

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 056 946

SO 002 053

AUTHOR Henderson, John W.; And Others
TITLE Area Handbook for Oceania.
INSTITUTION American Univ., Washington, D.C. Foreign Area
Studies.
REPORT NO DA-PAM-550-94
PUB DATE 9 Jul 70
NOTE 564p.
AVAILABLE FROM Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government
Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (\$4.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Area Studies; Art; *Developing Nations; Economic
Climate; *Foreign Culture; Geography; Governmental
Structure; History; Institutions; Religion; Social
Characteristics; Social Structure; Values
IDENTIFIERS American Samoa; Educational Systems; Guam;
*Oceania

ABSTRACT

This handbook is designed to be useful to people who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political and military institutions and practices of oceania countries. The title Oceania refers to the land areas of south-central Pacific. However, in the handbook the scope is limited mainly to most of Melanesia, most of Polynesia, and a few islands ordinarily grouped as part of Micronesia. An effort has been made to deal with the political, social, economic, and military trends in these countries since World War II. There are no attempts to make U.S. policy recommendations toward these countries. An extensive bibliography is provided to assist in more detailed information.
(Author/AWW)



ERRATA

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high levels, and the development of the economy as rapidly as possible. The goals are not always compatible. Policies are formulated and implemented through appropriate governmental departments and agencies, through laws passed, and through specialized programs based on research.

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AREA HANDBOOK

for

OCEANIA

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5d 002053
Research and writing were completed on

July 9, 1970

Published 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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DA PAM 550-94

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 75-609070

FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of handbooks prepared by Foreign Area Studies (FAS) of The American University, designed to be useful to military and other personnel who need a convenient compilation of basic facts about the social, economic, political, and military institutions and practices of various countries. The emphasis is on objective description of the nation's present society and the kinds of possible or probable changes that might be expected in the future. The handbook seeks to present as full and as balanced an integrated exposition as limitations on space and research time permit. It was compiled from information available in openly published material. An extensive bibliography is provided to permit recourse to other published sources for more detailed information. There has been no attempt to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of the handbook represent the work of the authors and FAS and do not represent the official view of the United States government.

An effort has been made to make the handbook as comprehensive as possible. It can be expected, however, that the material, interpretations, and conclusions are subject to modification in the light of new information and developments. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions for factual, interpretive, or other change as readers may have will be welcomed for use in future revisions. Comments may be addressed to:

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PREFACE

Defined in widest terms Oceania is a group of islands in the Pacific Ocean spread over about a third of the earth's surface. When this study was prepared, it was originally to include only those portions of Oceania within the scope of the South Pacific Commission not administered by the United States. Subsequently it was decided to prepare studies, in broad terms, on Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and include them as supplemental chapters within this volume. References in the main body of this handbook to the scope of the study and to the Summary and Glossary are to the scope originally planned, embodying only non-American areas. Guam and American Samoa are under United States sovereignty, while the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is administered at the election of the United States government as a United Nations Trust.

Apart from the American-administered islands, the main study covers the remaining portion of Oceania that falls within the scope of the South Pacific Commission. With this portion are four independent states and a dozen other political entities, dependent in varying degrees on Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France and the United States. The independent states are Western Samoa, Nauru, Tonga and Fiji. Fiji gained independence on October 10, 1970, after research and writing for this handbook had been completed.

The term *Oceania* sometimes refers to the land areas of the south-central Pacific. At other times it is considered to include all islands between Asia and North and South America. Usually, however, the Ryukyu and Aleutian islands, as well as the Japanese archipelago, are not thought of as being included. Ordinarily, also, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Taiwan are regarded as a part of the Asian mainland.

In this handbook Australia and New Zealand, the principal large sovereignties of the area, are excluded. The scope therefore is limited mainly to most of Melanesia, most of Polynesia, and a few islands ordinarily grouped as part of Micronesia, which is mainly the United States-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Characteristics in common between various entities have been noted, and major illustrative examples have been described in some detail. The purpose has been to give the reader a feeling for the general nature of the area rather than to furnish a compendium of factual material supported by statistics. It is intended that anyone

who wishes to learn more in depth about the separate entities will be able to avail himself of the extensive bibliography that the handbook provides.

Within these limitations, an effort has been made to deal with the major political, social, economic, and military trends of the area. Those considered primarily reflect conditions since World War II, but some historical background is included to facilitate interpretation of the more recent trends.

Wherever possible, official government publications have been used as the source of transliteration for the many languages and dialects of the area. Those terms that have become part of the English language, such as the many Polynesian words introduced through Hawaii, are treated as English, whereas less familiar words and phrases are italicized to indicate their indigenous forms. For English words and place names, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (unabridged) has been used as the authority.

SUMMARY

1. **AREA AND GOVERNMENT:** Consists generally of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Apart from United States-administered territories there are sixteen political entities. Three of these—Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga—were independent by mid-1970, and a fourth, Fiji, was due for independence in the fall of the same year. The others were associated in varying degrees of dependency with Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, and France.
2. **POPULATION:** In 1970 estimated at 4 million.
3. **SIZE:** Spread over about one-third of the earth's surface; broken into relatively small land areas—in most cases a few square miles, with the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea the largest exceptions.
4. **TOPOGRAPHY:** Divided generally between high- and low-island groups and between continental and oceanic islands. Included are volcanic islands and coral atolls, sometimes separated by vast expanses of water, sometimes closely grouped.
5. **LANGUAGES:** English, French, and pidgin (a corruption of English) are widely used. In most areas local variants of the Malayo-Polynesian language group are spoken, but as many as 700 distinctly different languages and dialects are estimated to be in use within Melanesia.
6. **RELIGION:** Christianity has gained general dominance with support from colonial powers. Many forms of animism, frequently shaped by outside influences, continue to be practiced. Other religions, brought from outside the area by Asian resident groups, include Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Islam.
7. **EDUCATION:** Varies in accordance with policies of administering powers, but in most places schooling is mainly elementary. Various systems first instigated by missionary groups and follow French and British models in most cases. Few secondary or higher schools.
8. **HEALTH:** Generally poor health conditions as a result of widespread poverty and lack of knowledge concerning sanitation. Since World War II, however, outside funds have contributed to improvements that have resulted in higher birth rates and lower death rates. At the same time, increased population has created new problems of nutrition and environmental sanitation.
9. **CLIMATE:** Generally hot and humid with a relatively minor range of variations owing to tropical location.
10. **ECONOMY:** Mainly rests on production of a limited number of

basic commodities for export, plus subsistence farming, some mining, and a small number of light industrial establishments, such as food processing. Tourism has provided a new and growing element.

11. LABOR: Labor for cash wages relatively limited but increasing. Consequently, little movement toward labor organizations as such.

12. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION: Few roads or railroads. Most goods, both for export and for domestic trade, move by water. Development of tourism has helped to increase construction of airports, but communication between islands and island groups is sharply inhibited by the island nature of the geography. Ports and port facilities scattered widely throughout the area, but most islands must be served by small craft.

13. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND AID PROGRAMS: Some areas under United Nations Trusteeship, but most under sovereignty of single power. One British-French Condominium. Governing powers furnish varying degrees of economic assistance, and some projects are sponsored by the South Pacific Commission in which they participate along with independent and nonself-governing territories. Various specialized agencies of United Nations also assist.

14. PRINCIPAL ISLANDS AND ISLAND GROUPS: (Alphabetical listing of administrative and territorial units included in this study, with principal islands and island groups of each.)

British Solomon Islands Protectorate

Bellona; Choiseul; Duff; Florida Islands; Gizo; Guadalcanal; Kolombangara; Malaita; Ndeni; New Georgia Islands; Ontong Java; Reef Islands; Rennell; San Cristobal; Santa Cruz Islands, including Anuta, Fetaka, Santa Cruz, Tevai, Tikopia, Tinakula, Utupua, and Vanikoro; Santa Isabel; Savo; Shortland; Sikaiana; Tulagi; and Vella Lavella.

Central and Southern Line Islands

Caroline, Flint, Malden, Starbuck, and Vostok.

Cook Islands

Aitutaki, Atiu, Danger (Pukapuka), Mangaia, Manihiki, Manuae, Mauke, Mitiaro, Nassau, Palmerston, Penrhyn (Tongareva), Rakahanga, Rarotonga, Suvorov, and Takutea.

Fiji

Kandavu, Kioa, Koro, Lau or Eastern group; Makogai, Matuku, Moala, Nairai, Ngau, Ono, Ovalau, Rabi, Taveuni, Totoya, Vanua Levu, Viti Levu, Wakaya, and Yasawa group.

Pitcairn group: Ducie, Henderson, Oeno, and Pitcairn.
Rotuma.

French Polynesia

Marquesas Islands, including Eiao, Fatu-huku, Hatutu, Hiva Oa, Motane, Nuku Hiva, Rouatoua, Tahuata, Ua Huku, and Ua Pu; Rapa; Society Islands, including Iles Sous Le Vent (including Bora Bora, Huahine, Raiatea, and Tahaa) and Windward Islands (including Mai'ao, Mehitia, Moorea, Tahiti, and Tetiaroa); Tuamotu Archipelago, including Gambier Islands (including Akamaru, Aukena, Fagataufa, Mangareva, and Tarawai), Tuamotu Islands (including Fakarava, Hao, Makatéa, Mururoa, Pukapuka, Rangiroa, Reao, and Tureia); and Tubuai or Austral Islands, including Maria, Raevavae, Rimatara, Rurutu, and Tubuai.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

Ellice Islands, including Funafuti, Nanomea, Nanumanga, Niulakita, Niutao, Nui, Nukufetau, Nukulailai, and Vaitupu; Gilbert Islands, including Abaiang, Abemama, Aranuka, Arorae, Beru, Kuria, Makin (including Butaritari and Little Makin), Marakei, Nikunau, Nonouti, Onotoa, Tabiteuea, Tamana, and Tarawa (including Bairiki, Betio, and Bikenibeu); Northern Line Islands, including Christmas, Fanning, and Washington; Ocean Island (Banaba); and Phoenix Islands, including Birnie, Canton, Enderbury, Gardner, Hull, McKean, Phoenix, and Sydney.

Nauru

(Single island)

New Caledonia

Chesterfield group, Hunter, Huon group, Ile des Pins, Matthew, New Caledonia, and Walpole.

Loyalty Islands: Lifou, Mare, and Uvéa.

New Guinea, Trust Territory of

Admiralty Islands, including Manus, Purdy, Sabben, and Western; Bismarck Archipelago, including Mussau, New Britain, New Hanover, and New Ireland; Karkar; Long; Northeast New Guinea; Northern Solomon Islands, including Bougainville and Buka; and Umboi.

New Hebrides

Ambrim; Aneityum; Banks Islands, including Santa María, and Vanua Lava; Efate; Epi; Eromanga; Espíritu Santo; Maew; Malekula; Malo; Oba; Pentecost; Tana; and Torres Island.

Niue
(Single island)

Papua, Territory of

D'Entrecasteaux group, including Dobu, Fergusson, Goodenough, Normanby, and Sanaroa; Louisiade group, including Missima, Rosel, and Tagula; Southeast New Guinea; Trobriand group, including Kaileuna, Kiriwina, Kitava, and Vakuta; and Woodlark group, including Madau and Murua (Woodlark).

Tokelau Islands

Atafu, Fakaofo, and Nukunono.

Tonga

Ata; Haapai Group; Late; Nomuka group; Tongatapu Group, including Eua and Tongatapu; and Vava'u group, including Hunga, Kapa, and Vava'u.

Wallis and Futuna

Iles de Horne: Alofi and Futuna; Ile Uvéa (Wallis).

Western Samoa

Apolima, Fanuatapu, Manono, Namua, Nuulua, Nuusafee, Nuutele, Savii, and Upolu.

OCEANIA

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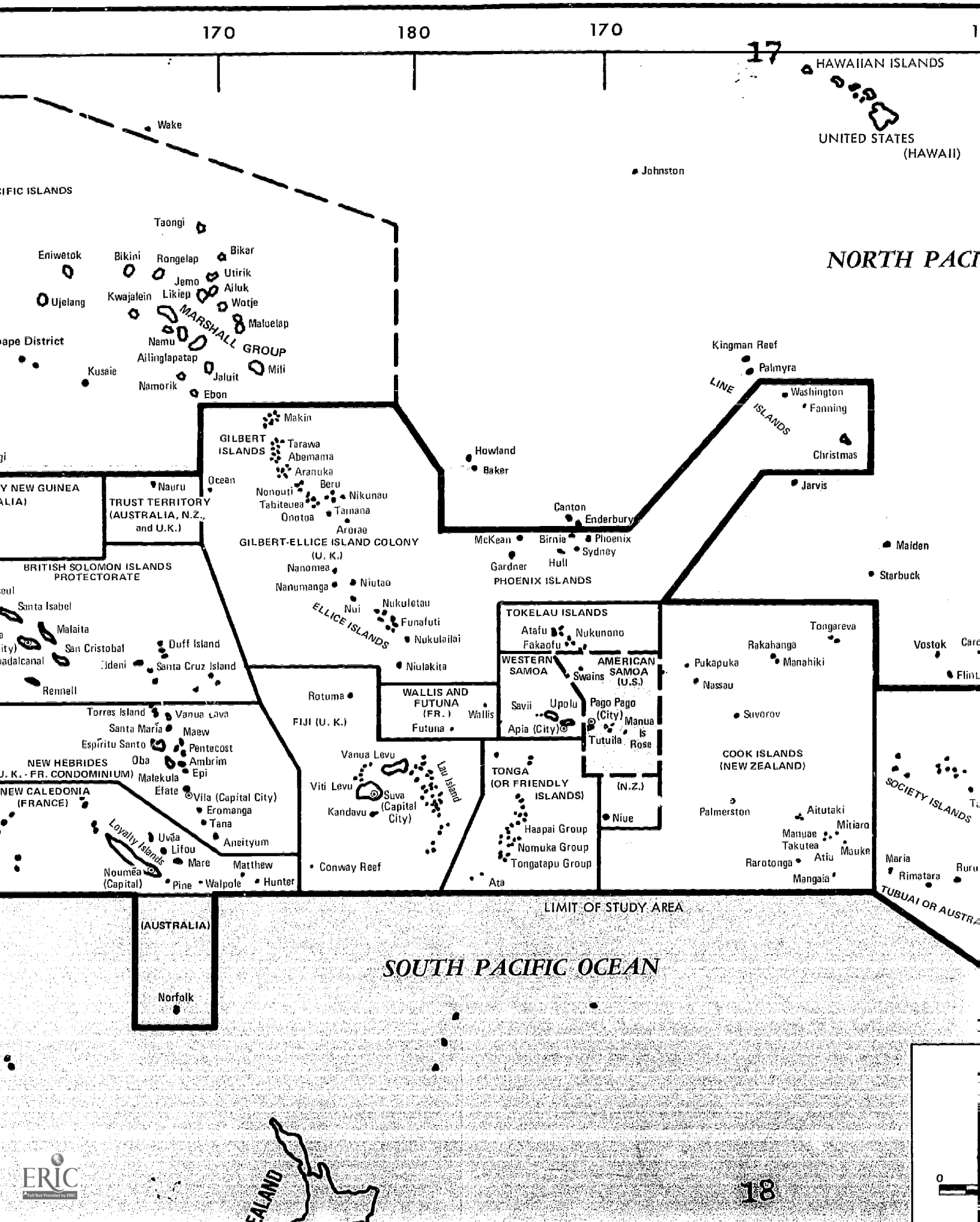
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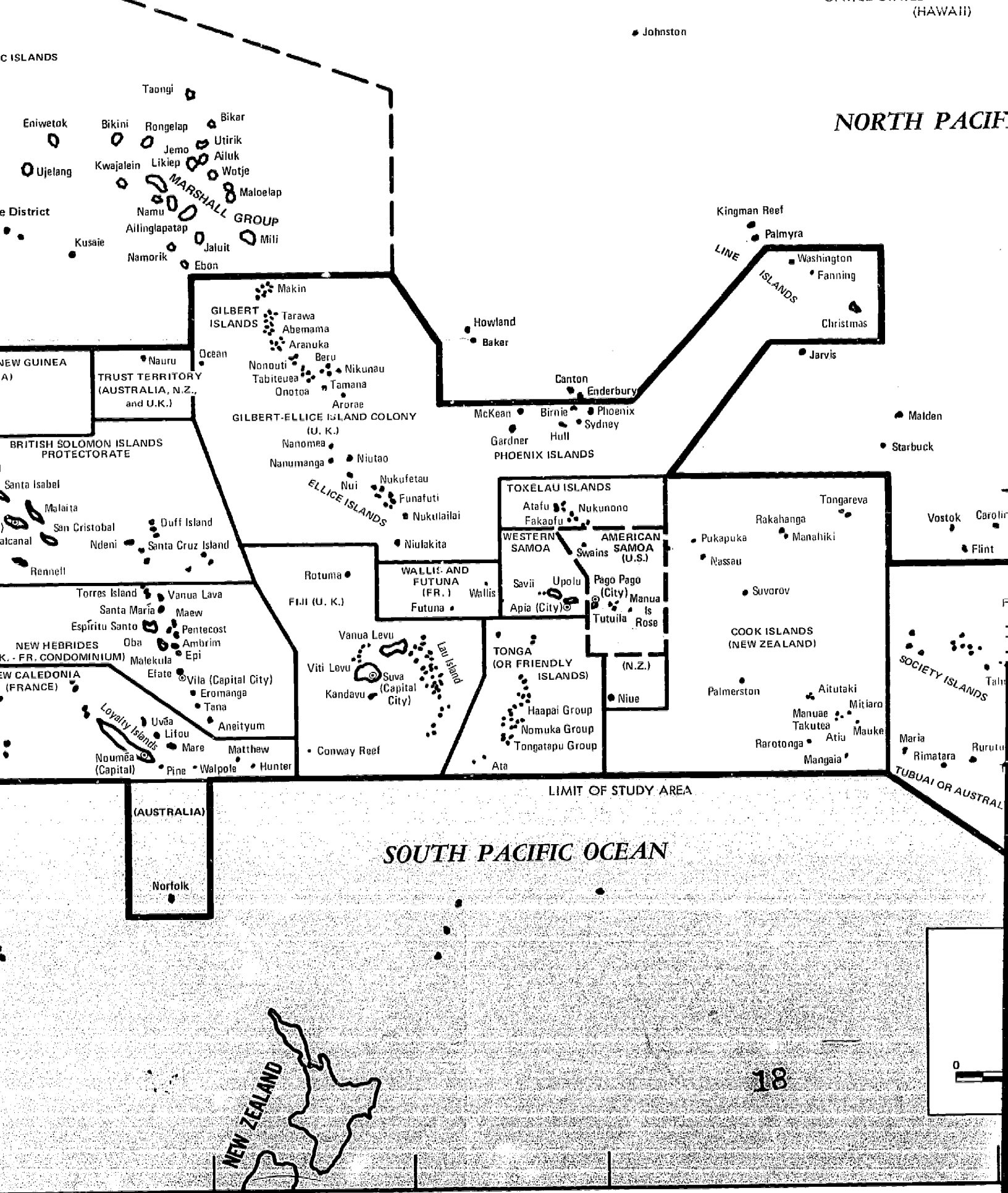
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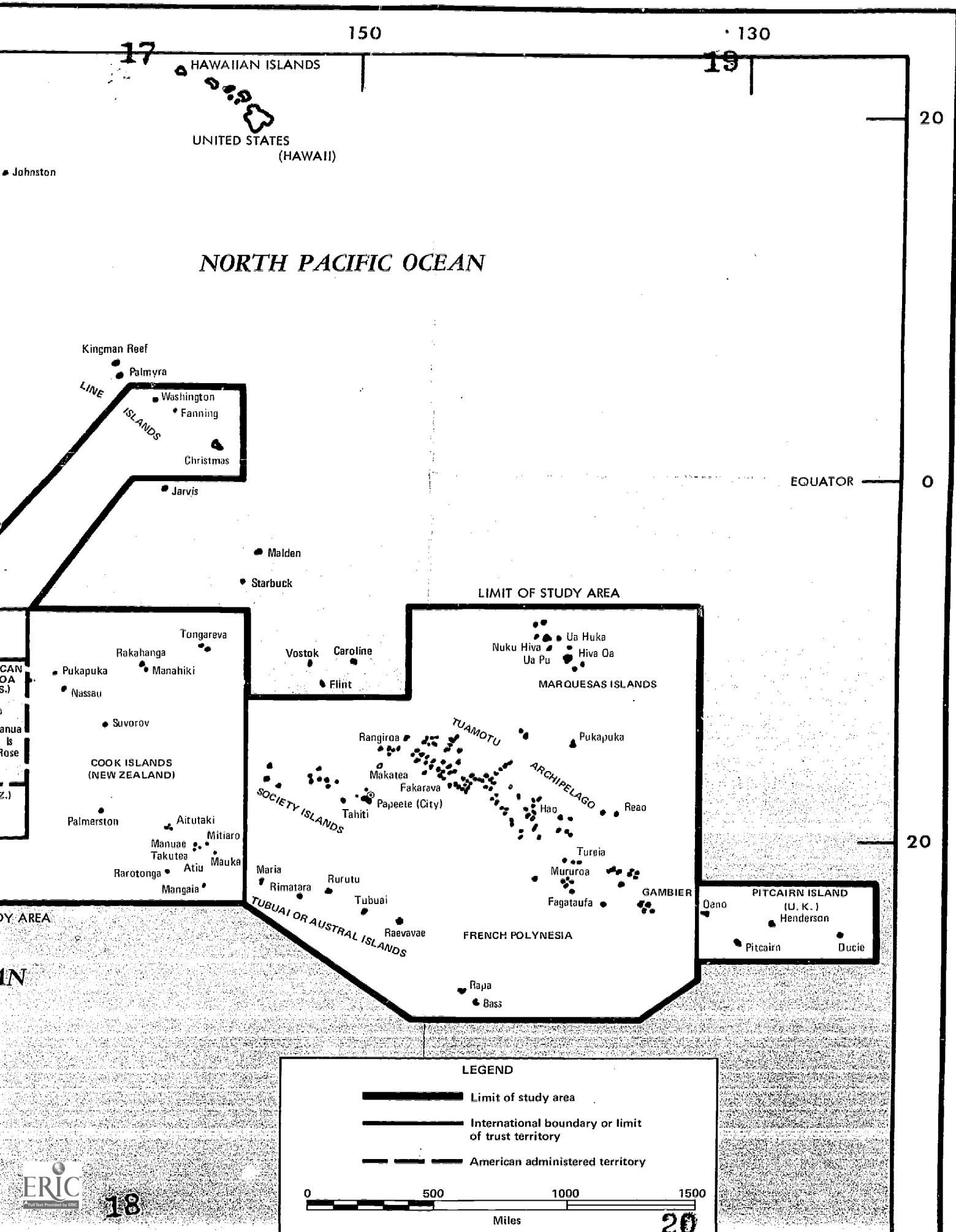
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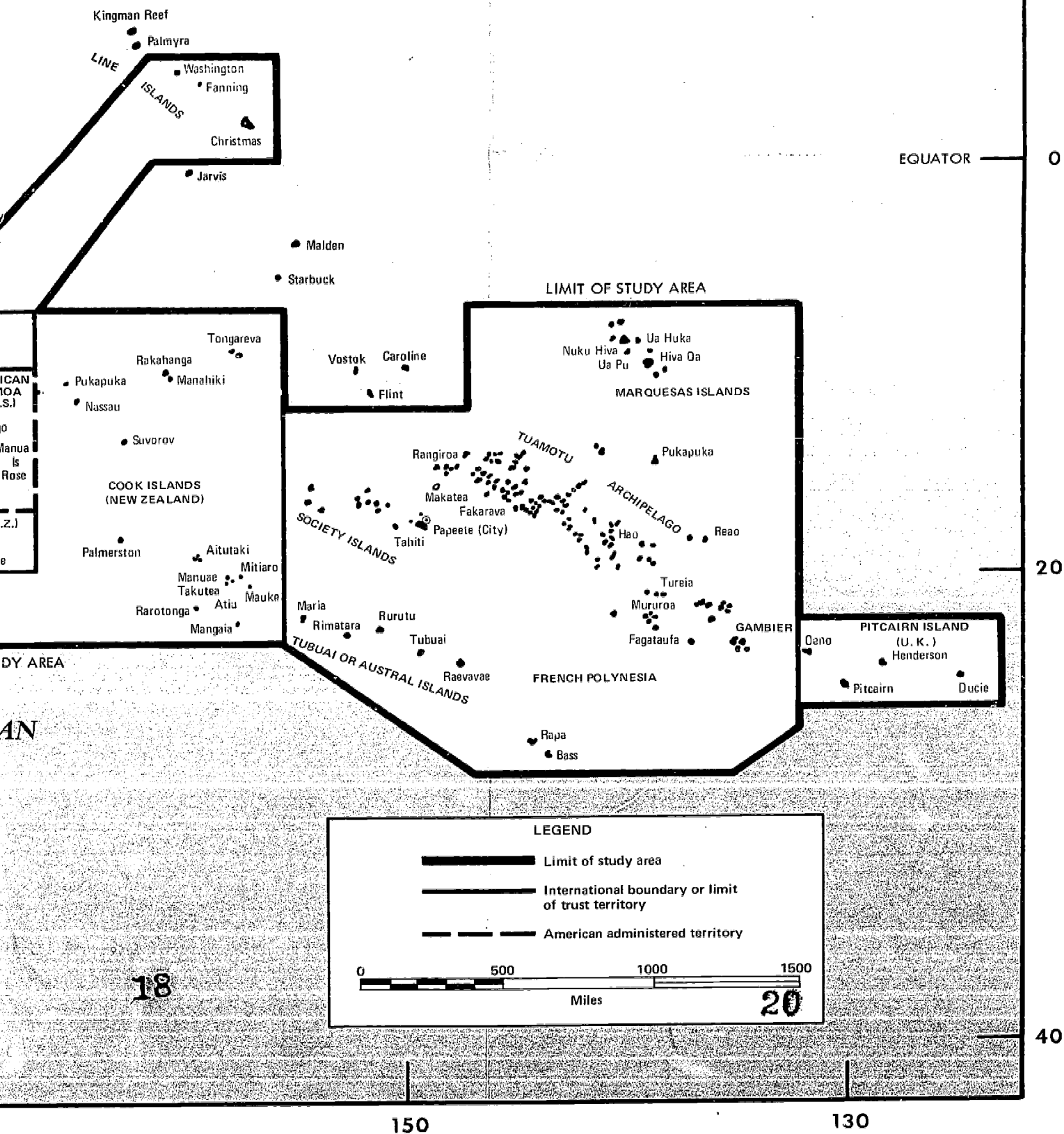




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NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN



SECTION I. SOCIAL

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL SETTING

By 1970 the governing authorities in Oceania, whether indigenous, independent, or colonial, were seeking the means to cope with the complexities resulting from mixed Western and island heritages. Of the island heritages before the mixing took place, little is known. Although the people of Oceania arrived in the islands more than 3,000 years ago, their written historical record did not begin until the coming of Western explorers 400 years ago.

In the ensuing centuries a tide of increasing Western influence and control followed, climaxed by the Pacific phase of World War II. In the postwar era that tide had begun to recede, and there began an accession of the Oceanic peoples to political power and economic participation in the modern world.

As a part of this postwar trend, virtually all of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands were by 1970 represented by fellow islanders, elected or appointed to participate in the making of policies affecting themselves. In some dependencies of Western powers, a degree of local autonomy was linked to an elected voice in the metropolitan legislature, and full integration into the metropolitan power was the goal. In others, steps had been taken to loosen the ties between the colony and the colonial power, with total independence being achieved by several colonies by mid-1970.

Western contact had come first to the people of Micronesia and Polynesia. (Most of Micronesia is included in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This territory, lying north of Melanesia, is governed under United Nations trusteeship by the United States.) In the nineteenth century it made its impact on the coastal peoples of Melanesia, and finally, as part of a process still not completed, it touched the inland Melanesian peoples. Everywhere it has come, contact with the Westerner has brought changes and disruptions in island life.

Consensus is lacking among the leading scholars in the field on such questions as how long the Pacific islanders have inhabited the region, by what routes they arrived there, and what skills they brought with them. The period of written history of the area is

brief, beginning with what Europeans called "discovery" of the islands two to four centuries ago. Written history has been recorded almost entirely by outsiders who often have not only lacked adequate knowledge to comprehend what they saw but also have, by the impact of their presence, helped erase many traces of earlier times.

Oral legends passed down by islanders from generation to generation and living customs, involving artifacts similar in appearance to ancient ones found in the area, hint at the existence of wars, voyages, and social and political systems of considerable antiquity, long preceding Western contact. Legends and customs have changed, however, being especially vulnerable to the assaults of missionaries who risked death, disease, and discomfort to wipe out indigenous practices and beliefs in order to replace them with Western Christian ones.

These missionaries promoted the widest use of the Bibles they had translated into a few selected local languages. Explorers and traders, bartering at one island the native implements and artifacts acquired at other harbors thousands of miles away, also have contributed to the cultural uniformity and linguistic similarity within Polynesia. This has reduced the usefulness of these similarities as clues to migrations in the distant past (see ch. 2, *The Islands and People*).

The first migrants to the area are thought to have come from Asia. According to commonly accepted theory, the migration from Asia continued for an extended period. The later migrants are believed to have arrived in Melanesia around 2000 B.C.

The proto-Malay migrants, who spoke Austronesian languages, were gradually dispersed during the next 1,000 years (whether by accident or design is still a matter widely debated) northeastward to eastern Micronesia and southeastward to Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, arriving in the latter island groups shortly before the Christian Era. Within a few hundred years, parties of Austronesian speakers, traveling in large canoes, arrived in eastern Polynesia—the Marquesas and Society Islands first, then north to Hawaii, as far south as New Zealand, and as far east as Easter Island—peopling with neolithic farmers and fishermen many of the scattered atolls and volcanic islands in an enormous triangle of ocean.

Results of radiocarbon dating of ancient pottery found in the islands are consistent with the suggestion that those proto-Malays who stayed behind in the western islands of Melanesia, after having mixed with the previous inhabitants, also began to spread eastward. This could have produced the overlap of Melanesian and Polynesian peoples and cultures evident along the edges of the two areas, as in Fiji, for example.

The islanders' method of earning a living varied according to the

resources at their disposal. Those islanders who lived on the small coral atolls augmented their subsistence farming of the scanty soil with fishing in the lagoons, whereas those islanders living on the larger, more fertile, mountainous volcanic islands interspersed among the atolls were able to accumulate surpluses, which were often used for the maintenance of their rulers. The larger continental islands of Melanesia, especially New Guinea, had large inland populations that never saw the sea. The inland people, however, also interacted, at least marginally, with the people of the coasts and overseas through complex networks of barter and exchange involving artifacts and livestock from other islands and areas. In general, nevertheless, the jungles of the interior were a greater barrier to interethnic communication than was the ocean (see ch. 2, *The Islands and People*).

THE WEST DISCOVERS THE ISLANDS

Portuguese-born Ferdinand Magellan, whose fleet was sponsored by the Spanish throne, reached the Marianas in 1521. The Spaniards later in the century visited Guam and the nearby Micronesian islands that lay along the path of the galleon trade between the Spanish settlements in Mexico and the Philippines. In pursuit of science, glory, and converts, a number of missionary and exploratory voyages were undertaken with the aid of the Spanish viceroy of Peru and, in the course of several journeys, these explorers set up settlements in the Solomons, the Marquesas, and the New Hebrides. Hostile islanders and illness helped to destroy all of these settlements within a short time.

On his way to Manila from an abandoned settlement in the New Hebrides, one of the Spanish explorers from Peru, Luis Vaez de Torres, passed through the strait (Torres) now bearing his name. By going around the southern end of New Guinea, he proved it to be an island, albeit the world's largest, and not the lost continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*, that Europeans had long suspected lay somewhere in the South Pacific. The expedition from which Torres returned was the last one to receive Spanish official endorsement.

Spanish interest in Oceania, except for their colonies and missions on Guam and the Marianas, declined until the mid-nineteenth century. Then fear of foreign encroachment from the United States, Germany, and Great Britain led Spain to assert sovereignty over the Carolines. This was accomplished with the aid of Spanish soldiers and a theoretical legal right to the islands based on the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. This treaty had incorporated a fifteenth-century pope's attempt to arbitrate a settlement between the two great Catholic seapowers of his day by giving the Spaniards jurisdiction over half the New World and the Portuguese jurisdiction over the other half.

The seventeenth century was a period of Dutch dominance of the sea. The Dutch East India Company, founded at the beginning of the century, soon had a monopoly on Far East trade and sole access to the best East-West trade routes. Private Dutch traders, seeking to bypass the East India Company monopoly routes, explored in Central and Eastern Polynesia. Abel Tasman, a Dutchman employed by the East India Company, circumnavigated Australia and discovered New Zealand. The company was not interested in his discoveries, however, since he had found neither the resources nor the populous cities alleged to be located in the legendary lost continent.

In the eighteenth century Dutch interest became concentrated upon Java. The Netherlands did not trouble to assert its claim to West New Guinea (based on rights inherited from an Indonesian sultan in 1714) until 1828. For eight years after formally claiming the territory, the Dutch maintained a small fort in the Triton Bay area but, after this fort was withdrawn, Dutch interest in the Melanesian possession lapsed until the late nineteenth century. Then the partitioning of eastern New Guinea by the Germans and British caused the Dutch to define the boundary of West New Guinea in order to prevent its falling into other hands.

During the 1700s British and French explorers came to prominence. The single most noted explorer, Captain James Cook, accurately recorded most of Oceania, including many islands that previously had not been charted or known to Westerners. An expert navigator and hydrographer, he captained three voyages of exploration lasting, with short interruptions, from 1768 until 1779. Then he met death at the hands of Hawaiian islanders who thought that he was one of their gods reincarnate.

ERA OF INITIAL CONTACT

The closing decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century were a period of great change for the Pacific Islanders. The period was marked by the arrival of Westerners in substantial numbers, some for short visits of refreshment or trade. More permanent residents also came for the purpose of establishing Christian missions.

The pleasantness of the climate and the beauty of the women brought the whaling ships, then hunting in the nearby seas, to Tahiti, Samoa, Ponape, the Marquesas, and many other islands in Micronesia and Polynesia. Whaling ships were predominantly American, but some British and a few French and Prussian ships also engaged in the Oceanic hunt for sea mammals.

Although the Melanesian islands were unattractive to the seamen because of the climate and the reported hostility of the inhabitants, the New Hebrides and Fiji were found to contain sandalwood, which could fetch a good price in China, along with other Oceanic

produce. *Bêche-de-mer* (trepang, which is an edible sea slug considered a delicacy in China), pearls, and pearl shell were among the goods collected. There also was some interisland trade initiated by the Europeans. For example, tortoise shell and pigs were collected from the Solomon Islands to be exchanged for New Hebrides sandalwood, which in turn could be exchanged in China for porcelain, tea, and silks. These Chinese products brought high prices in Europe and America.

This trade in luxury products was predominantly British and American, with increasing French participation toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Accounts of atrocities on the part of both Westerners and islanders are plentiful. Neither the islanders' knowledge nor their beliefs had prepared them for so alien a group of visitors, and they coped with the new people in various ways. Sometimes a fortunate visitor was adopted into the local kin group and presented with his choice of women and goods. At other times islanders regarded the foreigners as irretrievably outside the sphere of their moral or religious protection and, therefore, fit subjects to be robbed, tormented, and eaten.

With the exception of the missionaries, the Westerners were primarily interested in the islanders as sources of desired goods and services. Few regarded the islanders as people to whom civilized ethical or moral consideration was due. Purposeful and casual murder of islanders for purposes of maintaining trade monopolies or even for amusement were not uncommon during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Western visitors less reputable than traders and whaler crews also appeared during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Escaped convicts from the penal colonies established by the British and the French in Australia and New Caledonia were among these. Beachcombers and adventurers also came. Some of them hired themselves and their weapons out to local chiefs, who could then exert considerable power over neighbors whose only arms were traditional stone, shell, and wooden weapons.

Among the most famous of the human flotsam were the mutineers of the British ship *Bounty* who, after the mutiny of 1789, searched Polynesia for an uninhabited island that could sustain life and hide them from British justice. After wandering through the Cook, Tonga, and eastern Fiji island groups, ten mutineers, including the master's mate, Fletcher Christian, and eighteen Tahitians, twelve of them women, arrived on Pitcairn Island. Within ten years of landing, death by illness or murder had come to the entire party except for one man, former able seaman John Adams, ten Polynesian women, and twenty-three children, some of them surnamed Christian, who had been born since the mutiny.

Pitcairn Island escaped the notice of a search party sent out to

arrest the mutineers and, by the time the community was discovered years later, it was a peaceful Christian settlement combining Polynesian and English features. It has remained so to the present day, although an abortive attempt was made to resettle the entire community on Tahiti in the 1830s, and a more successful resettlement of some Pitcairn families on Norfolk Island was made in the 1850s.

Missionaries were the first Westerners to establish permanent residence in the islands. Apart from Spanish Micronesia and stillborn Roman Catholic missionary settlements begun in Polynesia and Melanesia during and after the period of Spanish exploration, permanent missionary settlements in Oceania date their origins to 1797. In that year the London Missionary Society landed a group of thirty-nine persons, including six women and three children, on Tahiti. The London Missionary Society was an evangelical group, most of whose representatives in the islands were lay clergymen, former artisans and shopkeepers, who brought to Oceania not only their theological conceptions but also English lower middle class habits and customs.

Within twenty years a number of British Protestant sects, including the Wesleyan Methodists and the Anglicans, had missions in the islands, as did American Protestant organizations. Efforts were made by the missionaries not to impinge on one another's spheres of influence. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, often called the Boston Mission, was dominant in Hawaii and in parts of Micronesia, whereas the British Protestant groups were prominent in Polynesia. Later in the century the Anglican Melanesian Mission became the major sect in Melanesia.

Missionary rivalry began in 1825 when the French Catholic order, the Congrégation du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus et de Marie (Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, or Picpusiens), was instructed by the pope to convert Hawaii. In 1835 the task of converting the islands to Catholic orthodoxy and French control was divided between the Picpusiens, who were to be responsible for the eastern islands, and the Société de Marie (Society of Mary, called the Marists), who were to take charge of the islands in the west.

The effect of the missionaries on the islanders was greater than that of any other group of Westerners. The missionaries introduced literacy, clothing, and housing in accord with nineteenth-century Western cultural norms, whether or not suitable for the climate, and Western artisan skills. They wiped out cannibalism, headhunting, and many other causes of feuding. They also eliminated slavery and many restrictions on personal freedom that had been incorporated in traditional religious practices. In some cases they destroyed the entire traditional structure of community life.

The missions, in their search for legitimate governments with which to deal, were influential in creating more rigid and more powerful institutions of royal sovereignty than had traditionally existed. Pomare II of Tahiti and George Tupou I of Tonga were among the kings whose power was extended and expanded. With support from the Europeans, the power of these rulers went beyond traditional law. The missionaries ruled indirectly through the chiefs or kings and promulgated laws that institutionalized selected features of Christian sectarian and nineteenth-century Western practices. Some of these—for example, Sunday blue laws—have survived to the present in parts of Oceania.

Because of a lack of financial support from their headquarters in Europe and America, the missionaries sought funds locally for the continuation of their projects and for spreading the faith to other areas. In consequence, missionaries were often responsible for involving the islanders in the production or collection of goods to be contributed to the mission for sale to the traders on the church's behalf.

Until the 1870s, in this frontier area of Western settlement, the only representatives of any type of Western justice or responsible authority able to cover the area were the British Royal Navy captains. After 1829 they made annual cruises of the islands, with no legal backing except instructions from the admiralty. A typical order directed to a Captain Fremantle in 1854 reads:

It will be your object to give to the natives an impression of the power and of the friendly disposition of the British nation and, whilst giving due weight to the representatives of the British consuls and missionaries and to strengthen their hands for good, you will repress any tendency to undue interference or encroachments of the rights of the chiefs and natives.

The traders and sometimes the consuls, such as George Pritchard, British consul first on Tahiti and later in Samoa, urged punitive intervention by the navy captains. Occasionally, the captains agreed. For the navy captains, protecting British missionaries was a constant source of anxiety. Missionary deaths had to be avenged and their cause backed against that of the French Catholics. The latter, in turn, were receiving armed support from French warships in the battle for island souls. The religious rivalry deteriorated occasionally into wars between island factions, with French and British nationalism, longstanding feuds between islanders, and Catholic and Protestant doctrinal differences inextricably blended. Called upon for help, a captain would often feel compelled to exceed his instructions from the admiralty. For example, Captain Wiseman of the British navy in 1865 demanded the equivalent of roughly US \$5,000 in compensation from Tana islanders in New Hebrides for having expelled a British missionary and, upon their refusal, burned

down the recalcitrant village and destroyed its crops. French armed vessels performed similar functions in parts of French Polynesia.

Many navy captains, however, were more revolted by the behavior of the Westerners claiming their protection than by such practices as cannibalism perpetrated by the islanders. The deleterious effects of Western rum, arms, and disease were evident as entire islands began to be depopulated. The tempo of attack and reprisal was stepped up, with fewer intervals of relative peace. Royal Navy captains were among those who repeatedly urged Great Britain to take some responsibility for the islands, since they felt that only the stabilizing influence of British government could give protection from the horrors of lawlessness. Violence was on the increase in the 1860s as a result of the arrival in large numbers of Western entrepreneurs seeking island labor for use on the plantations then being established in various parts of Oceania and Australia.

In 1872 the British Kidnapping Act gave some legal backing to British naval officers tracking down unscrupulous labor recruiters, called blackbirders, who raided the islands, sometimes using chiefs as hostages, to procure cheap labor. Labor was sought for the guano mines or coffee plantations of South America and for the cotton, copra, or sugar plantations of Fiji, Queensland, Tahiti, and elsewhere. Such labor abuses, however, were not brought under effective control until 1877, three years after the British annexation of Fiji, when the British high commissioner for the western Pacific, resident in Fiji, was assigned duties that included the supervision of the labor traffic.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENT OF RESOURCES

The mid-nineteenth century was a period of industrialization in the West and of vast strides in communications, including the steamship, the telegraph cable, and the Suez Canal. Plans were being discussed for a second interocean canal in Latin America that could give some of the Pacific Islands increased strategic value.

The communications revolution increased the attractiveness of the Pacific Islands for investment, as did a growing consumer market in the West and advances in agricultural science, which demonstrated the value of fertilizers. Interest grew in tropical products that might be grown on the islands and in the minerals—phosphates, nickel, chrome, and cobalt—that had been found there. There was hope, too, that exploitable quantities of gold and other valuable minerals might yet be uncovered. Many ambitious projects failed. None of these investments resulted in a substantial contribution to world trade, except for the minerals of New Caledonia. The investors in plantations and mines, however, succeeded in transforming the commerce between Oceania and the rest of the world from an adjunct to the luxury China trade into a minor but regular

participant in bulk world trade (see ch. 12, Economic Resources; ch. 11, Character and Structure of Major Economies).

Attempts by Western entrepreneurs to recruit labor for the plantations and the mines caused hardship to the islanders and frustration to the Western managers. The islanders, never very plentiful, had declined in numbers as they succumbed to the effects of impact with an alien world. They were in any case generally reluctant to engage in plantation labor, which was more monotonous and impersonal than anything they had known before.

Entrepreneurs with plantations in sparsely populated areas sought cheap labor on other islands. A frequent source was Melanesia but not New Guinea, which was regarded as too dangerous. The labor traffic thrived especially in the Solomon, New Hebrides, Fiji, Loyalty, Tokelau, and the Gilbert and Ellice islands.

In the 1860s there was a boom in cotton as a byproduct of the American Civil War. Cotton plantations were established in Fiji, in the Queensland colony of Australia, in New Caledonia, and on Tahiti. Laborers were acquired primarily from the New Hebrides, from the Loyalty Islands off New Caledonia, and from the eastern Solomons. By 1874 the cotton boom was over, and a more successful plantation crop, sugar, had begun to be planted in Fiji and Queensland.

Coconut growing throughout Oceania received a boost in the 1870s as a result of a new process for making coconut oil. This process made it possible to ship copra (dried coconut meat) from the islands to the metropolitan factories to be made into oil there. The previous, more cumbersome process had required that the coconuts be converted into oil at the harvest site.

Copra and sugar production had greater effects on island life than any other changes in the economy since the arrival of the first Europeans. Coconut trees could grow on tiny atolls where little else could be commercially cultivated. Harvesting and drying copra was a skill easily acquired by the neolithic islanders who were powerfully motivated to find cash or produce to exchange for the new goods that the Westerner had introduced. Coast-dwelling islanders proved willing to produce copra for world markets on their own land as a supplement to their traditional subsistence agriculture. Labor on plantation copra, however, was less agreeable to the islanders. After a time the planters gave up trying to use Polynesians on plantations and turned to Melanesia and Micronesia for labor. This supply also proved inadequate.

To fill the gap, Asians, especially Indians, Chinese, Indochinese, Indonesians, and Japanese, were recruited for labor. In Fiji, between 1879 and 1916, when the indenture system was abolished, 60,000 Indians were brought in to work on the sugar plantations. The children and grandchildren of these Indian laborers, born in

Fiji, were to outnumber the indigenous Fijians in the period after World War II. In many other island groups the need for labor for the Western enterprises brought about the introduction of substantial foreign colonies into the depopulated islands. Many of these Asians, especially Chinese, remained in the islands after their indenture contracts had lapsed. They assumed control of petty trade and artisan jobs and came to play a middleman role between the local population and the Westerners.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the transfer of island land into Western hands for plantation use was a source of great hardship and confusion to the islanders. Individual freehold landownership was an institution unknown in Oceania. Chiefs who had traditional rights to some of the fruits of various tracts or who were entrusted by their respective kin groups with responsibility for communal lands were pressed to sign away land as if it were their personal property. They often also sold the land controlled by rival chiefs.

Much of the friction between Westerners and native peoples was a result of hastily arranged transfers of land from communal traditional control to individual Western ownership. Eventually, the colonial governments stepped in to protect the islanders. In Fiji nearly half of the land alienated by Westerners before Cession was returned to indigenous control after governmental examination of the claims. By the 1920s further freehold alienation of indigenous land had been prohibited in most of Oceania.

Deposits of guano, a phosphate source derived from the excrement of seabirds, were found in quantity on a number of islands in the Phoenix and Line island groups. During the nineteenth century this source of valuable fertilizer was exploited until exhausted by American and British entrepreneurs who claimed their respective islands for their governments. Because almost all of the guano islands were uninhabited, the effect on the Pacific population from the mining of guano was slight, except in the case of those who served as mine laborers. The guano mining permanently exhausted one more natural resource. All the Pacific sandalwood had been extracted by the mid-nineteenth century, and soon thereafter whales could no longer be found in the tropical seas of the Pacific.

After the guano deposits gave out, a new source of phosphate fertilizer, in rock form, was discovered in the first years of the twentieth century. Nauru, a German island, and nearby Ocean Island, which came under British control at this time, were found to be rich in such rock. In the Carolines, Angaur Island was another phosphate source. In French Polynesia, Makat  a was also found to be a phosphate island and was exploited by French and British companies using Asian and island labor.

In the 1870s exploitation of mineral riches of another kind was

begun in New Caledonia, the large Melanesian island that had been acquired by France in 1853. France had annexed New Caledonia chiefly because of its strategic location and because it had a climate that made it suitable for Western colonization, unlike the rest of Melanesia. Between 1864 and 1894 the island was a penal colony, but by the 1870s the free settler population numbered more than 3,000. These settlers were in control of nine-tenths of the land and used it mostly for grazing cattle. The local populace, whose numbers had been reduced greatly since contact, had been resettled on reserves.

The mineral deposits proved to be of global importance. They included, among others, nickel, chrome, cobalt, iron, and manganese. By the mid-1870s New Caledonian nickel, owned by overseas capitalists, dominated the world market. By 1900 New Caledonia had much the largest European population in Oceania—nearly 25,000 persons. An indigenous rebellion in 1878 had resulted in the death of several hundred Europeans, and local unrest continued for some time after that.

Beginning in the 1880s, Asian laborers were brought in to work the mines. Attempts were made also to find suitable labor supplies in Japan, China, India, Indonesia, and Indochina. Javanese and Vietnamese became the chief providers of mine labor. Many Japanese, upon conclusion of their indentures, stayed on to provide New Caledonia with the petty trade stores and services that Chinese residents provided in many other parts of Oceania.

THE WESTERN PARTITION OF OCEANIA

In the sixty years between 1840 and 1900, the Western powers of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States gained political control over Oceania. During this period Spain lost its colonies, but the Netherlands retained the western half of the island of New Guinea.

In 1840 British interest in acquiring possessions in the Pacific found its first expression in the annexation of New Zealand. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century European colonists in New Zealand and Australia continually urged Great Britain to take control of island groups in Oceania to prevent other Western powers from doing so.

France began its formal protection of much of what became French Polynesia in the 1840s. In 1853 France annexed New Caledonia. Great Britain's annexation of Fiji in 1874 followed a period of chaotic government there under European-backed Fijian Chief Cakobau. Cakobau was an ally of the Tongan King George Tupou I and, like him, was a recent convert to Wesleyan Methodist Christianity. His paramountcy over Fiji was due, at least in part, to the

intervention of the Western planters on his behalf. The legitimacy of his rule was constantly in question among both Fijians and Europeans, who were also suffering from the failure of the cotton industry. Cakobau, fearing a takeover by a rival faction led by a Tongan chief, offered Fiji to Great Britain. The Deed of Cession was dated October 10, 1874.

The British, who until that time had been reluctant to annex island territory, were persuaded to do so by the need to regularize the labor traffic. In 1877 the British created the office of high commissioner for the western Pacific as a way of replacing the lawlessness then current in the area with British justice. The office was located at Suva, Fiji, and usually was occupied by the governor of Fiji. The commissioner, with the help of a small staff, attempted to supervise British subjects and promote British interests in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, and elsewhere in the western Pacific area. The Tokelau Islands also came under British protection in 1877.

In 1884 the German Empire, under its first chancellor, Count Otto von Bismarck, brought German political control to areas where German commerce had already gained entry. Germany that year annexed most of what later became the Trust Territory of New Guinea, comprising the northeast coast of the island of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. The partitioning of New Guinea was completed the same year, with the British claiming Southeast New Guinea (later known as Papua) as a protectorate. In 1885 the Dutch defined their border in West New Guinea. Also in 1885 the Germans acquired the Marshall Islands, where German business interests were already present. German efforts to acquire the Carolines that year were successfully resisted by Spain, which claimed that island group.

In 1887 the French and the British set up a Joint Naval Commission to cope with the deteriorating situation in the New Hebrides. Savagery on the part of both islanders and Europeans had persisted since the time of the search for sandalwood and *bêche-de-mer* and had increased owing to the depredations of blackbirders searching for labor for the cotton plantations. The same year the French declared a protectorate over the Wallis island group and extended it to Futuna in 1888. The Anglo-Polynesian settlement on Pitcairn Island was declared a protectorate in 1887, having been informally under British protection since 1838. In 1888 Germany annexed the island of Nauru, although its value as a source of phosphates was not realized until 1900. Also in 1888 the Cook Islands became a British protectorate.

The need for cable bases, naval bases, and coaling stations motivated the Western powers to acquire other islands in various parts of the Pacific during the 1880s and 1890s. A number of the various Phoenix and Line islands, Guam, and American Samoa were among

the areas claimed by Great Britain and the United States during this time. In 1892 such considerations motivated the extension of British protection over much of the present-day Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony.

From 1889 to 1899 the islands of the Samoa group were jointly governed by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. This arrangement was replaced in 1899 by an agreement under which Western Samoa became a German colony and eastern Samoa became an American territory. By this agreement, Great Britain was given German permission to extend into the central Solomons, below Bougainville Island. Great Britain had already claimed, in 1893, the southern Solomons as a protectorate. Germany claimed the northernmost Solomon Islands, Bougainville, and Buka.

In 1898 the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands. Spain left the area upon the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, having ceded Guam to the United States and having sold the Marianas and the Carolines to Germany.

In 1900, the year the phosphates were discovered, British protection was extended to Ocean Island, which became part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony in 1916. In 1900 the British also took control of Niue, which they turned over to New Zealand in 1901 along with the Cook Islands.

In 1906 an Anglo-French condominium was set up over the New Hebrides to replace the ineffective administration of the Joint Naval Commission. This concluded Oceania's partition.

From the start of the twentieth century until 1914, the map of Oceania was largely British. Great Britain held Southeast New Guinea (Papua), Fiji, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, a share in the control of New Hebrides, and control of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Ocean Island, the Cook, Niue, and Tokelau islands, as well as Australia and New Zealand. Germany had: Western Samoa; Nauru; the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas (except Guam); and the large and populous Melanesian territories of Northeast New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the northern Solomon islands of Buka and Bougainville. France had the large and profitable island of New Caledonia and its outlying islands, as well as the archipelagoes of French Polynesia and the small Polynesian island groups of Wallis and Futuna. The United States controlled Guam, Hawaii, and American Samoa. The Netherlands had only West New Guinea.

THE ISLAND COLONIES BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Until the Western powers took political control, Western contact with Melanesia had been limited to the coastal area. The inland population remained virtually untouched. The early period of col-

onization of Melanesia, bringing contact to new communities, was a time of violence. Corporal punishment was used on the plantations. Elsewhere in both German and British New Guinea (after 1906, known as Australian Papua), administrators occasionally felt it necessary to kill a few people as a way of subduing a hostile community. In various places in the western Pacific, rebellions broke out and anti-European so-called cargo cults (see Glossary) emerged. In these cults Christian and pre-Christian religious symbols were manipulated by the believers in the hope of gaining the foreigner's goods while at the same time eliminating his presence and government.

In Melanesia one of the chief problems was establishing control over the population, many of whom lived in hard-to-reach areas in the jungles of the interior. Once they were under control, the next problem was to induce them to work for the plantations or on the maintenance of roads and other essential public works projects.

Gradually increasing efforts were made to improve native welfare. Village cleanup campaigns were enforced. Missionaries were supported in their efforts to eliminate feuding, cannibalism, and other dangerous practices. Law and order were established with the assistance of village headmen, some of whom were elected and others appointed at colonial instigation, and with the aid of indigenous constabularies. A concern for native welfare was also the cause of the prohibition of further permanent land alienation throughout most of the area. In German New Guinea the administration appointed village medical assistants, who were called *dokta boi* in pidgin (see Glossary), the language that was then being spread as a lingua franca throughout much of Melanesia (see ch. 2, The Islands and People).

The Western powers came generally to the conclusion that their job was to balance the "legitimate" interests of the Western investors against humanitarian obligations to the indigenous population. These interests were not seen to be irreconcilable, particularly since it was almost universally believed by the Europeans that it was good for the local people to work on plantations. There they would be able to earn the money to buy the Western goods they craved and also would gain firsthand knowledge of the Western economic system. Thus educated, they would spread their knowledge to their home communities upon the completion of their indentures. In this way the entire indigenous society would advance. The welfare of planter and islander was made mutually dependent by the policy that revenue for colonial administration should come almost exclusively from local import and export taxes, so that if the plantations did not thrive there would be no money to use for the benefit of the local residents.

Head taxes were introduced in New Guinea, the Solomon Islands,

and elsewhere and had to be paid in cash. These taxes were not designed primarily for revenue but, rather, were meant to stimulate islanders to work for wages on the plantations. In Fiji, however, the first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, dissented from the view that plantation labor was good for islanders. Concerned with the desirability of retaining the indigenous social structure, which in Fiji was rooted in communal landownership, the Fijian colonial government demanded a tax in kind that could be paid in the form of one of a variety of cash crops—copra, cocoa, and coffee, among others—produced communally on kin group land. To provide labor on the alienated land, where Western investors had begun to develop an important sugar industry, Gordon favored the importation of Indian contract laborers. This way of coping with the labor problem was to have great and unanticipated effects on the indigenous Fijians in the twentieth century.

In the early period of the colonial regimes in Samoa, rivalry between holders of the major chiefly titles was intensified by rival churches, rival European backers with firearms, and rival demands for land for use as European-owned plantations. Most of the Samoan land, however, was kept in native hands.

Under the German regime from 1900 to 1914, the Samoans were involved in the European economy chiefly as producers of copra on their own land. The plantations were worked by Melanesians, some of them from the Solomon Islands, and Chinese from Hong Kong. By 1909 there were enough Chinese to warrant the presence of a Chinese consul in Apia, and by 1914 there were 2,200 Chinese in Western Samoa.

The German Samoan administration, from 1900 to 1910 under the control of Wilhelm Solf, later to be head of the German Imperial Colonial Office, reduced the power of the indigenous political institutions. These institutions had become more highly developed in Samoa than anywhere else in Oceania. Solf abolished traditional royal offices and reduced to advisory status the traditional consultative body, the Fono a Faipule.

The Samoans reacted against the change in regime with a monarchist restoration movement, called the Mau a Pule movement, that agitated for a return to Samoan custom (*fa'a Samoa*; literally, the Samoan way). The Mau movement was temporarily broken up by Solf, who exiled its leaders, but it reappeared after World War II when Western Samoa was mandated to New Zealand. During the interwar period it also spread to the eastern islands of American Samoa.

Whether as plantation laborers or as producers of cash crops to supplement subsistence farming, most Pacific Islanders during the early twentieth century gradually came under the full or partial control of the Western enterprises, which in turn were gradually

being absorbed by a few large "western commercial houses with multiple interests in plantations, trade goods, shipping, and mining. Petty trade, however, was often in the hands of Asians. Chinese traders were especially prominent in the commerce of French Polynesia. Except in New Caledonia, the number of Westerners resident in the islands remained few.

The missionary population expanded in the early twentieth century with the introduction of new Protestant sects, such as the Seventh-day Adventists and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons). The new groups stimulated missionary rivalry by seeking converts in areas already under other Protestant influences.

NEW CHALLENGES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

World War I eliminated Germany as a Pacific power and introduced Japan but, aside from island troops that served on the Allied side in Europe, New Zealand Maoris and French Polynesians among them, the war had little impact on Oceanians. The Australian military occupation of German New Guinea and the phosphate island of Nauru and the New Zealand occupation of German Samoa were effected after token resistance. Japan seized the Marianas (except Guam), Carolines, and Marshalls. These seizures were confirmed by the League of Nations in the peace settlement, which granted Germany's possessions to the occupying powers as C-class mandates. In the case of Nauru, Australia was the administrator for a joint British, Australian, and New Zealand mandate.

In the balancing by the colonial administrators of indigenous and Western business interests after World War I, more concern was shown for the native population. This was partly the result of a new spirit of humanitarianism finding expression in the League of Nations. The administering powers were charged by the league with promoting "to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants" of the territory. Although the continued policy of many of the colonial regimes required that the budget of each territory depend almost totally on local revenue, thus limiting programs for indigenous health, education, and welfare, considerably more was done by both the governments and the missions to improve indigenous conditions than had been done previously. The work of private philanthropic organizations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation, which worked throughout most of Oceania in the 1920s to eliminate hookworm, and of government public health and welfare officers began to show results in a reversal of the decline of island populations that had begun a hundred years earlier. Some of the land that had been alienated by German commercial concerns was returned to islanders.

Some of the colonial government efforts at improving conditions were resisted by the islanders, who resented change being made in their traditional practices. The Western Samoan Mau movement was one of a number of Oceanic political movements and religious cults whose members purposely boycotted government health and education measures, even refusing to cooperate in government censuses of the population.

After World War I colonial administrators began to express concern about the effects on village life of the removal of large numbers of employable men for work on plantations. Efforts were made to determine how many laborers could be removed from a community without destroying the traditional village economy. The social disruption caused by making the previously revered elders dependent upon youthful returned laborers for the cash needed for the head tax and trade goods was not considered to be harmful. Rather, it was seen as a step in the modernization and education of the populace for participation in Western civilization.

During the interwar period the governing powers showed no interest in self-government for the islands. Efforts were made, however, in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, in Western Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, the Cooks, the Tokelaus, and in Wallis and Futuna to govern, insofar as possible, in harmony with traditional institutions and with the cooperation and endorsement of traditional leaders. In the case of Tonga and Wallis and Futuna, indigenous rulers remained technically sovereign.

Just before World War II, in response to demands for a voice in the government of the protectorate and higher wages for coconut plantation workers (wages having been reduced during the world depression of the 1930s), efforts were made in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate to institute native courts and councils, based, as far as could be determined by professional anthropologists, on customary law and indigenous political institutions. A major problem, especially in the southern Solomons, was to find the real leaders within a community and not merely those persons whose facility in English or experience as village policemen drew them to the attention of colonial administrators. These efforts were interrupted by the Japanese invasion. Similar problems in locating genuine leaders in the Australian territories on New Guinea delayed the development of indigenous political participation.

The islanders, most of whom were by the 1920s tied directly or indirectly to the world markets for their produce, suffered along with Western investors from the world depression that began in the late 1920s. Smallholder Western investors were forced to sell off their holdings to the large companies. Asian laborers were repatriated; island laborers were given greatly reduced salaries; and subsistence farmers with a supplemental copra crop found they could

not earn enough to buy the goods they had come to need. Throughout Oceania there was an increase in civil disorders, labor strikes, and anti-Western political and economic agitation, including a resurgence of cargo cult activity in the less sophisticated areas of the Solomons, Papua, New Guinea, and the New Hebrides.

In New Guinea and Fiji, however, the administrations were able to maintain their revenues by taxing a new source, gold exports. Gold was discovered in substantial quantities between 1922 and 1926 on the Bululu River in the interior of the New Guinea mainland, where there had been previously little Western contact. As a result of gold mining and the ceaseless prospecting for further lodes, the colonial interest in New Guinea shifted from the Bismarck Archipelago to the mainland, and new peoples not previously contacted came under government control. Labor for the mines also came from the interior of New Guinea, the Sepik valley being the single largest source.

By 1932 Fiji also was producing substantial quantities of gold. Unlike the sugar industry, which remained in the hands of Indian cultivators after the end of the indenture system, the gold industry became the biggest single source of Fijian cash wages, and Fijians constituted three-fourths of the mining labor force.

The phosphate mines of Nauru were responsible for the importation of large numbers of Chinese and Pacific Islanders from New Guinea, Micronesia, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony as indentured laborers, the indenture of Nauruans being prohibited. While the foreign temporary resident group on Nauru expanded, the indigenous population, which had declined in the nineteenth century during the island's period as a whalers' port, declined a further 18 percent in the influenza epidemic that swept the Pacific immediately after World War I.

In the New Hebrides, where French business interests were dominant, the Anglo-French condominium was resumed after the war. French plantations made New Hebrides the leading cocoa producer in the Pacific in the interwar period. Copra, corn, tobacco and, for a short time during World War I, cotton were also grown. Asian laborers from French Indochina, Java, China, and Japan were used during the 1920s until the depression. Many were then repatriated, but Asian labor was reintroduced in the late 1930s. The indigenous population suffered from severe epidemics of various diseases and were convulsed by a number of cargo cults.

In New Caledonia, after a short-lived wartime cotton boom, a coffee industry began in the 1930s on land rented from Europeans by Asians and New Caledonians. By 1935 minerals were commanding high prices because of world rearmament. Leaving the mines and plantations in the hands of managers, the European settlers began to move to town. By 1940, 10,000 of the 17,000 Europeans in New Caledonia resided in the administrative capital, Nouméa.

In the late 1930s rivalry between the Western powers developed over the ownership of a number of uninhabited islands whose locations made them attractive as possible sites for the airbases demanded by the new transoceanic communication business then beginning its development. The United States asserted claims to Canton, Enderbury and six other islands of the Phoenix group, the Tokelaus, four of the Cook Islands, the four Line Islands and Christmas Island. The British also claimed the Phoenix, Christmas, and Line islands, and New Zealand claimed and administered the Tokelaus and Cooks.

In 1937 Great Britain annexed the Phoenix Islands for the purpose of resettling communities of overcrowded Gilbertese. In 1939 an agreement was reached between Great Britain and the United States, calling for a fifty-year period of joint administration of Canton and Enderbury islands without prejudice to the question of sovereignty. Canton became an important way station for Pan American Airlines. The questions of sovereignty over the disputed islands had not yet been resolved by mid-1970.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

The islands were turned into a battlefield during World War II, and when peace came the will to retain colonial empires had been weakened among the metropolitan powers. Much of the modern sector of the economy had been seriously damaged by the war, and the hopes of finding further mineral riches or of developing vastly profitable agricultural industries, which had been constant themes in Western entrepreneurship in the area, had also receded. World opinion turned against colonialism, and the United Nations trusteeship arrangements, which replaced the League of Nations' mandate system, attempted to prod the administering powers into setting target dates for the achievement of various steps along the road to self-government and eventual independence.

World War II in the Pacific

For forty-four months, beginning in late 1941, Oceania was the scene of active warfare. The fighting began shortly before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, when German assaults on Nauru attempted to cripple the phosphate industry, and German mines in the shipping lanes destroyed some Allied ships.

On December 9, 1941, two days after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese bombed Ocean Island and landed raiders in the Gilbert Islands. In late January the Japanese took Rabaul, which was the urban center of New Britain's copra industry and the administrative center of the Australian mandated territory of Northeast New Guinea. From Rabaul the Japanese planned an invasion, via the Coral Sea, of Port Moresby, on Papua's south coast, as a step in the effort to isolate Australia and New Zealand, by keeping them out of the Coral Sea

for the rest of the war. The Battle of the Coral Sea was the first major engagement between the Allies and the Japanese after Pearl Harbor. The Japanese invasion effort was repulsed as a result of the battle. The Japanese fleet was severely damaged by Allied planes, and Japan's plans for the entire South Pacific were disrupted.

Northeast Oceania was within the arena of actual combat during World War II: the mainland of New Guinea, including the Dutch and Australian parts, and the outlying islands; all of Micronesia, including Guam, the Japanese territories, Nauru, Ocean Island, and the Gilberts; and the north and central Solomon Islands. Fijian and Tongan jungle scouts assisted the Allies in the northern Solomons. The French possessions, all but Wallis and Futuna having immediately sided with General Charles de Gaulle after the 1940 fall of France, contributed islanders for the Free French Pacific Battalion, which fought on the Allied side. Almost all the Europeans who remained on Japanese-occupied islands were slain by the Japanese, as were those coast watchers who served as intelligence gatherers for the Allies in various parts of Oceania.

Almost as greatly affected by the war as the combat zone were other islands used by the military. New Caledonia served as a major Allied naval base. On the Admiralty island of Manus a huge naval base was built, and advance air and naval posts were constructed on islands in the New Hebrides group. Fiji, Western Samoa, American Samoa, Tonga, some of the Cook Islands, and Bora Bora in French Polynesia were used for such purposes as rest areas or assembly areas, training grounds, or fueling, service, and communications posts. The uninhabited Canton, Palmyra, Christmas, and Johnston islands became air transport stations.

Preparing for Greater Autonomy

After peace had returned in 1945, the extent of devastation became evident. Assaults, military seizures, and liberation battles had turned towns into rubble heaps. The disruption in communications had wrecked various industries. The hundreds of thousands of islanders conscripted to serve on military bases had been exposed to entirely new concepts of society and technology. The economic and social disruption was greatest in Micronesia to the north, and in western Melanesia, but to some extent it had been felt everywhere. Politically, the results of the war were to transfer Japanese Micronesia into United States hands as a trust territory and to restore the other mandated territories to their previous administering powers as trust territories.

With peace the metropolitan powers were also undergoing changes in attitudes. Government-planned promotion of native welfare was regarded favorably, and commerce was to be tolerated only insofar

as it did not interfere with indigenous rights. These humanitarian ideas found expression in the United Nations Charter and in the creation of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, which was charged with overseeing the trust territories that replaced the C-class mandates of the interwar period. The Trusteeship Council, unlike the League of Nations, was able to send triennial visiting missions to the trust areas for inspection purposes. The council was concerned not only with improved welfare and economy for the islanders but also with ultimate self-government and independence. The policy of putting islanders' interests first and of moving toward indigenous self-government was shared to some extent by the governing powers, most enthusiastically by the Labor Party leaders who came to power in Australia and New Zealand in the immediate postwar period.

Instead of the prewar island budget policies under which government expenditures had to come almost entirely out of locally raised revenue, the administering powers now regarded it as their duty to subsidize the development and education of the island peoples toward eventual economic and political participation as equals in the modern world.

Depending both upon the local situation and upon the general attitudes of the metropolitan power concerned, the timetable of political development has varied in each island group, as have the goals. The alternative political aims of the administering powers for their islands have included steps toward full participation by the island group in the national life of the administering power, complete local autonomy, and total independence.

