Fiji experience?

The fact remains that the perception of Fiji in major tourism markets — especially Australia — is one of a costly destination at a time when tourists are more price-driven than ever. Perhaps one of the faults has been that it is mainly the bigger, and more expensive, hotels and resorts which are able to promote themselves widely especially in conjunction with Fiji Visitors Bureau (FVB) promotions.
"The perception of Australian people is that Fiji is a little bit pricey," said FVB chief executive Isimeli Bainimara.

He said although the Fiji Hotel Association (FHA) has argued against this and says that people are comparing hotel food prices with restaurant prices back home, some hotels are pursuing alternative "value for money" meals.

The Warwick Fiji for example has a special meal package plan in two of their restaurants which provides a variety of wholesome and, most importantly, inexpensive deals. Wholesalers in Australia and New Zealand are already selling this attraction.

But getting back to room rates, a FS230 - 350 a night price tag on a single or double room at the Sheraton Fiji Resort, Regent of Fiji or Shangri-La's The Fijian Hotel may make the cost-conscious traveller think twice. However, as Bainimara points out these hotels have their own markets but Fiji needs to let the world know they also have something cheaper.

"We believe we are competitive but it is our inability to tell everyone we are competitive, that is the problem," explained Bainimara.

It is interesting to note that despite the downturn in visitor numbers, many of the smaller hotels, motels and budget accommodation facilities have been doing well and generally running at over 50 per cent occupancy rates. The newly completed Hotel Kennedy in Nadi, for example, has been operating since February and has not yet officially opened. It provides luxury budget accommodation and with room rates at FS40 to FS50 has been running with 60 per cent occupancy on average. It has yet to be entered in publications like Fiji Fact File and has yet to get its packages on the market. Manager Christine McRae attributes success to the fact that the trend now is for people to look for budget accommodation and are happy as long as they are comfortable in their rooms.

McRae said this all comes back to the question of price, where visitors are unwilling to pay two or three hundred dollars a day for a room which they only use for about 25 per cent of their stay.

The large hotels like the Regent says that while it has experienced some drop in numbers it is not complaining about the occupancy rates it is getting. The hotel is using this depressed period to do room refurbishment - closing off as many as 80 of its 300 rooms at a time.

General manager Michael Kemp says this refurbishment will leave them prepared for the upswing in the market.

One trump card the Regent and its neighbour on Denarau Island, the Sheraton, are banking on is its 18-hole golf course being built next door on the site of the largest private resort development in the South West Pacific. The course is expected to be completed by around April next year, although other developments (including a Hilton Hotel) on the multi-million dollar project put together by Japanese conglomerate EIE International Corporation, are expected to take shape over the next five years or so.

The Warwick, another major player with 250 rooms, has been experiencing occupancy rates of 30-35 per cent for the first four months of this year and its renovation has been carried out for group tours with three or four passing through every week. A similar experience is being had by its sister hotel The Naviti.

Overall though the hotel industry is optimistic and despite a drop in numbers and a poor start to the year expects things to pick up although not at a fast pace. FHA chief executive Kevin Mutton says it is a matter of getting the market right. "We have to decide what image Fiji wants to portray, we got it right prior to the coups with 'Fiji the Way the World Should Be' and it will take time to resolve that. But it is very important to identify the product we are trying to sell with the markets," Mutton said. He said the hotel industry is battling the drop with reduced packages on the market and special food and beverage prices. They have also had some fairly extensive marketing thrusts into markets where access is reasonable - Japan, Europe and the United Kingdom - and try to devote some attention to those markets.
Its in-flight meals have won the praise of caterers around the world.

West Pacific destinations in the UK market.

As a small isolated island nation, Fiji is at the mercy of international air carriers to bring in the bulk of its tourists. When American carrier Continental Airlines pulled out its services following the coups the number of North American visitors plummetted from around 70,000 in 1986 to around 36,000. The numbers however rose to 70,084 last year.

Also, Canadian Airlines did not live up to promises and has dropped all services to Fiji so the country is not getting the numbers out of Canada it expected. The carriers ceased services based on cold economic facts.

But eyes are once again turning to North America (and Canada).

Bainimara, Mutton and Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TGSP) director Malakai Gucake, among many others, agree the sooner a North American service is started the better.

Air Pacific’s chief executive Andrew Drysdale said it has “very definite plans” to operate services to North America in the future and this formed part of its five-year plan.

“The intent is to commence in 1994 with the introduction of charter services initially, just during the peak season, and then as the charter services become viable to gradually extend the period during the year until they eventually become a regular service,” Drysdale explained.

“We believe that with the turnaround in the US economy now having begun, by 1994 the market will have grown to the point where we would hope it would be viable. But I would point out, as the Prime Minister said when he first announced this at last year’s tourism convention, that it must be viable.”

“We in the Pacific have to find a formula whereby we can make it viable and were working on that now.”

On the possibility of an American carrier flying to Fiji, Drysdale said both he and his management team have done a great deal in an attempt to encourage an American carrier to fly to Fiji.

A major North American carrier has the domestic marketing power to be able to turn on the American tourist to fly to Fiji. And that was clearly proven when Continental Airlines was operating here from the US and we had the highest ever of North American arrivals, in fact in one year — I think it was 1986 — the North American arrivals nearly equalled the Australian visitor arrivals,” said Drysdale.

He said, however, that long-term stability needs Air Pacific to fly the route the way that tourism developers and investors can be reasonably sure that
they will have the seats available that they need to support the properties that they are going to build.

Drysdale said he doubted there was any possibility of the three North American carriers which fly to Sydney — Continental, Northwest and United — making the additional hop into Fiji or the South Pacific.

"Given the turmoil that the North American aviation market is in at the moment and the billions of dollars these carriers are losing, it is highly unlikely they will embark upon new destinations while their market is in such turmoil. These carriers would have to return to some degree of profitability before they would ever turn their planning to new developmental routes.

Air New Zealand's manager Fiji, Robert Fullarton, said his airline operates four flights a week from the West coast of America to New Zealand and two of these connect with London or Frankfurt. Air New Zealand are the initiators of a 'Destination South West Pacific' promotion and are involved in promotions in the United Kingdom and Europe, Canada and the United States. Fullarton said the trend now was for a multi-destination package holiday rather than a mono-destination one.

Meanwhile, Japan in recent months has become an important contributor of visitors to Fiji after the introduction of a second weekly service to Tokyo's Narita airport by Air Pacific. To some extent the Japanese have offset the shortfall of tourists from Australia, which has seen a decline of about 16 per cent so far this year.

Air Pacific is happy with the two Narita services and says it would take a third if it could. The first reason they can't is the bilateral agreement between Fiji and Japan which only allows the Fiji carrier two flights a week. The airline would have to re-negotiate the agreement before a third service was mounted. Drysdale said Fiji was approximately 43rd on the list of countries wanting to negotiate or re-negotiate bilateral agreements. Secondly, would be getting a slot at Narita airport.

The importance of Japan was shown last month when the Fiji Visitors Bureau and Air Pacific put together a $500,000 promotional campaign in Japan.

Many in the tourism industry agree that Japan, North America and, to some extent, Europe will be major players in terms of visitor source markets. Asia too is expected to feature strongly in the coming years.

Taiwan, for example, is rapidly emerging as a major source market for tourists and a potential route to Taiwan is currently under study by Air Pacific.

In relation to the importance of Japan, Asia and North America as source markets for the Pacific it is interesting to compare Fiji with Guam.

While Fiji is looking at breaking the 300,000 mark for visitor arrivals, Guam, a 549 sq km island at the southern extremity of the Mariana archipelago is looking at welcoming up to one million visitors by year's end.

Last year Guam played host to more than 700,000 visitors and so far this year has recorded 87,000 visitors a month for the first quarter.

Perhaps its secret lies in the fact that it is served by several major airlines including Japan Airlines, All Nippon Airways, Northwest Airlines, Continental Airlines, Korean Airlines, Philippine Airlines and Thai Airways. The island's airport, AB Won Pat International, will soon be undergoing major expansion to accommodate the increasing traffic.

To date Guam has an estimated 5219 tourist rooms with an additional 2231 under construction and another 3619 approved for construction. It has also realised the importance of golf as a tourist attraction and already has five golf courses, seven under construction and five approved for construction.

If comments from tourism industry people in Fiji are anything to go by the country will see a slow upward growth but it will need to change its image as a pricey destination and look away from Australia to source tourists.

Perhaps in the not too distant future, it may once again hear the strains of the ditty once popular in Fiji, "We are Fiji, we are the way the world should be."
Beyond Hula, Hotels, and Handicrafts:
A Pacific Islander's Perspective
of Tourism Development

Konai Helu-Thaman

The business of tourism and the notion of conservation of cultural heritages, at least in the contexts of small Pacific Island cultures, seem strangely contradictory. This is because, in my view, tourism was and continues to be a major contributor to, as well as manifestation of, a process of cultural invasion that began in earnest with the spread of Christianity and Western colonial interests in the nineteenth century and has continued more recently, thanks to modern Western technological advancement, to the universalization of Western—mainly Anglo-American market-oriented, capitalist, monetized—culture.

Such an invasion has left its marks on most island environments, symbolized by such things as automobiles, advertising, supermarkets, shopping malls, fast-food outlets, hotel chains, Hollywood movies, credit cards, consulting firms, and, dare I say, international symposia. Depending on where one's cultural loyalty lies, such symbols signify either progress and indigenous culture, like advertising and scars on earth.

Although of change and degrees of indigenes perceive passing on to urban-industrial connected with the populations' sustainability (a diverse society and who have taken care of their environment) were all awareness of transform to our shore not only the comitant—as edge—knowledge to our people, sons, are being dependence situation is cultural disaster cultural disaster parts of our.

A couple problem of nous identit
progress and modern development or the erosion and ultimate death of indigenous island cultures and their value systems. This new transnational culture, like a fire, spreads with varying intensity among our islands, but unlike most island fires, this one is kindled not by dry palm fronds but by advertising and the mass media, its smoke suffocating the air, leaving soot and scars on the soft skin of our fragile island environments.

Although diverse, our island cultures share in the common experience of change and transformation that all cultures undergo with varying degrees of intensity. Throughout our histories, strands of nonindigenous cultures have been woven into our cultural fabrics, leaving what our peoples perceive as unique collective ways of life, worthy of protecting and passing on to future generations.

Most of our indigenous cultures were, in comparison with Western, urban-industrial cultures, ecologically conservative and generally compatible with the laws of ecology: gentle use of scarce resources served large populations for hundreds of years. Environmental awareness and sustainability (in the Western sense) were central to the survival of these diverse societies, made up of people who lived close to the land and the sea and who had the ability to read the diurnal, monthly, and seasonal cycles of their environments. The island environment and the plants and animals in it were all integral parts of island ecocultures. Today, knowledge and awareness of the environment are rapidly being eroded thanks to the kinds of transformation and socialization that modern development has brought to our shores. This process of modernization and transformation causes not only the cultural alienation of many of our young people, but the concomitant slow hemorrhaging of traditional, environment-related knowledge—knowledge that represented the blood from the land and was connected to the nerve centers of our cultures. Largely as a result, many of our people, especially our Western-educated economists and business persons, are beginning to suffer from severe ecological blindness and an overdependence on moneyed economies over which we have no control. The situation is leading to a reduced ability to deal not only with the usual natural disasters of cyclones, droughts, and earthquakes but also social and cultural disasters of the types and magnitude already experienced in many parts of our world.

A couple of these cultural disasters will suffice as examples. First is the problem of landlessness. Land was and continues to be central to indigenous identities and livelihood. Just as a healthy bank account is a basis for
security and authority in most Western societies, the land, and all the plants and animals in it, gave our ancestors a sense of (psychological) security and identification, and provided the bases for their status and authority. Today vast areas of native land in our island countries have been “alienated.” Largely as a result of colonialism, land has been put on the open market, turned into freehold or fee-simple property, and used for a variety of modern purposes including militarism and tourism development.

For example, in New Caledonia in 1960, only 8.6 percent of the land was in Melanesian reserve (for Kanak use), 20.1 percent was freehold, and the state owned the largest proportion, 61.1 percent. Prime agricultural lands have also been alienated from native Hawaiians, Tahitians, Samoans, Fijians, Ni-Vanuatu, and Solomon Islanders (Crocombe 1964; Brady 1974; Lundsgaarde 1974). Such alienation has had a direct bearing on the survival or otherwise of Pacific Island cultures, and as many people are aware, land alienation was the beginning of the end of many indigenous cultures, including those of the Hawaiians, the New Zealand Maori, the Australian Aborigines, and the Kanaks. That these cultures have managed to survive in the face of so much deliberate and not-so-deliberate destruction is testimony to their survival strength and value. Today, stripped of much of their land or environment, cultural survival for many island peoples is often tenuously based on such touristsalable aspects of their culture as song, dance, and handicrafts, rather than on the more productive environment-based aspects.

Another major issue confronting our cultures today relates to the kinds of development models being sold or recommended to us by foreign aid advisers and consultants from whose countries and governments comes much of the external aid to our island nations. Such (development) models are familiar to most Islanders. It is ironic that although many of these models have not been proved successful in the countries where they originate, many of us are still willing to have our islands used as test cases. We often have no choice.

In this context of so-called development, Tourism (with a capital T) is seen as desirable, especially as an important source of foreign exchange. It is a major industry in Fiji, New Caledonia and French Polynesia, Vanuatu, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

However, tourism development in our islands has many costs. It has
had serious impact on coastal ecosystems, affecting land rights, land use, and fisheries development, all significant aspects of indigenous island cultures. Furthermore, attempts to develop alternative forms of tourism, for example, the development of national parks, clearly illustrate the dilemma between the economic benefits derived from increasing the tourism revenue and the need to protect cultural artefacts and ecosystems that give national parks their value.

More important perhaps, tourism, like other types of economic activity in Pacific Island countries, was and continues to be foreign to most of our people. A colonial legacy, its organization was and still is directly related to preexisting capital originally developed to serve foreign colonial (as opposed to indigenous) interests. Consequently the input content and exchange leakage of tourism in most of our island countries is high (up to 70 percent in Fiji) and the multiplier effect is low. Furthermore, colonial links not only helped shape the islands’ ability to develop tourism, but also account for the differences in tourism development that have evolved in our different island countries (Britton 1987).

For example, the colonial administration in Fiji encouraged and developed tourism by acts of parliament (1962 Duty Free and 1964 Hotel ordinances; see Britton 1987, 124). These enabled the construction of hotels and the establishment of duty-free facilities. Such development assisted mainly local Europeans and other nonindigenous people to invest in tourism activities, grafting them onto an export economy already established in other industries, such as sugar, copra, and gold. Today tourism in Fiji continues to be characterized by the domination of foreign enterprises. Both inside and outside Fiji, overseas companies (most recently Japanese) carry out the crucial functions of the tourism industry, from wholesaling, through transport and supply of essential inputs, to ownership and development of major hotel chains. Perhaps the most revealing thing about Fiji tourism is the lack of indigenous Fijian involvement in the industry, even though ethnic Fijians provide much of the labor in the hotel and other sectors. They are active in handicraft vending, but even there other groups (for example, Tongans, Indians) are also active.

This lack of an indigenous presence in the tourism industry often means that overseas and nonindigenous local interests are increasingly allowed to influence political decision making. Furthermore, the possibility of abuse of investment privileges leads to the government losing important tax money from larger foreign-owned hotel companies. This is especially
serious given that governments have had to pay for administrative requirements and infrastructure demanded by the industry (Britton 1987, 126).

Tourism development in Fiji mirrors the kind of tourism typical of neocolonial economies. Despite being a major foreign exchange earner it serves the interests of mainly foreign and nonindigenous locals who dominate the island nation's commercial activities. Furthermore, it erodes rather than strengthens Fijian traditional knowledge and use of the environment, in contrast to the situation in Fiji's nearest neighbor, Tonga, the only island nation not to have come directly under colonial rule.

