

program, intended to reduce Tokelau's isolation, and authorized by the General *Fono* in April 1987, was postponed indefinitely. However, New Zealand undertook to begin construction if and when Tokelau considers it is ready to introduce air service in the atolls, with costs met by allocations over and above New Zealand's annual budgetary grant.

New Zealand's budget aid covers more than 80 percent of Tokelau's requirements, with the balance raised through shipping and freight charges; the sale of handicrafts, coins, and postage stamps; customs duties; and radio and telegram excises. The main expenditures include education, transport and communications, and public service salaries and expenditures. With 346 Tokelauans employed as of 31 March 1988, the Tokelau Public Service remains the main source of regular income in Tokelau.

Additional New Zealand aid is devoted to particular projects, including the work on the reef channels. Tokelau receives further assistance from various regional and international organizations, particularly the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). A UNDP indicative planning figure of about one million dollars was set for the period 1987 to 1991, with the upgrading of Tokelau's communications equipment (destroyed during 1987 storms) representing the single largest project. Plans were also underway for UNDP to assist in providing new power generators for the atolls.

STEPHEN LEVINE

## WALLIS AND FUTUNA

The French territory of Wallis and Futuna has long been considered a trouble-free spot, forgotten in the middle of the Pacific, its people living under the paternalistic authority of customary law, the Catholic church, and the French administration. Gaullist Senator Benjamin Brial was regularly reelected with over 90 percent of the votes. In spite of a somewhat low standard of living, the people were free to migrate to New Caledonia where well-paying jobs could usually be found relatively easily. Remittances could then sustain a higher standard of living for relatives back home. Thus these islands drifted along, seemingly far removed from the great winds sweeping the world. However, the events of 1988-1989 have shown that some upheavals may be brewing below the calm surface.

But first some facts. Wallis, whose population today is approximately 9000, was settled three thousand years ago by a Polynesian people who were subsequently conquered by Tongan warriors over the course of long wars. Common historical ties were established between the island of Wallis (or Uvea in Polynesian) and the Tongan archipelago, especially in the cultural and linguistic spheres. On the other hand, the 4000 people of Futuna, located some two hundred kilometers from Wallis, speak a Samoan language and share many cultural characteristics with the people of the islands of Samoa. As a result, in spite of joint French administration and a mutual belief in the Catholic faith, the peoples of Wallis and Futuna do not share a

common identity. In fact, Futuna is reluctantly tied to Wallis and its leaders have often expressed the wish to form a separate territory.

The superior administrator of the territory resides in Wallis, where most of the main administrative services are located. Wallis has a more solid infrastructure than Futuna. There are roads and public services, almost every household has running water and electricity, and taped television programs are regularly sent over from Noumea. Some seven hundred residents are salaried employees of the administration, the territory's biggest employer.

Futuna is somewhat isolated and at a geographical disadvantage. There are no roads and no cars, and the island is one tall, abrupt mountain, with no coastal plain. The tiny airfield has been open for barely a decade. Administrative jobs are rare, and there are few signs of development. While conditions are relatively affluent in Wallis, life in Futuna is much harder. Customary law in Wallis has lost some of its power, and various forms of acculturation have occurred, while in Futuna it has remained relatively intact. Within this basic context a new internal political debate is taking place, and signs of structural change have begun to appear beneath skies which, though calm, are not devoid of unstable patches.

The election of the single representative in Paris of the approximately 14,000 Wallisians and Futunans has always sustained the interest of the political parties in metropolitan France, who fight for a majority in Parliament and sometimes scrape for a few votes. The June 1988 elections did not result in the usual overwhelming return

of the incumbent candidate, Benjamin Brial. Instead the outcome was ambiguous. The Conseil Constitutionnel (Constitutional Council) canceled the results and called for a new election, which the rival candidate won with a landslide 57.44 percent of the votes.

An official candidate of the Presidential Majority Party (which supports François Mitterrand), the new senator has little in common with his predecessor. While Benjamin Brial comes from a part-Caledonian and part-Wallisian family, and has a background in business, Kamilo Gata is a thirty-year-old Futunan living in Wallis, who studied law in France and later headed a department in the territorial administration.

Brial represented the status quo, the tie between custom and church authority. He embodied the traditional order and perhaps also power held too long with no sharing and little real opposition. This static image was rejected by voters in favor of Kamilo Gata's more modern image and capacity to initiate a real political debate. As a Futunan living in Wallis, Gata is also able to rally voters from both communities and to encourage them to overcome traditional antagonism.

Gata is associated with the *Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche*, a small left-of-center political party in France that has always preferred compromise to confrontation. He expresses careful and moderate views. However, he also represents, on a deeper level and with his own distinctive "Oceanian" style, the will for political change prevalent among educated youth. Without doubt, Kamilo Gata and the young advisers who surround him represent

the emergence of a new political generation characterized by its desire for greater modernity.

Kamilo Gata's victory was also due to a set of favorable external circumstances. François Mitterrand's election in France enabled him to benefit from the "legitimist reflex" of the population of both islands, who are inclined to go along with the majority in France. Developments in New Caledonia also played a role. The Wallisian and Futunan population in Noumea numbers 15,000, slightly more than live in the islands. As a result, the continued prosperity of many families in Wallis and Futuna and the social stability of the islands depend on the existence of this migrant community. Its return to the islands would be considered catastrophic. Anything that affects the Grande Terre is bound to have important repercussions in these two isolated islands.

The dialogue between the Rassemblement Pour la Calédonie dans la République (RPCR) and the Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste (FLNKS) in New Caledonia, which led to the signing of the Matignon Accord in August 1988, was approved, if only because it brought peace. Nonetheless, it puzzled Wallisian and Futunan voters used to rather more Manichaeian political patterns. In the face of a shifting political scene, the change in voting patterns is an indication that most Wallisian and Futunan voters have chosen to wait and see and to adopt a neutral position. The majority who supported Kamilo Gata did not support the pro-independence movement, but rather asserted their own identity and autonomy. They

expressed the need to establish their own political framework in order to avoid remaining the unconditional followers of the RPCR.

In the same vein, a new party made up of Wallisians and Futunans was established in Noumea to compete in New Caledonia's provincial elections on 11 June 1989. The Union Océanienne kept an equal distance from both main parties, the RPCR and the FLNKS, and asserted the will of the Polynesian emigrant community to follow an "Oceanian" line, thereby reducing friction with Melanesian parties. The party captured 6.2 percent of the votes in the Southern Province, and gained two seats in the provincial legislature.

Kamilo Gata's election and the creation of the Union Océanienne in Noumea signal changes in a situation that has remained static for a long time. But what seems even more significant is the structural link that now closely ties the situation in Wallis and Futuna to events, whether happy or unhappy, in New Caledonia.

JOËL BONNEMAISON

#### WESTERN SAMOA

On 26 February 1988, some 20,000 *matai* (chiefs) and 2000 individual voters (people of European and part-European descent) out of Western Samoa's population of 175,000 went to the polls (*SMH*, 29 Feb 1988). The usual mass creation of *matai* titles that precedes every election had taken place throughout the previous year. *Matai* voters increased from 16,500 in 1985 to almost 20,000 in the 1988 election (*IB*, April 1988). Outgoing Prime Minister Vaai Kolone and Tupua Tamasese Efi,