In general, the economic development of the islands has presented greater problems than has the political development. Various projects have been undertaken by the administering powers to meet the urgent necessity for economic development which is prerequisite to the achievement of self-sufficiency and to keep up with expanding populations. Also, substantial sums have been spent on improvements in health and literacy, and a beginning has been made on vocational and management training.

In 1947 the South Pacific Commission was created at a meeting in Canberra, Australia, to be an international organization of the administering powers in the area that would make possible the sharing of knowledge and experience in tackling problems of economic and social development. Australia and New Zealand have made the biggest contributions to the cost of the commission. The other original members were the Netherlands, Great Britain, the United States, and France, whose possession of New Caledonia provided the headquarters for the commission at Nouméa. The membership of the commission has changed from time to time, reflecting the removal from Oceania of a colonial power, the Netherlands, after West New

Guinea became part of the Republic of Indonesia, and the addition of newly sovereign states, the first one being Western Samoa, which achieved its independence in 1962 (see ch. 9, The South Pacific Commission).

Innovations in Papua and New Guinea

In 1942 Japanese attacks on Australian military installations in New Guinea caused the Australian government to bring Papua and New Guinea under the control of a single military administration, the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU—see Glossary), for the duration of the war. Papua had been Australian property since 1906 when the territory, then known as British New Guinea, composed of the southeastern quadrant of the island of New Guinea and outlying islands to the south and east, was transferred to Australian control by the British crown. The other, more populous, portion of New Guinea to come under the ANGAU's control was the territory of Northeast New Guinea, which Australia had received as a C-class mandate from the League of Nations in 1921. This comprised the former German possessions of mainland Northeast New Guinea, the outlying islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, and Buka and Bougainville islands in the northern Solomons. Before the war Papua and New Guinea had been run by totally separate Australian administrations, with an especially strong emphasis given to protection of indigenous interests and welfare by the Papuan administration.

Some of the bitterest fighting in World War II took place on the New Guinea mainland and the outlying islands, in Dutch and Australian areas. Early in 1942 the Japanese captured islands off the coast. For two years United States, Australian, and British forces fought the Japanese, with eventual success. The town of Rabaul, on the highly developed Gazelle peninsula of New Britain in the Bismarck Archipelago, was occupied by the Japanese for most of the war, however, and was virtually obliterated by Japanese and Allied attacks between 1942 and 1945.

In addition to the hardships suffered by the inhabitants because of the war's violence and devastation, considerable social disruption resulted from the ANGAU's energetic efforts to provide a native labor force for military projects and to maintain rubber production on Western-owned plantations. (Rubber trees had covered 18,000 acres in Papua just before the war.) In Papua the war labor force rose to double the prewar average, weakening the ability of the village communities from which the laborers had been transported to provide for themselves economically or socially.

After the war the mandate over the territory of Northeast New Guinea was replaced by an agreement between the United Nations and Australia creating the Trust Territory of New Guinea. The

United Nations also gave Australia permission to administer the new trusteeship jointly with the Australian possession of Papua. The joint administration was formalized by the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949, under which the former administrative capital of Papua, Port Moresby, became the capital of the combined Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

A new policy toward the New Guinea dependencies was enunciated by E. J. Ward, the Australian Labor government's minister responsible for New Guinea in the immediate postwar period. He announced:

The government is not satisfied that sufficient interest had been taken in the territories prior to the Japanese invasion, or that adequate funds had been provided for the development and advancement of the native inhabitants. Apart from the debt of gratitude that the people of Australia owe to the natives of the territory, the government regards it as its bounden duty to further to the utmost the advancement of the natives, and considers that that can be achieved only by providing facilities for better health, better education and for a greater participation by the natives in the wealth of their country and eventually in its government.

Ward's policy began to be implemented during the early postwar years with a great increase in government subsidies, especially for health and education programs. War damage payments were made directly to residents. To replace the old indenture labor system and the low wages, which in the mandated territory had been the lowest in all Melanesia, a new system of labor agreements was instituted. This more adequately protected the laborer's rights. At this time higher wage scales were also introduced.

The combined area of Papua, New Guinea, and outlying islands—180,000 square miles—and its population of 2.25 million were greater than the land and people of the combined remainder of Oceania. Living in 12,000 separate villages and speaking 700 different languages or dialects, the people of Papua and New Guinea represented a wide range of cultures and varying degrees of contact with the West. The variation between different communities became more marked owing to the impact of war. For example, the island of Manus in the Admiralty group, which had been the home of a Stone Age boat-dwelling people who lacked any indigenous political organization, literacy, or even metal tools, became in wartime the biggest United States base between Guam and Hawaii. The violence of war reached the island, as did the technological resources of a twentieth-century navy and even an American soda pop bottling plant. After the war the islanders moved out of their boats and onto the land, built houses, reorganized their customary law and their kin organization, set up a government and, for a time, even issued passports. In the postwar period the people of Manus have made noteworthy progress in education and have provided

teachers for schools elsewhere in New Guinea. Under the leadership of a fellow Admiralty islander, the Manus people have also become politically involved with the rest of the Bismarck Archipelago.

In other areas the impact of the war and of the resultant contact between primitive social groupings and modern Westerners and their institutions had been less felicitous. Cargo cults, having themes that often involved the necessity to destroy or consume all the community's goods in preparation for the soon-to-arrive day when Western-style goods would come from the ancestors, from a magic ship, from the Americans, or from some other ill-defined source, continued to convulse parts of the territory as they had from time to time since before the beginning of the twentieth century (see ch. 5, Religion).

In some areas the war had no impact. For example, it was not until the early 1950s that a group of 100,000 people were located, by airplane, living on the ridges of the Strickland Gorge in the Southern Highlands area of Papua. It had been assumed until the time of this discovery that the ridge was uninhabitable.

Spot development of administration and control by patrol officers working out of airstrips and patrol posts dotted throughout the interior of the mainland has brought many thousands of people under government control in the period since World War II. The extension of control has reduced mortality caused by disease, especially malaria, as well as the death rate from the traditional incessant feuding, contributing to an increase in population without a corresponding increase in agricultural productivity.

The first step toward indigenous participation in government at the local level was begun in 1950. Ten years later the nearly 25,000 Westerners resident in the territory were able to induce the government to permit a nonofficial majority in the Legislative Council of the combined Papua-New Guinea government. The unofficial membership was divided almost evenly between the indigenous population and Westerners, the indigenous council member group being slightly larger. Some of the members were chosen by electoral conferences, whose participants were elected in the six electoral districts into which the territory was divided.

In 1962 the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of New Guinea made specific recommendations for a newly constituted legislature that would involve direct election on a common roll of the overwhelming majority of legislature members. A similar move establishing an elected House of Assembly, with arrangements made to ensure that some Westerners would be elected to it, was soon begun by the Australian government, leading to the territory's first general elections in early 1964. In the 1950s and 1960s the United Nations Trusteeship Council periodically expressed its desire that the Australian government, which after 1950

was under the control of the Liberal Party, hasten the tempo of the preparations for self-government and eventual independence.

Emergence of Independent States

By mid-1970 two former trust territories (Nauru and Western Samoa) and the protected kingdom of Tonga had received complete independence. Of the three, Nauru, because of its phosphate royalties having been invested for future indigenous needs, was atypical of Oceanic territories in being able to look forward to economic self-sufficiency. Economic problems, however, remained unsolved in Western Samoa and Tonga.

Western Samoa

With the exception of the Maoris, who are the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand and the Cook Islands, the Samoans are the largest single Polynesian ethnic group and have retained with pride and conscious choice their customs and social institutions dating back to before the coming of the white man. The collectivization of social and economic goods under the authority of chieftains chosen by and from extended family groups provided nuclei for factionalism in earlier times, but the vitality and relatively high level of the social organization were also sources of political strength for Western Samoans, lacking elsewhere in Oceania. This source of political strength came into play when the chieftains decided to bury their differences in the interests of protecting the Samoan way of life from the encroaching foreigners.

Immediately after World War II, Western Samoan nationalism took up where it had left off with the prewar Mau movement of the 1927-36 period. In 1947 forty-six Western Samoan chiefs petitioned the United Nations General Assembly for immediate autonomy and the right to govern themselves under the protection of New Zealand, rather than continuing New Zealand political control under a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement. Although the petitioners failed to gain their immediate goal, the Trusteeship Council and the New Zealand postwar government were both in favor of moving Western Samoa along the path to self-government as quickly as possible.

Samoans soon gained real political and fiscal power by participating in a legislature that was largely Samoan. The government service, already mostly Samoan, became Samoanized at the decisionmaking level. In 1954 a convention started work on a constitution, which was adopted in 1960 with a parliamentary system ensuring the continued primacy of Samoa's traditional leaders, extended-family nonhereditary chiefs. These leaders now took control over the modern political and economic life of Samoans. A plebiscite, requested by the United Nations, was held in May 1961, and

an electorate of all adult Samoans voted in favor of independence, which New Zealand granted on January 1, 1962. Western Samoa, thus, became the first Pacific Island trust or dependency to achieve independence.

At the time of independence the Samoans had already been for many years in control of their own resources. More than three-quarters of the land was held according to traditional communal tenure arrangements. Samoans also participated significantly in commercial agriculture.

In the postindependence period Western Samoa's major problem was that agriculture, tied as it was to traditional tenure arrangements, was not keeping up with the accelerating population growth rate.

Observers say there has been no popular or governmental interest in the integration of Western Samoa with American Samoa. American Samoa, constituting the eastern half of the Samoan archipelago, had gone its separate way under United States control since the turn of the twentieth century.

Nauru

World War II came to Nauru shortly before Pearl Harbor with German shelling of the phosphate shiploading machinery, in recognition of the importance of the mineral to Australian agriculture. The Japanese occupied the island, deporting 1,200 of the 1,800 Nauruans to the Truk Islands, in Japanese Micronesia, in 1943. Only 737 of these transported Nauruans survived to return home in 1946. By the war's end the indigenous population, which had begun to increase in the 1920s, had declined 25 percent from the prewar level.

After the war the joint British, Australian, and New Zealand authority, with Australia the administrator, was reinstated, now under a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement. The British Phosphate Commissioners, who had run the mines on behalf of the three governments since 1919, resumed production of phosphates. The Nauruans, however, were no longer content with the old royalty arrangements, especially since they were aware that the deposits were nearly exhausted. They were also vocal in their dissatisfaction with the low level of indigenous political power. The Nauru Local Government Council was established by the Australian administration in 1951, elected by the adult Nauruans, but the council had little real power, and few Nauruans held senior appointive positions. The United Nations Trusteeship Council repeatedly criticized the Australian administration for what it regarded as the slow pace of political development on Nauru.

The Nauruans also sought and got help from the Trusteeship Council in their efforts to gain control over the phosphate industry.

At the Trusteeship Council's request, from 1959 until 1967 frequent conferences were held between the British Phosphate Commissioners and Nauruan representatives, leading to increased shares of the proceeds going to Nauruans. The island delegations, however, continued to press for the transfer of ownership and control, without which the simultaneous demand for the political independence of Nauru would have been meaningless.

An articulate English-speaking former schoolteacher, Hammer De Roburt, who had been the elected leader (head chief) of the Nauru Local Government Council since 1956, led the two-pronged campaign for political sovereignty and indigenous economic control of Nauru's sole resources.

With United Nations support, this resulted in the partner governments agreeing in November 1967 to independence for Nauru beginning on January 31, 1968, the twenty-second anniversary of the day the Truk survivors reached home. Also, in 1967 the Nauruans were finally successful in their efforts to gain control over the phosphate industry, to take effect in 1970.

Tonga

A constitutional monarchy that had been under British protection since 1900, Tonga remained after the war, as it had been for 1,000 years, in the hands of an inherited ruling group. Queen Salote, who ruled as a constitutional monarch of Tonga for 47 years until her death in December 1965, was directly descended from two of the three ancient royal descent groups, and her consort, who also served as premier, was heir to the third. Her son, King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, is, therefore, descended from all three lineages.

The conservative, rigidly stratified Tongan society had been relatively unchanged by the impact of the West, except for the Christianizing of the islands. The Wesleyan missionaries made such a thoroughgoing convert of Queen Salote's great-grandfather, King George Tupou I, who reigned from 1845 to 1893, that he, in turn, helped to convert his war ally, Fijian chieftain Cakobau. For a century a succession of missionaries and former missionaries, including Shirley Baker, a notorious scoundrel in King George Tupou I's reign, have played major roles as royal advisers. King George Tupou I was an innovator politically as well as religiously and granted his people, over whom he had absolute control, a constitution in 1875 that, with some modifications, was still in force in 1970.

During 1942 Tonga was a supporting base for United States troops, but within a year the Americans were gone, and a smaller New Zealand garrison took their place. The military base had little impact on island life, because it was tucked away in a corner of the island of Tongatapu.

The Tongan population, which never had suffered the declines common in many parts of Oceania, had increased from 32,500 before the war to 58,000 by 1957 and to more than 77,000 by 1970. The Tongans have retained their Polynesian concern for protocol, etiquette, and ritual; their traditional dress; and a fondness for *kava* (see Glossary) drinking parties. Their economy has remained agricultural, subsistence farming being supplemented by copra and bananas for export. Although a protected state of Great Britain from 1900 to 1970, Tonga's closest ties, for the most part, were with New Zealand, which has furnished teachers and curricula for Tonga's compulsory educational system. A number of Tongans have migrated to New Zealand.

In the 1950s and 1960s Tongans gradually took over the senior civil service positions that previously had been manned by Europeans. The return of total sovereignty to the Kingdom of Tonga came on June 4, 1970, bringing to an end the seventy-year European protection that had been accorded the one ancient kingdom surviving from the pre-European period in Polynesia.

The French Possessions

New Caledonia

During the war New Caledonia was a major strategic base of the United States and New Zealand military, after having been a prime objective of the Japanese at the beginning of their Pacific campaign. After the fall of France to Germany in 1940, a popular movement in New Caledonia to support General de Gaulle and remove the Vichy (German collaborationist) administration in Nouméa received support from Henri Sautot, the French administrator of the Condominium of the New Hebrides. Support for the Vichy regime was sent from Papeete in French Polynesia in the form of a warship. The warship was unable to prevent the change of regime in New Caledonia and, during its absence from Tahiti, the Vichy regime was also toppled there by supporters of General de Gaulle's Free French national committee, which had been established in London as an Allied alternative to the Vichy regime.

The effects of the enormous military presence were temporary social disruption and a high level of inflation in living costs, which continued into the postwar period. The wartime need of the Allies for strategic minerals, such as chrome and nickel, led to the government's unilaterally extending the contracts of indentured Javanese and Indochinese miners who would otherwise have been free to find high-paying jobs working on the military installations. Resulting labor disturbances culminated in a strike at the Nouméa nickel refinery.

In the postwar period the demand for New Caledonian minerals dropped off slightly from what it had been before and during World War II, although there was a temporary increase in demand in the early 1950s during the Korean conflict. Nickel production was dominated, as it had been before the war, by the Société Le Nickel (The Nickel Company) with the actual mining subcontracted. Much of the land under European control was used for grazing cattle to provide beef for New Hebrides and French markets. Cattle ticks were a new problem in the postwar period, and obtaining markets was as difficult in this period as it had been earlier. Indigenous New Caledonians were substantially involved in the agricultural export crops of copra and coffee, industries that were producing disappointing results.

Beginning in 1947, money for social and economic development from France was made available, and an agricultural school was established with an indigenous student majority. Also, communications and health facilities were improved, and research into subjects related to Oceania was initiated.

Of the wartime indentured Vietnamese and Indonesians (Javanese), some stayed on after the war to open up small businesses replacing the prewar Japanese trading concerns. (The Japanese had been deported to Australia during the war, for eventual repatriation to Japan.) Many Vietnamese were repatriated to North Vietnam, which by then was under Communist control. Indonesia began to supply labor after 1949, and this source was supplemented by Wallis islanders and, for nonmining work, Tahitians.

The urban center, Nouméa, which was made the headquarters of the South Pacific Commission from the commission's inception in 1947, continued to expand as it had begun to before the war. Its population was cosmopolitan, including, by the mid 1950s, 15,000 Europeans and assimilated persons, 2,600 New Caledonians, more than 2,000 Indonesians and Vietnamese, respectively, and 1,000 Pacific Islanders from other French territories. The indigenous population of New Caledonia, which had been estimated at between 50,000 and 70,000 before the French annexation in the mid-nineteenth century, had declined to a low of under 17,000 by 1921. By the time of the 1963 census, however, they numbered nearly 34,000 out of a total resident population of 87,000.

The 1950s were a period of political change and tension in New Caledonia. Tension over the political balance between entrepreneurial interests and indigenous welfare interests culminated in a temporary takeover of the government by the business-oriented group immediately after the fall of the Fourth Republic in France in 1958. In September 1958, in a referendum held throughout the overseas possessions of France as to whether or not to retain the

link with the home country, the registered voters of New Caledonia voted overwhelmingly (96.5 percent) in favor of retaining the French tie.

Wallis and Futuna

Wallis and Futuna were the only French territories in the Pacific to continue under a Vichy administration until after Pearl Harbor. The Wallis group, consisting of nine islands lying close together, only one of them—Wallis—permanently inhabited, and Futuna were until 1959 under the jurisdiction of the administration of New Caledonia. Local government, however, had been headed by indigenous sovereigns since the time of the French-established protectorate in the late 1880s.

The Polynesian population, thought to have migrated from Tonga originally, was less than 5,000 in the 1920s. Most of the people lived on Wallis. In 1959 they chose by referendum to become a territory of overseas France, as were New Caledonia and French Polynesia. After the referendum, in which 94 percent of the voters concurred, Wallis and Futuna were removed from the jurisdiction of New Caledonia and were more closely integrated into the metropolitan political structure. French citizenship was given to the islanders.

In 1970, as formerly, subsistence farming and fishing were supplemented by copra production. The traditional law and customs of the islanders were retained under the administration of the traditional rulers. Population pressure on these small and poor islands led to migration of laborers to the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Fiji.

French Polynesia

In 1940 a coup d'état against the Vichy regime brought French Polynesia to the support of Free France, leaving the territory separated from the metropolitan power for the remaining five years of the war. Hundreds of Tahitians (French Polynesian islanders from all the major island groups—Society, Marquesas, Tuamotu-Gambier, and Austral) served overseas in the Free French Pacific Battalion, and thousands of American troops were stationed for periods of time on Bora Bora. In spite of attempts to soften the impact of the troops on island life, the display of American material wealth and exposure to anticolonial sentiments openly expressed by troops had an effect.

In 1946 the islands moved from protectorate status to become an overseas territory of France, with French citizenship for the inhabitants. This status also entitled the territory to elect a representative to the French National Assembly and to send a representative to the Council of the Republic (the Senate) and to the Assembly of

the French Union, all in Paris. Little local initiative was permitted, and policy was implemented largely by short-term officeholders sent out from metropolitan France.

In 1949 Pouvanaa A Oopa won the election for the territory's deputy to the French National Assembly. His platform included increased home rule and replacement of French officials by Polynesians at all levels except the governorship and some technical positions. He also called for legislation to protect and promote indigenous economic interests against Asian, French, and French-acculturated islander economic interests. Pouvanaa's party underwent fractionation, but at its peak it controlled votes among the rural poor throughout all the archipelagoes. Nevertheless, French Polynesia voted yes in the referendum on whether or not to remain within the French community, although by the smallest majority—63.7 percent—of all the French Pacific dependencies.

In April 1963 a multimillion dollar program of nuclear testing in the Tuamotu-Gambier group was announced in Paris and was unanimously deplored by the Territorial Assembly members. The nuclear program, an increase in tourism, and the MGM filming of a new cinema version of the book *Mutiny on the Bounty* all provided new sources of income for the Tahitian economy during the 1960s at a time when an older source, the phosphate island of Makatéa, had become depleted.

The British Dependencies

Fiji

In 1952 the headquarters of the high commissioner of the western Pacific was shifted from Suva, Fiji, to Honiara in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Fiji's governor now had responsibility only for Fiji and a few minor dependencies, among which were Rotuma and Pitcairn. The problems of governing Fiji had been complicated by the fact that after the war the Indian population was found to constitute nearly half the colony's population, outdistancing the indigenous Fijians. The 1956 census reported Indians to be 49 percent; Fijians, 43 percent; and miscellaneous groups, the remaining 8 percent (see ch. 2, *The Islands and People*). The last category comprised Westerners, many of them born in the Pacific; Chinese; Polynesians from Rotuma; and approximately 5,000 Pacific islanders from other groups, including new migrants from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony who had been resettled en masse by the British government on Fijian islands. The Indians were richer, better educated, more highly skilled in trade and industry, and increasing at a faster rate than were the Fijians.

Although now a minority in their own country, the Fijians were protected in several ways from dominance by the Indian majority.

One way in which this was done by the pro-Fijian colonial government was to increase the power of the Fijian Administration, an institution established by Fiji's first British governor, Sir Arthur Gordon. This had provided for indirect rule, for some purposes, of ethnic Fijians through their own chiefs and according to their own communal, hierarchical kin-based traditions. Between 1915 and 1943, however, a European-operated, direct administration had operated with jurisdiction that overlapped and competed with the indigenous Fijian Administration.

A leading advocate for increasing the fiscal and administrative powers of the Fijian Administration over all aspects of Fijian life and discarding the cumbersome and expensive dual system for Fijians was Sir Lala Sukuna, a descendant of Cakobau, the paramount chief of western Fiji at the time of Cession. From 1945 to 1954, as chief executive of the revised Fijian Administration, Sukuna attempted to induce his tradition-minded fellow chiefs to use their authority to lead the Fijians toward adopting new attitudes and behavior that would fit them better for successful competition with the foreign resident majority while at the same time retaining what was of value in the traditional Fijian way of life.

By the time of Sukuna's retirement in 1954 (he died four years later), little change had occurred in the Fijians' economic position or attitudes except that approximately one-quarter of them had left their villages, mostly to seek government or white-collar jobs in the cities. Efforts on the part of the government and the Australian-owned sugar industry to turn the communally oriented Fijian subsistence village farmer into an individual, farming his own land for his own profit, were unsuccessful at first.

Among the reasons behind this failure was the fact that, in order to become an individual farmer-owner, a Fijian had to pay his chief and village an agreed fee to buy his way out of the traditional land tenure and community service system. Another handicap was the strong tradition of mutual obligation and sharing in rural areas, which mitigated against an individual farmer being permitted by his social group to keep the fruits of his labor. Also, the local chiefs were generally unwilling to promote a movement away from the cherished traditional system of village economy, especially since this change reduced the goods and services at their command. Government encouragement and financial and technical assistance in the 1960s brought more Fijians out of their communal arrangements and into independent farming (see ch. 12, Economic Resources).

Indians were kept from exercising political power proportionate to their numbers by the system of choosing representatives to the Legislative Council. Under that system each ethnic group was confined to choosing a government-allotted number of representatives from among its own members. Thus, Indians could vote only for

Indians. The Fijian representatives were not elected by the people but were chosen by the senior traditional Fijian institution, the Council of Chiefs (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems; ch. 8, Political Advancement). Indians were also prevented from being landowners. Fijians remained the owners of more than 80 percent of the total land area.

Beginning in the 1960s, elections began to play a greater political role than did traditional methods of choosing leaders from among the Fijians. In the 1963 Legislative Council elections, Fijians of both sexes and women of all races went to the polls for the first time. Continued agitation on the part of the Indians against communal electoral rolls, which slightly overrepresented the Fijians and other Pacific Islanders and greatly overrepresented the others (Europeans and Chinese), were unsuccessful.

Throughout the postwar period until the mid 1960s, the Fijian leaders sought to retain and strengthen their ties with Great Britain. The colonial power was regarded by Fijians as a stabilizing force in Fiji's multiracial society, whereas the Indian leaders expressed a desire for independence for the colony and a common roll for voting. Since that time the leaders of both the Fijian and Indian political organizations have shown a new interest in finding accommodations that would make independence within the British Commonwealth possible. A constitutional conference in London, held in April 1970, led to the announcement that independence for the Dominion of Fiji would take place that year on Cession Day, October 10, 1970.

Solomon Islands Protectorate

Between 1942 and 1946 the Solomons were in the thick of the war. In Guadalcanal the United States combined forces repulsed the Japanese push to the south. In 1942 the protectorate's capital at Tulagi was occupied by the Japanese and, starting in 1944, the island of Guadalcanal was the site of a major Allied base for training and supplying the campaign in Micronesia. Thousands of Solomon islanders worked for the United States military complex.

For the islanders the war period was one of great prosperity resulting from the presence of military stores; in addition, the troops were a major source of useful discarded supplies and a market for curios. Anticolonial and anti-British opinions expressed by white and black American troops were a novelty to islanders who had had no previous acquaintanceship with non-British foreigners. Upon the end of the war it became evident that the Solomons had been affected more than most territories in the Pacific. The copra plantations were seriously damaged. To the small private plantations, which had already been badly hurt by the 1929 depression, the war was the final blow. Only the big companies survived.

The effort to create local councils using indigenous personnel and traditions was taken up where it had been abandoned during the fighting, but not before a new political movement, called Marching Rule, had emerged on the island of Malaita, the most populous and least Westernized of the major islands of the protectorate.

The Marching Rule movement exhibited many of the features common to the Melanesian cargo cults that had occurred periodically in many areas since the arrival of the Europeans. It was, however, more secular in its program than most and had clear, explicit, modern economic and political goals designed to produce wealth and abundance for the islanders and independence from British rule. Cooperative agricultural projects and collective development programs, nonpayment of government taxes, refusal to work on the Western plantations and, in some areas, an expectation of the arrival of goods from the Americans, were the means by which this abundance was to be achieved. Independence was expected to come in response to the united resistance and noncooperation of Marching Rule adherents. Although Malaita was an area where the colonial administration had had difficulty in locating leaders and where they had believed that ethnic and linguistic divisions would not permit unified action by the people, the cult had, within a year, established a government over virtually the entire island of Malaita, with local councils, tax-collecting agencies, independent courts, military drills, and its own police. There were also many Marching Rule adherents on neighboring islands.

The protectorate government for two years attempted to work with the movement, recognizing it as a genuine indigenous political network that could perhaps be used to institute the political and economic modernization that the government was anxious to develop among the islanders. The government's effort was frustrated, however, by the cult leaders' determined policy of noncooperation and violence toward the government and of intimidation of noncult islanders. In 1947 the colonial government took repressive action, such as tearing down Marching Rule council buildings, impounding its treasuries, and imprisoning thousands of adherents. These measures were effective in weakening the movement. A new group of leaders, who emerged while the others were in jail, reorganized the remnants of the movement as the Federal Council (named for a United States church group founded in Philadelphia in 1910), which regarded itself as a rival government to the colonial regime on Malaita.

In 1952, the year the headquarters of the British high commissioner for the western Pacific was transferred from Fiji to Honiara, Guadalcanal, the high commissioner for the protectorate offered to meet with some of the leaders. The one leader who was willing to talk to the high commissioner, after the others refused, asked for a

"big man" (pidgin, meaning *leader*) and autonomy for Malaita. The response was a Malaita Council having considerable political and fiscal autonomy subject to laws governing the protectorate.

In 1957 a similar movement, called the Moro Custom Company by its adherents, began on the relatively backward and neglected southern coast of Guadalcanal. Nonviolent and less intransigent than was Marching Rule in its stance of independence and non-cooperation with the colonial government, the Moro movement had, by the mid-1960s, several thousand adherents throughout central Guadalcanal (see ch. 8, Political Advancement).

The protectorate government has also been involved in development programs with unprecedented sums being granted by the British government for projects for the islanders' economic and social betterment. Politically, the trend toward increasing the powers and jurisdiction of local councils has continued.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

Within two days of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the fighting war came to Ocean Island, Tarawa, and Butaritari in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. The valuable phosphates of Ocean Island were under Japanese control from 1942 until 1945, and many of the Gilbertese kept on the island as miners were killed during this period, as were Westerners who remained there or on Tarawa. In November 1943 the American forces expelled the Japanese from the Gilberts but not from Ocean Island, which was not recovered by the Allied (Australian) forces until 1945.

Three years of contact with United States forces stationed in the Gilberts had an impact similar to that in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Two major postwar problems faced the colonial government upon its return. One was the accelerating increase in population in an area where, traditionally, landlessness was a cause for humiliation. The other problem was the imminent exhaustion of the phosphate deposits of Ocean Island, which had been the colony's chief source of revenue. Before World War II, attempts had already been made to resettle a few hundred Gilbertese Micronesians in the Phoenix Islands, which were annexed to the colony in 1937, over the objection of the United States, a claimant of the Phoenix group. In 1942 the island of Rabi in Fiji was purchased out of money from the trust fund set up by the British Phosphate Commissioners (the same organization that controlled the phosphate mining in Nauru) in order to resettle the Ocean islanders (also called Banabans) when the time came that almost the entire island surface had been reduced to jagged limestone by the mining process.

During the war the population of Ocean Island was transported by the Japanese to their territories in Micronesia. Immediately after

tive war, when Ocean Island was regained, it was discovered that all the villages had been destroyed. The majority of the Ocean islanders were then immediately resettled on Rabi. In 1968 a petition was presented to the United Nations Committee of Twenty-four, which had been established in 1962 to promote the independence of colonial countries and peoples, by a group of these transferred settlers, requesting that Ocean Island be allowed to gain its independence as the Republic of Nauru had just done.

In the postwar period it became clear that the resources of the Phoenix group were not sufficient for the needs of the Gilbertese settlers, and they were moved to islands in the northwest Solomons in the 1950s. Some Polynesians from the Ellice Islands were settled on Kioa Island in the Fiji colony.

In addition to financing resettlement programs, the colonial government spent large sums of money on development and welfare grants, especially on encouraging the growth of farmer and marketing cooperatives, some of which had been established before the war. In the late 1960s various proposals were under consideration for developing new sources of revenue. This had become a matter of urgency because of the expectation that the phosphate mines would be exhausted by the late 1970s.

Political developments of the postwar period have included the setting up of island councils, in 1955, with considerable financial responsibility. After 1966 the councils were granted greater powers and were to be composed entirely of elected members. Indigenous participation in the government of the colony as a whole also increased.

The Condominium of the New Hebrides

In the New Hebrides, after the fall of France, the government promptly supported de Gaulle's Free France. As in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and elsewhere, World War II had a great effect on life in the New Hebrides. Important Allied bases were established on several islands in the group. American troops arriving on Efate and Espiritu Santo, two of the islands in the group, brought with them an unprecedented profusion of goods and also provided the islanders with their first contact with black Westerners, American Negro troops. Many airfields and roads were built for military purposes during the war, permanently improving the communications network of the Condominium.

In the postwar period, the Anglo-French Condominium was restored to jointly administer the government for the indigenous population, which numbered 72,000 by 1968. In addition, the French continued, as they had since before World War I, to run a separate government for their several thousand French, Vietnamese, Tahitian, and Wallisian residents, and the British continued to ad-

minister a similar government for their several hundred nationals and the Chinese.

One reaction to the disruption of the war was the recurrence of cargo cults, the most important one being the Jon Frum cult on the island of Tana. The Jon Frum cult, which had first appeared in 1940, reappeared in 1957 and was still active a decade later. Essentially a religious movement, it contained also many of the anti-colonial features and economic goals, although in a less sophisticated form, that appeared in the Marching Rule and Moro movements in the British Solomon Islands.

By the mid-1960s self-government in the New Hebrides had not progressed beyond the establishment of elected local councils in some rural areas and the beginnings of advisory town councils in urban areas with some elected members. The Advisory Council for the New Hebrides as a whole had a few indirectly elected indigenous members.

New Zealand's Polynesian Territories

After Western Samoa received its independence in 1962, New Zealand's property in the area was limited to the Cook Islands (four of them also claimed by the United States), the Tokelau group (also claimed by the United States), and Niue.

The Cook Islands

The Cooks had been taken over by New Zealand in 1901 after a short period under British protection. The population after World War II continued to increase at a very rapid rate as it had done since the 1920s. Between 1945 and 1966 the population grew from 14,000 to 20,000. The people continued to live almost entirely in the southern islands of the group, growing copra and some fruit for the New Zealand market and raising pigs. Throughout the period of New Zealand tenure, the Cook Islands administration had always needed and received heavy subsidization from the metropolitan budget, since the resources of the island group were limited.

In 1957 and 1962 steps were taken to grant substantial self-government, and in December 1962 the New Zealand government informed the United Nations Trusteeship Council that full internal self-government would be established in the Cook Islands within three years. In April 1965 the first general election for the new Legislative Assembly was held, and in July the islands became self-governing in free association with New Zealand. New Zealand retained ultimate responsibility for external affairs and defense.

A place was made for the participation of traditional leaders (*arikis*) in the newly formed House of Arikis, which under the 1965 Constitution was to have an advisory role on questions of Maori land tenure and tradition. This marked a partial return to power of

the *arikis*, who had been the ruling group in the typically Polynesian stratified society in the Cooks before the arrival of the European missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). The missionaries had changed the society to conform to their Calvinist ideas, ruling through the chiefs and taking over control of the economic supplies formerly used for traditional purposes, in their search for funds for further mission work. In 1970 the islands still retained strong mission influence in many areas.

Niue and the Tokelau Islands

Niue and the Tokelau were the other areas that continued under New Zealand's control. Niue Island (called the Savage Island by Captain Cook) is more populous than the Tokelau Islands, although during the early years of European control its Polynesian population shrank from about 5,000 in the 1880s to 3,700 in 1928. By the 1960s the Niue population was back to its precontact level. A greater degree of political participation by the islanders had begun in the late 1950s, and New Zealand subsequently promised the people that the pace of constitutional development would conform to the wishes of the people of Niue. The London Missionary Society retained the strong hold on many aspects of Niue life that had been established in 1849 by the Samoan London Missionary Society missionary, Paulo.

In the lightly populated Tokelau group, traditional patriarchal authority has played a major role in local government for many years, with the administration handled by visiting government officials resident in Apia, Western Samoa, under the high commissioner for New Zealand, the diplomatic representative to the independent government of Western Samoa. Samoa has always been a major source of cultural influence on the Tokelau Islanders.

CHAPTER 2

THE ISLANDS AND PEOPLE

In its broadest definition Oceania embraces all islands and island groups of the Pacific Ocean that lie between Asia and the two American continents. In popular usage, however, the designation has a more restricted application. The islands of the north Pacific, such as the Aleutians and the Kuriles, usually are excluded, as are Australia, New Zealand, and their outliers in the southwest. In addition, the series of sovereign island nations and their Pacific possessions fringing Asia (Japan, the Republic of China on Taiwan, the Philippines, East Malaysia, and the Republic of Indonesia) are not ordinarily considered to be part of the area. What remains and is usually referred to as Oceania is the myriad of large and small landforms that lie wholly or predominantly within the tropics between Tobi Island in the west, at longitude 131° east, and Ducie Island in the east, at longitude 124° west (see fig. 1).

Although Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, some of the Phoenix and Line island groups, and numerous isolated islands under United States control, such as Wake, Johnston, Howland, and Baker, are, in fact, part of Oceania, they are not included in this study. Similarly, the western half of New Guinea, which is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, is not germane to a study of Oceania as popularly defined. Likewise, the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall island groups constitute the United States-administered United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific and as such warrant separate treatment.

The thousands of islands of Oceania are strewn widely and haphazardly over the surface of the Pacific. They are diverse and complex in physical and cultural characteristics and are variously oriented in a political sense. A combination of geographic and ethnographic factors ordinarily is used to divide the area into three broad regions.

From an arbitrary, purely geographic point of view, the first of the regions includes all islands and island groups located west of the 180th meridian and south of the equator. It is called Melanesia, deriving its name from the Greek words *melas* (black) and *nesos* (island), because it is inhabited mainly by people who are dark skinned. The second region includes that part of Oceania that lies west of the 180th meridian but generally north of the equator. It is

known as Micronesia (Gr: *micros*, small; *nesos*, island), because it is a region in which the islands are uniformly tiny. The third region includes all of Oceania east of the 180th meridian both north and south of the equator. It is referred to as Polynesia (Gr: *poly*, many; *nesos*, island), because its area, concentrated in the great triangle formed by Hawaii in the north, New Zealand in the southwest, and Ducie Island in the southeast, is dotted with a countless number of islands. From an ethnic point of view these three regions cannot be so neatly defined, and often an island group geographically in one region may belong ethnically to another.

The total population of Oceania in 1970 was estimated to be almost 4 million and was rising steadily. Except for a few Europeans and Asians who did not arrive in significant numbers until the nineteenth century, the people are believed to be descendants of three basic racial stocks that migrated from Southeast Asia in the distant past. Precise data on their separate movements are a subject of continuing research, but it is believed that the migratory process may have begun as long as 30,000 years ago and ended sometime before the Christian Era. Over the centuries these three groups have undergone much interbreeding and mingling, but generally each has maintained the dominant physical and cultural traits of its ancestors so well that, in 1970, natives could still be identified as descendants of one or the other.

In most areas the indigenous peoples speak local variants of the extensive Austronesian, or Malayo-Polynesian, family of languages that is spoken from Madagascar to the easternmost parts of Oceania. In Melanesia, however, a host of totally different languages estimated to number over 700 are also spoken. These languages are collectively referred to as Papuan, not because they represent membership in a distinct linguistic family of their own, but merely to distinguish them from those that are Austronesian.

Europeans and Asians who have made Oceania their home usually speak the languages of their homelands. Thus, French is widely used in New Caledonia and other areas under French control; English is common where British influence is strong; and in Fiji, where Indians have outnumbered native Fijians since 1944, Indian languages are major media of communication. In some areas where Germany was the political authority before World War I and where Japan was an occupying power during World War II, German and Japanese may be heard to some extent.

There is no lingua franca for Oceania, although early traders, and later missionaries, attempted to create one by introducing pidgin (a corruption of the Chinese word for business). Pidgin is an unruly jargon of European and indigenous words using native syntax. It was never widely accepted in Polynesia, nor has it enjoyed more than limited use in Micronesia. Micronesia lies to the north of the

area covered by this study and is administered by the United States under United Nations Trusteeship. In Melanesia, however, pidgin has considerable prominence both as a language of trade and as one of intercommunication among natives whose local tongues are mutually unintelligible. In 1970 pidgin remained so consequential a medium in the southwest that it was officially authorized for debate in the House of Assembly of Papua and New Guinea.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Island Geography

The islands of Oceania are extremely varied in size and nature, ranging downward from the great mass of New Guinea, the second largest island in the world with heights of over 15,000 feet, to tiny specks of coral reef that are only acres in area and so low they frequently are awash during storms. Numerous systems for classifying their disparate forms have been devised, the most useful of which separate them into high and low islands, depending on the extent to which they rise above sea level, and into continental and oceanic islands, according to their location and geological structure. None of these categories is mutually exclusive so that both high and low islands may be continental or oceanic as well.

The criteria for establishing island types are based on an analysis of the Pacific and the great basin in which it is contained. Were this basin to be pictured as a giant saucer and then viewed in cross section along the equator, three essential physical features, consisting of eastern and western edges enclosing the vast expanse of the ocean proper, would become apparent.

The eastern, or American, edge is formed by an almost continuous series of high-fold mountains running from Alaska to the tip of South America. These rise abruptly and steeply from the floor of the ocean only a few miles offshore and attain their maximum elevations a short distance inland. The edge has few indentations, and no visible elevated spurs extend seaward from any of its components. Accordingly, it is fringed by few islands and appears as a fairly even rim through its entire length.

The western, or Asian, edge is much more complex and uneven, appearing as a broad, cluttered margin rather than as the precise rim of the American side. The coastal elevations of Asia do not rise directly from the ocean depths but extend seaward for hundreds of miles in a series of parallel, submerged mountain ranges that stretch from Siberia to New Guinea and then sweep in a bulging arc southward to New Zealand. Geologically, these ranges are extensions of the Asian mainland whose occasionally exposed peaks create the islands of the western Pacific. In Oceania they include the high islands of the Mariana and Palau groups in Micronesia and virtually

all the islands in Melanesia. Because of their affinity to the continental mass, islands so created are classified as continental.

The ranges of the continental shelf, whether submerged or exposed, are edged on their seaward sides by yawning trenches that contain some of the deepest ocean waters ever sounded. One trench off Guam, for example, has been measured at depths exceeding 36,000 feet. The outermost trenches mark the eastern extremity of the continental shelf, the outline of which is called the Marshall Line after the New Zealand geologist who first plotted it. This line runs north-northeast from New Zealand until it almost reaches Samoa. It then bends northwest to a point just east of the Palau group before turning generally north again past Japan to the Kamchatka Peninsula.

Between the narrow eastern rim and the broad western margin is the vast expanse of the ocean proper. The thousands of islands scattered across its surface are classified as oceanic, because they are formed of materials peculiar to areas of the sea itself. Unlike continental islands, the oceanic type do not arise from submerged mountain ranges associated with a continent but instead from great piles of hard, dense basaltic rock (lava) poured out from fractures in the floor of the sea. This common origin notwithstanding, oceanic islands are not all alike but appear in two major forms. Where the pile stands up out of water as a single island or a group of islands, the high oceanic type is formed. Hawaii, Samoa, the southern Cook, and the Society groups are examples. These are distinguished from the continental variety by the absence of any sedimentary or light acidic volcanic materials in their composition. Where the volcanic pile remains submerged but is capped by coral growth that does reach the surface, the low, coral island type emerges. The preponderant number of oceanic islands, exemplified by those of the Phoenix, Tokelau, northern Cook, Line, and Tuamotu groups in Polynesia, are of this type.

The coral islands themselves differ from each other and may appear in one or a combination of several forms. All consist essentially of limestone reefs created by colonies of polyps—small, lime-secreting marine animals—attached to the flanks of exposed high islands or to the tops of still submerged volcanic piles. These polyps subsist by feeding on plankton and other microscopic marine organisms that inhabit the upper layers of the sea. Because the source of food requires both warmth and light to survive, coral formations do not develop in water that is more than 150 feet deep or colder than about 68° F. Thus, most coral islands occur fairly close to the equator and gradually diminish in size and frequency away from it.

A coral reef builds up into an exposed island very slowly as new polyps attach themselves to the hard skeletons of their predecessors.

sors. The rate of growth is in direct proportion to the amount of food available to the colony and is greatest on the windward side, where prevailing winds generate surface currents that bring in copious amounts of marine life. For the same reason, growth at the outer fringes of the reef is accelerated over that of more sheltered interior areas, often resulting in the exposure of a circular outside barrier reef while the slower growing coral behind it remains submerged. This barrier further restricts the amount of food in the interior where the reef remains as a shallow enclosed lagoon or, if the coral formation is affixed to the flanks of a high island, as a fringing lagoon surrounding the island.

Various factors other than exposure to the open sea affect food supply to the coral, sometimes limiting its growth in places and causing gaps, or channels, that break the barrier reef into what appears to be a number of small islets. These channels may result from freakish ocean currents that deflect the flow of food away from the barrier and stunt its growth; or, in cases where the lagoon contains one or more well-watered high islands, they may appear opposite the mouths of streams that discharge fresh water, in which the polyps cannot live.

When such an island formation consists entirely of coral, either rising directly from a submerged pile or from the flanks of a high island that later was submerged, it is called a true atoll. When the interior lagoon contains a high island so that both coral and volcanic materials are present in its composition, it is called an almost atoll. When a true atoll is thrust upward by upheavals in the ocean floor or when the sea level around it subsides so that the lagoon portion as well as the barrier reef become fully exposed, the formation is called a raised atoll. Tongareva, in the northern Cook group, is representative of the true atoll; Truk, in the Caroline group, is a classic example of the almost atoll; and Nauru Island, in Melanesia, perfectly exemplifies the raised atoll.

The importance of coral to the life of Oceania cannot be overestimated, because reefs are vital to the continued existence of both the islands and the people who inhabit them. They not only protect the islands from eroding action of the waves but also provide a habitat for many varieties of small food fish that are the major sources of protein in the diet of islanders. Were the reefs destroyed, the fish would have to seek shelter elsewhere, many low islands would be washed away, and high islands would be subject to severe attack by the waves.

The possibility of this happening has become a matter of deep concern in recent years because of the inexplicable proliferation of the predatory crown of thorns starfish. This animal, which is larger than the ordinary starfish and may have as many as twenty-odd

arms, feeds primarily on coral polyps. Its appetite is so insatiable that it eats as much as thirty-two square inches of coral a day, leaving only dead skeletons behind. Since coral disintegrates unless constantly rebuilt by live polyps, reefs throughout Oceania are being menaced by this rapidly multiplying predator. In 1970 much research was underway to determine why the starfish was proliferating so unnaturally and how its ruinous impact on the reefs could be controlled.

Climate

Because the part of Oceania included within these studies lies almost wholly within the tropics, its climate is uniformly hot and humid; but as a maritime region, its otherwise enervating impact is tempered by continuous breezes from the sea. Except for New Guinea and the larger high islands where altitude plays a significant role or in lowlands where steaming jungles exist, temperatures rarely rise above 85° or drop below 70° F. Near the equator the variation may be only a degree or two all year long. In the higher latitudes, as in New Caledonia for example, the differential may be somewhat greater, amounting to as much as ten degrees.

There are no true seasonal changes in the conventional sense of the word. Rather, the year is divided into periods of greater and lesser rainfall, the greatest precipitation occurring from November to March in the Southern Hemisphere and from June to October in the Northern. Rainfall and, in general, the climate east of the Solomon Islands are controlled by steady winds that originate in high-pressure areas off the Americas. These winds blow westward toward the equator, so that north of the equator they form the northeast trade winds, and south of it the southeast trade winds.

When the trades meet near the equator and have approximately the same temperature, moisture, and density, they merge or continue westward parallel to one another, bringing heavy rainfall to the windward side of high islands. Thus, at Suva on the windward side of the Fiji Islands as much as 120 inches of rain is recorded annually, while on the leeward side the fall may be only 80 inches. The trades usually pass over the low coral islands without losing any moisture, and, rainfall on them is often surprisingly low and unreliable. Many atolls in the Gilbert Islands, for example, receive so little rain that even drinking water is short.

When trade winds of differing temperature and moisture meet at the equator, the warmer, lighter masses override the cooler elements and give rise to weak cyclones that bring heavy, if sporadic, rains even to the atolls and the dry sides of high islands. These cyclonic storms generally move westward, gathering strength and intensity as they go. They then curve away from the equator as violent hurri-

canes that bring much destruction to islands and groups in their paths.

The pattern of the trade winds is broken in the western Pacific by seasonal changes over Asia. Rising warm air in the continental summer draws an inflow from Oceania that sustains the trades, but in winter continental high pressures reverse the flow. Winds blow out from Asia as the northwest monsoon and bring additional rain to southwestern Oceania as far east as the Fiji groups.

Flora and Fauna

Plant and animal life in Oceania is concentrated in the southwest, where New Guinea seems to provide the center of distribution. This island is a zone of transition between flora and fauna of the continental type and those found in the rest of Melanesia and Polynesia.

Asian animals such as the tiger, deer, and wild buffalo are totally absent and, even in New Guinea, the only indigenous land animals are marsupials (wallabies, bandicoots, and cus-cus), of which there are some 100 species; spiny anteaters; opossum; native dogs akin to the dingo of Australia; and a native cat, which is the only carnivore. There are also many types of lizards, including the giant monitor; tortoises and crocodiles in rivers and sea estuaries; and about 70 species of snakes, of which most, except pythons and watersnakes, are venomous. Birdlife is spectacular and of an infinite variety, including the cassowary and the bird of paradise. The prolific insects include both malaria-carrying mosquitoes and ticks that spread typhus. Rats and mice abound, as do leeches. Huge moths and butterflies are abundant. Most of these genera decline in number as one travels from island to island across the Pacific, until from about the Solomons onward the only indigenous animals are rats, mice, a few snakes, and birds.

Botanical surveys are not complete anywhere in Oceania, but in New Guinea dense jungle and rain forest are characteristic up to elevations of 3,000 feet. Above that altitude the rain forest gives way to alpine growth and occasional stretches of grassland. Similar vegetation is characteristic of upland areas in all the larger high islands. Throughout forested areas everywhere there is much growth consisting of mosses, ferns, orchids, and woody vines. In tidal areas, particularly in New Guinea and extending eastward as far as the Fiji Islands, nipa palms are prevalent, and extensive mangrove swamps are found. East of the Fiji Islands, mangrove does not exist except where it has been transplanted by man.

Most vegetation in Oceania is believed to have originated in New Guinea after being carried seaward by migrating birds or by strong ocean currents. High islands that are old enough to have developed

a covering of rich soil contain dense rain forests that are characteristically heavy on their windward sides and shade off to sclerophyllous dry forest, grassland, or scrub in the rain shadow of their leeward sides. Some high islands, nevertheless, which receive good rains from convectional storms, have rain forests throughout their entire areas.

Vegetation on the low coral islands is much more limited in type and density. For the most part, it consists of pandanus (screw pine); casuarina (ironwood); coconut palm; and several varieties of creeping vines, sedge, and marine grasses. All these plants are salt resistant, so their seeds could have withstood long immersion in the sea before being washed on the shore, or they are small enough to have been brought in by birds. All, also, are capable of thriving in the sandy soil of the islands and of proliferating after once gaining a foothold. Some of the larger coral islands may have thin strands of a few species of dry forest trees, but generally speaking they are capable of supporting only strand vegetation.

Mineral Deposits

Mineral resources in Oceania are extremely limited. Except for phosphate, which is found on coral islands of the raised atoll type, mineral deposits occur only in larger continental islands. Even these are commercially significant only in New Caledonia, where large amounts of nickel, chrome, and cobalt are found. Nickel, in fact, is the mainstay of New Caledonia's economy and accounts for some 93 percent of its world trade (see ch. 12, Economic Resources). The availability of chrome and cobalt has diminished since 1950 to the point where the output of cobalt has dwindled to almost nothing, and in 1970 only one center of chrome mining remained active. In addition to these minerals, New Caledonia also has small deposits of coal, iron, lead, zinc, silver, manganese, antimony, and copper. All these minerals are believed to exist in New Guinea also, but none have been found in commercially exploitable quantities.

Gold has been found in the streams of New Guinea in some of its outlying islands and in the large island of Viti Levu in the Fiji group. Most of this has been panned out, although on Viti Levu its source was traced to a vein in the mountains that is still a substantial producer.

The raised atolls of Nauru and Ocean islands, near the equatorial boundary of Micronesia, are major producers of phosphate, but their supplies are expected to run out by about the early 1980s. The island of Makat  a in the Tuamotus also had considerable deposits of phosphate. These, however, were virtually exhausted in 1966 and are no longer of economic value.

THE PEOPLE

Original Habitation

The native peoples of Oceania usually are categorized as Melanesian, Polynesian, or Micronesian according to the geographic region in which they reside. Lines of demarcation among the three classifications are extremely difficult to place because they have so mixed and intermingled over the centuries that the purity of their original distinctive traits has become obscured. Nevertheless, there is evidence that all are descendants of three basic racial stocks presumed to have migrated from Southeast Asia in the distant past. The exact times of their separate migrations are lost in antiquity, but their movements may have begun during the last Ice Age, some 30,000 years ago when life on the continent became unbearable and forced inhabitants to seek relief elsewhere.

At that time massive ice formation lowered the level of the sea to a point where land bridges from Asia may have been present or where, at least, water channels between the mainland and the islands were sufficiently reduced to permit a crossing in primitive canoes. Later, when the ice cap melted, water levels rose again, leaving those who reached the islands in virtual isolation to develop under local insular conditions.

The Melanesians

Researchers disagree, but many authorities believe that the first migratory wave to leave Asia consisted of groups of short, dark-skinned, frizzy-haired Negritos who, after a sojourn in Indonesia, moved southward to Australia (where they now form the aboriginal population) or pushed eastward to New Guinea and some of the islands beyond. Another section of this wave may have consisted of smaller numbers of taller, lighter-skinned people of mixed ainoid and veddoid extraction. Their negritoid predecessors were pushed inland to the mountains or mixed their genes, languages, and culture with those of the newcomers to form the racial type now known as Papuan. In the blending, negritoid physical characteristics remained dominant.

Culturally, both of these groups were primitive Old Stone Age people who knew nothing of agriculture and lived as nomadic gatherers and hunters. They used simple canoes but were essentially coastal navigators who feared the open sea and consequently never migrated beyond Fiji at the outer edge of the continental shelf. Many of the pygmy-like Negritos were pushed deep inland in New Guinea and some of the larger islands and have remained there with little cultural change. Others who occupied more accessible areas

received physical, linguistic, and cultural traits from the vastly different racial groups of succeeding migratory waves and developed the predominantly negritoid amalgam called Melanesian. In 1970 these people formed the basic elements residing in the southwest Pacific.

Because of the rather widespread mixing, the distinction between Papuan and Melanesian is nevertheless far from clear. Members of either group may be short or tall and be coal black in coloring or have skins that shade to dark copper. Usually, though not invariably, inhabitants of coastal areas are Melanesian; those of the interior are Papuan.

The Polynesians

At one time the Polynesians were believed to have been the last group to arrive in Oceania, but later research indicates they probably came in the second great migratory wave proceeding out of Southeast Asia. They were a tall, large-boned, light-skinned people with wavy or straight, rather than frizzy, hair similar to the caucasoid types that moved into Europe. Except for their darker, brown skins they were not greatly unlike the Europeans who came to the area after the sixteenth century.

The Polynesians left the continent before mongoloid traits became prominent there and had none of the physical appearances of that racial group which were so strong in the third migratory group that followed. The Polynesians were also much more advanced culturally than their negritoid predecessors. They were primitive agriculturalists rather than hunters and gatherers; they also had developed larger, more seaworthy canoes of the catamaran type and were sailors and navigators of remarkable skill.

The Polynesians followed a route through Indonesia as far as New Guinea but then turned north before venturing eastward again. They presumably settled for a while in Micronesia before the more adventurous sailed again across the central Pacific. Some are supposed to have proceeded southeastward. These passed through and left their imprint upon islands already occupied by Melanesians. Others, this theory goes, went more easterly through the Caroline, Marshall, and Gilbert groups, finally establishing the legendary base of Hawaii, in the Society group of modern French Polynesia.

From Hawaii (believed to be the island of Raiatea) the Polynesians spread northward to Hawaii, eastward to the Tuamotu and Marquesas groups, and southward to the Tubai group. Others went west and southwestward as far as New Zealand, Tonga, Samoa, and parts of Melanesia. In 1970, in addition to isolated pockets remaining in Micronesia and Melanesia, these people were a fairly homogeneous group occupying islands of a great triangle based on Hawaii, New Zealand, and the southeastern extremity of Oceania.

Over the years the enforced isolation brought about by the difficulty of communicating over so vast an expanse of ocean has caused some variation in local customs and dialects, and ecological factors have resulted in some minor changes in their appearance from island to island. As a group, however, Polynesians have remained beyond the reach of, and unaffected by, subsequent migratory waves. Thus, they continue to be much alike.

The Micronesians

The Micronesians probably constituted the third and final great migratory wave to leave Asia. They were a people of moderate stature and straight or wavy, black hair. They did not depart until after mongoloid tendencies were strong throughout Southeast Asia, and so the typical eyefold and yellowish skin of that race were often clearly distinguishable among them. In appearance the Micronesians bore, and have retained, a striking resemblance to the people of some parts of modern Indonesia.

The route of this migratory wave is not fully known. One theory is that it generally followed that of the Polynesians as far as New Guinea. At this point a few may have continued eastward to Melanesia, adding their physical attributes and portions of their culture to the already complex amalgam of that area. Most, however, turned northward to the Philippines and then eastward to the islands of Micronesia. Lacking the adventurous spirit and the seafaring spirit of the Polynesians, most of them have remained there.

In their new homeland, this theory postulates, the Micronesians mixed with those Polynesians already there and, to a lesser extent, with a few Melanesians who had moved up from the south. In 1970, therefore, they displayed physical and cultural similarities with both. In some islands, particularly in the eastern or Marshall island section, the Micronesians show clear evidence that the Polynesians once were there; in southern sections bordering Melanesia, some negritoid traits are evident. Generally speaking, people appear to be Polynesian toward the east, more mongoloid to the west, and more negritoid toward the south.

Other Peoples

Except for considerable internal mixing, the triracial pattern of Oceania remained relatively undisturbed until the great period of exploration began during the sixteenth century (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). While the Spanish, Dutch, English, German, French, and others entered the area in the ensuing centuries, these people never formed a significant proportion of the population. Their arrival, however, completely disrupted the native population.

At the time of Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese navigator who

circumnavigated the globe, the number of natives in Oceania was estimated to be about 4 million. This figure remained fairly constant until after 1800, when a rapid decline set in. The number of Polynesians dropped from about 1 million to an estimated 200,000; Melanesians declined from 3 million to 1 million; and Micronesians decreased from 270,000 to approximately 100,000. There were several reasons for these drastic reductions: for one thing, new diseases against which the islanders had no resistance decimated many areas; for another, the distribution of firearms greatly increased fatalities in the constant interisland wars that previously had been relatively bloodless; and, finally, the treatment that newcomers accorded the native population produced many deaths (see ch. 1, Historical Setting).

The decline in native population reached its nadir about 1920, after which better medical care, pacification of the area, and more enlightened treatment of the islanders ushered in a period of recovery. By 1970 the number of native peoples had increased to about 3¼ million and still was moving upward. In fact, in some places the population increase was beginning to outstrip the capability of the land to support life. On some of the smaller coral islands native populations found it necessary to leave their homes and relocate elsewhere. Thus, in the Gilbert and Ellice island groups, for example, many people were removed to the island of Kioa in the Ijji group.

The Europeans also brought many Chinese, Indians, Javanese, Tonkinese, and other Asians to Oceania as laborers to work the rapidly multiplying copra and sugar plantations that had sprung up. Many of these laborers remained and came to consider Oceania as their homeland. None of these Asians constitute a significant element in the population except the Indians in Fiji. In that island group, the importation of Indian labor was halted in 1947, but a high rate of natural increase has so increased the number of those since then that in 1970 they actually outnumbered native Fijians.

LANGUAGES

The people of Oceania speak an almost countless number of languages that may be classified broadly as Melanesian, Papuan, Micronesian, and Polynesian. All except Papuan are related forms derived from the Austronesian linguistic family. Usually they are not mutually intelligible, even though they represent localized dialects and subdialects of the same ancestral base language. Papuan is not a single language nor a term used to characterize members of the same historical linguistic family; rather, it is a complex of totally unrelated and separate languages that have been given a common name simply to distinguish them from those that are Austronesian.

Melanesian

Melanesian is a hybrid language formed by the intrusion of Papuan words and forms into the basic Austronesian languages that were brought into the southwest Pacific area by later, non-Papuan migrants. It is closely related to Austronesian variants spoken in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and aboriginal Taiwan and shares with them a common heritage stemming back about 5,000 years to languages of the south China coast.

Melanesian appears in many dialects peculiar to isolated island groups throughout Melanesia. Some of these local versions, Fijian for example, have developed so differently over the years that they have assumed the status of separate, or island, group languages. Usually, Melanesian forms or languages are spoken in coastal areas from New Guinea to Fiji. In interior regions Melanesian gives way to earlier and more primitive Papuan languages.

Papuan

Papuan languages are those spoken by descendants of the original Negrito and australoid migrants from Southeast Asia. It is estimated that as many as 700 different and mutually unintelligible forms exist in Papua, New Guinea, New Britain, and the Solomon island group where their use is most common. Because the interior regions of these places are so isolated and inaccessible, many Papuan languages may have as few as 5,000 speakers. Because each version is so completely different from the others, natives occupying the valley on one side of a mountain in some instances can communicate with those on the other side only a few miles away. In other more open and populous areas the number of speakers of a particular Papuan form may be considerably larger.

This lack of a lingua franca, in western Melanesia particularly, has long been a matter of deep concern to political authorities responsible for administering the area, and several attempts have been made to create a common form. In the period immediately after World War I, Australia designated Motu, a Papuan language, as the official language for New Guinea. Some progress was made in gaining its acceptance, but the effort was terminated with the advent of World War II. In 1970 Motu had wider usage than it used to have, but its overall employment was not extensive. In New Guinea as a whole, only about 1 percent of the inhabitants outside the Southern Highlands know Motu.

An earlier attempt to create a medium of communication for trade and missionary effort was more successful. It involved the introduction of pidgin, which is neither Melanesian nor Papuan but an artificial medium composed of a mixture of both with English, German, and Malay words using native syntax. Pidgin—crude, crass,

inelegant, and occasionally profane—developed rapidly throughout Melanesia as an effective medium used by European traders for business dealings with natives and by natives for communicating with other indigenes whose languages they did not know.

The success of pidgin prompted Australian authorities to give it more prominence, particularly in education, in the post-World War II period. Since 1964 and the establishment of the House of Assembly for the combined Territory of Papua and New Guinea, pidgin, in a developed and refined form, has been authorized for debate in that body. It also is taught in many schools, both public and private; used for numerous radio programs throughout the area; and employed by many newspapers in their regular editions. The general crudity of expression common to pidgin, however, discourages its widespread acceptance, and the ultimate aim of the government is to make all the indigenous population speak English.

Micronesian

Micronesian consists of ten mutually intelligible languages that, together with their various dialects, are derived from a common Austronesian base and show many similarities in structure and phonetics. Two of the languages, Chamorro and Palauan, spoken in the western Carolines and in the Marianas, are classed as Indonesian. Seven others are distinctively Micronesian in type, and one is closely related to Polynesian in vocabulary, form, and structure. The Micronesian versions are spoken in the eastern Carolines, the Marshalls, and the northern half of the Gilberts. The Polynesian type is spoken in the southern atolls of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro.

Polynesian

Polynesian, because its speakers journeyed farthest out into the Pacific where they were not subjected to the influence of other migratory groups, is the most homogeneous of Oceania's native languages. Dispersion throughout the island groups that may be thousands of miles apart fostered much local development and the emergence of some sixty different versions; but all forms are closely related and constitute various dialects and subdialects of the same basic Austronesian language. All forms are sharply contrasted to both Melanesian and Micronesian but among themselves contain hundreds of basic words (water, sky, land, star, house, canoe, bird, woman, and the like) that are common. Thus, a Polynesian from Hawaii or the Tuamotus is able without too much difficulty to converse with one from Tonga or Samoa.

The best known Polynesian dialects, sometimes referred to as area languages, include Hawaiian, Maori (spoken also in New Zealand),

Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Mangarevan, Niuean, Tongan, and Samoan. All are vowel languages containing ten distinct vowel sounds and only a few consonants. The number of vowel sounds is fairly constant, but the number of consonants drops to as few as seven in the dialect used on the island of Rurutu in the Tubuai group of French Polynesia. In some Polynesian words vowel sounds are doubled or even tripled (the place name, Kaaava in Hawaii, for example), giving the speech a halting, almost guttural sound.

SPECIFIC AREAS OF OCEANIA

There are sixteen specific island areas of Oceania within the scope of this study. There are others, under American administration, that are not described here, although included in Oceania as usually defined. Of those considered, seven fall within the geographic boundaries of Melanesia; eight lie within Polynesia; and one other cuts across regional lines of the Pacific world. The Territory of Papua, the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the single island of Nauru, and the Solomon, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Fiji island groups constitute those found in Melanesia. Polynesian areas include French Polynesia, the single island of Niue, and the Pitcairn, Cook, West Samoa, Tokelau, Wallis-Futuna, and Tonga groups. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC) is described officially by the colonial government as lying halfway between Polynesia and Micronesia. It also impinges upon what is usually considered Melanesia. The combined land area of these islands is about 214,200 square miles, containing a total population estimated to be 3,872,414 in 1970 (see table 1).

The Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

The Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea are separate political entities located on the eastern half of New Guinea and its contiguous islands and constitute a single geographic unit. Both are controlled by Australia through common administrative machinery that links them together in a political sense. Accordingly, they are usually grouped as a single area of Melanesia.

Papua is a territory of Australia consisting of the southern half on non-Indonesian New Guinea and the array of small island groups extending off its southeastern tip. It has an area of about 86,000 square miles and a population of slightly over 600,000 people. The Trust Territory of New Guinea occupies the rest of non-Indonesian New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and the two northernmost islands of the Solomon group, Buka and Bougainville. It has an area of approximately 92,000 square miles and a total population of about 1,875,000.

Mainland New Guinea is characterized by a central mountain core

Table 1. *Oceania, Physical and Vital Statistics, 1970*
(excluding U.S. administered territory)

Island or Island Group	Area in Square Miles	Population (1970 estimate)	Dominant Ethnic Group	Percent Annual Increase	Political Status
Cook Islands	93	20,000	Polynesian	1.3	Self-governing New Zealand Territory
Fiji Islands	7,055	502,956	Indian and Melanesian ¹	3.1	British Crown Colony
French Polynesia	1,543	98,400	Polynesian	3.1	French Overseas Territory ²
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony	342	55,184	Micronesian and Polynesian ⁴	3.6	British Crown Colony. Includes Phoenix Group and three Line Islands
Nauru	8	6,056	Micronesian, Melanesian, and Polynesian ⁴	5.7	Independent State
New Caledonia	7,355	86,519	Melanesian	2.0	French Overseas Territory
New Hebrides	5,700	84,000	-- do --	5.0	Anglo-French Condominium
Niue Island	100	5,323	Polynesian	n.a.	New Zealand Dependency
Papua	86,100	600,597	Melanesian	2.4	Australian Territory
Pitcairn Group	5	124 ⁵	Polynesian	3.4	British Settlement
Solomon Islands	11,500	213,770	Melanesian	2.0	British Protectorate ⁶
Tokelau Group	4	2,115	Polynesian	n.a.	New Zealand Dependency
Tonga	270	77,511	-- do --	3.6	Independent Kingdom State
Trust Territory of New Guinea	92,160	1,875,000	Melanesian	1.3	United Nations Trust Territory ⁷
Wallis-Futuna	93	8,500	Polynesian	n.a.	French Overseas Territory
Western Samoa	1,097	131,533	-- do --	3.0	Independent State

n.a.—not available.

¹ Since mid-1940s Indians outnumber Fijians.

² French Polynesia includes Society, Marquesas, Tuamotu, Gambier, and
Tubuai (Austral) groups.

³ Gilbert group is Micronesian; rest of colony is Polynesian.

⁴ Population of Nauru is mixed Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian
with Polynesian physical strains predominating.

⁵ Population descended from *Bounty* mutineers and their Tahitian wives.

⁶ Two northern islands (Buka and Bougainville), combined area 4,100
square miles and population of 71,762 are administered by Australia as
part of Trust Territory of New Guinea.

⁷ Administered jointly with Papua by Australia.

that is not a single chain but a complex of ranges interspersed by broad, grassy valleys at elevations over 5,000 feet. The ranges are extremely high, and the rugged interior has remained so inaccessible that large parts of it are still unexplored. The inhabitants of its remote valleys are still Stone Age hunters and gatherers. Many have never seen a white man.

The mountains in Papua show some signs of volcanic activity in the past but contain no active craters; in TTNG, however, a volcanic line containing some active craters runs along the northern coast extending eastward into the Solomon Islands group. Severe earthquakes often occur along this line, causing much damage. The north coast is also fringed with characteristic coral reefs; but because the eastern end of the island is rising, these formations disappear along the eastern coast and the southern coast of Papua, where good, deep harbors are consequently few.

The mainland area has a climate in which the temperature varies little all year, usually averaging a maximum of 90° and a minimum of 70° F. except in the highlands where the upper slopes are often snowclad and quite cold. There are two seasonal changes. One, from November to May, under the influence of the southeast trade winds, is fairly cool with less humidity and rain. The other, from December to March, when the northwest monsoon is at its height, is hot, rainy, and humid. The area is not within the hurricane belt, but between the drier southeast trade wind and the wet northwest monsoon seasons there is a six-week period of doldrums that is most unpleasant and enervating. Rainfall, nevertheless, is quite heavy all year long and gives rise to many large rivers of considerable volume. The most important ones in Papua are the Fly, the Purari, and the Kikori, which flow southward emptying into the Gulf of Papua. In the Trust Territory of New Guinea the Sepik and Ramu rivers are most important. They flow northward, discharging their waters into the Pacific.

