

Although Tokelau's indigenous resources retain their cultural vitality, a reliance on New Zealand support remains an important feature of the Tokelauan economy. New Zealand assistance meets more than 70 percent of Tokelau's budget needs, the grant-in-aid for 1993-94 being NZ\$4.3 million. At 30 June 1993 the Tokelau Public Service had 133 permanent employees, 32 temporary employees, and 51 casual workers, a reduction following its restructuring. Other aid from New Zealand's Overseas Development Division, approximately NZ\$0.7 million, focuses on youth development, telecommunications, and technical assistance. Aid from the United Nations Development Program also centers on Tokelau's telecommunications, as well as the upgrading of power and water supplies and the construction of seawalls.

STEPHEN LEVINE

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

At the beginning of 1993, many people thought the prodemocracy movement would bring about significant political changes. Formally established in 1992, the movement sought to inform the electorate about democracy and the need for greater accountability by officials for their actions, particularly their use of public monies. The 1993 February election saw six (of the nine) People's Representatives declaring themselves either at the forefront of the movement or broadly sympathetic with its aims. Expectations of political change, however, proved premature. As it turns out, the prodemocracy movement has suffered so many setbacks

over the last twelve months that many people are now saying it has lost its potency as a political force. The movement received its first blows from two traditional nation-wide demonstrations of solidarity with the society's social and political elite. It has been injured further by a series of successful legal suits brought against its leading political proponent 'Akilisi Pohiva by prominent targets of his public criticisms.

The first mass affirmation of loyalty to the established hierarchy occurred after the death of a noblewoman, Her Royal Highness Princess Melanaite, the wife of the king's younger brother. All social groups and representatives of opposing political and economic interests overlooked their differences to participate jointly "as Tongans" in both the state funeral rites held for her in March 1993 and the period of national mourning that followed. This somber time was followed by the joyful contrast of weeks of mass festivities to mark the king's seventy-fifth birthday in early July. Each island group held its special celebrations, then people once again flocked to Nuku'alofa to pay their respects to the king. Schools, villages, and church congregations from all over the kingdom performed special marches, prayers, and traditional dances, and gave feasts and gifts in honor of the occasion. Both of these heartfelt public demonstrations of loyalty were popularly held up as evidence of the depth of the people's continuing allegiance to the monarch and the nobles, the traditional system of status and leadership, and, by implication, the existing system of government.

The largest church, the Free Wes-

leyan, has once again shown itself to be extremely conservative by its support of the monarchy. Its once outspoken leader Dr 'Amanaki Havea has ameliorated his reformist tone since his retirement, and his successor, Reverend Lopeti Taufu, so far remains largely noncommittal about the wider political scene. The Roman Catholic Church lost its militant social reformist bishop, Patelisio Finau, who died suddenly at the age of fifty-nine in October 1993. Father Soane Foliaki, consecrated as the third Catholic bishop of all Tonga and Niue in June 1994, shares many of the same values and social concerns as his predecessor, a lifelong friend, and was for many years in charge of Catholic education in the kingdom; but he is thought not to be so outspoken regarding political reform.

The prodemocracy movement had several small legal and parliamentary victories along the way, but its downturn in fortune accelerated from March 1993 onward when 'Akilisi Pohiva, its most outspoken member and Tongatapu's Number One People's Representative, lost a series of defamation suits. Found guilty of publishing unfounded accusations in the radical newsheet *Ko e Kele'a*, he faced penalties of almost T\$70,000 in legal costs and compensation to the people involved. This sum included T\$35,000 to the Crown Prince, for asking rhetorically whether money from the Republic of China had been used to establish the Royal Beer Company Limited, and thereby causing "worry, upset, anguish and embarrassment" to the prince by causing even those close to him to question him; T\$25,000 to four executive members of a squash exporting firm, including a nephew of the king,

for accusing them of not submitting any prepared financial statement of their work for inspection by the Tongan Co-operative Federation since 1990; and T\$8,000 to the noble Fusitu'a, the Speaker of House, for defamation regarding his alleged actions toward a rival in the 1993 elections. Reprimanded by the judge for making public statements without checking his facts, Pohiva remarked that information is hard to obtain in Tonga and that the political structure of the kingdom makes information-gathering very difficult. He claimed there was a royal conspiracy to deprive him of his rights. Deputy Prime Minister Dr Langi Hu'akavameiliku strenuously denied this and said that by going to court the people defamed by *Kele'a* were merely protecting their rights as given to all Tongans. He also said that, as a prodemocracy leader, Pohiva should know that the rights of every individual should be protected.

Tongans living in the United States have helped defray about half of Pohiva's costs through the Kele'a Media Trust Funds Committee. But as Pohiva lost successive court cases, earlier criticisms redoubled concerning his impolite, "not Tongan," aggressive personal style, especially in dealings with his social superiors. Noble parliamentarians, notably Fusitu'a, seized their advantage to proclaim that highly born people have natural leadership qualities, and to assert that the present system is just as it should be. Other people, as was apparent from a public discussion sponsored by the prodemocracy movement on Constitution Day, 4 November, are advocating constitutional change to suit present-day circumstances, with particular regard,

for example, to the slender rights of women in respect to the control of land, yet without suggesting that Tonga should become a western-style democracy.

