A sound body leads to a sound mind.

It's easy to see that Valiants are beautifully styled cars. What might not be so apparent is that they're beautifully built cars.

But for your own peace of mind, it's a good thing to know.

One of our strongest advantages is something we call unibody construction.

Our body is welded together, instead of bolted together, in one single unit. (Those welds, and there's 4,837 of them, are actually stronger than the metal panels.)

The result is a body that's smooth, vibration free and immensely strong.

(This isn't something new. We've always built Valiants this strongly.)

When you buy a Valiant, you know you can keep it a long time.

With cars, as with life in general, it's the same. Only the strong survive.
New Ford Falcon is the supreme road car.
Driving is believing.

New Ford Falcon promises you a lot... the most luxurious interior... the most comfortable driving position... a smooth, road-hugging feel from the 'oldest track'... added response from big 'sixes' and new, higher-performing 8's... bigger brakes and a big range of options that let you design your new Falcon to be exactly the way you want it. New Falcon makes you a lot of promises - they all add up to one big one; new Falcon is the supreme road car. You can find that out for yourself.

Your Ford Dealer will be pleased to give you a test-drive. And driving is believing.

Illustrated, top and left, Falcon sedan with optional Grand Sport rally package comprising stripes, special wheel and fully instrumented dash board. Above right, Falcon with bucket seats, sports/console and floor shift.

See the range of Australian Falcon/Fairlane cars at your local Ford Dealer. If you want a model that's not in stock, you can order a model direct from Australia to your exact specifications by choosing from the exciting range of Falcon options which include the GS Rally Pack as illustrated above, bucket seats, vinyl roof or sliding sunroof, stereo radio/tape player... the list goes on and on.

Your Ford Dealer will give you the full list of Falcon options.

Morris Hedstrom Limited.
Suva, Lautoka, Ba and Lambasa.
It started with one horse-power, but now...

International Harvester puts power in your hands in a thousand different ways.

Our exploration of power began in 1831 with the world's first successful harvester, model No. 1, with a genuine 1 hp horse between the shafts. Although crude and clumsy by modern standards, model No. 1 was able to do the work of 24 men, a truly incredible feat at the time. Since then our broader exploration of power has led us in many exciting directions, even to the moon where the Apollo astronauts left behind an intricate communications plant we developed as part of man's space programme.

But even though we're on the moon, we're not slacking in our efforts to make the world a better place. Right now as one company, we lead the world in road transport, farm equipment and construction equipment - three vital areas that hold the key to man's future existence here on earth in the form of far more efficient food production, quicker and cheaper distribution and continual development of natural resources.

We put power in your hands a thousand different ways - and each of them spells a better way of life.
Qantas gives you the big, smooth, quiet and beautiful 747B. This is the plane with the biggest First Class Lounge in the skies. The one with movies and stereo*, with wide, wide aisles and wide custombuilt seats. The Qantas 747B has 15 washrooms. Separate Shaver Bars. And it’s a quieter plane from nose to tail. Even the main galley is below, so you’re really away from any noise. You can fly the Qantas 747B between Australia, Singapore, Europe and London, and between Australia and San Francisco. Go now.

QANTAS 747B
The service is as big as the plane.

*IATA regulations require us to make a charge of US$2.50 for the use of headsets.
Specify the best at no extra cost

Sisalation aluminium foil insulation “good insulation for good.”

All aluminium foil insulation looks the same, but if the trade mark SISALATION isn’t printed on the foil surface it isn’t the best. SISALATION reinforced aluminium foil insulation—because of its unique construction—will last a lifetime. It’s proved that—over twenty summers—in hundreds of thousands of Australian homes. Under the roof, inside the walls, under the doors. Keeping people warmer in winter, cooler in summer. SISALATION acts as a waterproof barrier, it will never rot or let in water.

Specify it and accept nothing less. You’ll be installing the best insulation at no extra cost. Be sure it’s branded—SISALATION, a product of ST REGIS-ACI PTY LTD.

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GOOD INSULATION—FOR GOOD

ST REGIS-ACI

WINNER OF AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING EXPORT ACHIEVEMENT

SISALATION REFLECTO-SHIELD—TRADEMARKS.
and blooming
Australian
good health
to you, too

Australian dairy products are of consistently high quality and are readily available at all times. They are our own special way of wishing the world good health. So look for that word "Australia" on dairy food labels. It's the mark of the world's best.

For information on the availability of Australian dairy products, contact the Australian Trade Commissioner in your area, or the Australian Dairy Produce Board, G.P.O. Box 1657N, Melbourne, Victoria, 3001, Australia.
Carrying anything is easier if you put it in a box.

And the further you're carrying it, the more important the box. And the stronger the box, the safer the things you're carrying. Everyone knows all that.

So if you want to send anything to somewhere like Europe or Japan it's good business to talk to OCAL or AJCL.

There's peace of mind in knowing that damagables, perishables or pilferables go every inch of the way sealed inside the big OCL containers. Insurance. Documentation. Packaging. Handling. Inventory. You can save on these, and more.

The 13-ship service means a sailing to Europe every six days.

What we've provided is not merely a safer way to transport Australian goods overseas, but also a reassuring promise:

a shorter route to Australia's major trading nations at a realistic cost.

In the past two years more than four million tons of cargo has been safely carried in containers to and from Europe.

4,000,000 tons that's a lot of cargo...

...a lot of experience too.

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A member of the Australia Europe Container Service, and Managing Agents for AJCL.
(The Australia Japan Container Line Limited: an express service between these countries.)
OVERSEAS CONTAINERS AUSTRALIA PTY, LIMITED, 38 Bridge Street, Sydney, 203.56.
Newcastle, 2 1221; Bilbao, 31 0471; Melbourne, 67 9901; Adelaide, 47 5688; Fremantle, 25 5122.
Orlando Barossa Pearl invented the pop scene
Today's fashion demands a trendy zipper. Lightning Nylon comes in your colour and style.

For quality and reliability always insist on Lightning Nylon Zippers.
Foreword

This is the first attempt by the USPSA to publish an annual. In this issue it presents a selection of material from students, staff and distinguished visitors from other countries. Some people deprecate the messages of educationalist, Dr. Ivan Illich and economist, Mr. Lloyd Best as being “crazy” because they don’t understand them. Their messages have certainly been forceful in presentation, but it is important that views such as these be aired in institutions like the USP so that students (and staff and the public) are given the chance to hear a variety of ideas and be prepared to participate in “intelligent dissent than in passive agreement” (see Bertrand Russell’s 10 Commandments in this issue). Indeed, it is heartening to see students express themselves on vital national issues as Dakuvula has done in this issue. Others have chosen to express themselves through imaginative literature and hopefully other aspects of the creative arts will come — for which the University of Papua New Guinea has set us a wonderful example. But as John Fowles, the English writer, put it — “It is useless to provide endless facilities for the enjoyment of other people’s art (or literature) unless there are corresponding facilities for creating one’s own”. The crucial words are “creating one’s own”. The South Pacific Arts Festival portrayed an inspiring variety of music and dance but we need to supplement these with a written literature produced by islanders. Students of the University of the South Pacific as well as other islanders should, and are, increasingly taking a leading role in this creative revolution, recording our traditional oral literature as well as creating the new. The way is open for all of us to follow.

Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe.
The University of the South Pacific Constitution, SAUSP
Bertrand Russell to Commandments
National Identity, Self Respect
Vietnam
A Matter of Conscience
Poems by Harry Ivairi
Sunday in a Fijian Village
The Conscript
Industrialisation, Christianity, Tourism
and Formal Education as
Agents for Culture Change in Fiji
Nuclear Games in the South Pacific
Could This Happen Here
Our Language
The Tourist
Samabula Sam
Father Forgive!
On Waking
Rain, More Rain
[Poem]
The Move Towards Independence in Fiji
[Why we should abolish schools]
A Childhood Experience
Tribute to Aloi Pilisoa
Visual Art in Oceania
The South Pacific Festival of Arts
'Political Independence', a Jurisdiction
Fiction
SHASHIKANT NAIR

Squeez & Dry

162

John Haydon

Keeping Awake

162

Vito Lui

Hmmm 19 Years Today

162

Albert Einstein

Village Agriculture in Western Samoa

163-68

Anirudh Singh

Ecology

169

Paula Kunibuli

Her Yellow Majesty's Kingdom

170-71

Regionalism and Inter-Island Relations within the South Pacific

172-76

NEAL ENGLEDO

The Dreamer

193-97

Decentralization: a priority for political development in the New Hebrides

198-204

Looking Back

206-07

HAIRY IVAITI

Close to Rarotonga

208

SHASHIKANT NAIR

Misery

208

V. RASMUSSEN

Self

208
This first issue of NIU is dedicated to Seson Dreu and Vishnu Deo.

Solemn words like darkness spread,
Welcome to no ear.
The endless night has taken them,
And left us with our tears.

To those who’s lived for many years,
Death can come with grace.
For me to go before their time,
Is something we can’t face.

The tasks our friends have left undone,
Is a burden we can bear.
But the absence of their company,
Is what makes us care.

Their gift to us had just begun,
It’s ended now I fear.
Tonight I’m left alone to think,
Of those no longer here.

N. Engledow
the university of the south pacific

its history

There has been a rapid increase in the number of students. There were 249 full-time students in 1969, 425 in 1970 and 629 in 1971 and there are 759 in 1972. There are also 81 part-time students and 355 correspondence students in 1972. Dr. Colin C. Aikman, Professor of Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law and Dean of the Faculty of Law of the Victoria University of Wellington, was appointed Vice-Chancellor Designate at the meeting of the Interim Council held on 4 and 5 January 1968. Dr. Aikman assumed duty in May.

In the course of the discussions which took place at a Programme Planning Seminar held in May 1968 it became clear that it would be of advantage to the University, in developing its academic programme, to adopt the schools system in preference to the more traditional system of departments or faculties. It was felt that the schools system would allow a flexible approach in the development of the academic programme, facilitate the inter-disciplinary approach to study, and make for better co-ordination of courses.

On March 5, 1970, Her Majesty the Queen visited the University and presented a Royal Charter, thus formally inaugurating the University. His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, KCMG GCVO KBE BA LLB (Syd) of Tonga became the first Chancellor. The Interim Council of the University was dissolved, and in its place a new permanent Council was established, with Masiofo Fetaui Mata'afa as Pro-Chancellor (and Chairman of the new Council). The Charter designated Dr. C.C. Aikman as Vice-Chancellor and Mr. S.F. Perrot as Registrar. It also defined the objects of the University as "the maintenance, advancement and dissemination of knowledge by teaching, consultancy and research and otherwise and the provision at appropriate levels of education and training responsive to the well-being and needs of the communities of the South Pacific."

The University held its first graduation ceremony on December 2, 1971. At this ceremony the Chancellor conferred the Degree of Bachelor on 17 students and awarded Diplomas in Education to 16 students and Vocational Teachers Certificates to a further 16 students.

its functioning

The University has the following three Schools:

- the School of Education,
- the School of Natural Resources,
- The School of Social and Economic Development.

Each of these Schools is responsible for a group of related subjects and is developing its programme in collaboration with the other Schools. In addition to degree programmes, the three Schools provide preliminary programmes at two levels: Preliminary I and Preliminary II. The School of Education offers a Diploma in Education.

For administrative convenience a member of staff as well as a student will belong to one School at any time, but some staff members are associated with more than one School and some students, likewise, will take courses in more than one School.

The University year consists of two semesters, each of about sixteen weeks' duration. At degree level, the complete course or unit of study in a particular subject is covered in a semester.

As a regional University, the University of the South Pacific will depend for its finances, particularly those of a recurring character, on support from governments in the South Pacific region. Up to the present, the bulk of the recurring expenditure has been met by the Governments of Fiji and Britain, the contribution of the latter government being made available from the $500,000 sterling offered to the University as a grant for recurring expenses during its first five years. Governments in the region that are sending students to the University make a territorial contribution of $550 per student per annum. This amount, together with the
University fee, has not met the full cost of a student place. In 1971, on the initiative of the Government of Fiji, the Governments of the Region established a University Grants Committee to advise the participating governments of the region on the grants needed to meet the recurrent and capital needs of the University.

The University made submissions to this Committee when it met in August 1971 on its estimated level of expenditure for the triennium 1972-74. The University Grants Committee has made recommendations to the Governments of the Region, and representatives of those governments are to meet in Suva in January 1972. The expectation is that, as a result of the Report and the deliberations of regional Governments, the University will receive assurances as to the level of support it will receive for the triennium 1972-74.

The University has been receiving substantial support from the United Nations Development Programme and UNESCO in the mounting of a Curriculum Development Project that is concerned to develop secondary school curricula for the countries of the region that are relevant to local needs. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has made a grant to the University that has enabled it to establish University Centres in Honiara in the British Solomon Islands, Tarawa in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and Nuku'alofa in Tonga.

It is hoped to establish further Centres in Apia in Western Samoa and in Rarotonga in the Cook Islands. Another donor, the Canadian International Development Agency, has offered assistance in staffing and equipment, possibly in the area of marine biology. The Australian, New Zealand, Canadian and British Governments are providing Third Country Scholarships that are intended to encourage countries in the Region, outside Fiji, to send students to the University of the South Pacific. Private donors have also provided a number of scholarships.

The Governments of Australia, India, New Zealand and the United Kingdom are making significant contributions to the University's finances by their agreement to help with the expenses involved in employing expatriate staff. These include the costs of travel on appointment, long leave and termination of appointment, baggage allowances, educational passages and educational visit passages for staff who meet certain criteria relating to nationality and residence. The University hopes that it will be possible to arrange with other countries that this form of assistance will be available in respect of staff recruited from those countries.

Other financial help is being received from a wide variety of sources: library shelving from the Government of New Zealand; scientific equipment from the Government of India; bibliographical material for the Library from Carreras Ltd.; library books from the New Zealand University Students' Association and many other donors; and science equipment and materials from the South Pacific Sugar Mills Ltd.

So far as capital development is concerned, the University has the benefit of the gift from the New Zealand Government of the buildings on the Laucala Bay site and a further gift of $270,000 for the second phase of the student residence programme. The British Government has made $750,000 sterling available for capital development.

its campus

The Laucala Bay Campus is about 192 acres in area. The upper portion of the campus, consisting of about 175 acres, is broken by a series of irregular ridges and steep-sided gullies, while the two lower portions, comprising some 17 acres, are adjacent to the sea and almost completely flat. The campus is well-turfed, planted with various species of trees and shrubs, and serviced with sealed roads.

The original RNZAF base consisted of about 200 buildings which were given to the University when the RNZAF base was handed over. Some of the buildings have been converted into lecture rooms, laboratories and offices. Others have provided student accommodation for about 330 students. In October 1971, the Hon. Albert Henry, Premier of the Cook Islands, formally opened the first of two student residences being built under the British capital grant, the two buildings being designed to house 120 students. The second of these buildings together with a further five buildings accommodating 120 students built under the New Zealand grant were ready for the intake of students in February 1972.

In 1971 construction began on a new building to house the School of Education and on the first phase of a large modern library. The School of Education was completed in time for the first semester of 1972, and the library for the second semester in 1972. Further lecture room
accommodation, including a large lecture theatre, has been designed and construction should begin in 1972.

There are 46 houses and flats on the campus. Eleven houses have been built off campus, a further six flats are being built, and the University has leased a number of houses and flats in Suva.

The amenities available on the campus include a fresh-water swimming pool, banking, postal and medical facilities, a small cafeteria and shop, two tennis courts, Student Association facilities and a licensed University club for students and staff. A section of the site on the water-front is suitable for operating sailing and power boats and there is a University Boat Club.

The University is concerned to develop and extend the sporting and recreational facilities that are available to staff and students on the site. There is a serious shortage of playing fields — there is not yet one field up to competitive standards. Unfortunately, all the areas that are suitable for development as playing fields either require extensive earthworks or filling and drainage. A start is being made with a generous gift from the P. & O. Steamship Co.

The University appreciates that the sports facilities it develops must be made available for general use by sporting bodies in Suva and Fiji. Therefore, as part of its longer range plans, it is engaged in discussions with other organisations, especially the Fiji Amateur Sports Association (which controls Buckhurst Park), about the establishment of a broad belt of sporting facilities between the main academic area and the sea, stretching from Laucala Bay Road to Muanikau Road and along Queen Elizabeth Drive.

**USP ACADEMIC AREA**
**(A MODEL FOR THE FUTURE)**
Constitution of
The Students' Association
of The University of
The South Pacific

There shall be within the University of the South Pacific a Students' Association, hereinafter called "the Association".

NAME:
The name of the Association shall be "The University of the South Pacific Students' Association".

OBJECTS:
The objects of the Association shall be:

a. To promote the general welfare of students of the University;
b. To assist the organisation of sporting, social, cultural and recreational facilities for students;
c. To exercise general control and supervision over all student clubs and societies;
d. To raise funds for the financing of student activities at the University;
e. To organise and promote anything of benefit to the students of the University, including the publishing of such publications as the Association may think fit;
f. To make representations on behalf of students to the University authorities and other bodies.

MEMBERSHIP:
All internal students of the University shall be members of the Association and shall pay a subscription according to the following scale:

- Full-time degree, diploma and preliminary students enrolled for one or two semesters: $10.00 per annum.
- Part-time degree, diploma and preliminary students: $5.00 per semester

Members of short courses:

Duration of course (weeks) Over 21 $10.00

The annual subscription may be changed by the Council of the University of the South Pacific which shall, before making any such change, take into account the views of the Student Council. The subscription shall be paid by (or on behalf of) each student to the University on behalf of the Association.

OFFICERS:
There shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and a Treasurer of the Association who shall be the Officers of the Association.

STUDENT COUNCIL:

a. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Association known as the Student Council which shall act for the Association in all matters not otherwise specifically provided for.

b. The Student Council shall consist of the following members:

(1) The Officers of the Association, who shall be elected by all members of the Association;

(2) Three members who shall be degree students from the School of Education and who shall be elected by the degree students enrolled in this School;

(3) Three members who shall be degree students from the School of Social and Economic Development and who shall be elected by the degree students enrolled in this School;

(4) Three members who shall be degree students from the School of Natural Resources and who shall be elected by the degree students enrolled in this School;

(5) Four members who shall be diploma in education students and who shall be elected by the diploma in education students;

(6) Three members who shall be Preliminary Two students and who shall be elected by the Preliminary Two students;

(7) Two members who shall be Preliminary One students and who shall be elected by the Preliminary One students;

(8) One member who shall be Preliminary student from the North and West South Pacific (B.S.I.P., New Hebrides, G.E.I.C., U.S.T.T., Nauru) and who shall be elected by the Preliminary students from this region;

(ii) One member who shall be a Preliminary student from the Central South Pacific (Fiji and Rotuma) and who shall be elected by the Preliminary students from this region;
(iii) One member who shall be a Preliminary student from the South and East South Pacific (Cook Is., Tokelau Is., Tonga, Niue, American Samoa, Western Samoa) and who shall be elected by the Preliminary students from this region;

(9) One woman member who shall be elected by the women students;
(10) One non-residential member who shall be elected by the non-residential students;
(11) One residential member who shall be a member of, and appointed by, the Hall Committee;
(12) The Student Members of the University Council who shall be ex-officio members;
(13) The Student Members of the University Senate who shall be ex-officio members.

c. All Members of the Student Council shall assume office at the Annual General Meeting of the Association as provided for in Clause 14, sub-clause (b) and shall hold office until the next Annual General Meeting of the Association unless as specifically provided for in Clause 10.

COMMITTEES OF THE STUDENT COUNCIL:

a. The Student Council may appoint such Committees as it may from time to time deem necessary and may by regulation define the powers and functions of all Committees of the Student Council.

b. There shall be the following Standing Committees:
   (1) an Executive Committee,
   (2) a Development and Management Committee,
   (3) a Food Committee,
   (4) an International Relations Committee,
   (5) a Public Relations and Liaison Committee,
   (6) a Social Committee,
   (7) a Sports Committee,
   (8) a Student Welfare and Liaison Committee.

c. The Executive Committee shall consist of all the Officers of the Association and all the Chairmen of the Committees of the Student Council.

d. The President of the Association shall be the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

e. The Chairman of each Committee other than the Executive Committee shall be appointed by the members of the Student Council.

f. Each Committee, with the exception of the Executive Committee, must consist of at least two other members of the Student Council who are not members of the Executive Committee.

SENIOR TREASURER:

There shall be a Senior Treasurer to the Association, appointed from among the academic or administrative staff of the University by the Vice-Chancellor after consultation with the Student Council.

ELECTIONS:

a. There shall be a Returning Officer who shall be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor after consultation with the Student Council, for the purpose of conducting elections of the Members of the Student Council.

b. All elected officers and members of the Student Council shall be elected by secret ballot.

c. Two elections shall be held annually:
   (1) The first election is to elect the Officers of the Association and shall be held within three weeks after the Mid-semester Break of the Second Semester;
   (2) The second election which shall follow the first election is to elect the other members of the Student Council and shall be held within three weeks after the beginning of the First Semester.

d. In any election, nominations of candidates shall be made in writing to the Returning Officer on or before a date to be fixed by him, and shall be posted on the Association notice boards at least seven days before the date of the election. Each nomination paper shall bear the signatures of the proposer and the seconder, and the candidate shall sign to express his willingness to accept nomination.

e. Neither postal nor proxy voting shall be permitted. Where there are more than two candidates for one position, voting shall be by the deletion of the names of all candidates except the one the voter wishes to vote for.

f. Within three days after the close of any election the Returning Officer shall post the results on the Association notice boards.

g. In any matter of election procedure, including the eligibility of a candidate or voter, the decision of the Returning Officer shall be final.

RESIGNATION:

a. Any officer or member of the Student Council may resign at any time by giving notice in writing to the Secretary.

b. Such resignation shall become effective from the date of receipt of notice of resignation by the Secretary.

c. Any officer or member of the Student Council who ceases to be a student shall be deemed to have resigned from the date of his ceasing to be a student.

d. Any Member of the Student Council who fails to attend for the full duration of any three consecutive meetings of the Student Council without previous leave of absence, shall cease to be a Member of the Student Council.

e. When any vacancy occurs, the Returning Officer shall proceed to hold a by-election to fill the vacancy.

f. A by-election to fill a vacancy shall take place within two weeks of the date on which a vacancy occurs, provided that if the vacancy occurs within three weeks of the end of the Academic Year, the post may remain vacant until the new Student Council assumes office in the following year, if the Student Council so decides.
QUORUM:
The quorum for meetings of the Student Council shall be eleven which must include at least two Officers of the Association.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS:

a. The President or in his absence the Vice President shall preside at all General Meetings of the Association and meetings of the Student Council. In the absence of the President and Vice President the meeting may elect a Chairman for that meeting from among the members present.

b. The Secretary shall be responsible for the preparation of minutes of all General Meetings of the Association and of all meetings of the Student Council. The minutes of any General Meeting shall be posted on the Association Notice Boards within two weeks of the conclusion of any such meeting.

c. The Treasurer shall to the satisfaction of the Senior Treasurer keep proper books of accounts for the funds of the Association and shall issue proper receipts for all money received. The Treasurer shall make disbursements from the funds of the Association against proper accounts or vouchers for such matters as are approved by the Student Council. The Senior Treasurer shall have power only to prevent illegal actions and ensure that the books are kept according to proper accounting principles. He may inspect the books of the Association at any time on giving reasonable notice. He shall also audit the accounts of the Association before each Annual General Meeting.

CLUBS AND SOCIETIES:

a. The Association may set up such Clubs and Societies as may from time to time be approved by the Student Council, and for this purpose shall consider applications from students wishing to set up a Club or Society.

b. The Constitution of such Clubs and Societies must be approved by the Student Council.

c. The Treasurer shall pay such financial grants to Clubs and Societies as may be approved from time to time by the Student Council and shall require as a condition of making any contribution that financial records shall be kept to the satisfaction of the Senior Treasurer by the Club or Society receiving the grant.

d. No Club or Society shall charge any entrance or subscription without first obtaining the approval of the Student Council.

e. Any gift or donation received by any Club or Society, or any funds raised through any activity of the Club or Society, shall be reported to the Treasurer and by him to the Student Council and the Senior Treasurer.

GENERAL MEETINGS:

a. The Secretary may call a General Meeting at any time on the instructions of the President and shall do so on the written request of at least thirty members of the Association or if the Student Council so decides;

(1) Such a meeting shall be called within ten days of the receipt of the request;

(2) At least three days notice shall be given of any General Meeting and such notice shall include an agenda of the items to be discussed;

(3) No discussion shall take place on any item not listed on the agenda;

(4) The quorum for a General Meeting shall be one hundred members.

b. There shall be one General Meeting every year which shall be called the Annual General Meeting and it shall be held within four weeks after the beginning of the First Semester;

(1) At the Annual General Meeting the Student Council shall present a Financial Report and a Report on the activities of the Student Council during its term of office;

(2) At the Annual General Meeting the outgoing Student Council shall formally hand over office to the incoming Student Council.

CONSTITUTION:

a. This Constitution may be amended only at a General Meeting of the Association called for the purpose.

b. Proposed amendments with the signatures of a proposer and seconder must be posted on the notice board at least one week before the date of the meeting.

c. No amendment shall be made except by a two-third majority of members present at the meeting.

d. Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Student Council may draw up Standing Orders for the conduct of meetings of the Association and of the Student Council.

RULES:

a. The Association may make such rules for the conduct of its members as it sees fit, subject to the provisions of this Constitution.

b. Such rules must be approved by a General Meeting of the Association and by the University Senate.

DISCIPLINARY POWERS:

a. The Student Council may take disciplinary action against any member of the Association for a breach of the Rules drawn up under Clause 16.

b. Such action may take the form of:

(1) The withholding of any or all of the privileges of membership, for a period not exceeding One Month;

(2) The imposition of a fine not exceeding One Dollar in respect of each offence.

c. Any student who is subjected to disciplinary action under this Clause shall have the right of appeal to the Discipline Committee of the University Senate.
EXECUTIVE

PRESIDENT
Setoki Cenaturaga
SECRETARY
Amanaki Taulahi
TREASURER
Anil Shandil

CHAIRMEN OF SUB-COMMITTEES

SOCIAL
Jimione Buwawa
SPORTS
Kalivati Bakani
DEVELOPMENT & MANAGEMENT
Charles Whitehead
PUBLIC RELATIONS & LIAISON
R. S. Dube
FOOD
L. S. Mani
STUDENT WELFARE & LIAISON
Sevanaia Tabua
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Stiveni Kalouniwiti

Kalivati Bakani
Chairman Sports

Ram Surendra Dube
Chairman
Public Relations & Liaison

Charles Whitehead
Chairman
Development & Management

Anil Shandil
Treasurer

Subra Mani
Chairman Food

student
of
association
u.s.p.

ORDINARY MEMBERS
Shiu Prasad
Ramendra Charan
Harish Raj
Tavite Loloa
Ramendra Mani
J. Prasad
Hasan Ali
Ami Chand
Manasa Sovaki
Yash Karan
Seru Cavullati
Kleo Ngilogawaru
Miss Gurmej Singh
Gerald Leong
Shashikant Nair
Ata Maia'i

Sitiveni Kalouniviti
Chairman International Relations

Jimione Buwawa
Chairman Social

Sevanaia Tabua
Chairman Student Welfare & Liaison

J. Owen O'Connor
U.S.P. Officer N.Z.U.S.A.
1 – Do not feel absolutely certain of anything.

2 – Do not think it worth while to produce belief by concealing evidence, for the evidence is sure to come to light.

3 – Never try to discourage thinking, for you are sure to succeed.

4 – When you meet with opposition, even if it should be from your children, endeavour to overcome it by argument, and not by authority, for a victory dependent upon authority is unreal and illusory.

5 – Have no respect for the authority of others, for there are always contrary authorities to be found.

bertrand russell’s 10 commandments

6 – Do not use power to suppress opinions you think pernicious, for if you do the opinions will suppress you.

7 – Do not fear to be eccentric in opinion, for every opinion now accepted was once eccentric.

8 – Find more pleasure in intelligent dissent than in passive agreement, for, if you value intelligence as you should, the former implies a deeper agreement than the latter.

9 – Be scrupulously truthful, even when truth is inconvenient, for it is more inconvenient when you try to conceal it.

10 – Do not feel envious of the happiness of those who live in a fool’s paradise, for only a fool will think that it is happiness.
U.S.P. was fortunate this year to receive visits from two outstanding world scholars, Dr. Ivan Illich whose thoughts on education appear elsewhere in this publication, and Dr. Lloyd Best, a lecturer in Economics at the University of the West Indies. He is founder of the “New World” group of young social scientists proposing radical reform of West Indian Society.

Few who heard these two men will ever forget the experience. Here, bearing fully in mind the dangers of taking any scholar’s remarks out of context, we reproduce excerpts from the transcript of Dr. Best’s paper on...

national identity
and self respect

The dream which we have in the Atlantic and the new world for national identity and self respect, must necessarily be a different dream from the one here that you in the Pacific must have — not entirely — there is a rendezvous for all the peoples — a meeting place so to speak, where we can find together a vital point of contact and I presume that is why I have been asked to come to the Pacific, both to Niugini and here. My old friend C. L. R. James who is the dean of West Indian intellectuals, has written on this question of the search for identity and has said that in searching for a national identity we are already expressing one. On the other hand a Nigerian writer musing on a similar theme, once remarked that a tiger does NOT proclaim his tigeritude — so that there is a riddle here for us to resolve: why is it that all of these countries are searching for something which they already have and if they already have an identity and that is not the thing they are searching for in fact, although they don’t know that, what then is this elusive goal which persists in slipping through their fingers so to speak, and I think the answer is suggested by the second half of the title which of course is “self-respect” and that is just one reason why it cannot be a simple case of good guys and bad. The almost total erosion of one’s self-respect over the last so many hundred years, creates certain problems of living which raises certain issues in my mind of method in approach — to art and science and the way we interpret history. Throughout the world today it seems to me, the stock formulations are valid only in a colonizing
cast of mind. Everywhere you go, Niugini, Australia, Fiji, Jamaica, Trinidad, if you pull out the development plan or the budget, cliches — it is the same statement everywhere. And yet the spirit of the people can't be the same.

The issues can't be exactly the same and I am suggesting that there is a cast of mind which is blocking our view of what the essential issues are and these formulations which come out of this retain their validity only when we abandon all our myriad points of vantage and take position where the commercial and industrial culture of our time dictates. But for most of us this is a false position — it distorts the perspective, makes us anxious, robs us of detachment — of clinicality. We cannot express ourselves as we are and we end up everywhere in a hopeless confusion of values, all the time of course announcing our tigeritude.

Identity, brothers and sisters, is not a simple problem. It is a question of alienation from humanity, from kin, and even from self. The alienation traps the individual in an underworld of stereotypes and in the worst case negates all his creativity and wit and immobilizes all his powers of intelligence and discrimination. This is what we have to come to terms with.

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I did say of course that the point of vantage which I was taking on this subject this evening is an Atlantic point of vantage, but I believe that the theme that I am developing has a relevance in the Pacific Ocean as well.

We have found in the Carribean in the Social Sciences that the strategy Harris is proposing for the creative writer, the novelist, of breaking away from the preconception of character consideration in the novel and opening up a whole new gate of history is one that we could readily accept in the Social Sciences as well — only there we call it "playing for change", and what this has meant in fact in the field of thought in the Social Sciences is a rejection of all the classical formulae of what I call one-dimensional categories which somehow, wherever you go, Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, wherever you are, somehow have succeeded in locating every conceivable issue on a scale between two given poles. Harris talks about the given conditions of the past that bind one in a statuesque present and a false future — everybody is fixing every issue in terms of two given poles, so called traditionalism on the one hand and modernity on the other — or if you prefer it, development on the one side of things and under-development so that one has a scale, if you like, where there seem always to be only two mutually exclusive choices available — urbanization or rural life, — industry or agriculture, — democracy or communism, capitalism or socialism, radicalism or liberalism, elite or masses, bourgeoise or working class, federal systems or unitary systems, schools or no schools, capital or labour intensive industry, black or white, we or they, colonized or colonizers — and before you know what is happening it is cowboys and indians.

But I am arguing that this is a game of frustration — a game of illusion in fact, because the choices are not real, for the simple reason that the debate has become fossilized, mummified, take your pick, in one particular historical background. We keep assuming that a society only "develops" by passing through the experience of the dominant Atlantic civilization of today. But on this manifestly reckless plane as everybody also knows but is afraid to say, the so-called "developed" states are not only moving faster than the rest but are moving at an increasingly accelerating pace so that the laggards are perpetually suspended in a state of transition, so we have coined the euphemism of "developing" societies and the modernity that they seek to find perpetually eludes them — slips through their fingers all the time and I believe that that is the major source of the anxiety that we describe as a search for identity and self-respect. And we have to point out the failings of this approach of this entire method.
Some of the rigidities in the leadership system are outlined in an important paper by someone I believe is now deceased — “Traditional modern types of leadership and economic development among the Fijians” which seems to me to be a very important statement in that it attempts to look at the facts of the Fijian case and to make empirical sense of what is going on, not merely speculating about the Chiefs or dismissing them, or anything of the kind, and I believe that this is the path that we have to adopt in Fiji as elsewhere in the way that we have been doing in the Caribbean and I feel that if we approach the task of change in this specific perspective from the point advantage of a man or brother or sister who is living here, then I should not be surprised myself if the society did not move in a certain number of directions which I would like to list. It’s not really my business to make any statements about Fiji but I would simply set out some possible directions which it seems to me, just looking at the thing in the way that I have, this society is likely to move.

1. Specific analysis leads us to abandon the orthodoxy of reliance on urbanization and disruption of the rural sector, of manufacturing industry, of tourism and foreign investment. I put it down as bluntly as that and I am prepared to defend it if anyone challenges it.

2. I think it (your society) could well move in the direction of mobilizing the spare resources which are available in the village — industry in the village and education and local government all simultaneously, for they have all kinds of implications for the university, for the school system and so on. I think the resources are there, but we have to fix them in THAT place and let industry (as Gandhi was always saying and they never understood), let industry EMERGE from the situation. When he was talking about the cottage industries he was not trying to block industrialization, he wasn’t against European technology, but he understood that you can’t simply adjourn industry to agriculture and hope that the wage rate, or that some such “invisible hand” would draw the labour off and establish some reasonable system. It can’t happen.

Europeans broke up the manor system in a specific way for reasons that can be best understood if you look at the relationship between the merchants and the feudal lords and the monarchy and the situation in which they found themselves. So that this process is not going to be repeated somewhere else where the initial
structure of facts if profoundly different. So it is no accident when the Fijians come out of the residential sector into town they just blow their cash. Different motivations in the system, different all kinds of things.

So if you want to raise the level of output and the level of material welfare in some way, you have to do what Gandhi was proposing, which is to start the process WHERE the people are in terms of motivation of THAT place and that means we have to rethink very seriously, what we are doing in education, we have to rethink very seriously the proposals we are making all over the place for industrialization and tourism and foreign investment and so on.

3. One feels that this country has to reject the absurd British monarchy. Let me say that. It is absurd for the Queen of England to be head of this country. I know that is putting my foot into deep water, but I can afford to say it because the problem is exactly the same where I come from. You can take it that I am dealing with that if you don’t wish to believe I am dealing with this. I can’t understand it; people tell me it has no significance. If it has no significance then why do we do it? It has of course, implications for a kind of social order which somebody is bolstering here. It must be adding something to the men who are doing it.

And Fijians have got to ask that question about the kind of social order that exists here and I want to open up that question. I’m not afraid to open up the question. We have the same issue in Trinidad. I’m saying I don’t see how you can impose a British Queen on Fijian people.

And all that goes with that, the centralizing tendencies of the Westminster constitutional model, the outmoded model of restricted leadership which is described how independently leadership is trying to emerge within the system on the edges.

4. I think it would be possible for this society to devise very novel forms of business organization which are neither capitalist nor socialist, but Fijian. We have all the time, to make choices about capitalism or socialism and these are not real choices here. And I believe that the forms of community organization that we have here, places the country in an extremely strong position for building forms of business organization that are quite different and even the land problem...

5. The land problem can be solved in very imaginative ways. I think it is possible to establish new forms of land holding. There is no reason why people have to own the land privately. If the land is held in trust for the Fijian people in some way, I believe this gives us the possibility to devise new forms. They have just nationalized all lands and all buildings in Tanzania and they are obviously groping towards some new form which is not simply a capitalist form for private individuals nor a form in which the central government is going to do it in that way and we have to work it out and I believe that this country is in a strong position starting where it is, to do that.