The people of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea are a mixture of all types found in Oceania but are generally classified into two groups called Papuan and Melanesian. Papuans usually inhabit the interiors of the mainland and the larger islands; Melanesians tend to be concentrated in coastal areas. Papuans in the southeast are dark, woolly-haired people of medium stature who are a blend of Negrito and australoid elements in which the australoid traits have remained dominant. Those of the interior are shorter, some almost pygmy-sized, people who some authorities believe are derived with little change from the original negritoid migrants from Southeast Asia. The people of the Admiralty group are mixed Melanesian and Micronesian who, in some places, appear to be dominantly Micronesian. Throughout the Bismarck Archipelago, Buka, Bougainville, and the Papuan island groups, the people are the taller, frizzy-haired Melanesians of mixed ethnic ancestry.

Islands belonging to Papua include those of the Trobriand, Woodlark, Laughlan, D'Entrecasteaux, and Louisade groups. All islands are relatively small and given over mainly to the production of copra and subsistence crops. Most of the twenty-two islands composing the Trobriand group are low coral types that support a population of about 14,000. The Woodlark group is a cluster of eight volcanic islands, one of which, Murua, contained the chief goldfield of Papua. Its deposits have now been worked out, and the population has dwindled to about 2,300. The five islands of the Laughlan group are atolls of little significance. The D'Entrecasteaux group consists of three large and two small islands, all of which are high volcanic types containing many extinct craters, hot springs, and geysers. They have good, rich soil that is able to support a total population of a little over 32,000. The Louisade group contains three major and about thirty-six smaller islands, most of which are high volcanic types. The area once was a prime gold producer but dropped into insignificance when the free alluvial deposits in streams paid out. The group in 1970 had a total population of about 11,000, approximately one-half of whom were on the very mountainous, 3,400-foot-high island of Missima.

Island areas of the Trust Territory of New Guinea consist of the Bismarck Archipelago, Buka and Bougainville of the Solomon group, and a few scattered, isolated atolls to the northeast. Their combined land area is about 25,000 square miles, and their total population is almost 300,000.

The Admiralty group of the Bismarck Archipelago consists of the main high island of Manus and about fifteen smaller outliers of mixed volcanic and coral types. Manus is about fifty miles long and twenty miles wide and is largely mountainous, peaking at 3,000 feet. Its eastern end contains much flat country, in which most of the group's 20,000 largely Micronesian people live and are engaged in copra production.

The rest of the archipelago contains many islands, the largest and most important of which are New Britain and New Ireland. New Britain is 370 miles long and has a average width of about 50 miles. It contains several mountain ranges that in places reach elevations of over 8,000 feet. It is also one of the most active volcanic regions in Melanesia, subject to frequent, explosive eruptions that may be quite serious. The island is an area of heavy rainfall, numerous short precipitous streams and is covered throughout by a dense rain forest, many of whose trees are buttressed by roots extending several yards out from the trunk. Apart from the mountains, New Britain may be classified as shoreline coastal plains or swamps, fringed in places with extensively developed barrier coral reefs. The population in 1970 was estimated to be about 155,000, most of whom were typical dark-skinned, frizzy-haired Melanesians.

New Ireland is a long narrow island extending southeast-northwest for 200 miles at an average width of only 7 miles. Like New Britain it is very mountainous, rising to heights of over 6,000 feet, but unlike that island it contains no active volcanoes. Its approximately 50,000 inhabitants are also Melanesian.

Buka and Bougainville are both high volcanic islands similar in structure to those of the Bismarck Archipelago. Bougainville is the largest in the Solomon group, being about 127 miles long and having a maximum width of 50 miles. Its interior range, rising to over 8,000 feet, is wild, rugged, covered with jungle, and almost inaccessible. This basic spine contains at least two active volcanic peaks. Buka is much the smaller, measuring only about 35 by 9 miles, and much the lower, rising to a maximum of some 1,300 feet. It also is largely jungle covered. The combined population of the two islands was estimated to be about 72,000 of mixed Melanesian types closely akin to the people of New Hebrides. Those of Buka, for example, are almost coal black.

Many of the scattered atolls northeast of New Ireland and Bougainville are populated by small groups of people who are primarily Polynesian in origin. Land areas in them are extremely limited, and the atolls have no economic and little political significance.

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate

The Solomon island group, located between 5° and 10° south latitude and 157° and 162° east longitude consists of a double row of high, continental islands formed from the exposed peaks of the submerged mountain range that extends from New Guinea to New Zealand. The group—excluding Buka and Bougainville, which are part of the Trust Territory of New Guinea, are augmented by the Ontong Java atolls north of the group, the Santa Cruz island group to the east, and the raised atolls of Rennell and Bellona to the south—are the territories of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP). The protectorate has a combined land area of about 12,000 square miles and a total population estimated to be almost 215,000. The people are predominantly dark-skinned, frizzy-haired Melanesians who are among the most backward in Oceania. Other ethnic groups in the islands include some 5,000 Polynesians, 2,000 Micronesians, 1,700 Europeans, and about 600 Chinese.

The double row of the main group contains numerous islands, of which only six—Choiseul, New Georgia, Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita, and San Cristobal—are large enough to be named on most maps. All of these are volcanic, covered with steaming jungle, and have climates that are continuously hot, moist, and generally unattractive. Some small amounts of gold have been found in them, but major economic activity is concerned with the operation of coconut

plantations for copra and oil and with timbering the many hardwoods found in the jungle. Their strategic importance to the defense of Australia and New Zealand was manifest during World War II, particularly in the battle for Guadalcanal.

The Ontong Java group of low atolls is small and only sparsely populated. Its few hundred people form one of the occasional pockets of Polynesians found in Melanesia. These tall, light-skinned inhabitants are engaged mainly in subsistence agriculture, but some collect trochus shell from the reefs for the export market.

The Santa Cruz group consists of three main high islands and a host of smaller outliers that are mostly coral atolls. The inhabitants of the high islands are Melanesians; those of the outliers are predominantly Polynesian. Many of the small outliers are uninhabited.

Rennell and Bellona are both low islands of the makatea type, containing deposits of phosphate. Little extraction has been done, however, and both are primarily given over to coconut palm and subsistence food production. The population is small and composed of mixed Polynesian and Melanesian types.

New Caledonia

New Caledonia and its associated Loyalty Island group are an overseas territory of France. The main island (220 miles long and about 30 miles wide) is the second largest in Oceania. It is mountainous, volcanic (but no active craters), and associated with the submerged continental shelf. Some peaks in the range that forms its backbone rise to over 5,000 feet. The soil of the island is rich enough to support extensive agricultural activity. It is also heavily endowed with minerals, and mining is the area's major economic activity.

New Caledonia occupies one of the most southerly portions of Melanesia and, therefore, has a climate that, although tropical, is neither excessively hot nor damp. The eastern, or windward, side of the island, which rises in steep cliffs from the sea, has a heavy rainfall and is well forested. The western side in the rain shadow is drier, and the coastline is fringed erratically by tidal flats and mangrove swamps. Vegetation in the western lowlands is often meager, but at higher elevations remnants of old stands of araucaria pine can be found.

The territory as a whole, including a string of islands known as the Loyalties that parallels the main island about sixty miles to the east, has a total population of about 87,000. The native segment is predominantly Melanesian, in which the more negroid physical characteristics are strong. The last census indicated that, unlike most areas in Oceania, European and Asiatic aliens outnumbered the natives. The Europeans are largely French; the Asians are a

mixture of Japanese, Indian, Javanese, Tonkinese, and Chinese who were brought in as indentured laborers to work the mines before the turn of the twentieth century. The system of indenture was halted in 1948, and since then expansion of Asian peoples has slowed down considerably.

Nauru

Nauru is a small raised atoll about $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in size located at approximately 168° west longitude just 32 miles south of the equator. It is populated by a little over 6,000 people of mixed Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian derivation. Formerly a trust territory of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, Nauru has been an independent state since 1968.

The island itself is a classic example of the makatea type and contains some of the richest and most highly developed phosphate deposits in Oceania. These deposits are not worked by the Nauruans alone but by some hundreds of Chinese laborers imported by the British company that holds the lease for exploiting them. Nauru receives a royalty for every ton of phosphate mined, however, and is thus provided with the income necessary to maintain its independence.

The island in configuration is somewhat hat shaped. A narrow belt of coastal lowland, about 300 yards wide, encircles the formation terminating inland at the base of sheer cliffs about 200 feet high. The level plateau thus formed is the floor of the former atoll lagoon and contains deposits of phosphate that are 50 feet deep in some places. A narrow reef also encircles the island whose outer edge drops sharply to the floor of the sea and provides no inlet or safe anchorage for vessels that arrive for cargoes of phosphate.

Because the top of the plateau is open mined for phosphate it is deeply gouged, leaving no room for villages or farms. These are located instead on the narrow coastal rim where a belt of light but fertile soil produces coconut palms, casuarina, a few root crops, and the usual strand vegetation. Despite the meager harvests, Nauruans in 1970 did not lack food, because royalties from the mining process enabled them to import a variety of foodstuffs. Actually, the people were more affluent than other islanders of Oceania and lived happy, comfortable lives. The prospect of the phosphate disappearing in a few years is the cause of much concern to the government, which has not yet been able to develop plans to replace its one-item economy.

The New Hebrides

The New Hebrides group is a chain of thirteen large and about seventy small islands running southward from 13° south latitude

between the 166th and 170th meridians. The group has a combined land area of 5,700 miles and a total population of about 84,000. Some 72,000 of the inhabitants are native New Hebrideans, who are typical representatives of the darker Melanesian type; the remainder are French and British who live in the area either as administrators of the jointly operated French-British Condominium or as entrepreneurs.

The group forms a Y whose open end is in the north. Most of the islands are of the high type, which in the north are quite mountainous and contain several active volcanoes; the other islands are coral types of the atoll or almost atoll variety. The thirteen major islands are Vanua Lava, Banks, Espiritu Santo, Maew, Pentecost, Aoba, Malekula, Ambrim, Epi, Efate (on which the capital, Vila, is located), Eromanga, Tana, and Aneityum. They are all high islands, well watered, and covered by extensive rain forests containing valuable stands of kauri (a variety of pine) and sandalwood. Some of the mountain areas have small deposits of manganese, but their exploitation has not been developed. Most economic activity is centered around the production of coffee, copra, and cocoa.

The climate of the group is quite hot and humid, although the steady southeast trades have some tempering effect. The group, however, lies within the hurricane zone and once or twice a year is heavily damaged by high winds and torrential downpours.

The Fiji Islands

The Fiji Islands is a group of about 350 islands and islets centered along the 180th meridian at about 15° south latitude. The island of Rotuma some 240 miles north-northwest of the main group, although not geologically related, is also considered to be part of the area. The main group rises from two platforms in the submerged mountain chain of the continental shelf. Most of the larger islands are ancient volcanic peaks, many others are upthrust limestone sometimes pierced by volcanic cones, and still others are coral formations that can elevations remaining below the surface.

The western platform is the broadest, and from it rise Viti Levu and Vanua Levu (the two largest, highest, and most populous islands in the group) and the smaller Yasawa and Lomaitivi groups. The eastern platform forms the base of the Lau island group, a 400-mile long chain of some fifty islands composed mainly of raised limestone but also containing a few atolls and some that are predominantly volcanic in composition. The combined land area of the group is 7,055 square miles, and the population in 1970 was estimated to be 502,956.

Fiji's climate is typically oceanic and tropical. Temperatures are high with maximums averaging about 84°F. from January through

June, dropping to about 82° F. from July through December. These high levels are tempered and made quite pleasant, especially in the higher altitudes, by unfailing breezes from the sea. The southeast trade winds prevail during most of the year but are replaced by the northwest monsoon in the hot summer months. Both bring abundant rain which, nevertheless, varies in the windward-leeward pattern characteristic of Oceania. Average annual rainfall on the windward side of high islands is about 120 inches, declining to 70 inches on the leeward side.

The interiors of the larger islands, which rise over 5,000 feet in places, are often drenched in as much as 300 inches of rainfall per year. The low islands, over which the winds blow without losing any of their moisture, are often so dry that drinking water is scarce. This condition is somewhat alleviated by the location of the group within the hurricane belt, where severe cyclonic, tropical storms are likely to develop, bringing water to high and low islands alike. The course of these storms is erratic, however, and it may be years before a destructive one strikes any particular location.

About one-half the area of the high islands is covered by tropical rain forest on their windward sides. Much of the forest has been destroyed by slash-and-burn agricultural methods and is now replaced by secondary bamboo, reed, and scrub growth. On leeward sides the rain forest gives way to more open areas, called *talasiga* (sunburned land), that is dry and contains only sparse, low vegetation.

Coastal areas of the high islands are usually broad and are fringed along their seaward extremities by impenetrable mangrove swamps and the usual strand vegetation. Farther inland they are covered by great stretches of sugarcane, which is the group's main money crop. The low coral islands are given over to coconut plantations, which provide relief from the low casuarina, pandanus, and other strand vegetation.

The big islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu contain numerous rivers that are unusually large for the size of the island masses in which they occur. Some of these, such as the broad Rewa in Viti Levu, are navigable by small boats and launches as far as 100 miles upstream. These rivers usually enter the sea through broad, fertile flatlands on which most of the sugar plantations are located.

The native Fijian is basically a Melanesian who has mingled freely with nearby Polynesians and displays the traits of both. Both men and women are fine physical specimens, taller than most Melanesians but with less girth and fat than the Polynesian. Their darker skins and frizzy, rather than straight or wavy, hair are major characteristics that differentiate the Fijian from his eastern Polynesian neighbors.

Although indigenous to the area, the native Fijians have actually

been a minority group since about 1944 and are now outnumbered by Indians. These people were brought into the islands during the latter part of the nineteenth century as indentured laborers for the canefields. Their influx continued until 1947 when further Indian immigration was stopped unless the new migrant was to occupy a position that could not be filled by a Fijian. In 1970, however, aided by a high rate of natural increase, the Indian segment of the population has risen to 250,500 as opposed to only 208,000 Fijians.

The Wallis and Futuna Group

The Wallis and Futuna group consists of two sections, both of which are French Overseas Territories located just north of the Fiji group. They are groups of small volcanic and coral islands that have a combined land area of ninety-three square miles and a total population of about 8,500. Although geographically located in Melanesia, the people are Polynesians who originally came from Tonga.

The Wallis group consists of the main island of Uvéa and twenty-two outlying islets enclosed within a single barrier reef that classifies the unit as an almost atoll. Uvéa is seven by four miles in extent and rises to a maximum height of 479 feet. Its population of roughly 5,700 once was engaged in a flourishing copra business. Most of the palms, however, were wiped out by the rhinoceros beetle, and in 1970 the people had reverted to subsistence farming. The soil is rich and grows virtually every type of tropical fruit in abundance, including oranges and pineapples. Uvéa's encircling islets are mostly uninhabited but are used occasionally for minor agricultural and fishing pursuits.

The Futuna group consists of two volcanic high islands, Alofi (sometimes called Hoorn) and Futuna. These islands are higher than Uvéa, rising to 2,629 and 1,310 feet, respectively. Both are well watered and densely wooded, containing valuable stands of timber that are extensively exploited as a source of cash income. The two islands have an area of about thirty-five square miles and a total population of about 3,000.

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC) is a crown colony of the United Kingdom occupying a vast, irregularly shaped area in the central Pacific. Its eastern components, the Phoenix group and three atolls of the Line island group, are in Polynesia; its western portion, the Gilbert and Ellice groups, are located partly in Micronesia and partly in Melanesia. Despite the extent of the ocean area it occupies, the total land area of GEIC is only 342 square miles. Its population of a little over 55,000 is Polynesian except for the Gilbert group where the people are Micronesian.

Islands of the colony are low atolls, except for Ocean Island in the Gilbert group, which is a classic example of the raised atoll type. The climate is uniformly hot, seldom varying more than a degree or two from an annual mean in the mid-80s. Island contours are too low to provoke much precipitation from clouds borne by the constant southeast trades that blow over them, and fresh water is at a premium. The colony is too far east to be affected very much by the northwest monsoon. It does, however, lie within the narrow belt of the intertropical front where cyclonic storms originate and from which it occasionally receives heavy rainfall.

As a region of coral islands, the soil of GEIC is a porous mixture of decomposed coral and sand that is incapable of retaining what moisture it does receive. Only pandanus, casuarina, sedges, and the ubiquitous coconut palm can survive, and even these are sparse. Sometimes the islanders dig pits in which they are able to develop sufficient soil to grow a few plants, such as taro root, for food; but, generally, the population subsists on fruits of the pandanus and the casuarina, on coconut and palm products, and on fish that abound in the large lagoons. Pressure on the land is sometimes overtaking, and groups of people must remove to other areas where food is more plentiful and varied.

The Gilbert and Ellice groups together consist of twenty-five atolls lying roughly between 4° north and 11° south latitude just west of the 180th meridian. Except for Ocean Island, which is a rich but declining source of phosphate, they are economically important only as producers of moderate amounts of copra. Two of the most northerly atolls of the Gilbert group (Makin and Tarawa) were famous battlegrounds during World War II.

The Phoenix group, excluding Canton and Enderbury islands which are not part of the GEIC, consist of six small atolls located just below the equator at about the 175th west meridian. Individually named Phoenix, Hull, Sydney, McKean, Birnie, and Gardner, they are economically unimportant, and many of their inhabitants have been migrating to other groups that offer better living conditions.

Three of the atolls in the northern Line island group, Washington, Fanning, and Christmas islands, complete the territory of GEIC. Washington is a true atoll about nine miles in circumference. It has no indigenous population but is inhabited by about 100 Gilbertese brought in to work its coconut plantations. Fanning and Christmas islands have about the same land area as Washington and are inhabited mainly by plantation workers.

French Polynesia

French Polynesia is an overseas territory of France consisting of five distinct island groups in the southeast corner of Oceania. The

combined land area of all groups is a little over 1,500 square miles, and the overall population in 1970 was 98,400. Except for small colonies of French and Chinese and about 10,000 French military personnel stationed in the area in connection with French atomic testing, the inhabitants are all Polynesian of rather unadulterated lineage. About one-half of the total population lives on the island of Tahiti in the Society group.

Island groups constituting French Polynesia are the Society Islands, the Tuamotu Archipelago, the Marquesa Islands, the Tubuai (Austral) Islands, and the Gambier group. Two small isolated areas, Rapa and Bass islands, lying far south of the main groups, are also part of the territory. The Society, Marquesas, Gambier, and Tubuai groups are high volcanic islands; the Tuamotu Archipelago is composed entirely of typical atolls, except one, Makatea, which is a raised atoll.

The climate of French Polynesia is tropical but moderate. Maximum recorded temperatures range between a high of 95° and a low of 61° F., but the annual mean for the group as a whole is 80°. The humidity ranges between 70 and 80 percent, and rainfall averages about sixty-five inches a year. It is heaviest during December and January but occurs irregularly on about eighty-five days each year. In January an occasional mild cyclonic storm is encountered. The high islands have numerous streams that usually appear as torrents plunging down mountainsides after heavy rains.

The area has no native animals and only a few birds. Fish, both game and food varieties, abound in the reefs and seas throughout the area. Some islands of the western Society group are famous for the quality of the crabs found in their lagoons, and the Tuamotus are noted for the fine pearls from the oysters in their waters.

The Society group contains twelve major components divided into a windward cluster of five and a leeward section of seven islands. The windward group consists of Tahiti, Moorea, Mehitia (Maitea), and Tubuai Manu, which are high volcanic types, and Tetiaroa, which is a small atoll. The leeward group includes the high islands of Raiatea, Tahaa, and Huahine; Bora Bora, which is an almost atoll; and Tupai, Maupiti, and Mopihaa (Mopelia), which are true atolls.

Tahiti is the largest and best known island of the group. It not only has provided the locale for so many novels and adventure stories that it has come to be associated with the typical South Pacific island paradise, but also was a favorite subject of Paul Gauguin, whose paintings of island people and island life made him famous. Tahiti has an area of about 400 square miles and is formed by volcanoes connected by an isthmus giving it a figure-8 configuration. The main peak, Mount Orochona, has an elevation of 7,321 feet, from which the island drops precipitously to a moderately

broad coastal plain. The interior is an uninhabited, trackless upland of jagged peaks and gorges covered with lush tropical vegetation. People do not live in villages but in homes strung out around the coastal belt. This pattern is broken only by the capital city of Papeete, a modern city of over 20,000 built around a coastal lagoon in the northwest, that provides the area's best and busiest harbor.

Other high islands of the group are all rugged and similar in structure to Tahiti but are usually smaller and lower with peaks that rise no higher than about 4,000 feet. All are populated, and their rich soils produce considerable amounts of copra, pineapple, vanilla, and many varieties of tropical fruits. Raiatea, the largest in the windward group, according to the legend is ancient Hawaiiki, which the original Polynesian migrants used as the base for their later dispersal to Hawaii and elsewhere.

The Tubuai group consists of five inhabited and two uninhabited islands southwest of the Society group arranged in a chain about 800 miles long. This range is an extension of the submerged volcanic elevations that form the Cook Islands to the north. Although classified as high islands, none of the Tubuai group rise more than 1,500 feet above sea level. Economically, the group is unimportant, but some of them, particularly Raiavae, contain many old temples and archaeological remains that are of interest to researchers.

Remote Bass and Rapa islands are so far south that they differ from the rest of French Polynesia. They have too moderate a climate for most tropical growth and do not produce copra but concentrate on coffee, taro, and oranges. Bass Island (Morotiri) is actually a cluster of nine islands, eight of which are mere rock pinnacles rising to a maximum height of only 350 feet. They are uninhabited but are visited occasionally by fishermen. Rapa is a small volcanic island that has an elevation of 2,000 feet. It is populated by approximately 300 people who are believed to have descended from a primitive, pure Polynesian stock. They are darker than most Polynesians but have the sturdy, splendid physique of that ethnic group.

The Marquesas group is the most northerly territory of French Polynesia and consists of six main and six small islands. All are elevated, ranging in height between 1,300 and 4,000 feet, and are covered with a layer of deep and very fertile soil. At one time the group had a sizable population, composed largely of Negroes from Martinique and Chinese and others from Asia who were brought in to work on various types of plantations. Rainfall, which can be copious, is also erratic, and long periods of drought occur that ultimately caused the plantations to fail. Most of the imported labor force returned to their homes, and the population in 1970 was reduced to about 5,000 native Polynesians.

The group contains no indigenous land animals, but many islands

contain herds of wild sheep, cattle, and pigs left behind when the plantations were abandoned. The islands do, however, have much birdlife, the most interesting of which is a species of ground dove found nowhere else in the Pacific. Fish are also plentiful, and waters of the area contain a variety of enormous sharks.

Most islands in the group are uninhabited, but all are capable of supporting rather sizable numbers of people and in the future may be settled to take care of the expanding population. The best known of the islands is Hiva Oa, a very fertile and heavily wooded high island twenty-three miles long and ten miles wide, which reputedly was a last stronghold of cannibalism. In 1970 it was inhabited and overrun with wild livestock brought in by former inhabitants. It is renowned as the last home and the burial site of Paul Gauguin, the French painter.

The Tuamotu Archipelago is an enormous arc of exclusively coral islands lying between the Society and the Marquesas groups. It consists of one raised atoll (Makatéa), a dozen fairly large true atolls, and a countless number of small atolls and reefs. Many atolls have unbroken circular reefs; others, such as Fakarava and Rangiroa in the northern portion, are broken into numerous islets with good passages into their interior lagoons. Makatéa was a profitable producer of phosphate until the deposits were exhausted in 1966. It, like the rest of the group, now has a copra economy, augmented by the fine pearls found in the extensive lagoon areas.

The overall land area of the group is only 363 square miles, and its total population is approximately 7,000 Polynesians. Most of the smaller atolls and some of the larger ones are uninhabited. The group as a whole sprang into world prominence in 1947 as the terminus of the raft *Kon-Tiki*, which drifted from Peru in an attempt to prove that some of Polynesia may have been peopled by migrants from South America.

The Gambier group is located near the southeast extremity of the Tuamotu Archipelago. It is a cluster of elevated islands collectively called Mangareva and twenty-two outlying atolls. Seven of the atolls are inhabited, and many of the others are planted in coconut palm. All are rich in birdlife, and the lagoons are the source of a richly colored pearl that is favored all over the world. More recently, five of the atolls—Mururoa, Fagataufa, Tureia, Hao, and Anaa—have been used by the French as the site of that nation's atomic tests. The actual detonations are carried out on Mururoa and are monitored by supporting installations on the other four.

Mangareva is a cluster of four principal inhabited islands and a number of outlying islets. All are elevated and enclosed in a single reef, giving them a typical almost atoll form. The group, including the atolls, has a temperate climate, an average annual rainfall of about eighty inches, and, excluding military and scientific personnel

connected with the atomic tests, a total population of between 600 and 700.

The Cook Islands

The Cook Islands are a self-governing dependency of New Zealand located just west of French Polynesia. The group has a total of fifteen islands divided into a northern section of seven atolls and a southern section of mixed high volcanic and low coral islands. The total area of both groups together is only ninety-three square miles, and their combined populations are a little over 20,000. The people are Polynesian Maoris, akin to the people of Tahiti and the Maoris of New Zealand, whose traditions and culture they share.

The climate of the Cooks is mild and oceanic but can become hot and humid in the summer months. The cool season runs from May to October, during which temperatures may drop as low as 49°F. The mean annual temperature is about 74°. The average annual rainfall is eighty-four inches but may be considerably less in the northern atolls. The group also lies within the hurricane belt and occasionally is buffeted by destructive hurricanes.

The islands of the northern Cook group are similar in structure and differ only in size. They include Penrhyn (Tongareva), Suvarrow, Manahiki, Rakahanga, Danger (Pukapuka), Nassau, and Palmerston. Penrhyn is the largest and most northerly of the Cooks. Its 108-square mile lagoon, enclosed by numerous islets, has several deep passages allowing ships of considerable size to find shelter and anchorage within it. Land area is only 2,432 acres, on which about 700 people make their homes. These people are a little different from most Polynesians in the Cook group and appear to be somewhat darker than the typical Maori.

Suvarrow is a typical atoll of twenty-five islets, only five of which are of any size. The island has no permanent inhabitants but is frequently visited by diving parties in search of good-quality pearl shell. Rakahanga is inhabited by some 400 people (Maoris) and has no unusual distinctive features. Danger, the most isolated of the northern Cooks, is an atoll of three inhabited islets containing about 800 people. These people are not Maoris but are related to Polynesians in the Tokelau and Samoan groups. They speak a local dialect that is unintelligible to other residents of the Cooks. Palmerston is a sparsely populated atoll at the southern extremity of the northern group. Its people speak a strange dialect that resembles Old English. The atoll has suffered severely in recent years from hurricanes.

The eight islands of the southern Cooks are Rarotonga, Mangaia, Atiu, Takutea, Mauke, Mitiaro, Aitutaki, and Manuae. Rarotonga, Atiu, and Mangaia are high islands; the others are almost atolls with relatively low central volcanic cores. Rarotonga is the most

important of the southern group; its rugged volcanic interior contains twelve peaks over 1,000 feet high, and one, Mount Manga, rises to 2,140 feet. The island has a rich soil on which many vegetables and all types of tropical and subtropical fruits thrive. Most of the island is covered with thick evergreen bush. Like most of the southern group, the expanse of exposed makatea fringing its coastline indicates it may still be rising. Avarua, the island's main settlement, acts as the administrative center for the entire Cook group.

Niue

Niue is a single raised island of 100 square miles about 700 miles west of Rarotonga. It is sometimes considered to be a part of the Cooks but is administered separately and directly from New Zealand. The island is occasionally referred to as Savage Island, a title that is resented and not used by the native people. Inhabitants of Niue number over 5,300 Polynesians who are akin to the Tongans and Samoans and speak a language related to theirs rather than that of their eastern neighbors in the Cooks.

The island is composed wholly of upheaved limestone that has eroded to provide enough soil to support a good stand of timber. It lacks surface water, however, and, together with its rocky nature, is generally unsuitable for much agriculture. Bees and a high-quality honey form its most important economic activity.

Western Samoa

Western Samoa is a sovereign, independent state made up of nine islands located at about 173° west longitude and 13° south latitude. The group has a total area of 1,097 square miles and a population of more than 131,500, all of whom reside on the four islands of Savii, Upolu, Manono, and Apolima. The other five islands in the group are uninhabited. The people of Western Samoa are Polynesians related to those of Hawaii and to the Maoris of New Zealand. About one-half of them live in Apia, the capital city on Upolu.

The climate of the area is tropical and equable most of the year. Rainfall is heavy, averaging about 193 inches a year, and the temperature averages about 80° F.

All nine islands are volcanic and rocky with only a thin covering of moderately fertile soil. Upolu and Savii have highland ridges peaking at 3,608 and 6,094 feet, respectively. There is little level land except along the coasts where, except for Apia, most inhabitants live in small villages of thirty to forty households. Despite the relatively poor soil, Western Samoa produces taro, bananas, coca, and coconut in commercial quantities.

Pitcairn

The Pitcairn district consists of four islands—Pitcairn, Ducie, Oeno, and Henderson—all of which are administered from Fiji as British territory. Pitcairn, a small, mountainous, volcanic island, is the home of the entire population of over 120. These people are descendants of the crew of the British ship *HMS Bounty*, who mutinied against their captain, William Bligh, set him adrift, and then, taking wives from Tahiti, found refuge and a new home on Pitcairn Island. The island has a fertile volcanic soil that produces adequate quantities of vegetables, citrus and tropical fruits, and some coffee. The island is also well stocked with goats and poultry.

The other three islands are uninhabited atolls with good sheltered lagoons. They are used by Pitcairners for growing coconuts and as sources of wood for fuel and building purposes. The climate of the area is similar to that of Tahiti.

Tonga

Tonga is a kingdom of some 200 islands and 77,500 people that became an independent state in mid-1970. It is the sole remaining Polynesian kingdom and has successfully retained the family-subsistence basis of its ancient culture. The people speak a Polynesian variant called Tongan and are closely related to the inhabitants of Samoa.

The islands are mixed as to type, and the combination of high volcanic and low coral forms gives the group a physical character all its own. The islands are dispersed in two fairly parallel chains, coral-line in the east and high volcanic in the west, that fall into three latitudinal groups; a northern or Vava'u group, a central or Ha'apai group, and a southern or Tongatapu group. The kingdom is bordered on the east by the deep Tonga Trench, indicating that it lies at the eastern extremity of the continental shelf. It is an area of great structural instability and vulcanism, some of whose islands are little more than active or extinct volcanic cones. One, Falcon Island, in the Vava'u group has a unique up-and-down character. It is a submerged active volcano that erupts periodically. When it is active, lava and ash rise above sea level, forming a clearly visible island. When the eruption is over the unconsolidated pile is destroyed by wave action, and the island disappears until the next period of eruption.

The Tongatapu group contains seven major islands, the largest of which is Tongatapu, a wholly coralline island on which Nuku'alofa, the capital city, is located. Roughly one-half of the kingdom's entire population reside on it. Other major islands in the group include Eua, Ata, Atata, Euaki, Kala'au, and Kenatea. Ata is an

extinct volcano 1,165 feet high; Euaki, Kala'au, and Kenatea are uninhabited.

The Ha'apai group is a cluster of thirty-six islands of mixed form, only twenty of which are permanently inhabited. The largest of this group is Tofua, an active volcano whose crater contains a steaming lake. A few miles north of Tofua is Kao, an extinct volcano with a perfect conical peak rising to 3,400 feet. Most of the group's 10,000 people live on low coral islands in the eastern chain.

The Vava'u group consists of thirty-four islands having a total land area of forty-five square miles and a population estimated at 13,000, about two-thirds of whom are on Vavau, the largest island in the group. Fourteen of the other islands are uninhabited.

The Tokelau Group

The Tokelau group (sometimes referred to as the Union Group) is a New Zealand dependency composed of three small true atolls lying about 250 miles north of Samoa. Nukunono is the largest (1,350 acres) followed in order by Fakaofu and Atafu. The three have a combined total area of about four square miles and support a dwindling population that was estimated to be about 2,100 in 1970.

The group lies in a border area between Polynesia and Micronesia. The people are Polynesians, similar to those of Samoa in physical appearance and cultural life.

Each atoll of the group consists of a number of islets ranging in size up to four miles long, encircling its shallow lagoon. Nukunono has thirty, Fakaofu has sixty-one, and Atafu has nineteen islets. All are covered with a coarse, rubbly sand that is devoid of humus and can support little vegetation other than pandanus, casuarina, and other scrub strand growth. There is considerable pressure on the land, and many Tokelauns are being transferred to new settlements in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 3

LIVING CONDITIONS

Despite an increasing demand throughout Oceania for modernization of living conditions, population increases at the start of the 1970s were continuing to produce in most areas a gradual deterioration of living standards. A drastic reduction in mortality and an increase in fertility had come about since the close of World War II as the result of improvements in medical care. The improvements in medical care and in public health and environmental hygiene were chiefly the result of programs instituted and financed by the governing powers of the various territories. Except for three of the island groups—Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga—all were dependencies of Western powers (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). Some health programs received financial support from agencies of the United Nations. As a result of these various health programs, population growth rates in 1970 were higher and mortality rates lower than they had ever been. The resulting population explosion has produced overcrowded conditions, leading to worsening environmental sanitation, and has placed strains on household budgets.

Although in 1970 an increasing number of islanders were neglecting subsistence production in favor of cash-earning pursuits, the increase in the number of those dependent on household earnings had produced a fall in per capita cash income in some areas. To add to the hardship caused by the decline in per capita income among people increasingly dependent upon cash, the cost of living rose substantially throughout Oceania in the post-World War II period.

The trend toward cash earning, as against traditional subsistence production, has been caused by a preference for imported goods over traditional ones. The demand for imported goods has been growing since the arrival in the Pacific of the first Westerners. Before the Westerners came, the inhabitants had had few material possessions, which were mostly of nondurable vegetable materials. Their diet had consisted of unrefined starchy vegetables and fish, augmented with fruit, wild jungle produce and, very seldom, meat. At first the islanders were awed by the products of Western manufacture. Among some of the more primitive peoples of Melanesia, this was still the case in 1970. Among some of these peoples, followers of cargo cults (see Glossary) still believed that the spirits of

their ancestors made the imported goods for their descendants and that the Westerners had wrongly intercepted them en route to their destination.

As an expression of the preference for Western goods and the desire to participate in a Westernized way of life, islanders have been migrating in ever-increasing numbers from areas where traditional living patterns and subsistence production prevail to areas more heavily influenced by modern Western living standards. Inland peoples have moved to the coasts; rural people have moved to the towns and cities; and from the urban areas some migrants have gone to the wealthier countries of the Pacific rim, especially New Zealand and the west coast of the United States. Those who have remained at home have not escaped the impact of nontraditional goods, practices, and attitudes transmitted to even the remotest rural areas by missionaries, district nurses, health inspectors, school-teachers, and administrators.

The switch to imported goods and nontraditional ways of doing things has not always resulted in improved health and comfort and in some cases has brought about a decline in health and environmental conditions. For example, the change in diet from fresh, unrefined foods to canned meats, polished rice, and white bread has brought about new problems of malnutrition and tooth decay. In other instances, Western goods and techniques and the use of Western medicine in place of sorcery have brought about dramatic improvements.

HEALTH

In 1970 poverty and ignorance continued to contribute to poor health conditions. They were responsible for shortages of equipment, laboratories, and trained as well as inadequate personnel, and unsafe water supplies and the poor communications networks. They contributed to inadequate diets for infants and nursing mothers and to unsanitary practices in food preparation and in personal, household, and animal care. Traditional attitudes still commonly held toward disease included the widespread belief that serious illness was caused by sorcery or by malicious poisoning, which had to be countered by magical means (see ch. 5, Religion).

Traditional symptomatic treatment of what islanders regarded as minor ailments included bloodletting, herbal cures, and various leaf remedies applied internally or externally. In many parts of Oceania, lower echelon government or mission-trained medical personnel used both Western and traditional techniques. The success of rural health programs often depended upon the tact of the district health officer or nurse in dealing with traditional beliefs and with local healers and midwives.

Except for midwifery, in which more traditional practices prevailed in many territories, the trend throughout Oceania has been toward increased reliance upon Western medicine. A healer or diviner in 1970 was likely to recommend that his patient seek treatment at a government or mission clinic if he doubted his own ability to effect a cure. Should the Western medicine fail, however, the islanders were often ready to attribute that failure to the carelessness or faulty technique of the Western-trained doctor or nurses. This attitude was part of a persistent belief that every death or permanent disability was the result of the misbehavior of some person or spirit and not a natural or inevitable phenomenon.

Vital Statistics

By 1970 accurate vital statistical information had not been compiled by all the administrations of Oceanic territories. Territories lacking such records included the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, and the Condominium of the New Hebrides. These territories contained almost all of the Melanesian peoples and nearly two-thirds of Oceania's population. Other island groups, among them Fiji, French Polynesia, and some of the New Zealand dependencies, have had comprehensive registration of vital statistical information for many years (see table 2).

The importance of this kind of information for health and other government planning has been recognized in recent years. In 1962 and 1966 courses sponsored by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the South Pacific Commission, were held to train indigenous people in methods of compiling vital and health statistics.

Table 2. *Vital Statistical Data from Selected Oceania Territories, 1965-69.*

Territory	Birth rate	Death rate	Infant death rate
Fiji (1968)	30.2	5.2	24.8
Western Samoa (1968 provisional)	26.9	4.1	25.5
French Polynesia (1967)	49.6	10.0	n.a.
New Caledonia (1965)	29.3	7.3	32.8
Tonga	20.8 ¹	2.4 ²	8.7 ²
Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony	25.1 ³	3.6 ³	22.7 ⁴
Cook Islands (1967)	40.8	8.1	56.3
Wallis and Futuna (1967)	41.5	n.a.	78.7
Nauru (1968)	38.3	8.0	52.4
Niue (1969)	36.7	8.0	25.8

n.a.—not available.

¹ 1967 provisional.

² 1965.

³ 1968 provisional.

⁴ 1967.

Improvements occurred in the 1960s. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony a comprehensive system for the registration of all births, deaths, and marriages began to be implemented in 1968. In the New Hebrides the first census of the population was held in 1967. Censuses were also held in the other territories during the 1960s.

In 1964 a survey of two areas in the New Hebrides, sponsored by the South Pacific Commission, revealed some of the problems connected with gathering accurate statistics in the more primitive areas. Recording the number of infant births over the previous several years, on the basis of information elicited from mothers, the survey team arrived at a birth rate of approximately 20 per 1,000 population. Head counts of babies and young children, however, indicated that the birth rate must have been at least double that figure. How, the survey team wondered, had so many children been forgotten? Noting that there were many more males than females in the population at all ages, the survey team suggested that a possible cause of the discrepancy was that there were a large number of orphans without mothers to report their births.

Even where mortality and health statistics have been meticulously collected, as for example on the small island of Niue, problems of analysis have arisen. On Niue the infant mortality rate (the annual number of deaths of children aged one year or under per 1,000 live births) was 52.9 in 1961, 15.4 in 1965, and 25.8 in 1969. The great fluctuations in the infant mortality rate, however, were the result of a difference of one or two deaths per annum. The total infant deaths in 1969, for example, was only 5.

Nonetheless, some trends were discernible in 1970, despite gaps in information available. Birth rates (the annual number of births per 1,000 population) were very high; death rates (the annual number of deaths per 1,000 population), although high, were in many cases half of what they had been before World War II. Infant mortality was extremely high but not sufficient to check rapid population increases. The population in most areas was less than half adult.

Family planning had been initiated in many areas but was less effective in controlling population growth than had been the pre-Christian practices of infanticide and abortion formerly widely used by coral atoll populations. The cessation of headhunting and cannibalistic practices that had been prevalent until the period of colonization, especially in Melanesia, had eliminated the other traditional checks on population expansion. Fiji's family planning campaign, the most effective in Oceania, had its greatest successes during the 1960s among the nonindigenous population.

Papua and New Guinea

Although in 1970 vital statistics for the territory were lacking, a 1950 anthropological survey taken of Hanuabada, the indigenous

quarter of Port Moresby (where health and living conditions were in some ways better and some ways worse than the average for the territory), showed a crude death rate of 35 per 1,000 population (not including stillbirths) and an infant mortality rate of 146. The crude birth rate was also high—60 per 1,000 population—in spite of the fact that 277 people out of every 1,000 died before reaching the age of reproduction. Since efforts to improve conditions in Hanuabada have been accompanied by increased population pressure, experienced observers have suggested that birth and death rates in Hanuabada were unlikely to have changed substantially in the 1960s.

Fiji

In Fiji the effects of a family planning campaign were evident, especially among the Indian population. The campaign, begun in the late 1950s, had as its goal a birth rate of 25 per 1,000 by the mid-1970s. In the 1966 census the Indian population, which had grown to be the majority ethnic group in Fiji during the World War II period, for the first time showed a higher death rate and a lower birth rate than the Fijians. In that year the Indian birth rate was 34.64 and the death rate 5.41, as against a Fijian birth rate of 36.93 and death rate of 5.04. The tiny Anglo-Polynesian settlement on Pitcairn Island, left over from the mutiny on the British ship *Bounty*, had two births and no deaths in 1968 (see ch. 1, Historical Setting).

British Solomon Islands Protectorate

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate has not kept vital statistical records, but observers believed that the high birth rates and lower death rates prevailing elsewhere in Oceania were equally typical of the Solomons. Mass campaigns against yaws and malaria, begun in the protectorate in 1956, were starting to show substantial effects on mortality. By 1970 the campaign against malaria was in the second of a planned three-phase attack. The first phase was a pilot project; the second phase, pre-eradication; and finally, eradication, which was tentatively scheduled to begin sometime after 1970. A survey of live births by the protectorate's medical department in 1967 showed an infant mortality rate of 30 on nonmalarious islands, but on malarious islands the rate was 88.

French Polynesia

The most recent annual infant death rate figure available for French Polynesia was for 1961, when infant mortality was 100.3. Between 1963 and 1967 the death rate for children under the age of five per 1,000 live births was 10.5. The birth rate during the same period was 45.4.

New Hebrides

No records of births, deaths, or marriages were kept by the Anglo-French Condominium during the 1960s. The 1967 census, however, the first ever held in the territory, gave figures that have been interpreted unofficially as indicating that approximately 12.5 percent of all children die before the age of two, that 25 percent of all children die before age twenty, and that 33 percent die before thirty years of age.

Tonga

The latest figures available to the United Nations in 1970 are much lower for Tonga than elsewhere in Oceania and conflict with estimates made in the mid-1960s by public health personnel of the South Pacific Commission, which placed the birth rate in the neighborhood of 30 to 35. Environmental sanitation information makes it appear possible that the actual death rate and infant death rate figures are higher than the United Nations figures.

Tokelau Islands

In the Tokelau Islands vital statistics from the 1968 census were not available by mid-1970. The 1957 figures showed a birth rate of 47.4, a death rate of 10.9, and four infant deaths (no rate). Like Niue, the Tokelau Islands had too small a population for changes in the birth or death rate figures to yield information as to trends.

Major Illnesses and Their Control

Emphasis in health programs had been almost exclusively on curative services until the past few decades. Campaigns against diseases have varied in effectiveness, depending upon the amount of follow-up activity required. Yaws and goiter, both of which could be eradicated with a mass injection campaign, proved easy to combat, but diarrheal and skin diseases, for example, that came from habits of poor hygiene have proved more persistent. Because of the traditional attitudes toward disease prevalent in Oceania, preventive medicine and public health measures, which began to be implemented in the 1950s and 1960s, have had to face indigenous resistance and apathy.

Malnutrition and inadequate personal and environmental hygiene were the direct or indirect causes of much illness and mortality. Tuberculosis, epidemic diseases (such as influenza, measles, and whooping cough), respiratory diseases, dysentery, meningitis, and diseases caused by intestinal parasites continued throughout the 1960s to take high death tolls in Oceania. Insect-borne diseases (such as malaria and filariasis), tropical ulcers, and infections of the eyes, ears, and skin were extremely prevalent. Diseases of limited

contagiousness, among them leprosy, and venereal diseases, were highly prevalent in some areas.

Disease prevalences have varied within Oceania. Malaria, the major disease to afflict the population of Melanesia, except for New Caledonia and Fiji, was still absent from Polynesia in 1970. Filariasis, an insect-borne disease that often leads eventually to the illness elephantiasis, has been the major affliction of Polynesia and has also been endemic to Fiji and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate but is not present elsewhere in Melanesia. (In the protectorate filariasis is transmitted by the same vector as malaria, but elsewhere this is not so.) Tuberculosis was an important cause of death throughout Oceania in the 1960s but was more prevalent in Polynesia and the coastal areas of Melanesia than among Melanesia's interior peoples. Leprosy, however, showed the opposite pattern, being more common in inland Melanesia with lesser numbers throughout Oceania. The prevalence of gonorrhea, although low, was increasing in Melanesia, but syphilis was virtually absent there. Syphilis remained a problem, however, in part of Polynesia.

During the 1960s campaigns against tuberculosis were being carried out in many areas. Diagnosis by Mantoux testing (the scratch test for tuberculosis) was conducted on a mass basis. For those showing positive results, X-rays are taken, sometimes with portable machines, and treatment has sometimes followed. In treating the disease, most government health services have preferred to use outpatient chemotherapy wherever possible in preference to residence in a hospital or sanatorium. For prevention, mass antituberculosis vaccination campaigns have been undertaken in some territories.

In 1970 in many parts of Melanesia campaigns were being waged against malaria. Westerners seldom fell victim to the illness because new drugs available to them suppressed the illness. Insecticides, sanitation measures, and several new techniques of mosquito eradication were in use. Although malaria was not the direct cause of death for many of its victims, it reduced the vitality and resistance of the sufferer to other prevalent diseases. Wherever it has been brought under control, increases in fertility and decreases in mortality have resulted. Efforts continued to be made to prevent the spread of malaria to islands where it was not already present.

Innoculations and inspection at ports of entry were carried out in many territories as attempts to prevent the introduction and spread of epidemic diseases. When outbreaks did occur, the epidemic diseases affected indigenous islanders more severely than did the same illnesses elsewhere. For example, an outbreak of measles in the 1960s among Gilbert islanders affected each victim's eyes, and influenza epidemics in the late 1960s resulted in high death rates in Papua and New Guinea and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony.

Filariasis has been the scourge of Polynesia. In French Polynesia the Institute of Medical Research (Institut de Recherches Médicales) was set up in 1947 with United States assistance and a staff of forty to devote its efforts to research concerning filariasis and elephantiasis. By the mid-1960s the disease was regarded by the administration of French Polynesia as under control, although campaigns to eradicate the mosquito vector continued.

In Fiji Her Majesty's Overseas Research Service, founded in 1954, continued its research into the control of the disease. In Western Samoa, where filariasis was the major health problem in the late 1960s, a project sponsored by WHO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was underway to control the disease. The project involved mass treatment of the entire population of Western Samoa with diethyl carbamycin, an antibiotic drug. In the Ellice Islands a mass treatment campaign began in 1969, and in the Tokelau Islands the disease was virtually eradicated in the years 1965 and 1966 by a campaign sponsored by the New Zealand Medical Research Council.

Although many Oceanians are corpulent, perhaps as a result of a diet high in starches, malnutrition was almost universal in 1970 and played a role, similar to malaria, of reducing resistance to other illnesses. Malnutrition also retarded the healing of infections and caused physical and mental retardation in children. Kwashiorkor, an illness caused by protein deficiency, was common.

Among the sizable inland populations of the larger Melanesian islands, goiter was a problem. Goiter, a swelling of the thyroid gland, is thought to be caused by iodine deficiency. Since seawater and seafood contain ample iodine, shore dwellers are less likely to be affected. In the New Hebrides traditional exchanges of inland fresh water for coastal seawater have provided the needed iodine to some inland groups there. In Papua and New Guinea, however, goiter and the mental or physical retardation thought by some experts to be conditions connected to iodine deficiency were highly prevalent in the interior highlands. In the mid-1960s mass injections of iodized poppyseed oil were made in some highland communities of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Evidence indicated that the injected persons would receive several years of protection against goiter. As an experiment, iodized oil injections were also given to persons with existing goiter conditions and, to the surprise of the medical team, cures were brought about in every case. All that remained of the goiters in a few weeks time was scar tissue.

Equally dramatic and over a much wider area was the virtual eradication of yaws, a contagious disease that produces large skin lesions. The disease had been highly prevalent in the Pacific until combated in the late 1950s and early 1960s by mass injection campaigns with funds and aid from WHO.

In 1970 leprosy was present to a substantial degree in Melanesia. An unofficial estimate in 1967 for Papua and New Guinea gave the prevalence rate of leprosy as 7.7 per 1,000 population, the estimated number of cases being about 13,000, only half of whom were receiving treatment. By 1970 current techniques and drugs could arrest the disease. Since leprosy is primarily a rural disease, however, it was often not diagnosed before irreparable disfigurement had taken place. Many sufferers in the Pacific were treated in the 1960s on an outpatient basis or with outpatient treatment after a short stay at a leprosarium.

During the late 1960s medical authorities in Oceania were expressing concern over a sometimes fatal illness caused by poisoning after having eaten fish. By 1970 little was known for certain about what caused the fish flesh to become poisonous. The phenomenon occurred irregularly among various types of food fish caught in shallow waters. Experts suggested that the prevalence of poisonous fish in a given area might be connected to the presence in that area of algae of a type that grows on newly exposed underwater surfaces. The phenomenon has not been static, and evidence suggested that it had moved or spread in a northeasterly direction in tropical seas over the past several decades, reaching Hawaii in 1958.

Symptoms of fish poisoning are painful and sometimes persist over an extended period. In areas where the problem is common, it has caused hardship to the nonafflicted as well, by depriving them of a major source of food, often the only convenient source of protein, since there was, by 1970, no rapid or easy method known for distinguishing safe from poisonous food fish.

An unusual disease of the central nervous system, always fatal, has been found in an area fifteen miles in radius in the eastern highlands of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. The disease, called *kuru*, has an unknown cause and affects approximately 1 percent of the population of this limited area.

In 1970 mental illness was seldom treated by hospitalization or restricted freedom. Unless very dangerous, the mentally ill person was allowed to participate, as fully as he was able, in community life. In the Gilbert Islands madness in women was usually thought to have been caused by the curses of a rejected suitor. The magical powers of sorcerers and the interference of spirits were blamed for mental illness in many areas.

Scholars have noted the presence of a mental illness in the New Guinea highlands that is prevalent among adult males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five. In fits the victim behaves like a wild creature. He takes others' belongings, which he eventually hides or destroys, and threatens to kill or harm those around him. Refusing to listen to objections, he usually also refuses to speak his native language or talk about what he is doing. One anthropologist

noted that, in the community he was studying, victims of this illness were treated by a type of spontaneous community therapy. When the victim took things or threatened people, the villagers did not argue or resist, but some members of his audience contrived to keep his behavior within safe limits by distracting him from dangerous alternatives, suggesting instead relatively harmless aggressive acts. When recovered from the fit, the afflicted person was not reproached for his actions while under the influence of his illness but was given a feast and presented with foods and other goods noticeably superior to those he had taken in his madness. The community's concern was apparently devoted to reabsorbing the person back into society rather than protecting the community or punishing the offender.

In 1970 there were few mental hospitals in Oceania. The St. Giles Mental Hospital in Fiji, a mental institution that had had a forty-year record of high death rates and low discharge rates up to 1961, has experienced a great improvement since then. A 1966 report noted that 97 percent of patients admitted to St. Giles were being discharged in less than two years.

Droughts and famines resulting from natural catastrophes, such as the frequently recurring hurricanes and typhoons and the occasional volcanic eruptions, have continued to cause serious health problems from time to time. Christian missions, government administrations, and international bodies, such as the Red Cross, WHO, and UNICEF, have frequently contributed funds, personnel, and equipment to deal with such catastrophes. In cases of extreme hardship, whole villages and island populations have been resettled in new areas.

Weather warning systems have been established and improved, and these contribute to improved personal safety in the hurricane season. Improved communications, especially the radio, have meant that in 1970 there were no longer places like Tikopia, an outlying island of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, where news of famine or other disaster in pre-World War II years often took the better part of a year to reach potential outside helpers. Nonetheless, in 1970 many islands lacked regular access to administrative or health centers and could not expect prompt help in emergencies.

Medical Facilities and Personnel

The amount of money spent on health programs and the number of medical facilities and personnel in the Pacific Islands have increased greatly in the past two decades. In some areas Christian missions have continued to be the major providers of these facilities and personnel as they were everywhere in the Pacific before the twentieth century. In recent years missions in many territories have

received government subsidies. In much of Oceania the governments in 1970 provided virtually all the staff and equipment, with occasional help from overseas international organizations, especially WHO and UNICEF.

In 1970 trained doctors and nurses were few in proportion to the population, but the actual shortages were even greater than such figures would indicate, because serious travel problems tended to limit the effective radius of the existing staff. The few private medical and dental practitioners derived their clientele from among the nonindigenous residents.

Papua and New Guinea

More than A\$20 million (1 Australian dollar equals US\$1.12) was spent by the Department of Public Health in fiscal year 1967/68. In 1967 the administration maintained eleven hospitals in the Territory of New Guinea for paying patients and seventy free hospitals, including ones for tuberculosis and leprosy. A number of Christian mission hospitals also existed. In Papua in 1967 there were thirty-two government hospitals, all but two of them free. There were also two tuberculosis hospitals, a leprosy hospital, a mental hospital, and a combined tuberculosis and leprosy hospital.

To combat the high infant mortality rate, maternity and child health clinics, including some mobile clinics, have been set up. A campaign of home hygiene and education for better mother and child care has been instituted through these clinics.

The center for staff training is the Papuan Medical College, located in a modern building adjacent to the Port Moresby General Hospital. A five-year medical practitioner course given at the college had sixty students from all over Papua and New Guinea in 1967. Other medical and dental staff also received training there. Local nurses were trained at schools in four urban centers.

The total trained staff employed by the government in Papua and New Guinea at the end of 1966 was 3,500 for a population of approximately 2.25 million. In some areas a government medical officer could only make the rounds to each village in his area once in two or more years. The policy of the Australian administration during the late 1960s was to use indigenous medical personnel wherever possible in preference to personnel recruited overseas.

Many plantations and other rural enterprises on which indigenous laborers are employed are located in areas separated from professional medical care by great distances and virtually impassible terrain. To cope with minor injuries and ailments and to recognize and seek advice for the seriously ill, medical aides (formerly called medical assistants), both men and women, have been provided by the Department of Public Health. Candidates for the three-week training program required of medical aides are selected from among

plantation staffs and from among the rural employees of various government departments. They must be literate in English before being chosen.

Of a more senior status in the rural health program are the medical assistants. This title was upgraded in the late 1960s and since then has been conferred on persons who have completed a three-year program conducted by the Division of Para-medical Training at the Papuan Medical College.

Fiji

At Fiji's capital, Suva, is located the headquarters of the South Pacific Health Service, an organization set up in 1946 to coordinate more effectively the health services of Fiji, Western Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the New Hebrides, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. The director of medical services of Fiji is also concurrently the inspector general of the South Pacific Health Service. Its budget in 1968 was approximately F\$20,000 (1 Fijian dollar equals US\$1.20).

Also of Pacific-wide importance is the Fiji School of Medicine (before 1960, known as the Central Medical School), which was founded in 1888 to train Fijians to become native medical practitioners. The school was reorganized with help from the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1920s and, after 1928, admitted students from other Pacific territories as well as Fiji residents of all races. After World War II the school was greatly enlarged so that it could accommodate five times as many students as previously. In 1967 there were 219 students, 100 of them from Fiji and the rest from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, American Samoa, Western Samoa, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Tonga, the Cook Islands, the Tokelau Islands, Niue, and the New Hebrides.

Graduates of the five-year program were qualified as medical officers for work in the medical departments of their own territories, which had contributed to the cost of their training. The school also had three-year programs for physiotherapists, laboratory assistants, and other auxiliary personnel and a two-year course for health inspectors. The graduates of the school were neither prepared nor regarded as having fulfilled the qualifications for employment outside the medical departments of their own territories. The expenditure for the school in 1968 was approximately F\$140,000.

The school's teaching hospital is the Colonial War Memorial Hospital in Suva, erected in 1923. It is also the specialist hospital for the colony. In 1968 there were three additional divisional hospitals at Lautoka, Labasa, and Levuka. There were also six district and eight rural hospitals and sixteen dispensaries and health centers. A program of improving rural hospitals so that they could qualify for

district hospital status was underway during the 1960s. In 1970 Suva also had a 300-bed tuberculosis hospital, the St. Giles Mental Hospital, and a new leprosy hospital built in the late 1960s replacing an older leprosarium on the island of Makogai.

In government employ in 1968 in Fiji's medical services were: 42 medical and dental officers with overseas qualifications; 180 matrons, nursing sisters, junior sisters, health sisters, and assistant nursing sisters; 160 locally trained medical officers and dental officers; and 520 locally trained nurses, including male nurses.

The health sisters were under the supervision of divisional medical officers. These sisters traveled throughout their districts organizing and directing the work of nurses who had received their training at one of the two nursing schools in the colony. The locally trained medical officers and health sisters were largely involved in inoculation programs against communicable diseases. To increase their effective area of control, mobile clinics were employed. (In British usage, *sister* is a term used for nurse.)

British Solomon Islands Protectorate

The main government hospital in the protectorate is in Honiara and was recently rebuilt. It handles all types of medical and surgical cases and, in 1970, had two tuberculosis wards. In the late 1960s there were district hospitals on three islands and rural hospitals under Fiji-trained medical officers on Malaita and Santa Isabel, with another planned for Santa Cruz Island.

As of mid-1967 the medical department staff included a director of medical services, four medical officers with overseas training, fourteen Fiji-trained medical officers, a matron, seven British nurses, and a tutor nurse. There were also two nursing advisers supplied by WHO, a government malariologist, and a large staff of locally trained nurses and medical assistants.

The nursing school attached to the hospital in Honiara was being enlarged, and there were plans for the school to provide an increase in male medical assistants and female nurses so that sixty rural clinics could be staffed by 1971. Government plans to survey the population for new cases of tuberculosis, the second most important health problem of the protectorate (the first being malaria), awaited the establishment of this network of rural clinics.

In rural areas the government also employed medical dressers, whose qualifications were much lower than those of medical assistants and whose job was to deal with minor health problems and referral of other cases to more qualified staff. The dressers, as well as medical assistants, were expected to work with village health committees to encourage the use of, and disseminate knowledge about, personal and environmental cleanliness and preventive medicine. In 1967 a course was given in Honiara to medical assistants

and dressers from all over the protectorate to assist in preparing them for their roles as promoters of better health practices.

Various Christian missions contribute significantly to the supply of medical facilities and personnel in the protectorate. Much of the routine medical work is done at mission hospitals and dispensaries. The missions received government subsidies of more than A\$13,000 in 1967. The total government expenditure that year on health and medical services was nearly A\$600,000.

Western Samoa

In 1970 medical, dental, and nursing services in Western Samoa were entirely in government hands. The main hospital was in Apia, which in 1967 had 310 hospital beds. The staff of the maternity ward of the Apia hospital delivered approximately 150 babies per month during the late 1960s. Its charges were low. Hospitalization for infectious diseases was free, and dental care was also free.

The cost of health services in 1967 totaled approximately 600,000 talas (1 tala equals US\$1.39), some of it recoverable from hospital fees and dispensary sales. Doctors and fully trained nurses were few, and dental care, although free, was available only from a handful of locally trained dentists.

The prevailing traditional social partition of Samoan villages into four councils—for chiefs, for wives of chiefs, and for commoners of each sex—has made it possible for Samoan women's committees in the villages to be used extensively to promote rural and mother-and-child health programs. Visits of the Samoan-trained district nurses and meetings to discuss and deal with health matters were commonly held during the 1960s at the traditional committee *fales* (houses), one of which was built and owned jointly by the two women's councils in each village.

French Polynesia

The Institute of Medical Research in Papeete, the capital of the territory, was established after World War II with United States assistance to work on filariasis. It shifted its consideration in the 1960s to a number of other tropical diseases. In mid-1967 Papeete had a 430-bed hospital with a maternity annex where over 1,500 babies were born each year. There were also three medium-sized hospitals with a total of 200 beds and three smaller hospitals in outlying areas. Some of the outer islands had dispensaries under the supervision of nurses. A few of these dispensaries had inpatient facilities. An outpatient dispensary in Papeete treated approximately 100 cases daily. During the late 1960s there were twenty-seven government doctors and sixteen private doctors. Ten dentists, some of whom were private practitioners, had offices in Papeete.

New Caledonia

The main hospital in Nouméa, the Gaston Bourret, has general, surgical, maternity, psychiatric, and children's wards. The hospital has modern equipment and laboratories. In 1967 the territory had fifteen medical centers outside Nouméa and twenty-three dispensaries in rural areas. There were also mental, geriatric, leprosy, and tuberculosis hospitals. The total number of available hospital beds in 1967 was 1,300. Mobile clinics continued to conduct surveys in the interior of the mainland and in the Loyalty Islands to locate new cases of tuberculosis and leprosy. The government spent an estimated FrCFP277,000 (1 franc Comptoir Français du Pacifique equals US\$0.0111) on its health services in 1967. Missions ran two homes for the aged.

There were also three private clinics in New Caledonia with a total of 148 beds. More than twenty private doctors practiced in Nouméa, and more than a dozen dentists were in private practice in the mid-1960s. The number of private practitioners, unusually high for Oceania, was a reflection of New Caledonia's unusually large European population.

New Hebrides

Until recently, medical work was in mission hands, but by 1970 the French and British administrators of the Condominium had become active in health work. The British subsidized mission facilities, and the French used medical officers on loan from the French Military Overseas Medical Service and nurses from the French Catholic order of the Society of Mary (Société de Marie).

The British had a senior medical officer in the mid-1960s and, under him, two other expatriate medical officers, seven Fiji-trained medical officers, five medical assistants, one laboratory assistant, and about forty nurses and dressers. The French had six French medical officers and hospitals at the urban centers of Vila and Santo and four smaller hospitals supervised by medical dressers.

Overcrowding at hospitals, both mission and government-operated, was common in the 1960s. Mission dispensaries, many of them run without subsidy, treated a large number of patients. One such dispensary on Pentecost Island handled 12,000 outpatients and 80 maternity cases annually in the mid-1960s.

Tonga

Tongans receive free medical attention from the government. The chief medical officer is Tongan. There are also a few oversea-trained medical personnel, among them a government dentist. There are approximately twenty-five nurses and a sizable number of Tongan medical officers. Twenty-five future medical officers were receiving their training in Fiji in 1967.

Tonga had three hospitals in 1970. The one in the capital was about to receive a new building under the current development plan. The total number of beds in all three hospitals was 197. A number of dispensaries existed, run by Tongan medical officers. Antenatal child welfare and other public health matters were dealt with through weekly visits by mobile clinics in outlying areas.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

In 1968 the medical staff of the colony consisted of the chief medical officer, two other medical officers, a large number of assistant medical officers, dressers and orderlies, a matron, a sister, and a pharmacist. A central hospital was built in the 1960s on Tarawa, and there were other small hospitals under assistant medical practitioners. These facilities were severely strained in mid-1968 when an influenza outbreak spread through the colony, resulting in 12,000 cases recorded at government medical centers from July to October. The British Phosphate Commissioners maintained a sixty-bed hospital on Ocean Island for general, obstetrical, tuberculosis, and infectious disease cases among its employees and their families.

The colony's medical staff examined the entire population for tuberculosis in the early 1960s and began vaccinating one-third of it with antituberculosis inoculations. District nurses during the 1960s visited most villages once or twice a month. In the late 1960s six-month training courses were instituted for village women to qualify them as village aides to deal with day-to-day problems in midwifery, child care, and first aid, between visits of the district nurse. In some places training programs for traditional midwives, to induce them to adopt modern hygienic practices, were also instituted. These programs were established in government recognition of the importance of traditional childbirth practices in village society and of their effects on infant and maternal mortality.

Cook Islands

In 1969 medical and dental services were entirely government operated and free to Cook islanders, although dental care was free only until the age of fifteen. Rarotonga, the administrative capital, had a fifty-seven-bed general hospital with a surgical unit, an X-ray and a modern outpatient department, a public health section, and a nurses' training school. In outer islands with populations of 700 or more, there were cottage hospitals with Fiji-trained medical officers and locally trained nurses and health inspectors. Radio advisory service from Rarotonga was available to these facilities. The less populous outer islands had dispensaries with dressers. Government schools in Rarotonga had dental clinics, and mobile dental clinics were in use elsewhere.

The medical staff consisted of a New Zealander as director of health, a New Zealander as medical officer of health, a fully quali-

fied surgeon from the Cook Islands, seventeen Fiji-trained medical officers, seven nurses with overseas qualifications (three of whom were Cook islanders), and a number of locally trained nurses. A New Zealander as principal dental officer, three Fiji-trained dentists, several New Zealand-trained dental nurses, and a number of locally trained dental hygienists constituted the dental staff.

Wallis and Futuna

In Wallis and Futuna in 1960 there was a French army doctor, a hospital at Mata-Utu, the administrative capital, and two clinics, one of which was on Futuna. The territory also had a leprosy hospital.

At the South Pacific Conference in October 1969, the representative from Wallis and Futuna stated the need for equipment, personnel, and funds to deal with the widespread prevalence of filariasis in that area. The representative also expressed the need for specialist personnel to help the territory explore ways of solving the water shortage problem.

Nauru

In 1968 Nauru had two hospitals, one for Nauruans and the other operated by and for the personnel of the phosphate industry. Nauruans received free medical and dental care and, if surgery was required, were sent to Australia at government expense. In addition to dental clinics, there were eleven maternity and child welfare clinics. Tuberculosis and leprosy were treated at clinics in the Nauruan hospital, and there also was a leprosarium with a few inpatients. The entire population of Nauru was X-rayed and skin tested for tuberculosis in 1957. At that time forty-seven cases of tuberculosis were found among Nauruans, twenty-one among Gilbert and Ellice islanders, and sixty-eight among Chinese, the latter two groups being employees of the phosphate industry.

Niue

All medical and dental treatment on Niue was provided by the government free of charge apart from the cost of dentures and gold inlays. The total expenditure, on health services for the year 1969 was NZ\$163,215 (1 New Zealand dollar equals US\$1.12) or roughly NZ\$30.67 per capita. The chief medical and nursing positions were held by New Zealanders, but the remainder of the professional and assisting staff were Niueans: four medical officers, three dental officers, a nursing sister, health inspector, dispenser, laboratory technician, radiographer, dental mechanics, and approximately thirty nurses of various types. A full program of maternal and child welfare and care of the aged and infirm was carried out by a New Zealander public health sister. Dental care was provided by three Fiji-trained dentists and two mobile dental units, regularly

visiting villages and schools to treat school and preschool children. In fiscal year 1968/69 the dental staff filled 1,292 teeth, in addition to performing numerous extractions, cleaning, and other operations. A single thirty-bed hospital provided general medicine, some surgery, and obstetric services in 1969. For more specialized treatment, the government paid the cost of transportation to New Zealand.

Tokelau Islands

In 1969 each of the three atolls in the island group had a small hospital with a medical staff under the supervision of an indigenous medical officer. Radio medical advisory service from Western Samoa was also used. Until 1967 flying boats of the New Zealand Air Force had been available occasionally for mercy missions. Ships usually called only once in three or four months.

WHO has been active in the Tokelaus, beginning in 1958 when it carried out a mosquito-eradication experimental project in which a fungus was employed on one atoll and an insecticide on another. In 1961 another WHO team conducted a tuberculosis survey.

Filariasis was eradicated by a campaign sponsored by the New Zealand Medical Research Council in the 1960s. In 1969 an experimental program was begun in which schoolchildren's diets were supplemented by two milk biscuits of a type developed in New Zealand for nutritional supplement purposes. The New Zealand Department of Health, which has undertaken this program, has arranged for records to be kept of the weight, height, and general health of those given biscuits. These records were to be compared to those of a control group in the Tokelaus.

Water Supply

The problem of supplying safe and potable water in sufficient quantities is a major one in much of Oceania. The absence or insufficiency of safe drinking water has been responsible for much of the diarrheal illness that has claimed so many lives in the area, especially those of infants and young children. The lack of fresh water for convenient bathing and laundering has been partly responsible for the prevailing low level of personal and environmental cleanliness. Water piped directly to the houses and hot water were not available in 1970, except in the houses of Westerners, in hotels, and in the better neighborhoods of the urban centers.

On the atolls of Micronesia especially, but also on atolls elsewhere in Oceania, water shortage has been the major problem. The absence of rivers and lakes on islands of this type and the irregularity and variation in the amount of rainfall make it virtually impossible to collect enough water to cope with long periods of drought.