In Tonga the tourism picture is different. Although on a much smaller scale than in Fiji, tourism in Tonga has not yet developed major linkages with metropolitan markets and companies. Having not been directly colonized, Tonga had no external authorities to exploit air-traffic rights and no large local nonindigenous communities to lobby for tourism development. Tourism development there was seen as an attempt to “sanctify the monarch and help the national economy” (Britton 1987).

The establishment in 1966 of a government-owned hotel was an effort to provide accommodation for guests attending the king's coronation, and the dramatic increase in cruise ships visiting the kingdom in the sixties and seventies led to the development of the handicraft industry, now totally controlled by Tongans. The government has since been encouraging local entrepreneurs to establish more tourism accommodation and tours, and the gradual but cautious growth of tourism over the years seems to coincide with the expansion of air transport facilities and the establishment of a national airline.

As in colonial days, when the role of our islands was to supply labor and raw materials for colonial markets, now we depend on metropolitan countries and Japan to fill airplanes and hotel rooms. However, it has been estimated that much of the tourist dollar goes back to developed countries. In my view tourism in the Pacific Islands ought to be understood in this context of neocolonial relationships between island nations and metropolitan countries such as France, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Japan.

Within such a relationship, our islands have come to be seen as providing needed leisure space and entertainment for the inhabitants of mainly capitalist economies—space to relax from the demands of productive work regimes and urban centers, and places where people can escape their daily routines and become refreshed and rejuvenated. Some even perceive
Our islands as offering them exotic alternatives to their own alienation. In this there is perhaps an irony, because so many of us see tourists' behavior and life-styles as models for our own advancement toward modernity.

How can we Pacific Islanders deal with this continual overdependence on former colonial masters and the pressure on our respective environment-based heritages that is a consequence of that dependence? First, we need to pause and analyze what we are accepting. In my view many models of development, whether in tourism or education or health, are inappropriate to our contexts because they make incorrect assumptions about indigenous peoples and their cultures. For example, most if not all models of development I have seen (mainly in island nations' development plans) treat culture as a variable in the development process; yet traditionally, culture is perceived not as a variable but as the framework and basis of our development. The kinds of cultural syntheses we have been able to achieve have tended to come about by accident rather than a conscious plan to weave the best of our traditional knowledge and values together with the new knowledge and skills acquired from other cultures. A more conscious and systematic synthesis is particularly necessary today, because many of our young people are no longer in a position to be the recipients of traditional knowledge, skills, and attitudes; some now consider their traditions a waste of time and money and are deaf to the voices of their elders.

Another problem about adopting the Western view of development has to do with the practice of breaking up information into bits and putting them into neat little compartments. Consequently things are treated as if they were separate from one another. Experts, for example, talk about the environment as if it were separate from tourism, or the economy as if separate from culture. Our languages, if people cared to study them, provide clues to our perceptions of development and the environment, indeed to our worldviews. It is time discussions about tourism development, and all development for that matter, were undertaken from the point of view of those being "developed."

Today, experts talk about ecotourism—tourism development that is environment-friendly and the buzzword of the nineties. Part of the wider concept of "sustainable development" recently popularized in the media in relation to global environmental concerns, this idea will no doubt become another bandwagon for some. However, concerns about ecotourism seem to focus mainly on physical resources such as beaches, forests, and...
oceans. People, their beliefs and values, tend to be missing from these discussions. This is most unfortunate because much of our cultural knowledge and heritage are found not in books but in people; when we talk about cultural heritage we are talking about people, not artefacts.

Unfortunately also, the notion of "sustainable development" as currently debated, seems to me to have a lot more to do with maintaining economic growth and conserving natural resources primarily for the enjoyment and development of metropolitan or developed societies—issues related to the protection of the "global commons." Similarly, concern about "lost cultures" is basically a concern for those aspects of our cultures which, in both the long and the short term, are seen to be beneficial or of interest to developed societies. Very few, if any, studies I have seen are concerned with the actual perceptions and practices of those who are being developed or with sustainability in relation to cultural practices at the community level.

This is the problem with a universal "development" culture based on money rather than people. Ecotourism incentives that protect the ecosystems of Pacific Islanders will no doubt be exploited by some group out to make a buck. According to the World Resources Institute, in 1990 there were more than three hundred US companies selling wildlife and nature tours (O'Neill 1991, 25). The question always seems to be How can we profit from this? A major new USAID project is appropriately entitled PEP (Profitable Environmental Projects). The process of commodification of island indigenous cultures and their natural resources will increasingly become the trend of the future, as we grow to like and eventually need the products of our own exploitation.

Where do we go from here? Many of us need first of all to recognize our enslavement to the dominant cultures of colonial masters. We must also learn to understand what happened and is happening to us as a consequence of mainly Western cultural imperialism, a process in which many of us actively play a part. We need most of all, to be reborn, not in the evangelical style of American television, but in a way that permits us to free ourselves from the straitjacket of viewing the world only from a particular perspective—where lands and peoples are seen as separate objects and are to be exploited for profit; where the massive machinery of inequality demands that some humans should continue to treat other humans like pawns on the developmental chessboard of the environment. Not until the commercial imperative and the profit motive are deempha-
sized, will most of our people have a hope of realizing the benefits of ecotourism and other eco concepts. Until then, such ideas will remain only figments of the imagination of academics, wishful thinkers, and conference goers. My hope, therefore, is that efforts will be made with a view to helping Pacific Islanders as well as others to better understand our cultural environments and further improve our ability to see one another more clearly in order to fashion an ecotourism by and for Pacific peoples.

References


Tourism poses a threat to the Hawaiian culture

Mary Sano
Ka Leo Contributing Writer

Hawaiian culture won’t survive tourist development unless decisions are made to preserve places that are important to Hawaiians, according to a community activist from Maui.

Dana Hall, who works with the group Hui Alanui O Makena, recently told University of Hawaii students and faculty about an area on Maui called Waihe'e that must be preserved for the sake of the Hawaiian community.

"The state of the state according to Gov. John Waihe'e and other media opinion makers is virtually synonymous with the state of tourism," Hall said at a presentation last week.

Sokan, a Japanese development company plans to build a golf course at the Waihe'e site.

Hall’s group is against it.

The native Hawaiian, who lives on Maui, was clad in shorts and wore the many leis presented to her around her neck when she gave her talk in the Campus Center.

"There’s no question that the area being proposed for a golf course contains one of the richest complexes of archaeological and cultural sites on Maui," she said.

She said Waihe'e, (valley of racing water, or slipping water) is the scene of a number of mythological and historical events.

According to some historians, it was the site of a lo‘i (taro garden) which belonged to the ali‘i; she said. At one time, Hall said there were as many as 10 he‘iau in Waihe'e.

She said her group wants more archaeological sites there to be uncovered and studied.

"These are not fragments so much as irreplaceable elements of our culture," she said. "It can and must be preserved."

The coastal site of Waihe'e also has wetlands, sand dunes, streams and endangered plants.

"The sand dunes are the center of the controversy that has developed over the golf course... the high, crescent-shaped dune is the last, large relatively unaltered sand dune formation on the island of Maui," she said.

Sokan, which, according to Hall is operating under the name of Waihe‘e Oceanfront Hawaii Inc. for the purposes of the present project, bought the 277 acres of land in 1988 for $10.3 million.

Hall said the 400 Waihe'e residents had already prevented Sea Brewer — the previous land owners — from building a high and a low rise hotel, and an effort to transform part of the town to represent an English village.

The State Office of Planning gave a report to the state Legislature in January noting examples of sensitive areas where a golf course would be discouraged such as; wetlands; streams; shoreline and historical and cultural sites.

"Using these criteria, a golf course is clearly an inappropriate use of the land," she said.

"Sokan won the support for its golf course project from some members of the Waihe'e community," Hall said. "Sokan hired two public relations people and began the job of selling the project to the community."

At a recent Maui County Council meeting, some Waihe'e residents said they wanted the golf course to be built because it will create jobs.

Hall said she would like to see a Hawaiian language immersion facility built at the site so children can learn in a Hawaiian environment.

"They can restore the lo‘i, they can replant the dunes with native vegetation, they can learn celestial navigation, they can learn marine biology," she said.

"They can be cultural anthropologists. I can’t see why we have to continually use places like this out of sheer arrogance, stupidity and greed."

"If you don’t know where you came from, how are you going to know who you are and where you’re going?"

Hall relayed information from a 1988 State Department of Business and Economic Development survey of island residents.

Seven out of 10 opposed any more hotel development on their island and more than 60 percent said they don’t want anymore tourism jobs in their part of the island.

There is a bill in the Legislature requesting $200,000 to be given to the Visitor Industry Education Council. Hall said the money is for the production of a video aimed at the high school level called “Tourism: What’s in it for me?” Some of the money would also go into re-releasing a kindergarten unit called “Tourism Make Jobs.”

Hall said $2.5 billion will be spent for airport improvements in Hawaii. She said the plan is to eventually have a total of four international airports in the islands.

Hawaii contains only one half of one percent of the land in the United States, she said. Hall also said to have four international airports in Hawaii is "mind-boggling" and "surely another argument for the necessity of regaining sovereignty over our Hawaiian islands."

The environmental and cultural impact of tourism has left a deep and lasting mark on Hawaii and its people, she said.

"One of the most remarkable things about Waihe‘e, is that it is one of the few places in the area you can stand on the shoreline, look mauka and see virtually no development," Hall said.

Representatives and members of the Waihe‘e community who support the golf course attended the presentation, most of them standing in the back of the room.
Western Samoa

Western Samoa consists of two large islands and several small ones with an area exceeding 2900 sq. km located between 13 and 15 deg S latitude and 168 and 173 deg W longitude. Western Samoa is an independent state and a member of the Commonwealth. The capital is Apia on Upolu where local time is 11 hours behind GMT. The islands are about 3700 km south-west of Hawaii and 2900 km north-east of Auckland. Its closest neighbours are American Samoa, Tonga, Wallis and Tokelau.

Western Samoa gained its independence from New Zealand in 1962, being the first South Pacific island nation to become independent, to be a member of the United Nations and to be considered a Third World aligned state. An estimated 162,200 people live in Western Samoa, the overwhelming percentage of them being pure-blood Samoans. The national flag is red with white stars representing the Southern Cross on a blue background in the top, left quarter. Currency is the talas ($) composed of 100 sene.

Holidays include New Year, Easter and Christmas; Anzac Day (April); White Sunday (early October, the Monday being a holiday); Arbor Day (November); and Independence (the first three days of June). The national anthem is The Banner of Freedom.

THE PEOPLE. In 1981, Western Samoa had a population of 156,350, 107,350 on the main island of Upolu and 49,000 on Savai'i. Estimates for 1987 are 162,200. In addition there are an estimated 40,000 Samoans in New Zealand, about half being New Zealand born. Population breakdown shows 40.7 per cent of the population under the age of 15, 26.0 per cent between 15 and 64 and 3.3 per cent 65 and over.

Nationality. The people are Western Samoan Citizens. The prerequisites for citizenship are (a) to be born in the country; or (b) to have five years residence, land to live on and a job. Citizenship is not automatic for non-Samoans, and can only be granted at the discretion of the Minister of Immigration.

Language. The Samoan language is a Polynesian tongue, but English is widely spoken although rural Samoans do not always speak it well, and, generally, older Samoans cannot speak English. English is the language used in conducting business in government departments and the commercial sector. Samoan is used for conducting the proceedings in the Fono (parliament) with simultaneous translation into English over an internal headphone system.

Migration. In past years, large numbers of Western Samoans have migrated to New Zealand providing an outlet for the surplus workforce but recently New Zealand has insisted on a severe reduction in the numbers of migrants. This has added to rising unemployment in Western Samoa.

An undetermined number of Western Samoans are migrating to American Samoa and from there to Hawaii and California. The remittances received at home from New Zealand and the US form an important source of revenue for the nation.

Religion. ‘Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa’ (‘Samoa is Founded on God’) is part of the crest of Western Samoa, and indicates the strength of the Christian Church. Religion is today embodied into the traditional life of Samoa, and is very much part of daily life. The population is more than 60 per cent Protestant. Sunday is reserved for church ser-
vice, and little else. There are a great many locally funded churches and all important villages have one or more.

White Sunday, 'Lotu 'Tamati', which is on the second Sunday in October, is probably the most important religious and social day in Samoa, even including Christmas. It is a day in honour of children and features church services where the children are in all white, and feasts where the children are served by the adults, a reverse of the normal order.

Religion arrived in Samoa in July 1830, when the ship Messenger of Peace carrying Reverend John Williams of the London Missionary Society arrived off Sappal lone in Savaii. In a relatively short time the church became established and later became known as the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. It now sends missionaries to other parts of the Pacific and Africa. It has the largest number of adherents in the country. The capital, Apia, gives its name to the Roman Catholic See, the Bishopric of Apia established in the 1960s when the Pope set up a hierarchy among the South Pacific Islands. The present incumbent is also a Cardinal. Other groups include the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Methodist Church in Samoa.

Lifestyle. The 'fa'a Samoa' or traditional Samoan way, remains the central force. The 'aiga' or extended family is the critical unit. The head of the 'aiga', which may include several Western-style families, is the 'matali'. The 'matali' has 'pule', or authority, over the traditional lands associated with that 'aiga'.

The clan, whose head is called the 'matai', owns all the lands, and parcels it out to the members as necessity arises. All produce of the soil is theoretically the property of the 'matai' in trust for the community, but in modern days it is becoming increasingly common to allow the actual cultivator to retain for his own use the fruits of his labour.

Each 'matai' has his place in the village council, or 'fono', the governing authority in each 'nu'u' or parish. The village council has wider powers than Western style local government.

There are two main forms of 'matali' title. One is the 'ali'i' or high chief title, the other is the 'tufafoa' or orator title. Some titles are more important than others, and each title ranking and history is contained in the 'fa'alapega, which is the spoken history of the titles in that district, and is repeated at significant occasions.

The delivery of the 'fa'alapega' is considered important, and in recent times chiefs, orators and scholars have been helped by the regular publication of O le Tus Fa'alapega o Samoa, a publication listing titles.

The four highest titles are known as the 'ta'ama aiga'. They are Malietoa, Tupua Tamasese, Mata'afa and Tuimalala'i-fono. Each 'aiga' decides on its own 'matali', usually by talking until a consensus is reached. Titles do not automatically go from father to son. Occasionally, a title becomes the subject of a dispute, a frequent event with 'ta'ama aiga' titles. Families then have recourse to the Lands and Titles Court. This court, which is headed by the Chief Justice, usually defines who may be involved in deciding on a title. It then instructs that group to consider the issue within a certain time to select a holder, and if it fails to do so, the court then selects a holder.

Factors taken into consideration are many and varied, but the wishes of the previous holder, the candidate's knowledge of 'fa'a Samoa', his contribution to village welfare whether he is resident in the village and his acceptability to the aiga are factors. All titles are registered by the court, and the court can void any appointment made by a 'sa'aloa', or traditional ceremony of bestowal.

It is unconstitutional for foreigners to be given titles, although in recent times the practice of giving 'honorary' titles has arisen. Such titles have no significance. Only 'matali' can vote in general elections with the exception of two seats elected by an individual voters' roll that are outside the 'matali' system. Samoan etiquette. The 'matali' are held in
high respect. A 'matai' is addressed by his title name, and only if a person is on close and familiar terms can a person use the Christian name or surname.

He is not necessary in Samoa. There are Samoan honorifics and these are Afaoga, Susuga, Telu and Mastiofo. Each applies for certain titles, for example Susuga Malietoa Tumumafili (the Head of State) or Aftero Faumuina Fiaate Mata'afa Mulinu'u (the Prime Minister). Mastiofo is reserved for the wives of tama'iga. Samoan children usually have a Christian name and a surname that is the Christian name of their father.

For the visitor the ritual of Samoa can appear complex, and it can be relatively easy to break conventions without knowing it. For example it is impolite to address hosts in their 'fale' (houses) while standing. All important conversations, both in business and at home, are carried out sitting. In the 'fale' it is usual to sit cross-legged on the floor. It is rude to stretch one's legs out, unless they are covered by a blanket. Sympathetic hosts usually understand the plight of stiff-legged foreigners and provide mats for this purpose. Visitors should not walk around villages unescorted. Although the 'fale' are open, they are private, and the handing over of the conven­tion of not looking into 'fale'. People should only enter 'fales' if invited.