6. I think we are likely here to repudiate the assumption that these countries are too small, or too poor, or too backward, or too black, or too something to make their way in the world. There are all kinds of possibilities here. This country is an absolutely rich country. You only have to look at it to see. It reminds me of Jamaica. Columbus was right. I began with him.

7. Finally, I believe this country has a chance to build a genuinely multi-racial society. Everybody talks about it — we talk about it in the Caribbean a great deal and you know how much we are doing about it. You haven’t had any time of troubles here yet. If we go on the way we are going now with these development plans that I see (and Fisk documents this very well) then we are heading for trouble. But if we adopted the kind of perspective I am suggesting this evening, I think it is possible to build a genuinely multi-racial society and that brings me to number seven and since that’s a lucky number, it’s a good place to stop.
VIETNAM

There is a rhythm that balances
the world on its delicate axis,
a simple rhythm that is the truth in
a mother's hands rocking a baby to sleep,
the rhythm in the patter of rain
and bare feet rustling through green grass,
the rhythm of a newborn chick, cheeky as morning
stepping out to confront the sun,
a beauty in the pattern of ants constructing cities out
of dead butterflies, the tune of woodfires lit to warm
fishermen home from a cold night fishing.

I do not hear it in the slap of booted feet and guns preaching.
I do not hear it in confessions of warriors sleek as bayonets.
I do not hear it in the biblical voices who trigger the young to die
In Hue, Saigon and other Dien Phus shrouded in parachute silk and
Flags unfurled to prove a victor's nightmare.
I do not hear it in the whispers of money lenders who deal in wounded
Flesh and silver shadows in death's temple.

For when the boots are worn out and
The guns are still and the judgements
Are pronounced and the warriors
Are gone home and the money-lenders
Are awarded Joseph's fabulous coat
I will hear it again in the grief of mothers
Bowed over sons cold as morning dew.
I will hear it again in the wailing
Of children in the ruins of the cities
And the sprite chick into the Phoenix
Winging to a metal sun away
From a land mourning

There is a rhythm that balances
The world on its delicate axis
A simple rhythm that is the truth
In every man. Listen.

ALBERT WENDT
I was reading in my room when my mother came in. “Someone wants to see you, Yogesh,” she announced. “A European woman,” she added with a look of extreme distaste on her face. “I told her she had come to the wrong house, but somehow she knows your name.”

Thoroughly intrigued, I went to the front door and could hardly believe my eyes when I saw who it was. “Why, Marion! what a pleasant surprise! Do come in.”

Marion and I had been in the same B.A. class at the University of New South Wales. I introduced her to my family, but they withdrew discreetly, leaving Marion and me alone to talk about old times.

“How on earth did you manage to find our house, Marion?”

“I just took a chance. I still had your address. You wrote to me once or twice, remember?”

Yes, I remembered. I had written to her a couple of times after returning to Fiji but I stopped writing when she did not reply. “And what quirk of fate brings you to the shores of Fiji, Marion?”

“Oh, I don’t know. Boredom, I suppose. I got fed up with my teaching job so I packed it in and decided to take a Pacific holiday. I’m really enjoying myself now.”

Well, well, I thought to myself, she hasn’t changed much. A little rounder in the face perhaps, a bit broader in the beam, but the same mischievous twinkle, the same breathless disorder. But it wasn’t just her physical appearance. The eager and slightly childish note in her voice showed very clearly that she was still the restless Marion Davies of old, quickly tiring of the present, continually seeking fresh excitement. I could not help remembering how she was always changing her boyfriends, passing lightly from encounter to encounter. She had even pursued me for a while before giving me up as refractory material.

“What are you doing with yourself these days, Yogi?”

“You won’t believe this when I tell you, Marion, but I too have resigned from my teaching position.”

“There you are, Yogi. Didn’t I use to tell you we were two of a kind, splendidly suited to each other? But you wouldn’t listen, would you? Damned woman hater!” She glared at me in mock reproach.

“My dear Marion, I protest you know I have never been averse to female company. I am only opposed to associations of a permanent and irrevocable nature.”

“I presume you are still a bachelor then.”

“You presume correctly. And since you are engaged on a leisurely Pacific holiday, I take it you are similarly encumbered.”

“That’s a non sequitur, dear boy. As it so happens, I am married but separated from my husband. I’m getting a divorce in July.”

“I’m sorry to hear that, Marion...”

She shrugged off the proffered sympathy. “Let’s not talk about me. Let’s talk about you for a while.” So we talked about me for a while, about my new job, and as we chatted it seemed like old times again. We had often sat like this in the cafeteria at Kenso, nursing our cups of black coffee while we spent hours discussing nothing in particular. My mind went back to those undergraduate days. How pleasant it was to revisit the past. But the mood of nostalgia was suddenly and rudely broken when Marion asked casually, “Do you hear from Arvind these days? It would be fun to look him up too, for old times’ sake.”

Arvind Rae was the son of my father’s best friend. He and I had been awarded scholarships to the University of New South Wales, he to study civil engineering and I to take a degree in English, and it was through me in fact, that he came to know Marion. That’s why it annoyed me slightly when Arvind began crowing over his conquest of Marion. I of course, had no more than a passing interest in Marion, my pleasures being strictly intellectual, but it peeved me to be left on the sidelines and be permitted little more than a periodic progress report.

Arvind and Marion became a steady duo on the campus, establishing some sort of a record for Marion, but I had no idea that the affair had reached serious proportions until Arvind told me one day he wanted to marry her.

I was aghast. “Don’t be a fool, Arvind. These Anglo-Saxon types may be good fun and all that, but don’t ever make the mistake of marrying one.”

“Aww, come off it, mate. Every time I see you around the place, you’ve got a group of white birds around you.”

“Yes, but we discuss serious things such as the Petrarchan sonnet...”

“Yeah, I’ll bet, and all the time you’re looking at their legs and tits. The trouble with you is you like women but you just haven’t got the guts. You’re sexually repressed. You want to know what Marion said about you?”

“I don’t want to know.” Because I knew
already Marion would call me ‘The Grim Eunuch’ whenever she wanted to annoy me. “What I want to know is why you’re being so stupid. You can’t marry Marion. Her parents would never agree. You know what they are like – stuffy North Sydney snobs. And you know what it’s like back home. If you marry a white woman, you’ll both be despised by the Indians and hated by the Europeans. It won’t be fair to Marion . . .”

“I’m not going back to Fiji”.

“But what about your scholarship bond?”

“Screw the bond.”

I could see it was useless to argue. “Well, if Marion is willing . . .”

“Oh, she hasn’t agreed yet. I’m going to propose at her birthday party next week.”

I don’t suppose any of us will ever forget that party. It was a proper mess, and all my fault.

Arvind said he would be late because he had to meet his cousin, Savita. She was flying through on her way to Delhi University. When the party had been under way for more than an hour, there was still no sign of Arvind.

“Is she really his cousin?” Marion asked me with a touch of anxiety in her voice.

“Oh, you needn’t fear any competition from Savita, if that’s what you are worried about.” And then a diabolical scheme suddenly suggested itself. This was my chance to break up the romance. “Mind you, she’s not really his cousin of course. She’s more a friend of the family. They’re always saying that she and Arvind are an ideal match – you know how it is with parents – but I bet you she’ll come back with a husband from India”. Marion did not say anything but she turned away looking troubled.

I often wondered why I had lied about Savita. Was it a genuine wish to rescue Arvind from a hasty entanglement? Or was it, as I suspected but refused to admit, plain jealousy on my part? Whatever the reason, the consequences were disastrous.

When Arvind finally showed up, Marion was distinctly cold towards him. She danced in gay abandon with one partner after another, and especially with Andy Moir, but the few dances she had with Arvind were perfunctory and lifeless. At one point she told Arvind she was too tired, and then readily joined in a spirited cha cha with Andy, following which she and Andy drifted into the garden outside.

Arvind tried to follow them but I restrained him. “It’s her birthday, Arvind. Let her enjoy herself.”

“But damn it, she’s trying to make a fool of me in front of everybody.”

“Well don’t say I didn’t warn you. I think now would be a good time for us to leave.”

“No bloody fear. The beer’s not finished yet.”

Within half an hour Arvind was roaring drunk and, to my everlasting shame, Marion’s parents had to ask him to leave. But Arvind refused to depart without a token of his appreciation. He insisted on singing “Men of Harlech” in honour of Marion’s Welsh antecedents and then cheerfully asked if he could have one for the road.

“You’re already disgracefully drunk, young man,” said Mrs. Davies cuttingly.

Arvind collected himself together for one final effort and said loudly and distinctly, “You’re right, Mrs. Davies, I’m pissed as a fart.” With that he lurched outside and vomited into the bird bath.

Somehow I managed to get Arvind back to his boarding house and smuggle him past the landlady. The next day I wrote to Mrs. Davies apologizing on my friend’s behalf and assured her there would be no repetition of last night’s regrettable incident. Her reply was brief and starchy. She was prepared to overlook the episode but she fervently hoped that my friend had profited from his experience and that he would devote more time to study.

I was sure the matter had been laid to rest without too much damage, but events proved me wrong. Arvind tried to make it up with Marion, but though she remained friendly she firmly discouraged his attentions. This seemed to depress him more than ever and he ended the year badly, failing in two papers. The following year he was given permission to switch to a science course, but he fared no better. His scholarship was terminated and he returned home in disgrace.

Poor Arvind just didn’t seem to have any luck. Or is there no such thing as luck, only cause and effect? If I hadn’t lied to Marion about Savita, if Marion hadn’t broken off with Arvind, if Arvind hadn’t failed his engineering exams, would things have turned out differently for him? But what did it matter? The past was unalterable. My guilty conscience had banished him from memory; to Marion, he was merely an old acquaintance to be looked up. How lightly we treat the past.

“Marion, I’m afraid you won’t be able to look up Arvind even for old time’s sake. Last year his family sent him to Auckland to study law. He was killed in a car smash while returning from a party.”
BRAINS TIME IS NEAR

My time is short — what am I to do
The studies get harder — it leads the eye
Turns out the head like an empty shoe
To walk no more of the tiring miles

Swot for the test learn for the exams
Read and write the noted facts
Absorb it hard to stimulate the mind
For times when needed for him to act.

Geo, History mixes in matter
Maths and English is of a less thing
That smoothly runs less that clatter
Of the geographies sting

The days and the hours come so near
I forgot the things which I had geared
Lost in the wilderness of my brains
Nervous tensions — for sure is gained.

MEMORY OF SADNESS

The night was long and I slept through it
My tears came down as I slept
I tried to hide but in vain
So I woke up and listened to the
splatter of rain

Memories of you were visible in the dreams
That I had dreamt during darkness
I turned and tossed to loose the gleam
But it was there and all its sadness

The break of morning disrupts me
As to open my eye and look to see
Nothing of Raro but Fiji
It really hurts deep in me

WALKING THE PEACEFUL ROAD

The night was bright as I walked down the lane,
But soon to be disrupted in horror, and fear,
For in my path came a shock of pain
That hit me hard and made me sane.

My head came down and my feet went up,
I slumped to the side and bumped to the ground,
I couldn’t do anything but hold my gut,
For the liquid of danger had leaked to the surro

Lying there like a stone,
Neither moving a string of muscle,
Comes quickly and is gone
The spirits of puzzles.

Enlightening my soul the urge to fight again
I painfully staggered to my feet,
The glimpse of the site where I had lain,
was enough to make me never to, again, meet...
THOUGHTS OF LOST THINGS

Distance wise of the busy world cracks away
Night, with its long hours of black, creeps again.
The mosquitoes, the frogs are, then at play
For dessertion has left them alone.

But the thoughts of what has been lost
Lingers about in the humid air,
On the slopes towards the coast
For neither these were able to care.

The loss of my mother — a disastrous blow
Brings memories of those days at home
Now am I away far from them
Not even to hear the quiet hymns

The thoughts of my love — a bad thing
Saddens my heart like a willow tree
For we are apart and seeing neither one
Tears come down during times — I’m alone

Dreams of my husband — a thing to treasure
Sits upon the ocean, draining the atmosphere
I will not see for many a years
Till then, its my career.

MY PARTING LOVE

At the finish of the dance
I counted my chances
But what was there to be
Nothing except the moonlight breeze.

Next day, was to be a sad one
For it was then, you were gone
And here am I on the ground
Crying my eyes as I stand.

But I will love you as always
Nothing will stand between our way
The last kiss, knocked my heart
Will never recover for it’s apart.

But come back my love
And will be always mine
And nobody else but mine, only mine.

FOR TOILING MAKETH A LIVING

swish, swash, the knife did eat
cling, clang, the knife did hit.
and did fall when it meets
the glittering blade and ugly hilt.
the burning golden bloody sun
awaits up high, far as the eye
to drain my water stone dry.
as i toll my back to ache,
to only benefit my family’s sake.
for if only i swung that knife,
i would not lead a good life.
but misery to i and to others
that’ll have children and become mothers
for this i hated to set my eyes
to hurt my feelings
and change my mind . . . .
sunday in a fijian village
by ETA BARO

Attending church service is a feature common to all Fijian villages. Church-going, originally a western concept, has become engrained in the native’s tradition. As is often the case, traditions die hard, so usually a Fijian will try to attend a church service on Sunday.

The first church lali was beaten and the villagers rushed about getting ready to attend the morning service. Sunday whites were donned and oiled arms and legs flashed in the brilliant sunlight as people walked towards the old, tumble-down church. A bell rang, informing the villagers that the preacher had left his house for the church. Now the preacher had left his house for the church. Now the preacher was ready to ascend the pulpit so the second lali was beaten.

As the service commenced some observant people noticed that the hands of the clock on the wall showed it was half past ten — the service was half an hour late. However that did not matter. Last Sunday they did not begin until eleven. The first hymn came to an end with a long, drawn-out “amen”. Now the preacher’s monotonous voice droned on in a lengthy prayer, while the people coughed, shuffled out, “Shshsh! Take him outside!” This prayer was followed by the congregation reciting the Lord’s Prayer at different paces. The children competed to see who could finish the recital first, while the men, assuming deep, throaty voices, drawled the prayer finally to an end.

A fresh wave of coughing broke out while the preacher fished out a large handkerchief to mop off the beads of perspiration. Late-comers entered and squeezed past those already seated, stumbling over their feet to reach their seats, murmuring apologies on the way. As they were settling down, the preacher began to read from a chapter in the Bible. He stumbled over words and stuttered, holding the book about two feet away from him. Finally the labourious reading ended while some had not even found the right place in the Bible. Books were closed and plates were passed around to accept the congregation’s offerings. Children’s cents rolled on the floor and then, there arose a commotion in the church.

A young woman walked in, wearing the shortest skirt the villagers ever saw, with a pair of high-heeled shoes. Her cheeks and lips were painted scarlet while her fuzzy hair was tied at the back with a string of red wool. The girl, oblivious of the commotion she was causing, walked down the aisle, hitched up her skirt and sat on the first row of the ladies’ seats. All heads turned eagerly towards her. Here was a fresh topic for gossippers! People could be heard whispering, “Who is she?”; “Whose daughter is she?”; etc. etc.

Meanwhile the preacher launched into a sermon which the villagers had heard several times before. By now the sun was high up in the sky and the heat in the church became stifling. A number of people began nodding as drowsiness stole over them. An old man who had just returned from Suva fished out a pair of sun-glasses and, with much a-do, donned them. The left glass was cracked, but at least the glasses allowed him to doze off without being noticed.

During all this the children were getting increasingly restless. Some started talking, some fiddled around while others started little fights among themselves. The attendant now came in handy. He walked about with a long reed striking these children to silence.

Much to the congregations relief, the sermon came to an end. The last hymn was sung and the benediction pronounced by the preacher. The choir’s attempt to sing the final “Amen” failed miserably as the singers sang off-key. Now the choir master repeated the starting notes only louder this time, that the whole congregation heard it. At the end of the service the people crowded to the doorway, eager to get to their Sunday lunches roasting in the lovo, and to inform the unfortunate ones who remained at home about the mini-skirted spectacle that was seen in the church.

The villagers returned home feeling happy for having been to church. Now no matter what sins they may later commit, the important thing is — they have attended a church service. These people feel satisfied for having performed their duty to God and to the elders.
The Union Steam Ship Company’s interest in trade to the South Pacific area, and in particular the islands groups in Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, dates back to 1881 when the Company bought the Auckland Steam Ship Company and with its small steamer, the “Southern Cross” of 282 tons, took over the Auckland-Fiji trade. In the same year the Company took over the Fiji-Melbourne service with the 293 ton steamer “Suva”.

By 1890 the Pacific Islands trade had grown so rapidly that the Company decided to build vessels specially suited to meet the requirements of the trade. The first of the new ships was the “Tavuni” of 1465 tons, and she was followed within the year by two more ships.

More ships were designed in later years to cater for the special trade of the Pacific Islands, and a passenger service was offered. Best remembered are the “Matua” which served the islands run from 1936 to 1968 and the “Tofua” which still combines the passenger-cargo service.

Today a similar effort is being made to introduce a specialised service which fits the needs of the islands trade and to serve that end several studies are underway to provide a suitable ‘unit-load’ ship.

Such a service has already been tried and tested very successfully by the Company both in Australia and New Zealand with the roll-on-roll-off services. Applied to the Pacific Islands, the idea of putting cargo into standard units will project the islands trade into modern era of sea transportation. It has the immediate benefit of offering a timetable service and diminishes the chances of cargo loss or damage. Cargoes move quicker and the ships turn round faster at the ports to the benefit of all. The precise type of unit load vessel has not been decided on but a combination of several types may be used in an intervening period. It is the first step towards a shipping service which ranks with the most up-to-date in the world.

The Union Company has had a network of calls in the Pacific region since the first service began. Now regular calls are made in Fiji, to Lautoka and Suva; in Tonga at Nukualofa and Vava’u and in Samoa at Pago Pago and Apia as well as Niue. With the integration of the Holm Shipping Company earlier this year, the Union Company fleet now also serves Norfolk Island, New Caledonia and Tahiti and the Cook Islands.

The service to the Pacific Islands is only part of the operations of the Union Company and its islands service frequently links with the other operations for the transhipment of cargo.

The roll-on services now operate between the Australian mainland and Tasmania and around the New Zealand coast, linking the main ports. The major service operated by the Company is the trans-Tasman roll-on service, which carries the fast increasing trade which is developing under the liberal moves of the NAFTA trade agreement between the Australian and New Zealand Governments. Supplementing these regular timetabled services are the large fleet of conventional vessels which operate around the Australian coast, across the Tasman and around the New Zealand coast.

Since the Company was acquired by Australian and New Zealand interests on the basis of an equal partnership a new period of growth has begun. The new Board has already called for tenders for the third roll-on ferry for the Australian coastal services and drawing plans are under way for two more large vessels for the trans-Tasman trade. These are additional to the studies for a new Pacific Islands service.

But the Company’s influence extends beyond shipping and Union Travel has a history almost as long as the shipping operations of the Company. Now a large travel organisation operates successfully and among the most popular areas are the Pacific Islands. The Company develops its own tours as well as offering tourist travel throughout the world.

The new lease of life that the Company is now showing is part of the philosophy of the chairman, Sir Peter Abeles, who is well aware of the enormous growth that is taking place within the Pacific region. He is determined that the Companies in his care are at the forefront of that development.
Way back in 1881, we knew that our forward-thinking policies, and sound shipping experience would be considerable factors in the development of the Pacific Islands. We were right. Today, we’re proud to have played such a major part in the growth of the Islands’ trade and general prosperity. But we’re not going to sit back and rest on our laurels now. We’re going to continue to strive for even better shipping services and trade relationships to make the future even brighter.

We don’t just transport cargo though. For many years, we’ve been operating an extensive travel service in and around the Pacific Islands, taking people to where the development is. So wherever there’s development and prosperity, there’s transport. And when it comes to efficient, reliable transport, we’re around in a big way.
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His face was pressed to the earth, his hands clutched claw-like at the soil, the small wet grains lodging in his nails. By burying himself in the clinging brown earth, he hoped to survive.

The bullets ripped through the air and cut at the bamboo clump behind him. There was a rushing sound as they tore through the thick green mass of the leaves, which fell in whispers of dying protest. When the bullets hit the tall stems there was a loud crack as the young stem splintered, and fell.

He fell, with each leaf and with each stem, feeling all the agony and all the pain. He felt fear, as he had never felt it before. It raced through every part of his body, seeping through and tightening every nerve. It leadened his body and dragged him deeper into the soil.

To lift his head, to move at all, meant the shattering of all that he was. The very small things mattered now. An inch, the slightest movement, the least relaxation, took on an enormity that they had never had before. In that moment of eternity, the whole world had been reduced to him, and to every last inch of matter that he was. This entire world clung to the earth. Every inch, through the grim medium of fear, felt the probability of death.

The siren song of the bullets overhead, the bamboo whispers of pain behind him, and the protective yet possessive feel of the earth beneath him, came into focus out of the sweating mists of fear. Then the mists of fear faded.

He had moved beyond fear to unfeelingness, unknowingness, resignation. He listened without thought to the sound of the ripping bullets, stared without seeing at the growing shoots of grass close to his face. He felt, but this time without emotion, that he might die. To die was to sleep. He grabbed at this last straw, this rationale of death, repeating it to himself for sanity’s sake. Dying was simply to sleep, to close one’s eyes forever to the young, green shoots sprouting up in front of him, and the smell of the earth, that strange warm smell of life, and of decay.

The sound of the bullets had stopped. It had stopped for some time, but he was still staring at the green shoots in front of him. Then gradually, the deep soft silence hit him, and he realised that he was still alive. For hours longer he still clung to the earth. Eventually, he disengaged himself from the earth that had been about to possess him. He brushed off the last clinging particles. He walked over, cautiously, to the bamboo clump and silently, he stood staring. More than half the tall youthful stems had fallen to the ground. Some still stood standing, as silent as he, but their leaves were battered and in shreds.

He stood alone, an isolated world, still numb by a suffering and fear, which would not leave him untouched. He would not wish it on anybody. And yet it had been wished on him.
The Fijian culture, as I see it, is a systematic and integrated whole; broadly as a way of life that governs the manner in which the Fijians think, behave and believe, as well as the way they make, do and use things. The central values of this culture are difficult to pinpoint but I feel that the essential characteristics include their attitude to work and time, their highly stratified organisation with chiefly customs and a spirit of mutual help and co-operation characteristics of the village community.

Changes in any one part of the culture (such as in economic organisation) would have profound influence on the central values mentioned and would, in turn, have repercussions on all areas of Fijian life.

As a result, rather than treating industrialisation, Christianity, formal education and tourism separately, I shall examine them simultaneously, presenting the inter-relationships that exist between them where relevant.

Cultural change, the process by which the existing order of a society, its social, spiritual and material aspects of life undergo transformation, is a permanent feature of human existence.

The rapidity and magnitude of this change differs with relation to time and place and in addition to a host of other inter-related factors. According to Malinowski “technical inventions, the development of industrial enterprise and of financial and mercantile organisation have speeded up this process in the European world, giving it a far-reaching mastery of the material environment.”

Cultural change for the Fijian does not differ profoundly from that which transformed and is even today transforming, the rural and so-called backward countries of Europe. These countries living by indigenous, age-long economic systems and kinship organisation have moved towards a new type, closely akin to the proletariat found in the industrial areas of the United States, France or Japan.

It is generally believed that cultural change may be induced by factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community (known as “evolution”) or it may take place through the contact of different cultures (“diffusion”). One cannot really isolate either of these to indicate the main currents of cultural change among the Fijians because both are inter-related, and perhaps, equally important. The arrival of Europeans, Chinese and Indians, bringing with them their diverse cultures and aspirations in life have brought in diffused changes just as has the introduction of a cash economy, industrialisation and commercialisation.

Industrialisation has been broadly defined as “the system of production that has arisen from the steady development, study and use of scientific knowledge” based largely on the division of labour and specialisation. Recently “industrialisation” has been closely associated with economic development and economic modernisation.
Industrialisation includes both agriculture and industry. Fijian society, prior to European influence, was characterized by a subsistence economy with some barter or exchange. The individual conception of production and consumption was basically related to immediate needs rather than to any planned future except in the case of preparations for a feast or a ceremonial. Agricultural activities not only regulated his total economic organisation but permeated his social and political life.

A.R. Tippett, recording the Fijian social and economic organisation for this period has said that the "Fijian society is divided into functional classes, each with its respective responsibility to the whole. Fijians are born to be carpenters, or warriors, or fishermen, or priests, or chiefs. Interchanging of office is extremely rare. Society was fixed, and for hundreds of years, changes caused by war for example, were still within the confined pattern."

The stability of the social structure as a whole, including social, political and economic organisations, depended on the chiefs whose function were the administration of the whole, the receiving and distribution of contributions of the various clans, with controlling of inter-relationships and inter-responsibilities of the whole.

Today, with the influence of early European traders, settlers, missionaries and colonial rulers giving way to the introduction of money, there is no longer a pure subsistence economy. This has had a dis-integrating effect on the central tenets of Fijian social structure. The Fijian villager is rapidly moving towards a market-based cash economy with increasing specialisation and division of labour.

The division of labour, for instance, both in industry and agriculture, arises not out of the household any more, as much as it does from schools, shops and factories, away from the protection and influence of the family and the larger social units such as the mataqali. The importance of these social units themselves have weakened to a large extent. The phenomenon of co-operation is an example that illustrates this.

Margaret Mead has argued that "The concept of co-operation in most areas is different from that known in the West. Western co-operation refers usually to a group which has been created in terms operation refers usually to a group of future ends for the benefit of the individual members." This she feels is individual collective effort converging towards a unifying end.

The type of co-operation amongst Fijians, opposed to the above, however, would be inclined more towards having an "organic basis deriving from the past patterns but not reaching into the future." Thus one born into a family, a mataqali or a village acted for the welfare of the unit in question, filling his prescribed role.

With increasing participation in monetary economic activity, there is a trend, particularly as shown by the galala Fijians, to break away from the obligatory hereditary ties of co-operation. It was in 1944 that G.R. Roth recorded the tendency to neglect the services of common benefit, such as house-building, performed in the village by the residents as communal work. Today the force of this tendency would inevitably be greater as Fijians are becoming increasingly dependent on money for their livelihood.

Money symbolises a culture of its own based on quantification and accumulation. In its early period of introduction, money was incidental to living rather than an end in itself. Incidental because the native Fijians could well have existed without it. But with today's rising demand for Fijians to compete and participate in economic activities, the demand for money continually increases.

With this there is an overwhelming change in their attitude towards money itself and the influences it has on their social and economic organisation. The traditional division of labour — particularly based on sex, with the men preparing the fields and planting while the women cultivate the crops — is tending to lose its sway with most of the able-bodied men moving to either a copra plantation, tourist hotels or towns to work for cash wages.

The burden on the women to produce the necessary crops as well as to look after the children become too heavy so they give up time consuming preparation of traditional foods for comparatively unhealthy, processed store foods. Thus consumption of bread and tinned fish in addition to a wide range of other items may be detrimental to health but has become a habit difficult to discourage. Argued thus in a paper at the 2nd South Pacific Seminar, USP, Suva.

The Fijians who become increasingly dependent on cash wages have to adjust to a new concept of time and relationship to work — changing from a twenty to forty hour week; for those who have to commute fairly long distances from their village, the time spent in working, travelling, eating and then resting for another day with the same rigid pattern of activity leave practically little or no
time for communal duties, obligations and social intercourse. An interesting development, related to this and to changes in domestic organisation has been the abandoning of a two-meal day to a three meals system.

Money has led to the atomisation of the individual within the family, thus relaxing the structure of family relationships and of the social and economic systems of the group as a whole. While in the past a young person was almost totally dependent on his elders for his progress and the development of his creative potential whether as a craftsman, a warrior or a fisherman, today he may go and earn money, away from the old encompassing units.

Economic independence of this nature on which the Fijian society itself is becoming increasingly dependent helps the young revolt against or undermine parental authority of the larger social units. This trend may not be very severe in strength yet, but the type of formal education that young Fijians go through is undoubtedly lying the gresade for explosive change of this sort.

Technological innovation is a necessary feature of industrialisation being a function of the degree of commercialisation and monetisation of an economy. The introduction of new tools, in agriculture or industry, involve much more than saving labour, increasing production or improving a product. Where the technology is simple, tools are an extension of the body; — they do not introduce much devastating change. But when machines and new techniques are introduced, the impact is profound. The individual must adapt to the rhythm and motion of the machine and let its operations dictate him. In addition he must also conform consistently with externally set time limits.

The psychological impact of such damage on the Fijians who have long engaged in activities related to the ways their ancestors did them, I feel, is unmeasurable yet socially significant. This is particularly so with the rising need for commercial cropping. The greater the degree of specialisation and commercialisation the greater is the need to adopt newer techniques. This means "efficiency" in the context of present-day economic thinking. To the Fijian this process is particularly difficult because he is expected to abandon, with the traditional modes of production, a host of values and beliefs that have been of central importance to him for generations. In fact the educational process he has experienced has been largely geared to instill these ideas in his mind.

Every society, no matter how "backward", has its own mode of education, for one may find practices and rituals designed to rear children so their biological impulses will be channelled and patterned that they may function within the particular culture. Native education, prior to any Western style education included all aspects of one's growing up — that is, instruction in inter-personal relationships leading to the ways of making a living. The exercise of effective social control disseminating through the social structure itself was partly a result of this, permeating the behaviour and attitudes of all concerned.

Today, the idea that literacy is the tool of education has developed well to engross the Fijian's life. While the initial motive of the early missionaries (who introduced formal education) was to prepare the path towards their goals — that of spreading the Gospel and bringing light to this dark part of the world — today the basis of formal education is geared towards the training of economically productive skills, technical or otherwise. For long this educational system has not been able to inculcate the local demands and established traditions but rather has laid the basis for industrialisation and a wider vision of life. This has been synonymous with "civilisation" — to break away from the old.

The need instigated to move away to new skills and knowledge, to a new place in a new social order has been disruptive to the Fijians — maintaining a rising quest for change, creating new values and aspirations in the minds of the young. Young people, when most susceptible to change during the age of maturity and sexual visibility, develop new conceptions of what kind of a person they are. They develop and adopt new rules for their conduct and acquire loyalties to new ideas and new groups. Knowledge of the outside world against the confines of the mataqali or Yavusa is widespread.

Progress is largely viewed not so much as restricted within these units but on a much wider scale. Formal education facilities communication, mainly through English, giving access to newspapers, radios, movies, books and tourists (who themselves carry a special message, of mobility, travelling as well as money). It also helps bridge the physical distance between the rural and urban environment.

The urbanisation phenomenon is deeply rooted in the system of formal education and is part of the industrialisation process and tourism. In the initial stages it was normal for the young people to move into towns for an
education while the older, economically productive people remained in the villages. Very high expectations were built in the minds of both those who migrated for this purpose and those who remained back in the villages.

Formal education culminating in a white-collar job normally fulfilled these expectations because somehow (as demonstrated by the white-man in his stocking socks perhaps!) this signified progress and advancement. Those who were thus “successful” remained in the towns but the “failures” refrained from returning to the village. This was either in fear of being ridiculed or because they fell in love with the bright lights of the towns, its freedom and the young girls there.

The girls with their perfumed sophistication and accessibility may have been, and still continue to be particularly attractive. Urbanisation today has become a much more real phenomenon for the young as well as the able-bodied, economically productive older people.

Another interesting area of cultural change through formal education has been medicine. The influence of the early Catholic and Methodist missionaries changed tremendously beliefs and practices regarding disease. Later, with the establishment of a medical school and the training of Fijians in European medical practices, the traditional institutions which perpetuated such beliefs and practices were abolished to a large extent.

Thus, instead of continuing reliance on ancestral spirits and various herbs etc., the people changed towards penicillin, aspro, cough mixture, etc. This change is significant, not so much in medical terms alone, but rather in the socially significant place that ancestor worship and evil spirits have had in governing the behaviour of the Fijians in the past. In the villages the older generation retain much of the traditional practices for in time of ailments of any sort they attend to these in their own old ways first and if these do not work, then resort to medical attention. The younger generations as I have found after a number of interviews, have much less, if any faith in these traditional practices.

The Christian missionaries, not necessarily Christianity, brought sweeping changes in the Fijian religious system and their way of life. They are equally important, with the Christian, in moulding the lives of the Fijians for the Fijians identified the medium very much with the “Superiority” of the message.

In the history of religions three beliefs appear to be of fundamental importance —

the existence of an over-ruling spiritual power; the reality of man’s so I am something distinguishable, if not distinct, from the body, and its survival after death; the possibility of communication and communion between the soul of man and a great over-ruling spirit. Henderson has argued that the Fijian in his own simple and crude way has an intense and vivid belief in all three.

The Fijian’s religion was so closely interwoven with their social policy that it was unreasonable to tear away the one without lacerating the other. It was a hard task-master to the Fijian for it governed his every action from the cradle to his grave. In the tabu, it prescribed what he should eat or drink, how he should address his betters and elders and whom to marry. It also limited his choice of the fruits of the land and the sea, controlling his very bodily attitude in his own dwelling.

Henderson asserts that “true religion finds expression not so much in conventional beliefs, or theological dogmas, as in the attitude of mind. The people who could bow their heads reverently and submissively in the presence of superior spiritual power had the root of the matter in them.” There was much that the missionaries could have preserved, magnified and promoted in the Fijian’s religion but instead they were bent on ridiculing the native gods out of existence and to graft on the Fijian’s mind a so-called purer and more spiritual faith.

They induced the Fijian to suppress the customs of polygamy, cannibalism, strangling of widows and the practice of amputating the finger as a mark of mourning. But polygamy was not necessarily evil, confined largely to the chiefs who were “accustomed to cement alliances by taking a daughter of every new ally into their households apart from increasing their harems.”

The reason why the Christian missionaries in spreading the Gospel of Christ, were such ruthless “iconoclasts” can well be illustrated by their attitude to themselves and their place of origin, Britain. T. M. Thomas, when applying for missionary service with the London Missionary Society, sums up this attitude well:

“I am anxious to be instrumental to carry the gospel to the poor pagans, by making known into them the way of life, darkness — idolatory and cruelty may disappear from their land and enable to enjoy the immeasurable and unspeakable blessings which my countrymen do.”

The missionary saw himself not only as a member of a superior group possessed of an advanced culture but also, and perhaps more
importantly, as an adherent of a cause commanded by God and backed by divine assurance of success. As an agent of social change, the missionary had a little theological training (often lacking this too, coming from very low-class, poor societies) coupled with conventional stereotypes about savages and tribalism.

The belief, that Christianity was suited to all men in all places at all times was dominant and they refused to accept the existence of a conflict between the claims of the heathen at home and the heathen abroad. They saw the only “perfect social system in the English mode of family life.”

The first conversions of Fijians were not so much on the merits of the Gospel of Christ but rather a function of the prevailing circumstances. The Fijians were attracted to Christianity by evidences of the power of the whiteman’s God-goods, his steel axe and muskets, the ships, clothing and bottles (whether they contained sacred wine or O.P. rum).

Contrary to missionary teaching, Fijians saw the new God as a god of war – for he gave the white man great ships with big guns, crowded with warriors armed with muskets. The Battle of Kamba in 1855 was a milestone for missionary activity for it made all the above beliefs legitimate in the minds of the Fijians. With Chief Cakobau confessing faith in Christianity the missionaries themselves won a major battle, readily converting almost all Fijians. There were other reasons, of course, why Fijians accepted Christianity.

The Fijian’s inbred fear of the unknown manipulated to induce him to become a Christian lest he should die and go into eternal hell fire. Those who readily accepted did so on impulse to ensure their lives and property against naval gunnery and muskets. The Fijians acceptance of Christianity in the form it was presented to them and the creation in their minds of identifying the missionaries as being progressive, civilised and superior as against the relative material poverty and backwardness of their own religion planted vital seeds of unsurmountable change.

In Fiji today, any new avenue of income-earning is well received so as to respond to the needs of an increasing population. Tourism, a relatively recent phenomenon, is gaining eminence in this respect. Basically its gains are economic but it breeds social, physical, technological and environmental problems. With its vast network of transport and communications industries including cars, buses, modern passenger liners as well as the developments of huge building complexes with complementary minor industries, it is a necessary commitment to industrialisation.

There may be various ways in which one could examine the impact of tourism on the Fijian culture but here I shall be primarily concerned with two aspects, namely, the tourist administrator’s concept of Fijian culture and the extent to which he affects it as against the Fijian himself and his response to tourism.