Nauru has experienced almost constant water shortages, as have some of the islands of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. Nauru, however, is unusual in being able to afford the cost of shipping water in from Australia.

For use on atolls with objectionably brackish ground water and long drought periods, a possible solution to the water supply problem, developed by the South Pacific Commission, has been a new family-sized solar still. The still uses solar energy to convert sea water into between four and five gallons of fresh water per day. Another technique being used in the mid-1960s in Tonga, with help from WHO and UNICEF, has been the installation of concrete skimming basins for brackish ground water. These basins take advantage of the fact that in brackish water, which is a mixture of fresh water and salt water, the fresh water, being lighter, floats on top of the salt water and can be skimmed off the top, provided the lens of fresh water resting directly on top of the salt water is not disturbed. Using these skimming basins, Tonga has been able to supply much of its rural population with adequate fresh water.

Church roofs have served as rainwater catchments in many areas. In recent years many islanders' houses have been constructed with new roofing materials, such as corrugated iron that have made possible the use of roof catchments leading to household water-storage tanks. This has not been possible for those households that have continued to use traditional roofing materials of thatched reeds, leaves, or grasses.

On islands with extinct volcanoes, craters and their rocky slopes have served as rainwater catchments. From these natural reservoirs, water is sometimes carried for short distances in imported containers, bottles made from coconut shells, or lengths of bamboo. Settlement has usually been near the water supply, but in some parts of Oceania crude aqueducts have been used.

On high islands and continental-type islands, natural fresh water supplies are available, but piped and safe water supplies are generally lacking. The practice of using the same water for drinking, bathing, defecating, and untreated waste disposal has resulted in much illness attributable to water pollution.

In areas where urbanization or the rapid increase in population growth have caused overcrowding in the past two decades, pollution has become serious. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, where overcrowding was making pollution as serious a problem in the 1960s as water scarcity had always been, a diarrheal disease project was begun in 1968 with aid from WHO.

Because of their lack of resources, many of the Pacific island territories have been dependent upon funds from international organizations, such as WHO and UNICEF, or upon subsidies given by the administering power to cover the high costs of installing safe

and convenient water supplies. Variation in natural supplies of fresh water and in modern equipment for storage, treatment, and distribution was great in Oceania in 1970. Fiji was unusually well supplied with modern water supply systems. In 1969 the colony had twelve piped water supply systems in urban areas. In addition, during 1968 forty-two new water supply systems were constructed in rural villages. In certain drought-affected areas, wells were being drilled in 1968 with help from Australia's South Pacific Aid Programme.

DIET AND NUTRITION

Available and Preferred Foods

The availability of foodstuffs varies greatly from place to place in Oceania. Foreign foods constitute the major portion of the diet in urban areas and in those rural sections, such as the coffee-growing areas of New Caledonia and the copra areas in French Polynesia, where cash crops have displaced food crops in the indigenous agriculture.

The foreign foods that are the major diet components of urbanites and others dependent upon cash for food are: canned meat and fish; polished rice; bread made from highly refined flour; a great many sweet beverages and foods sweetened with refined white sugar; and, for nursing babies, sweetened condensed milk, often overdiluted with impure water. European vegetables and fruits, fresh or canned, are not plentiful and are prohibitively priced for indigenous budgets.

In general, this diet of imported food, in the quantities and proportions consumed by the indigenous people, is lower in nutritional value than the traditional rural diet. The amounts of canned meat or fish the islanders can afford to buy provide less protein than did the fish they formerly caught. Fresh meat in the cities is very expensive and is of poor quality. The refined cereals that have replaced the coarse homegrown vegetables have brought about a serious reduction in vitamin-B complex intake. The enormous popularity of sugar in food and drink (in a typical Polynesian community, daily consumption might be six ounces of sugar per person) has resulted in a deterioration of dental health in the past forty years. This has been especially true in Polynesia where the deterioration was described by a dental surgeon who made an extensive survey of the area in the mid-1960s as "a real scourge, as bad as any endemic disease."

The chief nutritional asset of urban areas in 1970 was that they were less subject than rural areas to severe fluctuation in food availability. This advantage was offset to some extent by the lack of

freshness and sometimes prohibitive prices of foodstuffs, a problem that has not occurred to the same extent in rural areas.

In some urban areas efforts have been made to grow food crops on small plots in or near the town and to raise animals for meat in backyards. These efforts to supplement purchased food with subsistence sources have met with many obstacles. Often the urban people do not own the land on which they build their makeshift houses. Also, population densities and traditional land tenure practices that are ill adapted to urban settings have made food crop gardening difficult and inefficient. Visiting relatives from the home villages are often the major source of fresh fruits and vegetables for urban households.

In both urban and rural Oceania the diet relies heavily on vegetarian foods, especially foods high in starch content. Although many Pacific islanders have started to consume imported rice, the staple food for most Oceanians has remained locally grown starches. Melanesian staples are chosen from among the many indigenous roots and tubers, such as yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and maniot (also called cassava, manioc, and tapioca), or from starch taken from the pith of sago palm trees, from starchy tree fruits, such as bananas. In Micronesia taro, bananas, and sometimes breadfruit are the staple starches and are eaten with seafood and coconuts. Breadfruit, the starchy fruit of the breadfruit tree, is a staple on many of Polynesia's high islands. Bananas and coconuts are eaten everywhere in the Pacific and serve as the staple foods in some areas. Much use is made in cooking of coconut cream, the strained liquid obtained from squeezing grated coconut meat that has been mixed with a small quantity of water. Coconut milk, the strained liquid obtained from squeezing grated coconut meat in a larger quantity of water, is also used.

For traditional Pacific islanders, daily protein is gained only from seafood and, on rare occasions, fowl or small game. The traditional diet of Fiji includes sea and fresh water fish, eels, prawns, and fresh and dried octopus. A seasonal delicacy in Western Samoa and some other island groups is *palolo*, the spawn of a sea creature that resembles a miniature lobster. The *palolo* makes its annual appearance on the surface water of some coral reefs, usually in late October or November. Some coastal people of the New Hebrides eat shark, but shark meat is not acceptable as food to the inland people of the same islands. The inland people, however, are reported as eating snakes, which the coastal people do not.

In some areas where protein is derived almost entirely from fish, the availability of food fish has been drastically reduced in the past few decades. The traditional method of obtaining fish by polluting the water with locally made vegetable poison has been partly responsible for the decrease in the number of fish in the Cook Islands

and elsewhere. Besides, fish flesh poisoning has curtailed the safe fish supply in some areas, and the depredations of the crown-of-thorns starfish threaten the fish population of the Pacific coral reefs (see ch. 2, The Islands and People).

The flesh of mammals, except out of cans, is almost exclusively festival food. Pigs are kept in quantity on the larger Melanesian islands and in some other areas, but they are regarded as a form of currency or of visible wealth and are usually eaten only at feasts and ceremonial occasions, which seldom occur more than once a month. Pigs are a nutritional drain during their lives, since the adult pig often eats as much vegetable food as do the people who raise it. The flesh of sea turtles is also a festival food. Before the coming of the missionaries and Western administrators, the lack of indigenous food animals was compensated for to some extent by cannibalistic practices in many islands in Melanesia and Polynesia.

Food Consumption

There has been a reduction in the quantities of food consumed with increases in the number of those dependent upon a single household's resources. This has been a source of hardship.

Since quantity is more valued than the quality or taste of food and since there is no widely accepted idea of nutrition or need for a balanced diet, the island household in times of scarcity or low income tends to spend all its resources to achieve a sufficiency in a bulky starch vegetable rather than on less filling and more expensive, but more nutritious, protein food. At feasts and whenever supplies are ample, the Pacific islanders can and do consume great quantities of food at a time.

Malnutrition, especially protein deficiency, has been widely noted throughout the Pacific and is most common among young children and pregnant and nursing women. Traditional practices often contribute to protein malnutrition. Young children, especially infants under one year old, are often denied the few protein foods available. In some places where fish are readily available, as in the Gilbert Islands, it is the custom not to serve fish to sick people. The International Red Cross tried in vain during the mid-1960s to promote the drinking of milk among the children of islanders who had recently endured a yearlong drought in the Phoenix Islands. The organization's plentiful supplies of milk were rejected. In many parts of Oceania women and children habitually eat after the men have finished, by which time the supplements to the starch staple have disappeared. Women in the interior of Malekula are limited in their diet to soft foods by the custom that obliges a bride to have her front teeth ceremonially removed.

The inland peoples of Melanesia do not regard their pigs as a proper source of daily protein and do not have the seafood supplies available to those who live by the sea. A survey in the 1960s of the dietary intake of inland New Guinea villagers showed that the adults consumed approximately one ounce of protein daily. The same survey also showed a very low daily caloric intake—less than 1,500 calories.

In rural areas social organization has affected food consumption patterns. The Arapesh of the New Guinea highlands provide an extreme example of the adverse nutritional effects of some social patterns. The noted anthropologist Margaret Mead calculated in the 1930s that the Arapesh spent approximately one-third of their time in energy-consuming travel so that they could plant their food crops in other people's fields and distribute to others the fowl they had hunted and the pigs they had raised. Their harried movement back and forth across rugged mountain terrain was in response to a strong social sanction against eating one's own food production. Instead, the Arapesh tried to distribute all they had to others and to receive from others all they consumed. Because of these social practices and a soil that was hard to cultivate, the Arapesh, in spite of their great expenditure of energy, had a daily diet equal to less than half that regarded at the time by the territory's administration as the minimum acceptable for plantation laborers.

In some agricultural areas malnutrition has resulted from the monetization of the economy. The increasing use of land for cash crops has reduced the amount of food available for local consumption, causing malnutrition. At various times this has been a problem in the Cook Islands, New Caledonia, French Polynesia, and elsewhere.

In urban areas poverty, aggravated by high birth rates, has been the major problem for nutrition. A survey during the 1950s of the welfare of a relatively well-paid urban group resident in Hanuabada, the indigenous quarter of Port Moresby (Papua), showed that the average household income from all sources, cash and kind, was insufficient to provide the minimum nutritional requirements necessary to maintain adequate health, even assuming that the household's entire resources were spent solely on food.

Among this group of urbanites, the number of resident dependents was high and the daily quantity of food consumed was low. One cup of uncooked rice was measured out for three or four persons. When vegetables were served, one yam or one maniotia (manioc) served two people, and two sweet potatoes served three people. (The average weight of the food yam was two pounds; the maniotia was smaller, and the sweet potato much smaller.) The tuber bulk usually consumed, although higher than would be the case in the West, was lower than was traditional among rural

Papuans. Canned meat and fish were doled out in spoonfuls. One sixteen-ounce can was used to serve six people at the main meal.

Cooking and Eating Habits

Food in Oceania is usually cooked by baking or steaming in earthen ovens or by grilling or boiling over open fires. Frying in fat or oil is a new technique of growing popularity introduced to the area by the Asians—Chinese, Indians, Indonesians, Vietnamese, and others—who form large foreign colonies in various Pacific territories (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). Foreigners, both Westerners and Asians, maintain their national diet and nutritional patterns with the help of imported foodstuffs and, especially in the case of Chinese, local produce grown by and for themselves.

The Pacific islander's traditional oven consists of a shallow pit lined with a single layer of volcanic or basaltic stones, on top of which is built a blazing fire of coconut husks. Other stones are placed around the fire and are turned and maneuvered with tongs of green wood until they are white hot. When the stones have reached the right temperature, the fire is scraped out of the pit, and the food, wrapped in banana leaves or some other covering, is laid on the first layer of stones and covered over with the remaining heated stones. This is then covered over with woven mats in Polynesia and with earth in Melanesia to keep the heat in. The cooking time is long, and food may sit in the oven hours after the heat has dissipated. Cooked food is usually served at room temperature. (In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony the pits dug for the earthen oven have been replaced by old oil drums brought to the islands during World War II. The oil drum is cut in half, and the base removed. The resulting cylinder is then set into the ground, with about nine inches emerging above the soil surface.) Volcanic stones, from islands that have them, are in great demand for use in the earthen ovens on the nonvolcanic islands. Where necessary, basaltic and coral rocks are used instead.

Cooking equipment is meager. The main tool for cooking, as for virtually all chores, is an imported knife with a steel blade approximately nine inches long. Often an enamel basin is used for mixing and cooking puddings. A few wooden bowls, a wooden or stone mortar and pestle, some cooking stones, and a coconut and vegetable grater, often homemade from an empty tin can, complete the minimum set of kitchen utensils. Most households have a cupboard or food safe for storing foods and dishes. Cutlery is not used in many areas, except for the all-purpose knife. Spoons are increasing in popularity for cooking, serving, and eating. One or two iron or aluminum pots and pans are often used for daily meals, and in wealthier households a kerosine or gasoline pressure stove may be

used to cook these meals. Impermanent tools frequently used in Pacific island cooking are forked reeds, bamboo sticks, pointed or thorny branches, and seashells of various types.

A kitchen is sometimes in a separate shed, or it may only be in a corner of an all-purpose, one-room house. In overcrowded urban houses some families lack the space for cooking and must depend upon prepared or uncooked foods.

The daily meals of some inland peoples of Melanesia consist of cakes made of breadfruit and boiled bananas, pumpkins, yams, and taro, all sprinkled with coconut milk and eaten once a day. In parts of Polynesia and coastal Melanesia, rice cooked with coconut milk and grilled fish, sometimes supplemented with homemade bread concocted of imported flour, salt water, and citrus juice as leaven, are a typical main meal, in addition to which the people have one or two snacks daily. A traditional starchy food in common use in Polynesia is poi. To make this starchy paste, the Polynesian cook boils taro roots until they are softened and then pounds them in a stone mortar. Water is added, and the mixture is left to ferment. The poi is ready when the roots have swelled up with water.

In the 1950s, among the Papuan urbanites of Hanuabada in Port Moresby, breakfast usually consisted of bread and tea with a lot of sugar. This represented a departure from the traditional rural Papuan breakfast of leftover vegetables. Breakfast was often skipped by the urban resident, however, except for a cup of tea. Lunch was usually a big meal based on rice, root vegetables, or cooked bananas, with a little meat or fish, tea without milk, and plain bread. Dinner was similar to lunch but with more meat or fish consumed. Dinner was served anytime between 5:30 and 7:30 P.M., and a few hours later cold leftovers would be served with bread and tea. Workingmen often had to go without lunch or skimp because of the costs. Snacks, especially ice cream, candy, mangoes and other fruits in season, and betel nut and other chewed foods, were frequently enjoyed.

Festival meals in Oceania are much more ample than daily meals. A major function of feasts has been to provide an occasional surfeit of food to perpetually hungry islanders. In New Caledonia and the New Hebrides the typical festival dish consists of big portions of meat and fish and various cooked and uncooked vegetables, which are wrapped in numerous layers of banana leaves and deposited among the heated stones of the earthen oven. For these occasions pigs are slaughtered, and sometimes a giant turtle is caught. In Polynesia also, feasts include a great assortment of prepared dishes served in large portions to the guests.

Rules governing who eats with whom and in what order vary throughout Oceania. In central Ambim (the New Hebrides), for example, chiefs prepare food only for chiefs and eat it among them-

selves, away from persons of lesser stature; the sexes are also segregated. In Fiji, at household meals any guests present eat first and they yield their places to the host family, the men and older boys first, then the women and young children.

Table manners differ. In the more primitive areas of Melanesia, for example, food handlers do not usually wash before or after cooking, and those eating do not wash either, although food is generally prepared and eaten with the fingers. In Fiji, by contrast, finger bowls are often provided for washing the hands before and after a meal. In most of Oceania little attempt is made to ensure that eating implements are clean before use or to keep flies and other insects from alighting on the food.

Beverages, Tobacco, and Betel Nut

Traditional beverages concocted by the islanders include drinks made with coconut water, toddy from the sap of the coconut tree, fermented toddy (drunk in the Gilbert Islands only) made from coconut flowers, and *kava*, which is popular everywhere that Polynesian influence has been felt. *Kava* is prepared from the root of a species of pepper plant. The root is washed, broken into pieces, and chewed or pounded into shreds. The shreds are formed into balls about the size of tennis balls, one for each of the men participating in the drinking. A small quantity of fresh water is poured into each ball. This liquid is then squeezed out into a bowl, and the process is repeated a few times until there is sufficient liquid to serve those present.

In Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, and parts of French Polynesia, *kava* drinking is accompanied by elaborate ritual and etiquette involving pre-Christian religious and social hierarchical features (see ch. 6, Cultural, Educational, and Communication Patterns). The effects of this mild narcotic on the drinker are not great. The legs may be affected with a mild sense of paralysis, but the mind remains clear. The person usually rests until the legs feel normal again.

In northern and western Oceania *kava* drinking is not common. There the chewing of betel nut (the fruit of the areca palm), with which lime and other seasonings have been mixed, serves the same function of recreational, nonnutritive consumption, although without the elaborate ritual accompanying *kava* drinking. Tobacco, in pipes or cigarettes or for chewing, was introduced by the Westerners and has become popular throughout Oceania.

Alcoholic beverages were introduced as the result of Western contact and were initially a cause of much social disruption among islanders unaccustomed to their effects. Later, during the nineteenth century, virtually all of Oceania came under missionary-promoted legislative bans on all forms of intoxicating beverages for

islanders. In some areas islanders were permitted the milder forms, beer and wine, but were prohibited from drinking spirits. During the 1960s many of the laws banning various forms of alcohol to islanders were repealed.

Communal drinkfests, at which large quantities of beer and wine are consumed and which may last for several days (or, in the case of wage employees, all weekend) are common in French Polynesia. Drunkenness is regarded as a problem by the administration there. There is also concern over the amount of drunkenness in urban areas elsewhere in the Pacific. Alcoholism, however, is an illness absent from Oceania.

An anthropologist studying a group of Solomon islanders in southern Bougainville (New Guinea) noted a preference for the harder liquors, unlike islanders in Polynesia. In Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, where all forms of alcoholic consumption were still forbidden to indigenous residents as of 1970, there was a great deal of clandestine drinking by men. In the Cook Islands this took the form of drinking groups called bush beer schools, based on traditional *kava* ceremonies, that meet regularly and secretly to consume "orange beer," a crude wine made from the juice of locally grown oranges. In Western Samoa an anthropologist recorded in the early 1960s that, in a typical village with an adult male population of 250, there were at least 20 brew makers, each producing an illegal beer output of 200 twenty-six-ounce bottles a week. The beer was made of imported malt, hops, sugar, and yeast and had an alcoholic content of between 12 and 20 percent.

HOUSING

Rural Patterns

The traditional Pacific island house was made entirely of local materials—trees, branches, reeds, grasses, and leaves—tied or woven to make the walls and heaped or thatched to make the roof. Although in the Fly district of New Guinea, the people lived in long-houses (sex-differentiated dormitories in which the entire male and female population of the community dwelt), the single-family household was typical of Oceania.

Some houses were raised on stilts out over the sea or over a creek or river. Some were raised a few feet off the dry land to inhibit the entrance of insects and stray animals. Others were built on mounds or otherwise directly on the ground. In ground-level houses, coral rocks, shells, or woven mats were often used to cover the bare earth. Some houses were small dark huts with no air circulation, as in parts of rural New Caledonia, whereas others were light and spacious. In Western Samoa the *fale* was constructed entirely with-

out walls, with a circle of pillars to hold up the roof, and was fully open to the air except during rain or at night, when plaited blinds could be lowered.

Traditional styles have prevailed throughout most of rural Oceania, although some modern materials have been incorporated. Thatched roofs have in many areas been abandoned in favor of corrugated iron, which is more durable and better for water catchment but makes the living quarters extremely hot unless sufficient airspace is provided.

The relative coolness of traditional materials and their greater strength to endure hurricanes has led to their use in Western-style houses in some areas. They have also been used sometimes by rural Asian residents, particularly the Indian sugarcane farmers of Fiji. The typical Indian farmhouse of the 1960s, however, was a one-story iron or frame building built slightly off the ground with interior dimensions of approximately twenty-four feet in each direction. A few windows, with hinges at the top, provided air for the two or three small rooms.

With the exception of the Indians of Fiji, most nonindigenous residents of Oceania live either in company housing provided at the Western-owned plantation or mine sites or in the urban areas. In Papua and New Guinea and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the two island groups where large numbers of indigenous laborers are employed in enterprises distant from their home villages, many rural young men live, for a few years at a time, in company housing. Although this housing is generally adequate, on some plantation sites it is less comfortable than that in the home villages of the employees.

Rural villages vary greatly in appearance and facilities. The typical Fijian village is built around a village green. All the houses face the green, with the kitchens, privies, and outbuildings in the rear. In the interior of Ambrim, the New Hebrides, by contrast, some of the villages are laid out like mazes, with zigzagging paths leading past woods, ramparts, and other barriers to numerous small clusters of modest huts.

Electricity is rare in rural areas and is generally not available to rural private households. The village church, school, dispensary, or other public building is likely, however, to have a small generator providing limited amounts of electricity.

Sanitary conditions and facilities also vary widely, but nearly everywhere they are below the minimum level necessary to check the spread of such diseases as dysentery, illnesses caused by intestinal parasites, tuberculosis, typhoid, and infectious hepatitis. Oceanic people have lacked traditions of environmental sanitation. This may have been because there was less need for such things as trash disposal facilities when all the household goods were made of vegetable materials and, if abandoned, disintegrated quickly.

Campaigns against mosquitoes, which have involved ridding rural areas of scattered garbage and trash, such as old bottles, tin cans and other breeding places for insects, have been undertaken in many areas with good results. Weekly cooperative village cleanups have been established in many areas, often as a result of the initiative of the local schoolteacher or pastor. Efforts have been made by the governments concerned to provide more satisfactory water supplies and latrines, sometimes with help from the South Pacific Commission and other international organizations.

The shortage of water and the lack of convenient piped water supplies have made it difficult to convert islanders to the use of privies. The expense involved in providing cistern-flushed toilets has mitigated against their installation in most places, and pour-flush toilets, which require that water be carried to them for flushing purposes, are installed instead. Since few islanders understand the connection between dirty latrines and disease, they are often unwilling to take the trouble to haul water to the privies for flushing. In some areas of Melanesia, where houses are raised high above the ground on stilts, privies are not in common use.

The high value of pigs as symbols of wealth in parts of Oceania, especially Melanesia, has led, in some areas, to the pigs sharing the houses of their owners. In the 1950s Western observers noted in one interior Melanesian village that the community's wealthiest man lived in a house surrounded by a pile of pig droppings. Administration campaigns to get Pacific islanders to pen their pigs have sometimes resulted in new problems of environmental sanitation, since stray pigs had been useful in the disposing of scattered garbage.

Furnishings and household goods vary widely in quantity and type. Traditionally, furnishings were few and were made of woven pandanus (screw pine), beaten tree bark, wood, and other vegetable materials. People ate, slept, and sat on the floor, using various types of mats in place of beds, tables, and chairs. Some Western-style furnishings have been adopted. In Fiji a well-to-do village household often contains one or two European-style beds covered with Fijian-made pandanus mats and imported mosquito nets. The beds are mostly for show, since the Fijians find it cooler to sleep on the floor atop a thick layer of mats, but mosquito nets are popular in many areas. In Westernized houses a store-bought table and some chairs are often part of the household furnishings, and in poorer households homemade tables and chairs are common.

Urban Patterns

Urban centers were established by and for foreigners and have always housed most of the foreign residents. There, wealthy Chinese, Indian, and other Asian merchants and professional people live in European-style houses like those of the Western business,

administrative, and professional people, eat European food as well as their own national dishes, drive cars and motorbikes, listen to the radio, and go to motion picture theaters. Electricity and piped water are available, at least in the better business and residential neighborhoods. Sometimes members of one ethnic group inhabit a particular quarter of the town or suburb. The Chinese, especially, tend to stay within their own neighborhoods.

Indigenous migrants from the rural areas have poured into these urban centers in the period since the end of World War II. An extreme example of this trend is Papeete, the capital of French Polynesia. Papeete and its suburbs had expanded between 1946 and 1965 from approximately 18,000 inhabitants to nearly 42,000 or almost half of French Polynesia's total population. This occurred without an equivalent expansion in urban industry, although speculation in tourist facilities and the French nuclear experimental program brought a temporary upsurge in construction.

The layout of downtown Papeete is similar to that of urban centers in tropical Asia. The streets are in a grid formation dividing the area into rectangular blocks. Members of different ethnic groups often live on the same block. At the front, facing the street, there is frequently a row of shops, with the upstairs of the building occupied by Chinese or persons of mixed Polynesian-French or Polynesian-Chinese parentage. Slightly indented from the street and partly screened from view by trees and shrubs are situated the brick cottages of the Europeans, the more well-to-do assimilated Polynesians and persons of part Polynesian extraction, and the wealthier Westernized Chinese. In the center of the block, invisible from the street, are the thatched huts of the Polynesians, often a cluster of migrant households whose residents have come from the same home island or are connected by family ties. These hidden Polynesian neighborhoods have an attractive rural atmosphere when the greenery around them is well maintained. With persistent overcrowding, however, many have deteriorated into shabby slums.

Some recent migrants have been unable to find room in the town and have settled in the swamps bordering the mouths of coastal streams on the town fringes. Some wealthier residents, especially Europeans and those of part European extraction, have moved out to fashionable suburbs.

Although not on the scale of Papeete, urban areas throughout Oceania have been growing at a rapid rate, the wealthier residents moving out into suburbs, and the poorer residents creating slums in the older parts of town and shantytowns on the less desirable fringes. In addition to the crowding of permanent residents—often several families to one small corrugated-iron shack—there are also frequent temporary additions to the migrants' households caused by a constant stream of visitors from the home villages.

Sanitary conditions in the 1960s were worse in many urban neighborhoods than in the rural villages from which the urbanites had come. In Port Moresby, for example, many residents had been moved onto dry land, but their sanitary habits were still geared to the days when they had dwelt in houses built on piles over the bay and had habitually tossed their rubbish out the windows into the water. Such practices, when continued in overcrowded areas on land, proved disastrous for environmental sanitation. Throughout Oceania urban sewage and waste disposal systems have been unable to keep pace with the rapid urban growth.

Housing Programs

Although construction and financing of low-cost housing by government and philanthropic organizations were not able to keep pace with the increased flow of migrants into urban areas during the 1960s, many low-cost housing programs were underway in urban Oceania. A successful low-cost housing development in the Port Moresby suburb, Hohola, has burgeoned into an attractive neighborhood with its own shopping center. In New Caledonia employees of The Nickel Company (Société Le Nickel) were the recipients of a twenty-four-acre housing project on the outskirts of Nouméa, built with overseas funds provided through the Building and Credit Society of New Caledonia. In Fiji, Papua and New Guinea, the Cook Islands, Niue, and elsewhere, easy credit arrangements have been provided so that tenants of newly built low-cost housing can buy their homes on long-term loans.

One of the most ambitious housing programs in the Pacific was instituted in Fiji in 1955 when the Housing Authority was set up to provide low-cost housing to low-income people in the urban centers. By June 1967, 600 houses and 240 apartments had been built, and loans had been provided to 315 households to build their own homes on their own property. The Housing Authority expected to have tripled the number of dwelling units built with its help by 1971 or 1972.

Missionary groups have also been involved in housing programs for the poor. One project of the Anglican mission in Fiji during the 1960s involved the resettlement of a group of Solomon islanders, remnants of the indentured labor force employed in Fiji earlier in the century. These Solomon islanders have long had unsatisfactory living conditions and, in addition, have been ostracized by the indigenous Fijians. The Anglicans planned to resettle them on an island near Levuka in houses costing the equivalent of US\$1,000 each and with approximately eight acres of farmland allotted to each household for subsistence gardening.

Most of the low-cost programs have been designed to provide the minimum acceptable housing. Since the householder has been expected to buy his home from a financing organization, every effort has been made to keep the price down. On Nauru, however, where royalties from the phosphate industry have been used to finance a program of rehousing Nauruans, approximately 500 houses had been constructed by 1970 in the European style, many of them containing such features as tiled bathrooms, stainless steel sinks, and vinyl-tile kitchen floors. These houses were leased to Nauruans for nominal rents.

In the course of designing and building low-cost housing, experiments have been made in the use of different techniques and construction materials. One type of house being developed during the 1960s for use in rural New Guinea had a wooden frame, an aluminum or galvanized-iron roof that was designed to catch rainwater and siphon it into a storage tank, and a concrete floor. A survey team employed by an American philanthropic organization reported in the 1960s that such a house, built of local wood by volunteer local labor, could be constructed for a unit cost of the equivalent of between US\$300 and US\$400. To provide the local lumber, however, a special type of portable saw would be required that could transform the standing timber into building material on the spot. Otherwise, the lumber would have to be shipped to the rural areas by air, making the housing prohibitively expensive.

DRESS

Clothing in much of Oceania combines traditional and Western features. Traditional clothing was scant in the pre-Christian Era and was made from tree bark, plaited leaves, grasses, and reeds.

In parts of inland Papua and New Guinea where traditional clothing prevails, the major emphasis, especially at festivals, is on body ornament and decoration rather than on clothing. On festive occasions faces are daubed with bright vegetable dyes, and elaborate headdresses are worn that are made from bird-of-paradise feathers, beads, shells, and the like. Nose ornaments, sometimes worn, are made from the quills of the cassowary, the flightless ostrich-like bird of New Guinea. Earrings and body tattoos are prevalent as ornaments.

Some decorations in use in the pagan areas of Melanesia indicate achieved status and wealth. Of these, some are made from items of intrinsic value, such as pearl shells, and others are simply social indicators—for example, the strips of bamboo that indicate status in the *moka* (see Glossary) exchange system of the highlands of New Guinea (see ch. 13, Trade and Transportation).

The item commonly called the grass skirt, which is usually made of leaves or shredded tree bark, is common women's attire among the un-Westernized Melanesians, and in some pagan areas it is worn without a blouse. Outside Melanesia the only places where bare-breasted women in grass skirts could still be found in 1970 were in the remoter areas of the Gilbert Islands. Skirts of a similar type are used in dance costumes for women in French Polynesia. In Fiji men wear skirts of shredded bark or of leaves on certain ceremonial occasions.

In Polynesia persistent traditional ornaments worn by men and women, often as part of their daily attire, are fresh flowers strung into necklaces, bracelets, and hair decorations. In some parts of Polynesia a flower behind the left or right ear is used among adolescents and young adults to indicate whether the wearer presently has, or lacks, a lover.

Western influence on clothing has resulted in the widespread use of imported cotton cloth, by preference bold floral prints in bright colors, instead of traditional fabrics made from tree bark, leaves, and other local materials. Tapa, the traditional fabric of Polynesia, which is made from the beaten and treated bark of the paper mulberry tree, is no longer commonly used for clothing, although it is still occasionally worn on ceremonial occasions. Pandanus leaf mats, another traditional fabric, are still used for hats, waist ornaments, and bags (see ch. 6, Cultural, Educational, and Communication Patterns).

Another result of Western, particularly missionary, influence has been the introduction of new concepts of modesty, so that a greater amount of clothing is worn than previously. Whereas formerly most Pacific island women were bare breasted, in 1970 women in most areas were covered, at least from above the bosom to midcalf, by a wraparound garment or, from neck to ankle, by a loose-fitting, smocklike garment called a Mother Hubbard.

Men are often bare to the waist, except on formal occasions, and commonly wear trousers or shorts, or a length of cloth draped over the hips to midcalf or below, sometimes called by the Samoan term *lava-lava*. In the less Westernized areas of Melanesia loincloths made of imported fabric are often worn by men.

The voluminous Mother Hubbards to be found in many Pacific territories are adorned in the New Hebrides with scallops, imported lace, braid, and ribbons and worn with several petticoats. In areas where water is in short supply or where bathing is a once-a-week project, as in parts of Melanesia, the more durable and abundant clothing introduced by the Western missionaries has resulted in a lower level of personal hygiene than had existed before the new clothing was introduced. Critics of the missionaries' insistence that their concept of modesty be applied to islanders have pointed out

that, by establishing a demand for imported fabric for clothing that is nonessential to health in Oceania's tropical climate, the missionaries diverted islanders' limited resources from other, more crucial needs.

Asian residents wear their national dress or tropical Western dress. Westerners wear tropical dress, but women, except in French Polynesia, avoid the more abbreviated types of summer clothing. Western-style school uniforms have helped to spread the use of Westernized clothing among the young. Preschool children, however, are as a rule nearly or totally naked except when attending church or on other formal occasions.

EARNING, SPENDING, AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Throughout Oceania in 1970 cash and the imported items it could buy were growing more important to the indigenous people, displacing the reliance on subsistence production of food and material goods and also displacing the traditional means of reckoning wealth. In order to earn the needed cash, communities that had formerly produced no cash crops, as in the highlands of New Guinea, were producing them (see ch. 13, Trade and Transportation). Communities that had engaged in cash crop production as a supplement to their subsistence agriculture were becoming predominantly cash crop producers, with subsistence production a part-time effort, and communities that had been predominantly cash crop producers were moving into wage labor.

In 1970 most Pacific islanders earned their cash income from production of cash crops on their own land. The trend toward wage earning was growing, however, especially in Polynesia where wage employment had attracted few indigenous laborers before World War II.

Per capita income was not increasing and in some areas was declining because of high birth rates and low death rates. At the same time, the prices of consumer goods that could be purchased with cash were rising everywhere in Oceania during the 1960s. Using a 1963 base of 100, the consumer price index in 1968 for Western Samoa was 112.3; for Papua and New Guinea, 113.9; for Fiji, 116.7; for French Polynesia, 146.1; and for New Caledonia, 116.2. (New Caledonia's cost-of-living index had risen greatly in the twenty years before 1963.)

With urbanization, rental costs had entered into Pacific island budgets, and rents were high in some urban areas. Fiji urban wage earners, for example, were spending nearly one-quarter of their household income on rent and related costs.

A high proportion of the economically active population of New Caledonia was employed in wage labor. The per capita income in

New Caledonia was the equivalent of about US\$747 per annum. The daily basic wage was the equivalent of US\$5.60. Nickel workers received the equivalent of US\$0.80 per hour plus social benefits. In New Caledonia and French Polynesia these social benefits included monthly allotments for each child in the family of regular wage earners. These allotments were a substantial proportion of the cash income of wage earners in these French territories. Since they were available only to persons with regular jobs, they encouraged the trend toward wage earning that, by 1968, had resulted in more than half of French Polynesia's economically active population working for wages.

In much of Oceania, however, cash income came from seasonal or temporary contract labor and from cash crops. Cash income varied greatly among individuals and communities, as did the need for cash for the necessities of life. Annual per capita income statistics for Western Samoa (the equivalent of US\$45 in the mid-1960s), the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (the equivalent of US\$53 in the mid-1960s), and other areas where cash provides only a portion of the livelihood are not useful indicators of prosperity.

Traditional indicators of wealth, such as pigs, strings of cowrie shell money, gold lip pearl shells, trochus shell bracelets, and stores of yams, have continued to be important in many areas of Melanesia. Concepts of wealth involving the availability of the official currency and what it could buy had reached deep into Melanesian culture by 1970, however, and had, by and large, attained dominance over traditional criteria of wealth in Polynesia (see chapter 3, Trade and Transportation).

Rural Spending and Consumption

Except in the most primitive areas of inland Melanesia, Western imports play an important role in providing the necessities and luxuries of life to Pacific peoples. In some areas these goods are acquired by supplementing subsistence agriculture with cash crops. Such was the case in 1967, for example, among the people of southeast Ambrim Island, in the Condominium of the New Hebrides.

Subsistence Producers

In southeast Ambrim, which contains fourteen villages, the yearly cash income, gained from the sale of copra, ranged, according to a 1967 survey, from a low income per household equivalent to US\$50 to a high income per household of US\$800 per year. The material goods within each household reflected this unequal distribution of wealth. Nonetheless, figures available from a 1967 anthropological survey of the area, which show the numbers of

various types of consumer goods for this rural group of slightly under 1,000 persons, provide a rough indication of the material level of life in a typical Melanesian rural area.

For this rural population, there were 650 buildings, most of them parts of housing complexes. The houses were sparsely furnished with a few homemade tables and benches and a minimal assemblage of kitchen equipment. There were also 16 wells, 14 stores, 391 pigs (used as symbols of wealth), and 45 cattle. There was 1 water storage drum of 44 gallons' capacity for every 4 persons, 1 rifle or shotgun for every 11 persons, 1 guitar or ukulele for every 33 persons, 1 sewing machine (pedal type) for every 14 persons, 1 clothes iron for every 32 people, 1 pressure lamp for every 35 people, and 1 radio for every 39 people. One person in 60 had a wristwatch.

Aside from these durable goods, the people spent their cash on cotton cloth (to make Mother Hubbards for the women and loin-cloths for the men), tobacco (primarily for chewing and pipes), soap, matches, kerosine, metal knives, spades, razor blades, shirts, trousers, towels, camp stoves, rice, small quantities of tea, canned meat, fish, bread (except during the breadfruit season), flashlights, kerosine lanterns and, for special occasions, liquor, butter, jam, and canned milk.

Cash Crop Farmers

The community of 217 people who in 1962 resided on Mai'ao, a small island about sixty-five miles west of Tahiti in French Polynesia, is an example of a community that has shifted over from a predominantly subsistence economy with a cash crop supplement, such as that of the Ambrim islanders, to an economy dominated by copra and other cash crops with some supplementary subsistence gardening and fishing.

By 1962 the islanders of Mai'ao were earning the equivalent of about US\$104 per capita in cash, most of the money coming from the sale of copra. The people were full-time cash croppers, devoting four times as much of their time to copra and other cash crops as to subsistence food production. As a result, they were dependent upon cash for food and spent more than one-quarter of their cash income on food purchases. Flour, rice, and other imported staples had over the past forty years replaced locally raised staples and, although the island was famous for the quantity and variety of the fish and seafood on its reef, the islanders occasionally purchased corned beef and canned fish.

Imported building materials accounted for 13 percent of the people's income. Home furnishings, including imported hardware, kerosine, soap, fishing equipment, and medicine, consumed 10 percent of their cash earnings. Imported fabrics and other items for

clothing took between 5 and 6 percent, and tobacco, 4 percent. Whereas forty years earlier the islanders of Mai'ao had been dependent upon subsistence for necessities, with cash crops providing the luxuries, by 1962 many necessities were also habitually obtained with cash.

Wage Earners

Another French Polynesian community, A'ou'a, a village only twelve miles by coast road from Papeete, provided in 1962 an example of a community that had, since World War II, switched from cash crop production with supplementary subsistence food production to dependence upon wages for its needs. Whereas before World War II the number of wage-earning villagers had been negligible, by 1962, 80 percent of the community's income was derived from wages. The wage earners of A'ou'a received far higher cash incomes than did the cash cropping islanders of Mai'ao. The per capita income of A'ou'a in 1962 was the equivalent of US\$323, roughly three times the contemporary Mai'ao figure.

The quantity and quality of imported consumer durables in A'ou'a reflected the village's prosperity. In 1962 radios were prevalent, and there were sixty-five light motorcycles and fourteen automobiles and trucks for this community of 484 people. The change from traditional occupations was reflected in the fact that only nineteen canoes were left in this coastal village. Imported foods, such as rice, biscuits, corned beef, and canned fish, and bread made from imported flour constituted the major portion of the diet and resulted in food costs that took more than 50 percent of the income of a typical family of two working parents and six dependents. In this family budget, expenditure on transport, including the costs of owning and operating their own motor vehicle, came to 10 percent of the household income. Luxuries, such as cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and motion picture tickets, came to another 10 percent. In some households in A'ou'a, heavy drinking was a serious problem; more than half their cash might be used for expenditures on beer and wine.

Urban Consumption

Compared with rural people, urban residents have a greater variety and quantity of material possessions. A survey of living conditions conducted during the 1950s among the Papuans living in Hanuabada, the indigenous quarter of Port Moresby, showed a great dependence upon imported goods, although traditional goods had not been abandoned.

Clothing belonging to these urbanites consisted of shorts, shirts, trousers, shoes, socks, coats, ties, and hats for the men, most of

whom were wage earners. Women had traditional fiber skirts for everyday use and wore blouses, skirts, dresses, and Western-style underwear on more formal occasions. Most of the women were not wage earners.

Sheets, blankets, pillows, pillowcases, Western-style mattresses, and pandanus mats were all used for bedding. Homemade tables, chairs, and food safes were found in nearly every household. Roughly half the households had sewing machines, many of them ten years old or older. Some of these were out of order, but many were in daily use.

Kitchens were better stocked than in rural areas, some households having as many as twelve metal pots and pans. All the houses had some cutlery and cheap crockery or enamel cups and plates. In addition, the clay pots traditionally employed in rural Papua were also used. Although some households cooked on stoves, cooking was mainly done over open fires, and the cooking area was often visited by stray dogs and chickens.

The 1950s survey covered 159 households, each having approximately seven residents, not counting infants. Among them the people owned twenty-six trucks (although only twelve of them were in working order), nineteen radios, twenty-six musical instruments (mainly guitars), and twenty-four shotguns. The only items of traditional domestic capital that had retained their importance among this urban Papuan group were canoes, fishing gear, marriage ornaments (especially the traditional arm shells), some dance ornaments, and clay pots. These traditional items, however, had been obtained either directly through cash purchase or by bartering goods that had been bought with cash.

The trend toward total dependence upon the official currency for traditional and nontraditional living requirements has continued into the 1970s in the urban areas of Oceania. Visiting relatives from the home villages have provided what little supplement the city dwellers have obtained from the subsistence economy.

PATTERNS OF LIVING AND LEISURE

A typical day in a Melanesian rural community (in this instance, one in the New Hebrides that was studied by an anthropologist in the late 1960s) would find a few people at home, some cultivating food crops nearby, some fishing, many engaged in copra or staple food crop cultivation or collection, some preparing copra for drying, and a few hunting. There are few seasonal occupations, although times of heavy rainfall interfere with some outdoor activities, such as hunting and fishing. When called upon for help, the villager assists his neighbors in copra making, building houses, and farming. Women have a greater variety of tasks than men. In addi-

tion to firelighting, cooking, sweeping, laundering, tending children, copra production, feeding the livestock, and gathering wild foods, women also sew the clothes and weave the mats and baskets used for various household purposes. Men spend much of their leisure in one another's company and, when the main meal is finished shortly after dusk, they frequently go off to their clubhouse, which is off limits to women and uninitiated boys.

In this typical community a cleanup day had been instituted every Saturday. On this day the village paths were swept, and the accumulated rubbish was burned. Schoolchildren would join in the cleanup. Sunday, as in other Christian villages in the Pacific, is a day for wearing the most attractive and most Westernized attire available and is spent in church and leisure activities of an informal nature, with cooking the only important chore.

Church services, weddings, and public holidays declared by the government involve the whole community in celebrations. A wedding or party given on a public holiday might attract people from neighboring villages, especially the young men. Many young men have combined to form the guitar and ukulele bands accompanying the dancing that is a major feature of these celebrations. The older people usually do their traditional dances in one place, while the young people do more modern dances in another place. Some people, young and old, alternate between traditional and modern styles. The dancing may go on until late at night. Many drink beer and wine on these occasions.

In addition to festivals of this type, social activities in the late 1960s included church choirs, church youth fellowship meetings, game nights, and dances. Churchwomen's clubs held monthly inter-village dinners for women. The general store served as a focal point for intervillage socializing by the men. Impromptu drinking and singing parties took place there. Traditional songs, modern Western songs, and even a few hymns might form part of the repertoire of these informal gatherings.

In a Polynesian village (in this case, a community of Ellice islanders who migrated in the late 1940s to Kioa in the Fiji group) a typical day in the mid-1960s would begin with the ringing of the village prayer bell, sounded by the local pastor. Some households would start the day with a prayer. After a second signal from the church bell, the women would usually begin to make breakfast. The men and older boys would go off to collect coconut tree sap to make toddy. Children would go to the fresh water stream for the morning bath. A few men would go to collect vegetables from their gardens, and the last canoes would return from the previous night's fishing.

When all the sleepers had been awakened, the pandanus sleeping mats would be hung out to air. The local general store would be

open by then, and a few forgotten items could be purchased to supplement the household breakfast, which would now be ready to eat.

After the family breakfast, the children would go to school. If there were no community projects scheduled for that day, the adults might linger in the kitchen hut for some time, and the older boys would gossip among themselves and pluck at their guitars or ukuleles.

Copra production, food crop farming, and various carpentry chores would usually take up the men's morning hours. The older girls would do the laundry while their mothers wove mats or sewed and prepared lunch. The schoolchildren and those household members within a convenient distance would return for lunch. Farming and other chores would consume the early afternoon. When the schoolday ended, the children would play on the beach and help the women gather fish and seafood in the shallow waters of the reef.

The men and older boys, returning in the late afternoon, would bring baskets of tubers for dinner and firewood. Before dinner, which the women and girls had prepared, everyone would usually take a bath. Evening prayers would be said in every household when the church bell sounded. A second ring signaled the dinner hour.

After the meal most of the men and older boys would go off to prepare and drink *kava* and to sing. Some might go out with their benzene lamps to fish. The children would play on the beach until about ten, and by 11:00 P.M. the houses usually would be in darkness.

Rural people everywhere in Oceania have preferred to work toward the completion of certain set tasks rather than be governed by a time schedule. A burst of great activity to accomplish a communal project often is followed by a period of rest and leisure activities. When employing rural laborers, some Western employers have found that wages geared to the numbers of items produced, rather than to numbers of hours worked, have resulted in increased productivity by the staff.

Sports were introduced by Western missionaries and administrators. In some areas they were promoted by colonial regimes in the belief that islanders who had been deprived of their traditional feuding were in need of new outlets for aggression. Some sports have been more widely accepted than others. In parts of Oceania cricket has become popular as a women's team sport.

Interest in Western sports grew during the 1960s. Several area-wide South Pacific Games competitions have been held as the result of initiatives by the South Pacific Commission. These have provided opportunities for islanders of different political entities to travel and meet one another on an informal basis.

WELFARE

A knowledgeable observer of the Pacific Islands wrote in 1935 that, if it were not for the family communalism that is a heritage of earlier days, causing those who earn to share with the indigent or unemployed, many could not subsist (see ch. 4, Social Systems). In many places in Oceania this was still true in 1970, although everywhere some public facilities had been provided for the case of the old, the disabled, and those without families to look after them. Several administrations had comprehensive welfare programs.

In Fiji a public welfare program employs social case workers and group workers to deal with juvenile and adult delinquency. Other parts of the program cover poverty relief, administer homes for the aged, and deal with people who need free medical or legal assistance and other cases of hardship or distress.

Also in Fiji the National Provident Fund, set up in 1966, provides a worker with a lump sum payment at the end of his working life or, if he chooses, an annuity. The money for this comes from contributions made regularly during the period of employment by the employee and his employer, as well as the interest on the contributions. For women workers, there are also a marriage benefit payment and a payment for widows of members of the fund.

In New Caledonia a comprehensive social service program for regularly employed persons gives child allowances, workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, and maternity allowances as well as special housing fringe benefits. The child allowances are generous; in mid-1967 they were FrCFP2,250 for each child per month. A similar program in French Polynesia provided FrCFP800 per child per month.

Nauru also has welfare benefits, applying to all Nauruans, which provide for old age, invalid, and widow's pensions, and a payment for each child given to the family on a weekly basis.

In Papua and New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, and the New Hebrides, local councils have provided out of their limited funds for the welfare needs of the areas under their jurisdiction, but there were no welfare programs as such in 1970. In the Territory of Papua and New Guinea there were approximately 700 women's clubs by 1968 whose activities were devoted to improving living conditions and maternal and child welfare, especially in the rural areas.

The Red Cross, various private philanthropic organizations, and Christian missions provided some facilities for orphans, the elderly, and disabled persons. Village women in many areas of Oceania formed local committees to deal with welfare problems.

In 1969 plans were being made for the South Pacific Commission to hold a seminar on social welfare planning, which would draw up

a plan for training social welfare personnel. The University of the South Pacific, in Fiji, was expected to participate in this seminar in order to coordinate its planning with the needs of the various Pacific territories.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Social systems vary widely within Oceania. Among the fewer than 4 million inhabitants of the area, there are no individual social systems or national or ethnic groupings that are broadly typical of the whole.

There are nonetheless certain historical and cultural features shared by virtually all the people of Oceania. All indigenous Pacific islanders share a past, before contact with Westerners, of Stone Age, preliterate subsistence. Many modern developments, resulting from contact with Westerners, have also, to some extent, affected virtually all Pacific islanders. Although this contact has varied greatly in length and depth among the various island peoples, everywhere there has been some measure of political control by Westerners, and almost everywhere there has also been considerable Western influence on the indigenous society, religion, and economy.

These shared experiences of a relatively simple subsistence culture overlaid with the effects of Western contact have caused certain kinds of social behavior and institutions to be present in many communities throughout Oceania, although often in different combinations and with differing amounts of emphasis. For want of any more meaningful categories into which to place the various indigenous peoples of Oceania according to shared social patterns or systems, the practice has been to use the geographical categories of Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia (see ch. 2, The Island and People).

The two-thirds of the indigenous population of the Pacific Islands who reside in Melanesia have traditionally organized themselves into distinct, small social units. A characteristic Melanesian unit for residence, social interaction, political and social organization, and shared values, gods, and spirits rarely encompasses more than 500 persons. In general, Melanesians who live along the coasts have more sophisticated institutions than those of the interior and have denser populations and more contact with the West and with other indigenous communities than do the inland peoples.

In the past two decades, however, an inland population has been found to exist in the highlands of New Guinea that is not like any other Melanesian inland group. The people of the highlands constitute the largest population cluster in Melanesia whose component

groups share a common way of life and have roughly similar social institutions. There are about 850,000 highlanders living in the four interior districts, collectively known as the New Guinea highlands, of the combined Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Although they do not regard themselves as part of one group and are not organized into one, they have many things in common that are not found elsewhere in the area, and many generalizations made about Melanesians do not apply to them. The other large Melanesian population with social institutions uncharacteristic of Melanesia is the indigenous population of Fiji, which has adopted a social system heavily influenced by nearby Polynesia.)

Foreign powers have administered large areas of Melanesia as political entities, but until the 1960s, when indigenous participation in these administrations began to become significant, the existence of the foreign bureaucratic network generally had little effect on the insularity of the indigenous social units. The different types of kinship systems and other social arrangements prevailing in Melanesia are nearly as numerous as the 700 languages and dialects of the area.

In comparison with Melanesia, the traditionally oriented aspects of society in Polynesian communities are relatively uniform. In the broadest sense, all of Polynesia has one indigenous group. The geographic area of Polynesia is widely believed to have been settled by members of a single race with a shared language and culture (see ch. 2, *The Islands and People*). There is a sense of cultural identity between members of different Polynesian communities and even between different island groups and political units. Nonetheless, modern developments, such as the division of Polynesia into different political units under the control of different Western powers, the uneven distribution of the impact of Western commerce and industry, and the division by Christian missions of the area into different spheres of influence, have brought about marked deviations from the shared patterns thought to have prevailed throughout Polynesia in pre-Western times.

In Micronesia the traditional variety of social patterns among different communities has been greater than in Polynesia but less than in Melanesia. The islands, being uniformly small in land area and population, have lent themselves to a tendency among the inhabitants to regard each island as the major social unit, but ties between islands have been rare. The Gilbert Islands and Nauru are the only parts of Micronesia that are included within the scope of this study.

Modern joint administration of island groups has contributed to a sense of identification among the inhabitants of the same island group. In the Gilbert Islands in the 1960s indigenous participation in colony-wide government by islanders began to be substantial, contributing to a new sense of community among them. On Nauru,

however, which became a republic in 1968, the impact of the West has reinforced the Nauruan sense of separateness from nearby islands. There, royalties from the Western-developed mining industry have provided a degree of political and economic independence for Nauruans that would probably not have been possible if they had had to rely on subsistence gained from their barren and drought-afflicted soil (see ch. 1, Historical Setting).

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL LINKS

In Melanesia, until the coming of the Western administrators, no political system or social hierarchy extended beyond the bounds of each small settlement, nor did the jurisdiction of the gods, the spirits of the ancestors, or the standards of ethical conduct. In many areas, however, a tradition of exchange between individuals resident in near and distant separate communities arose and has since continued.

In many Melanesian settlements where local traditions prohibit marriages between persons belonging to the same settlement, certain families in neighboring settlements are looked upon as the traditional and proper sources of spouses. The families providing the marriage partners become involved in an exchange partnership that is often ratified by payments from the bridegroom's family to that of the bride. This series of payments, often called the bride-price, is not conceived of by the participants as having resulted in the purchase of the bride but is merely one of the various exchanges of material goods deemed necessary to provide peaceful occasions for social intercourse with persons outside the sphere of kin group or settlement and beyond the area policed and protected by friendly gods and spirits.

In addition to, and also separate from, the exchange of brides and bridewealth, there are in various parts of Melanesia complex networks that have been created by generations of trading partners for the exchange of certain goods, such as special shells, dog teeth, clay pots, pigs, and pig ivory (see ch. 13, Trade and Transportation). These Melanesian exchanges, whether of goods or of brides, are limited in their effects on intercommunity interaction since they provide social links only between the individuals directly concerned in the transaction and their families. These exchanges do not provide a permanent bond that can encompass the two communities. On the contrary, in some parts of Melanesia the communities between which intermarriage usually takes place also include the homes of the traditional enemies of one another.

In contrast to Melanesia, in Polynesia traditional links extending beyond the village of 200 to 400 persons are many and strong. All the original settlers of that triangle of ocean share a common tradi-

tion. The same group also established small Polynesian enclaves on atolls in the seas of Melanesia and greatly influenced the society and culture of the Melanesians of Fiji.

Traditional oral genealogies incorporate tales of migration of the founders of various Polynesian island settlements from elsewhere in Polynesia's most populous island group, and the small Polynesian across the sea. The Cook islanders and the New Zealand Maoris regard themselves as peoples; the Society islanders of French Polynesia and the indigenous Hawaiians claim a connection; cultural bonds are strong between the independent state of Western Samoa, Polynesia's most populous island group, and the small Polynesian community of the Tokelau Islands, which in 1970 was a dependency of New Zealand.

The stress on genealogy for the purpose of determining social rank and the right to inherit titles and political positions has meant that Polynesians have found it desirable to keep track of their descent through many generations back to the alleged founding father of the descent group. This founder is also often the alleged progenitor of families living in other villages and in this way genealogies have kept alive a sense of kinship among persons from different villages.

An extreme example is Tonga, where the king is alleged to be the direct descendant through the senior male line of a progenitor whose descendants include the entire population of Tonga. The genealogies thus allege that all Tongans are kinsmen of the king, and the political entity of Tonga is formed by their allegiance to their senior kinsman.

Before the period of Western influence and the amalgamation of islands into administrative units, there was, other than Tonga, no substantial island group that developed a political structure to encompass all the people. In French Polynesia, Fiji, and the Samoan archipelago, rulers occasionally emerged who had claims to the allegiance of peoples of several islands or clusters of islands but not to the entire territory now included within their borders.

Outside of Tonga, Polynesians do not attempt to trace the entire population back to a single ancestor. Instead, there are numerous descent groups, each having its own progenitor and genealogy. Traditions of alliance for self-defense and war exist among neighboring descent groups, which serve to unite them into political and social confederations.

In addition to inherited social connections, either through kinship or historical alliance, that extend beyond the village, there are also customs that provide opportunities for social interaction among Polynesians of different communities. One such custom is the exchange of visits between villages. Such visits may be for sport or for other recreational purposes but, unlike the Melanesian exchange

partnerships, these visits are conceived of as establishing bonds of friendship between the host and guest communities. Politeness dictates that the host community return the visit within a reasonable period of time, and these periodic exchanges of hospitality contribute to Polynesia's social identity.

The visitors come, sometimes from islands or island groups far distant, bringing with them many gifts of local and imported goods and cash. They return home a few days or weeks later with goods of equivalent value received from their hosts. Many months of community effort are devoted to planning the housing, feeding, and entertainment of the guests. In the Cook Islands, for example, it is customary for some families to move out of their houses in order to accommodate the guests. Every household contributes food and labor to the preparation of meals that all will eat together. Dancing and singing are prominent in the entertainment, the former more so if the occasion is secular, the latter if the visit has mission sponsorship. The exchange of gifts of money, trade goods, and the specialties of the areas of hosts and guests are also important aspects of the visit.

Such visits serve not only to broaden social relationships outside the community but also to unite the members of one community in the preparations for, and shared experience of, a joyful event. The gifts from the guests often remain undivided and serve as a fund for community projects. If a division is made, the sharing out is executed by the recognized community leaders.

More frequent occasions for socializing between communities in Polynesia occur between neighboring villages. A favorite custom is the organizing of dance groups of young persons, who practice together, dress up in similar costumes, and entertain the neighboring villages. Their hosts throw money, shout applause, and spontaneously reciprocate the entertainment of the visiting group by lining up to dance for their guests.

In Micronesia, where islands and their population are small, considerable social interaction between persons of different villages and social events involving the entire island population are common, although formal institutions integrating the island people politically were not developed until the 1960s. Between islands, communications and socialization have been infrequent.

The isolation of the Gilbertese of different islands from one another has been greatly reduced in the post-World War II period by improved communications and by, especially in the past decade, a degree of participation by Gilbert islanders in the government of the entire colony, together with the Polynesians of the Ellice Islands.

On Nauru, however, which became independent in 1968, political and economic self-sufficiency, the latter being the result of royalties

from the Western-developed phosphate industry, has resulted in the island's retaining its historical separation from the nearby islands and island groups. There has been, however, some contact with Gilbertese that has resulted from the presence of Gilbertese laborers imported to mine phosphate on Nauru.

Everywhere in Oceania the social ties that matter most are those between persons who regard themselves as connected by kin ties. In many communities there is no formal recognition given to any other relationships. A person is either a relative or a stranger. There is, however, little concern for the blood connection. Adoption of children and of adults is common, and the adopted person generally regards his foster family as the relevant one. He has almost all the rights of a blood relative, and by the next generation the distinction will have disappeared. Social, not biological, kinship is the criterion.

In much of Melanesia there is a tendency to emphasize the kin ties between persons connected by blood either through the father (patrilineal descent) or through the mother (matrilineal descent). Where the connection with the father's family is the basis for the community's social structure, the son's wife must come from a descent group other than that of her husband, and after marriage the couple ordinarily resides in the husband's village or section of the village. Only the sons inherit property from their fathers, since it is anticipated that the daughters will marry and become part of their husband's families.

Where the major link for kinship purposes is reckoned by descent from the mother, this generally means that a man inherits land and certain other goods from his mother's brother. In such a society a man may not marry anyone descended from his mother's side of the family, and after he marries he will usually, but not always, go to live in his mother's brother's community, where land and other property have been set aside for him.

The status of women is not necessarily any higher in the matrilineal than in the patrilineal kinship systems. Throughout Melanesia women generally have low status and have no traditional rights, being the wards of their fathers, husbands, or brothers, as circumstances determine. All women marry, usually while in their early teens. Marriages are arranged, many times resulting in the women being attached to the families of strangers without their wishes having been consulted.

In addition, in Melanesia there is a widespread tendency to regard women as sources of spiritual danger and as causing the ritual pollution of men and of the crops. It is also common for men and boys past early childhood to sleep in men's houses, which also serve as the favorite social arena for men and to which women are denied admission by social and supernatural sanctions.

Connected to these values and institutions, undercurrents of hos-

tility exist between husbands and wives and between families connected by marriage, although this hostility is not of equal intensity everywhere. Relations between the sexes in areas where Christianity has been adopted and where traditional initiation rites of young men into the all-male secret societies are defunct are friendlier than are such relations in the non-Christian areas, such as the New Guinea highlands. Marital solidarity appears to increase as the solidarity of the men declines.

Government and missionary policy has been directed toward improving the status of women in Melanesia and toward granting them equal rights and opportunities with men. Since virtually all Melanesian women marry and are then obliged to look after the needs of their families, it has proved difficult to establish women in careers.

In Polynesia and Micronesia, for most purposes affecting the daily life of the ordinary people, the family ties joining an individual to his father and his mother are of roughly equal importance, and the relationships between husbands and wives and families connected by marriage are amicable than in Melanesia. Marriages often take place between third cousins, although there are some groups that forbid marriage between persons with traceable blood ties. Unlike Melanesia, where men usually sleep and eat apart from their wives, the Polynesian and Micronesian household usually includes both sexes for meal and sleeping.

In Polynesia there is not the deprecation of sexual relations as in Melanesia, but in most places a double standard exists concerning sexual experimentation. In some cases the parental desire to maintain a daughter's chastity until marriage is often thwarted by clandestine sex activity between young adults. In others, certain single women, such as widows or disobedient daughters, suffer moderate opprobrium for their lack of virginity. Prostitution does not exist except in urban areas where foreign influence is dominant.

The status of women in these areas is lower than that of men but higher than that of women in Melanesia. Women in Polynesia do not usually, but sometimes can, inherit titles. French Polynesia and Tonga have both had reigning queens. In Tonga a woman's position is in some ways superior to a man's. A sister received deference from her brother all her life. For a Tongan man the needs of a sister and her children take precedence over obligations to his own wife and children.

MODERN SOCIAL TIES AND TENSIONS

Modern developments, especially those resulting from the introduction of Westerners as administrators, missionaries, and entrepreneurs in the nineteenth century, have greatly increased the

amount of interaction among different ethnic groups and social systems. Western business concerns began over a century ago to import laborers for their Pacific plantations from some of the most parochial areas in Melanesia. This trend has continued to the present in Papua and New Guinea and in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. On the plantations young men from all over the island group are brought together for a period of one or more years. Members of different tribes and language groups share the same barracks and conditions of employment, and they learn to converse with one another and with the European management staff in pidgin (see Glossary), the lingua franca of Melanesia.

Asian Migrants

The importation of Asians—Indians, Chinese, Indonesians, and others—to work on the Western-owned plantations and mines of Oceania was also begun a century ago and has resulted in the exposure of the indigenous islanders to new groups temporarily or permanently resident. The presence of the Asians has brought about changes in the social structure of various island territories. In Fiji, where the immigrant Indian community has become the majority group, the result has been that Fijians have joined together more closely to ensure their retention of control over land. Elsewhere in the Pacific islands, the Asian immigrant community, although a minority, has attained a disproportionate measure of control over local commerce and various artisan and lower grade professional jobs.

Urbanization

Interaction among different ethnic groups and between persons of different cultures has been greatest in urban areas. This interaction has increased as urbanization has expanded rapidly in the period since World War II, producing new social tensions.

Urban areas did not exist in the period before Western contact. They grew up around the administrative and business headquarters of the Westerners. As the Asians moved out of unskilled labor into shopkeeping and skilled trades, they, too, congregated in the towns. In recent years indigenous interest in participating in the nontraditional, Westernized style of life of the urban centers has led to increasing numbers of rural migrants moving to the towns (see ch. 3, Living Conditions).

In French Polynesia nearly half the population in 1970 lived in the administrative capital, Papeete, or in the nearby suburbs. Elsewhere the proportion of urbanites has been smaller. In Papua and New Guinea in 1967 only 5.7 percent of the total population lived in settlements of more than 500 persons. Nonetheless the population

of Port Moresby and that of the other urban centers of Oceanic territories have expanded much more quickly in the post-World War II period than has that of the rural areas.

All these urban centers have tended to be subdivided into different ethnic enclaves with intergroup tensions and occasional openly hostile outbreaks between groups that previously had never had contact with one another. Urbanization is still too recent a development in the Pacific Islands for there to be much evidence accumulated concerning the amount of assimilation and mixing taking place between different groups. The hostile conflicts receive more publicity and are easier to identify than are the instances of intercommunity cooperation and harmony.

The Christian Missions

The Christian missions have been of great importance in providing modern social ties extending beyond the range of kinship. Missionaries worked to eliminate primitive practices and to introduce the concepts of a universal god and the brotherhood of all men. Whereas this has by no means resulted in the end of hostility and suspicion between neighboring rural communities, it has greatly reduced the danger of travel outside one's community and has made possible the gradual development of social and political institutions shared by much larger population units than those that existed before Western contact.

In Melanesia the physical security provided by the Western governments and the introduction of Christian concepts and institutions may have been instrumental in laying the groundwork for the various cargo cults (see Glossary) that have, from time to the twentieth century, provided social cohesion and a sense of identity and joint purpose among disparate groups spread over a relatively wide geographic area (see ch. 1, Historical Setting).

The role of the missions in integrating disparate communities has been to some extent counteracted by rivalries between missions representing different Christian denominations. In Polynesia and Micronesia, where rivalry between Roman Catholics and Protestants began more than a century ago, church affiliations have underscored old enmities and created new allies and factions (see ch. 5, Religion).

TRADITIONAL ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL STATUS

The traditional means of determining social rank and achieving prestige and influence has been the subject of widespread debate among scholars of the area. One general statement is that in most Melanesian communities men achieve status through their own efforts. Their prestige is the result of their skill in acquiring goods

through the various exchange networks; in growing crops; in accumulating followers, debtors, and wives; and in distributing goods, food, and patronage among as large a social circle as possible. Melanesians believe that the successful man is he who has done enough favors for enough people in the past so that when the need arises he can call upon assistance from a large group of persons who feel obliged to help him.

Supernatural factors also affect social status in Melanesia. In non-Christian Melanesia production technology always included a great emphasis on religious and magical ritual, and a clever sorcerer was regarded as likely to achieve wealth and high status. Although pagan rituals have been abandoned in much of Melanesia in favor of Christian practices, there lingers the belief that the man who achieves material success must have supernatural support. Conversely, a man who experiences a crop failure or a run of bad luck is regarded as having incurred the spirits' displeasure, and his social descent is accelerated by this belief.

There are some areas in Melanesia—a well-known example is Amb-
rim Island in the New Hebrides—where achieved prestige merits explicit titles, emblems, and the exclusive right to eat certain kinds of food, wear certain clothing, and erect certain kinds of monumental structures that are denied to ordinary men. The usual situation, however, is that social status is not made explicit by title or symbol. This has rendered it difficult for outsiders, including the government administrators, to easily ascertain who are the prestigious or influential members of Melanesian communities, since so much hinges on the potential social and economic resources that the successful man can call upon, rather than upon the accumulated supplies of goods he has on hand, his standard of living, or other explicit status indicators.

In many areas the son of a "big man" (the pidgin term commonly applied to a leader or socially prominent person) also becomes a "big man," but this is as much the result of inherited character traits as it is of inherited status. A man inherits little property, since there is no individual landownership and whatever goods a man's father has accumulated are generally dissipated in the funeral rites. In any event the emphasis for prestige purposes is on what a person has achieved himself and on the network of interpersonal relationships he has built up and which he must continue periodically to activate if his power is not to diminish.

The "big man's" participation in trade networks on his own behalf and on behalf of his followers, his contributions to the bride-price in numerous marriage transactions of his relatives and followers, and the large gatherings of followers and debtors to take part in the birth, marriage, and other ceremonial occasions of his household all make him the center around which much community

and intercommunity activity takes place. There are often several "big men" in a community. In such cases rivalry between leaders is often expressed through reciprocal gift exchanges in which each "big man" and his following tries to outdo the other in largesse. Giving, rather than accumulating, is the means to achieve social prominence.

In Polynesia and Micronesia there is little emphasis on achievement, and inherited rank plays a greater role in determining social status. Polynesians can count on protection, support, and cooperation from relatives descended from all four grandparents. There is a tendency, however, in the inheritance of property and titles and in determining social rank, for descent from the father's family to be the chief consideration and for the first-born son to outrank his siblings. Distance from the senior line of descent from the common ancestor determines one's status relative to others in the same patrilineal descent group.

The group descended from the eldest sons of eldest sons going back to the founding father is the group from whom the chiefs are supplied. The group descended from younger sons of the founding father also have certain inherited offices and titles. Some of these inherited titles have become ceremonial only, but others retain their original functions. Place has been made in Tonga, Western Samoa, Fiji, and the Cook Islands, among others, for inherited title holders to participate in modern government.

The non-kin with whom a Polynesian or Micronesian associates are also ascribed, rather than, as in Melanesia, the result of individual actions. In Western Samoa, for example, the adult villagers are assigned to associations within which village cooperative projects and socializing are done. Title-holding men have one association, their wives another, commoner men a third, and commoner women a fourth. The individual has no choice as to which group he may belong, and fraternization outside the household with persons not belonging to one's own group is frowned upon.

The social status of an individual as compared to persons not in his own descent group is also regulated by tradition, not achievement. The various descent groups in an area, district, or island grouping are ranked according to semihistorical traditions into a hierarchy that is recognized by the society as a whole. A Polynesian therefore inherits not only his own position within his family but also the allies his family made in the past. His opportunity to attain prominence is determined by the social superiority or inferiority of his descent group as compared to those of inherited allied descent groups.