Visitors may be invited to drink 'ava' (kava). When drinking in the 'ava' ceremony guests must put the cup on the ground in front of you and say 'Manua' (good fortune). The contents of the cup (made of half a coconut) should be downed in one go. For very important persons (usually heads of state or government high titles) a village will host the impressive Royal 'ava' ceremony.

Most villages impose 'curfews'. A visitors curfew is held in the early evening for prayers, and at around 10 pm. During curfew people should avoid making a noise, and stay in the 'fale'. Curfew customs are observed in some parts of Apia. Flowers are not worn inside a church and heavy manual labor should be undertaken on Sundays.

Out of respect for the elders, passers-by should walk quietly past an open 'fale' when chiefs are holding a 'fono' (meeting) inside.

GOVERNMENT. The Constitution provides for a Head of State called in Samoan, Olo Ava Olo Malu, to be elected by the Legislative Assembly for a term of five years, or, in the first instance, it was decided that the two High Chiefs, who had been title Fausua (Tamasese and Malietoa Tumumafili II), should become joint Heads of State and have a lifetime tenure, unless they resigned or were removed from office by the Assembly. Moreover, if one deceased the other, the survivor continued as sole Head of State during his lifetime subject to resignation or removal from office. (On 5 April 1963, the death occurred of Tupua Tamasese; the sole Head of State thereafter was Malietoa Tumumafili II.)

There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent others being elected to office if it was recommended at the time of the Constitutional Convention that the Head of State be always chosen from the 'Tamasese, Four Royal Sons, or families.'

EXECUTIVE. The function of the Head of State is similar to that of a Constitutional Monarchy as Britain and Japan—rules but does not govern. The Head of State acts on the advice of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet eight and, with the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, constitutes the Executive Council.

All legislation passed by the Legislative Assembly must be assented to by the Prime Minister, who must act on the advice of his Executive Council. The Head of State has power to grant pardons and reprieve suspend or commute any sentence in a court, tribunal or authority. He can power only with the approval of Cabinet. The Head of State appoints the Prime Minister the member who commands confidence and support of the members of the Legislative Assembly. This is determined by a secret ballot of members. The Prime Minister selects his cabinet, which is considered to be the government of the country.

It is considered that, if the Prime Minister cabinet fails to gain a majority in the Legislative Assembly (even if it has an absolute majority), the government is considered to be the government of the country.

The Council of Deputies usually holds the powers of a Deputy State. A member of the council and a member of the Legislative Assembly, and its function is to act in place of the Head of State in the absence of the holder of the office, or in cases of absence, incapacity, or incapacity of the holder of the office. The council should be downed of 47 members, including Speaker elected by the members. Of the 45 members are elected by 'matai'. There are 12,958 (1983) people on the electoral roll. The other two members are appointed by universal suffrage from an individual voter's roll of 1600 people. Entry to the roll is open to citizens of European blood who are not members of a 'matai' family. Elections are held every three years. The proceedings are broadcast by the Samoan Broadcasting Service in Samoan and English on another.

The 'Moata Fono', or Parliament Building, a modern building of traditional design was completed in June 1972, at historic Muine', a piece of land that juts out from Apia.

DIPLOMATIC. Western Samoa maintains an Embassy office in Wellington, New Zealand, and Consulates-General in Auckland, West Auckland, New Zealand. Western Samoa's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York is also the country's Ambassador to the United States, High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand, and accredited to the UK.

Western Samoa has diplomatic relations with Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, China, Israel, Egypt, India, Thailand, South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Australia, Chile, Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden, Fiji and New Zealand. Most representation is handled via embassies and high commissions in chung, New Zealand, but see the end main section for a list of misions in Western Samoa is a member of the South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Commission and is an associate member of the European Economic Community.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. On the island of Savai'i there are representatives of the Prime Minister's and other departments, a station, court house, hospital, school, Administrative districts, based mainly on geographical regions, were established at the end of 1956, and in are used in the operation of government and are held by the holder of the office of President, health, education, police, agriculture, etc. However, the Samoans have mainly kept local government in its traditional form based on the 'matai' system, and the meeting together of these family heads in the village 'fono'.

In 1977, the 'puleunu system was reorganised to improve government technical help to villages. Public service. There are almost 4500 permanent and temporary officers in the Public Service, with a Public Service Commission responsible for appointments and transfers. Volunteers. There are about 20 US Peace Corps volunteers in Samoa, about 15 members of Australian Volunteers Abroad, and 20 members of the Japanese Overseas Volunteer corps. Most volunteers fill secondary teaching posts.

Courts. There are four types of court: Magistrate's Court, Supreme Court, Appeal Court and Land and Titles Court. The Supreme Court is presided over by the senior magistrate, who is a qualified lawyer; assisted by a Senior Vice-President and a 'F'amatano Fasoosoani; or by the seven other Samoa magistrates.

The Senior Magistrate/Fa'amatumo Fasoosoani sits alone in the bench; the other Samoa magistrates sit in pairs.

The three grades of cases that they can hear are as follows: the magistrate can hear any criminal case involving imprisonment up to five years or any case involving a fine only. The Senior Samoa Judges/FP can hear cases involving imprisonment for one year (although they cannot imprison anyone for more than 6 months). The other Samoa magistrates hear cases where imprisonment is not involved and can impose lesser fines.

Appeals from the Magistrate's Court go to the Supreme Court. The Constitution provides for a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and any other judges as become necessary. It has full jurisdiction in both criminal and civil cases. Appeals go to the Court of Appeal.

Provision is also made for a Judicial Service Commission consisting of the Chief Justice as President, an Attorney-General (or, if he is unable to act, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission); and some
maternal and child health, family planning, immunisation programmes, health education, support services for TB and leprosy victims and the provision of sanitary inspections.

There is an extensive schools health programme which includes routine checks of skin problems, oral health services, immunisation to new entrants and school leavers, provision of dressings for open wounds, sores, etc. as well as general health education.

Main diseases in Western Samoa are influenza, gastroenteritis, diarrhoea, measles, conjunctivitis, gonorrhoea, pulmonary tuberculosis and fish poisoning. The main causes of death are heart diseases, diseases of the cardiovascular system, cerebrovascular diseases and intestinal poisoning. Western Samoa has a high suicide rate particularly among the nation's youth. Paraquat poison is the common pesticide used.

The birth rate in 1985 was 22.5 per 1000 population while the death rate was 1.7 per 1000 population. Family planning methods have been accepted by 25 per cent of the population in the Apia region, 8.4 per cent of the population in the rural area of Upolu and 11 per cent in Savai'i. Overall there has been acceptance by 14 per cent of the population. Average life expectancy is 60 for males and 65 for females.

THE LAND. Western Samoa has a land area of 2934 sq. km. The two main islands are the most densely populated; Upolu (1100 sq. km) and Savai'i (1820 sq. km). The island of Upolu extends about 72 km from east to west, and up to 24 km from north to south. Savai'i is also about 72 km across but is 35 km wide. The islands have numerous volcanic peaks, the highest being Mt Mata'aga, of 1850 m, on Savai'i, and Mt Fito, of 1100 m, on Upolu. Savai'i has a central core of volcanic peaks surrounded by a ring of lava-based plateaux, then lower hills and coastal plains. Upolu has a chain of volcanic peaks running from one end of the island to the other, with hills and coastal plains on either side.

Climate. The south and south-east windward areas receive from 5000 to 7000 mm of rain annually. On the leeward side, the islands receive from 2500 to 3000 mm of rain. There is, however, a marked dry season, from May to August. The average rainfall for Apia is 3072 mm a year.

The islands' volcanic origins have produced a terrain with abundant streams and waterfalls. At some points the land is broken in many places, thus exposing the lava. The Flora. The rain forests produce great growth with Barringtonia and other tall trees, as well as luxuriant ferns and vines. The volcanic soil is rich and fertile.

Land reclamation. The most important land reclamation scheme in recent years has changed the face of Apia harbour. About 15 hectares of land was reclaimed in the central waterfront area, for recreational use, when over 6000 tonnes of material was dredged out of the harbour in a project to ensure adequate depth for ships.

Land tenure. All land in Western Samoa since the end of 1961 is legally: (a) customary land, held from the State in accordance with Samoan custom, i.e. land traditionally vested in 'matai' (chiefs) who hold the land in trust for their aiga (family group). Customary land can be leased but not purchased. The Land and Titles Court settles land disputes arising mainly out of the division of land vested by conflict claims of individual matai; (b) freehold land (meaning alienated land) which is held from the State of Western Samoa in fee simple; and (c) Government land which is free from customary title and from any estate in fee simple.

In earlier times, the Berlin Act of 1899 provided for a commission to settle all land titles, with instructions that there should be disallowed all claims upon "the consideration of a sale of firearms or munitions of war, or upon the consideration of intoxicating liquors" - a hint of the origin of some of the claims put forward.

This was the first attempt to examine and record in a central registry the European lands in Samoa, and the decisions then made are still the root of the titles to such land.

The intervening years saw some modifications to the registration system under German and New Zealand administration. There were no changes in land tenure after Independence except that land formerly called Crown Land, and vested in Queen Elizabeth, became vested in the Sovereign State of Western Samoa.

Samoan land is divided as follows: customary land (almost 80 per cent), Government land (just over 10 per cent), Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation and freehold land (held by persons of European status and by missions), both about 4 per cent each.

Trust Estates Corporation. After World War I, New Zealand and Trust Estates took over former German plantations and worked them.

In all, these, total land involved amounted to about 36,800 ha. All but 12,800 ha of this was subsequently passed back to the Crown. In 1957 the New Zealand Government passed over to the Samoan people all the land and assets of reparation estates. They became known as Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation (WSTEC). The Corporation is run by a board of directors.

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTION. Western Samoa is dependent largely on three crops - coconuts, cocoa and taro - for exports and for its internal needs. In order to diversify output, the country is developing other produce such as timber and cattle. Banana exports, once the country's main export, are now only minor.

Coppa. A major element of development plans has been the upgrading of old coconut plantations. In 1970 the first coconut tree was planted at the Central Group Cocoa Plantation of the WSTEC, which is five km inland from Apia.

Marketing of the beans is handled by the Cocoa Board which is endeavouring to establish new sales outlets through membership of the International Cocoa Organisation. A new cocoa development project estimated to increase production to 8000 tonnes a year by 1990 was opened at Nau in 1979. Australia financed the buildings, vehicles and equipment.

Cocoa exports in 1983 were valued at $4,616 m. In 1985, $2.36 m and in 1987 $2.62 m.

Bananas. Once the country's main export, bananas are no longer of major significance in the country's export industry. Disease, hurricane damage, intense competition from South America and the world slump put the industry into serious decline. A growing population and the popularity of bananas as a staple food means that growers can obtain satisfactory prices at local markets without the fuss of exporting them, but some shipments are made to American Samoa. New
Zealand was the biggest market for Samoan bananas but the market has been taken over by Ecuador.
In 1958, Western Samoa shipped 884,000 cases, but by 1978 the figure was down to 12,900 cases. Exports are now minimal.

**Manufacturing.** Most light industries are concerned with supplying the market and thus contribute to import substitution. Local plants produce concrete products, industrial and household gases, paint and sundry building materials. Goods export include clothing, canned fruit, processed food and handicrafts marketed by the Western Samoa Handicraft Corporation.

Western Samoa Breweries Ltd, a company owned by the Government of Western Samoa, the DEG (German Development Corporation), Brauhauusse (the brewers) Breckwolfd (a trading company) was registered in Apia in 1976. The brewery produced 60,000 cases in 1982 and 80,000 cases in 1983.

**Tourism.** Enthusiasm to encourage tourism was only aroused about 1965 and then with emphasis placed on preserving Samoan traditions. This has resulted in a slow increase of visitors.

| TABLE 1 WESTERN SAMOA — EXPORTS AND IMPORTS (in $ million) |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| ISO | 60.1 | 75.1 | 93.3 | 115.0 | 105.4 | N/A |
| Exports | 16.2 | 27.4 | 34.2 | 36.2 | 23.5 | 25.0 |

In 1986 most visitors came from American Samoa, followed by New Zealand and US. More than two-thirds of all visitors arrived by air. Tourism and hotels come under a portfolio of the Minister of Economic Affairs who is also responsible for Broadcasting, Transport and Telecommunications.

**LOCAL COMMERCE.** There is a good range of businesses and services supplying the local market, in addition to those manufacturers who are export-oriented. Nearby are based in Apia, which has an extensive shopping area with many local goods obtainable. Where once the big stores were Burns Philip and Nelson’s supplied most requirements, there are now a variety of stores including boutiques, gift and handicraft shops, snack bars and restaurants, beauty parlours, etc. There are several rental firms, tour and travel agencies, taxi services, movie theatres and nightclubs.

**OVERSEAS TRADE.** Western Samoa has faced significant trade deficits over recent years, and only foreign aid, and remittances sent home to Samoan families from islanders in New Zealand and the US have kept it afloat. As the accompanying table shows, imports have been considerably higher than exports, and the gap has been widening. There has been a serious drop in copra and cocoa exports due to a world downturn in produce prices, although export in coconut oil, husked coconuts and various manufactured coconut cream has replaced much of this loss. Coconut oil exports accounted for only $11.07 m in 1983 but in 1984 they jumped in value to $20.8 m. There have also been important increases in exports of copra meal, soap, fruit juice, cigarettes, and beer. Value of non-food exports in 1985 increased to $30.65 m.

These improvements resulted in Western Samoa’s exports in 1985 rising to $36.2 m, an increase of $2 m on the previous 12 months. Some recent import/export figures are shown in the table.

| TABLE 2 WESTERN SAMOA — MAJOR EXPORTS (in $000) |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| $2760.4 | $1397.5 | N/A | $950.7 | $1057.5 | 65 |
| Cocoa | $985.4 | $4616.8 | $2141.2 | $2357.9 | $3186.0 | 2622.0 |
| **Bananases** | $596.7 | $407.1 | $158.5 | $29.5 | $39.5 | 40.0 |
| **Taros** | $2126.1 | $2371.3 | $4223.4 | $5284.3 | $4335.0 | 5077.0 |
| **Timber** | $1207.7 | $540.6 | $1478.2 | $754.6 | $780.2 | 396.0 |
| **Coconut cream** | $936.9 | $1197.5 | $1582.6 | $2959.4 | $2822.0 | 3109.0 |
| **Coconut oil** | $3640.3 | $11075.0 | $20809.5 | $16306.6 | $6542.1 | 8730.0 |
| **Beverages and tobacco** | $1176.1 | $1943.3 | $2302.9 | $2134.2 | $1321.3 | 1087.0 |
Big Increase in Tourists Seen for Western Samoa

By 2001, Western Samoa will be greeting 102,000 visitors and receiving WSS117-million in gross tourism revenues a year, according to a 10-year tourism development plan published by the Tourism Council of the South Pacific.

The 350-page document predicts a growth rate of 9.4 percent over the next decade and claims that the greater part of this will be from vacationers. Growth from business travelers will develop more slowly.

It forecasts "substantial increases" from visitor markets such as North America, Europe, Japan and Australia. At present, visitor numbers are inflated by Samoans on family visits, so that of an average annual figure of about 42,000, as many as one-half are likely to be people returning home.

Among the plan's recommendations are that Western Samoan tourism should attract visitors who will display cultural and environmental awareness and use small and medium sized facilities of high quality.

At least 660 new hotel rooms are needed in addition to a drastic upgrading of existing rooms and related facilities. Construction of one or two medium sized beach resorts also is recommended.

An investment of WSS138-million (at 1991 prices) is required to implement the plan. The private sector is expected to contribute 88 percent of this.

The estimates don't include the cost of general infrastructure, much of which has taken a battering in recent years from cyclones. In addition to the dramatic increase in foreign exchange earnings from tourism, the plan predicts the creation of as many as 4,700 new full-time jobs.