In order to attract tourists from an international market the administrator has to engage in effective, widespread advertising. He, therefore, needs a substantial list of attractions that he can use to hire people with diverse backgrounds and needs. Apart from the uniqueness of the natural setting and scenic beauty of Fiji the developer can offer exquisite hotels, recreational facilities, swimming pools – all of which have an awful uniformity about them which can be readily offered elsewhere. As a result, one of the ace cards in competing for more tourists is the native Fijian whose way of life, traditions and customs the administrator interprets in a particular way.

Thus a New Yorker, who wants to get away from his highly impersonal, complex, industrialised environment is presented with “the tropical island of Fiji … of the sun-drenched South Pacific where mans longing for a paradise, where nature and man are in harmony and peace comes true.”

This is irresistible. What is more, he can see in Fiji the natives dressed in grass skirts performing their traditional kava ceremony and war dance that form an essential aspect of their lives. Behind these glorified traditions lies the irony.

Tourism by its very nature and existence destroys what it wishes to preserve. What it presents to the tourists as Fijian culture in hotels and major resort areas are an accumulation of a vast variety of items, largely artificial, prostituted and in many cases, far from Fijian.

Tourism deliberately makes only a handful put on grass-skirts to receive tourists but it actually helps turn Fijians into waiters, stewardesses, barmen, gardeners, caretakers, guides and entertainers. The functional significance of some parts of Fijian culture undergo drastic jumps from serving their spiritual aesthetic and social needs to that of an economic one.

The kava ceremony is one distinct and very important such example. In the process of change it has moved from a ritualistic base
to that of a social drink and, particularly within the tourism-domain, to an economic activity. Attention to detail, traditional in nature, is no longer shown and uncertainty in the procedure of performing it is becoming a permanent feature of kava ceremonies in hotels throughout Fiji.

The personal, hospitable relationships of Fijians towards others particularly foreigners is changing towards a business-like one as the tourist industry becomes massive. Visitors could well become objects with money, a source of income to be exploited rather than to be regarded as honoured guests. This, though seemingly degrading to the Fijian's make-up will increase as phenomenon as personal contact between Fijian and the tourists diminish and service to the latter become more industrialised in itself.

The Pacific Hotels project in Deuba provides an interesting base to record cultural change for Fijians through tourism. With the villages in close proximity to the multi-million dollar “development” project the impact of this on the social and economic organisation within the villages would be over-whelming. Perhaps the hardest hit unit within the villages would be the family. With the desire, and equally important the need, for money, the Fijian men will inevitably end up with the menial jobs available in the project, signing a life-long contract of servility while the domestic and agricultural wives would be drawn into the industry as ushers, dish-washers, etc.

Exposure to a glamorous working life with the demonstration effect generating from the numerous peoples they come across would create newer sets of demands for these unsophisticated, simple folks. The wakes offered would be unlikely to allow these demands to be fulfilled, leaving these folk dejected and frustrated.

The Fijian society of the pre-Christian era was war-oriented where warfare re-informed the economic and political life of the group. With the arrival of the missionaries and Christian indoctrination, that road to success that was vested in arms gradually gave way to Holy water and formal education — to read and write. With the introduction of money and the development of a concept of civilisation that was symbolised by the white man and his way of life, the Fijians have undergone unsurmountable changes — in their values, beliefs and aspirations in life.

Industrialisation, an irreversible process is increasingly dominating the lives of the Fijians. Today it is much more forceful than was perhaps the introduction of Christianity. Based on an erroneous assumption that welfare is synonymous with a steady increase in the consumption and accumulation of material goods, this phenomenon can perhaps be more disruptive than any religious doctrine.

As Professor Ron Crocombe would assert this may become the ‘new’ religion in the not-too-distant future. Fijians today, in facing the challenges of industrialisation, have to make the necessary adjustments as a result of an upheaval in their social, political and economic organisation that have in the past been based largely on subsistence agriculture and existence within the village units. Tourism in its ‘massive contribution to the welfare of the people of Fiji’ (by raising the Gross National Product, that is!) turning people into objects of curiosity thus leading to loss of respect, both to the self and others.

The Fijian’s dilemma today, therefore, is that he is desperately trying to make the best of two worlds — one in which he wants to preserve, or at least professes that he wants to, and the other in which he faces the challenges of economic competition and material well-being. He must think ahead and accumulate more goods — some of which may not really be necessary or vital needs.

The Fijian inevitably is moving from the former desires more towards the latter. How far he has done so is a matter of degree.

2. Encyclopaedia Social Sciences, 1968.
6. Mead, M. Ibid,
8. Henderson, G.C. Fiji and the Fijians (1835-56) p. 75
9. Ibid p. 75
Exalted at the destructive potential of the atomic bomb which they had unveiled so spectacularly at Hiroshima, the American military eagerly stepped up its development during the late 1940's.

In the absence of a convenient world war, somewhere had to be found where nuclear bombs could be tested in the atmosphere without inconveniencing anyone, or at least nobody much. To the Americans the Micronesian peoples of the central Pacific were, and still are, "nobody much". Conveniently, they are quiet, unprotesting, inarticulate and above all, few. Since the American authorities had to experiment with atomic explosions, Micronesia was the place to do it.

The nuclear laboratory selected was known as Bikini atoll. It is, or was, about two miles long when it was "acquired" by the U.S. Navy in 1946 and had about 150 inhabitants. They were taken away. They were re-housed on a succession of other islands, all of which displeased them in some degree, until they were finally deposited on the island of Kili, which is 0.36 square miles in area, and pleased the Bikinians no more than the others.

Twenty three nuclear detonations were "conducted", as they say, on or over or under Bikini atoll. There was no shortage of islands from which to continue testing when Bikini became too "hot" and too small. Eniwetok, an atoll in the same group, had the honour of being the stage for the first performance of the thermo-nuclear H-bomb.

Britain, of course, felt compelled to match the American achievements blow for atomic blow. She coerced an unwitting Australian government into providing facilities for contaminating the great Australian outback. Beginning with a crude device exploded aboard a retired warship in the Monte Bello islands off Australia's northwest coast she advanced eventually to more exciting and powerful weapons which not even the naive Australian government would accept for test.

There was, of course, the Pacific. The Americans had demonstrated the ease with which an island could be commandeered and its inhabitants evicted without the slightest murmur of protest. The British Army moved in to Christmas Island, used it as a base for nuclear "experiments" in 1956 and 1958 then, with the treaty to ban atmospheric nuclear tests looming threateningly on the horizon, the Americans were offered the facility for a final nuclear fling in 1962. Perhaps in hopes of a test-ban violation by the Soviet Union, which would have given the Americans an excuse to continue testing, they maintained the Christmas Island test centre until as late as 1967, four years after the signing of the treaty.

The governments of Communist China and France, among others, have refused to sign this test-ban treaty. Determined at least to match the atomic might of Britain, the Soviet Union and America, they are pushing ahead relentlessly with nuclear "experiments" in the atmosphere.

France commenced her programme of tests from a base at ColombBechar (Algeria) in the Sahara. The test site was located in what, to the French military, though not necessarily to the displaced inhabitants, was harsh and useless desert, suitably isolated from prying.
eyes and far enough from France that the tests might go unnoticed by those Frenchmen who had expressed fears that the Gaullist nuclear flinging was immoral, dangerous and expensive.

Miscalculation of the meteorological conditions attendant upon one Saharan test resulted in the passage of a highly radioactive cloud across the Mediterranean to Europe. Levels of 131 I in Portugal rose dramatically. Sheep thyroids were shown to contain 600 pCi/g of this radioisotope. Human thyroids were similarly affected. The French government took note; this was close to home.

THE FRENCH MOVE TO THE SOUTH PACIFIC

A decision was made, in 1962, to transfer French nuclear test facilities to the South Pacific. British and American efforts earlier had proved that local populations were indeed quiet, unprotesting and inarticulate.

The Centre d’Experimention Atomique (CEP) was founded to organise the South Pacific nuclear test programme. Massive amounts of money, machinery and men have been pumped into French Polynesia over the past decade. The social effects, on simple island communities thrust overnight into the atomic nightmare, have been calamitous.

By 1966 more than a third of the salaries of French Polynesia were paid, directly or indirectly, by organisations associated with the nuclear test programme.

Though the atolls of Mururoa and Fangataufa were uninhabited when the CEP chose them as nuclear test sites there were social upheavals on the island of Hao where a support base was constructed. A town to support 4,000 people, with facilities appropriate to Frenchmen plucked from the comforts of metropolitan France, was constructed. Many local labourers were needed to work on the project. They came from all parts of French Polynesia, one of the effects being that the phosphate deposits of Makatea were neglected while miners left for lucrative CEP jobs. Local patterns of trade were disrupted and prices soared upon the appearance of well-paid French technicians competing for limited supplies of goods.

Similar disruptive effects were evident on Tahiti, where French troops who participate in the nuclear experiments are garrisoned. During each test series as many as 40 French warships are in the area for test surveillance and policing activities. Up to 20,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Force de Frappe constitute a serious disruptive influence in an island group whose total population is less than 100,000.

Relations with the local population are poor and a false economy, based on the luxury needs of military personnel, has developed. Cultural conflicts have cut deep into Polynesian society. The eventual cessation of CEP activities in the area will result in an embittered society whose ephemeral economic foundations will suddenly crumble. Even if the French were to provide economic props the social wounds could not be healed.

POLYNESIAN PLEA

During the late President de Gaulle's 1966 visit to French Polynesia a local politician, John Teariki, attempted to convey the concern of his people at this nuclear invasion of their peaceful islands.

"I believe this economic anarchy – which the government has done nothing to temper – is being wittily exploited to establish in this sector, as in others, the domination of the CEP in Polynesia. Likewise our crushing budgetary problems have been adroitly manipulated to increase the power of the State over local administrative services, leading irresistibly towards the disappearance of our last territorial freedom.

"The creation of this thing and its presence here among us, without the Polynesians having been consulted in any way, although their health and that of their descendants is at stake, constitutes a serious violation of the contract which binds us to France and which the Charter of the United Nations recognises we have ... "Could you, Mr. President, ... re-embark your troops, your bombs and your aircraft?

"Then later on, those of our people who suffer from leukaemia and cancer would not be able to accuse you of being responsible for their sickness.

"Then, our descendants would not be able to reproach you for the birth of mutants and deformed children."

Up to the end of 1970 22 nuclear devices had been tested in French Polynesia. A further series of tests began in May, 1971. The test sites at Mururoa and Fangataufa are less than a thousand miles from Tahiti. Samoa and Fiji are more than 2,000 miles distant. This additional mileage is of small comfort to Pacific islanders, however. The extensive upper atmospheric transport of radioactive particles and the slow exchange between hemispheres means that no part of the world can avoid fallout from this source.

During each test series British technicians are located on Pitcairn Island, 600
miles from the nuclear explosions. Their activities are supported by ships of the Royal Navy. Pitcairners have been led to believe that such activities are designed to protect their tiny community from fall-out hazards. Last word from the French President, Georges Pompidou: when asked if he believed there was a possibility of nuclear collaboration between Britain and France he replied: “Everything is always possible. Agreements on nuclear matters between France and Great Britain are indeed possible, and probably even desirable...”

In any case, the New Zealand government operates an extensive network of radioactive fallout monitoring stations throughout the western South Pacific. They are primarily interested in levels of certain long-lived radioisotopes in the air, soil, rainwater and milk. Their data, therefore, give no more than a vague idea of what is happening in marine food chains, where concentration factors can result in radiation levels up to 200,000 times that of surrounding water.

DUBIOUS INTERNATIONAL SAFETY STANDARDS

Along with other governmental monitoring agencies the NZ National Radiation Laboratory adheres to the increasingly dubious standards of health hazard set by the International Committee for Radiological Protection (ICRP).

In using a concept of “permissible level” they give the impression that there is a level of radioactivity to which humans can be safely exposed.

There is no evidence of a safe level. The ICRP’s recommendations are founded on the assumption that any exposure to ionising radiation may carry some risk for the development of somatic effects and of hereditary effects. The assumption is made that, down to the lowest levels of dose, the risk of inducing disease or disability increases with the dose accumulated by the individual and that there is no minimum or threshold dose for any effect.

The acceptance of risk is reasonable, to a point, where beneficial aspects of radioactivity are concerned. People involved usually have a choice as to whether or not they are exposed to genetic risks and often the risk is insignificant in comparison with the benefit to be derived. The population as a whole is not required to share this risk.

The morality of governments which will allow whole populations to be exposed to health risks from tests of nuclear armaments, where no potential benefit can be argued, is questionable.

“Permissible” levels, dubious as they are, are vulnerable to misuse by monitoring agencies. A case in point concerns the Agricultural Research Council Radiological Laboratory which was charged with the responsibility for monitoring radioactive contamination of foodstuffs in Britain during that reckless period of the late fifties when Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union were detonating nuclear devices with abandon. The “permissible level” for 90Sr in milk had been set at 67 pCi/gCa. Levels rose markedly in 1961. To a public who had been assured by their government that adequate precautions were being taken to protect their health and that no dangers were to be anticipated from levels of radioactivity below that officially described as “permissible”, the publication of a figure above this level would have caused consternation. The UK government might even have been obliged to make moves to stop nuclear testing.

Acting under cover of a clause in the Medical Research Council’s rationale for the setting of “permissible levels”, to the effect that the situation should be reassessed from time to time, the level was quietly raised from 67 to 130 pCi/gCa.
EFFECTS ON ECOSYSTEMS

The local effects of a nuclear explosion in or above a tropical lagoon, such as those at Mururoa and Fangataufa, are drastic. An inward rush of water exposes corals and these, with the intricate complex of organisms inhabiting the reefs, are quickly killed by the searing heat of the nuclear blast.

Surprisingly, many fish in the area escape death by virtue of the shielding effect of water against heat and radiation. The long-term result of this however is undoubtedly detrimental. Local fish do become highly radioactive, if not from the initial blast radiation then certainly from the deadly fallout which follows. Genetic damage then may give rise to aberrant progeny and the role of a particular species in the ecosystem may be altered.

The question that most concerns us here, however, is the passage of radioactivity through marine food chains. Selective metabolism of individual radioisotopes results in a concentration of radioactivity which may be as high as 200,000:1, as in the case of 65Zn in oysters off the Coast of Washington, USA.

South Pacific island communities consume very large amounts of seafood. The inhabitants of small coral atolls depend for their survival on fin fish, shell fish and coconuts. On islands where it is possible to grow vegetables the consumption of marine food, while reduced, is still very high.

The tragedy of the Bikinians, whose atoll was sacrificed to American delusions of nuclear grandeur, entered a new phase recently. Insisting on their return to Bikini in spite of its altered size and shape and the ugly relics of its nuclear test days, the Bikinians extracted a promise from the US that their island be “restored” to a habitable form.

THE RETURN OF THE BIKINIANs

Most of the original coconut palms which gave Bikini its distinctive atoll appearance in the halcyon days of the early 1940’s have disappeared in the nuclear holocausts that followed. Everywhere is covered by a dense mass of secondary scrub, coarse and useless. The stubborn healing power of natural growth has led to the island being covered with this obdurate greenery, like a vegetable scar-tissue.

The Bikinians cannot return until certain landscape surgery is undertaken and long-term food crops, such as coconuts and breadfruit, established. Bikini is claimed to be “radiologically safe”, though there is reason for conjecture as to what the authorities rate as “safe”. The outer islands are still too radioactive for anything but intermittent visits and the charming little surgeon fish darting among the coral heads carries in its tissues a radioactivity created that day when a bomb exploded in his lagoon, generations before he was born.

One important food species of Bikini, in common with many South Pacific islands, is the delicious coconut crab, Birgus latro. This species has steadily accumulated 90Sr to dangerous levels, and may never be eaten again. A taboo on the consumption of these crabs, and perhaps shellfish, may lead to the adoption, by the new Bikinian society, of a basic diet of coconuts and canned beef!

Similar long-term contamination of islands in French Polynesia is taking place today, highlighting that grotesquely selfish aspect of human nature which results in the sacrifice of natural resources so urgently needed for the future to doubtful short-term gains.

One group of fish widely distributed throughout the South Pacific and consumed in increasing quantities, not only there but elsewhere in the world, is tuna. These magnificent fish constitute the third link in a food-chain which begins with plankton. Such plankton, floating near the surface of the sea are very susceptible to contamination from radioactive fallout. Some of this plankton is made up of the larvae of various fish species whose development appears to be limited by even low levels of radiation. In any case all such plankton are consumed by anchovy-type fish which, in turn, are preyed upon by tuna, the original radioactivity being concentrated at each step in the food chain.

Tuna are known to migrate over distances of many thousand of miles. Though the chance may be slim, we cannot rule out the possibility that tuna being consumed in some island community far from the French nuclear test sites are carrying dangerous burdens of radioactivity picked up from other fish which have grazed downwind of a nuclear explosion.

Most people in industrially-polluted countries assume the South Pacific to provide one of the last remaining uncontaminated environments. This is far from the truth. It has its share of globally deposited industrial aerosols and toxic substances concentrated along marine food chains. Its coral reef communities do not have the resilience expected of communities of such rich diversity. Radioactivity is one of several artificial factors presently threatening the integrity of its ecosystems and the health of its people.
could this happen here?

(Editors Note: Micronesia is a group of 2,000 islands in the Pacific Ocean, east of the Phillipines and south of Japan. Because many them are only tiny coral reefs, the total land area is 687 sq. miles. The population was estimated at 92,000 in 1967.

The U.S. has governed the Pacific Island territory for 27 years under a U.N. trusteeship. The islands are important for strategic U.S. defence interests in the Pacific and are also the site of a big U.S. missile testing range. Micronesia has been waging a struggle for independence from the U.S. for several years.

The Rongelap and Utirik Islands, mentioned in the following story are part of the Marshall Island group of Micronesia. They are within 300 miles of Bikini, where the hydrogen bomb was tested above ground in 1954).

Early in the morning of March 1, 1954, the people of Rongelap saw a flash of light in the western sky and an enormous pillar of yellowish white fire rising up in the sky. The pillar of fire that brightened the areas around them presently grew orange-colored.

Greatly alarmed, all the people ran out from their homes. Many of them gathered on the beach, wondering what had happened. In about two hours, the sky changed and it appeared as if a storm was brewing. Presently, they felt as if their islands were enveloped in mist and then "white powder" began to fall on them. The "ash of death" continued to fall, and people who were out of doors (most of them were out of doors) were showered with it. It fell on the roofs of houses and on the vessels in which they saved rainwater. The ash continued to fall for several hours.

The people of Rongelap had no knowledge of radioactivity. The village chief said that he had been drinking coffee then, and he had drunk "ash of death" with it. Most people washed their bodies towards evening. They had been exposed to radioactivity until then.

They began to feel pain on their skin (in the case of the Utirik people, they felt itchiness on the skin and then the itchiness changed to pain), and they began to vomit. They suffered from diarrhoea and felt very tired.

These were symptoms of an acute radiation disease due to external irradiation of the entire body by the gamma and beta rays of the radioactive substance contained in the ash of death.

ALTERNATIVE NEWS SERVICE 33/10.
Micronesia H-Bomb Victims.

The Trust Territory government of the United States had notified the village chief of Rongelap that a hydrogen bomb test was going to be carried out shortly, but he was informed of any preventive measures. It was two days later before an American ship came and evacuated the people of Rongelap to Kwajalain. Thus, they had been exposed to strong radioactivity for two full days. This was the same with the people of Utirik — they were moved to Kwajalain two days later.

At Kwajalain, they were told to wash their bodies with soap and water everyday. Some were made to drink a medicine called
"antidote". About that time, their hair began to fall off very easily and some became completely bald.

The people of Rongelap spent two weeks on Kwajalein and were then moved to a small island in Majuro Atoll. A school and a church were built on the island called Ejit, where they spent three and a half years.

No ash of death fell on Utirik island, but the people suffered from the same symptoms as those on Rongelap. They felt pain on the skin of their hands and feet, felt nauseous and suffered from diarrhoea. In about six months, they were returned from Kwajalein to their native island.

Eventually hair began to grow on the heads of those who were bald, and hair grew back completely in months, although it sometimes took up to four years. But this did not mean everything was over. On the contrary, the damage due to exposure from radiation showed itself in more serious ways.

"I am now convinced that the U.S. knowingly and consciously allowed the people of Rongelap and Utirik to be exposed to the 1954 fallout. This was done to the Rongelap and Utirikese so that the U.S. could use them as human guinea pigs in the development of its medical treatment to treat its citizens who might be exposed to radiation in the event of war with an enemy country. This is a crime unmatched in peacetime."

Congressman Ataji Balos, a representative of the Marshall islands, spoke these words in an address to the Micronesian Congress criticising the U.S. officials who govern Micronesia. They had refused entry to a Japanese medical team who wanted to work with people from Rongelap and Utirik affected by radioactive fallout.

Balos had arranged for the Japanese medical teams, sponsored by the Japan Congress Against A. and H. Bombs, to visit the victims of the H-bomb blast. The medical
could this happen here?

team arrived in Majuro, another part of the Marshall islands on December 6, and was held there pending a visa clearance by the Trust Territory administration. The visa was denied, under a ruling by the acting Attorney General Bowles and the team left December 16 after being able to see only a few H-bomb victims in Majuro.

Balos suggested that the U.S. officials should be deported because “they are not interested in Micronesia. I can see the whole affair tainted with racism. The United States choose to make guinea pigs out of our people because they are not white but some brown natives in some remote Pacific island.”

Since the fallout, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission doctors visit Rongelap and Utirik every year, but as Balos noted, “the object of their visits appears to be the collection of medical data instead of the restoration of health to H-bomb victims who have developed all kinds of disease and abnormalities.”

The medical team concluded that the victims of the H-bomb are receiving inadequate medical treatment. The following are excerpts from their reports:

ALTERNATIVE NEWS SERVICE 33/11
Micronesia H-Bomb victims

After the exposed people of Rongelap were returned to their home island, the amount of radioactive material in their bodies rapidly increased. The strontium-89 and iodine-131 (in their bodies) exceeded the maximum permissible levels.

This increase occurred despite the report by the American Atomic Energy Commission that efforts had been made to reduce the level of radioactive contamination of Rongelap island. In the meantime nuclear tests were continued and radioactive pollution of the environment also continued. Between 1946 and 1958 nuclear tests were conducted on 23 occasions and large amounts of nuclear fission products were scattered in the atmosphere.

The Marshallese population was exposed to external irradiation of the whole body by gamma rays, direct external irradiation of the body by beta rays from the ash of death, and internal radiation by radioactive substances that entered the body with drinking water and food.

The incidence of miscarriage and stillbirths in the exposed women was about twice that in the unexposed women during the first four years after exposure. The incidence of miscarriage and stillbirths in the 32 exposed pregnant women was 41% (13 persons) as against 16% (8 persons) in the 49 unexposed women.

Thyroid abnormalities were discovered in 1963 in a 12-year-old girl and a 14-year-old boy. In the case of Rongelap, of the 19 children who were under 10 years when they were exposed to radioactive fallout, as many as 17 (89.5%) were found to suffer from thyroid abnormalities.

Early symptoms of radiation diseases are no longer observed among the exposed people — they are now suffering in many cases from thyroid abnormalities as late effects of exposure. But this stage is not the end. We are afraid of diseases that may be caused in the future due to the late effects of exposure to radioactivity.

Radiation may cause late effects in the exposed individual with symptoms sometimes delayed by 20 years or more. Their main manifestation is in the form of cancer, leukemia, cancer of the bone, of the lung, of the thyroid, indeed practically of any type of cancer known. There may also be other effects, such as cataract or impaired fertility, as well as generalised effects which result in shortening of the lifespan and are sometimes interpreted as an acceleration of the natural process of ageing.

The Atomic Energy Commission has only recently come under criticism in the U.S. for its “irresponsible” handling of nuclear experiments. Since 1944, there have been 142 recorded atomic science fatalities. This figure does not include deaths associated with radioactive pollution of the environment — especially in the western U.S. where the A.E.C. has many testing sites. Radiation on terminal cancer patients recently made a splash in a number of magazines. These charges will be brought before a Senate Committee headed by Senator Edward Kennedy sometime this spring (northern). The committee hasn’t said anything about investigating the use of islands of Micronesia for the same purpose.

63
OUR LANGUAGE

Remember when hippe meant big in the hips?

And a trip involved travel in cars, planes and ships?

When pot was a vessel for cooking things in,

And hooked was what grandmother's rugs may have been?

When fix was a verb that meant mend or repair,

And be-in meant merely existing somewhere?

When neat meant well organized, tidy and clean,

And grass was a ground cover, normally green?

When groovy meant furrowed with channels and hollows,

And birds were winged creatures, like robins and swallows?

When fuzz was a substance, real fluffy, like lint,

And break came from bakeries and not from the mint?

When roll meant a bun, and rock was a stone,

And hang-up was something you did with the phone?

It's groovy, man, groovy, but English it's not

Me thinks that our language is going to pot.

THE TOURIST

We saw him at the malae;
He said his name was Bartlett.
He asked where he could find
A tortoise shell and basket.

We met him at the Blowholes,
Frustrated he seemed to me
He said he'd missed the chartered bus
And the taxi had charged a fee.

We met him near the palace
Looking lost and quite upset;
When asked if help was needed
His camera he could not set.

We met him at the marketplace
With pen and paper ready;
He was making notes on 'yams'
So he could send to Freddie.

He's only from a country town, he said
And the islands he'd like to be;
The people are so friendly here
And girls don't charge a fee.

I took him down to that big hotel,
Just down from the Market, see;
He signed in for the next three nights
'I'll live it up' said he.

I met him at the Ticket Office
He told me of his grief;
His island lass had taken off
With all his cash, the thief!
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You'll all know Sam, I think. Samabula Sam, the Suva Screamer. That’s what they call him round here. Behind his back of course. Lives all by himself in a little shack up there on the hill.

Children like him, but he scares most people. Every now and then he screams and wails for minutes on end. Sometimes I’ve wondered if he was just laughing. It’s very hard to know, with Sam.

One day last November I was sitting on the edge of the Number Three wharf, just gazing across the bay to the mountains. I like doing that sometimes, especially when there’s a good sunset, and a bit of thunder in the air. The heavy clouds go crimson about the rims, and the lightning strikes up and down the ridges of the hills. Very relaxing, I always think.

This day, Sam suddenly came up from nowhere, and sat beside me. He’s not much of a talker, so I didn’t mind. He rested his arms on his knees, and head in hands, and spat a few times into the harbour, and then he was settled. For a while we just sat there, dead quiet, just looking out over the Bay.

Then, Sam raised him arm and pointed across. “Joske’s Thumb”, he said. As if I didn’t know. “Yeah”, I said. “Joske’s Thumb,” he said again, and then for a while more he was quiet again.

“Tell you what,” he said then. “I’ll tell you this. I climbed Joske’s Thumb one day. Ten years, maybe twelve years. I climbed him.”

“That’s a fair climb,” I said. I wasn’t greatly interested.

“I climbed him alright. No problem. Straight up. Like a bloody lizard.” He laughed a bit, and I thought God, what do I do if the Screamer comes out in him again? But he was peaceful enough. So I kept on watching the crimson getting deeper in the clouds, and the lightning nigling in the hills.


I reckoned it wasn’t worth the climb either.

“Mere was already there,” he said.

“She must have been pretty fit,” I said, “beating a bloke like you up a hill like that.”

“One day pretty fit, I reckon,” said Sam.

“One time fit, and fine, and maybe the finest Mere in all Fiji.” He moaned a little, and I realized I’d never been beside him when he was winding up for a good scream before. So I thought I’d better keep him talking.

“Why one time?” I said. “One time?”

“One time,” said Sam. “Long time ago, I think. Mere was dead, see.” He moaned and whimpered softly, but I wasn’t listening
But then my lover deceived me of rubies, and this means the Joske's Thumb was obviously dead wrong. Few bones, see," he said. "Just bones, and her head. A bit of hair there, but no much, eh."

Well, my romantic notion of Sam and his Mere frolicking tragically around the peak of Joske's Thumb was obviously dead wrong. And after all, the hills of Viti Levu are littered with the bones of dead goats and things. So I just shrugged. The sunset was getting to its point of richest colour, and soon the sky would turn yellow above the storm moving in from the west. I began to feel morbid. Poor old Sam, I thought.

But Sam started talking again. "Just a few bones, see," he said. "Just bones, and her head. A bit of hair there, but no much, eh."

Well, my romantic notion of Sam and his Mere frolicking tragically around the peak of Joske's Thumb was obviously dead wrong. And after all, the hills of Viti Levu are littered with the bones of dead goats and things. So I just shrugged. The sunset was getting to its point of richest colour, and soon the sky would turn yellow above the storm moving in from the west. I began to feel morbid. Poor old Sam, I thought.

Sam didn't see that I was getting restless. It wouldn't have bothered him if he had. He wasn't talking for conversation, I don't think. He just kept on, and I couldn't follow him at all.

"It was just a little bit of shining," he said. "I was lying down, see, looking out at the reef. Nearly asleep, I reckon. Then there was this little bit of shining, right under my face. I thought it was an old shilling!" Without any humour at all, Sam laughed a bit about that. "An old shilling!" he said, "that bit of shining was no shilling, man. I dug him out. It was in her eye, see. My ring, see." He waved his hand sideways at me.

I don't take much notice of the rings and stuff that people wear, so I'd never noticed before that Sam had a ring on his hand. Now, for a second or so, I saw it. An unusual ring. In the sunset, it was impossible to tell its colour, but it was a coiled snake, with dark eyes. I'm no judge of rings, but I do know I'd never seen one like it before, and not since.

I checked one day round the shops in town, and they don't stock any rings like that.

"It was in her eye," Sam went on. "I dug down. There might have been more. It was then I knew it was in her eye. I dug her head up, see. Man, that yellow bone, and the bits of hair all loose! I was going to run. No, I was going to bury it back, and then run. I didn't know what." (Sam laughed a bit more at this point, but I couldn't see what the devil there was to laugh about.) "I just didn't know, see. But she told me. Oh, that was lucky. She did tell me. She said to me, I am Mere, and I am resting now. I am Mere of Beqa. I am Mere, the daughter of the fire and the sea, and I am no longer of this earth. But now that you have my ring, I rest."

"When I was alive, I was beautiful, and my lover was the moon. Night after night we danced together and loved, in the gullies of Beqa, until he begged me to go with him into the skies of night. I was afraid, and would not go. Night after night he begged, and night after night I said No; I am of earth; let you and I love secretly, but let me also love one of my own kind. One night the moon set a trap for me, and I did not see it. He said, 'We will indeed love secretly from now on, my Mere, and you will have your human lover as well. But he will not be of your choosing. He will be of my choosing. He is a man of Suva, and you will steer your small boat towards him through the reefs. I will guide you with my light, and so that all our loves may be shared, you will give him this ring, of a coiled golden snake. This means the eternity of our love. His eyes are of rubies, and this means the passion of our love. You will give it to the lover I have chosen for you, and you will take it to him tonight.'"

'That night I was indeed happy. I set sail for Suva, and my lover; the moon guided me on the path of his shining love. I sang, for I was full of joy. But then my lover deceived me, for as I neared the reef, the light of his love went out, and I perished in the arms of the sea, my mother."

'The moon drew my spirit to him, and in one of his long, cold tides, he brought my body to the peak of this hill, and set the ring upon my eyelid. My spirit was angry, but the moon said, You will be at peace when your human lover comes, and finds your body, and takes the ring. He will come, for I have chosen him.

'And now you have come, and at last I am at peace. You are my human lover, my lover of earth, and I am complete.'"

Sam didn't say anymore after that. He sat very still, looking over the Bay to Joske's Thumb. Maybe there was more to his story. I don't know. He couldn't have gone much longer anyway, because he was building up to one of the greatest screams Suva has ever experienced. He was breathing very long, and slow, and deep, and moaning along with it, so that every breath started with a low sad sound, and ended like a train going into a tunnel.

I'd pretty well forgotten about the sunset by this time, so I turned to look at him. All the crimson in the clouds had gone
while Sam was rambling on, going out the way logs of firewood do, flickering at the edges in clusters of sparks. The yellow of the remaining light didn’t suit Sam too well. He looked a very sick man, or like someone seeing a ghost, the way they do in the Hitchcock movies that turn up at the Regal. I wondered if I could put some sort of block in the way of the scream he was plainly heading for. I said, “Sam,” and when he didn’t answer I said, “Hey, Sam old mate,” but that had no effect either. So I reckoned I’d done my best, and waited for the worst to happen. And then I noticed his ring again.

In the crimson of the sunset, the eyes of that little snake had been black, and a bit sinister in a way, like an opal that has been crushed so long underground it’s determined to take revenge on someone now that it’s free again. But with the sunset gone, the snake’s eyes were the colour of blood, and I’ll swear they gleamed and faded at the rate of a heart-beat. Maybe that was because Sam had the tremors, though.

Well, I didn’t have much time to look at Sam and his ring. It took him about twenty seconds flat to get into full voice, and from then on he screamed his skull off. Poor old Sam, he sounded just like a dog on a moonlit night. But there was no moon. You couldn’t even see Joske’s Thumb anymore, for the gathering of the heavy rainclouds. And it did start to rain, too — bucketfuls of the bloody stuff. Sam got up, still screaming away, and stumbled along the wharf. He was holding his hands up high, probably to keep the rain off, I suppose. But for one funny moment I almost thought he was begging the rain to fall even harder. His hands were high, and he was waving, fetching the rain into him. He was right under a wharf light at that moment, and his ring caught the light. Those strange little snake’s eyes make a mighty reflection. The crimson of them came right at me through the rain, like looking underwater at a fire a long way off. I wondered if I should give old Sam a hand, get him a taxi back to Samabula or something. But I reckoned if the worst came to the worst, the cops would pick him up near the Metropole. They knew him, and Sam would have a good breakfast in the lockup. So I let him go.

For days, I couldn’t get that screaming of his out of my mind though. I’m no great thinker, but I thought about it. I decided Sam’s scream was no sort of laughing at all. That was certain. But he was enjoying himself, just the same. That’s another certainty. For a couple of days, I kept thinking of a line in one of those old school poetry books, about a woman wailing for her demon lover. That seemed pretty clever at first, but I tossed it aside in the end. Sam is no woman, believe me. So I gave up wondering about it. Sam just screams, that’s all, and you know that as well as I do.

Just the other day though, I had a sudden thought about that ring he wears. He doesn’t wear it on the third finger the way a real lover would. He wears it on his little finger. Oho, I thought! And I thought, now if the moon had chosen Sam as the man to be Mere’s lover, wouldn’t he have taken care to see that he made up a ring of the right size for him? Or did he take a finger measurement from the third finger of Mere herself? This problem bothered me through a whole evening. But then I simply asked myself — can the moon make a mistake? And I realised how foolish I was being, to question the rightness of things. If I kept on that way, I thought, I’d end up round the twist, like poor old Sam himself.

It really is very hard to know about Sam, isn’t it. Don’t you reckon?

by Ken Arvidson.
Of those who intrude themselves into the life of a group other than their own, even with due sympathy and humility, we must say Father forgive them, for they know not what they do! Dr. Gordon Brown.

Dr. Margaret Mead’s recent visit to Pago Pago interested me for the following reasons. Firstly, my attention was drawn to the elaborate welcoming receptions accorded her and the lionisation she received at the hand of the media in American Samoa.

Secondly, I was interested to hear her say that she now considers Samoa ready to read about itself and that Dr. Mead herself will write the reading material. Dr. Mead explained that her well known book ‘Coming of Age in Samoa’ was not written for the Samoans; which I suppose should justify the almost unrecognisable Samoa that she presented to the English speaking world in 1928. But it does not.

Margaret Mead came to American Samoa in the twenties and in her twenties, to find the answer to the following questions:

“Are the disturbances which vex our (American) adolescents due to the nature of adolescence itself or to the civilization?

Under different conditions, does adolescence present a different picture?”

The choice of Samoa for the young research student’s project was due to the following belief which she had at the time and which she still seems to hold, that for such studies, the anthropologist chooses quite simple peoples, primitive peoples whose society has never attained the complexity of our own. A primitive people without a language present a much less elaborate problem and a trained student can master the fundamental structure of a primitive society in a few months.

Thus, modestly, Miss Mead came to Tutuila and Manua and decided to make the adolescent girls of three villages in Ta’u the subject of her survey. In the next paragraph I shall let Miss Mead describe how she went about her work and how she arrived at the size of her sample from which so much has been generalized, not only about the adolescents of Ta’u, but also about all Samoan girls.

“Speaking their language, eating their food, sitting barefoot and crosslegged upon the pebbly floor, I did my best to minimize the differences between us and to learn to know and understand all the girls of three villages on the coast of the little island of Ta’u.”