The amount of emphasis placed on the patrilineal descent group, from which titles come, as opposed to the bilateral household group of all close blood relatives, varies among the islands of Polynesia. In

Tonga, for example, the only people to whom patrilineal descent from the kin group ancestor is a matter of daily importance is the small group that traces its ancestry back in unbroken generations of eldest sons to the founder. This group provides the royalty and high-title holders of Tonga. The bulk of the people, however, do not have titles and are more concerned with their relative status within the household and within the mission hierarchy. Thus, for Tongan commoners, totally different rules apply to determine social status than for Tongan noblemen.

In Western Samoa, by contrast, there are many titles in use in each community and title holding plays an important role in everyday village life. As of 1970 only titleholders (*matais*) could vote or hold office. Therefore, for Samoans, the patrilineal descent groups, through which these titles descend, are more important than they are to the people of Tonga.

In areas of Polynesia where inheritance is alleged to be the sole basis for determining social status and function, the social system in practice is kept from rigidity in several ways. Adoption is common, creating new kin ties for individuals. Communities are small, often fewer than 200 inhabitants to a village, and the effects of individual circumstances, personalities, and events are correspondingly great on the local level. Genealogies are the bases upon which the local social hierarchies are built, but they are used primarily to justify present-day social arrangements rather than to preserve those of the past.

In an extreme instance of community dissatisfaction with the prevailing social hierarchy, it has occasionally happened that genealogies have been reworded, or different versions remembered, to allow for the desired change in social arrangements. Such changes then result in changes in the traditional seating position in the *fono* (see Glossary) and at the *kava* (see Glossary) drinking ceremonies. The old positions are then soon forgotten, and the change is institutionalized permanently, until or unless the needs of a new generation call for further rearrangement of title ranks. Western Samoa is especially flexible in its title-holding systems. Titles split, new titles are created, and old ones subside. A titleholder, unpopular in his home village, may fall heir to another title in a neighboring community.

The degree of emphasis on hierarchy in Polynesia has varied. In some places elaborate feudal pyramids have developed. In others, the heads of extended families have exercised authority jointly as fellow members of the community's decisionmaking council, the *fono*. It has been suggested that elaborate feudal structures are more typical of the high islands, with their greater economic resources, than of the atolls.

The social ranking systems of Polynesia have limited the oppor-

tunities for social advancement to the members of certain descent groups. No one can become chief, for example, except a member of the chiefly line. Preference is given within the descent group to the eldest son, but the consent of the entire group is usually required when choosing a kin group head or titleholder. The choice is usually unanimous since each person feels obliged to defer to more senior members of the kin group. In some cases the kin group decides upon a younger son to be the leader and titleholder of the group and the trustee of its land and other communal property.

In the northern Gilbert Islands of Micronesia, there was also a traditional upper group who inherited social leadership in ways similar to those of Polynesians. In the southern Gilbert Islands, however, leadership has gone to elders, especially the first-born sons descended from the senior line of the kin group progenitor. The emphasis is, however, on being an elder, and any man of property can expect deference as he grows older, especially from among those who hope to inherit land and property from him.

Age has always entitled persons to respect throughout Oceania, although senility, poverty, or a bad reputation could mitigate against this. In Melanesia, where high death rates resulted in there being few men who survived to become elders, the respect accorded age was traditionally bolstered by a number of factors. In communities where initiation ceremonies of the young men were of major importance, ranking systems developed. These were organized according to the generations of initiates, with senior generations outranking juniors. Another factor leading to the prestige of older men was that they were more likely to have been able to accumulate the social debts and distribute the goods that result in social prominence than were younger men. In Polynesia and Micronesia there is, in addition to an emphasis on primogeniture, a tendency to accord respect to older persons, especially men.

In much of the Pacific, although there are exceptions, kin group chiefs are usually older men and are thought of as elders. Councils of family heads or elders, who are also likely to be the heads of their families, have been the traditional decisionmaking bodies for village affairs in much of Oceania.

MODERN ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL STATUS

The single most striking nontraditional feature of social stratification in Oceania is the role played by Westerners. For over a century all of Oceania was under the control of various Western powers (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). As the result of this control, all of the highest social positions and major leadership functions, with the exception of a handful of Polynesian royal titles, were held by Westerners.

During the post-World War II period, particularly since 1960, the political and social ceiling imposed on indigenous islanders by government ordinance or practice has been gradually lifted, and in some areas it has been removed altogether. For example, before World War II New Guineans and Australians could not sit together in the same theater or drink from the same water fountain. By the 1960s these prohibitions had been removed, and Australians and New Guineans were working together in the House of Assembly to create a political unity for that vast and diverse territory.

In some island groups complete political authority was assumed by the indigenous population in the 1960s (see ch. 8, Political Advancement). Assimilation of persons of part European extraction into the society of independent Western Samoa and of part Polynesian extraction into French society in the overseas territory of French Polynesia has continued at an accelerated pace as a result of political advances. The general trend away from colonization in Oceania toward independence or, in the case of the French territories, assimilation as full members of metropolitan France, has resulted in indigenous participation in the competition for power and prestige on a national level. This is a new development for most Oceanic societies where, previously, competition for prestige was confined to the local community of a few hundred people at most.

This new competition is taking place in the urban areas, making them magnets for the socially ambitious. Urban society in most of the island groups continues, however, to be plural, with status partially tied to racial identity. The urban social hierarchy is headed by the European government servants, businessmen, and professional people, with the Asian businessmen, lower grade professional people, clerks, and skilled laborers forming a small middle income group. Most of the indigenous urban dwellers are relatively recent migrants from the countryside, many of them men who have left their families behind in the rural villages. Poor, rurally oriented, and unskilled in the arts and sciences of modern life, they are at the base of the urban hierarchy. An exception, however, of growing importance is the expanding group of senior indigenous civil servants and politicians.

Especially in urban areas but also in rural ones, the continuing trend away from subsistence toward full participation in the money economy has had repercussions on traditional social organization. The bonds of reciprocity between relatives and neighbors have been loosened as a result of the reduced need for reciprocal arrangements to provide the necessities of life. Instead of returning favor for favor, villagers have begun, in some areas, to purchase one another's services with cash. The conveniences of cash, its easy storage and convertibility, and the need to pay taxes and purchase the foreign

goods that are so greatly desired by the islanders have resulted in cash gradually displacing traditional forms of wealth and exchange.

In French Polynesia many women and adolescents have become wage earners, thereby achieving a measure of independence from, and occasionally economic superiority to, their husbands and fathers that had not been possible in the subsistence society. In parts of Papua, New Guinea, and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, a large proportion of the young men have gone to work on Western-owned plantations to earn cash.

In some of the communities from which the laborers come, the traditional hierarchy of age has been questioned as the older people become dependent upon the younger ones for cash. This constitutes a total reversal of the traditional relationship between younger and older men in Melanesia, since a young man would usually be in debt to his father and other older male relatives for the cost of financing the elaborate marriage gift exchanges involved in the bride-price custom.

Other nontraditional elements at work in determining social status have been the mission hierarchies and bureaucracies. In many rural communities throughout Oceania, the mission church, school, and social activities have dominated community life, and grades of membership or officership in the church have become important status indicators.

Before World War II mission institutions dominated the social life of many rural communities, since the churches provided most of the social services, the schooling, and virtually the only opportunities for social mobility. In the past two decades the increased activity of government in the field of social welfare and the increases in opportunities to achieve status in modern secular institutions have slightly reduced the missions' influence on rural society.

SOCIAL VALUES

Values vary among the different communities in Oceania. In Melanesia the goal of a man is to excel, to achieve a dominant position over others. A man who achieves this dominance is admired, although envy is also often felt toward such a person. Little effort is devoted to achieving social harmony as compared to material concerns. Occasionally, a leader is able to settle a dispute over property by providing the aggrieved party with goods out of his own resources, thereby making a debtor of the other party. There is, however, a high prevalence of aggressive behavior in much of rural Melanesia.

In Polynesia and Micronesia, by contrast, naked ambition is not admired, and social approval goes to him who does not allow his superior skills to become overly conspicuous. The harmony of the

community must take precedence over personal ambition. Consensus is always sought in major undertakings, and the chief community sanction is to be excluded from the social activity.

Sharing and Reciprocating

There are, however, some values that are held throughout the Pacific Islands by the indigenous people. One is the universal abhorrence of hoarding. People are obliged to be generous with what they have, and spending is always more admirable than saving.

Another universal value is the demand for reciprocity in all social dealings. There is a great regional variation concerning the propriety of careful calculation of the income and outgo of goods and services between persons, but everywhere the indigenous people believe that favors done or goods received must be reciprocated or else shame will befall the debtor. In Melanesia the emphasis on reciprocity in all social situations results in a tendency to carefully calculate the material aspects of social transactions. Acrimonious debates over the relative values of exchanged goods and services are common, often including appeals to traditional and Western-established magistrates.

In Polynesia and Micronesia reciprocity is usually less explicitly calculated, especially between certain categories of relatives who have the traditional right to take whatever they need or want from their relatives without stint.

Property

The values given different kinds of property vary widely. For example, among Melanesians pigs are highly prized as a form of wealth, and among Polynesians certain kinds of pandanus woven mats have great material value. There is a distinction made throughout Oceania between property that has been accumulated by an individual as a result of his own efforts and that is his to dispose of, and communal property, the chief of which is land, which belongs to the clan or community.

The southern Gilbert Islands are unusual in that they have an apparently indigenous tradition of individual ownership of the land. Each kin group, of which there are several in the average village of 500 or more persons, traces its descent back through either parent to the original cultivator of the land. Upon the death of the ancestor, his residential land and his agricultural land were divided among his children, larger portions going to the sons than to the daughters and the largest portion going to the first-born son. With each succeeding generation, the land has become subdivided into smaller units. As the land has grown scarcer, the value placed on land has increased. Landlessness, which is a cause for shame, has become fairly common.

Throughout most of Oceania the rights to property belonging to the kin group pass to heirs according to traditional rules of inheritance, except where these have been superseded by government ordinances, but the property accumulated by the efforts of the individual—for instance, the cash crop planted on communal land—may be disposed of according to the individual's wishes. Considerable ill will and misunderstanding in the early period of Western control were caused by the inability of the Western planters and indigenous farmers to comprehend each other's institutions of land tenure.

Sorcery and Mana

A concern with supernatural intervention in society is great in Oceania (see ch. 5, Religion). In Melanesia the major concern is with sorcery and with the displeasure of recently dead ancestors or with sacrilege to the totem (see Glossary) of the clan. In the case of sorcery, which is greatly feared even in Christianized areas, counter-measures can be undertaken. In the case of misfortune interpreted as evidence of the displeasure of spirits or of sacrilege to the kin group totem, open confession and punishment of transgressors are used to prevent further misfortune befalling the community.

In Polynesia the major concern is with *mana*, the supernatural force that is alleged to emanate from certain sacred personages and objects. Contact between persons and objects unequally imbued with *mana* is a sacrilege and is physically and spiritually dangerous for the weaker participant. Such impious contact is also likely to endanger the entire community in which the sacrilege occurs.

Prohibitions, often called taboos (from the Tongan word *tabu*), act as safety measures to prevent the danger of improper contact with *mana*. The right to impose taboos belongs to persons of high status who are themselves imbued with *mana*. Often a leader or council of leaders invokes a temporary taboo on the use of certain foods or other goods as a general conservation measure or to allow a surplus to accumulate for some community project or celebration.

A high value is placed on ritual and ceremony in Oceania. In Melanesia this value is incorporated into the dominating concern with material accumulation and distribution. Traditional belief in Melanesia has been that there exists a fundamental connection between knowing the correct rituals and magic spells and the successful production of material goods. No community would attempt to copy the articles produced in another settlement without knowing the rituals that accompanied the production process. This concern with ritual technology lies at the root of much of the product specialization of Melanesian communities.

In Melanesia it is, however, possible to acquire by purchase or exchange the production rituals of a neighboring community. In some areas such exchanges of rituals are common. It has been sug-

gested that Christianity and missionary education evoked enthusiasm in Melanesia because they were regarded as providing ritual instruction of the traditional, materially oriented type. Melanesians may have believed that by learning to read the Bible and say their prayers they were acquiring the ritual formulas that would produce the Western goods introduced by foreigners. When the desired results did not materialize, some Melanesians turned to cargo cults to achieve the same purpose.

In Polynesia ceremony and ritual are important primarily because they validate the social arrangements by providing opportunities for the protocol of social ranking to be invoked. Seating arrangements at council meetings and *kava* drinking ceremonies make tangible and ratify publicly the relative status of the participants.

In the southern Gilbert Islands of Micronesia ceremonial occasions and their accompanying feasts provide opportunities for the socially ambitious to receive public acclaim for their generous contributions of food. In the egalitarian society of these islands few other opportunities for achieving prestige exist.

SELECTED SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Even though no social system or national or ethnic community as a whole is typical of Oceania, there are a number of recurring traditional and modern features. Within Melanesia the variety of social system is greatest, and Melanesia's most populous political grouping, Papua and New Guinea, contains the full range of Melanesian variety, from the un-Westernized, pagan people of the interior highlands to the highly Westernized, Christianized coastal villagers of Bouma. The highlanders, Melanesia's largest population cluster, are unique, but the Bouma villagers have many social institutions in common with Melanesians of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the New Hebrides, and New Caledonia.

In several ways Fiji is not typical of the rest of Oceania. Its Asian migrant community, instead of being an influential minority as is the case in the rest of Oceania, is the majority group. Another unusual feature of Fiji is that, although the island and the indigenous people are Melanesians, the Fijians' social organization is more typical of traditional Polynesia and has many social features in common with Tonga, Western Samoa, and the Cook Islands, each of which has a distinct but essentially traditionally oriented Polynesian social system.

French Polynesia, by contrast, exhibits the most extreme Westernization of any of the Polynesian, or other Pacific island, indigenous societies. The growing trend toward wage earning, urbanization, and monetization of the island societies has reached its most advanced stage in French Polynesia.

The Gilbert islanders are an example of a Micronesian society. In the southern Gilberts there are some social features that are not to be found in Polynesia or Melanesia.

Papua and New Guinea

These territories form the largest landmass in Melanesia. Included are the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the northern Solomon Islands, and various archipelagoes to the southeast of New Guinea. More than half of Oceania's population lives in the area. The people are divided into many different tribes, whose members, most of them sedentary farmers, live in settlements of a few hundred persons.

These settlements are autonomous units. They are not connected to the neighboring communities by formal ties or shared allegiances. Trade, intermarriage, and, formerly, warfare have created relationships between persons resident in different settlements, but for the most part residents feel a common bond only with the other residents of their own community. These fellow residents are also usually connected by ties of kinship, language, and the right to use settlement land.

The territories are famous for the diversity of culture exhibited by its inhabitants. Virtually every type of Melanesian social system can be found within it. It has been estimated that there are more than 600 languages and dialects in use (the great bulk of Melanesia's total), some not extending beyond the bounds of the local settlements. A few languages in the highlands area, however, have many thousands of speakers.

Many types of kinship arrangements exist. In some the emphasis is on descent from the mother's line, and in others, from the father. In many of these small societies, mixed systems exist with certain roles given to the mother's line and others to the father's. Behavioral rules dictate relations between certain classes of relatives but these are not uniform. In some communities, for example, the children of a brother and those of his sister, known as cross-cousins, are expected to be the best of friends. In other communities, cousins so connected must avoid each other completely and are forbidden to handle articles belonging to one another or to pronounce one another's names.

The people of New Guinea have a lively sense of their differences from each other. Hostility toward, and suspicion of, those who come from outside the settlement of birth have traditionally been great. The terrain has made travel difficult, and the practice of continual warfare that existed in former times made travel dangerous. As a result of these factors, migration of individual persons or households to other settlements has been rare.

An unofficial estimate in 1968 indicated that more than 90 percent of the indigenous population of the territory has remained in the rural settlement of birth or marriage. The men, however, have almost all had some experience of travel or temporary residence outside their home settlements. Formerly this travel would have been primarily for war and for trade of certain traditional valuables, such as lengths of strung cowrie shells, clay pots, and dog teeth. By the mid-twentieth century, however, many of the men, perhaps as many as 50 percent of the adult population, had temporarily left their homes either to seek employment in a town or to work for a Western-owned plantation or mine. The widespread interest in wage work or plantation work results partly from the need for money to pay taxes and to obtain the goods that only cash can buy, such as steel tools, cloth, tobacco, imported foods, soap, and kerosine (see ch. 3, Living Conditions).

Towns have grown rapidly in the territory since World War II. The opportunities for indigenous persons in the government bureaucracy and in private enterprises have expanded in the urban areas but have not kept pace with the migration from the rural areas. Neither urban housing nor social services have been able to keep pace. The shantytowns that have grown up in the towns are filled with unskilled, underemployed, and unemployed indigenous migrants, who are cut off from the only social connections that matter to them—their families in the home villages—while being forced to associate in crowded slums with people from other indigenous communities whom they were raised to fear or dislike. Their wives have often stayed behind in the village, as there are few jobs for women in town. Ill-fed, ill-housed, and bellicose, the urban indigenous residents are able to observe the great discrepancies in level of living between their own and that of the Europeans and Chinese.

In addition to the unskilled laborers who have drifted to the towns, there also has grown up a small group of urbanized indigenous persons who have been able to obtain middle income jobs in the towns by virtue of advanced education and skills. Among these are social workers, medical and nursing personnel, white-collar workers, teachers, and senior mission staff. At the top of this group of indigenous urbanites has come a new group, beginning in the mid-1960s, composed of persons who have obtained office, elected or appointed, in the senior echelons of government.

The Australians and other Westerners have, however, remained at the top of the modern social hierarchy that has been formed in urban areas and have the dominant position economically and politically. The Chinese also form a significant group in the modern economy, especially of the urban areas, but have remained aloof from the society and politics of the territory. In recent years they have become eligible for Australian citizenship, and this has meant

that for the first time they have been permitted to migrate to the Territory of Papua, whereas formerly they were restricted in residence to the Trust Territory of New Guinea. As a result of the new regulations, Port Moresby was beginning to develop a significant Chinese business community in the 1960s.

The contact between New Guineans and Westerners has been limited. The indigenous people have had frequent social contact only with those Westerners who were in positions of authority over them. Consequently, in the relations with the Westerners, the New Guineans have always had to defer to the Westerners. Neo-Melanesian (formerly called New Guinea pidgin), the lingua franca that evolved out of the contact between New Guineans and Westerners, reflects this unequal relationship; the term for Westerner is *masta*, whereas that for indigenous man is *boy*.

The relationship between Westerners and New Guineans, however, has begun to change in both the political and social spheres (see ch. 8, Political Advancement). In the early 1960s many pre-World War II government ordinances were repealed that required that there be separate public accommodations for New Guineans and that regulated clothing, the use of intoxicating beverages, and other social practices of New Guinean indigenous persons.

Of great importance in revising the relationships between Westerners and New Guineans has been the increasing role indigenous persons play in the government of the territory. In the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, New Guineans have for the first time been brought into association as equals with Europeans, although differences in pay and fringe benefits persist, according to whether the legislator is indigenous or European. In the rural areas, where more than 94 percent of the population lived in the mid-1960s, elected local government councils have been established in some areas. Some of these have provided for considerable initiative on the part of council members and have therefore attracted the participation of indigenous leaders.

The role of Christian missions in influencing and changing the society of New Guineans has been great but is declining. In many parts of the territory the missionaries arrived before either government or business had established contact. In converting New Guinean communities to Christianity (roughly half the population by 1970), they helped to eliminate traditional practices that had threatened life and safety. The missionaries established new networks of communication with other indigenous communities where none had previously existed, and they introduced literacy and modern medicine. Of greatest importance, they extended the area in which ethics operated so that for the first time persons outside the home community received consideration such as had previously been accorded only to members of their own small group. The

indigenous church bureaucracy included those with the best education and greatest sophistication in the community. Mission officials were often more influential than were the government-appointed headmen or village constables.

As the secular administration has become more active in education and social welfare in the post-World War II period, the role of the missions and their prestige among the indigenous people have diminished slightly. In the newly contacted areas of the highlands, government regulations have forbidden missionaries or other private persons to enter certain areas until after government control has been firmly established.

The Highlands

The largest population cluster in Melanesia that shares the same way of life and has similar social institutions is made up of the 850,000 persons who inhabit the four interior districts of Papua and New Guinea: the Eastern, Western, and Southern Highlands districts and the Chimbu district. These four districts are known collectively as the New Guinea highlands, or central highlands.

The people of the highlands are unique in Melanesia in their method of cultivating their staple crop, the sweet potato. The crop is cultivated on terraced fields employing techniques that permit a higher yield per acre than do those in use elsewhere in Oceania. This form of agriculture has maintained higher population densities than are found elsewhere in Melanesia, in some areas exceeding 300 person per square mile of usable land.

Another distinction is that, of the sixty dialects spoken in the area, fifty-two have been found to be related, making the highlands the largest population cluster in all of Melanesia speaking related languages. The highlanders are also unusual in that their exposure to Western influence has been the most recent of all Oceanians.

The bulk of the highlands population first came to the notice of the Australian administration in the period since World War II. Discovered by pilots flying over the inland mountains, the highlanders' first contacts with Westerners have been with representatives of the modern, welfare-oriented administrative bureaucracy. Some observers believe that the highlanders' lack of experience with pre-World War II government and business institutions may prove beneficial if it means that the people are brought into participation in modern life without the debilitating effects on morale associated with pre-World War II paternalism.

A widespread feature in the highlands communities, although not unique to the highlands, is a high degree of aggressiveness, belligerence, and concern with competition. Outright warfare has been eliminated by the Australian administration, but the concern with

competition persists, not only between communities of local and kin groups but also within kin groups.

Competition and hostility are marked features of the relations between the sexes. The hostility between men and women varies within the highlands area, but there is a widespread practice of maintaining separate residences for men and women, with men and boys tending to have their social life apart from their wives and mothers, who are regarded as potential sources of danger.

An example of the cluster of institutions involving hostility between the sexes can be found among the Mae Enga, a group of about 30,000 pagans who live in the Western Highlands district of New Guinea. Among the Mae Enga, as among many highlands groups, the significant social unit for most purposes is a clan of persons connected through descent from their fathers. The typical clan has approximately 350 members and is divided into subclans, which are, in turn, divided into small units of two or three generations of persons connected through the male line. These units are for the purposes of gardening, land use, and residence.

The wives, unmarried daughters, and infants of these men live apart from their husbands and fathers. By the time a boy is seven or eight years old, he has been encouraged or forced by his older male relatives to move into the men's house with them. The male child is soon taught that women are dangerous.

In other ways the low regard by men for women is reinforced. In their thinking, the Mae Enga, like many people in other parts of Melanesia, tend to divide things into categories of paired opposites. In this pairing the concepts of sun, up, good, and male oppose moon, down, bad, and female.

Secret male cults also accentuate the division between the sexes. Among the Mae Enga there is a secret cult involving the planting of and caring for bog iris plants. In this cult the older bachelors of the clan train young bachelors in the secret rites involving the magical properties of the clan-owned bog irises. Upon these plants the safety and material prosperity of the clan are alleged to depend. To pass on and preserve the rites concerning the bog iris, bachelors participate annually in a retreat of several days' duration. The solidarity of the men is enhanced by the retreat and by the ceremonial occasions at the beginning and end of the retreat. These occasions form the major annual community celebrations for the Mae Enga.

The Mae Enga wives often come from settlements with which there is a tradition of blood feuds. Since a man's sisters have usually married and moved away to another settlement by the age of fifteen or sixteen, a Mae Enga man seldom sees adult women except for those who have been brought by marriage from the hostile neighboring settlements.

In some highlands communities, relations between the sexes are less markedly hostile, but nowhere in the highlands or in most of Melanesia are the relations between husbands and wives and between families connected by marriage as cordial as are other relationships.

Busuma, A Coastal Settlement of New Guinea

Busuma, a settlement of approximately 600 inhabitants (in 1950) on the north coast of New Guinea twenty miles by canoe from Lae, one of the territory's biggest towns, offers a contrast to the New Guinea highlands communities but has many similarities with other coastal communities in Melanesia. The people of Busuma cultivate crops by the slash-and-burn method, which is the method in use throughout most of Melanesia. Using this technique, approximately ten times as much land is needed as can be cultivated at one time. The excess land is required to allow for a minimum fallow period of ten years per plot. The settlements are, therefore, far apart and population density is light.

The people of Busuma speak a language used by about 7,000 speakers, and they trade with neighboring communities, within and outside their language area, that produce desired specialty goods. Traditional intravillage enmities, partnerships, and alliances do not necessarily correlate to language ties. For example, cooking pots for Busuma come from a village in the south, surplus food from another, and baskets from a third village. The trade is carried out by pairs of men, each coming from a different settlement, who are partners and exchange goods and reciprocate protection and hospitality as needed. Such trading, or gift exchange, partnerships are often passed on by men to their sons or to their sisters' sons.

It is difficult to be a newcomer in Busuma. Distinctions are still made within the settlement between descendants of the original settlers and descendants of later refugees who were permitted to join the settlement in the early years of the twentieth century. Factionalism between these groups resulted in the semipartition of the settlement in the 1940s.

Kinship arrangements in Busuma are not as strongly biased toward one set of ancestors as is the case in the highlands. In terms of land use rights, the Busumans are matrilineal, since land passes from the deceased to his sisters' children. For other purposes, however, the people rely on all their kindred—grandparents, parents, uncles and aunts, first cousins, nephews and nieces, and grandchildren. Whereas a man's land comes to him from his mother's brother, he can expect any of his kindred to lend him things or borrow on his behalf, nurse him when he is sick, support him in a dispute, and give him freely of their skill and labor.

The people of Busuma were converted to the Christian faith by

German Lutheran missionaries around 1900, and they no longer practice the male initiation rites and secret cults common in pre-Christian Melanesia. There continue, however, to be special male clubhouses that dominate the social life of men in Busuma. In 1950 these clubhouses numbered fourteen, each having a population of sixteen to twenty adult males who regularly congregated and slept there. The membership of these clubs tends to correspond fairly closely to the men's common-kin ties through the female line but, because this is also the chief basis for the location of their households, it can be said that clubs are primarily neighborhood organizations. Members of one club are usually welcome in the clubhouse of other relatives as well. Men and boys aged seven and older generally sleep at the men's house to which their matrilineal or patrilineal kin belong.

Club leadership belongs to the member who is most prominent in distributing wealth and at coordinating the gift exchanges of others. To become outstanding in this way, a man must work hard and have skill at farming and a gift for oratory and persuasion. He must also have a big and hard-working household since the household is the unit for production. The club leader has, however, no power to make others obey him or to influence them except insofar as each gift of his obliges the recipient to make an eventual return gift of equivalent value.

Relations between brothers and sisters are warmer than those between husband and wife. As a part of the matrilineal inheritance system, a man is expected to support his sister and be the trustee for her sons. A brother will offer his sister hospitality and refuge in case of trouble with her husband. Children also treat their mothers with great love and respect, and the mother's authority within the household is as great as her husband's outside it.

Busuma villagers are typical of Melanesia in the emphasis they place on the need to give to others and to share all they have, in order that when the need arises others will reciprocate. Children are constantly encouraged to give away or share their possessions with their playmates, as an investment in future social success.

The concern with reciprocity has also been the major one in contracting marriage alliances. Marriages are banned between all persons who regularly work and eat together and thus might regard one another as siblings. The senior men of the families involved in a marriage transaction make the arrangements without consulting the prospective spouses. The foremost concern is that the family which receives the bride in this exchange will be obliged at some time in the near future to supply a bride to the other family. The exchanges of brides between families is a continuing institution among the Busuma villagers. Each new marriage after the initial one completes one exchange between the two families and initiates another one, in

an infinite chain of reciprocal bride exchanges. Thus the family heads involved are always concerned with the problem of the next match when choosing the first one.

Payment of bridewealth by the bridegroom's family had traditionally filled the time gap between bride exchanges, reducing the social strain on the debtor family. The missionaries, however, have been successful in suppressing the practice of paying bride-price. As late as 1950, however, according to an anthropological account, there was still considerable unease about the abandonment of bride-price payments. Busuma villagers were reported to have said that they felt they had taken something and given no return, an action that contravened the whole social code of the community.

The Busuma people are typical of coastal Melanesians in that they exhibit a mixture of traditional and nontraditional features as the result of the contact, in the past century or less, between their age-old subsistence culture and the West. Nonetheless, there are no other groups in Melanesia exactly like them in social organization. One of their social values, a total abhorrence of competition, is uncharacteristic of other Melanesian communities. Although competition for dominance and success are the chief concern of many Melanesians, the Busuma people have not a single child's game or adult group activity in which a winner can be declared, nor is there any explicit competition to become a clubhouse head, family head, or the like.

Fiji

The social organization of Fiji is along ethnic lines. Although there are numerous exceptions, the various economic, political, and social roles are dominated by different races. The Westerners have control over most of the more influential and economically rewarding roles. Senior government, professional, technical, and business positions have been in the hands of British, Australian, and New Zealand personnel since the late nineteenth century when Fiji became a British colony. Although the end of colonial status was close at hand by mid-1970, there was no expectation that the nonpolitical functions currently being executed by Westerners would soon be taken over by the indigenous Fijians or the locally resident Indian community (see ch. 8, Political Advancement).

The Indians, who form approximately half of Fiji's population, provide the labor to cultivate sugarcane, Fiji's major industry (see ch. 2, The Islands and People). Most Indians are tenant farmers, producing sugarcane for the Western-owned sugar mills or growing other crops for sale or subsistence. An influential and prosperous minority lives in the urban areas and shares with the small resident Chinese community the intermediary economic roles of shop-

keepers, traders, artisans, and lower level professional employees and clerks.

Indians distinguish among themselves on the basis of area of origin in India, religious adherence, and language or dialect traditionally spoken at home. There is nothing that unites the entire Indian community except the sense of difference from the indigenous Fijians, whom they regard as lower in civilization but higher in privilege, and their shared discontent as being denied landownership and political power proportionate to their numbers (see ch. 1, Historical Setting; ch. 8, Political Advancement).

A number of small Pacific island communities from elsewhere in Oceania have in recent years been resettled on various islands in the Fiji group. There they form distinct communities with social organization modeled on those prevailing in the island groups from which the migrants have come. Polynesians from the Ellice Islands have been resettled on the island of Kioa in the post-World War II period. Micronesians from Ocean Island have been removed to Rabi, an island that was purchased on their behalf from the government of Fiji. The purchase was financed by royalties from the phosphate industry that had made their home island uninhabitable. In the 1960s Melanesian descendants of earlier migrants from the Solomon Islands were being resettled on their own island in the Fiji group after many years of unsatisfactory living conditions as a minority enclave in a Fijian settlement area.

The Fijians, who are racially Melanesian but largely Polynesian in culture, play a prominent role as government servants. There are many jobs in the government bureaucracy—for example, all the positions in the ethnically separate Fijian administration—that are open only to Fijians (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). The majority of Fijians, however, are primarily engaged in subsistence agriculture with supplementary cash crops of various kinds. Most of these food crops and cash crops are grown on land held communally and cultivated cooperatively according to traditional arrangements in which the rights and obligations derived from kin connections are preeminent.

The Fijians have retained ownership of almost all of the land as the result of government ordinances enacted shortly after the island group became a British colony (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). At that time the government returned some of the land that had been ceded to Westerners before cession in 1874 by kin group leaders who held the land in trust for their relatives. Soon thereafter, the British administration forbade the alienation of any more land from indigenous ownership.

One Australian-owned sugar company holds the bulk of the land that had been earlier ceded and leases it to Indian householders for the growing of sugarcane. The leases are for ten-year periods, and

renewal is virtually automatic provided that the company's requirements for crop rotation and fertilizing have been met. The remainder of the land that is used by nonindigenous farmers is from a portion of Fijian-owned land that has been made available for leasing through the agency of the government.

Whereas the household is the largest group with which an Indian feels obligated to share his wealth and his labor, the Fijian is enmeshed from birth in traditional Polynesian-style networks of obligations, privileges, and duties resulting from his membership in several groups formed on the basis of kin or historical relationships.

The narrowest circle of associates and the one with which a Fijian feels the closest ties of allegiance is the immediate family, headed by the father. The older brother receives deference from the younger brothers, and females defer to males. The next largest circle includes all the people related to him through the male line as reckoned from his paternal grandfather or great-grandfather. To this patrilineage, the Fijian's allegiance is almost as great as to his immediate family and, when addressing persons of the larger group, he uses the same terminology as toward the immediate family; for example, he makes no distinction in kin terms between his father's brother's children and his own brothers and sisters.

Among kin the important distinctions are those of sex and age. The sex distinction is the most important. The male is part of his father's family, and the woman belongs to her husband's family. Descent being reckoned solely through the male line, a sister's children or those of a mother's siblings are not regarded as true relatives. It is therefore not incestuous for first cousins through the mother's line to marry, whereas it would be for the children of brothers to do so. The accent on patrilineal descent affects relations within the household. It is known that the girls of a family will leave the kin group upon marriage. Relations between brothers and sisters past puberty are distant, and etiquette requires that they avoid each other.

The significant factor with respect to age is birth order, which is then used to rank the generations that follow. Thus the sons of a man's eldest son outrank those of his younger sons, irrespective of their ages. The highest rank belongs to eldest sons of eldest sons, and the lowest to youngest sons of youngest sons.

Kin groups connected through the paternal grandfather or great-grandfather combine to form the clan, called the *mataqali*. If the clan is big enough, it is regarded as the major unit for descent purposes, and members of it may not marry one another. These large clans jointly own the land farmed by their members. The land and some measure of political authority are entrusted to a headman descended from the senior patrilineage within the clan.

Traditionally, however, the clan was conceived of (and is still so

conceived of in the idealized Fijian view of their own social structure) as a subgroup of a larger descent group called the *yavusa* (see Glossary), a group of clans including all descendants through the male line of a single early progenitor. The clan members are alleged to be the descendants from one or another of the *yavusa* progenitor's sons. Each clan is ranked within the large group according to the alleged birth order of the son who founded the line.

Internal migrations because of war and other circumstances have produced frequent deviations from the ideal *yavusa* so that in many cases the clans included in one group are not, in fact, necessarily related through the male line to the group progenitor. In these instances, intermarriage between clan members of one *yavusa* are permitted, and the comparative rankings of clan members have been established by historical traditions reflecting their relative strength and influence at the time of their incorporation.

The *yavusa* is the largest circle that can be alleged to be formed purely along lines of shared descent. In the days before Christianity took hold in Fiji, *yavusa* members shared a single ancestor, a god, a place of origin, and an animal or vegetable totem. They each still retain a unique title. The *yavusa* was also the unit that held land for its members although the land was then parceled out among the clans.

The *yavusa* chiefs were, and still are, supplied from the senior line of the senior clans. Other clans also have had, and some of them retain, the right to supply officeholders for specified positions. One clan descended from the younger sons of the founding father usually produces the spokesmen for the chiefs, sometimes called *talking chiefs*, who perform ceremonial functions on behalf of the chiefs. Another such clan provides the priests for ceremonial rituals. Two others supply the executives and the warriors. The titles of these offices, although not all of the functions, have continued into the present.

The attempt to trace descent back to an original progenitor ceases at the level of the *yavusa*. As the result of the need to defend themselves and their lands and to create more powerful political and military units, however, Fijians have, since before the time of contact with the West, felt the need to combine major descent groups into confederations and to combine these confederations into states. Traditions reflecting the relative strength of the various subsidiary units at the time of confederation in the past have been retained to the present and regulate the rank order of various sub-units within such unions. The senior patrilineage of the senior clan of the highest ranking *yavusa* produces the confederation chief, and the chief of the highest ranking confederation is the paramount chief of the state. In the 1870s, before Fiji was ceded to Great Britain, there were in existence ten such states, each built on pyra-

mids of kinship at the extended family, clan, and *yavusa* levels and then grouped by rank into alliances at the confederation and state levels.

The degree of power and control of the entire pyramid that could be exercised by the paramount chief at the head of each state varied according the state. In some the chief had considerable control, and in others the paramount chief's authority, except when war threatened, was primarily ceremonial.

The colonial government in Fiji has helped to maintain much of the traditional structure of Fijian society, primarily through the means of forbidding the alienation of land from its kin group ownership, either *mataqali* or *yavusa*, and also through the incorporation of traditional chiefs into the modern governmental structure. The British have also, however, introduced competing concepts of group organization. For the purpose of government, Fiji has been divided by the British administration into territorial units: village, district, and province (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). Although these units have some degree of correspondence with the traditional units of *yavusa*, confederation, and state, this is not always the case. Modern governmental institutions in Fiji have thus acted to loosen the role of kinship in social organization and strengthen the ties of locality.

French Polynesia

The social organization of French Polynesia has been more influenced by the Westernization of its economy than have the social arrangements of any other Pacific islanders. More than half the working-age population is engaged in wage earning, and the rest derive the bulk of their livelihood from the sale of cash crops, especially coconuts and vanilla, grown on indigenously owned land. The indigenous Polynesians (often called Tahitians after the most populous island of the territory) are almost totally dependent upon European employers for their jobs and on Chinese shopkeepers for their food and clothing. Therefore, the influence of these foreign groups, which together form less than a quarter of the population, is greater than in other Pacific territories where most of the indigenous people subsist largely independent of the monetized sector of the economy.

Traditional means of organizing society and traditional values that grew up in a subsistence rural economy have been largely abandoned. A striking feature of the Westernization process is the high degree of urbanization. Nearly half the population of the territory resides in the capital city of Papeete or in the nearby suburbs (see ch. 3, Living Conditions).

The several thousand Europeans resident in French Polynesia live for the most part in urban areas, although there are few rural com-

munities that do not have at least one European living within them; often this is a man married to a Tahitian. The Europeans dominate the senior positions in the administration of the territory, which is officially designated as an overseas territory of metropolitan France, with French citizenship and French law extending to the inhabitants. Many of the more senior government officials and members of the military forces have been sent from Paris for specified tours of duty. The big businesses and the professions are also controlled by Europeans, although many of these Europeans are permanent residents of French Polynesia.

The Chinese community, which numbered approximately 10,000 persons in 1967, came to the territory as laborers for the copra, vanilla, and other tropical plantations that were initiated in the nineteenth century by Western businessmen. When plantation production gave way to cash-crop growing by Tahitians on their own land, the Chinese stayed on in the islands to retail the imported food and clothing to supply the needs of Tahitians who no longer had time to obtain these goods by subsistence production. The Chinese have retained a virtual monopoly on retail trade in the territory. Although most of the Chinese live in Papeete, there are few communities in rural areas without a general store run by a Chinese resident family.

The degree of Westernization of the indigenous Polynesians of the territory varies, and this variation is explicitly recognized by the people themselves. Roughly 10 percent are classified by themselves and others as *demis* in French or *ta'ata 'afa popa'a* in Tahitian, both terms meaning persons of half European extraction. The remainder of the indigenous population are regarded by themselves and others as being traditional Polynesians, called *ma'ohis* in Tahitian.

This is to some extent a racial classification in that the *demis* are assumed to be of part European ancestry. Interracial ancestry, however, has been highly prevalent in French Polynesia for two centuries, and many persons regarded by themselves and others as unambiguously Polynesian have some European blood. The differentiation between *demi* and *ma'ohi* categories is not clear cut. In general, however, compared to *ma'ohis*, *demis* have more modern skills, more years of schooling, and better pay. They also are more comfortable speaking French, and they pursue a standard of living that more closely approximates the European model.

The cutoff point along the scale of Westernization that determines into which category a person falls is a matter of individual judgment, and the criteria keep changing as the entire indigenous community moves toward greater Westernization. The *demis* fill the lesser administrative posts and are well represented in the Territorial Assembly, operate some business enterprises and plantations, and fill some professional and many clerical and skilled labor jobs. The

ma'ohis are characteristically wage earners or cash croppers with supplementary subsistence farming and fishing.

Political and economic power and the social position that derives from it tend to correlate to racial and cultural traits. The Europeans and the most Westernized Chinese and *demis* are generally concentrated in the higher echelons, and the least Westernized Polynesians form the base of the society. Nonetheless, there is little desire on the part of tradition-minded Polynesians to emulate the others, whom they regard as rich and powerful but lacking in the qualities they most admire—generosity and conscientious reciprocity.

Since French Polynesia is governed as an integral part of France, there remain few traces of traditional political organization or of the social hierarchies derived from these traditions. Within indigenous communities where the London Missionary Society has retained its influence that began in the late eighteenth century, there have grown up village social organization patterns derived from mission institutions. In particular, the *pupu* (a subdivision of the mission parish for purposes of Bible reading and carrying out church projects) has developed into a meaningful unit for community cooperation in secular fields also.

Mission rivalry has been intense in the territory during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The London Missionary Society and Roman Catholic, Seventh-day Adventist, and Mormon missions have competed for Tahitian allegiance. One anthropologist doing fieldwork in the 1960s has noted a tendency among Tahitians for the church to play either the dominant role in a community social life or virtually no role at all. The latter is often the case in urban Polynesian neighborhoods.

The opportunities for achieving status as participants in the government have been greater at the territory level than at the district level. There are district councils chosen by universal suffrage, but they have been granted few opportunities for initiative, and their prestige is correspondingly slight.

As the impact of the West has affected the political and economic arrangements of French Polynesians, so also has it affected the traditional inheritance system. The French Civil Code has been applied to Tahitian land. The French law provides that relatives of intestate deceased landowners should receive different-sized portions of the land according to their kin connection to the deceased. This law has encountered various complications in the territory. Most Tahitians die without leaving wills. Few have ever had their land surveyed, and few of their survivors are willing to undergo the great expense and inconvenience involved in having the property legally surveyed and parceled out into actual plots, according to the French legal formula. An added complication derives from the common Tahitian habit of adopting children without recourse to the

courts. There are also many children born out of wedlock. The informally adopted children and the illegitimate children do not qualify for a share in the inheritance under French law, but they do qualify under traditional Tahitian custom.

Problems and disputes arising from land inheritance are frequent in French Polynesian communities. In areas where cash cropping and subsistence production are the main occupations of the people, the legal problems are sometimes sidestepped and informal arrangements are made by the heirs to unsurveyed, undivided land, for the parceling out of plots for planting purposes. In plots with stands of mature coconut palms, the heirs sometimes agree to take turns harvesting the nuts of a given portion of the joint holding.

Disputes over landrights have created much discord among kin. In areas where wage earning is a convenient alternative, as was the case in much of the territory in the early 1960s, heirs have often preferred to abandon planting or harvesting their land rather than to reach agreement on the use of disputed property with the other heirs.

The rarity of land that can be proved to belong legally to a single individual has had the side effect of preventing much land being purchased by nonindigenous persons. Some observers regard this as an advantage outweighing the disadvantage to indigenous persons of other effects of the law.

Relations among family members have also been affected by the impact of the Western economy. The family is no longer the unit for sharing labor and its fruits that it formerly was. In the most tradition-oriented areas of the territory where subsistence is still of some importance to the household economy, the labor of the family is divided into traditional categories and is performed under the supervision of the father.

There are chores appropriate to each age and sex. Men farm, fish, make copra, and conduct the commercial fishing. Together with men of other households, usually kin and neighbors, they maintain the village paths, build houses and canoes, reroof buildings with thatch, and perform other carpentry jobs. Women gather shellfish and shallow-water fish in the lagoon and on the reef, but they are dependent upon the men for the bulk of their food. The women's main tasks are to clean the house, do laundry, tend children, and weave the mats used for a variety of household purposes. School is compulsory until fifteen years of age, but teenage boys and girls also do many family chores. The boys carry water, help with the cash crops, and kindle the earthen oven (see ch. 3, Living Conditions). The adolescent girls help their mothers with housework and caring for the babies.

Pooling of labor, characteristic of Polynesian subsistence rural households, is not found in the Polynesian enclaves of Papeete,

where a substantial proportion of the indigenous people now live in overcrowded houses located in the hollow interiors of the city blocks (see ch. 3, Living Conditions). These off-the-street neighborhoods, with their Polynesian-style houses and surrounding fruit trees, give the appearance of transplanted rural neighborhoods, but the traditions of cooperation and interdependence of family members in these urban enclaves have been weakened.

Wives and adolescents have taken enthusiastically to wage earning. This is partly the result of a great increase in opportunities for salaried employment in the early 1960s, partly the result of a government family allotment program that applies only to regular earners, and partly because the salary of an average unskilled laborer, married with three dependent children, is not sufficient to meet the needs of his household.

The wage-earning wives and adolescents do not usually pool their wages with those of the father, and thus they have acquired a degree of economic independence. In some households the role of chief contributor to the household has fallen to the wife, especially in households where there is heavy drinking by the husband. The teenagers have become a drain on their families in some cases, expecting free food and shelter but not contributing to the household budget from their wages.

The traditional unpaid cooperative arrangements between kin and neighbors for accomplishing major projects have given way in urban areas and some rural areas to hiring labor for cash. The custom of sharing food and other goods between households connected by kin ties has also lessened. Urban Tahitians in the 1960s, when choosing helpers or recipients for excess food and other gifts, were as likely to select from among their coworkers and neighbors as from among their relatives.

Some values have been retained. Spending remains preferable to saving; generosity is praised, and hoarding deplored. Reciprocity remains the chief ethical concern. Some shifts in values have appeared, however. Spending on personal amusements, such as motion picture tickets and liquor, is now more common than spending on communal festivals and largesse.

The Gilbert Islands

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), administered by Great Britain, contains two major, distinct, indigenous groups—the Gilbertese, who are Micronesians, and the Ellice islanders, who are Polynesians. In the last census, taken in 1963, the Gilbertese numbered slightly under 41,000 out of a total population of approximately 48,000 for the colony.

The Gilbertese are the largest group of Micronesians who do not

reside in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, a United Nations trust territory administered by the United States. The Gilbertese are not uniform in their social organizations. The main distinctions are to be found between the social systems of the northern Gilbert Islands and those of the southern Gilberts.

The northern Gilbert Islands have traditional inherited social strata along the lines of the Polynesian social system, with kin group chiefs holding title to the land under their jurisdiction and high chiefs above them. In the southern Gilberts, where slightly less than half the Gilbertese population lives, this type of social stratification is not present. The land descends, by outright ownership, to kin group members, and each kin group is equal in status to all others.

The southern Gilbertese kin group is composed of persons sharing a common ancestor, male or female. Kin group members own land in a given area that was originally cleared by the kin group founder. Each kin group also has assigned seating place in the hamlet or village *maneaba* (council hall). This assigned seating area, unlike similar arrangements in Polynesian council halls, is neither more nor less prestigious than another but is merely the one that belongs to the kin group, passed on from generation to generation.

The council hall is owned communally by all the kin groups in a village or hamlet or, in the case of the island council hall, it is the joint property of the entire island population. Some council halls are extremely large and can sleep as many as 1,000 people, which is occasionally necessary when an entire island population comes together for a communal feast.

Feasts held at the island, village, or hamlet council hall are the major social occasions and provide opportunities for tacit social competition. A master of ceremonies presides on such occasions and announces what the head of each participating household has contributed to the feast. The household head is admired for the generous contribution he has made, doubly so if he politely announces that he is ashamed to have brought so little. Occasions for feasts in the appropriate council hall include: welcoming to the village, or celebrating the departure, of relatives, friends, and strangers; dance or choir rehearsals; Queen's Birthday celebrations; the holidays of Easter, Christmas, and New Year's; and the initiation or conclusion of joint community projects. These feasts last as long as circumstances permit, occasionally as long as four to six weeks. Household feasts to accompany birth, first menses, marriage, adoption, death, and other events of household importance are also celebrated by feasts lasting several days, held in the kin group area of the village. Household feasts are often attended by several hundred persons claiming kin connections.

Status in the southern Gilberts is neither primarily the result of individual exertion, as in Melanesia, or of inherited rank, as in Poly-

nesia. Instead, the emphasis is on age and sex differences. No man under thirty-five can expect to receive deference, regardless of his skills, and no woman can outrank a man, regardless of hers. The group with the highest status is composed of landowning men aged fifty or older. The next highest group consists of landowners in their late thirties and forties.

Superior ability is admired if it is not overly conspicuous and provided that it contributes to the good of the community and is not merely a personal advantage. The government has been faced with some measure of resistance to Western-style education and training of an advanced nature for Gilbertese young people. Such training has been deprecated by Gilbertese elders since, they allege, it would lead the educated people away from their communal obligation to their elders and to the traditionally oriented villagers.

Humility is admired by the Gilbertese, and competitiveness and conspicuous deviation from social or economic norms are deplored. A major factor in ensuring that no person achieves a noticeably higher level of prosperity than others is the prevalent practice of *bubiti*, the making of a formal request by one person for the surplus goods belonging to another. (Similar customs exist in Fiji and the Ellice Islands and on Nauru.)

In the Gilberts, although the right to make *bubiti* requests is open to anyone who is not notorious for unreliable reciprocity, the usual practice is for *bubiti* to be limited to extended family members. The request may be for something as trivial as a twist of tobacco or for something as expensive as a sewing machine. Sometimes children are adopted through *bubiti* of the real parents by the prospective foster parents.

Wage earners in the urban areas have been especially vulnerable to *bubiti* requests. Government efforts were made in the 1960s to limit *bubiti* arrangements to food only, not cash. The expectation of social scientists is that the egalitarian arrangements of the southern Gilbert Islands are likely to alter with the increase in education, urbanization, and monetization.

CHAPTER 5

RELIGION

By 1970 traditional religions in most of Oceania had been superseded by Christianity. In parts of Melanesia, however, the people have retained varying degrees of adherence to indigenous religions. These religions are highly localized and are inextricably woven into the fabric of the local societies and the economies and politics of small population groups. They are concerned with the propitiation and manipulation of various creative, destructive, supportive, and malicious spirits and occult forces that have explicit ties with particular persons, families, objects, and features of the local landscape.

Before the widespread conversion to Christianity, the main concerns of indigenous religious life throughout Oceania were the maintenance and improvement of conditions on earth. All Oceanians relied upon supernatural agencies to cure sickness and to prevent death or natural disasters, such as volcanic eruptions, damage from severe winds, and droughts. In Polynesia and Micronesia the other major purpose for religious observance was to obtain supernatural endorsement of the social hierarchy of the community. In Melanesia the concern with divine endorsement of the social structure was not a significant feature of the religious life; the major religious emphasis, aside from the necessity for supernatural aid in curing sickness and preventing death and natural calamity, has been, and continues to be, on efforts to obtain supernatural aid in order to achieve wealth. The Melanesians believe that material prosperity is directly connected to the proper worship of spirits, especially the worship of the ghosts of dead family members.

Missionary activity by various Protestant and Roman Catholic groups from Europe and the United States began to achieve success in the nineteenth century. For the local deities, spirits, and rules of conduct, missionaries substituted Christian ones that they claimed had universal applicability. In this way the missionaries laid the foundations for indigenous social, political, and economic relations that included persons outside the limited sphere encompassed by traditional Pacific island religions (see ch. 4, Social Systems).

Christian missionaries were also responsible for introducing literacy, Western medicine, and some Western crafts and technology to the islanders. Until after World War II the missions were the major sources of health, education, vocational training, and welfare services for indigenous peoples (see ch. 3, Living Conditions).

The conversion to Christianity and the adaptation of Christian ideas and values to the local setting have been continuing processes and have involved indigenous influences on the churches as well as Christian influences on local institutions. Christianity has been most easily and wholeheartedly accepted by those communities whose traditional values have least been affected by the substitution of Christian for indigenous religious practices. For example, the prompt and enthusiastic conversion of the Tongans and Samoans during the nineteenth century was facilitated by the fact that in those island groups the traditional social arrangements, which were of the utmost importance to the islanders, were endorsed by the missions and not threatened by them.

In Melanesia, where traditional religions have been primarily concerned with ways of achieving material advantage, almost half the population continues to adhere to traditional beliefs. In some areas of Melanesia where Christianity had been adopted it has subsequently been rejected for its failure to produce the material benefits expected of it. In some of these post-Christian communities there has been a revival of pre-Christian religions. More commonly, new religious cults have developed that combine Christian and pre-Christian features.

A recent development without precedent in Oceania has been the advance of secularism at the expense of religious belief and observance. To some extent, this has occurred as the result of the influence of Christian thought, which greatly reduced the amount of supernatural intervention in the earthly affairs of Pacific islanders. Mission schools taught not only Christian theology but also the scientific causes of things, which previously had been attributed by the islanders wholly to supernatural agents.

Another factor in the recent decline of the importance of religion and religious institutions in the lives of the islanders is that secular institutions, especially governmental ones, have been providing the people with most of their social services since World War II, whereas previously the islanders had found virtually their only Western allies and supporters among the missionaries. The impact of modern Western culture, with its markedly secular bias, as compared to traditional Oceanic culture, is another factor leading to the decline of the emphasis on religion and religious institutions in the everyday life of the islanders.

Aside from Christianity, the religion with the largest group of adherents in Oceania is Hinduism, the creed of the majority of the Indian residents of Fiji. Like the other Asian immigrants who form a significant minority in the islands, the Indians, who are the major ethnic group of Fiji, have brought with them the religious beliefs and practices of their home areas, with slight changes made to accommodate different living conditions.

TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS

Of Melanesia

The traditional religions of Melanesia are as numerous as the social systems and languages and, like them, are conceived of by their adherents as applying exclusively to small groups of people, a few hundred at most and often members of one descent group (see ch. 4, Social Systems). In some communities, such as among the inhabitants of Manus (in the Admiralty island group of the Trust Territory of New Guinea) during the 1920s each person worshiped a different tutelary spirit. In most Melanesian religions, however, spirits belong jointly to small groups.

All Melanesian traditional religions grant an important role to the intervention of supernatural agents. Various types of supernatural entities, including spirit beings, occult forces, and totems (see Glossary), are commonly thought to exist. Of these, the most important for purposes of religious observances are the spirit beings.

Some of the spirit beings are gods or culture heroes credited with the creation of the world or of a specific portion of the world, island, or village. A common theme is the release of the sea from an underground spring by an ancient creator deity or culture hero. The sea is alleged to have split the land into the various separate islands existing in the area.

The most important figures in Melanesian myth and religious thought are the spirits who are alleged to have created the clan or subclan, provided the locally significant plants or animals, shaped specific local mountains or inlets, or invented particular institutions, techniques, and tools used by the local group. Melanesian mythology is chiefly concerned with these localized spirits rather than with creators on a cosmic scale.

Not concerned with the origins of mankind as a whole but only with the origins of his own small-scale social unit, the Melanesian has derived from myths and other oral traditions the justifications and precedents for his own social behavior. For example, a characteristic Melanesian explanation of how the local clubhouse came to be built or why canoes in one area are made a certain way would be that the clubhouse or canoe design was introduced to the community by its supernatural patron.

The role of localized spirits as initiators is seen in a non-Christian community in the Banks Islands of the New Hebrides. Its members explained the existence of what has been called their ghost society by saying that it was founded by a ghost, who also laid down the rules of the organization. Candidates for membership paid an entrance fee in pigs or other valuables since the organization was a club for the wealthy and prominent men of the community and was not open to all men. Neophytes formerly underwent a thirty-day

period of seclusion, during which they were instructed in club ritual. Members of the ghost society occasionally dressed up in cloaks of leaves and ghostly masks so that the uninitiated villagers would believe that they were ghosts. In this guise the club members would terrorize the community and commandeer whatever goods they wanted for club feasts without fear of reprisal or punishment. Such practices have become defunct in various areas as government control has spread, but ghost societies were reported to be still prevalent in the pagan areas of the New Hebrides in 1958.

Similar men's clubs with religious or magical practices were common throughout Melanesia before the period of Christian influence and Western administrative control. In pre-Christian coastal areas many of these Melanesian men's clubs had, as an initiation theme, the idea that the new member provided a means of making ritual sacrifice to the sacred object of the club. A common symbol for the supernatural being worshiped in male cult organizations was the bull-roarer, a noisemaker that, when sounded, was alleged to be, or to represent, the sound of the sacred monster waiting to devour the youthful initiate. During the initiation period the new member underwent a ceremonial process that represented his having been eaten, digested, and voided by the sacred monster. Having undergone this process, the youth was then considered to be a man and a full member of the men's organization.

Men's clubs of approximately this type still exist in some parts of Melanesia where Christianity has not been accepted. In much of Christianized Melanesia, the clubhouses remain the center of male activity, but the religious practices for which they were originally organized have become defunct.

In addition to traditional beliefs in creating or inventing spirits, beliefs in spirits similar to demons are widespread. These malicious supernatural beings have no creative or supportive functions, but they must be avoided, tricked or appeased if man is to escape gratuitous harm from them. The spirits of dead persons who are not kinsmen are also often credited with malicious actions, especially with inflicting death or serious illness.

The bulk of the time and attention spent on traditional religious observances by Melanesians has been devoted to maintaining harmonious relations with the spirits of dead kinsmen. A distinction is made between those who have died recently and those who died in the more distant past. In considering these two types of spirits, New Guinea highlanders tend to regard the ancient dead as beneficent—the providers of material well-being and potential sources of future material blessings. They regard the spirits of the recent dead, however, as more apt to be malicious or jealous of the power, prestige, and goods of their living kinsmen and neighbors. In the rest of Melanesia, it is more common for the ancient dead to be

forgotten or, in some communities, explicitly rejected as unworthy of respect, in favor of the recent dead. The ghosts of deceased fathers and uncles are often believed to continue the fosterage and moral discipline of junior kinsmen and the hostility and rivalry toward nonrelatives that they exhibited while alive.

In some Melanesian religions, practices and beliefs concerning the recent dead have led to strict enforcement of the community's moral code, largely because Melanesians believe that illness is often the result of a spirit's righteous anger at some lapse on the part of a household member, usually not the person afflicted. The sin has to be confessed and expiated, often by payment of a fine by the sinner's household to the offended spirit through his earthly agent, or the victim will die. The motivation to comply with the moral code upheld by the spirits is strong, as is the motivation of a person with a bad conscience to confess his crime, since the unconfessed sinner would feel responsible for the death of a loved family member if he were to remain silent and the victim did not recover.

Oracles and spirit mediums exert considerable control over their neighbors because, when illness occurs, they can claim special knowledge concerning which spirit is offended and why. If the sin is expiated and still the victim dies, however, the credibility of the oracle or medium is shaken. It may even be alleged that the oracle's sins have been punished by being given misinformation by the vengeful spirits. Unsuccessful mediums and oracles often abandon their art. Successful ones tend to combine sincere belief in spirit revelation with acute observation of their fellow villagers.

The high rates of infant and maternal death in Melansia have mitigated to some extent against the belief in a causal connection between sin and death (see ch. 3, Living Conditions). When an insufficient number of sins have been committed for community members to attribute the high incidence of mortality to such causes, death can be attributed to the malice of spirits of nonkin or to sorcery by human enemies with occult powers. In some pre-Christian communities illness was believed to be the result of the just anger of one's own family ghosts, whereas death was alleged to be caused by the unjust malice of other ghosts.

Not all traditional Melanesian religions are concerned with the relationship between morality and the human condition. Some, especially in coastal Melanesia, have the theory that ritual or other manipulation of the spirits and occult forces is sufficient in itself to produce automatically the desired effects, regardless of whether the manipulator or the desired result is good or bad. The Kaoka people of South Pentecost, New Hebrides, are an example of a group with an amoral indigenous religion. Among the Kaoka, good conduct is enforced solely by secular sanctions and not by the gods or spirits.

A supernatural sanction against theft of crops or tree fruit is

commonly used in Melanesia as well as elsewhere in the Pacific. A spell is placed on the coconut palm tree, for example, which is supposed to afflict with disease (often a specific ailment) any unauthorized person who touches the tree. In some areas everyone has his own spell; in others, hired sorcerers are used.

The chief purpose of most religious observance in Melanesia has been to assure economic success or to achieve economic advantage. Without the help of supernatural agents, or at least without their active malice, material success is thought to be beyond the reach of Melanesians. In some non-Christian areas, especially in the New Guinea highlands, there is also a great emphasis on the necessity for hard work and personal skill to achieve economic success. For the highlanders, propitiation of spirits is often confined to avoiding supernatural displeasure and interference with human economic pursuits. In other parts of Melanesia, it is often alleged that ritual formulas are chiefly responsible for the success or failure of crops and fishing and trading expeditions rather than the efforts or skills of the people involved. In some areas this concern with ritual formula has led to a commerce in formulas developing among neighboring groups.

The prevalence of adherence to traditional religions in Melanesia is far greater than elsewhere in Oceania but is unevenly distributed within the area. In the highlands of the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Territory of Papua, most of 850,000 indigenous persons continued in 1970 to practice their traditional religions, although certain concomitant practices of these beliefs, such as headhunting, human sacrifice, and cannibalism, have been banned by the Australian administration. The highlands are unusual in that Christian missions have followed, rather than preceded, the establishment of administrative institutions and have not become the major sources of education, health, and welfare services for the indigenous population, as they were elsewhere in Oceania before World War II. The highlanders first came into contact with Westerners in the past several decades at a time when administration policy was more tolerant of traditional religions than it had been during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when most Pacific islanders came under Western control.

In the more accessible areas of Melanesia, especially along the coasts, the indigenous people, for the most part, have abandoned traditional religions in favor of Christianity or have adopted an amalgamation of Christian and pre-Christian practices. The religious allegiances of Melanesians had not yet become firm as of 1970. Different groups in the same geographic areas adhered to different Christian, pre-Christian, and post-Christian sects. Shifts in religious allegiances were in process in many communities.

Of Polynesia

In Polynesia, Christian missionary activity began to achieve success in the early nineteenth century, and by 1970 few traces of traditional religions remained, aside from occasional ruins of ancient stone monuments and the remnants of some open-air temples. A host of myths were still loved and remembered, if no longer believed, and occasional superstitions and practices have survived that have their roots in pre-Christian animistic beliefs.

Shared gods and culture heroes, the most famous being Tangaroa, the supreme creator deity, and Maui, a Prometheus-like culture hero who disobeyed the gods for the sake of mankind, as well as certain themes and beliefs prevalent throughout the area testify to the initial unity of the Polynesian religion. Great regional variations in doctrine, myth, and nomenclature exist, however.

The Polynesian gods and culture heroes, though remembered, are no longer worshiped. By contrast, black magic and white magic are clandestine practices that have been retained by many Polynesians, despite their conversion to Christianity.

One of the few Polynesian communities to retain its traditional religion intact well into the twentieth century was the small Polynesian atoll of Tikopia, located in Melanesia within the administrative jurisdiction of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. It is generally believed that this small atoll provided before World War II a living example of the culture that had become defunct in Polynesia. A study conducted in 1929 indicated that, although Christian missionary activity had begun, the people of Tikopia were almost all still committed to their Polynesian religion.

Their religious observances involved the entire community in much ceremonial activity, governed by the need to celebrate annually an elaborate cycle of religious rituals collectively called "the work of the Gods." The purpose of this cycle of rituals was to enlist the continued cooperation of the *atua*, a term signifying the various ancestor and other spirits and supernatural beings alleged to exist in Tikopia. Without the cooperation of the *atua*, obtained through the appropriate ritual carried out by the proper chief or elder, the people of Tikopia believed that their simple subsistence livelihood would be in danger. The ritual cycle included as its major events: resanctifying the sacred canoes; the reconsecration of the temples; rituals involving the harvesting and planting of yams, the staple crop; and a dance festival, whose performance was alleged to help trample down the dangerous winds of the monsoon.

The rituals were believed to have been instituted at the request of the principal god of the paramount clan, and the chief of that clan

was the spokesman for the god. Thus, the religion of the Tikopia people served to bolster the authority of the paramount chief.

The chief ritual act in the Tikopia religion, as in most Polynesian religions, was the *kava* ceremony. The *kava* ceremony usually began with an offering of bark cloth to the deity being honored, then the reciting of a long sacred formula by the chief conducting the ceremony, then the drinking of cups of *kava* in the name of the god, followed by the throwing of offerings of food and betel materials onto the sacred place of the god. Participation in the *kava* ceremonies was limited to prominent men, such as heads of clans and households. The seating was assigned according to traditional rules of protocol, with each seating place indicating the social rank of its occupant.

Throughout Polynesia the highest chiefs were alleged to be the descendants of particular gods or supernatural culture heroes. In their persons the chiefs provided a tangible link with the mythological past to the people over whom they had authority. When such a chief spoke on a formal religious occasion, he was regarded as the mouthpiece of the god. In some parts of Polynesia, however, the responsibility for making formal speeches and executing other public religious rituals belonged to ceremonial priests or leaders, often called "talking chiefs." In much of Polynesia after the conversion of the population to Christianity, the religious functions formerly executed by chiefs and "talking chiefs" were assumed by church officials, but in secular affairs these traditional leaders retained their power and influence as the result of their inherited rank and the conservatism of the societies they led.

Another type of traditional Polynesian religious functionary was the messenger from the gods, who was often a medium, oracle, or diviner. Religious functionaries of this type continued to practice their vocations long after the clan chiefs and the "talking chiefs" had embraced Christianity and shed their sacred authority. In Tikopia several spirit mediums were practicing among both the pagan and Christian factions in 1952. By 1966, however, the entire population had been converted to Christianity, and the local priest of the Anglican mission, a Tikopia islander, had successfully campaigned against the continuance of spirit mediumship.

Gilbert Islands of Micronesia

The Gilbert Islands are the most populous island group of Micronesia outside the area under the jurisdiction of the United States. Although virtually all Gilbertese have become Christians, traditional beliefs regarding the origins of the world and of man, as described in the oral legends of the people, have been retained by some.

Forms of magic and a concern with placating local spirits, called *anti*, have also survived.

Some of the origin myths of the Gilbertese are similar in their broad outlines to Biblical tales. They are regarded by some Gilbertese as alternate, but valid, statements of Christian truths.

An example is the myth that explains how death came to humanity. The myth tells of a period when the world was new, and men and women lived apart and were without sin. The men had a coconut tree with a single nut growing on it; the coconut was immediately replaced each time it was plucked. The men also had a fish trap that was always full of fish. The women, too, had a tree that was guarded by a divine spirit, who forbade the men to touch it. One day, in the guardian's absence, men touched the women's tree. When the spirit returned, he could smell the perfume of the women's flowers and see the men's gray hairs, and he knew that the men had disobeyed.

In anger the spirit took away the ever-abundant fish trap and coconut tree and announced that death had come to mankind for its disobedience. The guardian then crouched at the entrance to the spirit world and, like a spider, spun a web to catch the souls of the dead. The evildoers spent eternity in the web, struggling to get free, but the souls of good people joined their ancestors in the spirit world.

CHRISTIANITY

Historical Background

Throughout Oceania Christianity remained the predominant religion in 1970. Of the people in the area, more than three-fourths were Christian; two-fifths of these were Roman Catholic. The arrival of Christianity in Oceania often predated actual European control of the territory but, as in the case of some areas reached by the French Roman Catholic missions, Western control eventually followed.

Other than the Spanish Catholic missionary activities in the Marianas region in the sixteenth century, no Christian mission reached the southern portion of Oceania until the abortive Catholic mission to Tahiti in 1774 and the more successful enterprise of the London Missionary Society in 1797. Since then, many other missionary organizations have been active in the area.

Tahiti became the springboard for the spread of Christianity in most parts of Oceania. The work was begun by the London Missionary Society, under the patronage of Tahiti's Pomare rulers, and the Roman Catholic mission of the Society of Mary (Marists) actively competed for the conversion of native souls to the Catholic

faith. When initial attempts by French Marist priests to engage in missionary work in Tahiti resulted in their expulsion from the territory, French gunboats were dispatched to Tahiti, and the territory was established as a French protectorate in 1842.

In the same year that missionaries of the London Missionary Society settled in Tahiti, ten of its members arrived in Tonga. Because of an outbreak of disorder and violence in the islands, they were unable to establish a permanent mission until the latter part of 1820. The conversion of Taufa'ahau (George I), the king of Tonga in 1831 was followed by widespread conversion of the kingdom to Wesleyan Christianity. French Marist priests, welcomed by the enemies of Taufa'ahau, also succeeded in establishing a large Catholic minority in the island.

A Wesleyan mission was sent from Tonga to the island of Savii but was not successful. Two years later, however, the Reverend John Williams of the London Missionary society succeeded in introducing the Christian faith in Samoa. There was no Roman Catholic missionary activity in the islands until 1845.