Norman & Ngaire Douglas
Regulating casinos — a 

By David North

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"In addition to casino ownership and the opportunity to skim casino funds, the Yakuza saw Tinian as a vehicle to launder money. Most importantly, doing business in Tinian gave the Yakuza a back door entry into the US and might facilitate their ability to secure US passports. Remember, immigration and
The hearing itself was one-sided, with the applicant's lawyers making no effort to deny the staff report showing inadequate financing, and ties to the Yakuza. "I believe that they thought that they had the political leadership on their side and therefore did not have to present a case," Gushin told the Canadian meeting.

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

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

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

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

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

Caesars Atlantic City: a major tourist attraction

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

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

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

Its chief executive officer and owner of 92 per cent of the stock was, according to the report, "a front for the Yakuza".

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

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

New Jersey casino: a pretty clean operation
Gambling is officially frowned on in most of the islands of Oceania. The still-influential churches frown on it as one of the worst of social evils. Most island governments issue occasional gambling licenses for the cause of raising of money for charity but, until July, only New Caledonia boasted a casino.

Solomon Islands authorities allow gambling under licence in one of Honiara’s Chinese-owned premises and recently closed down another as being too troublesome. Gambling for highish stakes is a private affair conducted over a table of cards in some of the private clubs of Fiji and at least one of Apia’s smaller hotels. Now Noumea’s casino is to be matched by Port Vila. (The 165-room Radisson Royal Palms Resort opened a casino at a hotel in what formerly was run as the Tuku Tuku restaurant. In Honiara, in late June a two-year-old hotel lease dispute between an Australian company and local landowners ended with the signing of a 25-year lease agreement covering the Anuha Island resort. 15 minutes flying time from Honiara. The resort’s owner, Gore Consolidate Pty Ltd, a Queensland casino developer, intends to include a casino as part of a $US20 million plan for improvements.)

The hotel is completing a $US2 million refurbishment of its public areas to be followed by similar treatment for its rooms. A 100-room extension is planned in the next two years to be preceded by construction of 20 bungalows. Colby said since Radisson had taken over management the hotel’s occupancy rate had climbed from between seven and 10 percent to an average of 49 percent.

Anuha’s troubles began at the end of 1987, soon after its completion by the original developer, Pacific Resorts. Landowners objected to the resort’s sale. Twenty Australian builders had to be evacuated and in May 1988 a fire destroyed part of the resort.
Why is a casino bad? It introduces gambling to societies not used to it. That’s about the only ill effect casinos have on “unspoilt” Pacific island societies, said John Stephens, operator of Vanuatu’s first casino. But, he said, imagine these benefits:

- The casino brings tourists to the country;
- It pays “good tax with a certain percentage of profits paid to government”;
- It trains and employs locals (the Vanuatu casino employs 80 ni-Vanuatu and eventually only two expatriates will be retained).

“These revenues by far outweigh any disadvantages people think there is in casinos on their shores,” said Stephens, who has been in the business 20 years.

Opened by Vanuatu prime minister Walter Lini a week before the start of the South Pacific Forum meeting in Port Vila, the S$1 million (US$790,000) casino has 14 tables and 45 slot machines. It is in the newly-refurbished Radisson Royal Palms Resort, with which Stephens’ Pacific Management Limited company has a contract.

It drew big crowds on most days during the two weeks of Vanuatu’s 10th independence anniversary celebrations and the subsequent Forum meeting. Pacific islanders, especially from former American trust territories and Fiji, flocked to the casino virtually every night. So did members of a Japanese dance troupe which went to Vanuatu for the independence celebrations.

But in the future while the Japanese market will be a target, Stephens’ goal is to lure leading Australian players. “The local population is not an affluent society so we have to go for the nearest market where Vanuatu has direct air service,” Stephens said.

Stephens started in London in 1971, then went to Tasmania, Australia; Europe; Darwin in Australia; South Africa; and lately Adelaide, Australia. He helped set up and was director of Australia’s eighth casino, the Adelaide Casino. “Being around so long in the trade you get to know the faces and names of regulars and players who make a name in casinos,” he said. “We’re adding more names to the list and then we will invite them here. What we can do is to complement their airline tickets, pay accommodation, and get them to come here and spend between S10,000 to $20,000. It will all be part of a package deal. There has to be some incentive for them to come here and spend money.”

According to Gore, Anuha’s future will be a 55-unit five-star resort with a casino and shopping facilities. The company had to provide expertise to help the Solomon government rewrite lottery laws so the casino would be a big revenue source for it. Gore hopes to find a Japanese or American partner to complete Anuha’s development.

The resort’s reopening has been greeted with relief by the local business community, which believes the existence of the first luxury hotel built in the country will be an important visitor draw. Two years ago the Solomons government approved a casino as part of a small beach resort to be built at Mamara, west of Honiara. But the Australian promoters of this scheme, Industrial Performance Group Ltd, have not so far proceeded with it.

- Western Samoa’s parliament has approved by 21 votes to 17 a controversial bill to allow the opening of local betting shops for punting on horse races in Australia and New Zealand.
- New Caledonia’s casino helps draw some of the tourists hosted by the French territory. Can Tahiti have one too? Last year, when he floated the proposition that a casino was needed as a draw, French Polynesia’s tourism minister, Napoléon Spitz, was assailed by church leaders and others opposed to any fostering of gambling. But now France’s top man in the territory, high commissioner Jean Montpezat, has given his support to the concept. He thinks a legally-controlled casino is preferable to illegal gambling that is rampant anyway.

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Eco-tourists ignored

by Beverly Creamer

Hawaii misses the boat on big visitor attraction

Robert Loy has tough words for Hawaii's tourist industry, which he says is missing the boat big time: "Eco-tourists are growing in numbers, coming here for a longer time and spending more money."

"Eco-tourism is the notion of marketing environmentally-sensitive, environmentally-educated tourist packages," says Loy, executive director of Earthtrust, a Hawaii-based international conservation organization that's a key player in the world's environmental stage.

The former TV journalist (he also works as a senior consultant for Hill and Knowlton/Communications Pacific, counseling corporate clients on environmental matters) was one of three keynote speakers at the Hawaii Visitors Bureau's second annual Conference on the Environment at the Hilton Hawaiian Village this week.

"An example of eco-tourism is a whole new variety of cruises," says Loy. "Thousands of people come (here) just for that."

For the resorts and the state, tourism means money, he bluntly says. "For fragile resources it means planned use, not abuse." In a way, Loy straddles two rides: On one plane, he's an ecocruiser, on the other, as senior coordinator for Hill and Knowlton/Communications Pacific, the Hawaii office of the world's largest public relations firm, he's a consultant to business.

"I'm from seeing this as a difficult balancing act, he considers it opportunity to bring these two sides together. This gives me the opportunity not just talk about partnerships to actually forge them. I'm ill to be in a position to be able to tell them firsthand what we can do.

My role is to try to change perception that corporations are the other side. To get them involved in the kinds of activities that they will no longer be perceived as the other side."

Good example of the kinds of partnerships Loy envisions is his proposal for crowded, harasused Hanauma Bay. Even though the state has tried to regulate the bay's use, banning large bus groups from the park, tourists still dump frozen peas in the water to attract fish, and still trample on the coral, he says.

It's not the tourists' fault, he says, but what should we do? Simple, says Loy. "Build a partnership between government, business and conservation groups. Together, they could develop environmentally-sensitive tour packages that include education before visitors descend with their frozen peas.

"I'd recommend that these corporations be involved in discussions with the state to develop a management plan for Hanauma Bay. The conservation organizations could then provide the expertise to educate their guests."

Earthtrust, founded in Hawaii in 1976 as "Save the Whales," concerns itself with everything from the poaching of endangered animals such as tigers and rhinos, to the massive oil clean-up in Kuwait after the Gulf War. Jim Logan, who heads a kind of Earthtrust SWAT unit out of the Honolulu office, spent weeks in Kuwait consulting on the clean-up there.

Earthtrust projects run the gamut, from the dolphin-safe "Flipper Seal of Approval" program for tuna companies, to a campaign against driftnet fishing.

Just four years ago, Earthtrust sent divers underwater to videotape the miles of driftnets set in place in the North Pacific and the indiscriminate kills that result. Their documentary, "Strip-Mining the Seas," helped push a UN-sponsored international moratorium on driftnet fishing that goes into effect at the end of the year.

Just as individual corporations are becoming environmentally conscious, Loy believes, so should entire industries. He says Hawaii's visitor industry has "a moral obligation" to educate tourists about conservation issues.

For example, he says, information about the whale and dolphin situations could be put in in-room movies, in guest packets, and offered in lectures and slideshows at the hotels.

"Because Hawaii's a prime destination for Asian travelers we have an opportunity to change the way these people view the world," he said.

One of their world-views, says Loy, includes the continuing belief in the mystical powers of such things as rhino horn, tiger blood, tiger bones, tiger sex organs, as they're used in traditional Asian medicines.

As a result Earthtrust is producing a video tracing the destruction of rhinos from African poachers to Taiwanese herbalists selling pulverized horn as an aphrodisiac. Loy hopes public education and outrage will help end a "centuries-old" custom that's threatening a species with extinction.

Loy doesn't expect the public to always know where to turn with an environmental problem. "That's what Earthtrust is for," he said.

Call us, he said. "We'll kick butt to get it taken care of."
Writing Assignment:

In her article, "Beyond Hula, Hotels, and Handicraft", Konai Helu-Thaman states that, "the business of tourism and the notion of conservation of cultural heritages, seem strangely contradictory."

Agree or disagree with this statement as it relates to Pacific Island cultures.
FURTHER READINGS:


University of Hawaii, School of Travel Industry Management, "Tourism Development in the Pacific Islands: Trends, Impacts, and Options", PIDP, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hi. 1987.
**MAUl - The surprise announcement made yesterday by Sir William Randolph, World Famous Publisher of the Maui Excentric, caused a shock wave through the island that hasn’t diminished yet.**

The announcement announced his plans to hollow out the Iao Needle and turn it into a gambling casino. "I’d like to announce my plans to hollow out Iao Needle and turn it into a gambling casino!" he announced. "Gambling has been rumored to be coming here for many a moon and it’s high time it became a reality!"

“I’ve been well-established in the gambling game for years and it’s time I expanded my empire to Maui. That way I won’t have to fly to Monte Carlo or the Bahamas when I want to shoot craps," he said to the crowd gathered at the Royal Lahaina Resort.

“Sir William,” blurted a reporter, “why would you hollow out a famous landmark like the Iao Needle for your casino instead of building an entirely new structure? That doesn’t make sense to me!”

“Right. You think—NOTI” parried Sir William. “I won’t touch the outside of the needle—except for cutting holes into it for windows and a slight indentation for the outside glass elevator and the towers on top for the laser show and restaurant. No, there’s no way anyone would ever know there’s a gambling casino inside the needle. It’s not like I’m proposing to develop 120,000 square feet of commercial space in the hea of Makawao and it’s not like I’m proposing to build a huge golf course in Hana. What I’m proposing to do is put an existing attraction to a better and safer use. I’m very proud of what my architects have accomplished.

"What do laser shows have to do with a casino?" asked a reporter incredulously.

“And your casino will be safer than what?” asked another.

“I can answer that in three little words, boys—a Great Crater!” answered Sir William. “No longer will people have to gamble by driving the Pukalani by-pass. We’ll build a brand new volcano beside the Iao Needle, bigger and better than the Mirage’s in Las Vegas. Then I’ll place mirrors on the high points of the West Maui Mountains and the laser beams will bounce back and forth all night between there and the top of the volcano (except for religious holidays, of course) and show a show even the stars would be proud of!”

“And the revolving restaurant? What a view its diners will have!” he continued animatedly. “There’ll be nothing else like it on the Island! Why, on a clear day they’ll be able to see forever!”

“That’s all very clever, Sir,” interrupted another reporter, “but how do you expect to get government permission to open a gambling casino on Maui? After all, this isn’t Atlantic City or Nevada and the Iao Needle isn’t exactly on Indian land, you know.”

“That’s true, Sonny,” replied Sir William condescendingly, “but I’ve found a way to get around that little detail. You see, in order to gamble or dine in my new Iao Needle casino, you’re going to have to have a reservation.”

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**Special Gift Certificate for Lifetime Subscribers! See page 6**
UNIT 8: THE SOUTH PACIFIC ARTS FESTIVAL

OVERVIEW: The Festival of Pacific Arts is an event sponsored by the South Pacific Commission and is held every four years among the member countries. The aim is to celebrate the various island cultures through the performing and visual arts and promote the notion of regionalism. The most recent festival was held in Rarotonga in the Cook Islands in November of 1992 at an approximate cost of $6 million. Twenty-seven countries participated in the festival whose theme was "Seafaring Pacific Islanders".

In this unit students will assess the Festival of Pacific Arts as a cultural event and determine if the festival is worth the time, effort, and money needed to produce it.* Students will read two articles about the 1992 Cook Islands festival and its preparation, view a video on the 1988 festival, and participate in their own "mini" festival of arts.

ACTIVITY 1: A Look Inside the Festival of Pacific Arts

Readings/Materials:


C. Video - "5th Festival of the Pacific Arts 1988", (The Polynesians) 1 hour, produced by Nā Maka O ka Āina, Honolulu, Hawaii, Phone 988-6984.

Questions:
1. What was the purpose of the Festival?
2. What did the festival consist of?
3. What were some positive/negative aspects of the festival?
4. Were there any problems?

ACTIVITY 2: Produce a mini Festival of Pacific Arts

1. Learn a song, dance, or chant.
2. Recite some poetry or a story
3. Produce an art object to display
4. Demonstrate a craft: weaving, carving, etc.
5. Prepare a food dish

* Idea borrowed from Vilsoni Hereniko in a classroom exercise for course Approaches to Pacific Island Studies, Fall 1992
CONCLUSION:

1. What does the festival accomplish?
2. In what ways does it promote regionalism?
3. What are the cost and stress on the host country and do they disallow some countries from assuming this role?
4. Is a four year interval an adequate amount of time to produce a quality festival?
5. What might be done to promote wider participation in the festival?
A spectacular cultural festival

By Christine Hatcher

THE sixth festival of Pacific Arts to be held on Rarotonga in the Cook Islands has a promise. It will be the largest, most spectacular and exciting culturally sharing event to date.

Ancient vaka (canoe) building skills have been especially revived around the Pacific, with Polynesians, Melanesians and Micronesians individually crafting magnificent vaka for sailing to Rarotonga for this event.

Epic sea voyages will be in part reconstructed by Hawaii's Hokule'a. Ocean-going vaka from other Pacific island countries will also arrive from their home lands after long journeys. All will use the ancient art of navigation by the stars.

In reality, the Festival begins in Aitutaki - a picturesque island 140 nautical miles from Rarotonga. It is from there that a ceremonial, traditional departure will bid those, and the Aitutaki Vagapuariki vaka farewell on the last leg of their voyage, about four days before the festival.

Meanwhile, hand carved canoes from the islands of Aitut, Managha, Mitanu and Mauke in the Cook Islands will also be charting their course, Rarotonga bound.

A traditional turou (official welcome) exchange will take place at the reef's edge. The vaka Tukituma, a one-third size twin hull replica of the original Tukituma Kaila built in Samoa in 1000 AD and rebuilt by former Prime Minister Sir Thomas Davis for this occasion, will pilot. The Urauau, Tautau, Oe and Akateriere and various other vaka will escort.

Their combined entrance into Ngatangiia Harbour, the site from where, according to legend, migrations to New Zealand took place, sets the special theme for this maire niu (festival) — "Sea faring Pacific Islanders."

This moment of historical and contemporary awareness is to be marked and officiated by HRH Prince Edward on the October 16. The idea was born by Sir Thomas as far back as 1985, when, as member for the South Pacific Commission, he suggested holding the festival here. The festival office began operating in October 1990 and in December last year Tamarii Tutuenga became festival director. "I suppose it's the biggest such undertaking ever to happen in the Cook Islands," he says.