It appears that Miss Mead was favoured with instant understanding because in the very next paragraph she was able to state:—

“Because these less measurable parts of their lives were so similar, because one girl’s life was so much like another’s in an uncomplex uniform culture like Samoa, I feel justified in generalizing, although I studied only fifty girls in three small neighbouring villages.”

As I have already mentioned, my interest in the forthcoming book on Samoa for the Samoans by Dr. Margaret Mead, is coupled with a hope that the promised publication will have at least a fifty percent representation of the real Samoa. But perhaps my hope will not be realized, “na o se manatu lafo vale,” for if the Samoa in ‘Coming of Age’ in that country is the result of nine month’s study, what will the Samoa of a few days’ be? I doubt whether Dr. Mead’s

father forgive!

by
observation and understanding of village life in Samoa has been improved since the twenties. For example she reported that political organisation was excluded from her book because this does not interest or influence the life of the young adolescent Samoan girl. But we know that Samoan politics and political organisation are so closely related to the aiga that this information forms part of the Samoan child’s general knowledge quite early in life . . .

Dr. Mead’s description of village life is not true. Even minor factual and observable things, like the hibiscus flowers wilting on the hedges under the noonday heat, the strings of crimson jelly fish, the half cooked pork diet of the Samoans, the noon-day meal of the elders; the lassoing of eels on the reef; the typical village lullaby for night sleep being ‘the thunder of the reef and the whispers of lovers’, the Samoan language which turns its verbs into nouns and nouns into verbs in the most sleight of hand fashion etc . . .

If Dr. Mead is incorrect in her observation of factual things, is she correct when she speaks about matters that belong to people’s minds and emotions? Is the Samoan such a simpleton as depicted in the following quotation: “By the time Samoan girls and boys have reached sixteen or seventeen years of age these perpetual admonitions to the younger ones have become an inseparable part of their conversation, a monotonous irritated undercurrent to all their comments. I have known them to intersperse their remarks every two or three minutes with ‘keepstill’, ‘sit still’, ‘keep your mouths shut’, ‘stop that noise’, uttered mechanically although all the little ones present may have been behaving as quietly as a row of intimidated mice . . .”

Is the Samoan girl really like this description “She thrusts virtuously away from her as she thrusts away every other sort of responsibility. All her interest is expended on clandestine sex adventures.” If your knowledge of the Samoan girl tallies with Dr. Mead’s description, then my article is obviously not for you and your worship at the Dr. Margaret Mead altar, is also very appropriate. But I think I speak for the majority of the womanhood of Samoa when I say that the Samoan girl who comes of age ‘ala Margaret Mead’ is a figment of the learned lady’s active and colourful imagination.

The Samoan girl’s adolescence is stormy and stressful. This news may come as a disappointment to Dr. Mead and her world wide reading public. But it is true. It is true now as it was true in the twenties. Why the adolescents Dr. Mead studied appeared serene and without stress, is not as Dr. Mead believed, because they were free with their sexual favours. No. They gave the appearance of serenity because, simple minded people that they are, the Samoans have evolved signals which the Dr. Meads of this world do not understand, or have the humility to learn.

If Dr. Mead is seriously considering writing another book on Samoa, perhaps someone might let the lady know that Samoa now has daughters who know enough English to read her testimony on Samoan girlhood as contained in ‘The Coming of Age in Samoa’; and enough daughters with the insight, intellectual honesty and humility to present the Samoan way of life as it is. A way of life which will sell on its own merits, without the romanticised sensationalism of Dr. Mead’s writing.
ON WAKING

One morning I woke up
And looked at the ceiling.
I saw a lizard chasing
Mosquitoes in their hundreds.
The lantern burning slowly
Near the bedroom door.
Thoughts passed my mind
like little ducklings across the
Water left by the big rains.
I could see their pink little beaks.
I saw Mama's picture on the wall.
The fond familiar face of long ago;
I closed my eyes and pretended to sleep.

streaks on a dirty windowpane
distorted vision from both sides
then you came
and changed my game
with a singleness and ease
of a sharp knife
you cut through the crap
and set me free.

I love
to sit
listening
to the
sounds
of the
morning
through the radio
flow rhythms
that
unite all
events of
the morning
in a singless
of mood.

RAIN, AND MORE RAIN

The rain has come for days and days
The horizon is hazy and grey;
Not a single patch of blue in the sky.
Lightning and thunder, dark with death
Is this your wrath, my God?
Call back the pervading storm
The wailing and restless wind;
Let a ray of sunshine from above
Warm the hearts and faces of your children.

Konai Helu Thaman

Light Bright little fire
Keep on burning higher, higher
My ears are splitting
A thousand tangled voices
Screaming twisted messages from the past
present and future
My eyes smart salty tears
A solid wall is erected
Against those who dare to break it.
The pulsating ache throughout my body
Only reminds me
That I'm still breathing
Keep burning little fire
Light me a way, higher, higher
If I lose you now
You're gone forever.

G. Alaitima
The moves towards independence in Fiji can be associated with three factors: the relative significance of domestic opinion in the Islands, the attitudes of the British Government in relation to her decline as a power east of Suez, and the influence of international public opinion. It seems that the first and third factors played a vital role and it was only through their consistent pressures on the British Government, which resulted in constitutional developments taking place and finally the granting of independence.

Let us examine, first of all the prevailing domestic opinion in the Islands, from 1959 onwards. In December, 1959, the Shell workers, went on strike which was followed by the bus drivers’ strike in Suva and this paralysed activities in Suva. The strike turned into rioting, when the police, in trying to break up a general meeting in the street, used tear gas. Both the Fijians and the Indians participated and the riot had anti-colonial overtones.

In 1960, the cane growers in the Western district of Viti Levu went on strike over the new cane contract. The strike was organised by a party led by the late Mr. A.D. Patel. From 1960 onwards the Fijians seemed to have cooled down after the 1959 Suva riot, but the Indians who are politically a disadvantaged group, kept pressing for constitutional developments to improve their lot. The Europeans who are numerically a minority, allied with the Fijians in not wanting rapid political developments unless safeguards are placed on their political positions and interests.

So apart from the joint effort by the Indians and Fijians in the 1959 strike, and the Indians communalistic interest in the political field, one can say that at the outset of the 1960’s public opinion in Fiji was divided over the question of independence. The British Government was not too keen in bringing about constitutional changes in Fiji because it felt that Fiji was not ready for it, due to the political dissensions existing and the nature of her plural society. The other factor is that there was no national agitation for it except the Indians and international public opinion. The other factor is that there was no national agitation for it except the Indians and international public opinion. The other factor is through pressures from the Australian government or specifically the large capitalist concerns in Fiji who feared the consequences of granting independence.

International public opinion refers to the Committee of Twenty Four, the United Nations special committee on Colonialism, who were following up the resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1960, proposing political independence for all dependent territories. As
the number of dependent territories in other parts of the world diminished in the 1960's, relatively greater attention was focused on the South Pacific. Even though, the Committee on Colonialism lacked a balanced appreciation of the situation in Fiji, its role however, did undoubtedly speed or kept the British Colonial Office alert to the political situations in Fiji and the need for the granting of independence.

Let us now look at the constitutional changes that took place and the political activities associated with it which led to the granting of independence to Fiji on 10th October 1970.

The 1959 Suva Riots and the sugar cane growers strike in 1960 had anti-colonial overtones. These internal pressures were reinforced by the United Nations General Assembly resolution of December, 1960, proposing political independence for all dependent territories, and forced the local British, administrators and the Colonial Office to bring about constitutional reforms which would prevent active agitation propagating in Fiji, and also satisfy the Committee of Twenty Four that something was being done towards the granting of independence. So in 1961, the governor outlined to the public of Fiji, the proposed stages for constitutional reform which would lead to the introduction of the a ministerial system. The Indians who by this time had recognised Mr. A.D. Patel's party as their party, welcomed this reform as a step towards getting more political power.

The Fijians viewed the prospect of self government with anxiety because of the challenge presented by the growing size, influence and aspirations of the Indian community. So the announcement by the Governor of proposed changes in the governing system, brought negative reactions from the Fijian representatives in the form of a resolution moved by Ravuama Vunivalu and supported by Ratu Mara saying that “there should be no change in Fiji's present constitution until the Fijians express their desire for further constitutional changes.” The resolution is ironic of one considers the intentions of the British Government but it was passed with European support in the House. This move in the council can be related to three factors:

a. The Fijian group appears to have been unfavourably impressed by recent events. One was the manner in which Britain and Australia remained inert, while the UN under US pressure allowed the Indonesians to push the Dutch out of West New Guinea, without making any provisions for the future of the indigenous race, the Papuans. That (says the Fijians) could happen in Fiji.

b. Another factor was the action of the Governor, at the opening of the session in urging that the people of Fiji should prepare for self government. Did that mean that Britain is trying to rid herself of her responsibilities in Fiji.

c. The third factor was the Governor's announcement that the Under Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Nigel Fisher, is coming to Fiji in January to move things along. Fiji has known a succession of British ministers who came, talked lengthily, and made vague promises to the Fijians and then disappeared into other spheres.

But it seems to me that this move was done to protect the leaders who were members of, or dependent upon, the conservative chiefly group. The Europeans supported the resolution because they were conscious of the Indian challenge, particularly in business and the professions and politically they did not want to lose their disproportionately large representation in the Council, which they argued gave added protection to the Fijians.

Faced with this negative attitude towards constitutional development from the Europeans and Fijians, and pressure from the Indians to go ahead and reinforced by the Committee of 24’s resolution, calling on Britain to take immediate steps to hand over power, the British Colonial Office had only one alternative, that is, to introduce moderate constitutional reforms to satisfy all quarters. In 1963, the first of the constitutional changes came into effect when the Legislative Council was increased to 19 unofficial members, six from each of the three groups. Four members of each group were elected by universal suffrage while the other two were nominated. Electorates and rolls however, remained on a communal basis.

This step was followed by the introduction of a ‘Member’ system in 1964. Under this system the government invited three unofficial members of the Legislative Council to become ‘Members’ of the Executive Council, and to undertake supervisory functions over groups of government departments. In other words these three members are ministers with portfolio, and while they have no executive authority, all policy matters affecting their portfolios and referred to them so that they may become familiar with the operation of the various departments assigned to them.
Three other unofficial members were also appointed to the Executive Council at the same time but without portfolios. Thus, there was, for the first time an unofficial majority in the Executive Council.

The most interesting condition governing the appointments of the six members was that in accepting the position, they had also to accept the principle of collective responsibility once a decision in which they have participated in the Executive Council has been made, they are bound to support it in the Legis Co., and should a member fail to give such a support, he would have no alternative but to resign. This was a further step towards the introduction of the ministerial system. The system came into operation in July 1964, after the appointment of an Indian, Fijian and a European as members for Social Services, Natural Resources and Communications and Works, Mr. A.D. Patel, Ratu Mara and Mr. John Falvey respectively.

The member system showed its ineffectiveness when a new scheme for a basic tax on all residents earning more than one hundred pounds per annum was introduced. The Indian member for Social Services was so much opposed to the scheme that he submitted a minority report. Despite the fact that he described it as an “iniquitous measure” he voted for the proposal when it was put forward in the Fiscal Review Report. However, the Bill to amend the Income Tax Ordinance was tabled in the Legis Co., towards the end of 1964, Mr. Patel was absent when the votes were recorded thus saving him the embarrassment of voting in favour of legislation to which he was opposed due partly for the interest of the political party that he was leading. Such an action has rather serious and obvious implications for the future effectiveness of the ‘membership’ system.

The conference to follow the introduction of the ‘membership system’ to work out a constitutional framework for Fiji, was staged in 1965 because the British Colonial Office realised the need for further constitutional changes. The conference was “to work out a constitutional framework which will preserve a continuing link with Britain and within which further progress can be made in the direction of internal self government.” The Fiji delegation comprised all eighteen unofficial members of the Legis Co. As the Indian members associated with Mr. A.D. Patel’s Federation Party had withdrawn from the preliminary discussions in Suva, the delegation was unable to present a set of agreed proposals. It was generally agreed that independence would not be an issue at the conference.

At the conference, the four Indian elected members chose to play a different role. Before the conference, they had suggested they had proposals long and wisely considered, ready to be whipped out of the bag in London. But when it came to the point, the other delegates were first surprised, and then increasingly irritated, to find there were no sound plans.

The Indian members, especially the three Feds; (Mr. A.D. Patel, Mr. S.M. Koya and Mr. Madahavan) had nothing to contribute except an inflexible insistence that everybody else should agree to the immediate introduction of a one man one vote common roll system of election quite regardless of the strong opposition to this repeatedly expressed by the Fijians, Europeans and a substantial section of Indian people in Fiji. Mr. Patel, then told the conference that he hoped the new constitution would lead to complete independence in “the not too distant future”. These two moves by the Indian members towards immediate independence had many repercussions in Fiji and later on in 1968.

The new Constitution made concessions to the Indian point of view; but at crucial points — relating particularly to the proposal for a bill of rights, to the constitution of the legislature, and to the exercise of executive power — failed to satisfy the Indian members of the Delegation. These were to have repercussions later on. The constitution increased the elective representation to 34, where by 9 Fijians, 9 Indian and 7 European members would be elected on communal rolls. The remaining nine members of whom three would be Fijians, three Indians and three Europeans — would be elected by voters of all communities.

Certain further changes of political significance were proposed. The property or income qualification for candidates and the literacy requirements for voters would be abolished. Fijian civil servants would no longer be permitted to sit as elected members and minority groups were either accommodated in the Fijian roll or the European roll; so they too were allowed to vote for the first time and also stand as candidates in the coming election. It was agreed that the General elections would be held in 1966 which would be followed by the introduction of the ministerial form of governing.

The 1966 Constitution, through its defects as well as its virtues, helped to
stabilise political attitudes in a more realistic and positive form. In the long run, it committed Fiji to complete self government, but there were substantial differences existing as to the extent and pace of progress, held by the Indians on one hand and the Europeans and Fijians on the other.

Immediately, it caused Fijian and European leaders together with some Indians, to form a political party – the Alliance Party consisting of a Federation of communal associations. In the 1966 elections the Alliance Party won 22 of the 34 elected seats, and the Indian supported Federation Party won 9 seats, and so Ratu Mara, was invited to make nominations for ministerial office; while he became Chief Minister.

On September first 1967 a motion was moved by the Federation Party leader Mr. A.D. Patel for the scrapping of the constitution and new elections on a common roll. Mr. Patel declared that the 1966 Constitution to be undemocratic, iniquitous and unjust and a serious obstacle to welding the different communities in Fiji into nation. His attacks were based on the bill of rights which guaranteed ‘freedom from discrimination’ but was unacceptable to the Indians because of discriminatory sections of existing laws, the executive power remained vested in the governor and to the constitution of the legislature in terms of numerical numbers of the three major ethnic groups.

The Alliance government refused to accept the motion and the Federation Party walked out and boycotted the Legis Co. until they automatically forfeited their seats in March 1968.

A by-election was called to fill the nine vacant seats and political feelings in Fiji ran high because of the campaign speeches of the Federation Party. Incidences in the London Conference of 1965 were recalled by the Fijians and there were fears of an outbreak of violence. In the campaign for these by-elections, the Alliance Party emphasised orderly progress towards self-government, retaining existing links with the British crown and continued recognition of the interests of the Fijian people as chief landowners. The Federation Party aimed at introducing a new constitution with a common role on a one-man-one-vote basis, the attainment of immediate independence as a democratic republic within the Commonwealth and nationalisation of some foreign owned enterprises. The Federation won the by-election with increased majorities and feelings ran high for a period in which there were fears of an outbreak of violence.

The by-elections had significant repercussions in the moves towards independence. The bitterness of Fijian opinion possibly induced the Federation Party not to continue its boycott of the Legislative Council. A policy of moderation was urged by leaders on both sides. At the same time the Fijian leaders, especially Ratu Mara, realising perhaps the vulnerability of their alliance with the Europeans once Colonial administration withdrew, decided to take the initiative in moving towards independence. Exploratory talks on the principles on which the constitution might be based began in August 1968.

In October, 1969, Mr. A.D. Patel died, to be succeeded as leader of the National Federation by Mr. S.M. Koya, who greatly contrasted Mr. A.D. Patel’s personality. The death of Mr. A.D. Patel brought a change in the attitudes of the two major parties towards independence. Mr. A.D. Patel was well known for his shrewd political manoeuvres and non compromising attitudes, and one can give him credit for hastening the process of political change towards the attainment of independence. It was under his leadership that the National Federation Party, pressed for reforms in the governing system which at that time was considered ‘radical’ and dangerous to the sustenance of political stability in Fiji. His death, came at an appropriate moment, because after the by-elections, feelings in Fiji was very high and could have turned to an extreme form if Mr. A.D. Patel had pursued his goals further rather than coming to a compromise with the Alliance Party and its leaders.

Until 1969, the Alliance Party, thought of moving forward to full internal self government in 1970 and of leaving control of foreign affairs and defence with Britain for a further period. But before the end of the year they had decided to work towards immediate independence, because their thinking was changed by a number of factors. They found that Britain was reluctant to accept responsibility for foreign affairs and defence during a transitional period. They formed the opinion that the political tension existing in Mauritius when that former colony attained independence had been largely a product of the long period of transition, and they were, presumably, conscious that extreme statements of both Indian and Fijian aspirations tended to gain acceptance in times of political uncertainty. Finally, they recognised that they would improve their relations with the leaders of the N.F.P. by agreeing to independence.
Late in 1969 and early in 1970 leading members of the Alliance government and N.F.P. opposition held joint discussions on the new constitution and other aspects of the transition to independence. The meetings were private, and the numbers small. In these circumstances, both sides were able to make compromises that they could not safely have made elsewhere. It was decided to seek agreement on all major issues in advance of the final constitutional conference which was to be held in London. As a result of the meetings, Fiji was able to move forward smoothly into independence, with relations between the government and opposition far more friendly than had seemed possible only a little earlier.

As a short term political device, the decision to reach agreement on constitutional and allied problems quickly and in private was thus extremely successful — and, in a plural society such as Fiji, success of this kind is sometimes all that is possible. But it also involved the abandonment of important safeguards in the procedure for the creation of a new state. Fiji received a constitution whose draft provisions had not been exposed to the comment and criticism of a majority of Legislative Councillors, let alone to those of the people as a whole.

On the question of common roll, the Alliance bargained with the N.F.P. that common roll would be introduced following the recommendations of a Royal Commission to investigate on the practicability of common roll in Fiji, in return for the entrenchment of the land question in the constitution. With both parties agreeing, they both accepted independence.

The form of entrenchment provided in the rights of the Fijians towards land and any associated change affecting it made amendments to them extremely difficult. In order to pass a proposed amendment affecting land, it must receive the support of at least three-quarters of the members of each House and the support of at least three of the eight Senators appointed through the advice of the Council of Chiefs. Some laws received the same entrenchment.

The major difficulty created by this form of entrenchment resides in the character of some of the laws it protects. They include, for example, the Agricultural Landlord and Tenant Ordinance which is widely considered to require re-drafting because of its formal defects. Such defects could, in themselves, be the cause of political and social tension largely unrelated to the basic rights and interests covered by the law. Ideally, laws that were to be entrenched should have been reconsidered and revised before independence; but because of the procedure adopted by Fiji leaders, this was not done.

So through internal pressures from people, mainly the Indians under the leadership of Mr. A.D. Patel, and the pressure of international opinion from the 1960's onwards, Britain was forced to bring about constitutional reforms which finally led to the granting of independence on October 10th, 1970. One will also have to pay tribute to the attitudes of the Alliance Party towards independence, because it was they who kept Mr. A.D. Patel in perspective so that the ordinary citizen of Fiji could comprehend the political manoeuvres of Mr. A.D. Patel and his aims.

From being "a political and constitutional anachronism" to a fully independent nation in 1970 within a space of ten years, Fiji can boast to the world of how peaceful transition to independency in a multi-racial society is achieved. For the time being, at least, the acceptance of that fact has engendered a spirit of friendliness, of flexibility and of responsibility among politicians in both the major political parties. In many fields, there is evidence of a cautious but constructive re-thinking of policy;

But more basically, the political future will be determined by factors of a non political kind. If Fiji should enjoy a period of prosperity, tensions may be relaxed. On the other hand, if per capita income and the level of employment should fall, the elements of conflict that are endemic in the constitutional development and the present constitution and in the Indian clamour for land — may produce a crisis that it will be impossible to resolve by normal political means. Fiji then faces the task of finding a viable alternative.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Triple illegitimacy

For generations we have tried to make the world a better place by providing more and more schooling, but so far the endeavour has failed. What we have learned instead is –

1. that forcing all children to climb an open-ended education ladder cannot enhance equality but must favor the individual who starts out earlier, healthier, or better prepared,
2. that enforced instruction deadens for most people the will for independent learning,
3. and that knowledge treated as a commodity, delivered in packages, and accepted as private property once it is acquired, must always be scarce.

Proposals for new educational institutions fall into three broad categories:

1. the reformation of the classroom within the school system;
2. the dispersal of free schools throughout society;
3. and the transformation of all society into one huge classroom.

But these three approaches – the reformed classroom, the free school, and the worldwide classroom – represent three stages in a proposed escalating production of education in which each step threatens more subtle and more pervasive social control than the one it replaces.

The futility of "universal" education

I believe that the disestablishment of the school has become inevitable and that this end of an illusion should fill us with hope. But I also believe that the end of the "age of schooling" could usher in the epoch of the global school-house that would be distinguishable only in name from a global madhouse or global prison in which education, correction, and adjustment become synonymous. I therefore believe that the breakdown of the school forces us to look beyond its imminent demise and to face fundamental alternatives in education. Either we can work for fearsome and potent new educational devices that fit all men into a world which progressively becomes more opaque and forbidding for man, or we can set the conditions for a new era in which technology would be used to make society more simple and transparent, so that all men can once again know the facts and use the tools that shape their lives. In short, we can disestablish schools or we can deschool culture.

The hidden curriculum of schooling

In order to see clearly the alternatives we face, we must first distinguish education from schooling, which means separating the humanistic intent of the teacher from the impact of the invariant structure of the school. This hidden structure constitutes a course of instruction that stays forever beyond the control of the teacher or of his school board. It conveys indelibly the message that –

1. only through schooling can an individual prepare himself for adulthood in society,
2. that what is not taught in school is of little value, and that what is learned outside of school is not worth knowing.

I call it the hidden curriculum of schooling, because it constitutes the unalterable framework of the system, within which all changes in the curriculum are made.

The hidden curriculum is always the same regardless of school or place. It requires all children of a certain age to assemble in groups of about thirty, under the authority of a certified teacher, for some 500 to 1,000 or more hours each year. It doesn't matter whether the curriculum is designed to teach the principles of fascism, liberalism, Catholicism, or socialism; or whether the purpose of the school is to
produce Soviet or United States citizens, mechanics, or doctors. It makes no difference whether the teacher is authoritarian or permissive, whether he imposes his own creed or teaches students to think for themselves. What is important is that students learn that education is valuable when it is acquired in the school through a graded process of consumption; that the degree of success the individual will enjoy in society depends on the amount of learning he consumes; and that learning about the world is more valuable than learning from the world.

It must be clearly understood that the hidden curriculum translates learning from an activity into a commodity — for which the school monopolizes the market. In all countries knowledge is regarded as the first necessity for survival, but also as a form of currency more liquid than roubles or dollars. We have become accustomed, through Karl Marx's writings, to speak about the alienation of the worker from his work in a class society. We must now recognize the estrangement of man from his learning when it becomes the product of a service profession and he becomes the consumer.

The more learning an individual consumes, the more "knowledge stock" he acquires. The hidden curriculum therefore defines a new class structure for society within which the large consumers of knowledge — those who have acquired large quantities of knowledge stock — enjoy special privileges, high income, and access to the more powerful tools of production. This kind of knowledge-capitalism has been accepted in all industrialized societies and establishes a rationale for the distribution of jobs and income. (This point is especially important in the light of the lack of correspondence between schooling and occupational competence established in studies such as Ivar Berg's Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery).

1st futile proposal: alternative curricula

No matter how much each generation spent on its schools, it always turned out that the majority of people were unfit for enlightenment by this process and had to be discarded as unprepared for life in a man-made world.

Educational reformers who accept the idea that schools have failed fall into three groups. The most respectable promise better schools. The most seductive promise to make every kitchen into an alchemic lab. The most sinister want to transform the entire world into one huge temple of learning. Notable among the first group are those who believe that schools, if they could somehow be improved, could also become economically more feasible than those that are now in trouble, and simultaneously could sell a larger package of services. Those who are concerned primarily with the curriculum claim that it is outdated or irrelevant. So the curriculum is filled with new packaged courses on African Culture, North American Imperialism, Women's Lib., Pollution or the Consumer Society. Passive learning is wrong — it is indeed — so we graciously allow students to decide what and how they want to be taught. Schools are prison houses. Therefore, principals are authorised to approve teach-outs, moving the school desks to a roped-off Harlem street. Sensitivity training becomes fashionable. So, we import group therapy into the classroom. School, which was supposed to teach everybody everything, now becomes all things to all children.

Other critics emphasize that schools make inefficient use of modern science. Some would administer drugs to make it easier for the instructor to change the child's behaviour. Others would transform school into a stadium for educational gaming. Still others would electrify the classroom. If they are simplistic disciples of McLuhan, they replace blackboards and textbooks with multimedia happenings; if they follow Skinner, they claim to be able to modify behaviour more efficiently than old-fashioned classroom practitioners can.

Most of these changes have, of course, some good effects. The experimental schools have fewer truants. Parents do have a greater feeling of participation in a decentralized district. Pupils, assigned by their teacher to an apprenticeship, do often turn out more competent than those who stay in the classroom. Some children do improve their knowledge of Spanish in the language lab because they prefer playing with knobs of a tape recorder to conversations with their Puerto Rican peers. Yet all these improvements operate within predictably narrow limits, since they leave the hidden curriculum of school intact.

Free schools, to be truly free, must meet two conditions: First they must be run in a way to prevent the reintroduction of the hidden curriculum of graded attendance and certified students studying at the feet of certified teachers. And, more importantly, they must provide a framework in which all participants — staff and pupils — can free
themselves from the hidden foundations of a schooled society.

It is useful to distinguish between the hidden curriculum, which I have described, and the occult foundations of schooling. The hidden curriculum is a ritual that can be considered the official initiation into modern society, institutionally established through the school. It is the purpose of this ritual to hide from its participants the contradictions between the myth of an egalitarian society and the class-conscious reality it certifies. Once they are recognized as such, rituals lose their power, and this is what is now beginning to happen to schooling. But there are certain fundamental assumptions about growing up—the occult foundations—which now find their expression in the ceremonial of schooling, and which could easily be reinforced by what free schools do.

Among these assumptions is what Peter Schrag calls the "immigration syndrome," which impels us to treat all people as if they were newcomers who must go through a naturalization process. Only certificated consumers of knowledge are admitted to citizenship.

The rhetoric of all schools states that they form a man for the future, but they do not release him for his task before he has developed a high level of tolerance to the ways of his elders: education for life rather than in everyday life. Few free schools can avoid doing precisely this. Nevertheless they are among the most important centers from which a new life-style radiates, not because of the effect their graduates will have but, rather, because elders who choose to bring up their children without the benefit of properly ordained teachers frequently belong to a radical minority and because their preoccupation with the rearing of their children sustains them in their new style.

2nd futile proposal: new technology

The most dangerous category of educational reformers is one who argues that knowledge can be produced and sold much more effectively on an open market than on one controlled by school. These people argue that most skills can be easily acquired from skill-models if the learner is truly interested in their acquisition; that individual entitlements can provide a more equal purchasing power for education. They demand a careful separation of the process by which knowledge is acquired from the process by which it is measured and certified. These seem to me obvious statements. But it would be a fallacy to believe that the establishment of a free market for knowledge would constitute a radical alternative in education.

Knowledge—capitalising

The establishment of a free market would indeed abolish what I have previously called the hidden curriculum of present schooling—its age-specific attendance at a graded curriculum. Equally, a free market would at first give the appearance of countering what I have called the occult foundations of a schooled society: the "immigration syndrome," the institutional monopoly of teaching, and the ritual of linear initiation. But at the same time a free market in education could provide the alchemist with innumerable hidden hands to fit each man into the multiple, tight little niches a more complex technocracy can provide.

Many decades of reliance on schooling has turned knowledge into a commodity, a marketable staple of a special kind. Knowledge is now precious currency. (The transformation of knowledge into a commodity is reflected in a corresponding transformation of language. Words that formerly functioned as verbs are becoming nouns that designate possessions. Until recently dwelling and learning and even healing designated activities. They are now usually conceived as commodities or services to be delivered. We talk about the manufacture of housing or the delivery of medical care. Men are no longer regarded fit to house or heal themselves. In such a society people come to believe that professional services are more valuable than personal care.)

At present schools limit the teacher's competence to the classroom. They prevent him from claiming man's whole life as his domain. The demise of school will remove this restriction and give semblance of legitimacy to the life-long pedagogical invasion of everybody's privacy. It will open the way for a scramble for "knowledge" on a free market, which would lead us toward the paradox of a vulgar, albeit seemingly egalitarian, meritocracy. Unless the concept of knowledge is transformed, the disestablishment of school will lead to a wedding between a growing meritocratic system that separates learning from certification and a society committed to provide therapy for each man until he is ripe for the gilded age.

Recover the power to learn

A revolution against those forms of privilege and power, which are based on claims to professional knowledge, must start with a transformation of consciousness about the nature of learning. This means, above all, a shift of responsibility for teaching and learning. Knowledge can be defined as a commodity only as long as it is viewed as the result of institutional enterprise or as the fulfillment of institutional objectives. Only when a man recovers the sense of personal responsibility for what he learns and teaches can this spell be broken and the alienation of learning from living be overcome.

Educational institutions— if they are at all needed—ideally take the form of facility centers where one can get a roof of the right size over his head, access to a piano or a kiln, and to records, books, or slides. Schools, TV stations, theatres, and the like are designed primarily for use by professionals. Deschooling society means above all the denial of professional status for the second-oldest profession, namely teaching. The certification of teachers now constitutes an undue restriction of the right to free speech: the corporate structure and professional pretensions of journalism an undue restriction on the right to free press. Compulsory attendance rules interfere with free assembly. The deschooling of society is nothing less than a cultural mutation by which a people recovers the effective use of its Constitutional freedoms: learning and teaching by men who know that they are born free rather than
treated to freedom. Most people learn most of the time when they do whatever they enjoy; most people are curious and want to give meaning to whatever they come in contact with; and most people are capable of personal intimate intercourse with others unless they are stupefied by inhuman work or turned off by schooling.

Access to things

If a person is to grow up he needs first of all, access to things, to places and to processes, to events and to records. He needs to see, to touch, to tinker with, to grasp whatever there is in a meaningful setting. This access is now largely denied. When knowledge became a commodity, it acquired the protections of private property, and thus a principle designed to guard personal intimacy became a rationale for declaring facts off limits for people without the proper credentials. In schools teachers keep knowledge to themselves unless it fits into the day's program. The media inform, but exclude those things they regard as unfit to print. Information is locked into special languages, and specialized teachers live off its retranslation. Patents are protected by corporations, secrets are guarded by bureaucracies, and the power to keep others out of private preserves — be they cockpits, law offices, junkyards, or clinics — is jealously guarded by professions, institutions, and nations. Neither the political nor the professional structure of our societies, East and West, could withstand the elimination of the power to keep entire classes of people from facts that could serve them. The access to facts that I advocate goes far beyond truth in labeling. Access must be built into reality, while all we ask from advertising is a guarantee that it does not mislead. Access to reality constitutes a fundamental alternative in education to a system that only purports to teach about it.

Access to facts

Abolishing the right to corporate secrecy — even when professional opinion holds that this secrecy serves the common good — is, as shall presently appear, a much more radical political goal than the traditional demand for public ownership or control of the tools of production. The socialization of tools without the effective socialization of know-how in their use tends to put the knowledge-capitalist into the position formerly held by the financier. The technocrat's only claim to power is the stock he holds in some class of scarce and secret knowledge, and the best means to protect its value is a large and capital-intensive organization that renders access to know-how formidable and forbidding.

Random access to skills

It does not take much time for the interested learner to acquire almost any skill that he wants to use. We tend to forget this in a society where professional teachers monopolize entrance into all fields, and thereby stamp teaching by uncertified individuals as quackery. There are few mechanical skills used in industry or research that are as demanding, complex, and dangerous as driving cars, a skill that most people quickly acquire from a peer. Not all people are suited for advanced logic, yet those who are make rapid progress if they are challenged to play mathematical games at an early age. One out of twenty kids in Cuernavaca can beat me at Wiff 'n' Proof after a couple of weeks' training. In four months all but a small percentage of motivated adults at our CIDOC center learn Spanish well enough to conduct academic business in the new language.

Skill-exchange

A first step toward opening up access to skills would be to provide various incentives for skilled individuals to share their knowledge. Inevitably, this would run counter to the interest of guilds and professions and unions. Yet, multiple apprenticeship is attractive: It provides everybody with an opportunity to learn something about almost anything. There is no reason why a person should not combine the ability to drive a car, repair telephones and toilets, act as a midwife, and function as an architectural draftsman. Special-interest groups and their disciplined consumers would, of course, claim that the public needs the protection of a professional guarantee. But this argument is now steadily being challenged by consumer protection associations. We have to take much more seriously the objection that economists raise to the radical socialization of skills: that "progress" will be impeded if knowledge — patents, skills, and all the rest — is democratized. Their argument can be faced only if we demonstrate to them the growth rate of futile diseconomies generated by any existing educational system.

Transparent technology

Access to people willing to share their skills is no guarantee of learning. Such access is restricted not only by the monopoly of educational programs over learning and of unions over licensing but also by a technology of scarcity. The skills that count today are know-how in the use of highly specialized tools that were designed to be scarce. These tools produce goods or render services that everybody wants but only a few can enjoy, and which only a limited number of people know how to use. Only a few privileged individuals out of the total number of people who have a given disease ever benefit from the results of sophisticated medical technology, and even fewer doctors develop the skill to use it.

The same results of medical research have, however, also been employed to create a basic medical tool kit that permits Army and Navy medics, with only a few months of training, to obtain results, under battlefield conditions, that would have been beyond the expectations of full-fledged doctors during World War II. On an even simpler level any peasant girl could learn how to diagnose and treat most infections if medical scientists prepared dosages and instructions specifically for a given geographic area.

All these examples illustrate the fact that educational considerations alone suffice to demand a radical reduction of the professional structure that now impedes the mutual relationship between the scientist and the majority of people who want access to science. If this demand were heeded, all men could learn to use yesterday's tools, rendered more effective and durable by modern science, to create tomorrow's world.
a childhood experience

It was one of those days in which even the wind co-operated with the clouds of the sky to create a romantic atmosphere typical of Nadi village. The bay below glittered in the sunlight. Everything was peaceful. The palms waved silvery on the beach below and they danced tenderly to the murmur of the wind. The only sound was caused by the trainlike rolls of the waves on the reef, a good half mile from the shore. The white foam caused by the striking of the waves raced across the mouth of the bay in a delightful horse charge only to be shattered into grand displays of rainbow colours and silvery clouds of sea-spray, by the great rock, "Na Vatu levu", which guarded the entrance to Nadi bay.

I was sitting on the door step of our kitchen, wishing I was out there on the bay, fishing. I often heard of Tai's adventures out in that bay and my heart longed for a chance to prove the fact that I no longer needed my parents’ care I wanted to be a fisherman like
Tai. The booming of the waves breaking on that reef always created in me a feeling of excitement. Many a time, my dreams drove me to the point of running away to the shore but my parents usually knew and these misdeeds, as I was usually told, often resulted in very savage beatings. I could not find out how they knew about my actions. It was probably that they were so obvious. Sometimes I was ordered not to go near that shore even before I told them anything about it.

My longings stayed with me and often haunted me in my dreams at night. I found myself lonely as ever since my friends spent most of their time at sea. In the evenings they usually flocked around me in our kitchen and noisily told me how they fished with their lines and spears. Oftentimes these story sessions resulted in quarrels when my friends found that their stories conflicted.

To make up for the loss, I made myself a spear using the framework of an old umbrella. The steel frames, after being sharpened by a file, were tightly fastened by old pieces of wire to the end of a bamboo-like reed, about two yards in length. I wandered around the village with this spear and even slept with it tucked under my mat. At such times I took great care not to roll on it lest I should bend the spikes.

My desire to prove myself as a fisherman could only be fulfilled in the brook nearby. Most of my time was spent in this brook with my imagination changing it into a sea of my own. The gurgling of the cool fresh water over the round, tiny pebbles became great sea waves crashing on the reef. Tiny prawns suddenly sprang up as huge monsters that I had to save the village from.