Emissaries from the Tongan king George I accompanied European missionaries in spreading Christianity in Fiji in 1835 although some Tahitian teachers working for the London Missionary Society had already been in parts of the islands five years before. Initially, there were few converts to Christianity because most Fijian high chiefs were opposed to the teachings that insisted on the sinfulness of war and savage customs and other teachings that cut across the position of Fijian chiefs. Missionaries began to make some headway only after some leading Fijian chiefs began to embrace the new religion.

Rotuma, which is a dependency of Fiji, was the object of missionary work by Tongan native teachers of the Wesleyan mission in 1842. French Marist priests also proselytized during the 1850s and 1860s.

From Tahiti the London Missionary Society, led by the Reverend John Williams, spread Christianity to the Cook Islands; in 1823 the inhabitants of Aitutaki were converted. Williams also paid occasional visits to Niue after 1830 but was unable to establish a permanent mission. Progress in missionary work was made in the late 1840s through the efforts of a Niuean, who had been trained as a mission teacher in Samoa, and a Samoan named Paulo. Conversion of the Tokelau islanders to Christianity began during the mid-nineteenth century through Catholic and Protestant missions.

The conversion of the Wallis and Futuna islands people to Christianity began with the arrival of two French Marist priests, Father Bataillon and Father Chanel. Father Chanel, who headed the Catholic mission in Futuna, was killed at the instigation of the native king, who believed that the attempt to convert his people to Catholicism would undermine the political system of the island and his

own authority, both of which were closely dependent on the ancestral religion. French Marist priests were also responsible for the first serious attempt at religious conversion in New Caledonia in 1853 although no success was apparent until the 1860s. Catholicism and French sovereignty also were extended to the Tuamotu Archipelago, Tubuai, and the Leeward Islands.

In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands the coming of Christianity followed soon after the first traders had established themselves in the islands. Hiram Bingham, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, landed at Abaiang in 1857 and, with the help of Hawaiian pastors, began to spread Christianity through the northern Gilbert Islands.

Contacts with the southern Gilbert Islands and the Ellice island group were made in 1871 by the Reverend John S. Whitmee of the London Missionary Society with the assistance of Samoan teachers. The arrival of the first Samoan teachers in the southern Gilbert Islands was welcomed as a protection from the depredations of the blackbirders (see Glossary). The Gilbert and Ellice Islands group has since become predominantly Protestant, but there are also a few Roman Catholics, especially in the central Gilbert Islands. There are some Seventh-Day Adventists and members of Bahai and Church of God missions.

In the territory of New Guinea, French Marist priests attempted to establish a mission in 1847 but had little success. In 1897 the London Missionary Society, which employed native converts to make the initial contact, succeeded in establishing a mission.

The Adoption of Christianity

With the exception of a few thousand Chinese residents who are adherents of other religions, the population of French Polynesia is almost entirely Christian. There are roughly 45,000 Protestants, 25,000 Roman Catholics (including about 2,000 Chinese), 6,000 Latter-Day Saints, and about 750 Seventh-day Adventists. Although the outward forms of Christianity are observed by adherents of the faith, traditional customs and practices have not necessarily been abandoned. The old Tahitian outspokenness and freedom in matters relating to sex, for example, have not changed, and belief in the old spirits and gods remains strong.

A majority of Samoans belong to the Congregational Christian Church of Western Samoa, an autonomous church that succeeded the London Missionary Society in Samoa. The rest of the Samoan population are adherents of either the Australasian Methodist Mission, the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the Seventh-day Adventist sect, or other minor religious denominations. Although they readily accepted the

Christian religion the Samoans, like the Tahitians, have not abandoned all of their traditional beliefs. To a large extent institutions of Christianity were fused with indigenous culture. These institutions have adopted the public forms of church worship as prescribed by missionaries, and many elements of Christian life taught by missionaries agreed with the elaborate formalism of Samoan custom. The concept of individual responsibility through private prayer and study, however, did not accord easily with Samoan habits. Ideas of the supernatural causes of disease, the customs of private sex behavior, and some aspects of birth and marriage ritual remained undisturbed.

Theology and ritual were not highly organized in Samoa, and the traditional priesthood was a powerful body deriving authority solely from priestly status. The priests held an acknowledged position in society based on rank as *matai* (see Glossary). Religion was merely one aspect of a highly developed social and political institution with which it was closely identified, and the respect accorded the priesthood was derived from a wider secular authority. The position of priests as *matai* secured their places in family and village life, and by embracing Christianity they became elders in the church.

In Tonga the majority of the people belong to the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. In 1968 the principal religions of the kingdom and the number of their adherents were: Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, 38,877; Roman Catholic, 12,363; Free Church of Tonga, 10,622; Church of Tonga, 6,891; and Latter-Day Saints, 5,455.

In Tonga all formal structure of the ancient religious system has disappeared, and the people have become enthusiastic Christians. The religious history of Tonga, however, has been marred by sectarian differences and the desire of a majority of the people to be free from external control in church affairs.

In 1885 the Wesleyans split into two groups—the Wesleyan Church and the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the latter having the endorsement of King George I. In 1924 Queen Salote attempted to reunite the two groups, but her objective was only partly achieved. A minority faction in the Free Wesleyan Church refused to enter the union and formed instead a separate church called the Free Church of Tonga. Doctrinal differences between the Wesleyan sects, however, are slight and vague, although competition between these sects and with other sects has been keen. Tongan villagers not infrequently change their church membership.

Almost all native Fijians are professed Christians; about 85 percent are Methodists, and 12 percent are Roman Catholics. Religion in Fiji represents a fusion of Christian and ancient indigenous elements, many of them reflecting Polynesian influence. Ancestor worship has been eliminated, but the various spirits of the old religions have become either alternative powers, to be resorted to when the

Christian God appears unresponsive, or evil spirits in league with the Christian devil. Thus, even those who are formally Christian and who attend services retain significant elements of traditional belief, particularly with regard to the explanation of illness and death. The church has become a Fijian-oriented institution and is guided by a spirit of tolerance rather than reformist zeal.

Religion in Fiji also has been affected by the ethnic differences that separate the native Fijians and the Indian Fijians. It has served as a unifying element among native Fijians, who are virtually all Christians, in contrast to the Indian population, only a few of whom are Christians. Indian Methodists, instead of going to Methodist services that Fijians attend in large numbers, would rather attend the Anglican church services that generally serve the European community belonging to that denomination.

As in other parts of Oceania, Christianity in the greater part of Melanesia has undergone syncretic adoption. Christianity was adopted without any sense of incongruity with the traditional religion. The To'ambaita people of New Guinea, for example, use Christianity as a substitute for sorcery, praying to God to smite their enemies. Although the people adopted the external forms of Christianity and transferred to the Christian saints the attributes of traditional deities, worship of the traditional deities remained under the guise of venerating the saints.

For the seaboard Melanesians, the pattern ranges from almost total and apparently altruistic acceptance of Christianity, as at Busuma in New Guinea, to its adoption and adaptation for purely materialistic ends elsewhere. In New Caledonia, which is partly Melanesian, the tribes that were in danger of losing their land to settlers around 1900 rapidly accepted Protestant missionary teachings as a defensive measure.

In South Pentecost (New Hebrides) Catholic missionaries discriminated against aboriginal beliefs and practices selectively, incorporating, tolerating, or forbidding in accordance with their judgment as to the compatibility of particular features of native culture with Catholic dogma and European values. The Church of Christ, the other mission group, prohibited or discouraged any beliefs and practices associated with what they believed to be the native magicoreligious system or which appeared to them to be in conflict with European Christian morality.

As a result of these different approaches, aboriginal beliefs and practices survive to a greater extent among Catholics than among members of the Church of Christ. Members of the Church of Christ, however, have not necessarily abandoned all aboriginal beliefs. Most Christian natives continue to believe in the effects of aboriginal ritual and the efficacy of sorcery, although they indulge in little of the former and profess to disapprove of the latter.

There are still many pagans found in the interior of Malaita and

Bougainville and some on Guadalcanal and San Cristobal. Those who adopted Christianity believed that their ancestors were powerless to help or harm them and that other pagan spirits were represented as devils. Meanwhile, the concept of *mana*, or spiritual power, has been incorporated in the new religion as the power of the Holy Spirit. A fervent belief in the retributive side of Christian teaching has replaced the ancient taboos.

As in Polynesia and Melanesia, in much of Micronesia where Christianity has been adopted beliefs in spirits and in occult forces have survived but in altered forms. A popular notion is that a devout Christian is protected by his faith from harm caused by pagan spirits. Another popular belief is that the *mana*, formerly thought to reside in the pagan priesthood and in the holy places of traditional religions, is now considered to reside in the church and its clergy. Prayers said in church are supposed to be effective in combating illness, just as the rituals of the spirit medium were thought to be in former times.

Accompanying the adoption of Christianity has been the localization of the churches in Oceania. In Papua and New Guinea it was the Papua Ekalesia, an independent and self-governing church, with a governing body, the Church Assembly, whose members are predominantly Papuan. The process of localization also affected the Catholic and Anglican churches as well as other religious denominations in the territory. In Samoa the churches developed in ways more in keeping with Samoan tradition, rather than English, non-conformist tradition. Samoan teachers were strongly under the influence of traditional authority and often differed with missionaries in matters of policy. The teachers often devoted themselves to the enhancement of their status, personally and collectively. As a result, the structure of the church gained a distinctively Samoan character.

Secular Activities of the Church

In addition to their strictly evangelical work, religious missions have ministered to native welfare in various ways: cannibalism was suppressed; warfare was restrained; polygamy was abolished; forms of female dress were modified; the Gregorian calendar was introduced (with the week made into an important division of time in native life); infanticide was discouraged; and islanders were shielded from the exploitation of nonmissionary whites. Schools were established, and medical help and social work were carried on with the aid of native assistants.

Because of lack of funds, various territorial administrations left these responsibilities to the missions. In recent years, however, most of the territorial governments have taken over such responsibilities,

leaving to the missions those that could not be covered by the government.

In the Solomons, hospitals belonging to the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England have long formed an essential part of the islands' medical services. The mission's printing press has been the principal source of books in the vernacular languages, and its mission ships have been the most frequent callers on the coasts of the various islands. In Fiji, where most of the nonspiritual activity of the mission ceased, and in the Gilbert Islands group, missionaries continued to have a hand in some educational work. In New Guinea missionaries have been largely responsible for the development of knowledge by Westerners of the native languages, anthropology, and natural history of the area.

Although religious missions generally prefer to remain uncommitted, their impact on local politics has left a deep and lasting impression. The Protestant missionaries served as advisers to Tahitian and Tongan monarchs during the nineteenth century. In addition to preventing the opening of a French Roman Catholic mission in Tahiti in 1836, these missionaries also influenced the Tahitian ruler to promulgate Tahiti's first code of civil laws. The spread of Christianity weakened the foundation of Tahitian society, but the missionaries assisted Pomare, the native ruler, to remain firmly in power. The Protestant missionaries also introduced laws in the Cook Islands that applied to the temporal as well as the spiritual conduct of the people.

In Tahiti the real center of authority in the villages has been the pastor of the Tahitian Protestant Church. He has influence among the people regarding their support of the government, and he may reinforce the territorial administration. In the referendum of 1958 that determined the area's territorial status with France, the position assumed by many missionaries partly brought about the defeat of the popular nationalist leader Pouvanaa A Oopa, who campaigned in favor of a "no" vote (see ch. 8, Political Advancement).

In the Ellice Islands the church undercut the native system of government. Samoan pastors and native church officials assumed positions of great authority and often forbade old native customs. Economic activity had been shifted from the goal of providing for the native chief to that of providing for the needs of the pastor.

In Papua and New Guinea membership in a particular church with a strong following in the area was politically advantageous to a candidate for a seat in the House of Assembly. Most indigenous members of the House who actively participated in church matters were stimulated to further their political careers. Until 1964 the House (then called the Legislative Council) always included three missionaries among the nominated nonofficial members, on the grounds of their peculiar ability to represent indigenous interests.

CARGO CULTS AND OTHER POST-CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENTS

Among the Pacific islanders the major purposes of religious observances have been temporal rather than spiritual. Until recently, all the indigenous people have felt the need for supernatural aid to deal with sickness and to prevent death and natural disaster, since these misfortunes were not considered to be natural or inevitable but were attributed to autonomous supernatural beings or malevolent persons using supernatural powers.

The Christian missionaries introduced Western medicine and technology into Oceania and, where this has proved more effective than traditional methods of dealing with disease or other physical dangers, the conversion of islanders to Christianity has been hastened, since the need for traditional religious rituals to ensure safety was no longer as great. The belief in the supernatural causes of sickness and death has survived the conversion to Christianity in much of Oceania. The Christian converts have, in some cases, attributed to God's wrath what was formerly blamed on the anger of offended spirits.

The Melanesians, however, in addition to depending upon their religions to protect them from physical harm, have tended to emphasize the importance of supernatural cooperation in achieving material success. Melanesian converts to Christianity have tended to regard the new faith as the key to achieving Western material goods—cloth, steel tools, tobacco, and canned foods—just as they had formerly relied on their traditional religious rituals to provide a sufficiency of pigs, dog teeth, yams, and cowrie shells. Among the more ritual-minded coastal Melanesians, who had traditionally believed in the power of sacred formulas to produce wealth, there has developed among some of the Christian converts a tendency to regard the Bible, formal prayer, and the written word as Western equivalents of the sacred wealth-producing traditional formulas.

Many Melanesian villagers expected that Western material goods would arrive in abundance within a short time after the community had been converted to Christianity. When these goods, called "cargo" in pidgin (see Glossary), did not arrive, self-styled prophets appeared in various parts of Melanesia who claimed to have received the true words of Christianity and the divine plan for achieving an abundance of Western goods. Various religious organizations, called cargo cults (see Glossary), developed among the followers of these Melanesian prophets. A number of misapprehensions concerning the meaning of Biblical phrases as translated into local languages contributed to misconceptions as to the imminent rewards promised by God to Christians. Some of the fundamentalist sects proselytizing in the Pacific in recent years have contributed to cargo cult ideologies.

An accusation often made by cult adherents, which gave these cults their semipolitical, anti-Western taint, was that the missionaries had not told the whole truth about Christianity but had willfully kept to themselves the secret formulas and rituals that would actuate God to send them the goods or otherwise provide them with material riches of the type to be found in the houses of Westerners. The cultists alleged that the missionaries, like other Westerners, were anxious to keep all the good things for themselves, refusing to share with the Pacific islanders. This accusation reflected the animosity among the islanders toward Westerners resulting from the different valuation the two groups placed on spending, sharing, and reciprocating (see ch. 4, Social Systems).

Cargo cults have arisen frequently in Melanesia since the 1890s, encompassing in some instances thousands of Melanesians spread over large and distant geographic areas. Few of these cults, however, have survived as long as ten years. A common feature of many cargo cults, which has contributed to their instability, is that the leaders have often promised that, on an exact date in the near future, the "cargo" would arrive by plane, ship, or supernatural agency. Often a dock was built to accommodate the expected ship, and sometimes one or more warehouses were constructed to store the anticipated "cargo."

It is often required of the cult members that they destroy all of their goods: throw away their traditional clay pots and their loincloths; kill and eat their pigs; dig up all the food crops; and burn down their houses. The presence of relics of the old way of life is regarded by cultists as likely to supernaturally impede the arrival of the new. Therefore, the old goods must be abandoned before the "cargo" can come. Eventually, after the "cargo" has failed to arrive on the appointed date, the leadership of the cult is usually discredited and the movement subsides, although occasionally cults have been revived a few years later under new leadership.

In a few instances, notably in the Admiralty, Bismarck, and British Solomon island groups, the disappointment following the nonarrival of the "cargo" and the social and economic disruption caused by the destruction of the traditional economy have been channeled by gifted local leaders into organized community action programs designed to achieve Western-style material prosperity through the use of Western technology and the development by communal efforts of the area's economic resources. Western administrators have, in some areas, encouraged these efforts, seeing in them the opportunity for indigenous leaders to unite disparate and traditionally autonomous Melanesian communities in cooperation toward the achievement of economic progress.

Although cargo cults have not appeared everywhere in Melanesia, the belief that Western goods are brought by supernatural agents is

widely held in the area. Many myths and legends current in the 1960s were attempts to explain why Westerners had such a high level of material prosperity whereas Pacific islanders did not.

An ancient Melanesian myth that tells how the sea emerged from underground to split the land into separate islands has been reworded. One version from the southern Massim area of the Territory of Papua, recorded in the 1960s, explains that there were in ancient times two clans that together cut down a giant tree. When the tree had been cut down, the sea flowed out, splitting the land. While one clan slept after its labor, the members of the other clan stole all the goods belonging to both groups and floated away on the tree trunk. The Westerners are alleged to be descendants of the absconding clan who have returned after their long absence and who still retain the material advantage they gained in ancient times.

In Polynesia and Micronesia, where the traditional religions were less concerned with methods of achieving material advantage than in Melanesia and were more concerned with providing supernatural endorsement for the traditional social arrangements, there have been few outbreaks of cargo cults.

In Onotoa, in the southern Gilbert Islands, a short-lived cult developed in mid-1930 among members of the London Missionary Society Church. Cult leaders in April 1930 predicted the end of the world and the coming of God on earth on the fifth day of August. The leaders considered themselves to be faithful Christians who had received direct divine revelation. When judgment day failed to come, cult adherents blamed the Catholic minority among the islanders. Factionalism along Christian sectarian lines has been common in much of Polynesia and Micronesia, although it has seldom become as critical as was the case in the Onotoa outbreak, when several Catholics were murdered by angered and disappointed cult adherents. Within a few months after the initial announcement of divine revelation that began the cult, secular officials and representatives of the London Missionary Society arrived, removed the leaders, and dispersed the followers.

A few instances were noted in the 1960s by professional observers of a tendency among the young and the more highly Westernized Polynesians and Micronesians to be skeptical of the supernatural and its role in temporal affairs. In 1970 this view was that of an extremely small minority, however, and was a new development for the area. It has been suggested that it was, in part, the result of the increased impact of Western secular culture on Pacific islanders in recent years.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS OF THE ASIAN RESIDENTS

Non-Christian religions in Oceania other than the indigenous beliefs were brought into the area by Asian immigrants. The largest

Asian religious community in Fiji is the Hindu group, followed by Muslims and Sikhs; these make up, respectively, 80, 15, and 1.3 percent of the Fiji Indian population. There are also several thousand Chinese in French Polynesia who are adherents of the Buddhist and Confucian religious beliefs.

Each of the major Indian religious groups is further divided into a number of sects and socioreligious associations. Although less orthodox than its counterpart in the Indian subcontinent, Kabirpanthi has been the leading exponent since the demise of the leader of the other orthodox Hindu sect, the Ramanandi. A larger and more influential reformist sect is the Arya Samaj, whose followers are mostly of northern Indian origin. Founded in the mid-nineteenth century by Dayanand Sarawati, the Arya Samaj has played an important role in the religious and social affairs of the colony. A branch of the Ramakrishna Mission of India was established in recent years in Fiji to serve those South Indians in Fiji.

The Muslim Indians belong to two different and hostile groups: the Sunni, one of the major branches of Islam; or the Ahmadiya, a minor sect founded in the twentieth century. Most are Sunnis. The differences between the Sunnis and the Ahmadiyas arise out of conflicting religious beliefs. Separate mosques are maintained because Ahmadiyas are not allowed to pray at Sunni mosques; and Sunnis do not attend Ahmadiya mosques.

The Chinese who were born in China either profess no religious belief or are occasional worshipers at the shrine dedicated to the saint Kan Kung, called simply T'ai Kung (ancestor). At times other than the Chinese New Year, worship at the T'ai Kung Ch'ong has chiefly been by a small number of women who were born in China. Folk belief in spirits, *kwei*, is ubiquitous, even among sophisticated, modern, well-traveled, young Chinese. Chinese and Tahitian spirit beliefs merge, and *kwei* is regarded simply as the Chinese name for *tupapau*, the Tahitian word for spirits.

CHAPTER 6

CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND COMMUNICATION PATTERNS

The South Pacific islands possess a rich and highly diverse tradition of artistic expression. The plastic arts are dominated by sculptural forms, ranked as among the most expressive and sophisticated in the primitive art world. Sculpture is usually in wood. Although primitive carving on rock surfaces is found throughout the Pacific, stone sculpture is limited largely to Polynesia. Musical forms are the most important means of cultural expression.

Artifacts have traditionally been produced by skilled artisans, not as ends in themselves but to fulfill specific and often practical functions. Artistic expression is intimately tied to, and highly reflective of, the varying economic, social, and religious systems of the Pacific Islands. There is a variety of minor arts, including magic sand drawing and string games.

On the basis of recurrent techniques and styles, differentiation is often made between Melanesian and Polynesian forms. This separation does not closely follow geographic lines, and islands such as Fiji may have a Melanesian population with a mixed Polynesian culture. Forms inconsistent with even the generalizations based on this twofold classification system are frequent, and further subdivisions are decreasingly useful. Cultural forms in Micronesia are generally less complex restatements of Polynesian and Melanesian forms and are generally omitted from this study. Micronesia lies to the north of the area covered by this study, and most of it is administered by the United States under United Nations trusteeship.

Certain themes, techniques, and styles appear in quite distant areas, and ancient symbols such as the birdman concept are widely spread but with forgotten or divergent meanings. Their presence could stem from complex chains of cultural interaction, now broken or forgotten, or from direct contact. They could have been unconsciously transmitted by Europeans, represent persistence through time from a point of common heritage, or simply be universal symbols in human expression.

Most surfaces to which paint is applied are first inscribed or carved; painting as a medium has only a marginal existence independent of sculpture. Most colors are vegetable dyes or earth pigments

dissolved in water or blood. White surfaces may be the result of applications of lime or ash paste. Black is obtained from charcoal.

During the twentieth century and particularly since World War II, the quality of traditional art forms has deteriorated. In sculpture this has been brought largely by the adoption of metal tools and mass production of artifacts for European and American markets. Much of the sculpture lost its vitality as it moved from fulfilling culturally vital, community needs to overworked, stereotyped, mass-produced items. Similar problems exist in musical expression. Official interest is being shown in stimulating and preserving traditional forms through government-supported archives, libraries, museums, ethnological journals, concerts, school programs, and tours of performing groups.

Artistic expression reflective of contemporary, international themes and techniques awaits development. The greatest advance in twentieth-century forms of expression has been in the fields of music and architecture. Painting and literature are still embryonic. Scientific advance in the educational system and technical skills of the populace are related to pragmatic needs. Agricultural and medical research programs are in progress, but additional research is needed in biology, craft industry technology, and problems of social change.

The increasing proportion of youth among the island populations, the need for basic technical skills, and the standard of literacy as a prerequisite for self-government result in focusing considerable attention on the role of education in the Pacific. Education programs represent one of the major concerns of development planners and account for substantial portions of internal revenue. In the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, for example, education expenditures in 1969 represented about 44 percent of internal revenue and about 17 percent of the total budget.

Mission and voluntary agency schools were the initial institutions to provide educational facilities and, in 1970, continued to play supplemental or even major roles in island educational systems. The major expansion of educational facilities has been at the primary level. Students may have to leave their home territory for specialized or secondary study at regional centers. Linguistic diversity and the education of women on a coeducational basis continue to present curriculum problems.

Disparate levels of communication technology exist side by side. Next to face-to-face communications, radio serves as the major information channel, both within the island territories and with the outside world. There are few daily newspapers, and television plays a minor role. Available data dealing with communications as well as with education are incomplete and often dated.

CULTURAL PATTERNS

Sculpture

Sculpture is the major art form of the Pacific Islands. It is largely limited to work in wood, save for a few rare exceptions in Melanesia and in the outlying areas of Polynesia. Except for collage forms, traditional sculpture is usually done from a single block of wood and worked with a variety of nonmetal tools. The most common tool is the stone adz, an axlike implement with the blade set at a cross, right angle to the handle. Other tools include stone scrapers, pieces of pointed shell, and animal teeth. Although canoes and drums may have been hollowed by burning, this technique is not widely used for general sculpture. A carving is often polished with pumice stone or a piece of shark's skin. A high gloss may be obtained by hand rubbing or by smoking. Particularly in Melanesia, color is often rubbed into unpolished wood surfaces.

The most commonly encountered subject is the human figure. The way in which it is rendered varies from realistic representations to abstract and subtle idealizations. Stress is placed by flattening, stretching, and simplifying forms rather than by elaborating them. Distortion of the head or other body parts or even of the whole body reflects the cultural perspectives of the artist and the meaning he hopes his work will convey.

Animal forms are also found. The crocodile and bird are most common, but fish, snake, and pig forms are also used. Floral and plant forms, often in abstract and somewhat geometric patterns, are used in many areas. Engraved designs with symbolic meanings, sometimes forgotten or only partially remembered, often give a particular identity to an object beyond its obvious function.

Six types of sculpture are found. The first consists of two-dimensional surface delineations, either incised or carved in low relief. The second consists of expanded or three-dimensional polychrome forms whose painted areas frequently refer to concepts outside the sculptured form. The third and fourth types are collage or assembled compositions and superimposed or conglomerate forms sculpted as if they had been stacked together. The fifth type is aerial sculpture, characterized by pierced or cutaway areas that help to give meaning. The final form is a self-contained unit possessing expressiveness on the basis of the compact, dynamic unity of the sculptured form.

Melanesian art is dominated by expanded polychrome and collage sculpture. Polychrome work is of less significance for Polynesian art. Contained and superimposed sculpture usually receive more realistic treatment. Polychrome and aerial sculpture are generally more dramatic and related to the supernatural.

Polynesia

Although sculpture is also used to commemorate ancestors, individual achievement, and the gods, the most common traditional forms have been utilitarian objects. Everyday life was so intimately tied to ritual that even simple objects, such as fishhooks, net sinkers, and food grinders, were lovingly shaped. Many of these objects were believed to possess a magical quality in addition to their practical function and were taken in hand only with the performance of a proper prayer or incantation. Utilitarian objects commonly served as ceremonial effigies, and a well-shaped adz was often buried with its owner.

The intrinsic quality and beauty of Polynesian sculpture stem from the alternation or simultaneous interplay of two elements: free form and incised or engraved pattern. The Polynesian concept of free form represents the heights of artistic sophistication and sensitivity. Abstract forms, firmly and recognizably rooted in their prototypes, have evolved. These are poetic restatements of reality. The subtle use of line, mass, shape, plane, and space have produced objects whose beauty is not limited by their function.

Although many sculptured objects have been left as simple statements of form, Polynesian sculptors often have bathed three-dimensional forms with the repetition of linear incisions. Delicate rosettes, interlocking diamonds, minute human faces, and numerous variations of cross-hatching have been generously applied to bowls, dance paddles, ceremonial objects, and hundred of other artifacts.

The most refined forms of these two elements are found in the outmost areas of Polynesia. Linear decoration is most developed in southern Polynesia, particularly among the Maori. Large-scale figure sculpture and anatomical realism are found in eastern Polynesia. Free form is best evidenced in northern Polynesia, perhaps most refinely represented by the *lei niho palaoa* (whale tooth necklace), composed of a sculpted whale tooth set against a background of flowing ribbons of plaited human hair.

In addition to fishhooks, net weights, and adzes, hundreds of carved domestic items exist, of which several are outstanding. The poi pounder, an efficient pestle for pounding roots into food paste, is one of the most essential and universal household implements. It has been fashioned in many different ways, including terminations in phallic symbols, curved hand grips, or Tiki (see Glossary) heads. Wooden bowls, sometimes with feet, covers, or handles in the shape of a human figure, were so finely worked that they might easily be mistaken for ceremonial objects. Food preparation also called for breadfruit splitters and special stools for grating coconut. Wooden headrests with short feet were used for reclining and usually were carved from a single piece of wood with considerable refinement.

Weapons were also sculptured. In addition to the ornate prows of war canoes in southern Polynesia, diverse forms of war clubs, spears, and staffs were carved or incised with geometric patterns, jagged teeth and barbs, or ferocious human images. These weapons gained much of their value from their ability to stir fear in the hearts of the enemy and evoke respect for their bearer within his community. The design of these weapons, therefore, was not exclusively centered upon the ability to inflict injury. As in the case of the hooded war clubs in the Marquesas Islands, they assume a highly ceremonial appearance.

Perhaps the most notable ceremonial objects other than carved figure forms are large wooden bowls similar to household bowls but rendered on a much larger scale. There were many ceremonial uses for these bowls. In the Hiva islands a female judged to have the most beautifully tattooed hands used such a bowl for a ceremonial mixing of poi. In Fiji such a bowl held oil for ritual anointing. The most common ceremony, however, was the preparation and serving of *kava*, a drink made from the dried root of the pepper plant.

The drinking of *kava* represents an important social function in Polynesia, somewhat in the same way but more stylized as betel nut chewing in Melanesia. Traditional cultures still observe a rigid decorum during the initial and lengthy ceremony during which the drink is prepared and drunk. The origins and meanings of much of the ceremony are now long forgotten. Seats around the *kava* bowl often have been hereditarily passed from generation to generation. The initial ceremony sometimes is followed by less formal consumption. In large quantities *kava* has a harmless, mildly narcotic effect, leaving the drinkers elated, mystically soothed, and marginally intoxicated. Pepper root is now used in the production of tranquilizers by Western pharmaceutical firms.

Other sculptured ceremonial objects include adzes fastened to miniature towers instead of handles and a wide range of dance paddles based on anthropomorphic symbolism. Among the Rarotonga peoples, small, low stools serve as thrones for village chiefs.

Figure sculpture is a more refined tradition in Polynesia than elsewhere in the Pacific. Anthropomorphic figures of varying size are found throughout Polynesia, and in eastern Polynesia these have been combined with bird, fish, and reptilian features. The most common sculpture depicts the god Tiki. It is usually small in size, conveying an embryonic form and with the hands of the god clutching his belly. Beautiful Tiki amulets are carved in greenstone in southern Polynesia.

On Tonga small figures five to six inches high are carved from sperm whale teeth and occasionally from wood. These figures of women with their hands at their sides are probably fertility charms. Figures similar to those carved on Tonga have also been found on

Samoa and Fiji. Larger figures of the gods were carved and set in place on the *marae* (temple) terraces. Small figures were carved on the end of stakes and set in the ground during certain ceremonies to serve as dwelling places for attending spirits. At the close of the ritual the stakes were removed and stored.

The most realistic and representational figure sculpture of the entire Pacific is found on Rarotonga. Only about six of these figures still exist. They stand nearly life-sized, are symmetrically proportioned, and are carved as sculptural entities intended to be viewed from all sides.

In view of the lack of metal tools, stone sculpture was not a major art form for most of the Pacific, especially in Melanesia. It is found crudely executed on Tahiti, but what stone carving is found in Polynesia is most advanced in the outward extremities. Stone carving appears fairly often in Rarotongan sculpture, frequently and massively in the Hiva islands, and most monumentally in the Rapanui culture of eastern Polynesia.

Melanesia

Compared to Polynesian sculpture, that of Melanesia was produced not only in greater quantity but also with more stylistic and technical diversity. This is particularly true of New Guinea where a single river basin may contain hundreds of art styles reflecting complex chains of subcultures or separate cultural traditions. Classification systems of these cultures are constantly undergoing revision as the result of new discoveries or the verification of original sources of traded items. Attempts to characterize such a diverse tradition of artistic expression as is found in Melanesia are, therefore, even less valid than in Polynesia. Three types of sculpture, however, do stand out. The first is expanded polychrome sculpture, using red, black, white, yellow, and sometimes blue. Colors may be played against one another, used with contrasting areas of black or white or, in the case of white, rubbed into incised linear patterns to play against natural wood tones. Color plays a far greater role in Melanesian art than elsewhere in the Pacific and often serves to give depth and emotional vitality. The sculptured object to which color is applied is often three-dimensional, the most dynamic development of which is represented by sculpture in New Ireland.

The second and third types consist of collage or assembled sculpture and superimposed sculpture. Collage sculpture includes compositions of bark cloth, raffia, reeds, bone, shell, and wood. Superimposed forms, such as totem staffs, may be carved from a single piece of wood but give the appearance of having been formed from several pieces of independently sculptured forms.

As in Polynesia, much of Melanesian sculpture is tied to social and religious functions. In Melanesia, however, the mystical quality of a

work is tied more to the supernatural and attempts to control it than to the commemoration of ancestors. A complex hierarchy of social levels based on acquired prestige and male society rituals is an institution unique to Melanesia and offers an additional focus for artistic expression. Ceremonial masks, frequently quite intricately made, are associated with these ceremonies and represent the major and most commonly shared art form of Melanesia.

Of all Melanesian sculpture, these ceremonial masks show the greatest diversity of form and style. They may have been carved from a single piece of wood, assembled from various items such as reeds, feathers, and wicker, or entirely woven from raffia. Tree bark sometimes is used as a base, and shell bone is commonly inserted for eyes and teeth. They may be brightly painted or left in natural colors. They are usually rendered in anthropomorphic terms. In western Melanesia elongation of the nose into a bird-like beak, often with phallic connotation, is common. Masks are carved to cover the head or the entire body of the wearer.

The prototypes of ritual masks were human skulls, highly valued as the dwelling place of the soul both during life and afterwards. Human skulls were often painted or overmolded with earth or vegetable paste to resemble the deceased. Shells were fitted to eye sockets, and plaited hair or straw was attached to the skull. Sometimes the skulls were fastened to bodies made from reeds and wicker. Many of the qualities attributed to human skulls were passed on also to ritual masks. The wearer of a mask is identified with the spirit that, in Melanesian theory, dwells in the mask. In general, the masks are worn repeatedly, but in some cultures a mask may be used only once. Masks, along with ceremonial drums and flutes, are often considered so sacred that they are concealed in clubhouses away from the eyes of women and uninitiated males.

Other ceremonial objects include clubs, totem figures, and funerary staffs. Among household items are carved bowls and anthropomorphically carved and painted suspension hooks used to hang objects and food from house rafters. Containers of bamboo, hollowed wood, plaited reeds, or dried gourds are used to hold lime, which is used for chewing betel nuts, for bleaching hair, and for decorative purposes. In addition to spears and colorful shields, there are small bone daggers carved with thin bands of patterns or human faces.

It is not possible even to summarize in limited space the great number of variations individual cultures in Melanesia have rendered on these basic types of sculpture. Some forms of expression confined to particular cultures do warrant further discussion because of their uniqueness. People in the Torres strait area, for example, produce anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculpture from plates of tortoiseshell laced together. On the Duke of York Island large masks are made entirely from wicker and bark and edged in elabo-

rate fringes of feathers and rush. In certain villages in the Asaro River valley in the highlands area of eastern New Guinea clay is packed on wicker armatures to form masks resembling gray pumpkins.

The sculpture of the Sepik River basin of New Guinea represents the most varied and prolifically produced within Melanesia. It is characterized by alternation and supplementation and, particularly in the middle Sepik River valley it reveals an inventive and rigorous feel for collage and the plastic arts. Many types of masks and columns of superimposed forms are produced. The elongation of the human nose on masks is carried further and terminated in a bird head. Concentric circles around the eyes and on the cheeks emphasize depth, facial planes, and emotion. Some sculpture is produced for external consumption and used in barter with villages not producing sculptural forms. Color is an important element. Red symbolizes softness and life, and black represents immobility and death.

Carving among the Massim villages of New Guinea is purely ornamental and does not include masks or cult sculpture. Among the major items are dance shields, canoe prows, and lime spatulas. Objects are worked with an exceptional feeling for complex curvilinear design seldom found elsewhere in Melanesia. Shields in this area are engraved with the delicacy of a pen drawing or are stippled with a three-pronged motif of unknown origin and significance.

Solomon Islands sculpture is among the most organic and compact in all of Melanesia. It is generally sober in mood and stained black. The most significant feature is the use of decorative bands and geometric patterns of inlaid mother-of-pearl. There is a delightful harmonic interplay in these works between this ornamental richness and pure form. The human figure is a frequent theme, especially for canoe prows, but fish, birds, and sometimes pigs are also used.

The most dynamic sculpture in Melanesia is that of New Ireland. This sculpture obtains its vitality not only from a sophisticated application of polychrome but also from the intricacy and complexity of interlocking forms, all carved from one block of wood. These forms seem to be virtually alive and in constant movement. Whether masks or totem staffs their nightmare-like visage and large scale overwhelm the beholder. Slithering snakes, tusks, horns, and pierced ear vanes are all included. Black, red, and white are the major colors used, but an impression of greater hue range is given.

Music and Dance

The study of indigenous music of Oceania and the offering of generalizations extending beyond regional or island boundaries are complicated by the great variety of musical forms and the absence of written scores. Further complications arise from the built-in bias

in Western music theory that offers little in the way of terms or techniques for systems of non-Western music, especially those that are unwritten. Western contact with the area, moreover, has not only led to the assimilation of Western concepts and melodies but also brought regional cultural interchange. As a result of this contact, musical elements have been altered or abandoned, and the distinction between traditionally evolved and recently introduced elements has been blurred.

Although indigenous music has been traditionally unwritten, it is frequently based on a set of rigid guidelines or syntax restricting melodic direction, harmonic intervals, phrase patterns, and rhythm. Diverse scales are used. Tonal ascent is sometimes achieved through quarter-step glides. Harmony is not common, but octave separation is used sometimes to produce overtones. Modulation frequently crescendoes to a peak at the climax of a song. Syntax may vary for different kinds of music.

Small ensembles or single instruments accompany singing and dancing. The majority of instruments are of the percussion and woodwind type. Drums, sometimes shaped like hourglasses and formed of hollow tree trunks, may be simple reverberation or slit drums. In Melanesia they are frequently covered with a membrane of lizard skin or snakeskin, which is struck with the hands or wooden sticks. In Polynesia a shark's skin is sometimes stretched on the drum. The drum may be plain or slightly carved, but carving usually appears only on skin-covered drums. Melanesian drums may have abstractly carved handles to represent bird, reptile, or human forms.

Bamboo striking sticks of varying tones according to their length may be struck together, struck by another smaller piece of bamboo, or simply struck on the ground. Rattles are made from bamboo tubes in which seeds are inserted or from various gourds and seed pods. Gourd and bamboo rasps, which often also serve as lime containers, are also used.

Both mouth and nose flutes appear throughout the area. Usually, each reed has a single tone, although panpipes made of several reeds lashed together are also found. Gourds or flared sections of tree trunks with bamboo mouthpieces and conch shells are used for horns. Their usual function, however, is to announce the commencement of events or to send signals across water, rather than for general ensemble participation.

Instrumental music is seldom performed without singing, dancing, or both. It usually involves group participation rather than solo performance. In addition to general entertainment, music plays social and religious roles in cultural transmission and, in Melanesia, in male initiation ceremonies. In initiation ceremonies in the New Guinea highlands flutists play single-pitched reeds at varying inter-

vals, providing a musical context for a falsetto birdcall imitation. In large group-sings and in dance, music is mainly for tempo, and the singing and dancing provide the substantive portion of the performance.

The song structure of most cultures can be divided on the basis of performance, content, and structure into ballads, group-sings, and chants. Ballads are quite controlled in volume and have personal content; group-sings vary considerably in intensity and may be either personal or ceremonial in nature; and chants are spoken and more ceremonial. The subject of any may be an epic, love story, religious myth, or simply an aesthetic observation. Among the numerous local variations on these three types are death dirges which, among the Dunas of highland New Guinea, consist of a single tone sustained by a group of women for several minutes.

Dances are usually performed in especially set-aside open areas. The dancers may be grouped in various lines or blocks whose total configuration may represent a geometric figure such as a square or ellipse. At the end of a stanza groups may interchange positions, either maintaining the original shape of the group or forming a new pattern through spiral or block movements. Directional phrases may be called out by a group leader. In many cases the meanings and origins of the directions are no longer understood. Some members may sing while others dance, or the whole group may sing.

While standing in place or moving to a new position, dancers not only perform highly uniform dance steps but also body movements that may include the hand, leg, arm, head, or the entire body. Body movements are highly uniform and precise. They may be jerky or very graceful, depending on the culture or on the dance. They sometimes have symbolic meaning that, again, may no longer be understood by the performers.

Dancers may carry objects designed to emphasize body movements and wear a wide variety of costumes. Flat abstractions of the human body resembling canoe paddles are carried by Tongan dancers in the performance of the *me'etu'apaki* (paddle dance). Dance costumes of plaited fibers are frequently combined with objects prized for the difficulty involved in obtaining them. Insects, leaves, and delicate flowers may be added afresh to the costume each time it is used, or the whole costume may be used only once. Ceremonial masks, frequently with mantles covering the entire body, are worn in the performance of certain ritual dances. Painted areas and lines, ashes, or body oil may be used to decorate the body of a dancer.

In some areas there are separate dances for men and women and others in which both sexes dance together. Some dances are designed for day or night performance. Generally, a differentiation is made between formal and informal dances.

Passage of time has resulted in changes in the original function

and meaning of dance, as well as in dance form; this is particularly true of Polynesian dance. Certain dances tied to sociopolitical functions of allegiances and class structure have been dropped or altered to fit changes in the political and social systems. Informal dance forms have sometimes been granted formal status, allowing innovation and elimination of certain restrictions. Assimilation of external dance elements also has occurred. It is difficult to measure or outline these changes or to differentiate between recently evolved and very distantly evolved elements contained in dance.

Oral Literature

The oral literary tradition of the Pacific Islands is richly varied. Oral prose includes short fables, stories, semihistorical legends, myths with religious subject matter, cosmologies, and ceremonial liturgies. Oral poetry includes dirges, love songs, and incantations, among many others. Additional oral traditions such as Samoan proverbs are common to many cultures in the Pacific. These forms can be recited, chanted, or sung.

Literary traditions are rich with symbols and images. Polynesian literature tends to use signal words to create association chains, in contrast to the literature of the rest of the Pacific, which concentrates more on the explication and elaboration of a particular image in one or two verses. Textual enrichment is achieved through the inclusion of proper names referring to real or mythological people, places, and animals. Alliteration and rhyme patterns are inherent but unfortunately lost in translation.

Religious epics were based on complex, although not always consistent, cosmologies with considerable variance and borrowing among different island groups. Some were based on the concept of ten superimposed classes of heaven with a ranked and ordered kingdom of the gods, semigods, god-men, and heroes. Some of the others focused on a cosmology of four cardinal creation points.

Common themes run through many of the sacred epics. A particular goddess may marry her suitor after he has been tried by a series of tests to determine his valor. The adventures of Hina, daughter of Tangaroa, may be linked together, concluding with her eventual selection of the moon for her home. The semigod Tiki, once an aborted embryo and appearing under various names as god, semigod, or superman, is shown capturing the sun, bringing fire to man, and raising island chains out of the sea.

Long, complex oral genealogical records are kept by many island villages. Originally accepted as highly accurate and stable accounts, many of these are rooted in legends and involve intercultural borrowing. Moreover, changes in the genealogies observed in the twentieth century moderate the credibility of these accounts.

Throughout the Pacific Islands a well-established tradition of elo-

quent oratory was associated with authority and prestige. Oratory was used to psychologically precondition warriors before battle and to arouse enthusiasm for communal labor. It was also used to air grievances and settle disputes. An orator's stool, some of which were carved to represent human or animal forms, was used for sitting or standing and was frequently beaten with rods or sticks in order to emphasize the orator's points.

Architecture

The environmental setting of the Pacific Islands offers little stimulus for the evolution of permanent structures designed to last longer than the lifespan of the builder. Although dwellings in certain areas may be repaired occasionally, the ravages of white ants, tropical decay, and fire eventually take their toll. In certain areas, moreover, the construction of new clubhouses not only offers more prestige to the builder but provides economic support to the community.

There is little evidence to support the use of stone for architectural purposes beyond its use in Polynesia for low walls and temple platforms. Isolated exceptions, such as the three giant stone slabs on Fiji forming an arch, are most frequently related to ritual or quasi-scientific purposes and do not represent a widespread or continuous tradition.

Traditional architectural forms and techniques vary widely. Neighboring villages in New Guinea build structures whose range of scale and complexity would indicate the separation of hundreds of miles rather than just a few. Southern Polynesia offers structures with dressed wooden beams and solid, plank panel walls carved with elaborate decorations. Most structures, however, follow a basic pattern.

Roofs are generally made of thatch supported by lashed or woven frameworks. They may be conical or gabled. Sometimes carvings are worked on protruding beams, and the Aibom in the Sepik River Valley of New Guinea decorate their ridge poles with highly colorful ceramic finials. Structures may be enclosed or open-sided, and walls are generally made of palm leaf thatch, and panels are of interwoven fronds or of horizontal or vertical layers of reeds lashed together. The floor plans may be square, round, elliptical, or rectangular. They may or may not be decorated internally, and they may be divided into smaller rooms. Structures are often placed on stilts, which in New Guinea may enable a village to be built over bodies of water for protection. Polynesian structures may be placed on low platforms of stone or packed earth.

Clan houses and structures erected by secret male societies in Melanesia may have beams that are carved to resemble supernatural beings and may possess sacred qualities forbidding their being touched by human hands once they have been set in place and

carved. Should such a structure need repair or collapse, it may have to be abandoned and left to rot.

Among the most spectacular structures produced are the ceremonial houses of male societies of the Kalabu and Sepik cultures of New Guinea. Basically three-sided pyramids of woven wicker A-shaped frames, these structures rise to heights of sixty or seventy feet. From a distance they seem poised with their curved peaks ready to take flight into the air. One side is vertical and is often faced with wicker sculpture or bark plaques painted with human symbols. The overall impression to the beholder is similar to that of a cathedral nave.

During the nineteenth century construction of administrative, educational, religious, and medical facilities under European influence resulted in the introduction of simplified restatements of European traditions. Several structures, such as the royal palace of Tonga, were rendered in Victorian Gothic. Nouméa gained a central park with a bronze statue mounted on a stone dais. Fiji acquired sidewalk cafés. Wood was the common building material, but stone, sometimes faced with stucco, and ceramic tile roofs were also common for larger buildings. Solid wall construction was combined with various ventilation systems, terraces, porches, and louvers to catch the tropical breezes.

During World War II, metal Quonset huts and metal gable-roofed structures were introduced. Some of these buildings or the buildings for which they served as prototypes are still in use or have only recently been replaced.

During the 1960s, particularly in areas serving administrative centers and the tourist trade, there was a major increase in the use of steel, reinforced concrete, cement blocks, and contemporary designs and techniques. Recent innovations include: aluminum preassembled units; cast concrete forms; steel frames that do not need to be cut, drilled, or welded but are ready to be bolted together; and modular units of glass, fibro-asbestos, or plywood.

Buildings with sculptured façades of cast concrete or blocks, medium-rise floor plans, and shopping arcades with plate glass windows reflect contemporary orientation. The union building of the University of Papua and New Guinea represents one of the most advanced structures in the Pacific, not only in terms of construction techniques but also in its organic design.

Only in certain areas has any of this construction affected the life of the average villager. Government projects are underway, however, in many areas of the Pacific attempting to provide low-cost housing for the indigenous population. Most projects have been on a limited scale but have proved moderately successful. The frames are timber, treated with chemical preservatives and termite repellents. Fibro-asbestos panels and louvered glass windows are the

most basic exterior features. Kitchen and bath facilities are included or offered as separate but adjacent structures.

Basketry and Textiles

Basketry is a common skill and is applied to the manufacture of numerous items in addition to ceremonial and utilitarian baskets and mats. Baskets are used as containers for food, personal possessions, ritual objects, drugs, jewelry, tools, and betel nuts. Mats are used for interior decoration, in the sleeping, eating, and food-preparation areas, and as shrouds. In the New Hebrides mats are used as currency. Wicker often serves as a support or framework or may even form the outer sheathing of houses, masks, and headdresses.

Both flat strips of leaves and rushes as well as round vines, willow, or reeds are used in varying widths. Often treated with sea water before being worked, delicate strands of pandanus can be woven into highly flexible mats with a textile-like appearance. The geometric designs frequently woven into mats are among the finest geometric designs in the Pacific culture. The highest development of this tradition, however, appears in Micronesia.

Loom weaving is not an established tradition in the Pacific Islands and is almost exclusively confined to the hand looms of a few islands in Micronesia. Plaited reeds and fibers are used to make skirts and ceremonial costumes. Protective belts are made of bark. Closely woven mats, the finest work being found in Melanesia, are commonly shaped to form body aprons, sheaths, and ceremonial capes. Certain villages or islands specialize in particular types of these mats and may hold, as in the New Hebrides, exclusive rights to particular decorative motifs.

Siap (bark cloth), better known outside the Pacific as *tapa*, is also a basic clothing material. It is used for wall hangings, for floor and ground coverings, and for ceremonial purposes. *Tapa* is made by soaking, sometimes to the point of fermentation, and beating the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree. *Toa* wood (ironwood) beaters incised with geometric patterns are used to spread the bark fibers into a stiff feltlike texture twice their original width. As the process advances, beaters with progressively finer patterns are used. Patches are fitted into irregularities, and pieces are joined together with glue obtained from the meat of overripe breadfruit, arrowroot, or the sap of liana plants. In the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, and Fiji, the bark of a species of pandanus is processed in much the same way.

Color is introduced to mats through the predyeing of certain strands before weaving or by a reverse technique in which the mat is wrapped around a log. Patterns cut from the stem of the banana tree, held in place by the vine, prevent the dye from taking.

Throughout the Pacific, except in the Marquesa Islands, designs of brown and black are painted or printed on tapa cloth. Colors may be applied freely or along raised lines formed by a pattern block. Leaves are sometimes used to vary imprints. Tapa is made by women, and in theory men should not even observe the manufacturing process. Men, however, often help in or completely carry out the decoration of tapa. Hundreds of patterns exist. They are frequently geometric, but they are seldom perfectly repetitive or symmetrical.

Pottery

Potsherds recovered from archaeological diggings in the Marquesas, Samoa, Tonga, and the New Hebrides indicate widely scattered possession of ceramic objects among the Pacific Island people in the past. Whether the presence of these items in the case of each particular island was the result of local production or trade remains undetermined. By the time of the European arrival in the area, pottery objects had so completely disappeared from Polynesia and eastern Melanesia—save for works on Fiji, some of which were imported to Tonga—that many scholars concluded pottery had never been known to most of the area. Today pottery making based on traditional techniques is almost exclusively confined to western Melanesia, Fiji, and a few villages, such as Vusi and Nogugu on the west coast of Espiritu Santo in the New Hebrides.

Pottery ware is usually employed as a container for foods and liquids, as a prestige symbol, and for ceremonial purposes. It is often used in regional barter. In addition to colorful food jars with human faces, the Aibom of the Sepik area of New Guinea make ceremonial ceramic ridge-pole finials for their structures.

There are two basic types of pottery techniques, neither of which uses a potter's wheel. The first technique involves hollowing a pot out of a spherical lump of clay, patted, usually by hand, on the potter's knee or on a mat. By the second technique, a pot is constructed from ropes of clay rolled into a spiral. Final working of the pot in either case may include the use of stone, wood, seashell, or coconut shell scrapers and beaters. Many pots are left to dry at this point. Others receive clay handles, holes for fiber handles, or rings of incised or pinched decoration.

The pots are allowed to dry for several days. In the New Hebrides the pot may at this point receive a red slip, made of fine clay and water, before it is fired. In the absence of a kiln, the pots to be fired are placed on a stone platform and covered with a cone of sticks and undergrowth. When lit, this cone yields a fairly high temperature. Several cones may be built, but firing usually does not extend for too great a period. While still hot, the pots may be tempered

with sea water and leaves. Outside of western Melanesia true glazes are not known. Fiji potters apply a pseudoglaze to their work, however, by rubbing the surface of a hot pot with kauri pine resin. A mixture of mangrove tree bark added to the melted gum yields a wide range of hues, including reds, greens, and golds.

The task of pottery making is generally, but not exclusively, delegated to women. The time of the year when pots are made is frequently determined by seasonal weather cycles or slack periods in agricultural work. There are often taboos concerning what can be done in the potting area, the kind and order of techniques, and the direction of dialogue between potters and observers.

Personal Ornamentation

Western-style clothing is widely worn in the larger population centers, sometimes with variations based on native traditions. In some areas men wear lava lavas (draped cloth knotted to one side at the waist and hanging just below or above the knees). The counterpart of this for women is the holuku, today usually knotted high enough to cover the breasts. Better known in the West is the muumuu, a loosely fitting garment hanging from the shoulders, worn by women in some cultures of Polynesia. There is little need for clothing in the Pacific Islands, however, so traditional clothing often consists of very brief aprons, sheaths, and belts made of tapa, pandanus, or raffia. Ceremonial costumes, on the other hand, are likely to be quite elaborate and cover much of the body.

Until the arrival of Europeans the true purpose of clothing was not to conceal the body but, rather, to emphasize various aspects of it. Two major techniques have been used to achieve this. The first is body painting, particularly common among the highland tribes of New Guinea and Papua. Eligible maidens are often judged on the basis of brilliant colors and speckled beauty marks painted on their faces. Warriors likewise are traditionally decked in bold colors.

The highest and most subtle manifestation of this emphasis on body line and shape was the use of the tattoo. The tattoo is found in cultures throughout the world, but it reached its highest and most refined development in Polynesia, particularly in the Hiva Islands. As far as has been ascertained, it was without any religious or ritual meaning and, therefore, represented one of the most purely aesthetic aspects of artistic expression in the Pacific Island cultures. Some of the hundreds of patterns and linear decorations were representational, but much of it simply highlighted body contour and line. With the arrival of the Europeans it was generally outlawed, and few traces of the tattoo in all its intricacy and complexity remain.

Tattoo was effected by the piercing of the skin with the sharp point of a bone or shell needle. Soot of the candlenut was caught

on a rock held over a fire. The soot was mixed with plant oils and placed in the Malpighian layer of skin with the needle point. The soot left a blue-black coloration. Only small portions or bands were engraved at a time, and care had to be taken not to rub off the tiny scabs prematurely. It was best displayed on unclothed bodies, especially when rubbed with varic oils.

Numerous items were used to embellish the natural beauty of the human body, such as bracelets, collars, and belts of vegetable fiber. Shells, bones, and teeth were strung around the neck, arm, or ankle. Bone and other materials were used to pierce the ears or nose. Sometimes a single, polished tooth or a small Tiki carving was worn as a pendant. Glass beads, not indigenous to the area but obtained through trade with Europeans, were also worn. Elaborate headdresses were worn, particularly by the men. The best examples are still found in the Hiva Islands and New Guinea.

The Hiva males wear an upside-down, crown-like headdress of alternate wedges of tortoise shell and white clam shell. Pierced tortoise shell medallions are also fastened to mother-of-pearl disks and worn on headbands. Ear plugs of considerable size and weight, carved with scenes from mythology and everyday life, are also worn. Often they are supported by headbands. Smaller plugs of similar design are also made for women.

Natural shapes of vegetables and insects also were used. Leaves were fastened to tapa belts, and leis of flowers were fastened to arms and legs or hung around the neck. Feathers were sometimes used to pierce the nose. In northern Polynesia these were fastened to what resembles a fish net to form capes and mantles. Beetles and insects were sometimes fastened to ceremonial costumes. In some cultures human hair was cut and plaited.

THE ARTIST AND SOCIETY

The close relationship between artistic expression and ritual in Pacific cultures grants artists a special role in social, political, and economic life. Particularly in Polynesia and to a lesser degree in Melanesia, artists not only hold a highly esteemed position in the social order but also are a powerful and ever-present influence in almost every sphere of life. Their works are so closely tied with religious life that only the temple priests are their equals. Village chiefs usually are dependent on their favor.

The Polynesian word *tahuna* in all its variants is exceptionally difficult to translate. The closest concept would be that of "master," with a collective meaning of artists, philosopher, and priest. These were specialists whose training required years of apprenticeship and dedication. Their individual classes of specialties included the building of houses, carving of canoes, shaping of paddles or ceremonial clubs, forming of fish hooks and net weights,

selection and composition of songs, and recording of genealogies. Various areas of agriculture and fishing were also specialties. Their works were not usually identified with the individual. Prestige extending beyond the lifetime of an artist stemmed, however, from the individuality of their art with the constructs of their discipline.

Depending on the particular specialization, the *tahuna* not only carried out the actual construction of the artifact, or at least certain symbolic aspects of its decoration, but also supervised the ceremonial process by which the artifact was initiated. In house construction the ceremony might even include the slashing of an opening in the structure for an entrance. Should the *tahuna* die or leave the area, many taboos existed concerning the finishing of the work he started, sometimes to the point of requiring that it be left unfinished.

Special classes of workers often helped in large projects. In some Melanesian cultures the friends of an individual helped prepare items for a ceremony passing him on to a higher social level. Their work, however, was done under the supervision of ritual specialists and according to village traditions.

Variation on the fundamental forms was not permitted. In part this stemmed from the close association between the spiritual world and the functions that artifacts served. This also perpetuated the control artisans had over artistic expression and the preservation of their favored position. Subtle variations were accepted, and the ingenuity the artist demonstrated within the confines of basic forms was a mark of his skill. Individual expression never sought new ways.

Artistic expression offered Pacific cultures not only a means of cultural transmission of traditional forms and values but also a means of social mobility. This was particularly so in the hereditary structure of Polynesian society. The keys were competitive performance following artistic conventions (see ch. 4, Social Systems).

PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

Traditional forms of communication still constitute one of the most important channels of information, particularly in the isolated areas. Villages send messages via large, slit gongs formed from tree trunks embedded in the ground. No real drum language prevails, but certain sound patterns indicate calls for help and warnings, or they can be used indirectly to summon a particular individual. Conch shells are often used as signals across open water, and in the Marquesas flared trumpets made from tree trunks with bamboo mouthpieces are used for similar purposes on land.

Interpersonal, face-to-face communication still represents the most trusted source of information for many villagers. Opinion

leaders in isolated communities may have direct or indirect access to mass media, and mass media information may be filtered through them. Regional and interisland trade and group-sings offer additional opportunities for the passage of information.

Mass media channels have developed at divergent and sporadic rates. The effectiveness of radio and the press has been limited by the number of languages spoken in any one area, particularly in New Guinea, the development of pidgin, and the absence of any internally evolved written form for indigenous languages. Only the larger areas can support commercial operations, and the government plays a dominant role in electronic media. Cinema projection facilities exist throughout the Pacific.

Government control over mass media channels stems from several sources in addition to their role in radio and television. Government information services represent a major supplier of information for the local press or may be the sole publisher in an area. In most areas licenses are required for electronic media, including the use of receiving sets. These requirements are not always rigidly enforced, however, particularly in the case of private ownership of transistor radios.

The services provided by mass media in any individual area are dependent on the population size, economic development, and political climate of the area. In many cases these are closed systems dealing mainly with area events, reporting decisions of government committees and agencies, and relaying government policies and programs. The press in Fiji and French Polynesia is quite politically oriented.

Press

The press in the Pacific has experienced only limited development. Based on the most recent available statistics, in the late 1960s there were only five daily newspapers and three daily news bulletins. Three of the dailies were French-language newspapers published in French Polynesia—*Les Nouvelles*, *Le Journal de Tahiti*, and *La Dépêche*. The fourth was a French-language newspaper in New Caledonia—*La France Australe*—and the fifth was an English-language newspaper in Fiji—the *Fiji Times*. The daily bulletins were *Papeété Bulletin* in French Polynesia, the *Tohi Tala Niue*, on Niue, and a government bulletin in the Cooks.

Between 1952 and the late 1960s the number of daily newspapers remained unchanged. Circulations during the same period increased by 1½ to 4½ times, but as a result of population growth the largest increase this brought in newspapers per 1,000 population was only slightly over half the 1952 figure. The newspaper having the largest circulation was the *Fiji Times*, with about 10,000, followed by *La*

France Australe, with about 6,000. The highest per capita circulations were in New Caledonia and French Polynesia.

A brief sampling reflects the general state of the press on other islands. Although there were newsletters published on a weekly, bimonthly, and monthly basis, there was no daily newspaper published in the New Hebrides. Pitcairn had a monthly newsletter. There was a weekly newspaper in Western Samoa. The governments of Tonga and the Solomon Islands published, respectively, weekly and fortnightly news publications.

In addition to guidebooks and information publications for tourists, mimeographed and printed publications, journals, and handbooks are produced. They have limited circulations and are generally keyed to local needs and issues. In Fiji many of these are Indian-language publications. The most widely circulated journals having a regional focus are the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, published privately in Sydney, Australia, and the *South Pacific Bulletin*, published in Nouméa by the South Pacific Commission.

Radio and Television

All the island territorial governments operate radio-broadcasting networks, providing a major link with the outside world and the most important domestic mass media channel. The major growth spurt of transmitters came with World War II. In the late 1960s there were just over fifty transmitters. About half of these were long and medium ranges, and the remainder were shortwave. The largest number of transmitters was in New Guinea. Papua, the Cooks, and Fiji averaged about five each. Broadcasts are not made in all languages, and on Niue, for example, regular broadcasts in the indigenous language did not begin until late summer of 1967.

The major period in the growth of the number of receivers occurred between 1950 and the late 1960s. The growth increase in the number of receivers during this period was twelve times in Fiji, fifteen times in New Caledonia, and about forty times in Tonga. In terms of receivers per 1,000 inhabitants, this represented an increase of seven times in Fiji, ten times in New Caledonia, and thirty times in Tonga.

Television was introduced in the area in 1962 and 1963. It has so far been limited to New Caledonia and Tahiti. Used largely among the islands covered by this study for entertainment, news, extension service information, and children's programs, television also offers considerable potential for education. In 1966 there were 2,500 receivers in French Polynesia and 3,000 in New Caledonia, and by the beginning of 1970 these figures had increased to 5,500 and 6,000, respectively.

EDUCATION

Education in the Pacific was instigated by missionary groups. Literacy and religion were tied together irrespective of the cultural setting of the Pacific peoples. Printed material was in several cases misconstrued by the islanders as the magical source of the Europeans' supply of goods, a misconception that led to the rise of cargo cults (see Glossary) (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). Although some of these misconceptions have been dispelled, the problem of better fitting education programs to the needs of the indigenous people continues.

In addition to the general expansion of educational facilities, there were three major developments in educational concepts during the 1960s. The first was an increased awareness of the problems of bilingual education and methodological problems in general. The second development was the concept of community education with limited-span teaching of special skills and attitudes, often passing from one adult to another in an each-one-teach-one chain. The third development was an increased awareness of the potential and the use of regional and interisland programs.

Most of the current educational systems follow French or British models. Emphasis is placed on a base at a low level and narrowly selecting those who are to advance to higher educational levels. Primary schools offer six years, including standards (grades) 1 to 6. Lower secondary schools usually offer three years, including forms (grades) I, II, and III. Upper secondary levels usually include forms IV and V and last two years. A two-year academic course under form VI may follow, preparing the student for university entrance, or the student may enter a two-year technical or vocational college. Certain systems offer several tracks based on linguistic skills.

The size of education systems varies widely. In 1970 Pitcairn has just about terminated all in-island education and was sending all of its students abroad. The Tokelau Islands, Nauru, and Niue have several hundred pupils enrolled in school programs. Papua and New Guinea have over 200,000 students in their schools (see table 3). Special education programs for physically, emotionally, mentally, or socially handicapped in the late 1960s were limited to Fiji, Nauru, and New Caledonia and involved slightly over 100 children.

Figures for the percentage distribution of graduates beyond form VI were not readily available. Figures for Fiji in the early 1960s, to the extent that they are reflective of inter-island programs, indicate a heavy specialization in technical fields, with about 95 percent in engineering, medical science, and agriculture. The remainder were specializing in the humanities, education, and the fine arts. Women were less likely to leave the technical fields. In the mid-1960s fe-

Table 3. Number of Schools and Pupils in Oceania

Island or Island Group	Year	Primary		Secondary		Teacher Training Colleges
		Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	1966	23,241	392	430	6	2
Cook ¹	1969	4,463	32 ²	956	n.a.	---
Fiji	1968	110,912	588	11,995	45	3
French Polynesia	1966	23,956	160	3,391	10	1
Gilbert and Ellice	1967	13,127 ²	274 ²	---	---	---
Nauru	1966	1,298	3	317	2	1
New Caledonia	1966	25,000 ²	275	---	3	1
New Hebrides ³	1966	9,510	258	30 ⁴	1	2
Niue	1966	1,389	9	215	1	1
New Guinea and Papua	1967	204,223	1,703	11,960	59	17
Pitcairn	1969	17 ⁵	1	---	---	---
Tokelau	1969	550 ²	3 ²	---	---	---
Tonga	1966	15,635	151	6,238	28	1
Wallis and Futuna	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Western Samoa	1966	34,000 ²	159	---	54	1

n.a.—not available.

¹ Pupils in mission schools numbered 451.

² Figures represent totals for all pupils or all schools.

³ In 1967 there were sixty-six French-language schools with 5,800 pupils.

⁴ Pupils studying abroad numbered twenty-eight.

⁵ One pupil taking a secondary school correspondence course.

male students in primary and secondary schools represented 39 percent of the total enrollment in Melanesia and about 47 percent in Polynesia. At the postform VI level they represented 33 percent and 39 percent, respectively.

Library facilities are generally associated with schools, the major exception being New Caledonia, where there were 17 public libraries and 3 school libraries in the mid-1960s. Recent figures were unavailable for school libraries in Papua and New Guinea. In the Cook Islands there were 23 school libraries with a total of about 23,000 volumes and 1 public library with 2,000 volumes. In the British Solomon Islands there were 19 school libraries with a total of approximately 114,000 volumes and 3 public libraries with 66,000 volumes. In Fiji there were 330 school libraries with a total of 23,000 volumes, 4 special libraries with an estimated 12,000 volumes, and 3 public libraries with an estimated 4,000 volumes.

Fiji

Missionaries first established a training institute in Fiji in 1856, which eventually included primary and secondary levels and agricultural, technical, and theological study programs. The ordinance of

1879 provided for the establishment of public schools, but before 1916 the government exerted little control over education. The ordinances of 1926 and 1960 represent the major provisions for the present system, in which both public and private schools serve.

In 1968 there were about 111,000 pupils in 588 primary schools and some 12,000 pupils in 45 secondary schools. There were 3 teacher-training colleges. The racial breakdown of pupils showed 40 percent were Fijian; 52 percent, Indian; 3 percent, European; 1.3 percent, Chinese; and about 3 percent, in other racial categories. The enrollment of about 42 percent of the primary schools and all of the secondary schools had students of more than one race. Instruction in the first four years of primary school was in English, Bauan, Hindustani, Urdu, Tamil, and Telegu. English was used as the official language of instruction from the fifth year on.

The importance to the Pacific of the education system of Fiji stems neither from its size nor the duration of its service but from advanced, semiautonomous, diploma-granting institutes. Medical training facilities date back to the nineteenth century. Since 1960 they have been drawn together under the Fiji School of Medicine, and students from throughout the Pacific are enrolled in the school. After five years students graduate as medical officers. Refresher and graduate courses are also available. Programs cover a wide range of medical services, among which are included dentistry, pharmacology, and pathology. The language of instruction is English.

In July 1967 the Fiji Legislative Council Ordinance established the University of the South Pacific. Abandoned Royal New Zealand Air Force facilities were transferred by New Zealand free of charge, and the United Kingdom provided funds for the capital cost of setting up the university. The United Kingdom also promised to aid in the establishing of a British staff. In 1970 the first diploma was granted, and various plans were being formulated for the association of the Fiji School of Agriculture and the Fiji School of Medicine with the university.

Papua and New Guinea

Although educational facilities can be traced back to the nineteenth century, they were limited. At the time of World War II, 95 percent of the population were still illiterate. Missions have always played a dominant role and in the late 1960s still had 6 times as many schools and taught about 2.4 times as many pupils with 3 times as many teachers as administration schools.

Before World War II, missions had a free hand in education. Under the Educational Ordinance of 1952, however, provisions were made that offered financial assistance to mission schools but also subjected all school programs to the approval of the director of

education. Plans were underway in 1970 for the full integration of administration and mission systems, to be known as the Territory Education Service.

Both the administration and mission primary schools are divided into Primary A and Primary T. Primary A schools use an Australian curriculum. Primary T schools follow a curriculum set up for native children, considerably complicated by the existence of over 700 languages. The administration provides secondary education for all ethnic groups. It also provides a grant for each child who wishes to go to Australia for secondary education. Figures in 1967 for both administration and mission schools showed about 214,000 pupils in 1,703 primary schools and some 12,000 pupils in 59 secondary schools. Education was not compulsory in 1970, and most teachers were still being trained abroad.