Preparations have been relentless — from installing extra toilets to beautifying the entire island with $500,000 worth of plants and trees to building a splendid $NZ 11.6 million cultural centre, the core venue for the festivities.

The participation of 27 countries is confirmed — from American Samoa and Western Samoa, Easter Islands, and the Federated States of Micronesia, people will come. Australia is sending a large ethnic contingent and Guam, Hawaii, and Kiribati will also send their best. Fiji promises firewalking demonstrations and the Marshall Islands, Nauru and New Caledonia will be represented. New Zealand will bring one ocean-going, one war vaka as well as many people. Niue, Norfolk Island, Northern Mariana Island and Palau will attend. Papua New Guinea will bring many spectacular dances and tiny, remote Pitcairn Islands, famous for its carvings, will prove their craft. Tahiti is known for its graceful dancers and Tonga will perform its war dances. Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu and Wallis and Futuna complete the picture.

They will bring with them unique traditional theatre, crafts, their special drum sounds and dances. But the programs are a secret.

"If you want to see, you will have to come," is the answer from the festival office.

On a reasonably small island with a population of 10,000 and only approximately 4500 commercial beds, accommodation has been a problem for some hoping to attend.

A cry has gone out for "home stays" and 100 extra beds have been found, says Melynda Morrisette, manager of the Accommodation Bureau for the Chamber of Commerce.
event in the making

Tiare processions, 1991: a taste of what's to come

“...But we could do with a hundred more...” she laughs. To house the 2100 participants, mattresses have been bought, schools and halls upgraded and a special vaka village built to house the navigators and their crew.

Food planning for the large contingents, including a pa'au ceremony - traditional umuka'i (food cooked in an earth oven) and entertainment for up to 2000 after the opening pageant has involved much forethought.

The traditional generosity and hospitality for which Cook Islanders are well known however, brings a five-star guarantee that no-one will go hungry.

Time, money and energy have been given in abundance. Dedication has been increasing daily as time draws the festival closer.

A combined school choir has been rehearsing for months. A specially composed song has been written by teacher Thomas Samuel of St. Josephs School. This will be featured in the opening ceremony and become the official festival song. Its catchy tune will ensure its survival long after the festival is over.

The CINAT (Cook Islands National Arts Theatre) has been revivied. To watch their rehearsals, even with dancers casually dressed in tee-shirts, shorts and pareu, the excellence of Cook Islands dancing is apparent. For the first time, strong emphasis will be on visual arts, unlike other festivals which have emphasized performance.

A huge variety of arts and crafts will be shown and exhibited. As another first, workshops will be held in weaving, carving, traditional medicine, tattooing, shell making and fabric painting. These articles will be for sale in the 17 kikau huts now under construction on the edge of Avarua township.

A highlight will be the major Arts Festival Fashion Show. Depicting “Costumes and Rituals” the show will take the audience through the ages of fashion from yester-year to the present. Six of the 27 countries will also take part in this event.

Lynnas Francis, an organiser says, “The clothes featured will mirror a marriage between old cultural traditions and modern design techniques.”

Literature also features strongly with poetry and story readings planned in a special “poet’s corner.”

Several books have been published. The most recent being a glossy pictorial called Tiaaca - Portraits of Cook Islands Quilling, Cook Islands Drums, Tipam, a pot-pouri of poetry and art, the practical guide Learning Rarotongan Maori and Manakanoako - Reflections were published earlier this year. Books on Cook Islands dance and oral history transcripts are close to completion.

Traditional sports and games, such as the throwing of spears into a coconut on a long stick and vaka racing will provide fun and competition.

Gospel Day on the 26th will be marked with a Biblical Pageant and the grande finale, a day later, will take the form of a mardi gras.

These are some of the many treats in store for the participants, spectators, 500 VIPs and visitors who will fill this island to capacity.

As Queen’s representative, Apenera Short said at the ceremonial opening of parliament on August 14, “It will be something that everyone will remember all their lives.”
Seafaring Pacific islanders

By Christine Hatcher

A haunting sound, muffled by dense, fringed woods echoes through a forest on the island of Atiu in the Cook Islands. The morning sun scatters shadows as prayers go out to Tane, god of the forest, for permission to release one of his children.

The chain-saw bites. Birds scatter in alarmed white and brown patterns. A mango tree falls, releasing a musty fragrance as the hefty trunk indents the earth. There is much laughter, chanting and calling to the gods, to the ancestors for help with this heavy work. Many willing hands aid as another vaka canoe is born.

Similar ceremonies on Rarotonga have seen the birth of pilot vaka for the festival, the Takitumu and the 240-man war canoe, the Uritaia, the Ngapuwhiki from Aitutaki and vaka from Maupau. Mitiro and Mangia's Te Ikau Ote Rangi.

This life-force, poured into every vaka built in traditional times, has been revived here in the Pacific for the sixth Festival of Pacific Arts beginning in Rarotonga on October 16.

According to the Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, Sir Geoffrey Henry, the ideas were kindled in 1972.

"At that time, the then leaders of the Pacific decided something had to be done for the survival of their culture. They sensed an erosion taking place: Western philosophy began to have an impact. Something had to be done. Then there was Fiji," he said.

There have been five festivals since. But, for the first time, participating countries have been challenged to build vaka and sail them to Rarotonga, navigating by the stars. In following the traditions of their ancestors the special theme of this festival — "Seafaring Pacific Islanders" will be created.

And so, across the Moana-nui-a-kiva — the great ocean of blue space — a hand of welcome to the 27 countries participating from Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, will extend.

Here stories of the vaka will be recreated, as they tell of the nuku (travelling parties) and survival at sea, arrivals and departures. These are the stories not only of the past, but of the present and future which make up the mixtures of mythologies and genealogies that bind together the people of the Pacific.

Toua Pitman, Rarotonga's chief navigator, who will sail Hawaii's Hōkūle'a from the Society Islands to Maupau then from Aitutaki to Rarotonga for the kariranga maro tail landing ceremony, says:

"There's the father, the navigator. The mother is the canoe. Then we have our god. Those are the most important things to have. They give you strength."

Many stories surround the mystery of the vaka. Strange things happen.

Emile Kairua, director producer of CITV's (Cook Islands Television) Kariori, a cultural interest program, says:

"The TV camera would not work as we tried to record the felling of the tree on Atiu. It's as if our ancestors were there. They never leave us."

Later, the heavy log refused to move across the razor sharp makatea (dead coral). Powerful chants for attracting help from the ancestors were performed.

Emile says, "suddenly the log just shot out in front of the men pulling the timber. It was as if a force had taken over.

He, and many others have said the feeling is hard to describe, "like getting goose bumps, like feeling the hair rising on the back of your neck".

For those in the Cook Islands, the building of their vaka has meant a connection to those ancestors, a revival of their culture.

With no practical experience to build ocean going vaka of this magnitude, it has often been done by "feel".

Ron Mackie, in charge of constructing the Aitutaki Ngapuwhiki, says, "We were not sure what to do, but it's buried in the back of our minds. We just started, and it all came back."

The art of navigating by the stars has also been revived.

Among those stars, the Matariki (Pleiades) will serve as faithful guide to those brave men from the Cook Islands, Hawaii, Papua New Guinea, the Marshall Islands and Tahiti.

By bringing them across the waters the theme of Seafaring Pacific Islanders will live.
The Hokule'a: Polynesian canoe representing Hawaii

The Atlu Maruaruatai: having a test run

The Ngapuariki: hoisting the sail
Teaching, Learning

**Program Titles**

- **Nā Keiki o ka ʻĀina - Children of the Land**
  Elementary school students combine studies with planting and caring for the land. *28 minutes*

- **He Makana No Nā Kumu Kula**
  A Gift for Teachers of Hawaiian Students
  A cross-cultural guide for educators. *30 minutes*

- **Teaching Peace**
  Public school students learn conflict resolution from Sister Anna McAnany. *26 minutes*

- **Higher Education - Healing of a Nation**
  A presentation by Kua’ana to attract more Kānaka Maoli students to enter the university. *34 minutes*

- **Joe Waialae at Nānākuli High**
  An entertainer sings, plays guitar and demonstrates lāʻau lapaʻau, herbal medicine. *38 minutes*

- **The May Experience**
  Community people visit the Waiʻanae schools to take over the classrooms for a day. *1 hour*
**Culture**

- **Ke Kai - The Sea**
  Inshore fishing, fishponds, ocean navigation.

- **Ka Haku Hulu - The Featherworker**
  Native birds and the artwork from their feathers.

- **Ka Lei**
  Native plants, native lei-makers

- **Ka Wai - Source of Life**
  Ancient ways vs. modern ways of using water.

- **Pae I Ka Nalu - Surfing in Hawai‘i**
  Surfers, surfing spots, canoe surfing, big wave surfing

- **Kawaiinui - Creating a Visual Legacy**
  Students create a mural and step back in time.

- **Ka Hana No‘eau Hawai‘i**
  Hawaiian Crafts
  Sam Ka‘ai carves fishhooks and spins stories of old.

- **Today’s Maka’āinana**
  The Fisherman & the Farmer
  Planting kalo and fishing for aku, feeding the people.

- **Nā Waiwai Hawai‘i - Part One**
  Treasured values of Hawai‘i: aloha ʻaina, kōkua, ʻohana, poʻokela, thinking “island.”

- **Hoʻōla Hou - A Look to the Future**
  The re-emergence of a Pacific way of thinking.

**Environment**

- **Ahupua‘a, Fishponds and Lo‘i**
  A three-part program, produced by Nālani Minton and featuring anthropologist Marion Kelly.

- **Lāna‘i - A Rare Gift of Beauty**
  A tour of the island of Lāna‘i with Sol Kahoʻohalahala.

- **Lāhui Maoli - Native Species**
  Native birds, fish, snails, insects and plants from five islands are described through ʻōlelo no‘eau, wise sayings.

- **The Hawaiian Art of Healing**
  Henry Awaʻae - Kahuna Lāʻau Lapaʻau
  A native healer shows medicinal plants from Big Island rainforests and demonstrates their uses.

- **Living Jewels - The Rare Plants of Hawai‘i**
  Endangered plants presented and discussed by botanists Heidi Borghorst and Charles Lamoreaux.
**Art, Music, Dance**

- **Pacific Sound Waves**
  Music videos and songs of freedom. 1 hour

- **Contemporary Hawaiian Artists**
  Today's artists present their work of stone, wood, marble and acrylic. 33 minutes

- **Kalapana - May 4, 1990**
  Nighttime lava flows set to music 12 minutes

- **Hōkai Ua Lawai'a Makapa'a**
  A music video on ʻōpelu fishing, Miloli'i style. 6 minutes

- **Fifth Festival of Pacific Arts, 1988**
  - ʻO Mamo o Hawai'i
  - Tahiti at the Festival
  - The Polynesians
  - The Melanesians
  - The Aboriginal People of Australia 1 hour

- **Aloha ʻĀina Concert - Pt. 1**
  Music, poetry and politics. 1 hour

- **Aloha ʻĀina Concert - Pt. 2**
  1 hour

**Language**

- **ʻAuhea ʻOe E Ke Kumu**
  A call for teachers to save the Hawaiian language. 28 minutes

- **He Huaka'i Māka'ika'i me**
  Kupuna Rachel Nāhaleʻelua Mahuiki
  A walk on the reef to gather seafood at Haʻena. 22 minutes

- **E Hoʻomākaukau Haupia me**
  Kupuna Helen Haleola Lee Hong
  Making haupia at Kalapana. 23 minutes

- **James Huʻeu, Jr.**
  Taro growing at Keʻanae, Maui. 21 minutes

- **Katherine Maunakea**
  Lāʻau lapaʻau, medicinal herbs, in Waiʻanae. 22 minutes

- **Kaleipua Pahulehua**
  Stringing lei pūpū o Niʻihau. 20 minutes

- **Leimana Kanahele**
  Niʻihau style saddle making. 22 minutes

- **Esther Makuaʻole**
  Lauhala hat weaving on Kauaʻi. 19 minutes
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<td><strong>• Kahoʻolawe Aloha 'Āina</strong>&lt;br&gt;The &quot;target isle&quot; is reclaimed by Kānaka Maoli from the U.S. military.</td>
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<td><strong>• The Tribunal</strong>&lt;br&gt;The United States is put on trial for crimes against Kānaka Maoli, the native people of Hawai'i.</td>
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<td><strong>• Scenes from the Centennial</strong>&lt;br&gt;Commemorative activities during four days in January 1993 -- a century after the overthrow.</td>
<td><strong>• Waimānalolo Eviction</strong>&lt;br&gt;The 1985 eviction of Kānaka Maoli from Hawaiian Homes Land</td>
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<td><strong>• West Beach Story</strong>&lt;br&gt;Waianae coast people react to the proposed Ko'Olina resort development.</td>
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<td><strong>• Mākua Homecoming</strong>&lt;br&gt;Kanaka Maoli struggle to save their lifestyle in the face of eviction by the state.</td>
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OVERVIEW: Aid dependency is a critical issue for Pacific Islands. Per capita, the Pacific receives more aid than any area of the world. Potentially, Melanesia has land and important resources (forestry, oil, gold, and copper) to be developed, but political instability greatly hinders their productive expansion. Micronesia and Polynesia are coral atolls and volcanic islands with scarce resources and little economic potential, except perhaps for the sea and its marine and mineral resources. These islands are vulnerable, as well, to natural phenomena, fluctuating world markets, distance, location, and foreign aid from metropolitan powers.

Several strategies have been conceived to overcome dependency. Some of the Polynesian islands have adopted a MIRAB approach to promote self-reliance. MIRAB stands for Migration, remittance, Aid, and Bureaucracy. Tonga, the Cooks, Niue, American Samoa, and Western Samoa all have the option of migrating to metropolitan powers for employment and education, then sending remittance checks home to their families, which support the country's revenue. The significance is that it appears to be a viable solution for economic growth with resource poor islands that have increasing populations. They can migrate out and still contribute to the welfare of their country.

Other strategies to reduce dependency, which have been considered are as follows:

1. Promoting fishing and ultimately mining for manganese nodules in the 200 miles EEZ's (Exclusive Economic Zones)
2. Soliciting mining operations in Melanesia by multinational corporations
3. Negotiating trade deals with foreign countries, like SPARTECA (Australia and New Zealand) and the JCC with the U.S.
4. Introducing light industry manufacturing like the garment industry of Fiji and the CNMI
5. Selling postage stamps, passports, even shipping licenses
6. Selling their "locations" to be used as dumping sites (UNOCAL)
7. Providing tax havens for offshore banking - Vanuatu, the Cook Islands
8. Selling "Outer Space" rights for satellite orbits (Tonga)
In this unit students will read several articles on aid and dependency and discuss some short stories by Epeli Hau'ofa that satirize development and western models of progress and wealth. Students will consider ways by which Pacific Islanders can control their growth and assert self-determination in the face of foreign pressures and investment opportunities. Is there a "Pacific Way" towards achieving sustainable growth?

READINGS/MATERIALS:


3. Short Stories from Tales of the Tikongs, Epeli Hau'ofa, Suva, Univ. of the S. Pacific, 1983.

Although the greater part of Australian aid to the Pacific goes to promote that slippery concept called “economic growth,” PNG, with its quite distinctive social and economic problems, attracts others kinds of attention too.

Law-and-order is an issue of larger concern here than in other island nations, a matter recognized by Australia. Having set up the Royal Constabulary more than 100 years ago (it began life as the Royal Native Constabulary under Sir William MacGregor of Papua in 1890), Australia sees a responsibility to help maintain it, especially in these troubled times.

As a result, there’s a five-year project worth $30-million to help develop an effective police force. A supporting project amounting to $10.7-million will provide housing for police in isolated areas.

Additional impetus for this kind of spending is provided by the fact there are far more resident expatriates and business people in PNG from Australia than from any other country.

PNG receives also a higher proportion of aid money for education than other island nations—some 30 percent of program aid, most of which is provided through scholarships for PNG nationals at tertiary or secondary institutions in Australia. In 1991-92, there were about 800 such students.