I tried on several occasions to create a pool in which I could nurse my small prawns and tiny fish but the barriers I made of clay and coconut shells were usually washed away, if they were not trodden upon by the village bullocks, which used the brook as a drinking place. At one stage, I succeeded in rolling a coconut stem into place across the brook and this created a large pool which enabled me to stand waist deep in it. Next morning, however, to my dismay, I found that the coconut stem had been washed away.

Thus were my longings fulfilled. Sometimes I went to the extreme and toads became unfortunate victims of my worthless dreams. I was still far from being satisfied. The thunderous roar of the waves out on that reef continued to have its effect on me.

My respect for the bay was mingled with a certain amount of fear, which had lived in me ever since I was old enough to reason out the stories that my elders told me. Tai was a great fisherman, and his exploits on Nadi bay were well known throughout the district. One day, he told me that to be a fisherman one had to be gifted with seamanship, for to sail beyond those reefs in a canoe required great skill and courage.

He also told me that fishermen required the help of guardian spirits and in our bay the great white shark was a great helper in times of distress. This last comment of his I could bring myself to believe because I had heard of many cases in which the white shark of Nadi bay led canoes through the passage in bad weather.

In one case, at which I would have been a witness if Nan had not chased me home with the other kids, the whole village saw the white shark in action. The village was celebrating and the women, in preparation of the feast, went down to the bay for a mass fishing occasion. We were celebrating the return of our chief’s son from school in Suva.

The women used large nets which were dropped at one end of the bay. When the nets were all in position, the women rowed towards the entrance of the bay where, as usual, they would create enough noise to drive the fish towards the nets. They had hardly reached the middle of the bay when, towards the entrance, they saw the greatest disturbance of surface water that they had ever witnessed, and amid the spray and foam they made out a great white fin rushing from side to side. The great white guardian of Nadi Bay was in action again. The villagers rowed quickly back behind the nets. From there they could see that the shark was deliberately chasing the fish in towards the nets. Schools of fish rushed in, most of them jumping well above the water in their search for possible escape routes. The shark came closer and closer still darting from side to side with its tail smacking the top of the water like frightening thunderclaps.

When the fish were inside the nets the villagers closed the gap and started hauling the fish into the canoes by the use of small hand nets and spears. The shark, in the meantime, had turned itself into a brace, lying on the bottom part of the net holding it down, so that no fish could escape. When the villagers had taken a large enough supply of fish for the occasion, they tenderly pulled the heavy nets up and pushed the white shark back into the water. After that, all they could see was a great display of tail and water, and a racing fin which gradually vanished into the blue, silvery waters of the bay.
My great attraction for this bay was increased in my desire to meet our guardian shark. One day I managed to slip down to the sea shore where I strained my eyes in vain, scanning the horizon for a white fin. Finding that this was useless I went knee-deep into the water and tried looking in with my eyes. However, this still did not satisfy me and I tried to call, feebly at first and increasing in volume until I was yelling at the top of my voice. Finally, after realising that my efforts were in vain, I turned quickly towards the shore to see if anyone was looking, and finding myself all alone, I shamefully waded ashore, and walked home with a heavy heart.

In my mind I was cursing all the spirits in the world and also myself for not being as well known as Tai was. The thought that spirits could read the mind set me sprinting up the hill towards the village, fearing to look back. I feared that the slightest pause would have given the spirit at the back of my mind a chance to get a hold on me.

My chance of seeing the bay came very unexpectedly. That morning I was still engrossed in one of those dreams on our kitchen doorstep, when Tai came past with his spears. He was my grandfather. He had the most beautiful white hair of all the men in the village. He was tall and slender. His arms were full of tell-tale scars from battles and from his experiences with wild boars and deep water fish. I loved him with all my heart because he was strong and highly respected in the village. He walked with a steady stride which often set me running just to be in line.

"It is a very fine day, isn’t it Te? Very fine indeed. I think we will have a successful trip today. I hope he is out there because I know that he will bless us again today.‘“ After saying that he started mumbling and chanting to himself an old fishermen’s chant. I nodded. There was no hope of my ever going on a trip with him.

“Tai, who are you going with today?” I weakly asked.

“Oh, all the old ones are going. Old people like fishing together. They have the touch! I think with this weather we should make good catches.”

My hopes, if there were any left, sank at that very moment. The old men of the village were very fussy about taking children out, especially on fishing trips. They usually regarded us as extra burden. However, Tai’s next words gave me a slight chance to hope for.

His eyes were still fixed on the bay below as if he could see the movements of the fish out there in the water. “I’m looking for Masi,” he added, “I need someone to carry my things on the reef. Do you know where he is?” I tried with all my might to conceal the spur of hope in my voice when I told him that Masi was in the garden getting some food for lunch. He did not look at me. He was still glancing at something on the reef. Oh, how I wanted to blurt out “Take me with you, Tai. Please, please.” I stood there trying to act as disinterested as possible. I tried to whistle but finding that my lips began to quiver and that my voice shook, I stopped.

It was the call from the other side of the village that made Tai’s mind up about me. I was to have my first taste of real fishing that day as Tai’s carrier. The heaviness of my task did not matter for I was so excited that the amount of things I had to carry became part of the adventure.

I could feel that my heart lifted with the waves as the canoe sliced its way towards the reef. In the center of the bay the water was clear and I could see dark patches of sea weed and bright golden intervals of sand glittering in the sunlight. Everywhere shoals of fish rushed from side to side creating a complex of beautiful colours playing hide and seek beneath our canoe. I could but wonder what life down there would be like and longed to be part of it.

When we reached the reef, the pictures that I had formed on land about this place were shattered by the great beauty of reality. The display of corals of all different colours and the large variety of coloured fish were far beyond what I had often dreamt of. I felt as if I were in a completely different world. A world so beautiful that to take anything away from it would be regarded by me as a mortal sin.

The old fishermen, no doubt, had other interests which were very different from mine. They wanted to fish and the reef was a heaven for their destructive sport. As I had expected, I was completely forgotten in their excitement. To me, this created a first-rate opportunity for a bit of exploration and sight-seeing. My wanderings and discoveries brought me to the great rock and from that vantage point I was able to have a good look at the surrounding area.

The rock was about twenty feet above the surface of the water. It had a flat top and on it were remnants of fire and fish bones. From this I could infer that the rock was
often used as a picnic site. The rock was about ten yards in width and over on one side there was an alcove obviously carved in by the waves. This, I could see, could provide shelter from the rain.

While on top, I could see Tai and the others as small shadowy figures who seemed to be floating upright on the surface of the water, but I was able to hear them quite clearly. I was surprised to hear that they could be very rough in their words while they were on a fishing trip.

Gradually my interest turned towards the deeper parts of the entrance. There, I could see great arrays of smaller fish of all colours darting across, obviously being frightened away by the presence of larger predators. I observed that some fish were very cautious and very alert. They jumped at every movement. Others did not seem to care. I found the reason when a huge eel glided past and while some groups dispersed in all directions, some groups hardly paid the slightest attention. I silently thought that the types of fish that did not pay any attention to the larger predators were probably poisonous and they could not be eaten by the larger types.

The warmth of the rock, the flickering sunlight, and the slight, soothing breeze, made me sleepy and I had barely made myself comfortable when the excited shouts of my companions slowly faded away into the distance. The only music that clouded my mind was caused by the movement of the wind over the water and the booming background of waves crashing on the reef.

My dreams were, of course, wonderful and they contained all the beautiful things that anyone of my age could possibly think of. From being the glorious Neptune of our wonderful bay, my exploits wandered to brave deeds and unique breathtaking discoveries. I dreamt that I was the greatest fisherman of all times.

Then, reality! I was blown out of a wonderful world by a great wave that broke like an explosion not ten yards away from ‘Na vatu levu.’

Suddenly it dawned on me. I was on a trip. Yes, they were all gone, every last one of them; even Tai had forgotten that he brought me with him. The sun was almost hidden beyond the hills. The tide was coming in rapidly and the day was slowly creeping away into darkness. I was filled with a great feeling of despair that almost made me mad.

I could feel a great fear shaping itself at the back of my head. All the stories of this bay, this rock, crept slowly into my mind like painful needles. I felt the sweat on the palm of my hands and down my back. I began to shiver as I thought of the oncoming darkness. My mind raced to the village grave yard, the church and to my father, yet there was no way of stopping the cold fear that was slowly but surely mastering the very hairs that stood on by body.

The sea turned angry, the murmur of the wind turned into the whisperings of uncountable ghosts, the rock suddered a little as if it was trying to throw me off into the angry waters.

Soon there would be darkness and ... My mind turned blank. I jumped into the water. I must reach the shore before ... My limbs were working flat-out and my tiny muscles were pitiously competing against the great waves. I knew I must carry on, there was no time to turn back.

Gradually my body weakened. The realization that I could not fight on dawned on me. Up there on the hill the first light from the village flickered towards the bay. I called frantically but couldn’t hold myself up long enough to see the light any longer. I was sinking. Weak gasps of breath came from my throat and tears of despair blinded my eyes. I was going down. Down, down, down. My legs stopped kicking and my mind turned black. In that swift moment of oblivion my legs were roughly pushed apart. There was a seering scratching pain inbetween my thighs. Suddenly I was floating and the shore was rushing towards me.

There, in front of me was the largest and whitest fin that I had ever seen, slicing through the waters like the periscope of a nuclear submarine. I thought it was coming towards me but, then, it did not come any nearer.

“God, please let me dream on!” I knew I had to be dreaming. My mind was still racing when I was roughly tipped over. My arms waved frantically for support, before I found that I was able to stand. The last thirty yards to the shore was the shortest that I had ever travelled in my whole life.

A swift look across my shoulder brought into sight a great display of sea spray and a silvery white tail. The moon was just above the horizon, my body weakened and I collapsed and fainted on the sand.

“... but he only seven and half a mile of rough sea is too much for him to swim, and those scratches on his thighs and stomach? It looks as if he had been riding a log. Unless ...” The next words that I heard before the warmth and softness of my bed engulfed me once more in a great world of darkness.
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Alloi Pilioko is a credit to his own island group and, more significantly, to all the people of the Pacific. In his works lie the identities of peoples and of cultures that are fast becoming swamped by the dominating presence of so-called 'Western' culture. His works show no sign of cultural assimilation or of suppressed primitivism, rather an undaunted spirit of persistence, a will to survive despite pressures of modernisation that are the whole taking effect in the Pacific.

A native Wallis Islander, Pilioko, though subjected to the usual mission-school education in his early years, was left relatively "untouched" by the process of "Westernization". For, by managing to escape Western Education, and thus enculturation, Pilioko retained "that essentially Island character" and undampened pride in his cultural heritage. To have been by-passed in the process of westernisation and to have been blessed with the means of expressing the same cultural heritage, was to render the seemingly deprived Pilioko as a young man with enormous potential. This potential was to be first realised when in 1959 at the age of 20, in Noumea, New Caledonia, Pilioko was introduced to the phenomenon of ART as self-expression, in Nikolai Michoutouchkine's art gallery in Noumea. His evident obsession with the Art Gallery coupled with his tentative first attempts at self-expression in art, bespoke tremendous potential within him. This was to be fully realised, with encouragement but little else from Michoutouchkine, by the inherent confident spirit of a free and uninhibited mentality, such as Pilioko's was.

Pilioko's studio in Vila, New Hebrides.
Pilioko owes much to Michoutouchkine who gave him the opportunity to leave behind a labouring career in Noumea and to work freely at expressing a richness of culture in drawings, paintings and later, in embroidery, tapestries and jewellery. As with most artists, his first works were expressive of that part of life with which he was most familiar and by which he was thus most inspired; nature, and especially creatures. The cock, that majestic bird which is a basic link between man and the forces of nature, figures prominently in Pilioko’s works. (See this cover of “Niu” — in a distinctly Pilioko form which bespeaks the glory of the bird.)

Pilioko has travelled widely throughout the Pacific with Michoutouchkine, gaining insights into new cultures, and absorbing the wealth of related traditions, which are expressed in his later works. It is by this token that Pilioko’s paintings and artifacts can be said to be genuinely expressive of the peoples and cultures of the Pacific, as a whole. Pilioko has had showings in Noumea, the Solomons, Fiji, Wallis Islands, Australia, Tahiti and in the Marquesas.

In 1963 Pilioko was offered a scholarship to study Art in Paris. Fears that Pilioko may lose the “Pacific” character of his art, by way of influence from a European Institution and from European art in general, proved to be unfounded. Pilioko’s art retained the same natural style — although its modern form may lead one to suspect European influence — and more significantly, continued to express the traditional cultures of the Pacific.

Pilioko showed at the Modern Art Museum in Paris and at the International Cultural Centre in Royaumont. Since then he has received various commissions (the most notable of which is the 240 drawings — one for each room — of the Maeva Beach Hotel in Tahiti). Pilioko was working on a similar commission for the Library and Education building at the University of the South Pacific. He completed work on the New Credit Union School here in Fiji in 1970.

Much can be said about Pilioko’s personality. As with his art, in which after all the character of any artist is expressed, Pilioko’s personality can be described as naturally “Pacific Island”. Reserved, yet possessed of a spirit of self-confidence, Pilioko is obviously uninfluenced by the extent of his success. In his relationship with students, while working at the University here in Suva, he was but a fellow-countryman — or more correctly, fellow-islander. Pilioko is currently resident outside of Vila in the New Hebrides.

To the peoples of the Pacific, Pilioko’s works afford much — namely, a self-respect and pride in things that were, still are, but may not continue to be.

CLAIR SLATTER
One of Aloi Pilioko's works.

Wallis Island artist Aloi Pilioko at work.
To study Pacific art thoroughly, one must examine a number of isolatable areas in which different styles and techniques are used in the manufacture of different objects. Some areas use some but not all of the same objects as forms of artistic expression. First it might be best to examine the forms in which art appears, and later, the areas and the particular form or forms important to the area.

Forms or objects may be divided in three ways: First those that relate to personal adornment, prestige, or vanity; Second, those with a social or religious role; Third, those with utilitarian as well as aesthetic functions. These are loose classifications and many objects would fulfill two or three of the requirements (e.g. the slit drum of New Hebrides indicates the status of the owner, represents the spiritual position of the ancestor it symbolizes and is used as a means of communication.

Tattooing, although sometimes having social or religious connotations, was often “used as an expression of sheer vanity, while some of it denoted the rank or status of the individual.” “Carved combs, lime containers and spatulas, tobacco pipes, drinking cups, neckrests, and stools,” are items restricted to persons with higher social standing. A “variety of ornaments were worn on the arms, legs, breasts, nose and ears,” had little value other than decoration. (Wingert, 1965, p.31).

The second group of art works is the most important in terms of over-all culture. This group includes the masks, ancestor figures, canoe prows, clan emblems and totems, and other cult objects representing or symbolic of the religious or social beliefs of the makers. A great deal of overlapping occurs between this and the third group. In many utilitarian objects it is difficult to decide where the symbolism ends and decoration begins.

The men’s or cult houses “which were a typical feature of many parts of New Guinea ... are of architectural as well as artistic significance. Probably they are in essence representations of the cosmic concept of this culture.” (Bulher, 1962, p.7.) Further, the motifs of cult objects are repeated as well on weapons, boats and implements. Though utilitarian objects would be found in almost every household, the most aesthetically pleasing or finely executed would be owned by those with elite positions. These items include wooden bowls, decorated hooks used to hang items likely to be eaten by rats, and tapa or masi bark-cloth.

Melanesia, particularly New Guinea, stands out as the most productive and diverse geographical area. New Guinea may be divided into several stylistic sub-divisions to clearly depict its diversity. Due to the length of this paper, only the most important contribution or contributions of each area will be examined.

North-west New Guinea. The korovar, a carved ancestor figure is the most significant
development in this area. "The practice was to make it during the life time of the man concerned so that on his death, one of his two spirits could enter it and live there." (Guiart, 1963, p.306).

Humbolt Bay and Lake Sentani: In these areas, "artistic sculpture and decoration prevail at the expense of painting." Most of the motifs are human, but there are also some animal figures (fish, crocodiles, lizards, snakes and birds). The sculptures are to be found in the men's houses, and in the Lake Sentani region, in the homes of chiefs. The animal figures are often clan totems. (Bulher, p.100).

Also in the Lake Sentani area, the presence of bronze indicates contact with Malayan elements. "... The blades of bronze axes have been transmitted, until the present day, from generation to generation; others have been found in the course of excavation." (Guiart, p.160).

Sepik (and Marprik): This particular area is one of the best known in Primitive art. To be comprehensive, the Sepik River area must be divided into many smaller divisions (the presence of visual art decreases as one moves inland). "The profusion of the work is not only striking; also noteworthy is the wealth of styles. (Bulher, p.106)

The trade in ceremonies, carvings, decorative objects and material, created a fluid and wide spread diffusion of cultural elements. "So voracious was the Sepik appetite for spectacular new designs and techniques that warriors used to raid rival villages for their treasured art objects. Characteristic forms, including figures, masks, drums, shields, painted boards, stools, canoes, men's houses, and modelled skulls, exhibit a fantastic inventiveness of shape and colour." (Fraser, 1962 p.171).

Astrolabe Bay: Two forms of masks are noteworthy in this area. The telum, a small mask to which offerings were made at feasts; and the asa kate, worn by the men striking blows to young boys during their initiation ceremonies.

Heron Gulf-Tami: In this area two forms of masks are also outstanding. The tago, a bark cloth mask, used in spirit visitation rites every ten years or so; and wooden masks, worn in secret society rites, depicting legendary ancestors.

Papua: Also a very productive mask making area where as many as one hundred masks might be displayed at a feast, each one bearing the name of the mythical person it purported to represent. There were also smaller masks, representing totems, insects, birds, fish and imaginary forms. After the feast the large masks were burnt and the small ones left to rot.

Gulf of Papua: The Elema people of the Gulf area produced wooden carvings, Hohoas, that were rarely removed from the men's houses and never intentionally destroyed. These ancestor tablets are the most aggressive or savage portrayals of faces in primitive art. The most spiritual and sacred objects of the area were the bullroarers. Both forms were two dimensional carvings with an incised stylistic surface.

Southwest New Guinea:

From this region came the ancestor figures made by the Amsat people. These figures, which seemed to play an important part in funerary rituals, represent a crouching
or kneeling figure with its chin on its fists. The face looks bloated because it is carved to resemble the mumified face of a corpse.

Massim and Trobriand Islands:
In both of these areas, we find only ornamental and utilitarian art. The role of trade as opposed to religion has had a great influence on these stylistic areas. Neither area has produced masks or ancestor figures, instead they concentrate on local specialization of objects used in barter.

Torres Straits:
This area has shown influences from Australia. "The best known of all objects from this style province are the face masks used in burial rites and the fish figures worn over the head. They apparently represent actual and mythological tribal ancestors." (Bulher, p.136).

New Britain:
Two distinct tribal areas can be noted in New Britain. The Baining tribes of the interior whose bark-cloth masks were painted with geometrical designs in brown, black and sometimes the artists own blood. And the Sukas, whose mask's function was to create terror and disguise individuals who would destroy property to enforce the traditional organization of the community. In these masks it was supposed to be a particular ancestor whose temperament was represented.

New Ireland:
The major contribution of New Ireland is the malanggan ancestor figures. The creation of these beautifully complex forms involve ceremonies sometimes extending ten months. They begin with a rite to ensure adequate crops for the numerous feasts involved. Months later young men from the village are circumcised and separated from the women. The construction of the figures then begins, and on their completion, a ceremony and display of the figures in honor of recently departed ancestors is held. The boys are then allowed back into social intercourse with the community and the figures discarded. Also noteworthy of New Ireland as well as New Britain and the Solomon Islands are the KapKaps. These cut-outs of turtle shell on a background of clam shell, are extremely delicate and indicate the status of the owner.

New Hebridese:
One significant type found here, were mats which were hung in a smoke house to collect soot. The depth of the soot indicated the value of the mats. But the most important of the objects found are the great slit-drums of the Malekula Bay area (see above). Symbolic ancestor masks and ceremonial adzes for killing pigs are also present.

Solomon Islands:
"The rarest, most beautiful objects, which because of their size, the most difficult to reproduce, are the great single canoes, richly ornamented with shell inlays which were used for head-hunting raids" (Guiart, p.326). On these canoes are a head ornament that represented "guardian beings who were supposed to detect shoals, and probably ferret out victims." (Fraser, p.190).

New Caledonia:
Here we find wide uses of tapa and a variety of meanings. It was used as a wrapping for the pinus or any other precious object; as a banner on a hard-wood pole indicating welcome; and when knotted, it was sent as a message of alliance or war. Also present in New Caledonia were carvings based on ancestor worship to attract the kindness of the gods.

Fiji:
In this area we begin to see the separation of Melanesia and Polynesia. Masks
and other religiously significant objects are not common. Instead we see more utilitarian objects as the outlet for artistic expression. War clubs, wooden and clay bowls, and masi are the mediums.

Polynesia:

It must be noted that in Polynesia, visual arts play a less important role than other forms of fine art. "Where forms of social and religious organizations were most subtle and sophisticated — as in Tonga, Samoa and Tahiti — we find plastic art is almost non-existent." (Guiart, p.336). The stratified social systems of these places might fulfil some of the psychological needs of security and order, a role in which Melanesian art was so important. The exceptions would be Hawaii and New Zealand, two very individualistic and prolific areas, both with stratified social systems. Areas important within Polynesia are:

Samoa and Tonga:

Here as in Fiji, the stress is on utilitarian implements, and overall emphasis is on form rather than decoration.

The Ha'apai group in Tonga was one of the few centers of figure carving in Western Polynesia. The majority of Tongan figures are female "... and can, within limits, be easily characterized stylistically ... certain parts being cubistic and others given full-volumed, rounded treatment." (Wingert, pp.281-2).

Cook and Austral Islands:

In these two areas we have seen developed two very stylistic forms of decorative carving. The objects most lavishly carved are those with cult or ceremonial significance. Here secular items were mostly left plain.

Marquesas:

In this group are also found religious objects. "Idols made of wood and stone, frequently more than seven feet in height, served to adorn terraces and other stone monuments." (Bulher, p.169).

Society Islands:

Here we have idols to whom human sacrifices were made. "There (Tahitians) Mythology led them to suppose that the spirits of the dead are eaten by gods or demons." (W.Ellis, 1969, p.194). The spiritual part of these sacrifices were consumed by the spirit of their idols. Also noteworthy in this area were sacred drums, sometimes measuring eight feet high, which were beaten on ceremonial occasions.

Hawaii:

In this area the "principle gods were portrayed by a roll of tapa cloth decorated with feathers, which only the priest could see. (Guiart, p.125). Also representing dieties were heads and figures of straw, frequently more than six feet tall. Other significant Hawaiian contributions were the cloaks and helmets made with colourful bird feathers.

New Zealand:

A great deal of distinctive art was
produced in this area. Stone and bone carvings are among the most beautiful items. The *patu paraoa*, whale-bone clubs, and the *heitiki*, green-stone pendants were both examples of art that were particularly valued because of the *mana* they possessed. Also important are the decorative architectural carvings found in the *maraes*. These carvings are ancestral images and representatives of tribal lineages and history.

**Easter Island:**

The lack of wood in this area is considered responsible for the dominance of stone sculpture. “The well known stone figures may be idols, but they are more likely to be ancestor figures or monuments erected in their honour and for their protection.” (Bulher, p.176). These sculptures are unique in Oceania.

**Micronesia:**

In many areas of Micronesia one can look in vain for figures or paintings of any kind. “Instead there occur magnificently decorated mats and fabrics as well as ornaments and implements of perfect workmanship.” (Bulher, p.179). But in some areas, carvings can be found.

**Palau:** The young men’s houses in this area serve as an outlet for artistic expression. “Their gable side is decorated with fully carved female figures and planks bearing incised and scenic compositions of mythological and historical events.” (Bulher, p.179).

**Carolines:**

In the Mortlock Islands in particular one finds very distinctive masks, whose purpose was to ward off dangerous typhoons. “In their dignified restraint and simple style of painting, they differ radically from the other South Sea masks,” (Bulher, p.180). There shape is almost triangular and the main colour is white with features in black.

THE ART

THE ARTIST AND CHANGE

Looking briefly at the visual arts of the South Pacific one can see their significant relationship to religious and social factors in the societies that produce them. One must also realize the changes that have been brought about by outside influences. From the very first, Europeans have reacted in various ways to the art forms. On all of James Cook’s voyages the collection of curiosities seems to have been a popular pastime. Not all Europeans had Cook’s objective attitudes. The pioneering missionary, John Williams found the indigenous religious structures the primary obstacle to Christianity. He felt that the idols of these religions were “the greatest disaster that could have befallen the islanders on this side of eternity.” (Campbell, 1942, p.17). To show their sincerity in accepting Christianity, Williams expected the Islanders from the many groups he visited to destroy or bring their idols to his ship. The ones that were not destroyed were subsequently sent to London.

Williams was not the only missionary to destroy art, nor was the reaction of the Islanders always peaceful. In Hawaii, in response to chiefly renouncing or *tapus*, a rebellion began which was soon overthrown. The rebellious, when defeated, then destroyed their idols, “Some were cast into the sea, some were burned: though it appears that not a few were concealed on Hawaii.” (Anderson, 1870, p.8). As late as 1925 missionaries in the Lake Sentani area, caused the sacred spirit statues to be thrown in the lake. Fortunately, 60 of these have been recovered.

A final impact of Christianity, which has led to the decline of production in some areas, was the practice of exposing clan secrets and paraphernalia to women. Once this had been done, the secrets were “hopelessly profaned and the clan magic had been effectively emasculated. The production of more objects was futile.” (Beier & Maorikiki, 1970, p.8).

It must be noted that much of the Pacific art in European and American museums was donated by missionary groups. A change of attitudes is illustrated today in the Sepik district. About fifteen years ago “the mission (Catholic) decided that the selling of artifacts was a useful source of funds for its own work and as a way of providing indigenous people with a chance to make money.” (Wilson & Menzies, 1967, p.56).

Technological changes were also an influence brought by Europeans. After new materials had been proven superior or easier to work, the desire set in to acquire metal and other materials. It is difficult to determine whether these new items improved the quality of the art, or merely improved the efficiency of production. An interesting comparison could be made if pre- and post-contact examples of a single artist’s work could be examined. In the Sepik district, safeguards have been introduced requiring a carver to paint his works with natural pigments. This assures an authentic reproduction of the traditional style and guards against the loss of the art of paint making. This sort of safeguard is not present in Micronesia where twenty years ago there were perhaps fifty men in any village able to build a traditional meeting
house, there are none now, and the meeting house is made of concrete and blocks and must be given to a contractor to build and the village must tax itself to pay for it.

The loss of artistic knowledge is noticeable everywhere in the Pacific. Also present in the remaining art is an obvious decline in quality. This can be related to the change in roles filled by the art. The manufacture of art as a source of income, as opposed to religious motivation has laid emphasis on quantity rather than quality. This can clearly be seen in an area such as the Trobriand Islands, where religion never played a significant role; in contrast with the Sepik where items are still used in religious ceremonies. In these items, the style remains traditional and the quality of the items intended for sale is similar to that in use. In areas where items are produced for "the commercial market, detached from their traditional function, we find the ancient motifs and styles are almost invariably presented in a degenerate form: we have only empty shells devoid of content." (Bulher, 1962, p.47-8).

Another change has come from governmental involvement. In Tonga, the missionary Shirley Baker, acting in a governmental capacity instigated minute sumptuary regulations (that) forbade the making of masi. In New Caledonia in the 1920’s the government prohibited the building of round huts on the grounds that they were unsanitary and that Christianity had supplanted old ancestor worship. The carving in these huts is now an element of native art that has disappeared. In both cases, a revival has occurred. Tongan masi can be bought in the Suva market, and the museum in New Caledonia has built a hut using thirteen carved posts, each of a distinct traditional style. One other influence, although instigated by the creators themselves, is definitely a psychological reaction to the presence of white man and in particular, his material culture. In the 'Vailala Madness' cargo cult of the Gulf of Papua area, the ancestor worship ceremonies, the Sevase and Harisu rites were attacked. Masks and paraphernalia connected with the rites were burned. These art forms represented religious beliefs that had failed to bring cargo.

It must be noted that when the role of art changes in an area, the artist himself is instrumental in the change and has obviously been effected by the same influences. In his historical role, few Pacific artists were capable of living solely off their art. They enjoyed a prestigious position in their societies and worked mostly on commission. "The master artist could, in primitive cultures, just as in high cultures, endow the traditional forms with his interpretations and insights." The apprenticeship of the Polynesian artist included knowledge of chants and rituals that increased the mana that controlled the creativity and in which he endowed his art. The word that designated both priest and artist, was tahuna (and its dialectic variations). The tahuna was recognized by his work, and to suggest that it needed his signature would be considered an insult. He was the most specialized and probably the closest thing to a full-time artist in the Pacific.

Although the production of art objects now has a more significant economic meaning, because the return to the artist is so slight, there are still very few full-time artists. The average daily (8 hours) return to the carver in the Sepik region is $1 to $2. In the Trobriand Islands it is slightly more than $1. This is understandable considering the markup on a Sepik article sold in Australia is sometimes 1,000%. Besides this, the social position of the present day artist is now that of a craftsman. To make matters worse, when he deals with the tourist directly, he is subjected to degrading bargaining practices and usually has to accept one-half to two-thirds his asking price. His creative freedom also suffers considering the restrictive nature of his market.

The average tourist has little knowledge of the traditional styles and prefers to buy an object similar to others in the market, and often one that is inexpensive enough for a gift. The comparison between art and curio can easily be seen on a walk through the Fiji Museum. It is difficult to imagine how anyone could frequent the gift shop after seeing the displays.

The present state of affairs makes one wonder what effects the increasing influx of foreign religion, manufactured goods and tourists will have on the arts produced in the future. It has already been mentioned that in many places, the tourist market is a source of income for many Pacific Islanders.

To improve or maintain quality, governmental controls have been suggested in the form of a quality stamp. The problem with this approach is that it would benefit the consumer more than the artist. In the case of a skilled carver, it might raise the price he could ask by having his article approved. But for the beginning artist, the less skilled artist or the extremely inventive artist, it would be discouraging and probably force many out of business. The consumer, especially the
wholesaler, would benefit in that they could order items sight unseen and be assured of receiving a standard item of a controlled quality. Perhaps this would enable the wholesaler to lower his markup, but probably not as the artist or the consumer would have to pay for the bureaucracy.

The importation of domestic items is also a difficult thing to approach. The desire for industrial goods is increasing and most Islanders would not accept cultural preservation if it meant carving a wooden bowl instead of buying a glass or metal one. It would involve work, and the end product would probably be less efficient.

In all of Polynesia and most of Melanesia (New Guinea being the last stronghold) the traditional religious beliefs are a thing of the past. There are few places where Christian or Muslim religions have not been introduced, even if not accepted. The isolated areas of Australian New Guinea, will be subjected to more and more Christian missionary endeavours and Muslim proselytizing in West Irian will also increase in the next five years. This process eventually has its effect, and religion, being one of the foundations of culture, reflects its decline in all areas of the culture, including art. Is it possible to stop the missionary? Is it possible to stop the desire for imported goods? Is it possible to stop administrative restrictions? The answer to these questions is obvious considering the positive aspects of these influences and the nature of progress.

RECOVERY OF PAST TRADITIONS

In a meeting of the Studies of Oceanic Cultures by the Australian Advisory Committee to UNESCO in Canberra, January 1971, the problems of decline and conservation of culture were approached. In the area of art more specific questions were asked concerning: the availability of art objects for study, what forms are no longer being produced, what can be done to revive lost arts and what can be done to preserve and encourage the spirit of the existing arts?

The major problem concerning the available art is that a vast majority of it is outside Oceania. This is a problem in New Guinea, but even more so in a place like French Polynesia, where there is almost no art produced to replace that which has been removed. Concerning Oceanic art on the whole that over 1,000,000 pieces were in Europe alone. This does not consider the vast amount in America, much of which is in private hands or not in active museum displays and without proper cataloguing. To bring back as much of this art as possible would do much to improve the cultural resources in the Pacific area. The main drawback, aside from legal difficulties is that much of it is delicate and almost all would require adequate storage and display facilities.

Regarding items still found in the area, whether items still being produced or those found in archeological sites, the problem of keeping them in their areas of origin must be confronted. Legislation appears in many Pacific territories, but enforcement presents its own problem. In New Zealand, a permit is required to export valuable artifacts, but the enforcement is so lax that in a six year period (1963-69), only forty-one permits were issued. The majority of items left the country without any governmental knowledge. In New Guinea, the problem is compounded. The Museum, the only body with the power to issue permits, is limited by its lack of staff and funds. In most areas, travellers are not even required to declare the items that they are removing from the country.

In respect to reviving lost or declining arts, the importance of the museum should be emphasized. Through programs directed towards research, an increasing awareness can be developed. Anthropological displays can provide insight and inspiration to local artists. Through programs directed towards the general public, cultural identity and pride can be fostered. And projects directed towards education can be useful in numerous ways. The Fiji museum has experimented with using trainee teachers as guides at the museum. They are provided with general knowledge to use in the museum, and to carry with them when they are assigned to their respective schools. Another educational experiment was in teaching the people of Rewa how to make pottery. The art had been lost to them over the years. The museum, however, must maintain a creative outlook to avoid glorifying the past at the expense of the future.

This brings us to the next point of preserving and encouraging the creative spirit of art. It is a difficult problem to approach considering the temperament and nature of art. One suggestion is that outlets other than economic should be provided for creative expressions. Festivals and displays such as the UNESCO Art Exhibit and the South Pacific Festival of Arts provide just such an outlet. The problem being the great organizational and economic difficulties in presenting large scale productions. Even then, there is another opinion on the purpose of these shows. "Let's be honest — why Fiji and the rest of us want
an Arts Festival. It must be because the rest of us want to show the world what a good place the Pacific is for a holiday; see our lovely culture of Suva, then come and see it at Laulasi. If the Tourist Authority does its job well why should we worry? But, lets not pretend that we are 'preserving our culture' (whatever that means) through the Arts Festival.” (The Kakamora Reporter, Sept. 1971, No.19). Perhaps the solution is small scale shows directed for the local populations and particularly the artist.

An important method of preserving or recording the spirit of an art is the ethnographic film. Properly done, with emphasis on the meaning and the feeling of the art used in its social or religious context, ethnographic films can provide a permanent record of ceremonies and their artistic components that might someday be extinct. This type of film making is an art in itself and should be placed in the hands of those with the most understanding of the ceremonies, the Pacific Islander. More specialized films can be used to record the techniques used in making various art forms. The expense of these films is prohibitive but their future is certain. Unfortunately, only 5% of the Pacific's ethnographic films are directed towards art.

The problem in dealing with the creative process is that "the wish to protect the heritage of a culture can lead to actions which are contrary to the rules and ideology of that culture.” (Lavondes UNESCO Papers, 1971, p.6.) Ethnographic films can be an example of this. Many ceremonies can be made excellent films are secret and the presence of a film crew, even one made up of Islanders, would probably not be allowed and if so, would probably be detrimental to the performance.

Education can also be self-defeating in this respect. Ideally the educational process is meant to teach the young how to improve and help his society. In most Pacific societies, this has come to mean — how best to improve the material standard and how to help the movement towards a more industrialized society. The intention of the institutions of higher learning is to teach the student to be selective in regard to building these societies, but they often overlook the cultural aspects of this sort of change. Most obvious is the role of classroom learning as opposed to learning through the traditional method of passing knowledge from father to son, mother to daughter. Most of the artistic knowledge of the Pacific is transmitted in this way. Ideally, the institutions of higher learning should realize this and attempt to incorporate some Island wisdom in their structure. Unfortunately, even when this is done, the priority of creative techniques is even lower than just factual anthropological knowledge. Granted, creativity is an extremely difficult thing to teach, but unless the individual is provided with the opportunity, there is even less chance that he will attempt it on his own.

The university, in particular, should be as beneficial to the inner development of the student as it is to his development to meet the needs of the society. He, has been moved from an environment where some means of creative expression are available, and to make the move a positive one, the same means, as well as others provided by the new cultures he comes in contact with should replace the ones he left behind. The creative techniques of any one society can provide only a few of the mediums that an artist might need. A university should be a place where as many mediums as possible are provided.