Despite the efforts of the more level-headed newcomers among the People's Representatives to keep the pro-democracy vote intact in parliament, any formal movement toward democracy has become largely moribund. However, the closely related goal of reformers, to make parliamentarians and others with public responsibility more accountable for their actions, has fared better. People's awareness of salient political issues and their general level of enquiry have been heightened, due partly to the informal educational activities of the prodemocracy movement's supporters, particularly in Tongatapu, but probably due more to the rise in the general level of education throughout the kingdom. There are many highly educated people who have worked hard for the reform movement, whose ideals have not changed, and who still believe that the seeds of reform that have been so painstakingly planted will in time bear fruit in the form of democracy. Over the last year, however, the new spirit of enquiry has led many people to question the motives and actions of the "reformers" themselves. Some pro-democracy parliamentarians are increasingly seen as tarred with the same brush of venery and corruption as the people they have been criticizing. Their large salaries, new houses, overseas trips, and associations with people of influence often smack more of self-interest and hunger for personal power than disinterested concern for the relatively powerless masses.

Some former prodemocracy supporters are saying now that the system as it stands is satisfactory, but that the leading bureaucrats and politicians need to act more responsibly and honestly, not merely for a privileged few but in the interests of all. There are numerous cases of self-seeking by those in public office that quickly become well known in such a small society. Some have begun to distinguish further between legality and a sense of moral right, and to question all forms of "greediness" with public monies, particularly criticizing per diems and other entitlements of office as "unnecessary expenses" for a resource-poor country.

In August 1993, Tonga established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Singapore and, in that month, the 93rd session of the legislative assembly resumed. Most of the people's representatives have interpreted the twenty-three pieces of legislation passed by the assembly during the 1993 sitting as moves toward greater control by the government, which is dominated by the nobles and the royal family. In quick defense of government actions, Deputy Prime Minister Hu'akavameiliku asserted that over the last five years the legislative assembly has passed hundreds of laws to facilitate development in all areas of society and, since 1975, had several times sought self-reform. But Liava'a, Tongatapu's third representative, cited three outstanding examples of increasing government control. First, amendments to the Charitable Trusts Act, which have made mandatory the registration of trusts and societies, could be used eventually, he said, to control all private organizations. Second, in one

of the few countries in the world where libel is a criminal offense, penalties for the defamation of "Their Majesties" were raised from T\$400 to T\$2,000 or two years imprisonment in default, and all other defamation conviction fines were raised. Finally, the Licenses Act was amended to give the Privy Council the power to fix the quantity of any export commodity and the minister of Labour, Commerce and Industries the authority to allot the maximum quota among licensed exporters. Aimed primarily at protecting the squash industry, the bill in effect gives the government minister absolute control over the quality and quantity of all exports and over the allocation of valuable quotas between the exporters.

The importance of squash exports to Tonga's balance of trade payments continues. Tonga's gross domestic product grew by an estimated 5.7 percent in the financial year from July 1993 to June 1994. The major contributor to growth was the successful squash harvest of 17,000 tonnes, which brought gross earnings of T\$18 million and accounted for 99 percent of the T\$1.9 million trade surplus realized in November 1993. This was the first trade surplus for the year and only the third in the kingdom's monthly foreign trade history. Tourism increased its revenue by 10 percent. Remittances continue to be the biggest earner of foreign currency at around T\$52 million, more than the profits from tourism and all cash crops combined. It is as well that some money is coming in, because the inflation rate averaging 6.4 percent is among the highest in the region.

In his opening speech to the 94th Legislative Assembly in May 1994, the

king spoke of his negotiations for the lease of farm land in both Sarawak and Papua New Guinea, the latter possibly in return for sending Tongan Defence Service personnel to help monitor proposed peace negotiations between Papua New Guinea and the secessionist island of Bougainville. Tonga requires more land, said the king, and an alternate source of food crops when natural disasters occur at home. Looking even further afield, the third Russian-built Tongan communications satellite was launched from Kazakhstan on 20 May 1994. The mostly Tongan-owned and controlled leasing agency, Tongasat, plans by the end of 1994 to put satellites into all seven orbital slots that Tonga has registered with the International Telecommunication Union. This would make it the world's second largest Intelsat commercial satellite nation. To date, the slots have earned T\$1,100,000 for Tongasat. The king noted God's blessing of Tonga, made obvious by the success of these ventures, in an address he made before leading the nation's March for Christ in Nuku'alofa on 25 June 1994. Following the example given last century by his dynasty's creator, Tupou I, he then rededicated the nation to God.

KERRY JAMES

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

The dominant features of the year 1993-1994 in Wallis and Futuna were two elections, a conflict between the "custom" authorities, and the continuation of the same labor grievances that have been voiced repeatedly over the last few years.