Other aid-assisted projects include support for PNG’s coffee industry and training programs designed to improve efficiency in public-sector areas such as taxation, customs and excise, civil aviation and health administration.

In what AIDAB officially designates the “South Pacific” (the islands without PNG), more than 200 projects were funded in 1991-92. A varied assortment they were, ranging from the reconstruction of the only wharf on tiny Niue, to rebuilding the fire station in Apia, which once housed Western Samoa’s only fire engine—a vehicle without a motor. Not too surprisingly, the arrangement included training for Apia’s fire service.

Education was an important aid target in a number of islands. In Vanuatu, $3.5-million went toward school curriculum and teacher training. Another $4-million went to upgrading the facilities at Matevulu College on Espiritu Santo.

In Solomon Islands, $14.4-million was spent mainly on education and training, including the construction of three new schools, textbooks and tertiary scholarships.

In Fiji, $3.5-million went toward development of the recently opened Fiji College of Advanced Education (once the Nasinu Teachers College). The University of the South Pacific received $3.8-million for such things as staffing assistance and research.

Infrastructure projects included upgrading the airport on Manihiki in the southern Cook Islands and construction of a causeway on Onotoa Atoll in Kiribati.

Infrastructure rehabilitation is of importance in Western Samoa too (all those cyclones), although AIDAB’s claim that Australia “has consistently been the largest aid donor to Western Samoa” is a trifle shaky, given that for the past few years, Japan has outrun Australia in the aid race there, contributing in 1990, almost twice as much.

A similar claim is made regarding Tonga, but Australia is on firmer ground there, edging out both Japan and New Zealand with $11.4-million, mainly allotted to public utilities, infrastructure and education, although some went toward “topping-up,” said AIDAB, the salaries of Australians in the Tongan public service. Australia has been providing aid to Tonga for 30 years.

Australia’s is one example, although a very significant one, given its presence in the region of the extent to which foreign aid has become an inescapable part of the economies of the Pacific Islands in the late 20th century.

It’s difficult to believe sometimes that the original purpose of aid was to help countries until they could help themselves and that it would cease when the recipients became economically self-sufficient. With so many nations in the region suffering disastrous balances of trade (with no improvement in sight), population pressures increasing faster than resources and economic growth often measured in minus figures, the prospect of self-sufficiency seems even more like a pipe dream now than it did decades ago, and the degree to which aid programs benefit the donor country also is becoming clearer than ever.

The next century has been termed by the slogan manufacturers, “the century of the Pacific.” Might we dare hope that for the islands, it will become the century of greater self-reliance?
Foreign Aid Keeps Island Nations Afloat

by Norman & N'gaiire Douglas

Foreign aid: What would the conditions of the recipient countries be if they didn’t get it, and where would the consciences of the donor countries be if they didn’t give it?

The latest report of the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau goes some way toward answering these questions, but implicitly raises others. The attitude of AIDAB, an autonomous unit within the portfolio of foreign affairs and trade, is both philosophical and pragmatic when it comes to explaining the purpose and functions of foreign aid.

“By directing a small, but significant proportion of its national income to aid,” it says in the report, “Australia is demonstrating its concern to alleviate poverty, promote equitable economic growth in developing countries and make the world a just and peaceful place in which to live.”

Is case this sounds platitudinous, the report is quick to point out there are national advantages to be derived from these apparent philanthropic exercises:

“Economic growth (among countries of the region) also brings benefits to Australia. It opens up new markets . . . and helps boost our exports (a.a.i) therefore, balances humanitarian concerns with strategic and commercial interests.

“Moreover, direct returns to Australian business (from development assistance) have been considerable,” since about 87 percent of the expenditure (not including budget support to Papua New Guinea) is on goods and services from Australia.

In 1991-92, Australia’s development assistance program amounted to AS1.3-billion, spread over 20 major recipients, including Thailand and Tonga, India and Indonesia, China and Cambodia, Ethiopia and Egypt. But, the country that got the most was Australia’s nearest neighbor and one-time trusteeship, Papua New Guinea. (Note: All following figures are in Australian dollars.)

PNG received a whopping $323-million ($335-million, if one includes such things as student subsidies), which represents about one-quarter of Australia’s aid bill.

Of this, $269.5-million was in unspecified budget support, $37.3-million in program assistance and $16.5-million in other aid, which includes such features as termination and retirement benefits still being paid to officers of the pre-independence administration.

PNG became politically independent in 1975, but so committed is Australia to its former territory (some would say, colony) that the country continues to occupy a special place in Australia’s strategic and administrative thinking.

For aid purposes, PNG isn’t regarded by AIDAB as part of the South Pacific at all, but is put in its own special category. This isn’t too surprising when one realizes that PNG receives more than three times the rest of the South Pacific combined.

The $95.2-million that is distributed over the other islands is spread from Fiji—the biggest of the smaller ones—with $29.2-million, to Niue, which received a modest $900,000.

Along the way, Western Samoa got $15.7-million; Solomon Islands, $14.4-million; Vanuatu, $12.9-million; Tonga, $11.4-million; Kiribati, $5.2-million, and Tuvalu, $3-million. Cook Islands, which, like Niue, Australia considers as primarily New Zealand’s responsibility, received $2.5-million.

Although all this sounds slender compared to PNG, it should be remembered that Australian development assistance to the South Pacific a little more than 20 years ago was a mere $1-million. Inflation alone can’t account for the difference.

Australia’s generous relationship with PNG began at the time of the latter’s independence in 1975, when it was agreed that development assistance would be given mainly as budget support, a factor that assisted the growth of PNG’s extraordinarily large public service.

During the 1980s, reviews of the arrangement concluded that the level of real aid should be reduced as PNG became more self-reliant, a decision aided by cuts in public spending in Australia generally. By 1989, various reviews of the position had become formalized in a Treaty of Development Cooperation and two years later a parliamentary committee recommended that budget support should be replaced by program and project aid “as soon as practically possible.”

By the end of this century, it’s expected that budget support for PNG will have been phased out entirely and replaced with other forms. This trend has already become evident, although hardly in a spectacular way.

From 1989-90 to 1993-94, budget aid is set to decrease from $275-million to $260-million, as program aid rises from $20-million to $35-million. By 2000, if the best possible scenario prevails, program aid is expected to reach $300-million.

Part of the University of the South Pacific in Fiji: $3.8-million in Australian aid.
ing for fornication but declared it a necessity that he experience the suffering and agony of sin in order to transcend earthly pleasures. 'It's the only way!' he thundered deliciously from the pulpit, utterly transcended by his nocturnal transport.

And so His Holiness Bopeep Dr Toki Tumu of the Church of the Golden Bell forged ahead building the thriving institution that has spread throughout Tiko and may yet overtake the numerical superiority of the older Churches for, as Manu says, it has the bells that ring best those sweetest sounds of all: the music of coins and coition.

The Glorious Pacific Way

'I hear you're collecting oral traditions. Good work. It's about time someone started recording and preserving them before they're lost for ever,' said the nattily dressed Mr Harold Minte in the slightly condescending though friendly tone of a born diplomat, which Mr Minte actually was.

'Thank you, sir,' Ole Pasifikiwei responded shyly. He was not given to shyness, except in the presence of foreigners, and on this sultry evening at a cocktail party held in the verdant gardens of the International Nightlight Hotel, Ole was particularly reticent.

Through the persistent prodding of an inner voice which he had attributed to that of his Maker, Ole had spent much of the spare time from his job as Chief Eradicator of Pests and Weeds collecting oral traditions, initially as a hobby but in time it had developed into a near obsession. He had begun by recording and compiling his own family genealogy and oral history, after which he expanded into those of other families in his village, then neighbouring settlements, and in seven years he had covered a fifth of his island country. He recorded with pens in exercise books, which he piled at a far corner of his house, hoping that one day he would have a machine for typing his material and some filing cabinets for their proper storage. But he had no money for these luxuries, so he kept to his exercise books, taking care of them as best as he could.

His work on oral traditions attracted the approving notice of the Ministry of Environment, Religion, Culture, and Youth (universally dubbed MERCY), a high official of which, who was also an intimate of Ole's, had invited him
to the cocktail party to meet the diplomat visiting Tiko on a project identification and funding mission.

'Perhaps you could do with some financial assistance,' Mr Minte suggested.

'That'll help a lot, sir.'

'We have money set aside for the promotion of culture preservation projects in the Pacific. Our aim is to preserve the Pacific Way. We want to help you.'

'Very generous of you sir. When can I have some money?'

'After you've written me a letter asking for assistance.'

'Do I have to? Can't you just send some?'

'Obviously you haven't dealt with us before.'

'No, sir.'

'Things are never quite that simple, you know. We have the money to distribute, but we can't give it away just like that. We want you to ask us first. Tell us what you want; we don't wish to tell you what you should do. My job is to go around informing people that we want to co-operate for their own good, and people should play their part and ask us for help. Do you get me?'

'Yes, sir. But suppose no one asks?'

'That's no problem. Once people know that they can get things from us for nothing, they will ask. And besides, we can always send someone to help them draw up requests. By the way, who's that jolly chap over there?'

'That's His Excellency the Imperial Governor.'

'My God. I have something very important to tell him. I must see him now before he leaves. Come and see me tomorrow morning at ten at the MERCY Building. Think of what I've said and we'll talk about it then. I'm pleased we've met. Good night.'

Shortly afterwards Ole left for home, disturbed and feeling reduced. He had never before asked for anything from a total stranger. If Mr Minte had money to give, as he said he did, why did he not just give it? Why should he, Ole, be required to beg for it? He remembered an incident from his childhood when a bigger boy offered him a mango then demanded that he fall on his knees and beg for it. Hatred for Mr Minte surged in his stomach to be mixed with self-hatred for his own simplicity and for his reluctance to ask from a stranger while everyone else seemed to have been doing so without compunction. He needed a typewriter and some filing cabinets, not for himself but for the important work he had set out to do. Yet pride stood in the way. The Good Book says that pride is the curse of man. The Good Book also says, 'Ask and it shall be given unto you.' One should learn to ask for and accept things with grace. But he could not sleep well that night; his heart was torn—it was not easy to ask from a stranger if you weren't practised at it. He must do it nevertheless. There was no other way of acquiring the facilities he needed. Anyway, he supposed as he drifted into sleep, it's like committing sin: once you start it becomes progressively easier.

At ten the following morning Ole entered the MERCY office where Mr Minte was waiting.

'Good morning, Ole. Have you made up your mind about seeking help from us?'

'Yes, sir. I'd like to have a typewriter and some filing cabinets. I'll write you a letter. Thank you.'

'Now, Ole, I'm afraid that's not possible. As I said last night, things aren't so simple. We don't want to tell people what to do with the money we give, but there are things we cannot fund. Take your particular request for instance. My Minister has to report to our parliament on things people do with the money we give. Once politicians see that we've given a typewriter for culture preservation they will start asking embarrassing questions of my Minister. What's a civilised typewriter to do with native cultures? The Opposition will have a field day on that one. Most embarrassing. That won't do...'

'But in my case it has everything to do...'

'You have to ask for something more directly relevant, I'm sorry. Relevance is the key that opens the world,' Mr Minte said, and paused to savour the profundity of his remark before turning on an appearance of astounding generosity.

'Look, we can give you $2000 a year for the next five years to publish a monthly newsletter of your activities. Send us a copy of each issue, O.K.?'
'But I still need a typewriter to produce a newsletter.'
'Try using a MERCY typewriter. You will have to form a committee, you know.'
'A committee? What for? I've been working alone for seven years and no committee has been interested in me.'
'Oh, they will, they will when good money's involved. The point, however, is that we don't give to individuals, only to organisations. You form a group, call it the Oral Traditions Committee, or something, which will then write to us for assistance. Do you follow me?' Mr Minte looked at his watch and lifted an eyebrow. 'I'm sorry, I have to go now to talk with the National Women's Association. Don't you know that your women are more forthcoming and efficient than your men? When we tell them—sorry—suggest that they form a committee, they do so immediately. It's a great pleasure handling them. Their organisations have tons of money from us and other helpers. Think about it and come again tomorrow at the same time. See you then.' Mr Minte went out and disappeared into a black official limousine.

Ole remained in the office keeping very still, as was his habit when angry, breathing deeply until he had regained his equanimity. Then he rose and walked slowly to the office of his intimate, the high MERCY official, who sat quietly and listened until Ole had poured out his heart.

'The trouble with you is that you're too moralistic,' Emi Bagarap said thoughtfully. 'You're too proud, Ole.'

'It's no longer a matter of pride, I've seen to that; it's self-respect.'

'Self-respect is a luxury we can't afford; we have no choice but to shelve it for a while. When we're developed, then we will do something about dignity and self-respect...'

'What if we are never developed?'

'We will develop! There's not a speck of doubt about that. You must cultivate the power of positive thinking,' said Emi Bagarap looking wise, experienced, and positive.

'You must keep in mind, Ole, that we're playing international games in which the others have money and we don't. Simple as that. They set the rules and we play along trying to bend them for our benefit.

Anyway, those on the other side aren't all that strict with their rules either. Take Mr Minte, for instance. He offers to give you $2000 a year for five years and all he wants is for you to form a committee and then the committee writes a letter asking for the funds and produces a newsletter regularly. But he didn't say anything about how the organisation is to be formed or run. See? You can get three or four friends and form a committee with you as chairman and treasurer, and someone else as secretary. Get only those who're neither too interested nor too knowledgeable. That'll give you the freedom to do what needs to be done. Again, the letter asking for help will be from the Committee and not from you personally. Your self-respect will not be compromised, not that it really matters, mind you.

Furthermore, Mr Minte didn't say anything about the size of your newsletter, did he? Well. You can write it in a page or two taking about half an hour each month. And you don't have to write it in English either. And if you so wish you can produce two copies per issue, one for your records and one for Mr Minte. I'm not suggesting that this is what you do; that would be dishonest, you see. I'm only pointing out one of the many possible moves in this game.

'Most importantly, Mr Minte didn't say what you should do with the rest of the money. So, you pay, say, two dollars a year for your newsletter and with the balance you can buy a typewriter and four filing cabinets every year for five years. You see, Mr Minte is very good and very generous; he's been playing international games for a long, long time and knows what's what. He wants you to have your typewriter and other things but won't say it. Go see him tomorrow and tell him that you'll do what he told you.

'But you must remember that in dealing with foreigners, never appear too smart; it's better that you look humble and half-primitive, especially while you're learning the ropes. And try to take off six stone. It's necessary that we're seen to be starved and needy. The reason why Tiko gets very little aid money is that our people are too fat and jolly. I wish the government would wake up and do something about it.'

And so, Emi Bagarap, whose self-respect had been shelved...
for years, went on giving his friend, the novice, the benefit of his vast experience in the ways of the world.

When Ole left the office he was relieved and almost happy. He had begun to understand the complexities of life. Give me time, O Lord, he prayed as he headed toward the bus stop, and I'll be out there with the best of them.

'A word with you, old friend,' Manu's voice checked him.

'Oh, hello Manu. Long time no see. Where've you been?'

' Watching you lately, old friend. You have that look on your face,' Manu said simply.

'What look?' asked Ole in puzzlement.

'Of someone who's been convinced by the likes of Emi Bagarap. I'm worried about you. I know you and Emi have always been close, but allow me to tell you this before it's too late. Don't let him or anyone like him talk you into something you...'

'No one talks me into anything. I've never allowed anyone to do that,' Ole cut in with visible irritation.

'You're already into it, old friend; it's written all over your face. Beware of Emi; he's sold his soul and will have you sell yours if you don't watch out.'

'That's ridiculous. No one's sold his soul. We're only shelving certain things for a little while until we get what's good for the country.'

'No, no, old friend. You're deceiving yourself. You're not shelving anything; you're set to sell your soul no less. Do it and you'll never get it back because you will not want to.'

'You're wasting your time and mine, Manu. You belong to the past; it's time to wake up to the future,' Ole snapped and strode away.