Upon completion of his studies, the student is faced with another problem. His technical skills are needed and he finds great demands on his time and creative energies. The future is dependent on youth, but unfortunate emphasis is placed on development of the material aspects, rather than the empirical elements of society. The societies of the Pacific are being subjected to tremendous technological changes and "The serious artist is the only person able to encounter technology with impunity, just because he is an expert, aware of the change in sense perception.” (M. McLuhan, p.18). Without the artist, the anxieties, frustrations, and satisfactions associated with being a healthy growing society could not be communicated and the loss, would be the worlds.

the south pacific festival of arts

V. GRIFFEN.

For two weeks in May, 6th - 20th, Suva came alive as the peoples of the South Pacific gathered together to share their rich and diverse cultures. In doing so, the Festival was a kind of cultural revival, for much of what was so proudly displayed had to be resurrected from a past, that for many, was becoming increasingly dim. Thus, throughout the Festival there was the excitement of rediscovery, for both participants and spectators, and also a keen sense of regret at things past.

Suva, as the first centre for the Festival, began beautifying itself for the event to come. The city was transformed at night by the strings of coloured lights across the streets. The huge orange takia sails were placed in different spots, Cumming Street became a quiet street, filled with potted plants, and the potholes in Suva roads, were hastily filled. Shopowners did the best they could to brighten up their premises.

Then the Festival began, and everyday there were many different things that one could see. In the New Town Hall, there were day and night performances by the dancers of
the islands, which range from the grace and
gaiety of the Cook Islanders, to the quiet
moving drama of the Aborigines. There was
much music and dance, at the Town Hall, on
the stage over Nabukalou Creek and at the
University of the South Pacific. The dances
were impressive, and as the Festival wore on,
the continued cheerfulness and enjoyment of
the dancers themselves deserved praise.

At the Museum there were nightly
lecture-demonstrations given by most of the
islands represented. Outside, Indian
performers enacted the drama of the
Ramayana. At the Playhouse the drama of the
South Pacific was produced, and most of it
was new and interesting. From Papua-New
Guinea, there was a play in Pidgin English
about a beautiful young prostitute, and one in
English, “The Sun”, a tense and exciting
drama about a village plunged into darkness.
Samoa presented a play by Albert Wendt,
“Comes the Revolution” which was acted by
U.S.P. students, an opera and a rather
delightful drama involving Samoan songs and
a traditional story-telling. Fiji presented a
variety evening, the highlight of which was
the Chinese opera. “The Trick of the Empty
City”. This was something really different,
with elaborate costumes and make-up of the
actors attracting particular attention. The
Arts Club also performed “The Heiress”, and
at the Suva Grammar School, Fijian Plays,
and the prize winner “Pritchard” were
presented. The Australian play “The Legend
of King O’Malley” was very popular from its
somewhat startling beginning where the
audience are ordered to “Give!” to its very
funny high moments when it deals with
Australia and Australians.

The Festival films began very well but
later proved disappointing, but it was a good
chance to see the famous “Two Men of Fiji”,
which was thoroughly enjoyed. At the Town
Hall there was an exhibition of paintings by
children and adults from all over the region.
There were canoe displays on the harbour,
which for the most part throughout the
Festival, was a beautiful blue backdrop to all
the activities.

The Festival even came to the University
of the South Pacific, which now benefits from
six new traditional houses, a much needed
path to Lookay’s Cantten, and again, hastily
filled potholes. Above all, our ‘sacred
grounds’ suffered a most welcome onslaught
of visitors. There were the traditional houses
of the Gilberts, Tonga, Niue, Solomons, Fiji
and New Caledonia to see, as well as
handicrafts displays in many of the lecture
rooms. During the day, visitors could see the
Solomon Islanders making shell money, or
watch, step by step, the making of Tongan
tapa. There were also feasts to attend, if
visitors wished to try food cooked in the
traditional ‘lovo’ and dances were performed
in the open air theatre. The Spops Festival
took place in one of USP’s lovely green slopes
as yet not ruined by the planner’s taste for
grey store buildings. If Suva came alive for the Festival, so miraculously, did USP. Not only did we benefit from the beautiful relief of traditional houses, but we also lessened the isolation of USP from Suva's public, judging from the crowds of people that came to see the village, and also saw USP.

The culmination of the Festival was the closing night, where, for the last time it seemed, one could take pleasure in the beauty and diversity of the cultures of the South Pacific. The grandstands were full, and people crowded into every space available. It was the last night of the Festival, and everyone wanted to be there. In the darkness, except for the brilliant spotlights, the dancers came one after another, to perform for the last time. Finally, the crowds were singing 'Isa Lei', the somewhat austere dignity of the Prime Minister was softened by a crown of flowers, and the Festival was officially ended with a spot of abandoned dancing, by both performers and spectators. Like the festival as a whole, there are the little things that stick in mind. The Fijian meke, when the white pandanus fans and decorated spears clapped in unison, looking like white flowers in the darkness; the blue spotlights crossing over the red and enclosing the Solomon Bamboo band in a brilliant pattern; the dashes of silver as the saris of the Indian girls caught the light; the silence and soft movements of the dramatic Aborigine dance, and the sparks of light on the instruments of the band, as the musicians moved eerily in the darkness. Out of the Festival, it is the small things like these which will be remembered.

It would be good if one could end there, but criticisms of the Festival, and certain disturbing realisations, cannot be overlooked. The organisers of the Festival were criticised early about the prices of tickets for events.

The reply was that many tickets were of a price the average person could afford and dances were performed free of charge on many occasions. It is true that many tickets were 50c, but the average person's income in Fiji is such that only a few tickets, if any, could be afforded. Certainly, it is also true that as far as the dances went, many free performances were given. In the drama section certainly, there were noticeably few local people present. At the playhouse, it was disturbing to see the large group of people who had come to watch the play, sit on the steps outside. The policeman guarding the place would not let anyone near the windows. Possibly other such examples of this prompted the criticisms that were made. These stated that the Festival really catered for the tourists and the more affluent people of Fiji.

The Festival was very well organised and its success depended a lot on the efforts of the organisers, who deserved thanks for their work. However, there is the difficulty that the festival did require organization, and to an extent which the Pacific peoples could not themselves provide. That is, the Festival is possibly too dependent on overseas organisation and could not therefore eventuate simply with the participation and organisation of the people of the region. If it
is to be a lasting and genuine reassertion of Pacific cultures, another Festival would need to be motivated by the Pacific people themselves, and capable of independent organisation. Certainly, something like the Arts Festival, but on a smaller scale, is possible.

At the beginning was mentioned the feeling of regret at things past that the Festival produced. Essentially the Festival was a momentary look at the past, and the countries involved have once more returned to the present orientation — looking to the future. If one was moved by the beautiful traditional dress and dancing the Fijian meke, one was also aware that when the Festival was over, performers would once more wear lurid cotton sulus and dance for the tourists. Change has taken place and will continue to do so, but it is disturbing to note the effects of this change, which will cause one Fijian father to explain to his son a New Guinean’s near-nakedness by saying, with a condescending laugh “That is their native dress. That’s the way they live at home.” Such a change also caused people to laugh at the naked Solomon Islanders, which caused them embarrassment. Thus begins change for them . . .? The South Pacific Festival of Arts will not stop this change, but it will have achieved something if it causes the people of the region to question it, and to realise that their cultures deserve remembering more often than every three years.
This article proposes to develop arguments which support the thesis that political independence for Fiji, judging by the present trend of 'development', may merely become a juridical fiction. The writer holds that the present attitude of the Alliance Party — of heavy reliance on foreign investment to solve Fiji's economic, social, ethnic and political problems, if it does not change — may in the long run limit any future government's ability to exercise its political sovereignty. (The right or ability of a government to pursue public policies for the benefit of the majority, unhindered by a minority more powerful than itself.)

Let it be clear from the very beginning: The writer is not against foreign investments and, also does not mean to suggest the unproven assumption that political independence is meaningful only if a country also has economic independence. He only wants to posit that once a country with limited resources accepts uncritically reliance on foreign capital as the prime mover of 'development', it has to face the possible danger of:

(a) Not being able to divest freely of its own resources
(b) Not being able to pursue equalitarian public policies.

This is posited in the light of the Caribbean Islands' post-independence experiences — island states which have pursued much the same sort of policies that the present Alliance Government is following — where it has become evident that reliance on the American dollar investment has not only not solved their domestic problems such as unemployment and social inequalities, but has also made them more and more dependent on, and hamstrung by, foreign metropolitan influences, both political and economic. In the process, political independence for them is becoming a mere juridical fiction.

This article will draw heavily on the Caribbean experience because the writer thinks it useful to draw parallels of situations and events so that we can examine and be warned of some of their present and possible future implications.

The 'orthodox' pattern of economic development for most newly independent nations has usually involved heavy importation of capital and skills from outside metropolitan powers and massive investments in the basic structures of an industrial economy. Initially, such investments are attracted and encouraged by incentives such as governmental tax concessions and unchecked repatriation of profits.

This model of development has flourished for some time in the Caribbean Islands states, most famously in the Puerto Rican 'Operation Bootstrap' enterprise; which involved the establishment of American-owned manufacturing industries, tourist complexes and various extractive industries to 'develop' the country's economy. The consequent result has been the concentration in expatriate ownership and control of not only these industries, but also their attendant service industries such as banking, insurance, commercial, retail, construction, shipping and airline services.

With the exception of Cuba, all of the West Indian planners, irrespective of their ideological colouration, have copied the Puerto Rican model of development. And so, it seems, has newly independent Fiji.

In the Caribbean a new dependent relationship upon outside force is making itself felt. Vital resources, especially in the extractive industries (oil in Trinidad, bauxite in Jamaica and Guyana) are alienated to outside corporate bodies which make massive profits, accentuated by the location of smelting and fabricating processes away from the point of extraction.

Although no major mineral discovery as yet has been made in Fiji, overseas companies
are already making extensive surveys. It is important to realise at this stage that in such overseas-financed corporate industries, vital decisions on production, employment and sales policies are usually made by overseas head offices often unconcerned with local development policies. Just as a small nation is unable to influence the prices of her imports, so the power of a local government to control these decisions is correspondingly minimal.

Professor E.K. Fisk is probably not as naive about this fact as one would think when in his book he makes a useful analysis of the economic power-structure in Fiji and then goes on to make his recommendations about Fijian participation in the economy with an uncritical acceptance of the existing situation.¹

Nevertheless, E.K. Fisk has served notice that the proposed institute for Fijian development, to be effective, must in its dealings with private corporations and industrialists be clear that it is operating with the authority of a major instrument of government and not a subsidiary which can be conveniently ignored."²

E.K. Fisk’s advice is perhaps better directed towards the Alliance Party itself which does not seem to be acting with the sovereign authority of a Government in its present dealings with foreign capital. It is suggestive that like ruling parties in the West Indies, the Alliance has also generally pursued timid policies in the private sector. The foreign-owned sector of the economy too often remains substantially untouched and Government intervention in the economy as a whole is restricted to minor business disputes such as the notorious ‘pirate taxi’ system and controls on prices of certain brands of consumer goods which are easily evaded by importers.

Yet the Alliance Party newspaper will have screaming headlines such as “FIJI AT WAR” against inflation without admitting that one of its own pet promotion industries, Tourism, is probably one of the major causes of inflation.³

So many recommendations have been made by visiting experts about revision of the taxation structure or inquiries into the merchandising situation but they never seem to get implemented.

Take Professor H.A. Turner’s Report on Incomes and Prices Policies in Fiji in 1967 for example. He called for the establishment of an Incomes and Prices Advisory Board and also recommended public inquiry into the merchandising situation. He pointed out that M.H.’s, W.R. Carpenters and Burns Philp have for a long time taken advantage of their monopoly of the local import trade.

He said that it was most noticeable in Fiji that there appeared to be a strong price ‘racket’. Retail prices went up when there was a shortage of local foodstuff or when landed cost of imports increased but they did not come down (or did not come down as much) when import costs fell. He pointed out for example that following the 1964 hurricane, prices of foodstuff rose by 23% between 1964-1965 but fell only 6% between 1965-1966.⁴ Since then there has been no fall apart from seasonal fluctuations.

He suspects there is a typical case of what economists call “obligopolistic competition” here; a situation in which 3 or 4 firms have an understanding about profit margins and about lowering and raising prices together in response to cost increase. So far neither a Prices and Incomes Advisory Board has been established, nor any investigation made about these monopoly companies.

Professor J.W. Rose in 1970 estimated the current inflow of capital into the country to be at least $5 million annually as against the $1½ million estimated by the Ministry of Finance.⁵

This disparity existed because not enough information was available from the Ministry of Finance and the Banks. He suggested that details of business done in Fiji by overseas companies by published in the interest of better relations between Companies and the Fiji Public.

He also suggested that Government should legislate for the publication of annual accounts by subsidiaries and branches of overseas companies and the disclosure to the appropriate authority of all transactions in Fiji Real Estates and assets that go through the Banks. He thought tax incentives were too generous when applied to Hotel construction and criticised foreign investors whom the Government allowed to come and raise most of their capital here.

It is encouraging that some sections of the local community are beginning to take positive steps to effect changes in the policies of government.

I quote here an extract from the S.C.M. petition to the Government on some of the disturbing aspects of tourism in Fiji: “Government financial assistance to tourism is generous and should now be gradually decreased. This assistance was initially necessary to get the industry off the ground, but at the present momentum, with visitors expected to continue growing at over 20% per annum, its continuing relevance is seriously
questioned. The prime concern of the investor is the assurance of profit. It is suggested that in the case of tourism this assurance exists, even without the present generous concessions.6

The onus is on the Alliance Party to legislate for these kind of reforms. When Dr. James Anthony said here last year, "The policies of the Alliance Party are being indirectly decided in the board rooms of Hoteliers, Accountants, Bankers, Importers, etc." he meant exactly to warn that the longer the Government leaves foreign enterprises alone, the more they will dictate its policies as they find room to expand under the Government-supported foreign capital programme.7

If the Alliance Party, continues to act timidly, it will eventually limit its own ability to intervene more effectively and meaningfully in future. The way things are now, there seems to be a pre-established harmony between the present Alliance development policies and certain members of the economic elite who run the government. This is perhaps best exemplified in the gleeful pronouncement of one of them at a recent budget debate: "I feel like a peacock spreading out its tail to show the full magnificence and beauty of this government".8

Having been shaped psychologically by the traditional economic order, these type of people are nothing amiss in giving it a new lease of life. And, as some prominent Alliance politicians and institutional defenders of foreign capital investment such as the Fiji Times are getting to be quite fond of saying: nothing must be done to disturb the 'confidence' of the foreign investor in the local financial 'climate'.

In the same vein vested interest groups try to stifle demands for higher wages by the workers with the 'responsible-sounding' but in fact self-serving, hypocritical argument that "it will have drastic effects on the economy".9

Worth noting too is the unfortunate fact that the Alliance Party has more than three times in the last few months used its supposedly-flexible Development Plan 6 (and it seems that from now it will be conveniently flexible for this purpose) as an argument against the wage demands of workers.

The Alliance Party is beginning to adopt in Fiji the sort of actions and attitudes that its parallel ruling parties in the West Indies had, but now find it undermining their own credibility and legitimacy – the attitude of always arguing on the side of foreign capitalists and their local economic elite partners so that the Party becomes identified by the local as the protector of these foreign interests.

In recent years the West Indies island-states have been witnessing the evident growth of a counter reaction against the domination of foreign capital in their economies in the form of militant trade unions and Blackpower Youth Movements.

The danger is there that Fiji may be facing much too uncritically the structure of both its tax incentives and the character of its domestic revenue arrangement — the model of forced industrialisation dependent mainly upon the capital of outside investors as the best means of transforming the traditional economic system of the Colonial period. With typical optimism the Fiji Times says: "Foreign capital investment will help to build the Industries Fiji needs to strengthen its economy and provide higher wages and improved standards of living. Eventually these materials benefits will lead to greater local participation in business and the formation of more locally-owned companies".10

Yet the Caribbean experience to date tells a contrary story. Island-states such as Jamaica and Trinidad who started off their foreign capital programmes with the same note of optimism have hardly made any leeway in solving their chronic problems of unemployment. (In the Caribbean unemployment rates range from 12%-22%). Average incomes have risen in some islands but at the same time existing inequalities have grown more severe, unemployment has increased and political liberties have generally dwindled. (Radical critics from the academic community are often silenced through state control of passports and work permits. Academic investigations into certain institutions are being officially discouraged.)

The foreign capital programme has only strengthened the position of the small middleclass managers of the means of production at the expense of widening the gap between them and the urban working class and rural dwellers. Unemployed and disillusioned youth have begun to ally with the trade unions and to increase the degree of restlessness. As G. K. Lewis says: "Men are rarely satisfied with abstract symbols of new freedom. They want something more exciting, more tangible, more immediately recognisable".11

In 1970, the once charismatic Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad was almost toppled from power by an attempted Army coup sparked off by mass strikes and
Blackpower Youth demonstrations. Charisma seems to be the common stock of leaders of newly independent nations but sooner or later the charisma may wear thin if significant sections of their people do not find tangible improvement in their situations. People are gullible, but they cannot be fooled all the time by arguments for 'political stability' or 'non-intervention at this stage of development or we will frighten off foreign investors', or even value-loaded political slogans such as "Peace, Progress and Prosperity" which are meant to obfuscate the real issues.

Contrary to what the Fiji Times thinks foreign capital will do for Fiji, it is notorious that in the Puerto Rican case — which enjoys special advantages hardly likely to be copied by others, of tariff free access to the American consumer market and unrestricted circulatory migration movement — that an intensified industrialisation program along such lines has still left the island characterised by heavy external ownership of productive facilities, large scale mass unemployment, a high cost import of structure, a low percentage of trade unionization in the new factories and the sacrifice of agriculture of industry.

Along with this came attendant socio-cultural problems characterised by large sections of the population which are psychologically depressed, socially disorganised with alarming percentage of mental retardation, psychosis, prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism and a collective inferiority complex (that originated from old colonial relationship and now reinforced by an externally controlled industrialisation programme) of always looking to the 'Northamericans' to do things, to make decisions as the controlling group in the relationship.12

It is not inconceivable that a similar process will take place in the Pacific economies that place their development eggs in the same basket of Australia/NZ (Japanese?) and American capitalist culture. In summation, the essential point to make about the Puerto Rican model of development is that in the long run it may effectively preclude the pursuit of public policies aimed towards social equality. Internally it gives new strength to the existing power structure by giving new opportunities of economic expansion to the existing monopoly business units. (Note that W. R. Carpenters is planning to sink $11 million into the building of the biggest retail, offices and tourist complex in Fiji, at the beginning of next year).13

Externally it facilitates the entry of expatriate capital operation which have the dual effect of: (1) increasing the degree of expatriate ownership in the economy and (2) reducing the local business groups to the status of subordinate partners in a network of international capital operations so that they become to all intents and purposes dependent entrepreneurs undertaking a middle class trusteeship of foreign holdings.

Newly independent Fiji may have to face the hard reality that it cannot hope to enjoy the type of Puerto Rican special relations with either Australia or New Zealand. There are certain trends which seem to indicate the improbability of this in our present trading and other relations with our two neighbouring metropolitan powers. For this purpose, it is perhaps relevant to reflect briefly on the state of trade between Australia/NZ and Fiji against the backdrop of what Pacific leaders have been increasingly concerned about recently — Regional Co-operation.

At the second Pacific leader's forum held at Canberra at the end of February this year, one of the prime objectives of the Pacific region that was recognised was the need to change the pattern of trade between the Pacific Islands and Australia/NZ. To illustrate the one-sidedness of this trade relationship, I quote below some statistics of trade between Australia and Fiji.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Years</th>
<th>Aust. Export to Fiji</th>
<th>Fiji Exports to Aust.</th>
<th>Fiji's Trade Gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>$15,090,000</td>
<td>$3,810,000</td>
<td>$11,280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1965</td>
<td>$18,950,000</td>
<td>$3,796,000</td>
<td>$15,162,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1966</td>
<td>$17,035,000</td>
<td>$4,052,000</td>
<td>$13,013,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1967</td>
<td>$15,631,000</td>
<td>$4,639,000</td>
<td>$10,992,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>$18,362,000</td>
<td>$4,676,000</td>
<td>$13,686,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-1969</td>
<td>$18,306,000</td>
<td>$5,040,000</td>
<td>$14,266,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1970</td>
<td>$19,894,000</td>
<td>$5,010,000</td>
<td>$14,884,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1971</td>
<td>$24,698,000</td>
<td>$3,989,000</td>
<td>$20,709,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that over the past nine financial years Australian exports to Fiji have increased substantially while her imports from Fiji have hardly shown any upward movement. Fiji's trade gap with Australia in the last financial year, 1970-1971, stands at $20 million compared with $11 million in 1964-1965. The situation is also the same in Fiji's trade with New Zealand – an unfavourable gap of about $6½ million. By present indications, the Pacific Trade News reckons the gap will deteriorate further.

According to figures released by the Commonwealth statistician at the end of February, 1972, the overall value of Australia's export to the Pacific Islands and New Zealand reached a total value of $118,796,000 at the end of 1971 – a significant rise of 11.2% from the previous year. This was higher than the 9.8% increase registered in the total of Australian exports to all other overseas destinations.

It means that the Pacific region is the fastest expanding market for Australian exports in the world. For the first time too, NZ and the Pacific region have displaced the United Kingdom for third place in the ranking of countries/regions as export outlets for Australian commodities. (The front ranking countries are Japan and USA). What has happened is that the rapid deterioration in Australian exports to the UK points to the very strong possibility that the Pacific Islands alone could shortly provide a more valuable outlet. In fact this is how Australia has seen it for some time and I quote again the Pacific Trade News: “With the UK certain to go into European Economic Community and the equal certainty that Australian exports are going to have a rough time of it, the possibility of the Pacific Islands becoming a more valuable outlet becomes a probability.”

Now, what have all these trends got to do with our idea of regional co-operation?

It shows clearly the problems that countries such as Fiji with already yawning trade gaps, have to surmount if they want to change the pattern of trade between themselves and their big white neighbours. The picture is indeed gloomy. It is hard to reconcile Australia's promise of co-operation to improve the trade imbalance with her projected view of the Pacific region to replace Britain as the third major outlet for her exports.

Granted the inevitability of this development; the key question to her sincerity is: Will she reciprocally remove her tariff barriers and other protective regulations for the free flow of exports from the island territories into her domain so that the Pacific region, whose welfare she professes to be the guardian of, can also enjoy the type of free trade relations she has with New Zealand?

The thing to note in the communique released after the Canberra talks was the conspicuous absence of some of the apparently ‘touchy’ subjects previously discussed in Wellington in 1971: economic union, treatment for island products entering Australia and New Zealand, customs tariff and other difficulties of marketing products; the emphasis laid instead on “increased inter-island trade” and “increased investment in the islands”.

Regional co-operation with these two metropolitan powers will mean nothing unless they: (1) give real, substantive concessions to island exports and (2) allow free immigration of Pacific peoples, especially into Australia.

If the Caribbean experience provides any useful lesson, it is that small island economies that embrace the free enterprise model of foreign capital investment cannot hope to solve their burgeoning problems of unemployment. In the Caribbean, unemployment rates have increased despite the intensive industrialisation programme. E. K. Fisk has estimated that in Fiji in the next decade about 160,000 school leavers will come on the job market and no one really believes that the Fiji economy can expand rapidly enough to absorb in wage and other money-earning employment all these young people.

Recent political upheavals in Jamaica and Trinidad have shown that one of the major elements contributing to political instability has been unemployed youth.

In Fiji E. K. Fisk’s proposed Institute for Fijian Development, should it have any teeth at all, will most certainly discriminate against qualified Indians and other races in the provision for job opportunities in the new foreign enterprises. All “this makes it imperative that if Australia and New Zealand will want to safeguard their investment here in future, and more importantly if regional co-operation is to mean at least anything, Australia should open her doors as soon as possible for free immigration of Pacific islanders who will not be able to find jobs in their countries.

Our attempts at regional co-operation
stimulate afresh in mind parallel developments in the Caribbean islands' attempts at regional co-operation with outside metropolitan powers in foreign aid programmes, governmental loan projects, mass housing development, trade union education and even the staffing of local academic institutions — it is the pressure of foreign 'advisers', the outside 'expert'.

An outcome of the Canberra talks is the proposed establishment of a Trade Secretariat in Suva. It is to be hoped that the Bureau does not become what the Anglo/American Caribbean Commission of 1944 became; it was overtly staffed by American and English 'experts' whose advise to Caribbean Governments were often conservative and slanted towards ensuring that only Anglo/American investments were accepted.

On the outside it improved the external trade picture of the two metropolitan powers, but to all intents and purposes, it became an instrument for the protection of their own neo-colonial interests in the region.

What all that I have discussed at length suggests, disturbingly enough, is that the possession of political sovereignty is in fact of negligible value if it is rendered largely nugatory by the surrender of large slices of economic sovereignty to outside forces, both financial and political. Theoretically, independence confers sovereignty upon the new nation of Fiji but economically, development of the type that it is at present following may "preclude the use of sovereign police power in implementing any serious programmes of social change."17

In essence, the country may become a mere metropolis satellite in which the satellite develops an export economy featuring the dominance of the export sector and precluding the development of any real collectivist planning for domestic purposes. In that process the country loses its right to dispose freely of its own natural wealth and resources.

The government's attempts at planning inevitably results in state control of the domestic working class (note how D.P.6 has been used against the wage demands of workers and the entry of trade union leaders into Political Parties in Fiji) and little success in any sort of control of, for example, on the repatriation of profits and incomes made in the foreign investment sector.

The irony of the Alliance Party is that it proposes to cure the ills of economic colonialism by beginning to re-establish the conditions originally producing them. For it is repeating all of the leading features of the traditional colonial economy: by increasing dependence on external capital funds, by making the export sector depend more on external demand patterns and by replacing the old colonial power with the indirect power of the absentee capitalists with their multi-national business complex.

For the newly emergent nations of the Pacific, neo-colonialism is emerging. Like all small states, Fiji will have to learn to survive in this new world colonialism. For the granting of independence has merely signalised the fact that she has passed from the older British protective umbrella to the Australian/New Zealand hemisphere power system.

The implications of that transfer, to say the least, may be ominous. It means that Australian and New Zealand economic and political interest will always be here and the policies of these two powers towards us will shape our future. We may become more and more susceptible to indirect and direct intervention in our domestic affairs.

American intervention in Cuba and Santa Domingo, British intervention in Guyana and Anguilla, should serve notice on that. Here in the Pacific, a not too subtle game of rewarding friends and punishing enemies may get under way with sanctions of one kind or another always in the background to be used.

To adapt a London Paper's comment on the Caribbean to our own situation here "It should be clear to all the islands of the Caribbean (Pacific) that if they want to share in the Yankee dollar (Aussie and Kiwi) they must be prepared to jump whenever Washington (Canberra & Wellington) bids them to."18

Independence confronts us all with the challenge that in relying heavily on foreign capital investments, we do not in the process sacrifice our political sovereignty.

2. Ibid P.82.
4. As reported in P.I.M., November 1967.
5. Address to the Fiji Institute of Management as reported in P.I.M., June 1970.
7. Quoted from Speech by Dr. James Anthony at USP Dining Hall, Dept. 1971.
12. Ibid Chapter 16.
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so I took a walk down by the sea
To see if I could be,
you know that thing, they call it free.
I wanted to see just how tall I was,
Got a look at just how small I was,
As I walked from there to here,
I felt things that caused me fear.
At each step, the concrete stepped before me
And although it stops, it's but a few feet from the sea.
I could feel a fence with a gate about to close
I had to talk with the sea to find out what she knows.
She was calm and cool, her waves did smile,
I sat and listened to her talk for a while.
As I sat, a bird, from the land, to the sea did go,
Does it know something that I don't know?
It's hard to explain what that Woman tole me,
You will have to go and sit by the sea.
You may find me there,
With no shoes and the wind in my hair,
Waiting,
For you, to speak with me.

— John Haydon.
The salient feature of Western Samoa's economy is that it is agrarian based and structured. For instance about eighty per cent of the country's marketed agricultural output with about five per cent of the total value of agricultural exports come from the rural village sector. Moreover something in the order of seventy per cent of the total population depend for their livelihood on this component. (Fairbairn). These few facts illustrate the importance of this component within the whole economy. In addition to the above figures, much of the land — about eighty percent of the total land mass — is village owned with about an equal proportion of the total population living in about 250 rural villages and sub-villages of Western Samoa. However, before one goes on to describe Samoan village agriculture at least a brief understanding of the Samoan social system is essential as land-use methods practised by the village Samoans are a function of the Samoan social structure, customs and traditions, values and aspirations. (Fox and Cumberland).

Most of Western Samoa's villages are distributed mainly along the periphery of Western Samoa's two main islands. Village population varies over a wide range from small villages of about fifty inhabitants to large villages with populations of over a thousand, but averages anything between two hundred and three hundred persons. The most important feature of a Samoan village is its intimate relationship of the land, the sea which is generally regarded as an extension of village territory, explaining the coastal sprawl of the majority of villages. In general almost all villages except for a few which have either schools, post offices or serve as a communications centre, have the same function — namely that of a residential and social centre.

The village coheres hundreds of people of various family lineages into a single closely knit community which fosters a community interest and pride. Not only these, but community responsibility is an all-important virtue and community participation is very frequently required. Ceremony has always had a special place in the fa'a Samoa — the Samoan way of life. The most important and the most influential social institution at the village level is the fono or village council which includes all matai's — elected family heads. This fono usually holds its meetings once a week and usually too at the beginning of the week to discuss and decide on community activities for that week. The fono usually holds its meetings simultaneously with that of the aumaga — gathering of all the untitled males — who attend the fono and in the same process learn the great arts of oratory and tradition in preparation for the day when they too will become matai.

The fono's main functions are (i) to control and direct the male labour force (aumaga); (ii) to see that the village subsistence supplies are maintained at an adequate level including allowances for drainages into the customary exchange of material goods and services and to ceremonial purposes, and (iii) to decide on communal capital investment whether it be in a school, a road, a piped-water system, a church or whatever the fono may decide. When the decision is made all aiga are obligated to contribute both in cash, food and in labour. Refusal to co-operate may result in fining, boycotting or in the total banishment from the village. Fines are in terms of so many taro, sows, cases of hard biscuits and/or barrels of salted beef. The significance of this type of fining is to really sap a family of its main sources of wealth both subsistence and cash.

The main motivating force behind most of these village and family activities is that of
social prestige. Similar to the *fono* in function and intent is the *assembly of the matais' wives* who control and direct the female section (*aualuma*) of the village in seeing: that the village pool is kept clean, that the village supply of mats are kept at an adequate level, that family eating and cooking utensils are in a sufficient and healthy level, along with numerous other chores which concern the female section.

At the family level the main production and organisational unit is the *aiga* an extended family in the broadest sense. It accommodates people related by blood, intermarriage or adoption and usually several nuclear family units are in its totality. The *aiga* is headed by a single elected head — the *matai* — who lead and direct family activities and in whose person the *pule* — control — over family lands is vested. This is the community and the *aigas* most precious possession, and an indication of the *matai's* status. A matai is expected to protect if not to acquire more lands as his welfare and above all the welfare of his aiga is dependent on the quantity and quality of the lands he controls.

Often family plots are named which indicate these lands have been handed down through tradition from long gone ancestors. These family plots are often haphazardly scattered within village grounds and with boundaries being generally ill-defined and non-surveyed, marked off by natural boundaries, may it be rivers, tracks, stone walls or some other natural landmark. The land tenure system as widely practiced in Western Samoa is so rigid and ill-defined that land disputes are not at all uncommon and a Lands and Titles Court has been set up to arbitrate these disputes. Thus the most important feature of the economic life of a Samoan village is the influence that the social and organisational institutions have on the direction and level of demand and production.

The villages' main productive resources are land, sea and labour. However the forests add various other useful resources to the village supply. Cultivation techniques as practised by the villages are that of the bush-fallow type. However, this shifting type of agriculture is not migratory in nature within the Western Samoan context but can be broadly termed sedentary with elements of rotation basically present though in a periodical and disorderly way. Labour is basically divided between the sexes, individual skill, age, and social elites. However the most important distinction is between management and labour whether it be between the *fono* and the *aumaga* or the council of matais wives and the *aualuma*. Despite this broad division of labour the tendency is still towards that of an unspecialized nature and its application to land is spasmodic and meagre. This point too has been evidenced by fieldworker Fairbairn when he concluded in a survey that only a comparatively modest proportion of the total potential labour time is actually devoted to the performance of economic tasks.

The exotic market sector has had little influence in the composition of Samoan village agricultural production. Production is mainly for household and village consumption and that amount given away in the traditional exchange system. Nevertheless, in all villages an element of cash cropping does present itself, as cash has become an important item in trading transaction with the market sector; besides, money as such has now been acceptable as a supplement if not a substitute for various traditional articles, for example, as a component in the gift to a builder craftsman. Subsistence consumption can be broadly subdivided into three main components namely: food, housing and household durables. A tendency which is common in almost all villages, and which has been documented by various researches, especially that done by Lockwood, points to the fact that most of the villages' resources both subsistence and cash, are invested in both their housing and in their household durables.

Very little capital investment is devoted to agriculture except for the universal and unsophisticated implements used in their day to day activities. In the majority of Samoan villages, saving facilities are either few or totally lacking; besides the accumulation of private capital common in advanced capitalistic societies is contrary to the fa'a-Samoa. Total village income is composed mainly of subsistence income except for a very small cash component (Lockwood) which in turn is made up of (i) money from sale of agricultural commodities especially copra, bananas and more recently taro; (ii) wages and remittances and cash gifts from relatives and visitors through the traditional exchange system.

Despite this small component of total village income being cash, most of it again
goes back to the trader in exchange for consumer goods with almost nothing being saved. (Most usually only local traders and the pastor possess savings accounts). However, when the need for the accumulation of capital for some community purpose arises this is met with enthusiasm that is almost unequaled anywhere else in the world, and some people of some villages have been reported to have donated about two thirds of their total cash income for such find raising purposes. (Fox and Cumberland). Among the most important of the food stuffs bought from the market sector for village consumption is sugar, canned fish and meat, tobacco, salt and other less frequently consumed foodstuffs.

FEATURES AFFECTING AGRICULTURE

So far I have dealt mainly with village-household economics and now I will go into what I would term agriculture proper — the actual features, structure and cultivation of the various traditional crops as widely done by the villages. However, before such a task can be performed successfully, a brief introduction to the climatic and soil features will perhaps help put into perspective the role they play in influencing the crops grown and cultivation techniques of the village Samoans.

Geologically the islands of Western Samoa are formed almost wholly from basic volcanic rocks and their derived sediments, with the chief soil-forming parent material being olivine basalt. The alluvium deposited by recent flooding in the river valleys and the coral sands accumulating in various sheltered positions on the coastline form the youngest soils. These recent alluvial soils are extremely productive and are used mainly for the cultivation of bananas and taro whereas the coral sands are nutritionally unbalanced and are suited only to crops that are tolerant of calcium carbonate in the soil, namely coconut and breadfruit. (Fox and Cumberland). Rainfall varies from 180 inches in southern Upolu to about 400 inches in the more mountainous areas of Savai‘i, so that considerable runoff occurs; however most of this is underground as Samoan lavas are extremely permeable. The youthful nature of the lava as implied above is reflected in the characteristic immaturity of Samoan soils. Most soils have only moderate profile development and open texture with medium to abundant supplies of plant nutrients.

Leaching is at a maximum on land of little relief and for this reason soils developing on such land tend to be depleted of plant nutrients more rapidly than those developing or more strongly sloping land, where part of the rainfall runs directly off the surface before penetrating deep into the soil. This lateral movement of surface water along steep slopes sponsors redistribution of soil particles and to accumulate soil matter at foot slopes. This is of great significance as it ensures the maintenance of fertility even when the environment enhances a high degree of leaching. Soil creeps as well, are accelerated on cultivated slopes but the overall rate of rock weathering is also rapid in this climate and creep does little more than enable material from newly weathered parent rock to come into contact with rooting zone of plants and so enhance fertility. Intensive use has been made of all the more accessible areas of steepland soils; however, there is a general deficiency in this type and soils developing on land of easy relief is more widespread.

THE SAMOAN CROPS

Village cultivated crops are basically those cultivated by their ancestors long before ‘Western’ intrusion. Traditional crops of taro (calocasia esculentum), breadfruit (Artocarpus communis), bananas (Musa cavendishii), (Dioscorea affinis/yam alata), ta’amu (Allocasia macrorrhiza), cacao and coconuts are widely cultivated. These food crops particularly monopolised the Samoan diet. And of all these crops taro is the most relished and is universally cultivated as the size of one’s taro garden (ma‘umaga) symbolises status. Taro planting in areas where rain is more seasonal is planted to coincide with the beginning of the rainy season (i.e. from November to January) to take full advantage of the rain, but some foresighted planters plant as late as December so that when the January-February cyclones come the plants are too small to be harmed. (Watters).