In 1966 the autonomous University of Papua and New Guinea was established at Port Moresby. It offers undergraduate studies after a one-year preliminary course. Enrollment by 1968 had reached 415. The university was jointly sponsoring seminars on such topics as indigenous participation in business, industry, and politics and was preparing with the University of Melbourne the *Encyclopedia for Papua and New Guinea*. In 1970 the university was granted the equivalent of US\$4 million for the establishment of a Curriculum Development Unit. Both permanent and experimental programs were to be carried out under this unit.

The territory possesses several vocational schools, and postsecondary education is provided at various teachers' colleges, and at the Papuan Medical College, Administrative Staff College, Agricultural College, Dental College, and Forestry School. The Institute of Higher Technical Education was opened in 1967.

Agricultural Education

The dominant role played by agriculture in Oceania economies places agricultural education in the foreground of educational systems (see ch. 12, Economic Resources). During the 1960s agricultural colleges were established in the New Hebrides, French Polynesia, Papua, New Guinea, and Western Samoa. The Fiji School of Agriculture was enlarged during this period. New schools were scheduled for the 1970s. In the early 1960s enrollment capacities stood at just over 150, with about 10 at the diploma level. By the end of the 1960s enrollment capacities had reached about 270, with about 80 at the diploma level. It is difficult to estimate the numerical need for agriculturalists, but the proportion and absolute number of trained farmers among those engaged in farming are negligible.

Agricultural education in the Pacific is plagued by numerous

problems besides those of scale. Institutions vary in their stress on practical activities and theoretical principles and the way in which they are related. Some schools stress classification systems, and some neglect management techniques. Many programs failed to take into account economic and social factors or made fallacious assumptions about the motivations of students. Intergovernmental specialists concur that there is a need to improve regional coordination and to standardize and upgrade the level of technical agricultural education in the Pacific.

The South Pacific Commission

The South Pacific Commission has played a substantial role directly or indirectly in educational development. It has sponsored conferences, seminars, and special training courses in home economics, school inspection, reading techniques, adult education, and many other areas related to the educational needs of the Pacific Islands. Special service projects and consultants have been provided, as have publication and research facilities. It has aided regional coordination and has served to channel aid from international bodies.

Illustrative of the involvement of the South Pacific Commission in educational research is the development of the South Pacific Commission Pre-Reading Course, especially focused on teaching children to read a second language. The learning of a second language has been a particular problem in the Pacific. Linguistic diversity inevitably means that a child must learn another language, which frequently becomes the major language of instruction at the secondary level. Even during the mid-1960s most programs being used failed to look beyond the development of the physical skills necessary for reading and neglected social and psychological foundations.

Many children in the Pacific have not spoken or even heard the second language taught in school prior to their exposure to it in school. They may not be familiar with reading materials and may not be motivated to learn the second language. In addition to these basic problems, reading programs have also glossed over the conceptual and morphological differences between the Romance and Polynesian languages.

To compensate for inadequate development of reading skills by the time school entrance is reached, a remedial kit for the learning of English was developed under the auspices of the commission. The kits were designed for school use and included workbooks and learning cards. Introductory notes, instructions, and general curriculum guidelines also are included for use by the classroom teacher.

SECTION II. POLITICAL

CHAPTER 7

GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS

The pattern of government in Oceania has been established by external powers. A complex history of rivalries and annexations has brought into existence a score of largely non-self-governing units, variously dependent on the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and France. Before 1970 two of these units—Western Samoa and Nauru—had achieved independence and a third—Tonga—had done so by June of that year. A fourth—Fiji—was expecting independence in October 1970.

Contemporary government in Oceania in 1970 was in most cases designed to reconcile indigenous and colonial forms. Administrative innovations introduced by administering powers usually have modified existing forms of indigenous local government to achieve at least popular acceptance. In Fiji, for example, an electoral system was devised to meet Fijian demand for protection from Indian competition, and in Western Samoa the *matai* (traditional chiefs—see Glossary) system was absorbed into the governmental system.

Dependencies under British and New Zealand authority generally have been governed by a form of indirect rule. These have managed also to preserve some native political institutions and traditional authority, especially at the local level. The French Overseas Territories (see Glossary) of French Polynesia and New Caledonia, however, have experienced direct rule through a governor.

Differences in structure of government among the territories of Oceania represent compromises between the political tradition of the administering powers and the local demands and particular circumstances of the administered territories. Proddings on the part of the United Nations have accelerated the pace that led toward the attainment of self-government for many of these territories.

This trend toward self-governing status is reflected unevenly in various parts of the area. This is partly because greater training is required in some areas to prepare local residents for political responsibilities. In others the training process has gone on longer and is further advanced, making a larger number of local personnel available to take over governmental institutions (see ch. 8, Political Advancement). The governmental structure also varies widely.

There are fully independent states as well as self-governing territories and other types of dependencies.

Western Samoa, Nauru, Tonga, and Fiji have adopted the British parliamentary system with modifications to conform to local conditions and political traditions. There is a head of state and a cabinet responsible to the legislative body. Except for the Cook Islands, a self-governing territory associated with New Zealand, the other territories in Oceania are dependencies. They are administered by a high commissioner; his local representative, or a governor; assistance is provided by an executive or advisory body whose members may be nominated in part by the executive or drawn wholly or partly from the legislative body, which exercises limited powers. Members of the legislative body are generally elected by universal adult suffrage. There are also a court system, public service, and local government in each of the groupings.

WESTERN SAMOA

On January 1, 1962, Western Samoa was the first territory in Oceania to achieve independence. Its indigenous institutions and political traditions survived the years when it came first within a British sphere of influence (contested by Germany), and then, successively, under a tripartite protectorate, colonization by Germany, a League of Nations Mandate, and a United Nations Trusteeship under New Zealand (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). Meanwhile, progress had been made, particularly during the years of trusteeship, in the method of adopting Samoan methods of government to the changed circumstances brought about by the modern age.

Samoan methods of government are based on family, village, and district. The structure of authority within territorial units and the character of the relationship between them are derived from the network of ties between their constituent lineages. Until recent times Samoa had no system of centralized political authority. The basic territorial unit of political organization was the *nu'u*, or village, which had a *fono* (governing body) composed of the extended family leaders or *matai*. In structure the larger political units—the subdistrict, the district, and the entire Samoan state itself—resembled the individual village. In function, however, they differed widely, since they had little concern with the routine matters of day-to-day administration.

The government of Western Samoa operates under the Constitution that was in effect on the date the country became independent. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land and was adopted at a constitutional convention that met at Apia in August 1960.

The convention was composed of 173 members, including the *fautua* (see Glossary), all members of the Legislative Assembly, three additional representatives from each of the three Samoan Legislative Assembly constituencies, and four additional representatives of the European community. The Constitution was formally adopted on October 28, 1960. A plebiscite under United Nations supervision, which was held on May 9, 1961, showed an overwhelming number of eligible voters casting votes in favor of the Constitution and for the independence of the country.

Head of State

The Constitution provides for a head of state, known as *ao o le malo*. From January 1, 1962, until the death of Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole in 1963, this position was held jointly by two of four paramount title holders. After the death of Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole, Malietoa Tanumafili became, as provided by the Constitution, the sole head of state, to hold office for life. Any future head of state, however, will be elected by the Legislative Assembly for a five-year term of office. Although the Constitution does not make it mandatory, the constitutional convention recommended that future heads of state continue to be selected from the holders of the four paramount titles. The Council of Deputies, having not more than three members elected by the Legislative Assembly, would act as head of state in his absence or incapacity.

Executive power is vested in the head of state. He exercises all the powers and authority formerly conferred on the high commissioner. Apart from assent to bills and the appointment, prerogation, and dissolution of the cabinet, he has the authority to request a review of cabinet decisions. He appoints the prime minister and approves the latter's choices for cabinet ministers.

Cabinet

A cabinet government was introduced under the Samoa Amendment Act of 1959. Executive power, which had been vested in the high commissioner, the Council of State, and an executive, has been assumed by the head of state. The head of state appoints the prime minister, who commands the confidence of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly. The prime minister in turn chooses his fellow ministers for formal appointment by the head of state, assigns portfolios, and presides over the cabinet. The cabinet consists of nine ministers collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly. It has the general direction and control of the executive government. Although the cabinet may be defeated in the assembly, it is not necessarily dismissed, partly because of the lack of party

organization and also partly because of ideas derived from the traditional polity.

In 1970 the prime minister concurrently held the titles of minister of police and prisons, internal and external affairs, immigration, public trust, public service, and public relations and publicity. The eight cabinet ministers also held other ministerial positions.

Executive Council

The Executive Council is composed of the head of state and the cabinet sitting jointly. The council is not a decision-making body, nor does it take any part in the formulation of policy. Its power is limited to discussions of particular cabinet decisions if the head of state or the prime minister so requests. It acts as a formal body for the issuance of regulations and making important appointments. Decisions of the cabinet are subject to review by the Executive Council, but the cabinet retains the final power of decision.

Legislative Assembly

Since it came into being in 1957, the Legislative Assembly has been composed of forty-seven members, forty-five of whom were elected by *matai* suffrage on a territorial basis for a three-year period. The other two members live outside the *matai* system and are elected by universal adult franchise. A speaker and deputy speakers are elected by the assembly from among its members. All legislation passed by the assembly must receive the assent of the head of state before becoming law. The Legislative Assembly sitting jointly with the head of state constitutes the Parliament.

Electoral System

For Western Samoan citizens of non-*matai* status (either of part Samoan extraction or ethnic Europeans who have been largely Europeanized), suffrage is universal, but in the territorial constituencies only *matai* are eligible to vote or to stand for election. The abolition of the racial basis of the electoral arrangement in favor of a common role based on universal adult suffrage was sought by the United Nations Trusteeship Council before the achievement of Samoan independence. Samoan spokesmen, on the other hand, wanted to maintain the present electoral system. It has reportedly been the practice for Samoan candidates who wished to be elected to have their nomination papers signed by a majority of the *matai* in their respective constituencies.

Judicial System

The Constitution provides for an independent judiciary, with the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and any other judges deemed

necessary, appointed by the head of state acting on the advice of the prime minister. In 1967 there was only a chief justice, no other judges having been appointed. There is a Court of Appeal (appeals previously going to the Supreme Court of New Zealand) that consists of three judges. The chief justice or any judge of the Supreme Court, any active or retired British judge, or any person possessing the qualifications required for appointment as a judge of the Supreme Court may be a judge on the Court of Appeal. No judge of this court can hear an appeal from any decision made by himself.

English is the official language of the courts, but Samoan is also used. Court procedure in the Supreme Court is that followed in most British courts. Samoan custom is taken into consideration in certain cases.

The Land and Titles Court has jurisdiction in respect to disputes over Samoan land and succession to Samoan titles. The chief judge of Samoa is president of this court. He is assisted by assessors and Samoan associate judges.

The Judicial Service Commission was set up to protect the independence of the judiciary and to advise the head of state in the appointment, promotion, and transfer of holders of judicial offices with the exception of chief justice. The commission consists of the chief justice as president, the attorney general (or, if he is unable to act, the chairman of the Public Service Commission), and some other person nominated by the minister of justice.

Public Service

Despite efforts by New Zealand to provide training to Samoans in the field of public service, Western Samoa received its independence with an inadequately trained corps of local officers. Samoa continued to be dependent for its administrative staff on men who were on assignment from the ordinary ranks of the New Zealand public service.

By virtue of the 1960 Constitution, the Public Service Commission was established. It superseded a similar office that was abolished by the Samoa Amendment Act of 1959. The Public Service Commission, headed by a chairman who is assisted by two other commissioners, is responsible for the general administration of the public service and issuance of regulations pertaining thereto.

Local Government

There is no formal system of local government despite the strong interest of the Trusteeship Council in the past to see it developed. Apart from the administrative officer on Savii who is a member of the prime minister's department, there are no district or regional officers in Western Samoa. Administrative districts, based mainly on geographical regions, were established at the end of 1956 but are

used only in the operation of government services such as health, education, police, and agriculture. Although both the district and village board ordinances passed by the Legislative Assembly as early as 1953 provided the framework of a local government system, there had been no significant change, and the traditional *matai* system continued to dominate all fields of local government.

The village, or *nu'u*, is the basic territorial unit of political organization at the local level but there are also several subvillages, or *pitonu'u*, that are increasingly achieving administrative autonomy. The *fono* is the governing body of the village. Its structure and conventions reflect both the general characteristics of the Samoan society and the particular characteristics of the individual village. Its members, the *matai*, possess the status of *ali'i* (chief) or *tulafale* (orator). The chief is the titular leader, the ultimate repository of authority. The orator is the executive agent, who performs a variety of duties for the chief.

Generally, the *fono* of the whole village is concerned with relationship with other villages, with the reception of important visitors, and with major offenses against custom. It holds a few regular meetings each year. Smaller villages usually conduct their entire business in the village *fono*, and in many cases weekly meetings are held. In some larger villages, additional functions, such as making regulations, are exercised at the village, rather than subvillage, level.

NAURU

Nauru became an independent republic on January 31, 1968. It had been annexed by Germany in 1888 as part of the Marshall Islands Protectorate, and it was subsequently occupied by Australia at the outbreak of World War I. The Treaty of Versailles led to the placement of Nauru under the League of Nations Mandate system with the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia as mandatory powers. When the United Nations Trusteeship system succeeded the League of Nations Mandate system after World War II, the three mandatory powers were similarly designated joint administering authority. By agreement between the three governments, administrative control was exercised by Australia.

Under the United Nations Trusteeship system, the administration of the territory was vested in an administrator who was responsible to the Australian government through the minister of state for territories. The administrator had the power to make ordinances for the peace, order, and good government of the territory. The only representative body on the island was the Nauru Local Government Council. Composed of nine members elected by universal adult franchise, the council, which replaced the old Council of Chiefs,

had a purely advisory role. It assisted the administrator, who held the powers of government. In mid-1965 the Executive Council and the Legislative Council were established. The Executive Council consisted of the administrator and both official and elected members. The Legislative Council, with the administrator as president, included nine elected Nauruan members and five official members; it had wide legislative powers but could not legislate on matters concerning defense, external affairs, or the phosphate industry. Upon the accession of Nauru to independence, the trusteeship agreement was terminated.

The Constitution of independent Nauru was adopted with relatively minor amendments on January 29, 1968, by the Constitutional Convention composed of the nine elected members of the Legislative Council and twenty-seven additional members. The Constitution provides that Nauru shall be a republic within the British Commonwealth of Nations and shall have a British parliamentary type of government. It contains provisions for the protection of fundamental rights and freedom, a subject of particular importance to half of the country's inhabitants who are short-term migrants ineligible for citizenship.

President, Cabinet, and Legislative Assembly

The president is the head of state and chief minister of the cabinet. He is elected by the Legislative Assembly from among its members and responsible to it. Nauruans justified the dual position of the president in view of the small size of the country, which did not necessitate the creation of two separate offices of president and chief minister. In his dual role the president performs certain formal acts, such as assenting to orders and regulations made by the cabinet or ministers in accordance with the powers delegated to them. On the other hand, some functions commonly performed by a head of state have been disposed of; in particular, the Constitution provides that a bill shall become law when the speaker certifies that it has been passed by the Legislative Assembly. As chief minister (a title that he does not formally assume), the president chooses other ministers from the Legislative Assembly and presides over meetings of the cabinet. He also assigns ministers to be department heads.

A Legislative Assembly consisting of eighteen members was inaugurated in January 1968. Members are elected by adult Nauruan citizens for a three-year term.

Judicial System

The court system consists of the district courts, the Central Court, and the Court of Appeal. District courts were presided over

by magistrates. Since 1965 all of those appointed were Nauruans who were also officials of the government. Before Nauru's independence, the Trusteeship Council had recommended to the Administering Authority to separate the executive and the judiciary by establishing a magistrate's post entirely divorced from other functions of the administration, but the suggestion was not carried out because the Administering Authority did not find this feasible.

The district courts have jurisdiction over matters laid down by the Judicial Ordinance. The Central Court is a superior court of record. It has jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters and hears appeals from the District Court. It consists of a judge and seven magistrates, the latter usually all Nauruans. The Court of Appeal consists of a judge who has jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals from the Central Court. In practice, the functions of the judge are performed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Papua and New Guinea. The practice and procedure of the Central Court were regulated by the Rules of Court of the Supreme Court of Queensland, and appeals from the Supreme Court of Nauru rest with the High Court of Australia.

PUBLIC SERVICE

The Public Service Ordinance that came into effect on June 30, 1961, provides for a Public Service commissioner and a Public Service. No persons other than Nauruans would be eligible for appointment to the Public Service unless the Public Service commissioner decides that there is no qualified Nauruan available for the position. Although efforts had been made by the Administering Authority to prepare Nauruans for responsible positions, some of the top posts in 1968 were still held by Europeans. A number of important positions in the Public Service were, however, increasingly being transferred to Nauruans.

TONGA

Since the tenth century A.D. at least, Tonga has been a monarchy. Until comparatively recently, the supreme chief was the *tu'i Tonga*, a sacred king who had overlordship over a vast area of Polynesia. Sometime in the fifteenth century one of the *tu'i Tongas*, while retaining his sacred powers, divested himself of much of his executive authority, transferring it to his brother and creating the title of *tu'i kanokupolu*. The holder of the office of *tu'i kanokupolu* thus became the effective temporal ruler of the islands. Upon the death of the *tu'i kanokupolu* in 1845, the king of Tonga, Taufa'ahau, who became a Christian convert under the name George (Siaosi) I, was chosen as the successor and, assuming the family title of Tupou, became king of all Tonga.

Under the absolute rule of King George, Tonga emerged from a

heathen warring state to become a Christian, peaceful monarchy, with a constitution, a declaration of rights of the people, and a code of laws. By the Treaty of Friendship and Protection of 1900 (revised in 1958 and 1968), Tonga became a British Protected State. In internal affairs it was self-governing, but its external relations were generally conducted by Great Britain. In addition, any Tongan legislation affecting defense, banking, or currency and exchange or discriminating against non-Tongans, also required British assent.

Communications between the two governments were effected through the British commissioner and council (known from 1900 to 1958 as the British agent and council). This officer was formerly responsible to the governor of Fiji, but from June 1965 to January 1967 he was directly responsible to the secretary of state for the colonies, and since then he has been responsible to the secretary of state for Commonwealth affairs. Provisions are made in the 1968 treaty for the appointment of a Tongan representation in the United Kingdom to have equal status with the British representative in Tonga. Since Tonga became independent in 1970, however, completely new treaty arrangements drawn by Tonga were expected to alter substantially the existing treaty with the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, pending the adoption of a new constitution, the structure of government provided for in the old constitution was based, with relatively little change, on that granted in 1875 by King George Tupou I. The constitution was modeled, in form at least, on that of Great Britain.

Privy Council and the Cabinet

The chief executive body is the King-in-Council. In effect, it functions through the Privy Council, which consists of the Tongan sovereign as president and members appointed by him, including the premier (who is also the minister of foreign affairs, agriculture, and works and education), the deputy premier (also minister of land and health), the minister of police, the treasurer (who is also the minister of finance), the minister without portfolio, and the governors of Vava'u and Ha'apai. The Privy Council advises the sovereign on affairs of state and, in intervals between meetings of the legislature, makes ordinances that become law if confirmed by the next meeting of the legislature. Lesser executive decisions are made by the cabinet, which consists of the Privy Council members, presided over by the premier. The two governors of Vava'u and Ha'apai are responsible to the Privy Council for the administration of the islands under their respective jurisdiction.

Legislative Assembly

The Legislative Assembly consists of the premier and cabinet ministers, who sit as nobles (including the governors of Vava'u and

Ha'apai); and seven representatives of the nobles elected by thirty-three hereditary nobles; and seven representatives of the people elected by universal suffrage for a three-year term of office. Seven privy councillors and the cabinet ministers are ex officio members. There are no nominated members. The assembly is presided over by a speaker who is appointed by the king from among the seven representatives of the nobles. The king opens the assembly, which sits for two or three months of the year. Franchise is open to all male literate Tongans twenty-one years of age or over who pay taxes and, since 1960, to all female literate Tongans aged at least twenty-one.

Judicial System

The court system in Tonga consists of the King-in-Council, the Supreme Court, the Magistrates Court, and the Lands Court. The Supreme Court exercises jurisdiction in major civil cases where the amount claimed exceeds £50 (1 British pound equals US\$2.40) and in all criminal cases where the maximum penalty exceeds a fine of £50 or two years' imprisonment. The Magistrates Court hears minor civil and criminal cases. There is an appeal from the Magistrates Court to the Supreme Court in both criminal and civil matters. The Lands Court judge, sitting with a Tongan assessor, hears and determines land claims. Appeals from the Supreme Court in its civil jurisdiction and the Lands Court are to the King-in-Council. At the sitting of the King-in-Council the chief justice must be present.

The Department of Justice consists of a chief justice, who is also the judge of the lower court on Fiji; a judge of the Supreme Court, who also acts as judge of the Lands Court and as chief police magistrate; and six Tongan magistrates.

Persons who are not Tongan subjects are subject to the jurisdiction of the Tongan courts in criminal matters except when the punishment for an offense under Tongan law is punishable by death or imprisonment exceeding two years, in which case, under the Anglo-Tongan Treaty of Friendship of 1958, the proceedings are transferred to the British court in Tonga. This extraterritorial jurisdiction ceased upon Tonga's independence in 1970.

FIJI

Fiji was to achieve its independence in October 1970. It hoped to move from the status of crown colony to that of a self-governing dominion within the British Commonwealth. A constitutional conference was convened in London in April of that year, and agreement was reached for independence without the necessity of prior elections. Decisions on representation and the electoral system, which were issues during the conference, were deferred pending

advice from the British Royal Commission to be set up during the life of the next Parliament. Meanwhile, the special position enjoyed by native Fijians was expected to continue.

Until independent Fiji adopts a new constitution, the country is being governed by the Fiji (constitutional) Order in Council of 1966. Previously, it was provided for by the Fiji (constitutional) Order in Council of 1963 and, before that, by Letters Patent and Royal Instructions. Authority is derived from the powers vested in the British sovereign by the Deed of Cession of 1874. The 1966 Constitution contains provisions relating to the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms, to the powers and duties of the governor, the Council of Ministers, the Legislative Council, and the Public Service, and to finance.

Governor

Executive power in Fiji formally is in the hands of the governor, who is appointed by the British sovereign. The governor, after consultation, appoints the unofficial members of the Council of Ministers, which serves as the working cabinet, from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. Subject to certain exceptions, the governor is obliged to consult and act in accordance with the advice of the Council of Ministers. If he acts against the advice of the Council of Ministers in certain circumstances, however, the approval of the British secretary of state for Commonwealth affairs must be obtained first unless the case calls for immediate action. In such a case, the governor must report his action and his reasons to the secretary of state for Commonwealth affairs. The governor has the responsibility for defense, external affairs, internal security, and public affairs.

Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers, presided over by the governor, replaced the old Executive Council on September 1967. It consists of the chief minister, the chief secretary, the attorney general, the minister for finance, the minister for Fijian affairs and local government, and six elected members, five holding portfolios. The Council of Ministers decides policy but can only act within the laws approved by the Legislative Council. Moreover, the governor has a reserve power of veto over any measure.

Until the creation of "members" in 1964 who became ministers in charge of ministries in 1967, the administration of Fiji was carried on by the Secretariat and about two dozen separate government departments. Since 1964 and particularly since 1967, there has been considerable reshuffling of departments, creation of new departments, and amalgamation of others to bring them, generally,

under the control of specific ministries. At the head of each ministry is a member of the Council of Ministers.

Since Fiji is in a transitional phase away from colonial status, the chief minister plays a role greater than suggested by the formal constitutional arrangement. Besides being the leader of the ruling Alliance Party, he is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the government. Ministers report to him rather than to the governor. As the chief spokesman for his party in the Legislative Council, he has a major hand in determining government legislation and how it is to be steered through that body. The chief minister's role within the Council of Ministers is less clear, since it meets in private, but his influence there is considered to be very great.

The chief secretary holds an office that in a strict colonial situation would be the second most important position. He serves as the acting governor during the governor's absence, but usually duties place him subordinate to the chief minister.

Legislative Council

The 1966 Constitution provided for a majority of elected members in the Legislative Council for the first time. The nomination of unofficial members was discontinued entirely, and the number of nominated officials was reduced to a maximum of four. In place of the previous eighteen unofficial members, there were thirty-six elected members and four official members (the chief secretary, the attorney general, the minister for finance, and the minister for Fijian affairs and local government).

Separate communal rolls allow for the election of nine Fijians (this roll includes Rotuman and other Pacific islanders), nine Indians, and seven general members (races not covered by the other rolls). In addition, two Fijian members are selected by the Great Council of Chiefs, and the remaining nine are elected under a system of cross-voting in which seats are reserved in equal proportions for members of these three groups. These members are elected by people of all races voting together. Elections are usually held every five years unless the Legislative Council for some reason is dissolved sooner.

The Legislative Council is presided over by a speaker who may be elected either from within the council or from persons outside who are qualified to be elected to the Legislative Council. A deputy speaker, on the other hand, must be elected from among the Legislative Council members.

Electoral System

There has been no agreement among political parties on the electoral system, but respect for Fijian and European interpretations

of the 1874 Deed of Cession is reflected in the 1966 Constitution, which embodies the principle of racial separation in its provisions for communal rolls for the election of thirty-six members of the Legislative Council.

Administrative System

A unique feature of the administrative system of Fiji is the so-called *Fijian Administration*, an institution having jurisdiction solely over ethnic Fijians. The *Fijian Administration*, which was established in 1876 by Sir Arthur Gordon, aimed to preserve *Fijian* custom and village society. The structure of the *Fijian Administration* has varied over the years, as it was altered from time to time to suit changing conditions. The present structure is basically governed under the terms of the *Fijian Affairs Ordinances* of 1944. The boards and councils constituting the *Fijian Administration* were formed by regulations made under this ordinance. As a result of recommendations made by the Burns Commission in 1960, the *Fijian Administration* underwent substantial modifications in 1966 and 1967. The old administrative unit, called *tikina*, has been abolished, and only the provincial administrative unit, or *yasana*, remains.

Fijian Affairs Board

The *Fijian Administration* is organized through the instrumentality of the system of councils and the executive agents, which are linked through the *Fijian Affairs Board*. As set up by the *Fijian Affairs Ordinance* of 1944, the board was a reconstituted form of the old *Native Regulation Board*, which was created at annexation of the colony by the British. Its new position was that of a standing committee of the *Legislative Council* and the *Great Council of Chiefs*, and it served as a link between these bodies and the *Executive Council*.

Members of the board are the minister for *Fijian* affairs and local government, who serves as chairman; eight members elected from among the *Fijian* members of the *Legislative Council*; and two members elected by the *Great Council of Chiefs*. In addition, a legal adviser and a financial adviser are appointed by the governor but are nonvoting members.

The board has the power to make regulations to be observed by all *Fijians*, and it also oversees the affairs of provincial councils, which are subject to general directions from the board. Among other duties, it controls *Fijian* provincial revenue and expenditure and makes recommendations to the governor on any matter that it feels would benefit the *Fijian* people. Any legislation that might involve the rights and interests of *Fijians* is first referred to the

board before it goes to the Legislative Council. The board also makes senior appointments to Fijian provinces. In practice, the board's regulation-making powers are now seldom used. Rather, preference is given to encouraging individual provincial councils to make their own bylaws to suit local circumstances.

Great Council of Chiefs

At the apex of the Fijian Administration is the Great Council of Chiefs (Bose Vakaturaga). The Great Council of Chiefs was established in the early days of colonial government, and its position was confirmed in the Fijian Affairs Ordinance of 1944. The council is presided over by the minister for Fijian affairs and local government. Its membership includes the principal executive officer of the provinces, known as the *roko*; six chiefs appointed by the governor; twenty representatives elected by provincial councils; seven persons nominated by the minister for Fijian affairs and local government; and a number of other persons who attend by invitation.

Membership in the council previously had been restricted to hereditary chiefs, but in the 1960s the elective principle was adopted. At the same time, the governor and the minister for Fijian affairs and local government retained the right to nominate certain members. The council is responsible for electing two members of the Legislative Council. It considers such legislation affecting the rights and welfare of Fijians as is referred to it by the government, and it makes recommendations thereon. The council is considered the keeper of Fijian tradition, but it has shown in recent years an inclination to advance democratically along lines best suited to Fijians in the late twentieth century. Although purely an advisory body, it has links with the Fijian Affairs Board. Its individual members serve on provincial councils, and some are also executive agents of the Fijian Affairs Board. It occupies a central position of some dignity and influence, but it lacks real power.

Judicial System

The main body of law in force consists of: the Constitution of Fiji (Fiji Order in Council, 1966); ordinances enacted by the governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council; and, subject to the Legislative Council and to certain qualifications, the Common Law, the Rules of Equity, and the statutes of general application, which were in force in England in 1875.

The head of the judiciary is the chief justice. Under him are the judges of the lower courts and the magistrates. The Supreme Court, the Fiji Court of Appeal, and the magistrates courts administer justice in the country. The chief justice and judges of the lower

courts hold their commissions direct from the British crown and are not part of Fiji's Civil Service.

The Supreme Court exercises the same jurisdiction as the High Court of Justice in England, including probate, divorce, and matrimonial cases. Until 1961 certain cases were heard before a judge and jurors. The use of juries was thereafter terminated, and jurors were replaced by assessors. The Supreme Court, which administers both common law and equity, has jurisdiction also over Pitcairn Island and a limited jurisdiction over the Kingdom of Tonga pending its independence in 1970.

The Fiji Court of Appeal hears and determines appeals from the Supreme Court and from the High Court of the Western Pacific which is in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. The court consists of the chief justice, as president and the judges of the lower courts of Fiji as ex officio members. Appeal of a decision of the Court of Appeal is made to the Privy Council, under certain circumstances.

Magistrates are appointed by the governor. They are graded into three classes and preside over courts of the same gradings. Courts of the first class have jurisdiction over most types of crime except murder, rape, and treason. They are presided over by professionally qualified magistrates. In certain serious cases the accused may exercise the privilege of requesting to be tried in the Supreme Court. Persons are appointed to hold magistrates courts of the second and third classes as the need arises. These persons were mainly administrative officers and a small number of the most senior officers of the Judicial Department without professional qualifications, who sat from time to time when necessary.

Fijian magistrates sitting alone or with a district officer or another Fijian magistrate had presided over Fijian courts before these courts were abolished in 1969. Fijian courts dealt with breaches of the Fijian regulations. As these courts were abolished they were being merged with the magistrates courts.

Public Service

In 1968 about 94 percent of Fiji's public servants were of local origin, and the remainder—some of them members of the Overseas Civil Service—were recruited from Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and other British Commonwealth countries. Officers recruited from overseas have different terms of employment from locally recruited staff. Under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme proposed by the United Kingdom government in 1961, allowances and other inducements were offered, the cost being borne by the United Kingdom, to attract and retain highly skilled professional and tech-

nical personnel until such time as all staff requirements could be met locally. In the late 1960s local officers were recruited where possible, and some specialist officers, especially in the technical, engineering, medical, and legal fields, were recruited for short-term engagements.

The Public Service Commission consists of a chairman and three other members. The commission is concerned with appointments, promotions, the confirmation of officers, transfers, retirements and disciplinary offenses in the Fiji Civil Service. After March 29, 1968, the executive powers of the commission were increased to cover all posts carrying a salary of up to £1,527 per year. As a result, the commission has executive authority over approximately 90 percent of the posts within the service. In respect to posts above that salary, the commission is advisory to the governor, who assumes executive powers over such matters.

Officers were recruited in England by the British Ministry of Overseas Development. Appointment to senior posts requires a university degree or diploma. There is a training center that provides supervisory and executive training and also training in other fields. Inservice training by means of courses, visits, and attachment to overseas governments increased in the latter part of 1960; in addition, inservice training was given within individual departments.

Local Government

For purposes of administration, Fiji is divided into four divisions—Central, Northern, Eastern, and Western—each in the charge of a district commissioner, who in turn is assisted by district officers. The district commissioner, who is the deputy of the minister for Fijian affairs and local government within the provinces constituting the division, is the most important link between the Fijian Administration and the general government of the colony. For this reason he has some of the authority of the minister he is delegated to, but his subordinate district officers, upon whom the work of supervision and coordination falls on a more local level, have no such clear authority.

Under each of the four divisions are several provinces of which there are fourteen in the entire country. Each province has its own council. Elections to these councils for a three-year term from among residents and landowners of each province were conducted for the first time in 1967 on a full adult franchise among Fijians. These elections were held in ninety constituencies, with the number of seats for each constituency being determined by population. In addition, the minister for Fijian affairs and local government appoints a number of chiefs to each council, but there is an elected majority in each council. Each council meets annually and is pre-

sided over by a chairman who is elected from among its members. The councils have wide powers to make bylaws and draw up their own budgets subject to confirmation by Fijian Affairs Board. Each council has its own treasury, and each levies taxes for its revenue.

The councils share in the advisory functions of the Great Council of Chiefs through overlapping membership and also have some legislative functions in the Fijian Administration. There is considerable variation, but it is through the provincial councils that the authority of the Fijian Affairs Board and the secretary begin to make an impact on the lives of the Fijians.

The principal executive officer of the province, or the *roko*, is usually, although not invariably, a ranking Fijian from a landowning unit of the province of which he is head. He is responsible to the minister for Fijian affairs and local government for the native administration of his province through the district commissioner.

In 1968 the capital city of Suva was administered by a City Council of six European, six Fijian, and six Indian members and two other councillors, who were nominated. Lautoka, which is the next largest urban center, was similarly administered. Six smaller townships—Ba, Nadi, Sigatoka, Nausori, Levuka, and Labasa—were administered by a township board, the majority of the members of which were elected on a common roll of taxpayers and residents, the others being nominated by the governor.

ROTUMA AND RABI

Rotuma, a dependency of Fiji, is part of Fiji for administrative purposes but has no other links. It was offered to Great Britain by the three principal Rotuma chiefs in 1879 and was formally annexed on May 13, 1881. Subject to revision when Fiji achieves its independence and a new constitution is adopted, the Rotuma Ordinance continues to hold Rotuma subject of Fijian laws. There is a local administration, a district officer, a District Officer's Court, and a Council of Rotuma.

The Council of Rotuma consists of the district officer, the chiefs of the seven Rotuma districts, one elected representative from each of the same districts, and a medical officer resident on the island. The council makes local regulations, which must be approved by the Fiji Legislative Council. The chiefs of the seven Rotuma districts are appointed by the governor of Fiji and are not hereditary. Rotumans do not have a representative at the Fiji Legislative Council, but the area is part of the Lau-Rotuma Fijian constituency and part of Northern and Eastern divisions for cross-voting.

Rabi Island, populated by the Banabans, who originally were from Ocean Island, remains part of Fiji, subject to the same general laws. The governor appoints a Banaban adviser, who is the equiva-

lent of a district commissioner in respect to Rabi only. There is also the Rabi Island Council, which has the same general functions as a provincial council in the Fijian Administration.

PITCAIRN

Pitcairn Island was brought within the jurisdiction of the high commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1898, and in 1952 the Pitcairn Island Order in Council transferred the responsibility for administration to the governor of Fiji, following separation of the offices of governor and high commissioner. When Fiji became independent, new arrangements were expected to be made.

The Island Council, consisting of the chief magistrate, two assessors, the chairman of the Internal Committee, the island secretary, and the education officer in the role of adviser, is charged with the management of internal affairs. The council usually meets in the first week of each month under the chairmanship of the chief magistrate, in whom are vested executive as well as judicial powers.

The council may enact rules of the nature of bylaws subject to the governor's power of revocation and alteration. In practice, the council rarely exercises its legislative functions without first consulting the governor and, when it does, alteration is usually confined to textual amendment to make the meaning and intention of the rules legally exact.

The island secretary and other nonelected officials of the local government are appointed by the governor after consultation with the council. To assist the local government, the education officer also serves as government adviser and local auditor ex officio. He attends sessions of the Island Council but has no voting power.

To vote, an islander must have had three years' residence on the island and be at least eighteen years of age, and candidates for the posts of chief magistrate and assessors must have had twenty-one years' residence. The electoral rolls are prepared by the island secretary each December and, except for the chief magistrate whose term of office is for three years, elections are held annually on Christmas Day.

The Island Court consists of the chief magistrate and two assessors. Its jurisdiction is limited to offenses under the island code committed by, and civil actions between, residents of the island. When the court is sitting with assessors, the verdict is decided by their vote, the chief magistrate exercising a deciding vote if the need arises. Sentence or judgment may be passed by the chief magistrate only. There is no provision in the 1952 ordinance for appeal to the Supreme Court of Fiji, which also has jurisdiction in cases outside the competence of the Island Court. In instances where there is no local law, the law of England is applied as far as circumstances permit.

COOK ISLANDS

The Cook Islands were proclaimed a British protectorate in 1886 and became part of New Zealand in 1901. In 1915 an act was passed by the New Zealand Parliament consolidating the laws relating to the Cook Islands and Niue Island. It provided for the appointment of a member of the Executive Council of New Zealand as minister for the Cook Islands, and he was charged with the administration of the government of the islands. The resident commissioner, who carried on the administration, was responsible to the minister.

On August 4, 1965, by virtue of a law passed by the New Zealand Parliament a year before, the Cook Islands were given a new constitution that made the islands a self-governing territory in free association with New Zealand. The people became British subjects and New Zealand citizens. Executive authority was vested in the British sovereign in right of New Zealand. New Zealand, however, in consultation with the government of the Cook Islands, was to discharge responsibilities for external affairs and defense. The high commissioner of the Cook Islands represented the British sovereign as well as the New Zealand government. He became the constitutional head of state, residing in Rarotonga.

CABINET

Executive government in the Cook Islands is carried out by the cabinet, which was established in 1964. The head of the cabinet is called the premier and, along with five other ministers, is responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The premier heads a department composed of several administrative bodies. Control of this department is largely held by the secretary to the premier's department, who is also the chief executive officer of the public services. Also under the control of this secretary are the resident agents, who are responsible for the administration of the outer islands.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Legislative Assembly, as provided for in the Cook Islands Constitution of 1964, consists of twenty-two members elected by universal suffrage every four years from a common roll for both Maori and European electors and is presided over by a speaker. It is the principal lawmaking body.

House of Arikis

Provision was made in the Constitution, by amendment in 1965, for the setting up of a House of Arikis made up of hereditary chiefs (*arikis*). The House of Arikis consists of up to fifteen members

appointed by the New Zealand high commissioner to serve for one year. The House considers any matter that the Legislative Assembly puts before it relating to the welfare of the people. It also makes recommendations to the assembly on anything that affects the customs, traditions, or people of the Cook Islands, providing it has invited the premier or a minister to take part in the debate that has led up to the recommendations. The first *ariki*s were sworn in September 1966. Although fifteen members are provided for, there were at that time only ten.

Judicial System

There are three kinds of courts. The High Court exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Lands Court is concerned with litigation over land and titles. Appeals from decisions of the Lands Court are heard by the third court, the Land Appellate Court.

Local Government

On each island an elected council is responsible for maintenance of roads, water supplies, and similar local matters. Revenue is raised locally, and considerable subsidies come from the New Zealand government. General elections for local councils are held every four years. Voting is by secret ballot.

BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) is one of the territories administered by the high commissioner for the western Pacific. Until mid-1952 the governor of Fiji was concurrently high commissioner for the western Pacific, and the headquarters of the High Commission was in Suva. The high commissioner administered the BSIP through a resident commissioner who had his headquarters at Tulagi and later at Honiara. In 1951 a separate high commissioner was appointed, and the headquarters was transferred to Honiara. On January 1953 the new high commissioner took over the direct administration of the BSIP from the resident commissioner, in addition to his general responsibility for the other High Commission territories. With the direct administration of the BSIP by the high commissioner, the office of the resident commissioner lapsed, and the BSIP secretariat was merged into that of the High Commission.

The British Solomon Islands Orders in Council, promulgated in 1960, 1964, 1967, and 1969, provided the basis of the BSIP Constitution, which was still in effect in 1970. The changes introduced in 1969 and 1970 led to the formation of a single Governing Council, supported by executive committees.

The new council was believed to be more suitable for the Solo-

mon Islanders in the state of political development they had achieved by 1970. It was presided over by the high commissioner, who acted as chairman. At his discretion, he could appoint a person to represent him before the council when it sat as a legislative body, as distinct from its meetings as an executive body, which usually were held in private.

The high commissioner retained the power to give or refuse assent to a bill passed by the council or to reserve for the British sovereign the right to give or withhold assent. In addition, certain matters, such as defense, external affairs, internal security, the police and public service, were reserved to him insofar as he was not required to consult the council in dealing with them.

The new council replaced the old Legislative Council—which consisted of fourteen directly elected members, three ex officio members, and up to twelve official members—and the Executive Council—which consisted, in its latter stages, of three ex officio members, one official member, and four elected members of the Legislative Council. General elections to vote for a majority of members to the new Governing Council were scheduled for 1970; subsequent elections are to be held every three years.

In the Governing Council great emphasis was placed on executive committees which, in effect, took over the policymaking functions of the old Executive Council. The purpose of this change was to enable every elected member to serve on at least one committee and thus have a more direct hand in formulating policy. The five executive committees were concerned with finance, social services, land and natural resources, communications and works, and internal affairs.

Electoral System

The voting franchise is confined to British or British-protected subjects over twenty years of age and normally resident in the electoral district. No seats are reserved for racial or immigrant minorities, and election to the Legislative Council is in a common roll.

Judicial and Legal System

The law as administered by the courts in the BSIP consists of local ordinances and certain imperial statutes and orders in council. The jurisdiction of the courts is guided by these, by the statutes of general application in force in England in 1961, and by the substance of the English common law and the doctrines of equity. In addition, the Criminal Procedure Code was put in effect in 1963, providing for the procedure to be followed in criminal cases before the magistrates and high courts.

The court system of the BSIP, which underwent a reorganization

in 1961, consists of the High Court of the Western Pacific, the magistrates courts, and the native courts. The High Court has wide powers of revision of the decisions of magistrates in criminal matters and hears appeals from the magistrates courts in both civil and criminal matters. There is a right of appeal of any decision of the High Court to the Fiji Court of Appeal. From there, in certain circumstances, an appeal goes to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England.

Below the High Court are a system of magistrates courts throughout the BSIP that have both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Magistrates generally are not professionally qualified, and this is the basis for the wide powers of revision given to the High Court over decisions of magistrates in criminal matters.

Native courts, which have been established in the BSIP since the 1940s have a limited jurisdiction in their local areas. The courts are composed of a president and a panel of judges drawn from the surrounding subdistrict. The courts are responsible for enforcing native customs and for a selected schedule of offenses against European law. Decisions of the court are subject to ratification by the district officer. Prosecutions usually are initiated by the government headman. Under the Land and Titles Ordinance, matters concerning customary title to land are dealt with by native courts. With the consent of the district commissioner, an appeal from the decision of a native court on the subject of land titles goes to the High Court. Apart from this there is no right of appeal to the higher court from native courts, but all decisions are subject to revision by, and appeal to, a district commissioner.

Public Service

The 1967 constitution provided for a Public Service Commission at an appropriate time. As a first step toward the eventual establishment of the commission, a Public Service adviser was appointed. After the visit of a staffing mission to the Solomons sent by the Commonwealth Office and the Ministry of Overseas Development, changes were proposed in the operation of the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. These changes included bringing its inducements into line with arrangements in other overseas countries and making the salaries of overseas-designated officers more competitive.

The total number of posts staffed by the Public Service in 1967 was 2,178, an increase of 195 over 1966. At the same time, the composition of the Public Service in January 1968 compared with previous years shows a relative decline in the number of posts held by expatriate officers (see table 4).

Local Government

The BSIP is divided into four administrative districts, each under

Table 4. Composition of the BSIP Public Service (Oceania),
1966, 1967, and 1968¹

	1966 ²	1967 ²	1968 ²
Posts held by Solomon Islanders	63.8	65.15	64.69
Posts held by expatriate officers designated under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme	14.4	12.55	12.35
Posts held by nondesignated officers, including temporary officers from overseas	5.6	4.80	3.91
Vacant posts	16.2	17.50	19.05
	100.0	100.00	100.00

¹ BSIP—British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

² In percent.

Source: Adapted from *British Solomon Islands Report for the Year 1967*, London, 1968, p. 95.

a district commissioner, who is assisted by one or more district officers. The Malaita District includes the island of Malaita and, for administrative convenience, the Polynesian islands of Sikaiana and Ontong Java. The Eastern District comprises San Cristobal, Ulawa, Ugi, Tikopia, and the Santa Cruz and Reef island groups. In the Western District are the Shortland Islands, Choiseul, and the New Georgia group. The Central District includes Guadalcanal, Santa Isabel, the Russell Islands, the Florida group, Savo, and the Polynesian islands of Rennell and Bellona.

District commissioners are responsible for the general administration of their districts and the coordination of departmental activities within them. The larger islands are divided into subdistricts, a classification that small islands, or a group of them, fall under.

Headmen and assistant headmen, appointed by the high commissioner, are responsible for carrying out the orders of district commissioners within their subdistricts. They are also responsible for administering the approved resolutions of local councils. At the same time, in the light of changes in the local government system, the headmen were relieved of certain duties more appropriately performed by local councils.

Local Councils

All areas of BSIP, except Tikopia, Anuta, and one of the small outlying islands of the Reef Islands subdistrict, are under the authority of their own local councils. A local council may administer one subdistrict only, or it may cover an entire major island. Choiseul, Santa Isabel, Malaita, San Cristobal, and Guadalcanal each have an islandwide council.

The Local Government Ordinance, which was enacted in July

1963 to modernize the local government system, conferred upon local councils expanded powers and functions. The ordinance provides that members of councils shall be entirely elected by universal adult suffrage instead of nominated as in the case of councils established under the Native Administration Ordinance of 1953. By the end of 1966 twenty-one councils had been established under the new ordinance, and eleven of them already had held elections.

The established councils may, subject to the approval of the high commissioner, administer a wide range of local services. Some councils, however, continue to rely on civil servants to undertake duties of local nature. Developments are limited by the low capability of the population and the lack of persons with adequate education or training to staff the local government services effectively.

Town Councils

Town councils are especially prominent in Honiara and on Malaita. In Honiara the council has an entirely nominated membership with an unofficial majority and operates under the chairmanship of the district commissioner in central Solomons. The council, which has the power to pass bylaws, was expected to have a fully elected membership by 1969. The town council for Malaita also has considerable responsibility for the management of local affairs.

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS COLONY

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony is under the jurisdiction of the high commissioner for the western Pacific, whose local representative is the resident commissioner on Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands. The principal departments of the administration are also located on Tarawa. From 1964 until 1967 the resident commissioner was assisted by an Advisory Council and an Executive Council on the basis of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Order in Council, 1963. The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Order, 1967, subsequently provided for a new constitution by which a Governing Council and a House of Representatives were established, replacing the executive and advisory councils.

Governing Council

The Governing Council consists of the assistant resident commissioner and the attorney general as ex officio members, not more than three members appointed by the resident commissioner from among public officials, and five elected members (including the chief elected member). Elected members are chosen from four main geographical divisions of the colony and are removable by a vote of

the House of Representatives. The Governing Council exercises both executive and legislative powers. The resident commissioner usually presides at all sittings of the Governing Council. He is obliged to consult it on all policy matters but may act at his own discretion in certain circumstances. Similarly, all legislation and regulations go to the Governing Council for approval, subject to certain safeguards at the resident commissioner's discretion.

House of Representatives

The House of Representatives consists of seven appointed members and twenty-three members elected by adult suffrage from all parts of the colony. The House, which has a tenure of two years, is presided over by the resident commissioner. The House considers, and advises the Governing Council on, draft bills and other proposals for legislation and any other matters relating to the government of the colony that the council refers to it. It may also consider and make recommendations to the council on matters relating to the government of the colony that may be proposed for consideration by any member of the House.

Judicial and Legal System

The court system consists of a High Court, native courts, and a Lands Court. The High Court of the Western Pacific applied colony laws and the law of England as in force on April 1, 1962, to every person in the colony. The High Court came into existence in 1962 as a result of the introduction of the Western Pacific (Courts) Order in Council, 1961. The jurisdiction of the High Court is exercised by a chief justice in Honiara and judges appointed by the high commissioner.

The 1966 Island Courts Ordinance replaced the native courts, which had only jurisdiction over islanders. The island courts have jurisdiction in criminal and civil matters over all races. Unlike the native courts, which were controlled by the district commissioners, island courts come under the control of the resident judge. They are not as closely linked with the Island Council as in the past. The criminal jurisdiction consists of a number of basic crimes in English law, certain matters offensive to native custom that have been codified as crimes, and violations of ordinances. There is also a considerable code of bylaws called Island Regulations, enacted by the island councils.

The Lands Court is composed of the magistrate and a panel of appointed elders. It arbitrates all land disputes concerning boundaries, ownership, and inheritance, generally in accordance with principles of traditional land tenure. All decisions are reviewed by

an administrative officer, who may suspend, reduce, modify, or repeal any sentence. Cases of a more serious nature are heard by the High Court. The Lands Court meets every month.

Local Government

For administrative purpose the colony is divided into four districts: Ocean Island, Ellice Islands, and the Line Islands, each of which is in charge of a district commissioner, and the Gilbert Islands, including six uninhabited islands of the Phoenix group. Headquarters are on Ocean Island, Tarawa, Funafuti, and Christmas Island, respectively. The Gilberts are divided into three districts—northern, central, and southern—each under the control of a district officer. Tarawa is administered as a separate unit.

The central and southern Line Islands, which consist of Flint, Caroline, Vostock, Malden, and Starbuck islands, are in dispute between the United Kingdom and the United States. Although situated in the general area of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, they are not included in it. The headquarters of the administration of these islands is at Honiara, in the Solomon Islands.

On all sixteen islands of the Gilbert group and on all but one of the nine islands of the Ellice group, local governments have been set up under a constitution introduced in 1941 and amended in 1955, whereby they exercise control of day-to-day affairs. Under the Local Government Ordinance of 1966, island councils were established with power, subject to the approval of the resident commissioner, to make bylaws concerning a wide range of subjects and are charged specifically with providing service for the general health, security, and well-being of the inhabitants of the islands. Each council controlled its own finances and prepared its own annual budget, meeting the expenses of local administration from certain locally derived revenue and with the assistance of subventions from central government funds.

Each island council consists of the magistrate, the *kaubure* (Gilbert Islands term for traditional chief; in the Ellice Islands he is known as the *kaupule*), the high chief, and the senior native member of the Medical Department; all resident on the island as ex officio members. In addition, the resident commissioner nominates up to half the elected members, who are elected by each village district.

The chairman of the council is the magistrate, who is appointed by the district commissioner and who combines executive and judicial authority. In the former capacity he is the central government's representative on the island, responsible for local administration. In the latter capacity he is the magistrate of the native courts; he also presides over the Lands Court and performs all marriages.

Below the magistrate in the chain of command is the *kaubure*, who, as the principal executive officer, is responsible under the magistrate for the actions of subordinate officers and for the maintenance of order on the island. The *kaubure*, who is appointed in the same manner as the magistrate, acts as magistrate when the latter is absent. In addition, a scribe, who is similarly appointed, handles all clerical work for the island government. A chief of police supervises the police, warder, and wardress, who are appointed by the island councils.

NEW HEBRIDES CONDOMINIUM

Under the Anglo-French Protocol of 1914, New Hebrides was constituted "a region of joint influence," in which the subjects and citizens of the two signatory powers enjoy equal rights of residence, personal protections, and trade. Each power has sovereignty over its own nationals, but there is no territorial sovereignty, and natives of New Hebrides bear no allegiance to either power. They are not dependents of either power, nor can they acquire the status of subject or citizen of either power.

The government of the Condominium is known as the Joint Administration, of which the joint and equal heads are the British and French high commissioners acting through their local representatives, the British and French resident commissioners in Vila. The French high commissioner resides at Nouméa in New Caledonia and is also governor of New Caledonia. The British high commissioner, who is also the high commissioner for the western Pacific, resides at Honiara in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Joint regulations, binding on all inhabitants of the group, are issued by the Joint Administration.

For administrative purposes, New Hebrides is divided into four districts—Southern, Central No. 1, Central No. 2, and Northern—and each is in the joint charge of a British and French district officer. The headquarters of these districts are at Lenakel (Tanna), Vila, Lamap (Malekula), and Espiritu Santo, respectively.

Advisory Council

The Advisory Council, established in 1957, is presided over by the resident commissioners. It consists of four official and twenty unofficial members. Ten of the unofficial members are Melanesian, and five each are British and French. Four of the Melanesian members are elected by electoral colleges composed of representatives of the local councils in each district. Four of the European members are elected through the Chamber of Commerce electoral system. The Chamber of Commerce is a quasi-government organization. The other members are nominated by the resident commissioners.

jointly. The Advisory Council advises the resident commissioners on matters of Condominium interest. Between sessions the resident commissioners maintain contact with the council through a standing committee of six private members, to which draft legislation and important matters are referred. Legislation is enacted in the form of joint regulations made by the two resident commissioners.

Judicial and Legal System

Judicial responsibility is divided along national and Condominium lines, as in the administrative system. In addition to the two national courts, there are three Condominium courts: the Joint Court, the courts of first instance, and the native courts.

The principle enshrined in the 1914 protocol was that British and French subjects carried their own laws with them to the New Hebrides. Consequently, each national administration possesses its own legal machinery to administer its own national law except in certain specified circumstances. Their jurisdiction extends in effect over all civil cases other than those reserved for the Joint Court and over all criminal cases in which a nonnative is the defendant.

If there is doubt as to the jurisdiction of one of the national courts, the president of the Joint Court is supposed to settle the issue. In 1970, however, this office had been vacant for some time. By Convention (the 1914 protocol), the president was to be named by the king of Spain, which has not been possible since the fall of the Spanish monarchy. In criminal cases nonnatives are tried by the court of their own nationality or the nationality applied to them. If natives are codefendants with nonnatives in criminal cases, they are subject to trial by the national court concerned, but if both national courts have jurisdiction the natives are brought before the Joint Court after judgment has been delivered by the national court.

Nationals of third powers residing in New Hebrides are required to opt for either the British or French legal system and, for all practical purposes, to come under the administrative protection and authority of the power for whose legal system they opt. Foreign laborers introduced into the group by or with the authority of one or another of the two governments are regarded as having opted for the legal system of the government that introduced them.

The Joint Court in theory has both a British and French judge, a neutral president and public prosecutor, and a number of other neutral officers. In practice, these neutral posts have been held either by British or French citizens, or they have fallen into abeyance. Subject to certain exceptions, the Joint Court generally has civil jurisdiction over cases concerned with immovable property, its

chief function being that of a Lands Court adjudicating titles to land. It has criminal jurisdiction in cases that cannot be dealt with by other courts. In addition, it hears appeals against judgments of the courts of first instance and judgments of native courts involving imprisonment.

Public prosecutors are appointed ad hoc by the resident commissioners. Advocates are also appointed by them to assist and represent before the Joint Court any native who is engaged in a suit or has been charged in a police or criminal case. Resident commissioners have power to postpone the execution of, and to reduce, remiss, or commute, sentences imposed by the Joint Court. They may also lay down the procedure for compromise whenever they disagree.

The courts of first instance, established in each district, deal with breaches of the protocol of 1914 and of all joint regulations except those connected with the recruitment of labor. The courts are composed of the British and French district agents and one assessor.

Native courts have jurisdiction over offenses between natives under the administrative and police regulations and the code of native law. Only a criminal code has been enacted, but the Joint Court in 1951 laid down rules of procedure to be followed in native courts in civil and commercial matters.

Public Service

The Joint Administration consists of the British National Service, the French National Service, and Joint (or Condominium) Services. In addition to participating in the Joint Administration, each National Service under its resident commissioner deals independently with national affairs insofar as these are not of joint concern.

The National Service consists of administrative, clerical, accounting, and technical sections, including works, police, marine, information, and cooperatives. There are also medical and educational sections, since health and education, although subsidized from the Joint Condominium budget, are not jointly controlled.

The Joint Services have departments for treasury (including customs and inland revenue), public works and transport, posts and telephones, radio communications, lands, survey, agriculture, veterinary medicine, meteorology, mines and establishments.

Appointments are made by the resident commissioners jointly, and a rough balance of national representation is maintained at the administrative and professional level. Since the 1960s a number of senior appointments have been filled from the British and French overseas services and from the Commonwealth of Australia Public

Service. Recruitment to the lower executive, technical, and clerical posts is usually made locally, and Melanesians hold such positions as assistant medical officer, radio operator, and meteorological observer.

The Joint Services are financed from local taxation, the joint budget being prepared by the resident commissioners and assented to by the high commissioners and the metropolitan governments after reference to the Advisory Council.

The Public Service is still handicapped by an insufficient number of adequately trained candidates, but improvement in educational development and the inservice training, even though limited, has resulted in increased access of local people to positions of responsibility.

Local Councils

In 1962 there were twenty local councils, which were established by joint decisions of the resident commissioners, but only thirteen of these councils were officially regarded as effective by the end of the 1960s. The councils are elected by Melanesian rural communities. They deal with the maintenance of law and order and carry out community development projects with financial assistance from Condominium funds. They may also raise revenue in their areas, although all taxation must be approved by the resident commissioners.

FRENCH POLYNESIA, NEW CALEDONIA, AND WALLIS AND FUTUNA

French Polynesia and New Caledonia obtained their status of Overseas Territory in January 1947 and, in late 1958, opted to retain their status. In December 1959 the inhabitants of Wallis and Futuna voted by referendum in favor of a similar status. Before becoming Overseas Territories, French Polynesia and New Caledonia were French protectorates from the mid-nineteenth century through 1880. In 1880 they became a colony and were then governed under an organic act of 1885 that provided virtually no popular participation in the government for the indigenous population. Wallis and Futuna have been ruled since 1842 by native rulers advised by a French resident under the high commissioner of New Caledonia. The high commissioner continues to have responsibility for these islands.

The inhabitants of the Overseas Territories, which are considered departments of France, are French citizens. Each territory is represented in the French National Assembly, the French Senate, and on the French Economic and Social Council. Wallis and Futuna, however, are not represented on the Economic and Social Council.

Governor

French Polynesia and New Caledonia are each administered by a governor who exercises effective control of the administration. The governor of New Caledonia, who is also the French high commissioner for the New Hebrides Condominium, supervises the administration of Wallis and Futuna through a senior administrator of the territory. The governor convenes the Territorial Assembly and may also call a special session either on his own initiative or at the request of two-thirds of the assembly. In French Polynesia the governor, who has the sole right to propose revenue, prepares the budget of the territory with the assistance of the Privy Council. The Privy Council consists of the principal government officials and two leading citizens.

Council of Government

In both French Polynesia and New Caledonia the Council of Government assists the governor. It consists of the governor, who presides, and about five other members. The council must resign if it no longer has the confidence of the assembly. An individual member is charged, by delegation from the governor, with the handling of one or more departments of the territorial service. If, in the opinion of the governor, the council has exceeded its power or there seems to be a danger to public order or security, he can secure the annulment of the council's decision. A report is made to the minister of state for overseas departments and territories, who must obtain the opinion of the French cabinet and reach a decision concerning annulment within three months. Any action of the council taken without the presence of the governor or his deputy is invalid.

Territorial Assembly

There is a Territorial Assembly for each of the three Overseas Territories. Members of the Territorial Assembly are elected by direct universal suffrage of adult French citizens who are not otherwise disqualified from voting. The assembly has a tenure of five years, unless dissolved by order of the minister of state for overseas departments and territories. It meets twice a year on the summons of the governor. The governor or his representative opens the session, and officers are elected who organize the assembly's business and discipline.

Other than the foreign or internal affairs of France, which the Territorial Assembly is enjoined from discussing, the assembly may discuss any questions concerning the territory, economics, and general administration. The assembly may also be consulted on the administrative organization of the territory, of education, and of

many other aspects, but it does not have the power of final decision. Within the local system of tariffs, the assembly may also impose import and export duties and other levies. It votes on the budget of the territory, raised by indirect taxation from duties.

Judicial System

The basic laws in force in the Overseas Territories are those of France, made applicable as occasion may demand, by promulgations, ordinances, and any laws passed by the French National Assembly that have a completely local application. The principal officers of the courts are appointed by the minister of state for overseas departments and territories. In New Caledonia these are the president of the Court of Appeal, the president of the Civil Court, the president of the Court of First Instance, the attorney general, and the magistrates. In French Polynesia the administration of justice is largely in the hands of the *procureur* (attorney general), but there is also a president of the court and a law department that includes judges, attorneys, notaries, and magistrates. Most of the magistrates are stationed in Papeete, and one is stationed in Uturoa.

Public Service

The Council of Government in both French Polynesia and New Caledonia has some executive control of the territorial services (*services territoriaux*). Positions in the government are open to qualified native peoples of these territories, equally with the French. In the state services (*services d'état*), however, which are under the control of the ministers in the French capital, the higher posts are held by metropolitan French, whereas the territorial services are filled by local citizens. Local citizens may obtain posts within both services, but the extent to which they do so is controlled by the system of examinations and promotions that follow civil service practice. The state services offer greater security of tenure and more opportunity for promotion, which local citizens, however, find more difficult to obtain.

In villages and districts natives have little authority or executive opportunity in local posts, but the recent French government policy of making available as many posts as possible to local residents and a corresponding reduction in the number of metropolitan officials has provided opportunity for local residents to occupy more senior posts.

Local Government

For purposes of administration, French Polynesia is divided into the *circonscription* of the Leeward Islands and the *circonscription* of the Windward Islands. At the head of each *circonscription* is an administrator, a French civil servant appointed from metropolitan

France, who is under the French governor of the territory. Each *circonscription* is in turn divided into districts. By universal suffrage adult residents of each district elect a district council, which then elects a president, who is regarded as the chief (*tavana*) of the district.

A district council is elected for four years and may be renewed for another term, but it may be suspended by the governor. The president is charged with publishing the governor's orders, the upkeep of buildings and roads, and yearly amendments to the census and electoral lists. The council, however, has been dependent on the central administration, which uses that body as an instrument in executing its policy.

In French Polynesia there are municipalities with municipal councils that are concerned with schools, roads, water supplies, and other local needs. Among the municipalities in French Polynesia are Papeete, Fa'a, and Pirae on Tahiti and Uturoa on Raiatea.

Nouméa, the capital of New Caledonia and virtually the only town in the territory, is the seat of all administrative and political activity. The town has a mayor, two assistants, and twelve municipal councillors, all of whom are elected for six years by universal suffrage extended to all adult French citizens, men and women, who have been resident for at least six months in the commune (see Glossary). The mayor and his two assistants are elected by the council itself from among its members.

The mayor is the representative of the central authorities and is responsible for: law enforcement; the publication of official decrees; the registration of births, marriages, and deaths; maintaining an up-to-date electoral roll; and the preparation and conduct of elections that may take place within the commune.

The town council is presided over by the mayor, who has a casting vote in its deliberations. It meets in ordinary session four times a year, but an extraordinary session may be convened when necessary. The council discusses the commune's budget and, in general, all items of income and expenditure. The council's decision becomes effective within thirty days of its submission to the governor of the territory or, in some cases, only after the governor has given it his approval. The same applies to those decrees of the mayor that are of a permanent nature.

Other centers of population are locally administered by municipal commissions. The commissions' powers and functions are subject to financial control and supervision by the central government.

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

The Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea are, legally, two separate entities that have been amalgamated for

primarily administrative reasons since World War II. The administrative union has, technically, become permanent since the proclamation of the Papua and New Guinea Act in 1949. Heretofore both territories had existed in virtual isolation from each other in legal and administrative terms (see ch. 1, Historical Setting). Under the 1949 act, Port Moresby, the former capital of Papua, became the capital of the combined territory.

Australia, as the Administering Authority, assumed responsibility for the social, economic, and political development of the territory. It delegates this responsibility to the minister of state for territories, assisted by the Department of Territories in Canberra. In turn, local responsibility in the territory is delegated to the administrator, who is appointed by the governor general.

The composition and powers of the various constitutional organs in the territory in 1970 had been drawn up by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, which the Papua and New Guinea House of Assembly created in 1965 for that purpose. These constitutional arrangements are transitional in character, since the committee keeps constitutional and political changes under constant review. The committee presented three reports during 1966 and 1967. Among its suggestions that were accepted and became amendments to the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949 were substantial changes in the composition and the responsibilities of the Executive Council and the increase in size of the House of Assembly.

Executive Council

To accelerate the involvement of Papuans and New Guineans in policymaking and in executive bodies that the United Nations Trusteeship Council had originally urged upon the Administering Authority, the committee recommended substantial changes in the composition and the responsibilities of the Executive Council. As adopted by the Australian government, the Executive Council consists of the administrator, three official members of the House of Assembly, seven ministers, and one additional member of the House appointed at the discretion of the administrator.

The ministers, together with the permanent head of the appropriate department, were to be responsible for departmental policy and were to represent the department in the House. They were appointed by the administrator on the advice of a standing committee of five elected members of the House, the appointments being subject to ratification by the House as a whole. Assistant ministers are appointed to represent departments not represented by a minister. There is also an appointed budgetary committee comprising five elected members of the House that advises the administrator on the territory budget and fiscal matters in general.

House of Assembly

In 1963 a revised Papua and New Guinea Act and associated electoral ordinances created a sixty-four-member House of Assembly. Ten of the members were official, appointed by the governor general on the advice of the administrator. Forty-four were directly chosen in open electorates formed roughly on a population basis within the fifty-four subdistricts of the territory. Ten members represented the European population and were expected to provide a reservoir of expertise upon which the elected side of the House could draw. The 1966 amendments to the Papua and New Guinea Act enlarged the size of the House to ninety-four by increasing the number of open electorates to sixty-nine. Eighty-four were elected members, and ten were official members. Ten special electorates were abolished but were replaced by fifteen seats representing the district boundaries, candidates being restricted by educational qualifications. The voting for both electorates was based on a common roll. Meanwhile, the Trusteeship Council has urged that the House be eventually made up completely of members elected in open electorates. In February and March 1968 the territory held its second general elections for the enlarged House.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretaries Ordinance of 1963 enabled the administrator to appoint up to fifteen elected members of the House to be parliamentary undersecretaries. In 1970 there were ten undersecretaries serving as understudies to the official members and to departmental heads not represented in the House. These are drawn exclusively from among indigenous members and include those five already nominated to the administrator's Executive Council. In appointing undersecretaries, an attempt was made to provide a fair ratio between members from Papua and from New Guinea.

The governor general has the power of partial as well as total veto of ordinances enacted by the House and of vesting in the administrator the authority to direct the speaker of the House in the order of priorities in conducting business. The Trusteeship Council, on the other hand, called for a progressive reduction in the fields in which the power to disallow legislation might be exercised in favor of fuller responsibility on the part of members of the House in the field concerned.

Electoral System

Although most Papuans and New Guineans have been introduced to the formal apparatus of Australian election procedure, having voted once in 1964 in a House of Assembly election and in local government elections, nonetheless, Western electoral procedures remain an essentially alien institution in the territory. Before elections, which are held at intervals not exceeding four years, there is a

preselection system, similar to a primary. Such a system determines who shall run, despite the absence of political parties at the grass-roots level.

Elections are held on the basis of universal suffrage and with a system of modified preferential voting similar to that used in Australia, except that each voter is entitled to vote for as many candidates as he likes, numbering them 1, 2, 3, and so on on his ballot in order of preference. In the event that no candidate obtains an absolute majority on the first count, the candidate with the least number of primary votes is eliminated, and his second preference votes are distributed among the remaining candidates; this process is repeated until one candidate gains an absolute majority of the ballots still remaining in the count. Enrollment is compulsory, but voting is voluntary.

Because preferential voting requires electors to fill in numerals beside the names (or symbols) of the candidates of their choice, it handicaps and usually eliminates illiterate voters. To remedy this, the "whispering" ballot is employed whereby illiterate voters whisper their choice of candidates in the ear of the presiding officer, who then records it on the ballot papers.

Since the 1968 elections the two types of electorates have been the open and the regional (in place of the open and special adopted in the 1964 elections). The territory has been split into a large number of small electorates (the open electorates) and into a small number of large electorates (the regional electorates). The voter votes twice, once in his open electorate and once in his regional electorate. Moreover, local voters living outside the electorate in which they were born may choose between voting in the electorate in which they are resident and the one in which they were born.

In the new regional electorates the qualification for candidates is educational, not racial in nature, but the unsophisticated voter finds it difficult to distinguish one from the other. The names of candidates in open and regional electorates are printed on separate papers, white for open and colored for regional.