Next day when he met Mr Minte he was all smiles. The smoothly seasoned diplomat raised an eyebrow and smiled back—he was familiar with this kind of transformation; it happened all the time; it was part of his job to make it happen.

'Well, Ole, when will you form the committee?'

'Tonight, sir.'

'Congratulations, Mr Chairman. Get your secretary to write me a letter and you'll get your first $2000 in a month's time.'

'Thank you very, very much Mr Minte; I'm most grateful.'

'You're welcome. It's been a pleasure dealing with you, Ole. You have a big future ahead. If you need anything, anything at all, don't hesitate to contact me. You know, if we had more people like you around, the Pacific would develop so rapidly you wouldn't see it.'

They shook hands, and as Ole opened the door Mr Minte called out, 'By the way, the INESCA will soon hold a workshop in Manila on the proper methods of collecting oral traditions. It'll do you good if you attend. I'll let you know in a few weeks.'

'Thank you again, Mr Minte.'

'Don't mention it. I'm always happy to be of assistance. Goodbye for now. I hope you'll soon get a typewriter and the filing cabinets.'

Ole whistled his way home, much elated. That evening he formed the Committee for the Collection of Oral Traditions with himself as chairman and treasurer, his youngest brother as secretary, two friends as committee members, and the district officer as patron. The Committee immediately set to work drafting a letter to Mr Minte which was delivered by hand the following morning. Within a month Ole received a cheque for $2000 and an invitation to attend a six-week training course in Manila. He went, leaving his house in the care of his elderly aunt, who did not understand what he was doing.

He found the course too confusing, but the throbbing nightlife of Manila more than compensated for its uselessness. He enjoyed himself so much that on the third week he received a shot of penicillin and some friendly counsel from an understanding physician.

On his return journey he bought a duty-free typewriter in Sydney, where he also ordered four filing cabinets to be shipped home. He was much pleased with his speedy progress; he had secured what had only recently been a dream. One day, he told himself as the aircraft approached the Tikonaul International Airport, he would take over the directorship of the Bureau for the Preservation of Traditional Culture and Essential Indigenous Personality. Both Sailosi
Atiu and Eric Hobsworth-Smith were getting long in the tooth.

When he finally arrived home his aged aunt greeted him tearfully. 'Ole, Ole, you’re safe. Thank God those heathens didn’t eat you. You look so thin; what did they do to you?'

'Don’t worry, auntie,' Ole laughed. 'Those people aren’t heathens, they’re mainly Catholics, and they don’t eat people. They only shoot each other.'

'You look so sick. Did they try to shoot you too?'

'I’m perfectly healthy... except that I stubbed my big toe one night,' and he chortled.

'You should always wear shoes when you go overseas; I told you so, Ole. What’s the matter? Why are you giggling?'

'The house looks so neat,' Ole deftly changed the subject. 'Thank you for looking after it; I know that I can always depend on you.'

'Ole, I cleared and scrubbed the whole place from top to bottom; it was in such a mess. You need a wife to clean up after you. Why don’t you get married? Yes, Ole, you were always messy, leaving things all over the place. You haven’t changed, really you haven’t.' She paused to dry her face. 'I threw out so much rubbish,' she said in a tone that alarmed Ole.

'You did, did you? And what did you do with my books?'

'Books? What books?'

'Those exercise books I stacked at the corner back there.'

'You mean those used-up filthy things? Oh, Ole, you shouldn’t have kept your old school books. They collected so much dust and so many cockroaches.'

'They’re the most important things in my life. I cannot live without them,' he declared and went looking for his books.

'They aren’t here. What have you done with them?' he demanded rather crossly.

'Sit down, Ole, and let’s talk like good Christians.'

'No! Where are they?'

'Ole, you’ve always been a good boy. Sit down and have something to eat. You must be starving. What have they done to you?'

'Never mind that, I want my books!'

'Sit down and don’t scream at me. That’s a good boy. We’re poor, you, me, the neighbours. And food is so expensive.'

'Where are my books?'

'Toilet paper is beyond our reach. It used to be ten cents a roll.'

'Yes, but what has that got to do with my books?'

'You didn’t leave me any money when you went away, Ole. I had to eat and keep clean, and things are so expensive.'

'I’m sorry, but where are my books?'

'Don’t keep asking me that question, Ole. I’m trying to explain. I’m your only living aunt. And I’m very old and ready to go to Heaven. Don’t hasten me along, please. Don’t you think that I’m more important than any old book?'

'What did you do with them? Where are they?'

'Ole, I had no money for food; I had no money for toilet paper. I had to eat and keep clean. Stop looking at me like that. You frighten me so.' She sniffed, blew her nose, then continued in a subdued tone. 'I used some and sold the rest cheaply to the neighbours. They’re poor, Ole, but they also have to be hygienic.'

'Ole stared at his aunt in disbelief. 'No, no. You’re pulling my leg; you didn’t really sell my books for toilet paper....'

'I did. Yes, yes I did. I’m sorry but how could I have known they were so important?'

'Ole, my God!' Ole choked in anguish. He sat very still, breathing deeply, trying desperately to stop his arms from lashing out. Then slowly, very slowly, he mumbled, 'Seven years’ hard work down the bloody drain; shit! Almost immediately the import of what he had uttered sank in and he burst into hysterical laughter, with tears streaming down his cheeks. It was also then that the brilliant idea occurred to him. He reached out and embraced his aunt, apologising for his rudeness, promising never to do it again, and the old lady was so surprised at the transformation that she sobbed with tears of joy.

He recalled that he had Mr Minte’s government committed
to $10,000 over five years. That was to be the start; he, Ole Pasifikiwei, whose books had gone down the drain, would henceforth go after the whales of the ocean. If he were to beg, he informed himself, he might as well do it on the grand scale. He therefore sent Mr Minte an urgent letter and was soon rewarded with the arrival of Dr Andrew Wheeler, a razor-sharp expert upon whose advice Ole instituted the National Council for Social, Economic, and Cultural Research, bagging chiefs, ministers of state, top-flight clergymen, wives of VIPs, and his old friend, Emi Bagarap, into honorary office-holding positions, with himself as full-time secretary. Then Dr Wheeler devised a comprehensive four-year research program and despatched professionally-worded letters to the INESCA, the Forge Foundation, the Friends of South Sea Natives, the Third World Conservation Commission, and the Konshu Fish and Forestry Institute for $400,000 funding.

A little later, and again with the skilled connivance of his indispensable Dr Wheeler, Ole expanded by creating eighteen other national committees and councils with specific, aid-worthy objectives, and designed irresistibly attractive projects and schemes to be funded from international sources. And he capped it all by succeeding in getting his groups placed by the Great International Organisation on the list of the Two Hundred Least Developed Committees—those in need of urgent, generous aid.

After six years Ole had applied for a total of $14 million for his organisations, and his name had become well known in certain influential circles in Brussels, The Hague, Bonn, Geneva, Paris, London, New York, Washington, Wellington, Canberra, Tokyo, Peking, and Moscow, as well as in such regional laundry centres as Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Suva, and Noumea.

And the University of the Southern Paradise, whose wise, wily leaders saw in the man a great kindred talent that matched their own, bestowed upon him honorary doctoral degrees in Economics, Divinity, and Philosophy, although that learned institution had no philosophy of any kind, colour, or creed.

With fame and honour to his name, Ole Pasifikiwei immersed himself totally in the supreme task of development through foreign aid, relishing the twists and turns of international funding games. He has since shelved his original sense of self-respect and has assumed another, more attuned to his new, permanent role as a first-rate, expert beggar.
The Tower of Babel

'Tiko can't be developed,' Manu declared, 'unless the ancient gods are killed.'

'But the ancient gods are dead. The Sabbatharians killed them long ago,' countered the ancient preacher.

'Never believe that, sir. Had they died Tiko would have developed long ago. Look around you,' Manu advised.

The ancient preacher looked around and saw nothing; he looked at himself, his tattered clothes, his nailed-in second-hand sandals, and nodded rather dubiously. He wished to be developed. 'And how do you say the ancient gods?' he inquired cautiously.

'Never try, sir, it's useless,' Manu replied. 'Kill the new ones.' And that, in short, is what Manu does. He wants to keep the ancient gods alive and slay the new ones. He pedals his bicycle to the International Nightlight Hotel, to the Bank of Tiko, and all over Tulisi, shouting his lonely message against Development, but the whole capital is a cemetery.

And Manu shouted at the Doctor of Philosophy recently graduated from Australia. The good Doctor works on Research for Development. He is a portly man going to pot a bit too soon for his age; and he looks an oddity with an ever-present pipe protruding from his bushy, beery face. The Doctor is an Expert, although he has never discovered what he is an expert of. It doesn't matter; in the balmy isles of Tiko, as long as one is Most Educated, one is Elite, an Expert, and a Wise Man to boot.

One starry evening the portly Doctor walked down a dusty Tulisi street. He walked the walk of those who would build Tiko higher than the Tower of Babel. The good Doctor walked loftily. Then out of the blue, on this clear and starry night, a piercing voice sliced the stillness with, 'WHY ARE YOU DESTROYING MY COUNTRY?' It was Manu, who knows how to pierce.

Manu also shouted at the Great Secretary, a young man with an enormous mop on his head. The Secretary is a Most Important Person, an Expert, Elite, and a Wise Man to boot. This happy combination of four great elements in the person of one so young has turned the Secretary into a Man of Substance with a bright and prosperous future in the development of his country.

One sunny day he was driving through the main street of downtown Tulisi, waving to all and sundry, who waved back, impressed with his Friendliness and Humility. With Wise Men like him, say all and sundry, the development of the realm is in Good Hands. The Secretary was driving to the Bank of Tiko to draw $50,000 for the funding of a Great Development Project. He was very pleased with himself. Then suddenly a slashing voice split the steamy asphalt: 'TIKO HATES YOU!' The Secretary was so surprised he ran his automobile into an old raintree outside the Bank of Tiko. The voice was Manu's, and Manu knows how to drive a man up a tree.

'Tiko can't be developed, said Manu with the certainty of someone who knows. But the Wise Men of Tiko want to develop everything; everything, that is, except sex. Sex is too developed already; why else would Tiko have the highest population growth rate in the Pacific? Furthermore, was not sex responsible for the Fish Cannery Project fiasco?

The great canny project revolved around the fishing vessel, the Maumau Taimi, which originated in Japan and had a refrigerated compartment to hold one hundred tons of tuna. In Japanese hands it operated well around the Pacific waters for twenty years before the owners decided that instead of converting it into scrap metal they would send it to Tiko as aid to needy foreign friends.

The Hata Maru, as it was known in Tokyo, was crewed by Japanese men none of whom was younger than sixty-five. The elderly hands, whose sex drive had long gone dry, as
Day by day the dockyards of the Orient, would go out for three or four months until the one-hundred-ton hold was filled to the hatch with tuna.

When the Japanese envoy presented the vessel at Tulisi to His Excellency's Government he did not reveal this clever operating method, because the Japanese, whose country is managed by a gerontocracy, did not wish to let it be known that their old men are of little value to women. They did not want to lose face.

The vessel's arrival created high expectations that Tiko would shortly become a Nation with a Fish Cannery. The Mauamau Taimi has been around for ten years now, but there is still not a cannery. The vessel could have long ago been passed on to New Zealand as a foreign-aid item, but the Wise Men at the Thinking Office do not want to lose face.

And what's behind this failure? 'Sex!' said Manu without hesitation. And he is right. The vessel's arrival coincided with a period of much anxiety concerning the too many young men walking the streets of Tulisi; doing nothing, according to high officialdom. In actual fact the young men had been doing many, many things, like looking for a bit of sex most of the time; but the Appropriate Authorities did not let this be known, for fear of losing face. And the Appropriate Authorities persuaded the young men to crew the newly acquired vessel as a way of doing something and as part of their contribution to the development of Tiko.

The first of their projected ninety days at sea was very nice, and the next few days at sea were also very nice. But by the end of the second week the much deprived youths wanted desperately to set for home and a bit of sex. On the third week nothing would keep them away and the vessel headed home with only four tons of tuna. The operating costs for the trip ran close to $8000 and the sale of the catch brought in not quite $2000. It's been that way since the Mauamau Taimi ventured forth on its Tikong maiden voyage. No one says anything, no one does anything, for no one dares lose face.

In developing the realm into a Nation with a Fish Cannery it was necessary to develop not only the Top but also the Bottom below a well-rounded Top is beauty well worth having,' Manu declared, not thinking of tinned fish.

The responsibility for Bottom Development went to one Alvin (Sharky) Lowe of Alice Springs, Australia. Mr Lowe, a matey-matey sort of bloke who wanted to be known simply as Sharky, was a Great Expert with lifelong experience in handling natives in New Guinea, Thursday Island, and in a certain humpy settlement outside his genteel hometown of Alice Springs. He had developed a good feel for the Grassroots, demonstrating it by grabbing every frightened, small-time, part-time fisherman on the beaches of Tulisi and forcing him ever so gently to accept $4000 in Development Loans from the Appropriate Authorities. And, like the Great Shepherd of Nazareth, Sharky converted many frightened fellows into fishermen.

One such frightened, small-time, part-time fisherman was Ika Levu, who happened also to be a small-time, part-time gardener. His dual occupation meant that Ika worked whenever he felt like it; and he had very little money, which bothered him not at all. Ika never felt miserable until Sharky laid hands on him. It was his most urgent duty to help develop his country, said Sharky.

Mr Lowe had originally found him on a beach one day caulking a leaky old dinghy. 'Hello there. I'm Sharky, and I'm the Fisheries Grassroots Development Adviser. Do you speak English?'

'Hey, a lectol bit.'

'You no can speak English good?' Sharky switched to the language he used when talking to simple natives.

'Hey, a lectol bit.'

'Whassat name belong you?'

'Hey, a lectol bit.'

'Lectol bit? You no lectol bit! You beeg fela bit! Look, me try one more time yet.' Sharky took a deep breath, then resumed speaking, very slowly and very clearly this time.

'Now, me like savvy name belong you. All right? Name belong you Joe? or Jack? or ...'

'Oi, me Ika Levu.'
'Good fela name, Ika. Me like it too much. You go catch fish sometime?'

'Oh, a kootol bit.'

'Good, good. Now suppose you help me develop country belong you. me help you catch plenty big fela fish. You savvy?'

Ika didn't quite get it so he shrugged and turned away. Sharky grabbed his shoulders, turned him around, and put all his salesmanship into operation. 'Now is duty belong you to help Tiko come up rich fela country. Suppose you help Tiko, me help you too. Like me help you get one big fela loan, na you can buy new boat, na fishing nets, na lines, na hooks, na floats. Plenty something you can buy. Then you go catch big fela fish, na you sell em, na you get plenty money, na you can buy six fela Marys inside International Nightlight Hotel, pushpush no stop all time good! Me think think you clever fela man. You strong up there, you strong down below like four fela Brahmin bullmacow. Now you me work allgather onetime like brothers. Me big brother, you little brother. You me help Tiko come up all same big fela rich country. Plenty plenty ice cream, sweet sweet all same lollics from Heaven. All right?'

'Me doan know.'

'You no can savvy? Gawd! Me talk talk all same simple something na you no can savvy! Whassamatter? Me think think head belong you too much dum dum na foll up shit something no good true! All right, me all same try one more time yet, na you try savvy good or I'll bloody well bash your coon head in, O.K.?'

So with the infinite patience and gentleness of an expert native handler Sharky went through the whole routine a few more times until Ika got the message. Ika was thoroughly frightened and confused. He was also flattered. No Important Person had ever before sought his help, let alone talked to him. And although he was full of doubt Ika prayed to God for guidance and consented to accept the loan.

With Sharky's help Ika acquired a twelve horse-power Rendo outboard motor, an eighteen-foot imported dinghy, six big nets, and dozens of lines and hooks, all of which came from certain firms in Japan and Australia which Sharky represented.