In windward and elevated areas where adequate moisture is always present in the soil, no seasonal planting is necessary. Virgin soil is generally favoured for taro cultivation. And only a few simple implements are used in taro-cultivation mainly: the axe for hacking down or the ring-barking of big trees, the versatile knife for slashing down bush and weeds as well as for other household uses, and most important of all, the traditional oso — a
digging stick plainly sharpened on one end or more recently furnished with a metal tip.

Samoan shifting cultivators like their other counterparts within the tropics, make use of the practice of leaving branches, roots and debris on the soil especially on slopes after the initial clearing along with mile-a-minute (Mikania micrantha) and other weed as mulch to catch the rain and thus help minimise erosion on slopes. After clearing, holes (about 10" x 6") are punched into the ground with the oso and the soil immediately surrounding the holes is levered up and loosened with the same implement. These holes dug three feet apart are big enough to accommodate two cuttings but are planted singly to allow sufficient room for the tuber to develop. Between planting and harvesting the garden is only weeded twice or thrice and when the weeds have become too hard a task to eradicate the plot is abandoned for another. The taro crop usually takes about six to ten months before it is ready to be harvested depending on the soil type, whether it has been fallow or virgin land and on the species grown. Fifty nine different species of taro have been identified to have been in cultivation and/or growing wild in the bush simultaneously. After the initial crop has been harvested a second crop is grown a foot away from original holes and after this or the third crop a decline in the size of the tuber is evident and the plot is left fallow while another is taken up. The fallow period is a function of many variables and it can be anything from six to twenty years.

The banana plant (Musa cavendishii) – an exotic species – follows taro closely in rank as regarding quantity consumed. Cultivation techniques and cultivated landscape are remarkably similar to that of taro, except of course with respect to the sizes of holes and distances apart which are necessarily much bigger and further apart respectively. The knife is again the principal instrument employed with a spade and perhaps a crowbar and most usually a pair of hand bellows (faga fa'i) for spraying insecticide powder on newly emergent buds to destroy moth-caterpillars which are the principal cause of the scab-moth disease common to bananas. A banana crop takes a much longer time to mature – about eighteen months. The banana industry by the late 1950's was almost completely destroyed by hunchy-top and other alien banana diseases and again in 1966 by the hurricane that spread chaos and destruction not only to the banana industry, but to taro, copra and domestic property and services. However, great efforts by the Banana Scheme to revive banana cultivation through various subsidies and aid in food, cash bonuses and expert technical assistance have helped reconstruct the banana cultivation both as a subsistence crop and as a cash crop. This is encouraged mainly in the view of exports however a good proportion is also consumed and sold at the local market.

Despite the universality of this exotic species, several local species are also cultivated for local consumption but the cultivation of these is not encouraged by the authorities as there is little demand for them on the world market. Overall, these types of scientific projects have met with little success among the villages, as village planters tend to meet these innovations with suspicion while accepting plant diseases and pests with feelings of fatalism. They see these new plant diseases and pests as being caused by the Whiteman's fertilizers, his weed killers and his insecticides and their natural response to these diseases and pests is to stop growing.

The breadfruit (Artocapus communis) is the other important food crop to the consumption needs of Samoan villagers. Unlike taro and bananas this is not grown in any order or in any specific plot of itself but is usually planted immediately beside the households within the village proper, as well as being interplanted with other crops not too far from the villages. Unlike other crops too, the breadfruit tree is the only source of subsistence food which is seasonal and during the breadfruit season crops of taro, ta'amu, bananas and yams are left to mature or are partly being sold for cash while a diet of mostly breadfruit cooked in a variety of ways is endured.

This too is the time for ceremony and leisure as breadfruit need only minimal effort in its care and cultivation – an occasional slashing down of bush and mile-a-minute creeper from engulfing the trees is sufficient. As many as thirty varieties are known to be in cultivation among various villages. In the case of excessive yield beyond that which can be consumed at any one time breadfruits are skinned and stored in ground pits for about three to five months so that when the season is over the residual soft mass (masi) is
uncovered, cooked and consumed. However, this practice which once had been common, now appears to be going into extinction owing to the rapid growth in population.

Of lesser importance to taro as a root crop, is the ‘t’amu’ (Alocasia macrorrhiza) which is planted partly as an emergency crop for times of food shortages or, in the case of other natural calamities such as hurricanes which is especially frequent in this part of the tropics. This crop too is grown from cuttings and is planted and cultivated in much the same way as taro. Fourteen varieties of this root crop have been identified to be grown by village cultivators. This crop tends to do better on wetter, depleted soils than taro, hence its cultivation on higher, older, compact soils, less freely drained. Besides, ta’amu has a certain advantage in that its corm lasts much longer in the ground than taro.

The most extensively grown food crop of the Samoans is the coconut and this has been in cultivation long before European contact. This like other traditional crops had been grown in intensity sufficient for the communities’ consumption needs. However, the founding of German trading stations in Apia in the nineteenth century with a demand for Copra on the world market led to the German enforcement of coconut cultivation in Western Samoa. This saw the expansion of this tree crop beyond local consumption and giving the Samoans their first taste of cash earned through trading activities with the market sector. However, this expansion ended with the German rule (1900-1914) declining through the early years of the New Zealand rule and virtually ceased in the middle 1920’s with the Man movement (movement of non-co-operation with the N.Z. government). This crop has always provided the Samoans with their most important cash crop, not forgetting of course its multiplicity of uses in local consumption as food, drink, and building material.

Coconuts that are ripe for consumption is principally taken in the form of coconut-milk prepared from grated coconut-kernel. This coconut milk is either consumed raw with/or cooked with boiled taro, banana, yam, ta’amu, fish, taro leaves (palusami) and numerous other variations too long to list. It has been noted by a researcher (Fox & Cumberland) that only about thirty-five per cent of village production is devoted to local consumption while the rest is sold mainly for cash overseas. It is interesting to note too that a substantial amount of coconut production is devoted to the feeding of domestic pigs and fowls, as fowls and particularly pigs are an emblem of wealth and it carries too, ceremonial significance above ordinary subsistence. Hence almost all families keep quite a number of both pigs and fowls. Besides being sold for cash to traders in its dried or undried form, coconut can also be accepted in its nut-form in most stores throughout Samoa in exchange for market consumer goods at the usual price of about ten nuts to ten cents.

Coconut cultivation is much the same as that of breadfruit — it is only cared for when it is young with occasions of slashing around the tree with a machet, and for the rest of its productive life slashing is only done in search for nuts. Despite the cessation of replanting in the 1920’s the Agriculture Department along with the Copra Board had, and are still, making strenuous efforts to revive the replanting of new trees to replace those which have long gone past their productive age. Some success has recently been encountered by the Agriculture Department but the rhinoceros beetle and the stick insect pest, coupled with the reigning low prices for copra, have dimmed villagers’ enthusiasm for coconut planting.

Cocoa has become the national drink and it is cultivated, but at a lesser scale, by the villagers — in a sufficient enough number to meet consumption needs. Nevertheless, in some villages where this crop does very well on its soils a substantial amount is sold for cash. However, the bulk of export cocoa comes from various commercial plantations especially the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation (WSTEC).

Variation to this rather starchy diet is provided by sugar cane, papaya, citrus, mangoes, and avocados which are cultivated by most villages while the forest holds supplies of flying foxes, wild pigeons, wild hogs, wild yams, taro and ta’amu. However, the most important source of protein for the Samoan diet is provided by the sea in its numerous fishes, shellfish, sea worms, sea weeds and the other edible forms of marine life. Deep-sea fishing for bonito is done exclusively by men as this is a hazardous game especially when done in small canoes (va’a alo). Women and children make it their job to see that the reef is properly harvested of its
rich supplies of various shellfish and fish. In most of the villages, fish accompanies a diet of the usual starchy stables.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion the shifting type of agriculture widely practiced among Samoan villages is a rational form of agriculture within the Samoan context, as the small quantity of land under cultivation at any one time does not indicate incomplete occupancy but the preservation of a delicate equilibrium between the natural environment and the inhabitants whose culture has become adapted to it. Thus the periodical use of the land is justified. Moreover, the foregoing discussion has emphasized the utmost importance of agriculture, not only at the village level but also as a component of the economy as a whole, and the stress on this sector is made even more so by the absence of any exploitable mineral resources.

The evidence presented here, shows on the whole, the general contentment with which the ordinary village Samoan regards the life he lives. Generally he has little interest in the market sector, not much concern about the future, indifferent to productive investment and a general unwillingness to 'develop'. (Lockwood). The key to this unwillingness to invest and to accumulate material wealth lies mainly in the traditional exchange system as this is the major disincentive to the accumulation of wealth since relatives and close friends are liable to claim what they feel they want.

In short the fa'a-Samoa is contrary to capitalistic economics. This has been commented on by a scholar (Davidson) in Samoan affairs when he wrote that the factors of modern and traditional origins have tended to run counter to each other. On the one hand, contact with the more sophisticated world had boosted expectations of a steadily rising living standard and population growth, while the traditional social structure has been conceived in a time of demographic stability and economic equilibrium. A fellow field-worker — B.A. Lockwood — agreed with Davidson but puts it differently: "the Samoan social system developed to suit a subsistence situation of resource affluence, but is has not changed to meet the new conditions of a commercial world."

Village and central authorities exhibit inclinations more towards conservatism and a general resistance to planning. The leaders are more obsessed with petty political and social aspects of Samoan life than with constructive and more productive economics. This general contentment and reluctance to change manifested in conservatism and resistance to any form of planning has been evidenced by two researchers when they wrote that nowhere else in the Pacific is innovation so resolutely resisted and in few other territories is the cult of custom so deeply revered. (Fox & Cumberland) Not only that the people themselves are disinterested in change but their whole social structure and their land tenure system present the greatest obstacle to economic development and to surplus production over and above that which is locally consumed. The insecurity of land tenure discourages people from utilizing the available resources to their fullest capacity — even a 'matia' is not guaranteed the fruits of his own labour. In V.D. Staces' 1953 report on the W. Samoa economy he concluded that the country possessed the natural resources to maintain a rapidly growing population at higher living standards than that then existing, but more radically improved techniques of resource utilization must be employed — meaning a structural change in the land tenure system along with the application of more advanced technology to resource exploitation.

However, most importantly, the Economic Department has noticed the difficulty and in their introduction to their Second Five Year Plan they have realized that the attainment of a faster rate of economic growth and a structural change in the economy becomes an urgent primary objective in economic and social planning, and the significance of this is underlined by the very high rate of population growth and the somewhat stagnant nature of village agriculture." Thus the fate of village agriculture and the Western Samoan economy has now moved into the hands of the government and what they can do is yet to be seen.

Fox, J.W., & Cumberland K.B., Western Samoa — Whitcombe & Tombs (Ch.Ch. — N.Z.) 1962, pp.78-96, and pp. 177-238.
ecology  a relevant message by albert einstein

Address before the student body of
the California Institute of Technology —
1938.

My dear young Friends,

I am glad to see you before me, a
flourishing band of young people who
have chosen applied science as a
profession.

I could sing a hymn of praise
with the refrain of the splendid
progress in applied science that we
have already made, and the enormous
further progress that you will bring about. We are
indeed in the era and also in the native land of applied science.

But it lies far from my thought to speak in this way. Much
more, I am reminded in this connection of the young man who
had married a not very attractive wife and was asked whether or
not he was happy. He answered thus: “If I wished to speak the
truth, then I would have to lie.”

So it is with me. Just consider a quite uncivilised Indian,
whether his experience is less rich and happy than that of the
average civilised man. I hardly think so. There lies a deep meaning of
the fact that the children of all civilised countries are so fond of playing
“Indians”:

Why does this magnificent applied science, which saves work and
makes life easier, bring us so little happiness? The simple answer runs —
because we have not yet learned to make a sensible use of it.

In war it serves that we may poison and mutilate each other. In
peace it has made our lives hurried and uncertain. Instead of freeing us in
great measure from spiritually exhausting labor, it has made men into
slaves of machinery, who for the most part complete their monotonous
long day’s work with disgust, and must continually tremble for their poor
nations.

You will be thinking that the old man sings an ugly song. I do it,
however, with a good purpose, in order to point out a consequence.

It is not enough that you should understand about applied science in
order that your work may increase man’s blessings. Concern for man
himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all
technical endeavours, concern for the great unsolved
problems of the organisation of Labor and the
distribution of goods — in order that the creations of
our mind shall be a blessing and not a curse to
mankind. Never forget this in the midst of your
diagrams and equations.
Last night I took a stroll into her yellow majesty’s kingdom.
Away from the hustle and the bustle of the city,
From the cars and the multitude,
From the glare of the lights
And the blare of the traffic,
From the flat pavements and the straight roads
And the smooth walls and the square buildings,
From the rotten smells of market garbage
And the stinking smells of the backyard sewage.
Away from the abode of civilization.

I took a stroll into her yellow majesty’s Kingdom.
Her sincere majesty,
Her gay majesty,
Her innocent majesty.
I walked into a waking kingdom,
For this kingdom wakes at night and slumbers at day.
I could see the kingdom stirring,
I could sense it shedding the day time heat.
And as it did so the fresh smells of the young evening rose.
A tiny breeze stirred.
Then the crickets began their shrills
And the toads by the brook their croaks
And the trees smiled
And the grasses whispered
And another busy night was anxious to begin.
The forest awaited the opening.

It is a formal opening, by her majesty the moon
And when she awakes in her tender glory the opening is done.
The ribbon is cut, and in her kingdom begins another night of labours.

No, it is not the work of toil nor drudgery,
Nor brain-wrecking books nor the boredom from it all — the cares of civilization.
It is pleasure, and play, and gaiety, and joy and merry-making.
That is their occupation.

But ho! But harken! But hush!
For her majesty arises.
With the pride and demeanour of royalty
She glides into view, and presents herself.
Her grandeur, radiant from her royal entity, touches her faithful kingdom.
All at once the opening is done,
And another business night is declared open in the kingdom,
The wheels of her kingdom are all a-turning,
And all are busy, at pleasure, and play, and gaiety, and joy, and merrymaking.

The grasses and the leaves sigh to the rustle of the breeze.
The big trees and the small trees,
The elders of the kingdom, converse silently in their wisdom.
And the creepers gain their tips and hug them in a warm embrace.
And the insects wail their gaiety
And the unseen toads chant their lover charms from their recesses.

The moon too, sheds her royal garms and joins in their ecstasy.
And when the giggling brook emerges from the shades, she tickles its back into a thousand mirrors.
And it, the titillated brooks, makes its way sleekily over the slimy stones and the slim shoots.
And among the rustling reeds, till at a fall it bursts with gaily laugh
Into a million diamonds.

And the silver moon shimmers in the slow shallow creeks.
And the silent mountains and the shady valleys harbour many a secret,
To tease the others but never to tell.

And the sky was an ocean full of tiny beacons,
To guide the passage of the royal ship,
With her fleet, the sailing clouds.
All pulsate to the beat and rhythm of nature,
The happy jingle,
The fair innocence.

All of a sudden I had an urge to be one of them.
To be one of those carefree, innocent, and beautiful creatures.
But how could I, with my eloquence of speech, and my elegance of clothing and etiquette, and my privilege of thinking?
Throw them aside, erase them from your memory!
Bury them in your subconscious,
And be what you are—an animal!
Yes, that is the only way to be one of them.
So I threw off my clothes and with an animal yell, I leapt into the air and ran, not heeding my actions.
And I howled and I raged like an animal.
And I ran among the trees and hugged them, my big brothers.
And I scooped up the foliage and the flowers and the weeds and cuddled them—my dear ones.
Then I threw myself out on the soil and hugged and embraced it—my mother.
And I danced among the tall grasses,
And I screamed, and I howled,
And I let out the animal in me.
And then I was one of them.

And when I was tired and exhausted,
I fell down into the laps of mother Earth.
And God, how peaceful I felt,
How eternally peaceful,
How essentially wonderful!
How good it felt to be an animal!

And still we are persistent, and we probe on, grappling in the dark, lashing about, searching as madmen search;
Rushing upon the ever-receding but never-terminating darkness with our tiny lamps of wisdom.
But we are puny flicker in a titanic void of darkness,
An insignificant hope in an infinity of despair,
A nothing in the immensity of the universe.
Yet we press on, confounded fools as we are, bursting for an ultimate solution.

And when we die, our microscopic flicker is extinguished for ever,
And we are no more
And we never were.

God, isn’t that a perfect curse?
To give us a lust to conquer the infinite
To let us harbour a frustrated strain to perform the impossible.
In inflicting this curse upon us, God, you have sinned!
And it is not fair at all.
You are cheating!

But can’t we rid ourselves of this curse?
Can’t we stop thinking?
Of course we can’t.
For we contain within ourselves a dynamic devil named Curiosity.
And it is his art to make us mad with himself,
To drive us fighting crazy with him
To take his name in reverence
And to inject him into anybody who is deficient of him.
We are all his slaves
And nobody can free us.

We can’t help it.
But you can, God
So help us, God!
Please, God, please!

Anirudh Singh
This paper, in four sections, discusses the factors which hindered regionalism before World War II, the after-effects of the war including the setting up of the South Pacific Commission, and the move towards inter-island co-operation. The establishment since 1950 of various organisations to increase political and economic linkages between South Pacific Island states including relationships with the outside world during a period of accelerated demands for self determination. And finally the author tries to predict future trends in the form of regionalism and inter-island co-operation.

THE PRE-WAR SITUATION

Regionalism and close inter-island relations within the South Pacific are a recent development, mainly started after World War II. Prior to the Second World War few islanders thought of even the territory to which they belonged as more than a vague abstraction: their world was bounded by their village, or at least their island. This lack of feeling of regionalism, even among the islands of an island territory, can be attributed to many geographic, political, social and economic factors.

The islands of the South Pacific are scattered across a vast expanse of water. Some island groups are compact, others are scattered over such a large area that distance is a hindering factor in the propagation of the feeling of national or territorial unity as well as inter-group regionalism. In the past the only means of transport was by sea, but after World War Two, air travel was perfected and reduced travelling time between distant islands.

Populations of the Pacific Island territories are small compared to other countries, and are unevenly dispersed. Apart from their smallness, the population is ethnically varied and linguistically diverse. These factors, together with different cultural heritages, lead to strongly nationalistic or tribalistic sentiments. This hinders any possible move towards regionalism. One has to remove the rivalries and jealousies that existed in the past to get the message through because many island peoples distrust their neighbours. For example the old rivalries that existed between Fiji and Samoa, and the fear of the Samoans of being dominated by Tonga, are being overcome but are not yet totally gone.
The South Seas may be divided into three broad regions based on racial and linguistic differences namely: Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. The political partition of the region was motivated mainly by the interests of the major metropolitan powers which controlled the island states. Some partitions (e.g. between Dutch, German and Australian sectors of New Guinea or between Western and American Samoa) ignored the diversity of cultures and ethnic groups existing in the South Pacific.

The metropolitan powers in the Pacific at the end of World War II were: the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Nowhere in the world have so few people been governed by such a patch work of authorities or been influenced by such a variety of alien traditions; but even had the evolution of Western imperialism left the region in single “ownership”, its government would have had to be fragmented. A single centralised government would be unlikely to function efficiently in so huge an area or with so diverse a population.

What multiple Colonial ties did, among other things, was to produce a diversity of trade patterns with trade dominated by metropolitan powers. It has hampered the development of the common services within the region that the small scale of the component groups suggest may be economic.

The diverse economies of the different groups has further obstructed moves towards regionalism. The island economies range from the predominantly subsistence to those whose comparative prosperity is dependent on rich mineral deposits and agricultural exports. Various island groups have one or two common export commodities such as bananas and copra, and the island groups compete against each other for the same markets. This results at times, in the market becoming flooded with the same export item which leads to a drop in prices. Such fluctuations can be controlled to some extent if there is a regional body to act as a pressure group in demanding a standard price for the commodity and also regulate production in the different island states by the allocation of realistic export quotas.

Fragmentation of the South Pacific region then, can be traced to geographical, political, social and economic differences both within island states and between them. What then are the factors which facilitated the moves towards regionalism and inter-island co-operation after World War II?

The isolation of the Pacific islands was shattered on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour. Within three months American troops were pouring into Fiji, New Caledonia and all the main islands of the Eastern and Southern Pacific. Before the Pacific war ended with the Japanese surrender in August 1945, many islanders had become familiar with the sight of Europeans in large numbers accompanied by unlimited supplies of equipment of every description. The Americans were more readily accepted by the local inhabitants because their attitudes were in marked contrast to most of the Europeans they had hitherto been accustomed to. This influenced and initiated a change in local attitudes towards the ‘White man’. The Americans parted with their property on a generous scale and at the same time, criticised the pre-war colonial regimes for their arrogance and indifference to the islanders’ needs and aspirations.

The attack on Pearl Harbour by the Japanese in 1941, questioned the general attitude that the ‘White man’ was the superior race, prevalent among the islanders of the South Pacific. The islanders witnessed the power of a small Asiatic nation which had modernised itself, and was able to wage war on the United States for four years, a country contrasting a great deal in its size and economic resources. This marked the decline of European colonialism in the Pacific region.

Especially in the South Pacific, the natives were recruited into the army and posted to other island territories to fight against the Japanese. This brought many islanders into contact with each other for the first time and bred a feeling of regionalism in defending their region against an alien invader.

The war strengthened the feelings of anti-colonialism in the world and the move towards attaining self determination. Even before the end of the war, the course towards self determination had been proclaimed as early as 1946, when the Charter of the United Nations was being drawn up supporting the freedom of every nation to determine its own destiny. In 1947, India received her independence and many African states followed. This idea spread to the Pacific, but most islanders were not ready to adopt it.

The moves towards regionalism or the organisations set up to bring about inter-island co-operation were of two kinds. The first involved mainly technical and medical, educational services and research among the islands which were carried out mainly by the Central Medical School in Suva and the South Pacific Commission with its headquarters in Noumea. This form of regionalism was prevalent in the later 1940’s and 1950’s.

The second category of regionalism involves the setting up of organisations aimed at increasing political and economic power linkages among the South Pacific states in their dealings with the rest of the world. This second category is witnessed in the 1960’s and 1970’s and is associated with the growth of self determination. The independent territories need to have a concerted power block in dealing with the other nations of the world. Organisations such as the Pacific Islands Producers Association, the establishment of the University of the South Pacific, the South Pacific Forum, Air Pacific to name only a few, are excellent examples of the present trend in regionalism and inter-island relations in the South Pacific.

The first move towards regionalism in the South Pacific was the establishment of the Central Medical School in Suva at the end of 1928. Dr.
Lambert realised that more could be achieved in public health if there was inter-island co-ordination in the application of hygienic practices and the findings of the research projects. The training of local medical officers to go to remote areas and who could communicate with the locals more effectively would raise the standard of living. The other reason for training local doctors was financial. It costs less to train locals in Suva than sending them overseas and also their salaries were lower than the expatriate doctors.

The school drew its students not only from Fiji, but from Tonga, the Solomons, New Hebrides, Gilbert, Ellice, Cook, Niue, Tokelau, Western and American Samoa but not the Australian territories. This was the first move in education to get the three major ethnic groups of the South Pacific together. Many of the medical graduates served outside their island territories and boosted the feelings of the Pacific Islands in realising that they too have the potential to look after themselves.

The body set up to protect the interests of the metropolitan powers was the South Pacific Commission. It also aimed to bring about measures for the development of the economic and social rights and welfare of the inhabitants of the South Seas though it was unable to achieve as much as might have been because of the different attitudes shown by the six metropolitan powers, as to the role of the Commission in the affairs of the Island territories.

The importance of regional co-operation over a wide range of subjects in order to administer the dispersed island territories efficiently was discussed by the New Zealand and Australian governments as early as January, 1944. They saw the need to co-operate because there were so many common problems facing the Island territories, politically, economically and socially. The political aspect was dropped when the French, Dutch and Americans agreed to participate because the running of the individual territories were the responsibilities of the different metropolitan powers. The New Zealand and Australian governments agreed that an Advisory Commission had to be set up wherein the governments were to work together to deal with health, education, technical training, plant diseases, agricultural methods, communications. War and reconstruction brought a delay, but in January, 1947 the six metropolitan powers sent representatives to Canberra and subsequently ratified an agreement to set up the Commission.

On 6th February, 1947, the South Pacific Commission was established by an agreement signed in Canberra, Australia, by France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States, to encourage and strengthen co-operation in promoting the economic and social welfare and advancement of the non self-governing territories in the South Pacific. The Netherlands' membership was terminated in 1962 when it ceased to administer Netherlands New Guinea which Indonesia took over and renamed West Irian. The territories that come under the activities of the S.P.C. are:


The Commission has never been concerned with political matters, nor has any responsibility for the administration of the territories. This view reinforces the paternalistic policy of the metropolitan powers. It has endeavoured though to assist the member governments and territorial governments in their task of improving the conditions of life of the island peoples, particularly in the fields of health, economics, and agricultural development, and educational advancement. The Commission's role is consultative and advisory. Each Government and administration has its own development programmes in the fields in which the Commission is concerned.

There are two auxiliary bodies of the South Pacific Commission:

(a) Research Council
(b) South Pacific Conference.

(a) Research Council

The chief role of the Research Council is to advise the Commission about necessary investigations. Arrangements to carry out those that are approved are the responsibility of the Secretary General and the staff of the Commission. The Council is now defunct and its functions have been largely taken over by a new planning committee.

(b) South Pacific Conference.

Formerly triennial, it now meets annually and has been playing an increasingly prominent role until today it makes practically all the important decisions except for the size of the annual budget (now around $A1,000,000) the ceiling for which is set by the participating governments of S.P.C. acting through the Commission as the governing body.

The Commission consists of Commissioners, appointed by each member government. The permanent staff are the Secretary General plus specialists, technical, and administrative staff and typists. The headquarters is in Noumea, New Caledonia. Finance for the Commission is obtained from membership contribution in the following manner. Australia pays 30% while New Zealand pays 15% and the other members divide up the rest. The members now are the five remaining metropolitan powers with territorial interests in the Pacific and the independent island states of Western Samoa, Nauru and Fiji. Tonga is the only independent island state which has not sought membership of the Commission but by invitation has participated, with a vote in all South Pacific Conferences.

The S.P.C. became the co-ordinating body for the work of many international organisations working in the South West Pacific islands. Agencies of the U.N. such as the World Health Organization, Food and Agricultural Organisation work through the S.P.C. and at times work together on projects in the Islands.

But for all the proposals and the sound logic of some of them, the effect on political decision-making was relatively small. It is difficult then to see how many of the problems confronting the islands are ever
going to be solved short of dealing with them regionally (and including Australia and New Zealand in the region), at the level of political and social decision-making. The island administrations have continued to think and decide almost exclusively within the compass of their own island groups, while the home governments have directed their attention in the largest part only to their own islands.

Regional thinking, however, seems largely confined to the big trading concerns, certain heavy investors, and the South Pacific personnel. The political future of each island group is carefully kept in the hands of the metropolitan powers acting separately subject to whatever influence the native people can exert and the pressures flowing from the metropolitan public and from overseas.

The role of the S.P.C. has changed greatly since its inception. Generally speaking, the Commission now tends to concern itself more with projects of practical value to the territories and works closer in partnership with territory administrations and other international agencies. It has been successful in initiating technical projects and educational training for the Islanders but it is not so successful in the economic sphere because of the strength of 'neo colonialism' in the island territories, exerted from the former colonial powers on independent territories. It has been successful in bringing about a feeling of regionalism among the Island territories in sports through its initiative to organise the triennial South Pacific Games to be held in a different territory after every three years. The popular and highly successful South Pacific Arts Festival held in Suva, Fiji in May of this year (1972) is another of the Commission's initiatives to bring the different island territories together and foster a feeling of the uniqueness and pride in their different cultures.

Other initiating roles of the S.P.C. can be seen by the setting up of other regional institutions the SPC-UN-FAO million dollar project for the control of the pest of the coconut known as the Rhinoceros Beetle, with headquarters at Apia, began in 1964; the S.P.C. Community Education Training Centre at Samabula, Suva (1962); SPFDA – the South Pacific Islands Fisheries Development agency, a UNDP-SPC organisation with a base within the SPC headquarters at Noumea set up in 1968.

Though the S.P.C. has not been able to fulfill all its aims due to 'hardening of the arteries' it has provided a useful place for the island leaders to meet and discuss matters of interest to them outside the formal programme of the S.P.C. The early meetings were useful for their educational effect upon the formerly isolated island representatives, but at the Sixth Conference at Lae in 1965, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara attacked the S.P.C. as an 'exclusive club' of the metropolitan powers, run by a committee of stuffy administrators, and as a result the S.P.C. got itself a life saving injection.

Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's fearless lead, he was then Chief Minister in colonial Fiji, woke up the Establishment and set the Commission on a more democratic course. Today, the Commission is virtually run by the Islanders mainly through control exercised at the annual South Pacific Conference of island delegates.

Not that the S.P.C. is inefficient. It has spent too much money on experts, many of whom have not been worth their money in relation to the practical benefits of their work. It is still a success to some degree, because without the Commission they would not have developed as fast as they have, or have the present sense of unity. The S.P.C. has been an island rallying point where all the territories are represented and where the five metropolitan powers in the Pacific are also present. If the island leaders play their cards in the right manner they can manipulate the machinery of the S.P.C. for their own betterment.

The Islanders have not turned their backs on the S.P.C. even when it becomes apparent that there are some jobs it cannot do because of inherent restrictions. Thus we saw established the Pacific Islands Producers Association and more recently the South Pacific Forum by the same people who comprise S.P.C. membership, but who hold the S.P.C. in less respect. These two bodies are examples of the present trend in regionalism in the South Pacific, aimed specifically at increasing political and economic linkages among the South Pacific Islands states in regard to their dealings within the islands and with the outside world. These two bodies mesh the two issues of economics and politics together to achieve their aims and not independent of each other even though there are two separate organisations.

The only genuine move towards political regionalism was put forward by the present King of Tonga, in 1956, then Prince Tungi and Prime Minister. He proposed a central Pacific Federation with Tonga, Western Samoa and Fiji as original partners with possible later expansion to include American Samoa, Cooks, Niue and other islands. Western Samoa who was then on her way to independence and feared subordination under Tonga, especially in view of historical Tongan dominance of Samoa and Tonga having the only King in the region might wish to legitimise herself as head of the Federation. Fiji likewise was cautious. She had no thought of independence at that stage and likewise regarded herself as the largest and wealthiest partner and would claim the role of leading the Federation. One of the complexities which existed and had to be solved, was the question of Indians in Fiji and for how long could a federation effectively stop migration between members. Finally the whole idea was not accepted by any of the proposed partners and was dropped. This shows very clearly that straight out political federation or any such move was not possible but co-operation in the field of commerce and trade where the islands face similar problems and can only be solved through regional co-operation has been successful and is witnessed by the formation of the P.I.P.A. in 1965.

P.I.P.A., the Pacific Islands Producers' Association, is the creation of the islanders themselves; it is not an offshoot of S.P.C. and has no formal link with S.P.C. It owes its origin, however, very largely to the opportunity for contact and
discussion of mutual interests the S.P.C. network has given island leaders and the encouragement S.P.C. has by its very nature, as well as its activities, given to the regional approach to common problems. The role of P.I.P.A. was pictured as an effective arm of regional commercial ambition—a pressure group with the job of getting the best deal for Island producers and with the responsibility of making Island producers more efficient. P.I.P.A. encourages trading in Island produce between Member Countries to take advantage of such seasonal opportunities as may present themselves owing to varying climatic conditions.

The P.I.P.A. is inter-governmental, promotional, consultative and advisory in character and can deal with agriculture, forestry or fisheries production and handicrafts. So far P.I.P.A. is handling the marketing of bananas in New Zealand from her member territories, which are Fiji, Tonga, Niue, Gilbert and Ellice, the Cooks and Western Samoa.

Similarly the South Pacific Forum was created last year (1971) again outside the Commission, so that the independent and self-governing Islanders could discuss sensitive, racial, social, commercial and political problems at the highest levels.

The island leader probably most entitled to the credit of leading the way towards the setting up of an island forum is Albert Henry, Premier of the Cook Islands. He realised the need for it and said that there was a danger of S.P.C. becoming a "political battle ground" and it would be a pity if a breach opened between island communities and split the region.

Understandable if unorthodox attempts to bring political matters into discussion in the South Pacific Conference have been made on several occasions. For example at the Pago Pago conference in 1962, some delegates wanted to discuss the then "hot" topic of West Irian, but ruled out of order. Then in Suva last year, Fiji and other island delegations insisted on bringing French nuclear tests in the Pacific into debate in the meeting hall. The French delegates walked out of the discussion of nuclear tests, though not of the organisation. Albert Henry's point, however, was sufficiently demonstrated.

Thus the need for a political forum was realised and it was established in Wellington after the first meeting of island leaders. One of the issues brought about by the Forum was the establishment of another regional trade organisation to be known as the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation. It seems probable that P.I.P.A. may be absorbed later into the Bureau of Economic Co-operation because the Bureau will cover all aspects of regional trade including shipping and tariffs. The Bureau is also looking into the question of a regional shipping network based on the old Tongan shipping company so that travel and freight costs could be minimised and facilitate trade and communication between the different island territories of the Pacific.

In air travel 'Air Pacific' which started off as 'Fiji Airways' has done a lot in bringing about efficient transportation links between the Islands and thus facilitating regionalism in the South Pacific.

BOAC and Air New Zealand joined Qantas in 1960 in ownership of the company and the same year saw the introduction of flights to the Solomons and Western Samoa. The government of Fiji became a shareholder in the company in 1965 and today minor shareholdings are also held by the governments of Tonga, Western Samoa, and Nauru, the Solomons, New Hebrides, Gilbert and Ellice. Last year it changed its name from Fiji Airways to Air Pacific and this year it brought a new BAC III jet to expand flights further to Port Moresby and reduce flight times.

Another organisation which has brought the island territories together is the establishment of the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji, in 1968. The University is a regional university and draws its students from Fiji, the Solomons Islands, Cook Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Hebrides, Nauru, Niue, Tonga, Tokelau Islands, Western Samoa and receives grants from them for running costs. This institution, I think, is the most important of the regional institutions established because it is from here that people who will run the different island governments will be trained and by coming together educationally will help them to support and foster further moves towards regionalism in terms of economic, social and political advancement of the different island territories of the Pacific.

The future trends in the Pacific in the areas of regionalism I think, will evolve around the idea of increasing the political and economic linkages among the Pacific Island States in their dealings with the outside world. It is only through regional co-operation that the island territories will be able to solve many of the problems as a small island state trying to develop her economy and also deal with the international community effectively.

The setting up of specialised agencies such as the Forum and Bureau of Economic Planning are important steps. I would also like the S.P.C. retained and specifically assigned the task of social and technical aid without undue interference. This in itself, is a big task, with many pitfalls, but with the talents and experience of the S.P.C. and also the backing of the 5 metropolitan powers, I think the S.P.C. will play this role properly. I endorse Mr. Forsyth's comment that "unlike the S.P.C., none of the other organisations has a region-wide charter and being specialised for their work, none of them has the comprehensive scope in the social and economic development fields which the Agreement has given to S.P.C. and none of them organise a regular region wide meeting place for all recipient administrations and governments which is what the South Pacific Conference is. There is a present and future value in this unique role of the conference, which should not escape the attention of the members of the Forum."

For the small island states of the Pacific I would say this: develop specialised agencies to act as pressure groups for your needs and demands towards the international community—for a united front is more effective than an individual effort in international trade and diplomacy as substantiated by the European Economic Community.
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"My dreams tell me that you carry one who speaks to the ancestors. Be careful, my daughter". The old man's wrinkled smile was sincere and the young mother sensed the truth in his words.

Kenapai was born a strapping fat baby. His early years were a delight to his family. He walked with a sureness from his first step. His first word was firm and clear. When he was five he was accompanying his father on his trips to the fields. One night after a particularly long day, Kenapai fell straight to sleep after dinner. During the middle of the night, he had a dream. In his dream he saw a fat sow sleeping under the big breadfruit tree near his father's fields. The dream was so real that it woke him and it was hours before he could get back to sleep.

The next day while his father was digging holes for taro plants, Kenapai slipped down the narrow path to the big tree. He wondered if he would find the pig there, and sure enough, while he was still ten feet away, he saw it.