When Ika was properly equipped and properly launched for a lifetime of catching the big fish, Sharky moved on to the next fisherman, and to the next. By the time his tour of duty ended Sharky had equipped and launched one thousand fishermen with one thousand Rendo outboard motors, one thousand imported dinghies, six thousand big nets, and tens of thousands of lines and hooks. Sharky had also established a Fishermen's Aid Post furnished with spare parts and a stock of Rendo motors, imported dinghies, and big nets, all of which came from those certain firms in Japan and Australia of which he was the sole South Pacific Representative. In helping the development of Tiko, Sharky had helped the development of himself and his companies most generously.

And what of Ika, the frightened little man embarked on his solemn duty toward the development of his country? As soon as he got his fishing equipment, and got himself thoroughly in debt, Sharky dropped him and forgot about his existence. No one thought of guiding him, so he remained a small-timer and part-timer in everything. Like other such fishermen Ika never met the Appropriate Authorities; they simply could not be seen.

The first time Ika tried to see them he was so nervous that he stood outside the office door for twenty minutes before he could summon sufficient courage to knock; and his knock was so gentle that it hardly made a sound. Another twenty minutes went by before he mustered enough courage to open the door ever so slightly and peck in. A plumpish receptionist was sitting at a desk only ten feet away, talking to a fellow-worker. Ika coughed a bit to attract their attention.

'What do you want?' asked the receptionist, obviously annoyed with the interruption. She had just resumed duty that morning after two-months' maternity leave.

'Please miss. I want to talk to someone....'

'He's not here. Come back tomorrow.'

'Forgive me, miss. I think it's important. It's about the payments of a loan I got from this office.'

'Well, come right in then; I won't eat you. Do you have


That's what I want to talk to someone about. You see, I haven't got anything with me.'

'I see. You'd better discuss that with the Assistant Secretary. Mele!' she called out to someone in the main office behind her, 'is the A.S. in?'

'No. He's gone to Wellington to attend a conference. He'll be back in two weeks.'

'How about the Director then?'

'He's gone with the Minister to Geneva. They'll be back next month after meetings in Rome, Tel Aviv, New Delhi, Djakarta, and Sydney. Lucky pigs; their pockets won't be big enough to hold their travel allowances. Why can't they send us sometime for a change?'

'And Dau Yali?'

'That idiot is in London on a six-month training course. He has no brains, but he's the Director's cousin. They're all overseas, the whole bloody lot of them.'

'But who's holding the fort?'

'Who do you think but the likes of us?'

The receptionist turned to Ika. 'Well, you heard what the situation is. Go home and come back in a month's time. Don't look so depressed, for goodness' sake. It's nothing new. Look, I'll try the crowd downstairs. They may be able to help you.'

She picked up the telephone and dialled a number. 'Seini? Susana. Very well thanks; and you? That's good, but don't overdo it. Look, is Vakarau Dro in?'

'No,' came the voice from the other end, 'he's in bed with gout and won't be in for the rest of the week.'

'But he'll be back next week, won't he?'

'Sort of. He'll come in to pick up his papers and then he's off straightaway to a seminar in Kuala Lumpur. From there he goes to Tokyo to represent the Ministry at the Tayashita Year of the Biggest Sales Celebrations, and then to San Francisco for his three-months' leave. Sorry, you'll just have to pine for him; it's your own fault. I warned you not to fall for people like that; they're always on the go, and who knows who they shack up with overseas.'

Haven't you heard? You must be the only one. Well, Big B's in a critical condition at the hospital. He went to the Russian Ambassador's cocktail party the other night, got absolutely drunk, and attacked his own wife. That was a near-fatal mistake; the missis got him on the head with an empty whisky bottle. Serves him right, I say. A lot of other things happened at that cocktail party, you know. The Director of Manpower also got drunk and swore at his Minister who smashed him on the kisser and then got himself kned in the balls by the Director's wife. Those high-class women are pretty dangerous. And then that old billy goat, Henry Coles, took off with Mrs Cohen to God knows where. Mr Cohen is in Suva conducting a four-week training course. People shouldn't go overseas so often, leaving their wives behind. I don't blame the poor bitches getting it on the sly; they hardly get it straight, poor things. I'd do it myself if I were them.'

'You'll never be one of them,' said Susana, and put down the phone. 'I'm very sorry. There's no one downstairs either. Come back in a month's time.'

Ika went back after a month but couldn't get to see anyone. He returned once more, then gave up trying to see the Appropriate Authorities. And, because of official inaccessibility and his own predilections, Ika fell behind in paying back the loan. He fell so far behind that one day he ceased being frightened, took out his imported dinghy, the Rendo motor, and the six big nets, went two miles out to sea, pulled out an axe and hacked a huge hole in the bottom of the boat. Then he swam slowly ashore, cool and relaxed for the first time in months and months.

He wrote short letters to the Appropriate Authorities and reported regretfully that his boat and equipment were at the bottom of the ocean owing to a most unfortunate accident. Since he had neither money nor anything worth confiscating, and since he could not be held on any legal grounds, no one tried to touch him. His name was simply added to a long, long list of unrecallable persons not worth aiding in the future.
Ika couldn't care less, and today you will find him on a certain beach in Tulisi patching up an old dinghy and talking happily with his friends. Not all are so fortunate.

One such less fortunate person was Toa Qase, who was a successful small-time market gardener and banana grower until he switched to big-time chicken farming under the Poultry Development Scheme funded by an agency of the Great International Organisation. Toa abandoned all forms of gardening, obtained a loan, and built a big shed to house six thousand infant chickens flown in from New Zealand.

The chickens grew large and lovely, and Toa's fame spread. Everyone knew he had six thousand chickens and everyone wanted to taste them. A well-bred Tikong gives generously to his relatives and neighbours, especially one with thousands of earthly goods. But under the guidance of a Development Expert, who was Elite and a Wise Man to boot, Toa aimed to become a Modern Businessman, forgetting that in Tiko if you give less you will lose more and if you give nothing you will lose all. And Toa's chickens began to disappear, a dozen on the first night filched by his underpaid chicken-farmhands, two dozen the second night filched by the same underpaid farmhands plus their friends, and so on. Word spread that Toa's chickens were fast disappearing so why not help yourself before they were all gone. Thus everyone who happened to walk by the road at night helped himself to Toa's large and lovely chickens before they were all gone.

As for Toa, he gave up his dream of becoming a wealthy Modern Businessman, bade Godspeed to the Development Expert, and went to his clergyman for consolation and advice. The said Man of God reached for the Good Book, opened at St Matthew and read, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal.' Yes, Toa remembered, and vowed he would never again be so greedy for earthly goods.

Since then, as Manu tells it, Toa has devoted all his time to developing for himself vast treasures in Heaven where live neither thieves nor experts.

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**A Pilgrim's Progress**

Noeli Ma'a was born in 1941 of sturdy Sabbatarian stock. From the very beginning he was a good lad, the nicest and most obedient in Saisaipē, the village of his proud, productive parents.

Before he knew what was what, Noeli's nanny made him a Lamb in her chapter of the School of Angels, to which belonged all Sabbatarian grandmothers and great-grandmothers in Saisaipē. At the School the ancient and not so ancient women primed themselves for turning into Angels sooner or later when the Lord of Hosts deemed it time to toll their knells and call them Home.

As part of her preparation for the winged, celestial Life Hereafter, Noeli's nanny had to look at and ponder upon visible manifestations of Purity, the most important element in the make-up of an Angel. Teachers of Sunday School say that spotless white lambs are the closest thing on earth to the Soaring Hosts, but there are no lambs in Tiko, which is just as well for sheep here would not keep their whiteness long, on account of too much rain and mud. White lambs abound in Australia, declared the lanky missionary from Sydney, because that country has precious little rain and therefore hardly any mud. White lambs abound in Australia, said Manu, because no sheep of tinted fleece is ever allowed into that spotless land.

That might or might not be, but the truth was that Saisaipē had no lambs, white or tinted, to look at or ponder upon. Pigs and dogs abound by the thousands but, since by nature filthy, they were no good as symbols of Purity. On the other hand little children who knew not what was what, when
EDUCATION FOR SELF-DETERMINATION:
SOME EXAMPLES
FROM INDIGENOUS PACIFIC LITERATURE

VILSONI HERENIKO

There are two things that I would like to do this morning. First, that fiction can teach us a lot about contemporary problems; second, that it is foreign donors and overseas developers that need educating more than the islanders themselves, particularly in matters related to land, culture and development.

Epeli Hau'ofa's short story, called "The Tower of Babel," which appears in his book Tales of the Tikongs, looks at three failed development projects on the fictitious Pacific island of Tiko. The first project is about the donation of a Japanese vessel to the Tiko government in an attempt to establish a fish cannery. This generous donation coincides with attempts by the authorities to curb rising unemployment and the aimless wandering of young men in the streets of Tulisi, the capital of Tiko.

After much persuasion, the young unemployed youths agree to crew the new vessel. However, after ninety days at sea, the randy young men of Tulisi become desperate for a little bit of sex, a habit they had grown accustomed to during their nocturnal wanderings. Raging hormones on a raging sea aggravated the sexual distress of these young men. And so after three more weeks, these randy young men turn the vessel around and head for the shores of Tulisi. But the vessel has only four tons of tuna on board, and so no profit is made from this maiden voyage. Instead, it loses $6,000. The young men became more and more reluctant to crew the new vessel, and so no cannery was ever built—although the same vessel, called Maumau Taimi, has been around for ten years.

The second project involves a very happy small-time, part-time fisherman and small-time, part-time gardener who works only when the spirit moves him.
His name is Ika Levu, which translates as "big fish." Enter Sharky Lowe of Alice Springs, Australia, a developmental expert who believes in transforming that which is tiny into something monumental. An expert in handling natives in New Guinea, Thursday Island, and Alice Springs, he soon convinces Ika Levu that what he needs is development. Sharky helps Ika to acquire $4,000 in development loans to buy a twelve horsepower Rendo outboard motor, an eighteen-foot imported dinghy, six big nets, and dozens of lines and hooks. As soon as Sharky has finished equipping Ika Levu, he moves on to other small-time fishermen and bestows upon them the same meanwhile setting up a company that stocks spare parts as well as new equipment.

With himself as the sole representative with this company which has links with Australia and Japan, Sharky ensures that in helping Tiko to develop, he was always helping himself and his companies to develop as well.

Sharky is too busy by this time, so he leaves Ika Levu to take care of his loan repayments. But Ika is unused to record keeping and soon finds himself in arrears. He tries to see the appropriate authorities for assistance only to find that the Assistant Secretary has left to attend a conference in Wellington, the Director and the Minister had gone to attend meetings in Rome, Tel Aviv, New Delhi, Djakarta, Sydney, and, if I may add, Maui. Holding the fort at home are office secretaries who are bitter about being left behind by their superiors. Now that the boss is away, these secretaries while away their time gossipping on the phone instead of helping Ika to sort out is financial difficulties. A return visit and another attempt by Ika to see someone proves futile. Ika decides to do something about his problem. He takes his boat two miles out to sea, hacks a huge hole in the bottom of it, then swims ashore, "cool, relaxed, and happy for the first time in months."

Qase (which translates as "old chicken"), the fool of the third and final project. Things are looking good for him until he becomes greedy and switches from being a small-time market gardener and banana grower to a "big-time" chicken farmer under the Poultry Development Scheme funded by an agency of the Great International Organization. With six thousand infant chickens in a big shed built from money he has acquired in a loan, Toa becomes quite famous.

His mind set on becoming a big, modern businessman, Toa forgets that to make it in Tiko, you have to give more if you want to lose less. And if you give nothing, then you lose all. As a result, his underpaid chicken farmhands and their friends start stealing chickens in the dead of night. And when neighbors hear that Toa's chickens are disappearing fast, they decide to hasten along this process.

Before long, Toa has zero chickens left—they had all disappeared into cooking pots or urban ovens; some probably found their way into family donations to feed the village pastor. No longer a wealthy businessman, Toa decides that the Bible is indeed right, that it is unwise to store treasures on earth where "most rust do corrupt, and thieves break through and steal."

Here, then, are three development projects that fail: the first because the undertaking required sexual abstinence for too long; the second because of bureaucratic inefficiency and personal predilections; and third, because modern ideas of capitalism and individual wealth are not compatible with cultural values.

What, then, are the lessons to be learned from this work of fiction? Very important, but often ignored, is the fact that the focus on any development project should be on the people concerned, not the idea itself. What I didn't mention earlier is that the same vessel that was donated to Tiko was in its former life called Hata Maru and manned by Japanese men who were all older than sixty,
with low sex drives that permitted them to stay out at sea for as long as three or four months until the hold was full of fish. In Japanese hands, therefore, the Hata Maru was a commercial success. Transfer the same vessel to be crewed by young Tikoman in their prime, and such a venture becomes a financial disaster.

So get islanders involved in business without taking into account their basic human needs is to court failure. And a lot of projects fail simply because the people concerned are simply not interested or they are unable or unwilling, as one of the previous speakers had mentioned.

Moreover, Pacific Islanders do not necessarily need big-time development. Both Ika Levu and Toa Qase were doing very well at their small-time projects until they switched to big-time development that involved acquiring loans and an ostentatious display of wealth. The result is that Ika Levu became buried in debt while Toa found himself estranged from his compatriots and cultural values.

Perhaps the problem with big-time development is the fact that people lose control of their destiny, either because of their inability to repay their loans, or because of group pressure. The message here is that development that allows islanders to retain control of their lives and at the same time narrows the existing gap between the rich and the poor is what the islands and the islanders need.

Who, then, needs educating? Islanders need to learn to resist anything that makes them dependent on some outside power, mainly because dependency leads to loss of pride and dignity at the personal or national level. To be dependent is to be like a child who has to continually ask the parent for money to buy this or the other. The parent may not oblige, or may lay down unreasonable conditions on how the money is to be spent (for example, the parent might say, “this money should the parents stop giving out money, the child may have to be hospitalized because of an infected tooth; after all, he doesn’t have the fee to pay a dentist, which, incidentally, may be a close relative of the parent.

Ika Levu’s solution to his own dependency, which was to hack a huge hole in the middle of his boat and sink it altogether may sound foolish, yet it is a necessary act, for it is only by getting rid of the root cause of his problem—which is dependency—that Ika is able to regain his independence, self-esteem, and prior happiness.

Education for self-determination: this, I think, is what islanders and Pacific nations need most. But more than islanders, overseas developers and foreign donors need educating. They need to learn not to impose their ideas of progress and development unthinkingly on unsuspecting islanders. Islanders, I believe, tend to think of development as the improvement of the quality of life for individuals, not the accumulation of personal wealth. And that is often at odds with the overseas developers’ views about what ought to be done.

What works back home will not necessarily work in the islands. Overseas donors and foreign developers need to learn that the accumulation of personal wealth is often at odds with Pacific cultural values of reciprocity, sharing, and generosity. Toa Qase’s failed chicken project is testimony to the power of the rest of the community to sabotage inconceived individual attempts to accumulate wealth.

Further, development that destroys the fragile island ecosystems and island resources are detrimental to the livelihood of future generations. What happens when minerals have been mined and there is nothing left? With the agricultural lands wiped out and the land made uninhabitable, how will future generations survive with any sense of dignity and pride? How can there be self-
levels when there is over-dependence on imported food, drinks, and even entertainment? Islanders must be wary of the likes of Sharky, who may seemingly appear to have the islanders' interests at heart, but all the time are lining their pockets and insidiously cultivating dependency on everything foreign.

Foreign donors must learn to stop thinking that “big” means “best,” that any ideal project that is small-time is backward and needs to be transformed so that it becomes big-time. They must stop promoting projects that dehumanize people and unnecessarily destroy the environment. More high-rise buildings, more technology, more things will not necessarily make life in the islands better in the long run. Development needs to be tempered by concern for what Islanders want now and for future generations. Overseas developers and foreign donors need to educate themselves about the Islands and the way Pacific Islanders do things or relate to other human beings and their environment.

Without the education of Islanders for self-determination, and without the education of overseas donors and foreign developers for cultural and ecological sensitivity, the tower of Babel will collapse, destroying not just the landscape and the environment, but the workers and the Islanders laboring beneath.