Quietly he turned around and went for his father. His father didn't believe him. "Go away Kenapai, I don't have time for your games, there is a big feast coming and I must finish here and be off hunting." Kenapai tried hard to convince his father, but when it seemed futile, he crept back into the woods and snuck to the far side of the sleeping animal. He picked up a stone and with all his might, threw it at the beast. With a screech the pig jumped up and ran toward the field. Kenapai's father had heard the squeal and was waiting where the path met the clearing with his digging stick. With a single lunge, the pig met its end. Back in the village Kenapai was credited by his proud father with finding the catch. Kenapai was afraid to mention the dream and acted as though it were a coincidence. But not long after, the night revealed another secret to him. He saw the village widow's hut burnt to the ground. He told his mother the next day, but she laughed and told him he had only had a nightmare. He was afraid for the old woman and went to warn her himself. She was a superstitious old lady and very lonely living by herself. For these reasons she listened attentively to Kenapai, and when he had finished, she rewarded him with a banana and sent him on his way.

Perhaps she believed him, as when the evening sky filled with threatening clouds, she went to her brother and asked to spend the night in his hut. About two a.m. a deafening roar of thunder announced a storm and a flash of lightening streaked down and struck the old lady's home. In a few short minutes all that was left was ash.

The next morning the whole village crowded around the crone and listened to her praises of Kenapai. She had lost her home, but the attention she was receiving made her feel young, and like all young girls, she had a hero.

Kenapai also liked the attention. He hoped that he would have other dreams. He did, but soon realized that they were a mixed blessing. The other children in the village were afraid to become too close. The adults, particularly his parents, bestowed favors in hopes of receiving some inside information. By the time he was twelve, Kenapai was quite unhappy.

His next dream marked a change. He saw himself running through the darkness, carrying a palm-leaf bag. This dream really disturbed him and he spent the rest of the night wondering where it was to happen and why. The next morning he pretended as though nothing was amiss, but by lunch, his eyes were drooping and he couldn't help but
go to sleep. His father came in early that afternoon and seeing Kenapai asleep, realized that he might have some new knowledge. In his excitement, he woke Kenapai.

"Tell me what you dreamed, Kenapai. I know you know something. Daddy will give you a present if you tell me. Was it another pig?" Kenapai was still too bleary to answer. When his father pressed on he managed to get out a "Nothing, I know nothing". His father knew better and soon was threatening Kenapai.

"Tell me! Tell me! You naughty little boy, keeping secrets from your father!" In his anger, Kenapai's father tossed him across the room. Kenapai ran to his mother, but she too was afraid and pushed him away. His father was beyond reason by then and struck Kenapai and pushed him to the floor. In his rage, he stormed out of the hut and didn't return for the rest of the night.

Dinner was a solemn affair that evening, and before the coals of the fire had died, the deep breaths of sleep were heard. Only Kenapai lay awake. After several hours, when he knew he could move about safely, he rose, collected his extra clothes and what food he could find, packed everything in a basket and slipped silently out the door. Kenapai was now sure of the meaning of his dream. He ran as soon as he reached the edge of the village and kept his pace till his legs gave out. After a short rest he was on his way again. He knew not to go to a village where he had relations, as his father was sure to find him. Instead, he headed for a village two days away that he had only heard stories about. He walked through the night and knowing that he would be missed in the morning, he forced himself to continue till late the next day. Finally his exhaustion overcame his fear and after eating some food from his basket, he fell into a welcomed sleep.

The next night brought him to his destination. He crept around the perimeter until he saw a lone man sitting outside a hut. Silently, he approached and the man, when he saw Kenapai, called out. "Hey, who is there? Come into the light so I can see."

Kenapai moved closer and when the man did not recognise him, he said, "You're not from this village. Who are you, where do you come from?"

Kenapai did not answer, but the man told him to sit down and eat some of the food that was still warm from the fire. With patient persistence, the man pried Kenapai's name out of him and when he discovered that he had no friends in the village, the man said, "I am Gurek, this is my home, and when you are in this village, you may stay here with me and my family."

Kenapai thanked him and before long was laying beside Gurek's two children, and on the edge of sleep.

The next day, Kenapai was left to his own accord. That night Gurek tried to get more information, asking how long Kenapai was planning to stay, and if his parents knew where he was. Kenapai did his best not to answer. Gurek was patient and sensed the boy was afraid. The next day, Gurek came in from the fields early and he, Kenapai and his children went to the stream to catch shrimp and have a swim. Kenapai felt very relaxed with his new family and that evening told Gurek a bit more about himself.

Kenapai didn't mention the name of his village but told Gurek that his father had beaten him and that he was not going to return. Gurek didn't press the boy, but said that Kenapai would probably change his mind before long. After a week, Kenapai was more at home than ever and showed no signs of leaving. Gurek then asked him why his father had beat him. Kenapai could no longer keep his secret and when he opened up, he felt greatly relieved. Gurek said, "You are wise to keep quiet about your dreams. There are many that would be jealous and try to harm you. If you trust me, you may stay here as long as you wish, and never feel obliged to tell me when you have a dream." Kenapai now knew he was home.

Kenapai spent six years with Gurek and his family. Never once was he asked about his sleepless nights. Never once was he asked to reveal a secret. In appreciation, Kenapai would sometimes hint to Gurek with a remark like "I wonder if anyone has checked the big mango tree for ripe fruit?" or "It's been a long time since the upper pool has been prawned." Gurek always knew these hints would bring a sweet mango or a good catch of shrimp, so in return for Kenapai's trust in him, he trusted Kenapai, and the two would head off through the jungle on a rewarding excursion.

When Kenapai was eighteen, he had another dream about himself in a strange place. It was a large room with many tables and many strange men laughing and talking. Kenapai broke his self-made rule and
described the dream exactly to Gurek.

"I suppose it could be a mess hall," Gurek said.

"What is a mess hall?" asked Kenapai. Gurek explained to Kenapai about three years he had spent on a copra plantation on the coast. He told him about the hard work, the paydays in town, the men and the gambling games. Kenapai listened attentively and asked, "Do you suppose I will go to work on one of these plantations?"

"Do you suppose after your dream, you have any choice," Gurek replied. Kenapai did not know the answer but in two weeks he said farewell to his adopted family and was on his way to make copra.

Kenapai spent quite some time on the plantation. He remembered Gurek's warning and told no one of his dreams. But one night, during his second year, he dreamt of his friend, Kuam, lying under a coconut tree. His cane knife was on the ground beside him with
a broken handle and wet with blood from an open wound on his leg. In the morning Kenapai went to Kuam.

"I see that your cane knife has a weak handle. Perhaps you should get a new one."

"Yes, Kenapai, it is getting bad, but I have only enough money for some cigarettes. Next pay day I will get a new one," Kuam replied.

"If you wish, I will lend you the money," Kenapai offered, and Kuam accepted and was off to the company store.

That afternoon, Kenapai was working under the hot sun when he heard a yell from the far side of the field. He ran towards the activity knowing what he would find. Several men were carrying Kuam towards the dispensary and one of them said, "Bring his shirt Kenapai, its there under the tree."

Kenapai picked up the shirt and underneath was a bag with two weeks supply of cigarettes. He never bothered to ask Kuam why he had not purchased a new knife. Kenapai had learned much from the experience and doubted that there was anything he could do to prevent his dreams from coming true.

Kenapai was not satisfied when his contract was finished. He felt he needed to learn much more about the ways of the white man and the concept of cargo, a favourite topic among the workers.

His employer, knowing Kenapai was a good and honest man helped him get a job in Port Moresby as a stevedore. Kenapai worked hard during the days, and at night would wander around the city fascinated. He saw movies, read magazines, and sometimes just watched people come and go. He had seen so many men frequenting the pubs, he decided he wanted to try getting drunk. Kenapai wasn't impressed as the alcohol made him sick. He wondered why the other men kept doing it when all they got out of it was a hangover or a night in the gaol for fighting. He also wondered about the women milling around the bars and clubs. He soon found that they were doing the only work they could do to get money for cargo. Kenapai was beginning to doubt the value of cargo.

He had been working as a stevedore for almost a year when he had another dream. He saw a huge white ship leaving the pier, and standing on the fantail, Kenapai saw himself. Before long just such a ship arrived, and Kenapai who was working aboard unloading, stopped to talk with one of the crew men. He asked how he could get a job on a ship. The crew man told him to go see the first mate and if there was a vacancy, he might be able to come aboard. Kenapai followed his advice and was soon a deck hand.

Kenapai's ship made a grand tour of the Pacific. His first stop was Manila. Kenapai walked the muddy streets, rode the jeepneys and saw armed soldiers marching up and down the docks. It was election time and Kenapai was warned to keep away from the polls as the Filipinos were very emotional about their particular brand of democracy. Kenapai was told that it was growing pains and perhaps his country would encounter the same thing when it became independent.

The next port was Hong Kong. The lights and miles and miles of shops amazed Kenapai. If the boys from the plantation could see all this cargo. But Kenapai realized that just because they had cargo, the Chinese weren't wealthy. Many were begging and even more looked hungry.

The next stop was Yokohama. The grey waters of the bay had more ships than Kenapai had seen in his whole life. The grey sky had no clouds in it but you still could not see the sun.

Kenapai wondered if the cost of making cargo was to turn blue to grey and to eliminate all the green and replace it with drab dirty concrete and steel.

Across the wide ocean and to Vancouver. Kenapai by then was tired of cities and took the opportunity to visit the great forests outside the city. He felt free for the first time since he left home, but the chill of the evening made him long to be back.

From there the ship sailed down the coast to the city of glamor and movie stars, Los Angeles. Kenapai rode a slow bus from the docks to Sunset Strip in Hollywood. He saw long-haired hippies riding in convertibles, tourists with cameras hung round their neck and thousands of people just drifting, looking for a way to kill time. In another part of L.A. Kenapai saw men and women as black as himself. They lived in dingy apartment buildings and came out at night to stalk the streets for an easy buck, or a drunk they could lure into a dark alley. Kenapai saw no movie stars and more garbage than glamour.

The next port of call was almost home. It was Tahiti, and if it wasn't home, at least it was the South Pacific. Kanapai walked the
When he reached the village, it was dusk and the men of the village were gathered around an elaborate table set up in the centre of the community area. On the table were offerings to the ancestors — food, tobacco and flowers. The men were dressed in their ceremonial finery and the women were hiding in the background.

Kenapai decided to observe from the periphery till he knew what was happening. Soon a familiar voice said, “The ancestors are not satisfied with this meagre fare. We must go out and fight for offerings. The Chinese store in the next village has much tobacco. We must find the hordes of food kept by the non-believers. We must make a pile on this table high enough for the ancestors to climb down with our cargo.” The voice was that of his father and Kenapai heard the rest of the crowd shout out consent. The feeling of excitement was in the air and the feeling of fear was in Kenapai, but he knew he had to confront the crowd.

From his hiding place in the bushes, he shouted, “Father.” The group of men became silent and looked in his direction. As he emerged from the bushes, he spoke directly to their leader. “Father, I have come to stop you from this foolishness.”

Although Kenapai’s identity was obvious, his father chose not to recognize him. “Who is this who comes into my village claiming to be my son, yet dares to insult me?”

“You know who I am, father, and you know I tell the truth. Your bitterness has increased since I last saw you. You tried to use force with me to get your own way but lost. If you try to use force to get your foolish offerings, you will lose even more. Speak some sense to your followers and stay here and work in your village. All the cargo in the world is not worth the loss of one man’s life from this village.”

Kenapai’s father turned to his followers. “Look here my friends, I think the white man is scared as they have sent this boy to discourage us. They are fools, we must start our ceremonies now in order that we can soon be on our way.”

Once again Kenapai felt that he had failed. His dreams were destiny and he knew he could not stop them. In silence, he left the village and walked towards the mountains. He is there now, waiting for the day that will bring the dream of tomorrow’s return.
decentralization: a priority for political development in the new hebrides

The theme of the Sixth Waigani Seminar was "Priorities in Melanesian Development." From 30th April to 5th May 1972, the topics discussed ranged from political development to industrial and rural-urban issues in Melanesia.

Participants at the seminar came not only from Melanesia (Papua and New Guinea, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides and Fiji) but also from outside. Among the outstanding outside participants were Professor Rene Dumont from France who advocated the copying of certain agricultural techniques of Red China in Papua New Guinea. A socialist-type of economy was more suited to the Melanesian conditions. Ivan Illich, who hails from Mexico, expressed his opposing views towards schooling, which aroused much discussion among the audience. From the University of West Indies came Lloyd Best. His paper concerned self-respect and national identity, but his message was that criticism without alternative solutions and hard work was worthless.

Having similar types of problems in the New Hebrides, of cultural complexity and geographic diversity to that of the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, one found the discussions stimulating and rewarding. Approximately fifty-five papers were presented at the seminar, however on many occasions inadequate time was available for questions and discussion into some of the more interesting papers.

On the road to internal self-government and independence, papers presented by the New Guinea participants aroused much discussion and concern among government leaders and students of the local university. Papers on constitutional development and framework were highlighted by the fact that the Westminster system of government, which is imposed by the Australian administration on the local conditions was heavily attacked by the New Guineans.

Although the problems of economic, social and political development differ greatly from one Melanesian state to another, one believes that decentralisation — a priority for political development — is not a unique problem that faces the future of the New Hebrides alone, but also Melanesia. As the title implies the following paper is specifically dedicated to the New Hebridean conditions and can be appreciated when the reader has decided to visit our beautiful islands.

Introduction:
The social and ecological setting in which local government has to operate differs greatly from one country to another and governmental machinery including the extent of decentralization must be adjusted to the social system in which it is to be applied.

Traditionally, New Hebrides societies were totally "decentralised" in the sense that they were small, autonomous groups without any central government. Then came the French and the British colonial powers which totally centralised all governmental powers. Decentralization in the New Hebrides is a
recent phenomenon, and some of the problems and pressures that exist there are unique. They are influenced by the following factors: the multi-cultural society, the diverse geography, the population distribution and the form of government. Finance, District Agents, the Nagriamiel movement in the northern New Hebrides, and the Jon Frum movement in Tanna are also important factors which contribute to problems and pressures of decentralization.

In the background of the paper I intend to summarise each of the above factors. The reasons for decentralization in the group are many, and this I intend to elaborate on, before I proceed to discuss each of the fundamental factors and its relationship to the process of decentralization.

BACKGROUND - MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY

The New Hebrides are multi-cultural in several different aspects. The sixty or more different languages that are spoken by the indigenous people throughout the New Hebrides constitute one aspect of cultural complexity. Each language group has some unique cultural features. For example ‘sky-diving’ on the island of Pentecost can only be carried out by the people of a very small clan there. Others cannot take part in these ceremonies because of the different ways of belief and upbringing. Again some groups give weight to patrilineal principles in selecting traditional political leaders and some value matrilineal principles. Some recognise hereditary chieftainship much more than others.

The Jon Frum movement on the island of Tanna (a cargo cult which has become institutionalised as a religious and political body) is accepted by many Tannese, but not all. This is basically due to the fact that the cultural differences between the various villages there have made it difficult for the people of even that one island to unite and join one religion.

Land problems in the New Hebrides are complicated by the fact that there are many indigenous land tenure systems existing throughout the group. Land disputes between indigenous people often derive from differences in their land tenure systems. For instance on the South West area of Efate the allocation of land follows the maternal side, however on other parts of Efate it is the opposite.

GEOGRAPHY

Physically the New Hebrides form a ‘Y’ shape, chain of thirteen large islands and sixty small ones stretching about five hundred miles from north to south. The land area is about 5,700 square miles. The majority of the islands are volcanic and young, and therefore mountainous. The geographical fragmentation makes it difficult and costly for the condominium government to administer and develop many of the islands efficiently. The question to ask is whether decentralization will help solve some of the basic problems such as law and order, transportation, education, or in short, the general welfare of the people who live in the remote islands.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

According to the 1967 census the total population of the New Hebrides was approximately 76,582. There were 70,837 New Hebrideans, 1,773 Europeans, 649 Asians, 1,696 other Pacific islanders and 1,627 of mixed race. Thus New Hebrides society is not only multi-cultural, but also multi-racial. Compared with most Pacific islands, population density is low. However the census report estimated the growth rate to be 2.5% which will double the census figure in less than thirty years.

The population is unevenly distributed. For instance, the islands of Tonga, Paama and Mere-Lava, are small but heavily populated, whilst Erromango, Efate, and Gaua which are larger, are lightly populated. A significant point to note about the population distribution is that the majority of non-New Hebrideans live in the towns of Vila and Santo. They are close to the centres of government, they are mainly of the same race and nationalities of the colonial administrations, and they are relatively wealthy. This gives them, in practice, great over-representation in influencing the policies of government and in obtaining benefits from it. It is the indigenous New Hebrideans who lack the services of the central government because they live in the rural areas and lack organization, wealth and political power. Through decentralization, the services of the condominium government could be better integrated into the remote islands.
Were it not for the cultural diversity and geographical scatter of the population there would be no case for decentralising governmental services for so few people.

**FORM OF GOVERNMENT**

The New Hebrides archipelago is jointly administered by France and Great Britain as the world’s only condominium. The two colonial powers have placed very little emphasis on the promotion of decentralization and local government.

There is a French and a British Resident Commissioner, who reside in Vila (the capital). They are the joint heads of the condominium government. They receive their powers from the French High Commissioner who lives in Noumea, and the British High Commissioner at Honiara.

The New Hebrides is divided into four districts, and in each district, there is a French and a British district agent, who are jointly responsible for the administration of the rural areas.

In accordance with the Protocol which Britain and France signed in 1906, no regulation or factors concerning the development and the administering of the New Hebrides, can be passed unless the two powers jointly agree to it.

The Resident Commissioners, by joint decision under the joint Native Local Administrative Regulation, agreed to establish local councils in 1958. This was the first step towards democratic decentralization (although some government services such as District Agent were to some extent decentralized). However, the condominium government does not require the establishment of local councils, and in fact little support has been given to them.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Reasons for local government in the New Hebrides.

The most important reason is that the three different public services (French, British and Condominium) must be integrated or arranged according to some criteria. Almost every country finds it convenient to integrate their activities by consideration of both function and area, however in the New Hebrides the two governments have tended to avoid these basic facts because of their policies towards the country.

From the local point of view, the following reasons are important for the encouragement of decentralization. There are some public interests which are primarily local, that is they are interests which vary widely in intensity and are not common to all areas. For instance the rituals or traditional rules concerning marriage. In Efate ‘bride price’ is not important or essential but in some parts of Malekula the ‘bride price’ plays a very important role in marriage ceremonies. This is a matter of frequent conflict and is a matter which can only be settled satisfactorily by rules and processes acceptable to that community.

Local councils can also contribute certain solutions to land problems in the New Hebrides.

The Joint Court decides on matters concerning land disputes and land registration, but native land reserves or land which is owned by New Hebrideans through traditional land tenure systems, cannot be registered in the Joint Court. Therefore if there is a land dispute between two indigenous New Hebrideans, the Joint Court has no power to decide who is the real owner of the land. Such land disputes are often brought before a village chief and his council for judgement. A decision is often reached, but one of the parties in conflict often refuses to accept the decision because the local leaders have no authority and means to enforce their decision. Therefore land disputes are never settled. As defined in the Protocol, the condominium government cannot enforce the decision of the local leaders which makes the situation more complicated.

Because of the multiple land tenure systems throughout the group, the local council of an area should be able to form a lands committee within the local council, to investigate land disputes which are exclusively local and native. Its decisions should be final, and enforced by the condominium government.

The use of local government gives more opportunities for local residents to have contact with, to take an interest in, to have an understanding of, to exert influence upon, and to participate in the public affairs of the community.
The local citizen has easier access to the local unit and can exert more influence on it than he can with the central government. Furthermore local government provides a valuable training ground for the elected leaders at higher levels of representative government.

**DECENTRALIZATION AND THE MULTI-CULTURAL ASPECT**

There is no fixed criterion by which a local council unit is chosen. Some of the local councils, existing at present are very small, while others are large. The setting up of larger councils, covering whole islands and having more resources is desirable, but there are problems and pressures to be faced. For instance, on the island of Tongoa there is a local council for the whole island, consisting of fourteen villages. The council is responsible for the activities and welfare of the 2,250 local residents. This is a large local council if we compare it with the local council on the island of Eneityum which is serving the needs of only 320 people of the five villages there.

When the two powers decided to establish local councils throughout the group in 1958, no preliminary studies of the geography or multi-cultural problems were made, and today the future of the local councils in the group is uncertain. In 1962 there were twenty local councils, but of these, approximately six are functioning more or less properly today.

The basic differences of culture that exist in each island makes it difficult to establish, whole island local councils. In many areas of the group the traditional political system is still very strong. The people’s loyalty to their traditional leaders is greater than the respect they are prepared to give to either the central government or the local council.

In the areas of the ‘Jon Frum’ cargo-cult, and the ‘nagriemiel’ movement, the locals are suspicious of the councils and strongly oppose the idea, because they regard the councils as institutions set up by the condominium government to oppose their movements.

It is interesting to note that where the authority of the traditional chiefs is greatest, the local councils do not function well.

The introduction of French or British district agents to control rural areas has in many parts of the group reduced the authority of the traditional leaders. At present some of the leaders feel that the introduction of local government will interfere further with their traditional authority.

The point to note here, is that the condominium government can support with finance, a development scheme or project proposed by a local council, whereas it cannot make development grants to an individual village chief. The traditional leader faces a dilemma, in that he has to decide whether to support the local government idea and lose his traditional authority, or to keep his authority and ignore the general welfare of his people, and the provision of social services and infrastructure that can be achieved through the financial support of the condominium government.

**DECENTRALIZATION AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT**

The condominium government has about five small vessels which the district agents use to tour their districts. Transportation by boat is the cheapest and most efficient method of transport for short inter-island journeys, and even around the same island in many cases. Land transportation is very poor. Most islands have no roads suitable for automobiles, so the district agents are forced to travel on foot.

In some islands such as Erromango and Futuna, there are no good harbours and tours are often abandoned because of rough seas. These natural barriers support the desirability of whole island local councils. For instance the people of Erromango know their island better than the British or the French district agents who only visit infrequently; and instead of wasting money and time on tours, funds should be allocated by the condominium government to the local government, in developing better roads, etc.

The condominium government is now taking an enormous task in attempting to build roads and airfields throughout the islands. In areas where local councils are functioning well – (e.g. Langa Local Council on north Pentecost) the condominium works department has found it easier because people in the local council area often helped in the clearing of the bush, and other general work.
It is hoped that the improvement of land transportation, will promote the idea of whole island local councils. For the time being, however, the work and the development that the existing local councils can do is limited.

**DECENTRALIZATION – THE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ASPECT**

If the idea of local government for whole islands and clusters of neighbouring islands is to be adopted in the New Hebrides, then the population distribution of each island must be taken into consideration, as it is uneven, and the criteria which the central government will use considering the size of each local council unit presents a number of problems.

On the island of Efate most of the population is concentrated in the town of Vila, which is the only area where the people have benefited extensively from the services of the condominium government, but most of Vila’s people are foreign, not New Hebridean. This is mainly because of its importance as the capital, and secondly because most of the Europeans live there. Economic and political power is vested in Vila, and the infrastructure and commercial growth that takes place there is enormous compared with that in rural areas of the group.

Although the islands of Tongoa and Paama are densely populated the integration of the condominium activities to both islands is limited. For this reason, there is the tendency for the natives of the densely populated islands to emigrate to Vila and Santo.

**DECENTRALIZATION – FINANCE**

When the two powers decided to establish local councils in the group they agreed to support them from condominium funds. In fact, however, when the local councils were started money from the condominium government was often difficult to obtain. For instance in the 1969 condominium budget estimates, $2,659,630 was spent in the New Hebrides, and the maximum amount of money allocated to the local councils was $700. Most of the money for local development was allocated to the four districts.

The reluctance in providing funds to the local councils was due to many reasons. Sometimes a scheme or project proposed by the council is too expensive or large for them to carry out. In some areas councillors are not educated enough to plan their projects carefully in order to convince the central government of the need for financial support. Disagreements between the two powers are also important and are often due to political factors, for instance the local council demanding capital may be anti-French or vice-versa.

**LOCAL COUNCIL TAX**

There is no income tax in the New Hebrides but the condominium government has allowed local councils to tax their people. This has not worked successfully. The rural residents often argue that why should they be forced to pay tax when they are not employed permanently while those who work permanently in Vila and Santo do not pay any tax.

Some local councils have adopted a taxation system whereby an individual has to pay $2 annually. In some areas this system is working well, but in others the people oppose it, because they feel that they are being overtaxed and the revenue is going into the condominium funds. In fact, the revenue does not enter condominium funds, and is used locally for roads and minor services, but the amount is so small that most of it is used up in overheads and is inadequate for starting any worthwhile development schemes.

The ways in which local governments can earn money is limited by lack of markets and other economic factors. For instance, the rural people produce cash crops but the lack of suitable markets reduces the incentive to do so.

The French and British governments could make local governments effective by spending development funds through the councils and giving them real financial and administrative power, but they only do this on a token scale.

**EDUCATION**

The organization of local councils requires well-educated people. This is a draw-back for local councils in the group. The educated New Hebrideans tend to work for the central government, and are concentrated in Vila and Santo. The work of the local governments are then left to the traditional chiefs who are mostly uneducated.
The British National Service has often run special courses for local council secretaries, however these courses are only held once per annum. Most of the young people who take the jobs of secretaries are either former primary school teachers or ex-students who have received primary school education. Most of these young people often resign after short periods in office because of the low salaries that the councils pay.

DECENTRALIZATION – DISTRICT AGENCY – LOCAL COUNCILS

In certain areas of administration, these two systems of decentralization often clashed.

The most important factor is that of authority. At present the district agents have much more authority than the local councils. They also have the means to enforce their authority, for instance the police, and to persuade with large amounts of government funds.

The district agents of the two powers cover larger areas than each council and therefore their areas of influence are greater. Any regulation or rules proposed by the local councils must be approved by the districts agents and by the two Resident Commissioners in Vila.

The local councils have no courts and cannot prosecute or arrest any person who has committed a criminal offence.

The work that local councils and district agents do is more or less similar. However in the local council system, the New Hebridean has a chance to participate in the government of his own affairs. On the other hand, a New Hebridean cannot become a district agent, therefore he is prevented from making any decisions concerning the development and the governing of his own area.

An interesting but very important point to note, is that the two metropolitan governments have different policies towards these two systems of decentralization. The French strongly support the district agency system, because they are using it in New Caledonia and Tahiti. The French anticipated, and know that the more indigenous people participate in the local government affairs, the road to independence will be demanded much sooner than they expect. The reluctance of appointing black district agents is also a French policy.

The local government or councils was proposed by the British and avoiding the advantages of this system the French have tended to put less emphasis on it. The conflict between these two systems of decentralization can only be solved if the two metropolitan powers co-operate.

If the two governments are really concerned about the development and the welfare of the New Hebrideans, then co-operation is the solution in the emphasis of decentralization throughout the group.

CRITERIA FOR LOCAL COUNCILS

To organize local councils according to population numbers only would be unworkable in the New Hebrides, because of the geographical diversity and the cultural complexity. In Papua and New Guinea, local councils are organized according to several languages in any one council. It would be possible to have only one language per council in a few parts of the New Hebrides, for example in the Shepherd islands (Tonga, Tagariki, Emae, and Buniga) the language is similar and it may be possible to form a single local council. Another group is that of Paama, Lopevi and Ambrym where the people understand each other’s languages. Aoba, Pentecost and Maewo, can form another group. However, this is hindered by the fact that many New Hebrideans are reluctant to contribute to the development of anything beyond their immediate surroundings.

A workable criterion is that of whole island local councils. Where the islands are large enough, e.g. Esperitu Santo, Malekula, and Efate there can be two to three local councils in each island with say 5,000 to 10,000 persons in each.

THE JON FRUM CARGO-CULT AND THE NAGRIAMEL MOVEMENT

Both of these organizations were started by indigenous New Hebrideans. The Jon Frum cargo cult was started before the second world war, on the island of Tanna and became really strong after the war. It is an organization which was formed to oppose the Christian doctrines, however its activities are both political and economic.

Today the Jon Frum people strongly oppose the activities of the condominium government near their area. They refuse to send their children to government schools and
refuse to participate in local council activities. The Jon Frum area of influence is limited to some parts of Tanna and their contribution to the economy of this island or to social services is minute. This is because they believe that in the near future a ship from the ‘United States’ will arrive with all the good things in life.

The Jon Frum cargo cult is in itself a local government. The cult has its own government, and regulations which are enforced by a police force. The people raise their own finance, by making copra, and community cash cropping. The cult is anti-government and the development that the condominium is willing to undertake in their area is often interrupted. This is the reason why local councils can only be set up in areas where the cult influence is minimal.

The Nagriamel movement was set up in the late 1960’s and has a larger area of influence than the Jon Frum. Its headquarters is located on the island of Santo, and has a membership of about 15,000 people who live on the island of Espiritu Santo, Moba, Ambrym, Epi, Pentecost, Malekula, and some parts of North Efate.

The movement was originally set up for the purpose of regaining land from European planters and French companies. This movement is also anti-government, thus opposes local councils.

The two organizations are forms of local government but because of their aims are firstly political, priority is not given to economic development and social progress in their locality.

CONCLUSION

The future of effective and democratic government by the New Hebrideans depends heavily upon the success of decentralization. At present political, social and economic power are centralized in the capital of Vila and the subsidiary town of Santo. Therefore only a very small proportion of the population is satisfied with the services of the condominium government.

The lack of success of local government in the group is due to the many problems and pressures that I have mentioned, but many of them can be solved if the condominium government places more emphasis in the development of decentralization. Educating the locals as to the real function of local government is important and should be taken seriously by District Agents and other government personnel.

Economically and politically, the advantages of further decentralization outweigh the disadvantages. The Christian churches, have been successful in decentralizing their activities and encouraging local participation, therefore there is no reason why the condominium government cannot do the same.

The attitude accepted by most expatriates is that New Hebrideans are unwilling to accept responsibility in civic matters, and the concept that the locals are not ready yet to ‘hold responsible positions are excuses for further exploitation of the local people. The time has come for the indigenous people to decide for themselves what is beneficial and right for their small communities through local government, and through the central government for the New Hebrides as a whole.

To adopt a democratic and representative form of government for the future, the promotion of local government must be given priority at this stage of colonial rule.

If decentralization is neglected, with self-government a form of government might emerge with economic and political power centrally focused in Vila and in the hands of a few. This central government may be controlled primarily by commercial interests, in which case the New Hebrides will provide the world with yet another instance of neo-colonialism, or it may be state socialist, with power concentrated to a rather greater extent in New Hebrideans. In either event the outlying islands will receive minimal advantage from the ending of formal colonial status. This is only too clear in the case of economic domination by a European minority, but the danger of a “socialist” regime concentrating resources on urban development, especially around the centre of government, is also very real. The best, perhaps the only way, to mitigate this change is to build up a strong local government structure, properly financed and manned, under the existing regime.
As a little girl until I was sixteen, I spent most of my school holidays with my grandparents, at their eight and a quarter tax allotment near the beach. I was not the only privileged one as there were usually six of us kids there, enjoying the swims, the bush walks and fruit from the plantation. I was a special child of course, because I was the eldest and their first grandchild.

Grandfather was always my favourite relation. He was the best farmer in the whole village. He was very generous too. Every year, during the yam harvest, he would invite all the neighbouring farmers, and afterwards gave the guests a big basket of yams too, to take to their various homes. One thing I remember about grandfather, he never grew manioc on his 'api'. He said that only lazy people did that. During the year, when most people were eating talo and manioc, we were still drawing from grandfather's 'yam house'.

Grandmother was quiet and unassuming. She absolutely adored her husband. She was the epitomy of humility, as far as I could judge then. She always tried to please the old man, and when we kids proved too naughty, she would send us back to our parents, and said that grandpa has enough to do without having to waste his time being the judge at children's disputes. She worked very hard, getting up at five every morning to feed the pigs, and prepare breakfast for the old man, before he went out to work in the plantation.

Sundays were always quiet. We would all go to the nearby church; both my grandparents were staunch Wesleyans; they often told us stories of how, during the years of the religious persecutions, their respective parents had taken them to Fiji, to an island named Koro, where they stayed for four years. It was important that we children grew up to be good Wesleyans, because our great grandparents were wellknown missionaries; in fact, they said, one of us should become a minister, when he grew up.

I never liked going to church three times a day, and always dreaded having to attend all services. I remember one particular Sunday, we went to church. I was very sleepy during the service and managed to sneak outside. I took off with three other girls to the nearby bush and spent about half an hour picking and eating wild guavas. When we returned, the last hymn was being sung and we quietly made our way back into the church. During the midday meal, grandfather quizzed us on what went on in church, and I narrowly escaped the broom.

Holidays after holidays I went to my grandparents, and it was a remarkable thing that I noticed very few changes taking place. Even the fact that both my grandparents were in their seventies, I hardly noticed until the last holiday I spent with them.
It was the day before my sixteenth birthday. The three of us were sitting down for our evening meal, when we heard the dogs barking. Uncle Paula was outside; he was riding his grey mare, on which he always took us kids for a ride. He brought the good news that I had passed my exams and that I had been given a scholarship to study overseas. I had almost completely forgotten about these horrible exams, but then I was so thankful that I had passed. He said that I was to go home straightaway because a man from the Education Department wanted to see me.

After Paula had told us the news, grandpa looked at me for a long time, and then tears began to flow down his wrinkled cheeks. Suddenly the sameness of the past years seemed to end. Something had happened which was going to change everything. I was suddenly afraid.

'This is the big change for you, my girl', the old man slowly said and his head was bent. 'Out there in the big world is a place for you. You will soon leave us here and who knows, maybe when you return, we would have become birds, and you won't spend your holidays here anymore. Remember, always to treasure the past, but do not waste time longing for the youthful times and happiness you had. Bring what is good from the palangia and leave out their undesirable ways; remember, they too have some bad ways'.

He slowly got up, took his cane knife from behind the door, and made his way towards the plantation. Grandmother did not say a word, but quickly packed my suitcase with my clothes and mosquito net.

The old man returned with two bunches of ripe bananas, and put them on the cart. He went to get his horse, and soon we were on our way to town. Hardly a word was said during the entire trip, and when we arrived home, my parents were very happy. Mother ran up and gave me a big hug even before I got off the cart, and my sisters and brothers all shouted out 'congratulations'. They started to ask questions like 'Are you going to the big country from where your palangi teacher come from?'. Is it going to be very cold in there; are you going to take your rapa with you?'

The following day, a feast was prepared for me. It was certain then that I was to leave the following week for New Zealand. It was partly a farewell feast and partly a birthday party. Most of my friends were invited. The teachers from the school as well as the local minister were also there. I was given a brand new suitcase, a hymnbook and a bible for my birthday. There was a string band playing and two of the best dancers in the village were there. Everyone was excited and happy for me. But there wasn't much anyone could do to make me happy. It was the saddest birthday I ever had.
ODE TO RAROTONGA

I miss the smell of the fragrant wind
Of the flowers of the distant hill
The mountains that project to heaven
I wonder if I'll ever climb them

The mind twists back to these mountains
That I loved so much on that island
The greenness, the flora of the sloping peaks
Look out towards — the vast blue sea

The wonders and secrets of these hills
Between me and him will always still,
Stay hidden away, from the hands of evil
That intrudes and disrupts these lovely hills.

Stay well my land and prosper with the sun
For things will come — time elapse them to decay
But stand thee well — wear time away
Glitter still as I'll return — to be your son

Preserve thy coat of multi-green
Keep thy smell as fresh as me
Fade in man's hand — burnt, brown ash
I love you still — from land to dust.

I came to earth upon thy shoulders
Drank thy blood and thy fodder
Matured to lead a life of beings
Upon your shoulders of grass green.

Hairy Ivaiti

MISERY

The heart is sick, the mind is sick,
The being disgusted, bitter, spiteful,
At nothing, for it knows not what to hate.
But there is yet the desire, the craving,
The itch to strike, hit destroy and break,
This shell that surrounds the being,
To release this imprisoned soul to freedom.
Take away God, take away this gift,
This disgusting life, so meaningless so chained,
We seek purpose and find nothing bit by bit.
Take away God, if God there be, this existance,
This hate, this itch, this sickness unnamed.

SHASHIKANT NAIR.

SELF

To be alone
Is to talk to your thoughts
in a silent tongue;
To feel your emotions
in a far-out saga;

To see your eyes
with a god-like stare;
Or to fight yourself
against thoughts — so familiar.

Why? Heck!
. . . . it is because of
what you are
why you are
and where you are.

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