Judicial System

The courts that exercise jurisdiction within the territory are the Supreme Court of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, district courts, local courts (replacing the courts for native affairs since 1966), children's courts, and warden's courts. The Supreme Court is the highest judicial authority in the territory. There are a chief justice and three other judges appointed by the governor general of Australia. It has unlimited jurisdiction in criminal and civil matters. All appeals from the inferior courts go to the Supreme Court. The High Court of Australia has jurisdiction, subject to prescribed conditions, to hear and determine appeals from judgments, decrees, orders, and sentences of the Supreme Court.

A district court may be presided over by a stipendiary magistrate, a resident magistrate, or a reserve magistrate. Stipendiary magistrates are qualified lawyers; resident magistrates are experienced field officers; and reserve magistrates sit on these courts when neither stipendiary nor resident magistrates are available.

District courts have limited criminal and civil jurisdiction, the latter being restricted to matters involving not more than the equivalent of US\$2,000. Local courts deal with matters regulated by native customs and minor criminal and civil matters. They are presided over by magistrates appointed by the administrator. In addition, assistant magistrates are appointed who may mediate between parties, sit with the court when hearing matters, and perform other functions. By 1967 about 100 indigenous persons had been appointed as assistant magistrates, some of whom were being trained with a view of appointing them as full-time magistrates. Because few indigenous persons had professional and practical training that enabled them to be appointed to judicial positions, public servants continued to exercise judicial functions.

The usual British and Australian procedure governing the method of trial and ascertainment of fact is followed by the courts of the territory except that all issues, civil or criminal, are tried without a jury, as it is considered that at the present stage of development a judge sitting alone affords the best assurance of justice. Legal aid is provided to persons accused of indictable offenses if they are unable to obtain it themselves.

Public Service

Before World War II, Papua and New Guinea each had a separate public service. Immediately after the war the services were amalgamated temporarily and became permanent with the enactment of the Papua and New Guinea Act in 1949. The public service was reorganized in 1964, according to legislation enacted in 1963.

The Public Service Ordinance of 1963-68 and regulations made thereunder provide for the employment conditions of officials of the Papua and New Guinea Administration. It consisted of three graded divisions in which expatriate and local officers serve. The minimum educational qualification for entry to the Second Division is successful completion of three years' secondary education. No general minimum educational qualification is required for the Third Division, as entry requirements are related more directly to the technical skills and experience needed.

Under the reorganization, there is a single line of positions, but there are two salary classifications, depending on whether they are occupied by local, indigenous officers or expatriate officers. In the public service as a whole, the proportion of local to overseas officers in late 1969 was three to one, whereas in the Office of the Public Service Commissioner it was one to three.

Provisions exist for local officers to be given preference in promotion over overseas officers if the former are capable of satisfactorily performing the duties required. The overseas staff were engaged as contract officers. On the recommendation of the Trusteeship Council, the Administering Authority decided that no further base-grade clerks would be recruited from the overseas source after July 1, 1968, except in exceptional circumstances.

Since 1963 overseas officers have not been recruited to the permanent public service. They are instead engaged on contract, the length of contract varying from two to fifteen years and the high posts generally carrying the longer contracts.

The public service commissioner, who is directly responsible to the Australian minister of state for territories and not to the administrator of Papua and New Guinea, is charged with recruitment, training, leave, promotions, and all other matters affecting the public service. In 1968 the House of Assembly passed legislation establishing the Public Service Board to manage and administer public service affairs. The public service commissioner provides inservice training in the various departments of the administration. The Administrative Staff College, which was established in 1963, provides advanced training for New Guinean and Papuan public servants.

Local Government

For purposes of local administration, the Territory of Papua and the New Guinea is divided into eighteen districts. Each district is controlled by a district commissioner, who is responsible to the administrator, through the director of district administration, for the maintenance of peace, order, and the coordination of officials working within the district. At the district level each department is represented by its own officer—the district medical officer or district finance officer, for example—or by someone looking after its work as an agency function.

The districts are divided into subdistricts controlled by an assistant district commissioner, who is responsible to the district commissioner for peace, order, development of the subdistrict, and the coordination of the officials working within it. District departmental representatives will often have officers stationed at subdistrict headquarters. These officers may be the medical or agricultural officer or a school headmaster.

Subdistricts are divided into patrol post areas, controlled by a patrol officer and staffed by another patrol officer or a cadet patrol officer, a medical assistant, an agricultural assistant, and a teacher. Within patrol post areas are local government councils; where these have not yet been established, the administration is represented at the village level by *luluais* (government representatives) and *tultuls* (advisers in New Guinea) and village constables and councillors (advisers in Papua).

District and town advisory councils were set up in the territory under the provision of the Papua and New Guinea Act. At the same time, the Native Village Council Ordinance of 1949 established elected village councils for the natives of New Guinea; such councils had already been functioning in Papua for some years.

There is a district advisory council in each district of the territory. Each council consists of the district commissioner, who is chairman, and members appointed by the administrator for terms of two years. Each council has a membership of from fifteen to twenty, including the district commissioner. Members of the House of Assembly, who are also eligible for appointment to district advisory councils, are entitled to attend meetings of the councils in their electorate and to take part in discussions.

Town advisory councils advise the administration on matters affecting township areas not within the area of a local government council. Membership consists of private citizens and administration officials appointed by the administrator for two years. Existing town advisory councils are being phased out as soon as formal local bodies are created. The administration has been initiating municipal government in some of the larger towns as an intermediate step toward setting up urban councils. By 1970 urban local government councils were being set up in Port Moresby, Lae, Rabaul and Madang.

At the beginning of 1968 a total of ninety-one local government councils represented about 1,347,000 persons, or approximately 80 percent of the population. Sixty-seven were multiracial councils. Although most of the local government councils administered rural areas, the extension of local government to embrace urban and township areas had continued, and in 1968 forty-seven towns and other main centers were under local government.

In 1966 provision was made for broader powers and functions for local government councils. The exercise of central government control was invested in the commissioner for local government, and council budgets were subject to certification that the expenditure proposed was likely to be met from local revenue. Because of the expansion in the number of councils, it was found necessary to appoint three regional local government officers, who were also appointed deputy commissioners of local government.

NIUE AND THE TOKELAU ISLANDS

Niue and the Tokelau Islands have been included within the territorial boundaries of New Zealand since the mid-twentieth century. Their natives are British subjects and New Zealand citizens. The executive government of Niue is in the hands of the New Zealand resident commissioner, whereas that of the Tokelau is with the high commissioner for New Zealand in Western Samoa. Both com-

missioners are responsible to the minister of island affairs in New Zealand.

Niue has been governed since 1968 by a modified form of cabinet government. The Executive Committee, consisting of members elected by the Legislative Assembly, exercises the powers and functions delegated to that body by the resident commissioner. The resident commissioner is chairman of the Executive Committee. In the Tokelaus the administrator, who is charged with all administrative and executive functions, is assisted by a district officer and staff based at Apia, Western Samoa.

Legislation on Niue may be enacted by the New Zealand Parliament or the Niue Legislative Assembly. The assembly consisting of Niuean members who are elected by universal suffrage may make ordinance subject to the assent of the resident commissioner or the governor general of New Zealand. The assembly controls the appropriation of all government moneys. In 1970 there was no legislative body in the Tokelaus, largely because the Tokelauans found little practical need for it for the time being.

The judicial system on Niue consists of the High Court, Lands Court, and Land Appellate Court. In addition, the territory is subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of New Zealand. These courts administer common law and equity concurrently. The public service on Niue and in the Tokelau Islands is under the administrative control of the New Zealand State Services Commission. On Niue an increasing number of positions at the various levels of the public service are held by Niueans. In the Tokelau Islands some of the personnel employed by the administration were either trained in Western Samoa or were Samoan themselves.

On Niue village councils, assisted by members of the Legislative Assembly, pastors, and *patus* (heads of families), are responsible for village affairs. In the Tokelau Islands local administration is conducted by officials appointed by the administrator.

CHAPTER 8

POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT

World War II generated new political consciousness among the peoples of Oceania and spurred a movement toward self-government and independence. This was partly manifested in the revival of cargo cults (see Glossary), which have appeared sporadically in Melanesia ever since the intrusion of Europeans into the area. Moreover, vocal pressures from anticolonial forces of the world expressed through the United Nations prompted the powers with dependencies in Oceania to accelerate the pace of political advancement toward self-government or independence of the territories under their control.

By mid-1970 three of the Oceania territories—Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga—had achieved their independence; Fiji was to become an independent state later in the year. Some entities, however, are so small as to be of doubtful political or economic viability. Independence, therefore, may prove to be impractical, and some form of agglomeration with neighboring areas may be necessary.

A measure of self-government increasingly was introduced throughout the area during the 1960s through the adoption of popular suffrage, the development of party systems, and the exercise of limited power in local affairs by elected representatives. Final power generally rested with a governor or the administering authority, but in most cases the established political framework imposed the necessity for cooperation by the executive with the legislative body.

Throughout the earlier years of colonial control, a body of political beliefs and practices was introduced that was considerably at variance with traditional customs and institutions. These new beliefs and practices resulted in conflict, in various degrees, between the traditional and modern institutions and practices. In the French Overseas Territories, for example, the policy of assimilation had the effect of replacing certain indigenous values, authority patterns, and institutions with those of France. In Fiji the traditional system was broken by the election of representatives, instead of the traditional reliance on hereditary selection; the gradual reduction of the powers of the village chiefs; and, in many cases, the elimination of many communal obligations. In Western Samoa, however, native

institutions substantially withstood the impact of Western innovations, and the traditional chiefs have remained as a conservative influence on Samoan politics.

In most cases the body politic in the Oceania territories derives from a plural society. The numerical edge of Indians over ethnic Fijians in Fiji has been a major consideration in that country's politics and political advancement. In the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea and in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), white settlers have played an equally active role with the native islanders in island politics. In French Polynesia the major elements in politics have been religious, geographic, and personal ties.

FIJI

Political Background

Political advancement in Fiji, which in mid-1970 was a British crown colony, has been conditioned by Fijian culture, with lineal descent, religion, social standing, and landholding linked together in one political structure. Specifically, Fijians were governed by a social system based on communal principles under the leadership of a hereditary chief. This traditional system, however, has been slowly breaking down under government policy.

Additionally, constitutional progress must be seen against the background of the numerical superiority of the Indians and the economic superiority of both the Indians and the Europeans. Unlike the Fijians, these other groups lack unity.

The Fijians claim and enjoy a special position in the colony. Their special position is based on their status as the indigenous people of the islands, on their ownership of the land, and on the facts that they had ceded Fiji to the United Kingdom and that Fijians were colonized by cession and not by conquest. Some Indians objected to this privileged special position in view of their numerical superiority and their more active and successful participation in the economy of the country. They demanded equality with the Fijians and feared that the special position could lead to a national Fiji communal movement to claim Fiji for the Fijians and to oust the Indians. There were many Indians, however, who were more concerned with security than communal strife and became reconciled to the privileged status of the Fijian community and their title to 83.6 percent of the land.

Although 90 percent of the Indians in Fiji in 1970 had been born there, British policy motivated them to support the privileged positions of the Fijians in the country. The European, by virtue of his superior economic position, has enjoyed political strength dispro-

portionate to his numbers. Confronted by the Indian challenge, Fijians and Europeans have been drawn together by a common cause.

Political Developments and Attitudes

Economic and social problems within the colony in 1959 and 1960 and worldwide opinion favoring the rapid movement of colonial peoples to self-governing status spurred the British in 1961 to assume the initiative in constitutional development. At the same time, a resolution was adopted in 1963 by the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism affirming the people of Fiji's "inalienable right to self-determination and national independence."

The movement toward self-government, however, has largely been led by Indians and had less support from Fijians and Europeans. There were also differences in attitudes toward the rate of constitutional change. Some Fijians considered constitutional change to be proceeding at a rapid pace, but Indians considered it too slow. In the 1963 elections, Indian candidates advocated greater participation of their ethnic group in Fiji's self-government and at a faster rate than the Fijians and Europeans were willing to accept. They insisted that safeguards must first be established.

Before 1929 Indians and Europeans were elected to the Legislative Council, and Fijians were chosen by the Council of Chiefs. This was eliminated in 1937, and a system of partly nominated and partly elected European and Indian members was adopted. The governor chose five Fijian members from a panel submitted by the Council of Chiefs. This system operated until the reconstitution of the Legislative Council and introduction of the so-called member system in the 1962-64 period. The institution of the member system of government foreshadowed the introduction of a full ministerial government in which the cabinet was to be composed of these unofficial members (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

In 1943 and in 1945 a proposal to establish a majority of unofficial members by having European unofficial members elected and Fijian members chosen by the Council of Chiefs was defeated in the Legislative Council when Fijian members voted against it. Both Europeans and Fijians in the Legislative Council debates had consistently opposed changes leading to a common roll with no ethnic divisions, which Indians had been agitating for since the 1930s.

Under the Fiji (constitutional) Order in Council of 1966, the Legislative Council was again reorganized in 1967. A Council of Ministers was set up that virtually provided internal self-government to the colony. The transition was a smooth one because the member system that had assumed many of the features of ministerial government had provided valuable experience to members.

All these ministers, except for two official members, were from the Alliance Party, which won the majority of seats at the 1966 elections. The introduction of the ministerial system in 1967 prompted the members of the Indian-oriented opposition Federation Party, led by A. D. Patel, to stage a boycott of the Legislative Council. The seats of the Federation Party were subsequently declared vacant and by-elections were held from August through September 1968. With one exception, however, those who walked out were all reelected.

By late 1969 both the Alliance and Federation parties had agreed to seek independence with dominion status within the Commonwealth, with a governor general appointed by the British crown, although some members of the Federation Party had earlier favored a republic status. Both parties agreed on framing a new or amended constitution for independent Fiji at some future date but agreed to go into independence without an election. The major question continued to be whether to maintain communal rolls or to adopt the common roll, but for the interim period the existing system was to be retained.

The future status of Fiji was discussed and decided upon in London in April and May of 1970. The tentative date for Fiji's independence was set at October 10, 1970, which was designated Dominion Day.

Political Parties

The existence of mass political parties in Fiji was more nominal than real on the eve of independence. More often than not a candidate campaigning with political party support was backed mainly by his personal following functioning behind a party banner. Race, a predominant factor in Fijian politics, has delineated the embryonic parties that functioned in the 1963 Legislative Council elections. Of the three political parties that entered the 1963 elections, only one conformed to the description or function of a mass party. Candidates had sought nominal party backing to establish their right to represent their constituencies but had received little support from the party.

Fiji's strongest party has been the ruling Alliance Party, headed by Ratu K. K. T. Mara, who was also Fiji's chief minister in 1970. The party was founded on March 12, 1966, in Suva. It has largely been dominated by Fijians and Europeans but has also received support from a section of the Indian community, especially the Muslims, as well as minor communities.

Fiji's second largest party, the Federation Party, has been the major opposition party in the colony. It is basically Indian in membership, representing about 80 percent of the Indian population. The party's leader, S. M. Koya, who succeeded A. D. Patel when the

latter died in 1969, is a Vatulaulau solicitor and barrister. Koya is considered to be more moderate than his predecessor.

The Federation Party was an outgrowth of the Federation Planters Union and started as a personal following of the leading candidates in the 1963 elections, A. D. Patel and S. M. Koya. It originally functioned without a party constitution or a slate of officers designated formally by members. The party is anti-European and opposed to the 1966 Fiji Constitution and has demanded a common electoral roll.

The Fijian Association was founded in 1956 as the first political party in Fiji. Under the late Ravuama Vunivalu, the party was organized to protect the established Fijian order. It was not politically active until its participation in the 1963 elections. Its membership constituted a broad segment of the adult Fijian community.

The Fijian Western Democratic Party emerged in 1961 as a left-wing body founded by a labor union leader, Apisai Tora. It originated in the Fijian planters' group that was opposed to Fijian tradition. Apisai Tora's political strength was based on his own Western Viti Levu constituency. Despite the formal organization of this party, it showed little strength at the 1963 elections and little prospect of becoming an organized political force.

Rabi Island

Since the end of World War II, Rabi Island, an integral part of Fiji, has been settled by Banabans, whose former home on phosphate-rich Ocean Island in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC) was heavily destroyed by the war. Since they have been resettled on Rabi Island, Banabans have been discontented and are pressing for independence and seeking United Nations support for their cause. Their main dissatisfaction was with the amount of royalties they received from phosphates extracted by the British Phosphate Commissioners from their former home on Ocean Island. Banabans claim that, instead of the distribution of A\$0.70 (1 Australian dollar equals US\$1.12) a ton for them and A\$3.50 for the GEIC, they should actually receive two-thirds of the proceeds. They also resent the fact that over the years these financial allocations were made without including them in the direct negotiations. As landowners of Ocean Island, they feel that they should be entitled to meet directly with the British Phosphate Commissioners instead of simply attending the meetings as advisers to the British delegation.

Political Symbols

Fiji's coat of arms depicts a British lion holding a coconut pod between its forepaws, below which is the cross of Saint George. In the quarters of the cross are three stalks of sugarcane, a coconut

palm, a dove carrying a sprig of olive, and a bunch of bananas. The shield is supported by two Fijians. Above it is an outrigger sailing canoe, and below, inscribed in Fijian, is the national motto "Fear God and Honour the King."

THE GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS COLONY

By 1970 a measure of internal self-government had been achieved by the approximately 55,000 people of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), who had been ruled for hundreds of years by chiefs and later by the British. Efforts have been made by the British colonial administrators to encourage political consciousness of the people and to prepare them for some form of internal self-government. British initiative was undertaken because the local people had shown neither an understanding of self-government nor aspirations toward it. Lack of communication between Tarawa and the twenty-eight other islands of the colony has hampered political progress. Even on Tarawa, itself, the administrative headquarters of the colonial government, the notion of independence seemed sufficiently alien and distant enough to be dismissed from serious consideration. The Ellice islanders, who inhabit the minor island group of the colony, have fears of political domination by the more numerically dominant Gilbertese and so were not anxious to achieve political independence with them.

Accordingly, the Ellice islanders were opposed in 1970 to a proposed new constitution for the GEIC that provided nineteen seats in the new Parliament for the Gilbert Islands, with a population of about 47,000, and four seats for the Ellice Islands, with about 7,000 people. Under the proposed constitution the colony would have a modified form of cabinet government (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). Although the new political system was described by Reuben Uatoka, the leading Gilbertese political figure, as "a step toward the goal of independence," few of the GEIC people expected to achieve independence in the immediate future. The people were concerned over the imminent exhaustion of the phosphate deposits on Ocean Island; phosphate sales abroad have supplied 47 percent of the colony's annual income. (see ch. 12, Economic Resources; ch. 14, Economic and Social Development Programs). The only major party, the Christian Democratic Party, was formed in Betio, Tarawa, in late November 1966.

THE BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE

The political development of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) has variety of cultures from island to island, the diverse influences of European missions and planters, and local customs and beliefs. In particular, general hostility on the part of the

people, difficulties of terrain and resources, and the distance of the protectorate from Great Britain have slowed the political advancement of the people.

Such political advancement as has occurred in the BSIP was generally initiated by the administering power, since the general population had little or no interest in, or understanding of, popular politics. Before World War II, ideas about self-government in the Central Solomons were being spread by disciples of a Melanesian mission pastor. On Guadalcanal an attempt by a headman named Vouza to become paramount chieftain of the island encouraged similar movements in the rest of the protectorate. In the little-patrolled area of Aliari on South Malaita, cargo cult leaders encouraged rumors of moves by the United States to expel the British and to provide the natives with free "cargo." To some extent, cult leaders were able to establish something of a pan-island government with their own councils and fund-collecting organizations.

World War II had an impact on the political advancement of the protectorate, particularly in the Central and Southern Solomons. On Guadalcanal, which was a major battleground, and on Malaita, the massive weight of advanced technology and the presence of thousands of United States soldiers, whose attitude was unsympathetic to colonial rule, acted as catalysts, which, along with the social and political frustration among the islanders, resulted in the appearance of the so-called Marching Rule cult.

The impetus for establishing local councils came from leaders of the Marching Rule on Malaita during the war. The administering authorities, in turn, undertook the process of devolving political authority to the islanders by reducing the number of appointed village headmen throughout the protectorate. District headmen were no longer recruited from the ranks of ex-constabulary men but were selected for their qualifications for the position. The Marching Rule leaders, however, set up the extralegal Federal Council in their latent movement toward independence, with a "big man" (see Glossary) recognized by the British administration and a flag of their own. The Marching Rule movement eventually lost its drive as the British authorities introduced a number of concessions and instituted some local autonomy on the village and district level and on the central level.

By 1950 most of the islands of the BSIP had their own local councils. A process of politically integrating the widely dispersed people in a local council was complemented by the establishment of the Legislative Council and the Executive Council in 1960 for the whole protectorate. In 1967 provisions were made for the election of fourteen Solomon islanders to the Legislative Council (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

Despite the sentiment for local autonomy, which was dramatized earlier by the Marching Rule, the results of the 1967 elections for the Legislative Council revealed a certain apathy on the part of the islanders. Only about 16,500 voters went to the polls, out of a total population of about 150,000. In the Honiara election, out of a population of about 8,000 and a roll of 1,278 registered voters, only 391 turned out to cast their votes.

The emblem of the BSIP symbolizes the protectorate's cultural, geographical, and political characteristics. The lion signifies British protection; the Sanford eagle in the upper-left quarter of the shield represents Malaita and parts of the Eastern District; the turtle stands for the Western District; the Melanesian dancing shield and spears (with points down as a token of peace) symbolize the Eastern and Central districts; and the two frigate birds represent the outer islands.

THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA

Although in 1970 the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, an administrative union of the Australian colony and the United Nations Trust Territory, constituted one of the largest non-self-governing territories in area and population, the combined territory has lagged in the progress toward political independence. In recent years, however, the Australian government, responding to external pressures, has pursued a policy leading toward internal self-government. Nonetheless, the indigenous people as a whole, with few educated elite, have shown limited capacity to develop a viable political system on their own without outside assistance.

Ethnic fragmentation of the population of about 2 million, who until recent years lived in a near-Stone Age culture, has held back political as well as economic development. This is partly attributed to the fact that Papua and New Guinea, with their differing experiences of colonial role, have attracted a certain amount of parochial loyalty from expatriates and sometimes from indigenous people. In addition, the geographical isolation of the combined territory and the lack of overseas travel by the indigenous people have resulted in their lack of political awareness and national identity.

Those who have traveled beyond the confines of the territories have been among the moving forces in leading a political movement, and increasing contacts among the indigenous population have led to the spread of new political concepts. The beginning of what was called the Paliau movement and the preceding local movements during the period immediately after World War II were led by Malioat Paliau of Manus and by Napo of Mbukeyi, both of whom had

traveled extensively while they were in the native constabulary. In the 1940s Paliau, despite his lack of formal education and poor knowledge of English, formulated and propagated a program of comprehensive social, economic, political, religious, and cultural transformation called Newfela Fashion, which was oriented toward European culture.

Political Developments and Attitudes

Other than the establishment in 1950 of the local government councils, which have a largely advisory powers, it was not until 1951 that the indigenous people had any participation in the legislative, executive, and judicial institutions in the combined territory. There were some who did exercise limited executive and judicial powers on behalf of the administration in Port Moresby, but politics was exclusively a European affair. Indigenous politics generally centered on social units just slightly larger than those existing before the intrusion of foreign powers into the area. Indigenous opinion, if any, had little relevance to the formulation of administration policy.

In 1951 the Legislative Council, with three indigenous nominated members and twenty-six Europeans, was established (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). Non-official members included John Guise, who was regarded by some Australian critics as a radical. Guise undertook to be a spokesman for the common people but was handicapped by the fact that he was of mixed racial descent. Another prominent indigenous member was Reuben Taureka, who was the first and only indigenous official member to sit in the Legislative Council in 1960.

The extension of the franchise to the entire adult indigenous population enabled the indigenous population to fill sixty-five out of the eighty-four seats for elected members in the 1968 elections. It was hoped that the numerical increase in indigenous representation in the House of Assembly would balance, if not offset, the political and economic power of the Europeans in the territory. In the 1968 elections five expatriate former members of the previous Legislative Council lost, as did nine of the outgoing members of the House of Assembly.

At the same time many of the local government councils, while still being used as arms of the local administration as channels for consultation, were occasionally, though increasingly, used for genuine decisionmaking. Local government councils were widely accepted in the New Guinea highlands, where experience in national politics was more advanced than elsewhere. Despite the institution of these councils, however, in general the interest of some residents remained confined to limited areas. Most of the indigenous people

remained unfamiliar with the central government, which was seen only in the person of the *kia*p (local representative).

Increasing political participation by the indigenous people in decisionmaking and the administration of the territories aroused more interest on the part of some indigenous leaders to achieve internal self-government and ultimate independence for the territories. This sentiment was encouraged by statements made by Australian Labor Party leaders that, if they were elected into power in Australia, internal self-government would be granted to the territories in 1972 and complete independence in 1976. Indigenous members of the House of Assembly in general, however, felt that the territories were not ready for self-government or independence and did not make an issue of it in the 1968 elections.

Political Parties, Attitudes, and Elections

Political parties were to some extent considered a premature phenomenon in the territories. Nevertheless, in territories slowly advancing toward self-government, a popularly based organization such as a political party, which the administration in the past had failed to promote, was considered by many as a necessary vehicle to educate and mobilize the people politically.

The organization through which political action has traditionally been carried out in parts of the territories was by way of interpersonal relationship, which was collectively called the security circle. The security circle is composed largely of close kinsmen and persons bound together in other special ways. Power and influence within the security circle were acquired through means that appeared to be apolitical in character. There were no indigenous political chiefdoms or tribal organizations that could provide the basis of political organization. The administration's practice of dealing with villages individually and restricting citizenship and political identity to registration in the village census books resulted from this lack and perpetuated the low level of political organization.

In addition to the lack of an institutional basis for organizing a party system, there was also the general belief among the indigenous people that parties in the territories did not necessarily help in the election of candidates. In some areas it was a liability to be a party member.

The territories had six political parties in 1970, but none of them had a mass following or much formal organization. Essentially, these parties were relatively informal groupings of people sharing a similar outlook, who promised to cooperate with each other if elected. Most of the parties had low political bargaining power, since they offered little support to members. Several party members in the House of Assembly failed to honor their earlier commitments to the party.

The Papua and New Guinea Union Party

The Papua and New Guinea Union Party (Pangu) was the first indigenous-led political party. Formed on June 13, 1967, it is a loosely knit organization. The Interim Central Executive, or *bung*, consisted of four rotating chairmen representing the four principal regions—Papua, the New Guinea Islands, mainland New Guinea, and the New Guinea highlands.

The party had advocated for internal self-government and ultimate independence for the territories. It called for the adoption of pidgin (see Glossary) as a language of the area, with English remaining as the official language. The party's slogan is "Wan Nem, Wam Kantri, Wan Pipal" (One Name, One Country, One People). In the 1968 elections Pangu won eighteen seats. It could also count on the votes of some members of the House of Assembly who will support Pangu policy while refusing to join the party.

The United Democratic Party

The United Democratic Party (UDP) was originally formed in 1966 as the United Christian Democratic Party ("Christian" was dropped in 1968). It was organized by a private agreement between Pita Simogen, a member of the House of Assembly; Under Secretary for Police Otoo Kovingre, who was manager of the Catholic plantation at Boiken; and Peter Maut, vice president of the Wewak-But Local Government Council and generally acknowledged to be the party's real leader.

Members of the party's policymaking group are said to be associated with the Catholic mission in Sepik and most of the 9,000 members are from the East Sepik District. The party has sought the support of all Christians in the territories, but at the same time it has wanted to disassociate itself from the Catholic church. It had originally sought for statehood within the Australian federation but later switched its drive for movement toward independence when it failed to gain support. After the 1968 elections some of the young party leaders who shared a similar outlook with most members of Pangu made an unsuccessful move to amalgamate the UDP with Pangu. UDP remained unrepresented in the House of Assembly in 1970.

The All People's Party

The All People's Party (APP) was formed in July 1968. The party has been led mainly by European traders and other businessmen in the Sepik and Ramu river areas of New Guinea. The party, with Jim McKinnon as its head in 1970, lacked any formal organization. It sponsored a number of candidates, some of whom were anti-Pangu, in the 1968 elections. It has its political base mainly in Sepik,

Madang, and the highland districts of New Guinea. The party has favored the achievement of self-government and independence only when the area is fully prepared for it.

The National Progressive Party

The National Progressive Party (NAPRO) is a conservative party founded by Bill Dihm, a Papuan of mixed race. It claims to have support in Wewak, Goroka, Law, Manus, and Samarai. It has a predominantly Papuan executive body and is more Papuan-oriented than concerned with territory-wide interests; the party supports Australian policies in Papua and New Guinea. In the 1968 elections it campaigned in six electorates without providing, however, any means through which voters could identify themselves with the party.

Other Minor Parties

The New Guinea Agriculture Reform Party and the Territory Country Party, along with UDP and NAPRO, lacked the widespread support that Pangu had among the educated would-be politicians and government public servants and the financial resources of the APP. They also lacked legislative support in the House of Assembly.

Attitudes and Elections

The indigenous people of the territories, having no common language or territory-wide sense of community, regarded elections to be primarily a contest for prestige between rival language or kin groups, or between administrative areas. Elections for the House had little meaning to them. Generally, town dwellers and expatriates were the least interested voters. For many expatriates, the territories were not their homes and of little interest politically to them. The indigenous people, on the other hand, did not want to vote for anyone outside their home electorates. In fact, however, many missionaries, members of business firms, officials, and others in various occupations have become involved in elections.

Although some of the electorate expected members of the House to maintain close liaison with them and to inform them of the proceedings in the House, the general indigenous population regarded these members as more of an adjunct to the *kiap* than as the people's representative. Popular identification with the central government appeared tenuous.

Political Issues

The merger of the administrative apparatus of the territories of Papua and New Guinea in 1949 resulted in a conflict of allegiances of former Papuan officials and former New Guinean officials and

have generated interethnic tensions. The long history of economic and political rivalry between these two major regions has reinforced the potential conflict. Because of the location of the administrative capital of the entire area in Port Moresby and the longer period of Papuan exposure to Western culture as compared with New Guinea, more Papuans were appointed as patrol officers and in other positions in both the government and private industry. New Guineans have often complained of the treatment that they receive at the hands of the Papuans in administrative positions.

Lack of communication between the administration and the remote parts of the territories particularly the outlying islands, has contributed to feelings of disaffection on the part of the inhabitants of the outlying islands and has led to defiance of the central authority and even the threat of secession. In 1967, for instance, a large number of people on New Hanover and New Ireland, who were influenced by mystic beliefs, repudiated the authority of the central government and refused to pay their taxes. On Bougainville there was a separatist threat arising from the copper-mining land dispute.

The conditions governing the employment in the public service of European expatriates and the indigenous people were a major issue during the 1960s. The issue, which was deplored by the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1962, was over the differing wage rates for expatriates and indigenous peoples, which sometimes exceeded a ratio of three to one. In addition, the indigenous people complained that they have not been permitted to qualify for the more responsible and higher paying positions despite their high education and experience.

FRENCH ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Political Developments and Attitudes

Although there have been incidents of passive and active resistance to the French in their rule over the French Overseas Territories of Oceania (French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna), it was not until World War II that the political life was significantly affected. Colonial rule was virtually suspended during the duration of the war, and until 1945 these territories had to fend largely for themselves. Thousands of United States servicemen stationed in Tahiti and New Caledonia helped to stimulate latent anti-colonial sentiment and to generate an inchoate nationalism. The hundreds of Tahitians who had served with the Free French Pacific Battalion furthered these attitudes.

A nationalist trend was especially manifest in French Polynesia. Because of its small population, many of whom have since migrated to New Hebrides and New Guinea, and few economic resources, Wallis and Futuna had shown little inclination to develop politi-

cally. The territory, which is administered from Nouméa, New Caledonia, has its own representative in the French National Assembly and French Senate.

In French Polynesia the first stage in political advancement was the election for a new assembly held in December 1945; the election was held without the benefit of political parties, however, and was primarily a contest between various conservative candidates. Evidence of nationalist sentiment became more manifest in 1947 when a violent demonstration was staged against the French secretary general and his wife on Tahiti. The success of the demonstration was largely attributed to the most well known Tahitian nationalist leader, Pouvanaa A Oopa, whose advocacy of more local autonomy for the territory made him unpopular with the French authorities.

Pouvanaa led a movement on Tahiti similar to the postwar cargo cults of Melanesia. He was regarded as a charismatic leader who provided messianic fervor and flavor to the movement. He blended Polynesian and biblical oratory and combined traditional kinship and other ties within the framework of a modern political organization. To lend organization to his movement, Pouvanaa founded the Pouvanaa Committee (Comite Pouvanaa) in 1947, which formed into the powerful political party called the Democratic Assembly of Tahitian People (Rassemblement Democratique des Populations Tahitiennes—RDPT). A nationalist party, RDPT has led the movement for local autonomy of the territory.

The result of the 1953 elections for the Territorial Assembly showed the widespread popularity of Pouvanaa as well as increasing sentiment for local autonomy. In that election the RDPT, whose strength was in the countryside and villages, obtained eighteen of the twenty-five seats. Most of these constituents were the semiasimilated, urbanized, tradition-bound Polynesians who were resentful toward the *demi* (French settlers) and, to a lesser extent, toward the French administration. The unassimilated rural Polynesian had little or no understanding of government or politics but was susceptible to the personal appeal of Pouvanaa.

Meanwhile, in response to increasing pressure for more local autonomy in their Overseas Territories, the French government passed a new law in 1957. Membership in the Territorial Assembly in both French Polynesia and New Caledonia was increased, and the powers of that body to enact legislation were considerably extended. In addition, the Council of Government, with individual ministerial responsibilities, was created.

The Council of Government in French Polynesia, however, was stripped of much of its power by the governor shortly after Pouvanaa announced in April 1958 that his party, which in the 1957 elections won seventeen out of thirty seats in the Territorial

Assembly, would declare for a Tahitian republic. A crisis was precipitated by the imposition of an income tax law by the RDPT, a move that was opposed by the Democratic Union of Tahiti (Union Tahitienne Democratique—UTD), which was equally opposed to independence from France. Wild demonstrations by right-wing supporters and an economic boycott staged by the business community resulted in the rescinding of the objectionable legislation.

Partly because of the income tax issue and partly because of differences of personality, the RDPT split into two factions in May 1958—the RDPT-Pouvanaa faction and the RDPT-Aratai faction, headed by Ceran Jerusalem. Later attempts by the RDPT-Aratai faction to reconcile with the RDPT-Pouvanaa faction were spurned by the latter. Instead, RDPT-Pouvanaa formed a coalition with UDT; through 1962 these two parties shared power in the Territorial Assembly and in the Council of Government. In 1963 both RDPT factions were banned by the government.

In the latter part of 1958 French Polynesia and New Caledonia were among the French Overseas Territories that were offered the opportunity to decide by referendum whether to change their political status (the nature of the status was not spelled out) by casting a *non* (no) vote for the proposed constitution of the French Fifth Republic or to remain in the French Community by casting a *oui* (yes) vote. Wallis and Futuna opted a year later to change the island's political status to that of an Overseas Territory. New Caledonia and French Polynesia, the latter by 63.7 percent of the vote, chose to remain within the French Community. The French administration in French Polynesia had to overcome the strong dissent offered by Pouvanaa and his followers, who cast a *non* vote and who rallied around the slogan "Tahiti for the Tahitians."

In the election for the Territorial Assembly held in 1967 in French Polynesia and New Caledonia, the parties that campaigned for internal self-government won a majority of the seats. In French Polynesia a coalition of the Te E'a Api no Polynesia (see Glossary) and Pupu Here A'ia (see Glossary) parties won sixteen of thirty seats. In New Caledonia the nationalist Caledonian Union (Union Caledonienne) party won twenty-two out of thirty-five seats.

In another show of popular sentiment, a resolution in favor of internal self-government was passed overwhelmingly in the Territorial Assembly of French Polynesia and New Caledonia. Moreover, in a by-election for the Papeete Municipal Council on May 12, five members of the two strongest political parties advocating self-government in French Polynesia won handily. Criticism of French nuclear testing on Mururoa Atoll and sentiment for the release of the popular nationalist leader Pouvanaa A Oopa from his Paris exile contributed to the victory of these parties.

French government reaction to these political trends has been

largely negative. The French governor in French Polynesia explained that the territory could not seek a larger measure of internal self-government as long as it is economically dependent upon France. Aside from the view of French authorities, the French policy of assimilation through the instrumentality of French institutions and values toward the people of their Overseas Territories tended to circumscribe internal self-government.

Political Parties

Te E'a Api no Polynesia (The New Path of Polynesia) drew some of its membership and leadership from elements of the defunct RDPT, and disillusioned members of several conservative groups who opposed the French nuclear test program on Mururoa Atoll. The party has a balanced distribution of Catholics and Protestants in the organization's leadership. In the 1967 elections the party won nine seats, making it the largest party in the territory. Its leader, Francis Sanford, whose grandfather had settled on Tahiti from the United States years before, was French Polynesia's representative in the French National Assembly in 1970.

Pupu Here A'ia (Patriot's Party) was the second major party, having won seven seats in the 1967 elections. It was founded in 1965 by John Teariki, a chief of Moorea, who was Sanford's predecessor as the territory's representative in the French National Assembly.

The Democratic Union of Tahiti (Union Tahitienne Democratique—UTD) was founded in 1956 by Alfred Poroi, who has been French Polynesia's representative in the French Senate since 1962 and was mayor of Papeete for twenty-four years until his defeat in 1966. UTD won three seats in the Territorial Assembly in the 1967 elections.

The Tahitian Union (Union Tahitienne—UT), founded on April 21, 1958, has been affiliated with the Gaullist Union for the New Republic (Union pour le Nouvelle Republique—UNR) party of metropolitan France. It has in recent years been made up of conservative members of various political groupings. Headed by Rudolph Bambridge, the party won five seats in the 1967 elections, under a program that opposed independence for the territory. It favored the continued French presence and guidance of the territory.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH CONDOMINIUM OF NEW HEBRIDES

The Anglo-French Condominium of New Hebrides remained in 1970 firmly under the control of the British and the French as joint administering powers. New Hebrideans, however, have in recent years shown increasing signs of political consciousness and national identity. The Niagramel movement (see Glossary), for example,

emerged to promise New Hebrideans the recovery of European-owned land. A call for a referendum on whether the islands should be British or French was demanded by a member of the Condominium Advisory Council (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). The future of New Hebrides and the question of independence were discussed in the Advisory Council. The general consensus in that body, however, offered little support to the faction seeking more political autonomy for the Condominium. This attitude was shared by both British and French representatives in the Condominium. Both considered the people as yet unready to assume increased political responsibility, much less capable of political independence.

Political advancement has been hampered also by traditional institutions. Local councils have failed to flourish despite support for them by the Condominium government. Councils have had less appeal to the indigenous people than cooperatives, which they find to be more compatible with village tradition. Local councils were considered a threat to tradition and rivals of native chiefs for authority. Villagers fear that under local councils traditional enemies would be grouped unwillingly together on a regional basis.

Lack of communication between the government and the largely illiterate public also has interfered with political advancement. It has been difficult to convey information to New Hebrideans, who tend to misconstrue the intentions of the government in the absence of any such communication.

Nonetheless, a major step in political advancement occurred with the election of members of the Advisory Council by members of the local councils, who were themselves popularly elected (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). New members of the Advisory Council were generally young and better educated, and their European colleagues, who were elected by an electoral college, were generally more progressive-minded and less conservative than their predecessors.

THE COOK ISLANDS, NIUE, AND THE TOKELAU ISLANDS

The Cook Islands, Niue, and the Tokelau Islands became a British protectorate in 1877, and formal sovereignty of these territories was later transferred to New Zealand. Until 1965, when the Cook Islands became a self-governing territory associated with New Zealand, these islands were subject to the same legislation passed by the New Zealand Parliament. The New Zealand government attempted to interest the people of the Tokelau Islands to associate politically either with Western Samoa or the Cook Islands. Tokelauans, however, preferred to retain their direct association with New Zealand.

As early as 1915 an act passed by the New Zealand Parliament provided the Cook Islands with island councils, public schools,

courts of justice, and native courts. The Legislative Council established in 1946 was succeeded in 1957 by the Legislative Assembly, which had much wider powers. In 1962, as the first step toward internal self-government, the Executive Committee of the Legislative Assembly was formed to advise the Cook Islands government on policy matters and to draw up proposals for the annual appropriation of funds by the Legislative Assembly. In 1964, two years after the New Zealand delegate to the United Nations told the Trusteeship Council that the Cook Islands would have internal self-government within three years, the resident commissioner and the remaining official members of the Legislative Assembly were withdrawn, and the Executive Committee became a full-fledged cabinet. Legislation was enacted to provide for a popularly elected Legislative Assembly. In the first general election for the Legislative Assembly held in 1965, the Cook Islands Party, led by Albert Henry, gained a majority of seats. In addition to being a member of the assembly, Henry also held the position of premier and other cabinet positions. The Cook Islands premier, who is a former schoolteacher, had served as chairman of the South Pacific Conference when it met at Nouméa, New Caledonia, in October 1969.

In 1965 the Cook Islands became a self-governing territory associated with New Zealand, which was charged with the responsibilities for external affairs and defense. This arrangement enabled the Cook islanders to retain New Zealand citizenship and the advantages of annual grants-in-aid. New Zealand, for its part, retained representation in the territory through a high commissioner in the Cook Islands Council of State (House of Arikis) and the right of the New Zealand Parliament to exercise powers over its Cook Islands citizens with their consent.

In the Cook Islands general elections on May 1, 1968, the Cook Islands Party won over the United Cook Islanders Party, the only other major party, obtaining sixteen out of twenty-two seats in the Legislative Assembly. The losing party, headed by Tangaroa Tangaroa obtained the remaining seats, all in the outer islands. The Cook Islands Party gained all nine seats on Rarotonga and three new seats on Aitutaki (which in the 1965 elections voted against the party) and won (unopposed) the seat on Mauke and on Mitiaro.

Since the mid-1960s the people of Niue Island have become more active in politics, a development occasioned by the election of the Legislative Assembly and the inauguration of a member system of government in 1968. There has been much less political activity in the Tokelau Islands than on Niue, since many of its already small population were being resettled in New Zealand and those left behind lived a relatively simple life. There is, however, a certain degree of popular participation in the governments of both Niue and the Tokelau Islands. In Niue adult Niueans elect the members of the

Legislative Assembly, which in turn elects the members of the Executive Committee, which discharges the powers delegated to it by the resident commissioner. In the Tokelau Islands the *faipule* (mayor), who is the key official on each island, is elected by the people.

WESTERN SAMOA

Traditional Basis of Samoan Politics

Western Samoa's politics stems from its culture and the desire to perpetuate it. In particular, the extended Samoan family and groupings of related families form the core of most Samoan political action. Political activity has been largely concerned with ceremony, with the advancement of the interests of major family groups, and with the settlement of disputes between factions or local groups. The structure of particular families, as well as their connections with other families, has been essential to effective participation in Samoan politics beyond the village level.

Western Samoa has no organized political parties. There is the inclination in *fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way) to operate by consensus. As one foreign observer said, "The party in power is really a great amorphous mass; instead of parties you have people coming together to support various ideas."

The extended Samoan family usually selects its *matai* (chief) by consensus among its members and for life. The family then is said to think of itself as an organism with the *matai* as its head and the members as its arms and legs. The *matai* regulates the internal life of the family, protects its dignity, and makes its political decisions. The members, for their part, give their loyal support and try not to differ to avoid weakening the whole. The *matai*, not the individuals, is thus the basic unit in politics.

The *matai* system was reaffirmed in the United Nations independence plebiscite of May 1961, which was the only Samoan decision ever made by universal suffrage. Samoans voted overwhelmingly for a constitution based on the *matai* system rather than universal suffrage. Samoans say they fear that the livelihood and dignity of the family would suffer if its arms and legs were suddenly free to operate independently of its head.

Ambitious *matai* within the system have bid to receive higher titles, to control titles by faction, or even to devise new titles. They also have sought to enhance the ascribed deference to their titles by various exemplary achievements. This flexibility has stimulated political interest and political participation.

Because of this competition for titles, internal family councils have often broken up into descent groupings. Residential family groupings within village councils have also engaged in competition.

At a higher level related titles may combine together as political families under one of the royal titles.

Geographical groupings of different families may also act together politically. At district meetings, participants speak as village groups, whereas at the national level the same villages will operate together as a district, under their highest ranking district *matai*.

There are, however, identifiable political influences aside from the culture and the extended family system. These include the continuing impact of its former trustee, New Zealand, through aid, teachers, various technicians, and general tradition. There is the considerable economic power of the important local business organizations run by the so-called Euronesians (see Glossary). In addition, both in and out of the culture, there is the influence of the various churches. In recent years this influence has sought to enforce a strict prohibition on alcoholic beverages.

Political Developments and Attitudes

The conservative character of Samoan politics retarded, if not thwarted, moves to reform the political and administrative system. This attitude was witnessed by the passive resistance movement known as the Mau a Pule, which broke out between 1927 and 1937 to oppose the modernization of the administrative system on the grounds that the change threatened traditional social institutions. In 1965 attempts to form a political movement to register popular discontent with the rising cost of living and lack of employment opportunities failed to gain headway in the Legislative Assembly. Fiame Mataafa, Samoa's former prime minister who was considered a strong and relatively progressive-minded leader, felt so circumscribed by traditional conservative forces that he was said to have threatened to resign unless the Legislative Assembly approved a major project involving foreign investment. The mixture of old culture, general Samoan satisfaction, and a system that reflects tradition while being moderately representative, however, has provided for a general political stability in the country.

All participants in decisionmaking in Western Samoa consciously or unconsciously agree on certain preliminary rules that are essential to the process. Decisionmaking has been largely dominated by the traditional consensus, but the plurality vote system has also slowly been introduced into the political process.

Participants in consensus decisionmaking agree on the traditional ranking order of family titles, which gives a weighting pattern around which a consensus can be obtained. To achieve unanimity, traditional Samoan pressures play on the most important Samoan values, such as religious beliefs, family loyalties, social harmony, and hierarchical deference. In the villages, the regularity and fre-

quency of meetings among the *matai* assisted the formation of a consensus.

In decisionmaking by plurality vote, the candidate with the most votes was declared the winner. The social ranking of the participants was not officially displayed, since votes at least were considered equal. Any adult citizen in a constituency was qualified to participate in an election, and any qualified voter could run for office. Application of pressures proceeded informally throughout the constituency, but the secrecy of the ballot has protected participants from such pressures. Some of the pressures employed to change convictions were based on rational means, such as explaining that lower taxes would help business.

Traditional consensus rather than plurality vote was strongly preferred in virtually all Samoan villages. Candidates for office still made themselves known in the traditional manner by soliciting the support of the *matai* chiefs of their villages. Although the centralized national government follows a modified parliamentary system, the national Legislative Assembly occasionally has operated *fa'a Samoa*, having long discussions until a consensus is reached.

The highest ranking *matai*, fearing that plurality voting threatened their traditional deference positions, have urged that decisions be made by consensus at almost every legislative meeting since 1964. Lower ranking *matai*, for their part, have hesitated between the fear of destroying the consensus system with its traditional harmony and the temptation of acquiring more influence through the plurality vote. Family and village politicians also see the advantage of increasing the number of titleholders. The Samoan hierarchy was to maintain its position, but the democratic alternative had been publicly demonstrated. The plurality system remained in the Electoral Law and was employed in the selection of the new prime minister in 1970.

In the elections for the Legislative Assembly in February 1970, there was a turnover of twenty-one of the forty-seven members of that body. The new members of the assembly, in turn, elected the new prime minister by plurality vote. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi was chosen to succeed Fiaame Mataafa, who had been Western Samoa's prime minister since 1959. Tamasese, a senior medical practitioner specializing in psychiatry, had been one of the four paramount chiefs of Western Samoa. He was a nephew of the late Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole, who was one of the joint heads of State, and he was a deputy head of state before his election to the assembly. He owed his election as prime minister, however, not so much to his high title, which is about equal with that of his predecessor (he is a *tam'aiga*, a chief of royal rank), but to support from the newly elected young members of the Legislative Assembly. Older members

of the assembly who felt they had no chance of high office with Mataafa in power also lent their support to Tamasese.

Many members of the new cabinet were young, reform-minded leaders. At least two members had been agitating for the modernization of the political system. The young new minister of finance, Tofa Siaosi, had originally sponsored the bill to introduce universal suffrage in place of the restrictive *matai* system.

NAURU

On January 31, 1968, Nauru became the second trust territory in Oceania to become fully independent. Independence was achieved only after agreement was reached with the British Phosphate Commissioners on the control of the phosphate industry on Nauru and a treaty arrangement with Australia concerning Nauru's defense and external affairs (see ch. 12, Economic Resources; ch. 9, The South Pacific Commission).

The political advancement of Nauru did not begin until December 1951, when the first elections were held for the Nauru Local Government Council, which replaced the old Council of Chiefs, largely a hereditary body with no powers. The Nauru Local Government Council, however, also exercised limited executive powers and, in relation to the major responsibilities of government, its role was also purely advisory. In the public service only few Nauruans had been appointed to senior positions. This lack of development at both the political and administrative levels had aroused vigorous protests among Nauruans and repeated criticism in the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

The slow political advancement, however, may be partly accounted for by the fact that between 1956 and 1964 the Nauruan leaders were considering the resettlement of the entire community in or close to Australia before the phosphate deposits, upon which Nauru's economy is solely dependent, were expected to be exhausted.

The formation of the Nauru Local Government Council itself and the emergence of strong leaders, particularly Head Chief Timothy Detudamo and the Nauruan incumbent head of state, Hammer De Roburt, provided the impetus on the part of Nauruans to control the internal affairs of the territory. Hammer De Roburt was a teacher in the Nauru Education Department and councillor for Boe District who later left teaching to become manager of the Nauru Co-operative Society. He obtained his title of head chief from the former Council of Chiefs.

By 1960 the Nauru Local Government Council declared that its ultimate aim was no more than internal self-government within a decade. The Australian government proposal to resettle the Nauruans in Australia was subsequently rejected by Nauruan leaders

for fear that Nauruans would lose their identity. The aspiration for internal self-government became identified with full independence for the former trust territory. The move toward achieving independence, however, was held up by the discussion with the British Phosphate Commissioners over the disposition of the phosphate industry.

In the discussion in 1967 and 1968 Nauruans claimed legal ownership of the phosphates and rejected the proposal of the British Phosphate Commissioners that Britain, New Zealand, and Australia exploit the phosphates with Nauru on a partnership basis. Nauru instead suggested that the three powers mine the phosphates as agents of Nauru. Nauruan leaders counted on the support of New Zealand as one of the administering partners well-disposed toward Nauruan political aspirations. The United Nations passed resolutions in the General Assembly in 1965 and 1966 stating that Nauru should become independent not later than January 31, 1968. Although Australia had previously wished to maintain some form of control on Nauru, it joined the other trusteeship partners, New Zealand and Great Britain, in November 1967 in granting independence.

There had been little political activity in the independent Republic of Nauru by 1970. No political parties had appeared to contest elections to the popularly elected Legislative Assembly, which was inaugurated on independence day. Power is centered in the incumbent head of state, Hammer De Roburt, who is also the country's chief minister.

TONGA

Tonga in 1970 continued to cling to its traditional Christianity, to many of its other old traditions, and to its hereditary and powerful nobles. The government of the country was still largely in the hands of these nobles who are men of standing with special privileges under royal patronage. As the privileged classes, they dominate the government. The king of Tonga, Taufa'ahau, has firm control of the country and evidently has no intention of relinquishing power. Despite what outside critics have referred to as a feudal state, there has been no sign of popular political revolt. As is characteristic of a Polynesian society, there has been a respect for the nobility system and an awareness by the chiefs of their traditional responsibilities.

Tongans, however, were faced at the outset of the 1970s with the problem of trying to preserve their cultural identity and tradition before the increasing impact of Western technology and culture with its associated values. The increased level of education among young commoners and political awareness in general have stimulated the beginning of dissent against the nobility system.

These young Tongans, unlike their more tradition-minded elders,

have begun to rebel against the established system. The representatives of the commoners in the Parliament have been criticized occasionally for supporting what is considered the interest of the nobles ahead of that of the people. Respect for the nobles and the king among these younger elements has become less important. Dissatisfaction has been directed toward the nobles also for the possession of uncultivated lands, which the landless and jobless commoners desire.

The desire for full independence increased as Tongans demanded a greater voice in the political control of the country. They particularly wanted to gain key positions in the government public service that were held by Europeans, who received higher salaries than Tongans. In response to the popular sentiment for independence, King Taufa'ahau announced in November 1969 that Tonga hoped to achieve independence in 1970.

After discussions between the parties the United Kingdom transferred full sovereignty to Tonga on June 4, 1970. The Anglo-Tongan Treaty of Friendship of August 25, 1958, was substantially changed so that Tonga—which had been a British protected state since May 18, 1900—assumed full control of its foreign affairs and defense. Because Tonga remained within the British Commonwealth, the commissioner and consul of Tonga in England became the high commissioner for Tonga, and Britain's commissioner and consul in Tonga became the high commissioner for the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER 9

THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

Since most of the peoples of Oceania are governed by far-distant countries, their foreign relations are in the hands of these governments. They have little exchange among themselves. Even the few countries that have recently attained independence have not yet established the network of diplomatic relationships that characterizes the international communications system of the larger nations. As of 1970 the South Pacific Commission (SPC) served both the dependent and independent areas as a primary meeting place between one another and with the administering powers of the non-self-governing areas.

The South Pacific Commission is a regional organization set up in 1947 as an advisory and consultative body by the six governments (Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States) then administering territories in Oceania. The commission, with headquarters in Nouméa, New Caledonia, recommends to the member governments means of promoting the well-being of the people of these territories. It is primarily concerned with social, economic, and health matters. An understanding reached by the participating governments was that the commission should not concern itself with political matters.

Within the scope of the commission's activities in mid-1970 were approximately 3 million people who differ widely among themselves, ranging from the relatively sophisticated Polynesians in the Samoan archipelago to the Stone Age Melanesians in the highlands of the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. The area covers about 13 million square miles both north and south of the equator, extending from Papua and New Guinea in the west to French Polynesia in the east and from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the north to the Australian dependency of Norfolk Island in the south. About a third of it is in the United States sphere of responsibility. Although Oceania remains a zone of minor political weight, its strategic importance has increased in recent years. The Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia, for example, has served as a nuclear testing site for the French. Similarly, the Marshall Islands in Micronesia have been of strategic value to the United States, as has Guam.

Of the eighteen island territories included in the scope of the

South Pacific Commission's responsibility, only Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga had achieved independence by 1970. The crown colony of Fiji expected to become an independent state by October of that year. The three states so far independent have restricted their international contacts mostly to Oceania, and their activities have been confined mainly to participating in the South Pacific Commission and its auxiliary bodies. Along with the dependent territories in Oceania, the three states have engaged in some co-operation with specialized agencies of the United Nations jointly operating with the commission in the region.

The nature and direction of the commission's activities had changed by 1970, largely through the increasing role of the South Pacific Conference, an auxiliary body of the commission. The island territories represented in the conference have increased their influence in the commission because the metropolitan powers that hitherto dominated the organization have begun to share the decisionmaking process with island delegates. Some observers believe that, as an indirect outcome of the work of the commission, there may be some rational rearrangement or unification of Pacific island dependencies, possibly a transfer of responsibility or, as the islands assume independent status, the formation of one or more federations among themselves.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

The South Pacific Commission had its inception in the Canberra Pact of January 1944, which was entered into by Australia and New Zealand to promote a regional advisory organization for the south-west Pacific upon the conclusion of World War II. The commission was also foreshadowed by an agreement in 1946 between the governments of Fiji and New Zealand and the High Commission for the Western Pacific to establish a South Pacific Health Service for the Oceanic territories to be administered by the United Kingdom and New Zealand, with headquarters at the Central Medical School (later the Fiji School of Medicine) in Suva.

On January 28, 1947, the South Seas Conference, called by the governments of Australia and New Zealand, met in Canberra. It was attended by delegations representing the six governments that were then administering non-self-governing territories in Oceania. On February 6, 1947, they signed an agreement to establish a regional commission to assist the participating governments in promoting the social and economic advancement of the Oceanic peoples. Named the South Pacific Commission, the new regional body was modeled after the Caribbean Commission, a similar body established in 1946 to serve the non-self-governing territories in the Caribbean. Four members of the South Pacific Commission were also members of the Caribbean Commission.

The agreement to create the South Pacific Commission was not ratified by all parties until July 29, 1948, and the site for its headquarters was not decided upon until later. Nouméa, the municipal capital of New Caledonia, was chosen over Sydney, Australia, and Suva, Fiji, which was a strong contender for the headquarters site. The choice of Nouméa was largely influenced by the availability of wartime military buildings to house the headquarters of the commission.

The area constituting the commission's sphere of influence in 1970 included: the United States-administered territories of Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; the British dependencies, comprising the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC), and the crown colony of Fiji; the Australian-administered Territory of Papua, the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and Norfolk Island; the New Zealand dependencies of Niue and the Tokelau Islands; the French Overseas Territories of French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna; the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides; and the self-governing Cook Islands. The independent states of Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga also lie within the area with which the commission is concerned.

The region in which the commission was originally concerned comprised self-governing territories in Oceania lying south of the equator. In 1951 the area was extended to include Guam and the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under the United States administration, which are both north of the equator. In 1962 the number of territories was reduced by the withdrawal of the Netherlands New Guinea (now called Irian Barat and part of the Republic of Indonesia). Even before independence in 1970 the Kingdom of Tonga was not considered within the scope of the commission and was listed instead as a conference participant. Tonga has cooperated in many conferences and projects. Although Western Samoa has been a participating member since 1964, it still benefited in 1970 from commission activities as a country within the operational scope of the commission.

Composition

The commission consists of fourteen commissioners, two from each of the metropolitan powers—Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States—from the independent state of Western Samoa, and the Republic of Nauru. One of the two commissioners is designated a senior commissioner.

Function

The commission's role is purely consultative and advisory to the participating governments in matters affecting the economic and

social development of the non-self-governing territories within the scope of the commission. It has no authority to administer any island within its territorial scope or to engage or participate in any action involving administration of these islands.

The administration of each territory is supervised, supported, and helped by one of the participating governments of the commission, and each territory has its own program of economic and social development. The commission assists these programs by bringing people together for discussion and study, by research into the problems common to the region, by providing expert advice and assistance, and by distributing technical information.

The commission, however, is prohibited from considering political matters and questions of defense or security. The increasing participation in recent years of the island territories in the work of the commission through the enlarged role of the South Pacific Conference may provide the potential for politics to assume some importance in the 1970s.

The work program of the commission includes the supplying of technical information, mainly through the resident research staff, in response to inquiries from territories and institutions. The commission initiates also high-priority projects in applied research and disseminates information on problems of common concern to many of the territories.

The work program is broken into three major sections: the Health Program, which consists of projects for which leadership is supplied by doctors and medical researchers; the Economic Development Program, which is directed by specialists in applied economics; and the Social Development Program, which is concerned with vocational training, literacy and literature, audiovisual aids, housing, community development, population dynamics, applied anthropology, preservation of monuments and manuscripts, and a number of other services.

In actual practice the allotment of many of these topics has been arbitrarily made, as their scope may overlap two or even three fields. Nutrition, community development, and population dynamics, for example, have each engaged the services of specialists in the fields of health, economics, and sociology.

Rules of Procedure

In October 1964 an innovation in the voting system was introduced under which Australia had five votes, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, and the United States each had four votes, and Western Samoa one vote. Since 1969 Nauru also has had one vote.

The innovation in the voting system was coupled in the late 1960s with the gradual sharing of decisionmaking powers with the island territories. The views of the island delegates on the commission's

activities and on the allocation of funds for various projects have since been accepted by the commission, although almost all the funds were provided by the metropolitan powers.

Until 1954 the commission met twice each year; since 1954 it has held one annual session. Since the South Pacific Conference in 1956 the commission also has met at the site of the conference to receive resolutions from it. Senior commissioners may preside over sessions of the commission in rotation, according to the English alphabetical order of the participating governments. At a meeting of the commission, which usually lasts about one week, two-thirds of all the senior commissioners constitute a quorum. Only senior commissioners are entitled to vote. Precedural matters are decided by a majority of the senior commissioners present and voting. Decisions on budgetary or financial matters, which may involve financial contributions by the participating governments, require the concurring votes of all the senior commissioners. Decisions on all other matters, including a decision to adopt the annual administrative budget of the commission, require the concurring votes of two-thirds of all the senior commissioners.

A commissioner has a dual role. In certain respects, as in interpreting the Canberra Pact, he is the voice of his government and is flanked by advisers from the administering country. But in implementing the tasks and responsibilities set out in the agreement, especially in developing the work program, he acts as a member of an international body.

Finance

The commission's annual budget is financed by contributions made by each of the member governments on a proportional basis according to national income, the prospective national interest and benefit from the work of the commission, and the administrative responsibilities of the respective governments in Oceanic territories. Australia contributes 31 percent; the United States, 20 percent; the United Kingdom, 17 percent; New Zealand, 16 percent; France, 14 percent; Western Samoa, 1 percent; and Nauru, 1 percent.

At the South Pacific Conference in 1969, the delegates of the island territories, responding to the prodding of Fiji's senior commissioner, Ratu K. K. T. Mara, pledged to contribute financially to the commission's budget. The amount pledged ranged from the equivalent of US\$7,000 offered by Fiji down to US\$494 each by Tonga and Niue.

Difficulty has often been encountered in making up the annual budget of the commission because of the disparity between work program needs and official budget ceilings. Budget drafts presented by the Secretariat usually run about 25 percent higher than the maximum figure that governments have been able to accept. Be-

cause of this problem, the first action of the session that the commission chairman takes is to ascertain informally from each delegation its authorized ceiling for new contributions. Budgetary decisions have been made on a reasonable assurance of four available votes before the plenary session. Most governments, however, have been inclined to hold the line to the existing figure or at least to hold the organization and work program at about the established level of activity.

In practice, the work program has not been wholly dependent on the contributions of the governments. Private foundations have provided financial assistance for certain projects. Part or all of a research bill has been financed by some cooperating institutions. Government scientific agencies and universities in the metropolitan powers have made specialists available, provided that the commission meets their travel expenses within the area. The territories themselves have lent specialists and facilities and paid some of the bills on commission projects that were important to them.

Secretariat

The commission and its auxiliary and subsidiary bodies are served by the Secretariat, which is headed by a secretary general who is assisted by the three program directors and members of the Program Research and Evaluation Council. Although there was a provision for a deputy secretary general in the Canberra Pact, no such official has been named by the commission in recent years. In the absence of the secretary general, one of the program directors acts for him. The secretary general is elected by members of the commission. In the November 1969 election for a new secretary general, Harry Moors (known by his Samoan name of Afioga Afoafouvale Misimoa), a Western Samoan businessman and high-ranking chief, was elected to succeed Sir Gawain Bell of Great Britain. Harry Moors became the first islander to be elected secretary general of the commission, a development that reflected the increasing role of island, state and territories in the commission and the lessening of the dominance of the metropolitan powers.

The secretary general appoints the officers and staff of the Secretariat primarily for their technical qualifications and personal integrity, but consideration is also given to appointing local inhabitants and to obtaining equitable national and local representation. In late 1969 a dispute arose between the secretary general and some of the commissioner delegates when the former decided not to renew the contract of the health educator and to appoint another professional instead. As international civil servants, the secretary general and the officers and staff of the Secretariat and of the Program Research and Evaluation Council are enjoined from seeking or receiving instructions from any government or from any

other authority outside the commission. Officials of participating governments may be lent to the Secretariat.

In mid-1970 the total full-time staff of the commission, embracing professional, administrative, and general service personnel, was approximately eighty, of whom all but a few are based at Nouméa. Some of the others are in Sydney at the South Pacific Commission Publications Bureau, and some are in Suva at the South Pacific Commission Education Training Center.

The Secretariat has been responsible for the administrative arrangements of the South Pacific Conference. After the 1967 conference it was designated to prepare the draft annual budget and work program in consultation with the territorial administrations and participating governments.

In 1968 a reorganization of the Secretariat resulted in the administrative services of the sections of health, economic development, and social development being merged into the Program Administration Office. At the same time the Program Research and Evaluation Council was created; the secretary general of the commission acted as chairman and the three executive officers who had headed the social development, economic development, and health sections each assumed the title of program director. The new council was responsible for the preparation and implementation of a coordinated work program covering all sections of the commission's activities, with the program directors working in a coordinating, supervisory, and advisory role, both collectively and individually.

Further changes or reorganization of the Secretariat or of the commission as a whole were to be decided by the review committee that was set up in 1969. The review committee was to assess the results of recent changes in the conference and commission and to consider what further changes were desirable. The last review committee was held in 1957. Its recommendations resulted not only in the expansion of commission activities but also in the abandonment of projects no longer useful.

Auxiliary Bodies

When the commission was established it had two major auxiliary bodies, the Research Council and the South Pacific Conference. The Research Council has virtually ceased to function since its last meeting in 1963, but the South Pacific Conference has increased in importance and influence. The council, presided over by a chairman who was elected from among its members, advised the commission on what investigation was necessary. The council arranged and carried out research projects of a special nature, collected and disseminated information concerning research, and facilitated the exchange of knowledge among research workers of the area.

The council has not been formally dissolved but, since the reorganization of the Secretariat in 1968, many of its original functions have been incorporated into the newly created bodies. To some extent it has continued to lend expert advice and assistance to the work program of these new bodies.

SOUTH PACIFIC CONFERENCE

The South Pacific Conference, a body corresponding to the West Indian Conference of the Caribbean Commission, has been referred to by observers as a "mini-summit" or "South Seas Parliament" where delegates from island territories meet annually. Each territory usually sends two official delegates (or one for a very small unit, such as the Tokelau Islands or Niue), who may be accompanied by one or more advisers. Delegates from some of the politically more advanced territories were named by local legislatures. In the past Tonga had usually been represented by its Prime Minister. Delegates were generally chosen in such a manner as to ensure the greatest measure of representation of the local inhabitants of the territory. Virtually all the representatives in the 1969 conference were elected members of their respective legislatures.

Delegates from the independent states of Western Samoa and Nauru, as island states, participate fully in both the conference and the session. Before Tonga achieved its independence it attended the conference by invitation of the commission. Steps were being taken in early 1970 to change the Canberra agreement to allow Tonga to join the South Pacific Commission. At the 1968 conference it was decided that Pitcairn could send a delegate to future conferences. Commissioners of the other participating governments and the secretary general and the three program directors of the Secretariat take part in the conference and in the discussions of the Work Program Committee but do not vote.

The conference is organized by the commission, which also adopts the rules of procedure and approves the agenda for each session, taking into account items recommended by the conference. The conference may discuss matters of common interest falling within the competence of the commission and may make recommendations to the commission on such matters.

After the first conference, which was held at Suva in April 1950, the meetings were held at three-year intervals. The Suva meeting was followed by one in April 1953 at Nouméa; April through May 1956, at Suva; April through May 1959 at Rabaul, New Britain; July 1962 at Pago Pago, American Samoa; and 1965 at Lae, New Guinea. At the Seventh South Pacific Conference in 1967 it was decided to hold subsequent conferences annually. The next two conferences, in 1968 and 1969, were held at Nouméa. The Tenth

South Pacific Conference was scheduled for September 1970 at Suva.

The venue of a conference and the number of delegates to a conference are decided at the preceding conference, following the principle of rotation, but the majority of conferences have taken place in Nouméa and Suva because of readily available facilities. Under the rules of procedure decisions of the conference (apart from decisions on procedural matters, which only need a simple majority) are by a two-thirds majority of votes cast.

At the 1967 conference the participating governments decided to have the conference assume a greater role in determining the work of the commission. At the 1968 conference the island delegates largely determined the commission's work program instead of merely making recommendations that the metropolitan powers were not bound to accept.

The work program of the commission was examined with an eye to keeping it within the limits of the commission's budget. The draft budget and the work program, with the amendments proposed by the conferences, were then referred to the commission for a final decision. These new arrangements necessitated an annual meeting of the conference, which was to be followed immediately by a session of the commission.

RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The commission has no organic relations with the United Nations. At the ninth conference, however, which met in October 1969, fourteen observers representing United Nations specialized agencies attended, along with representatives of the Office of External Scientific Research (L'Office de la Recherche Scientifique Outre-Mer), the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, various universities, and the Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific.

United Nations experts have participated in commission activities, projects, and meetings; along with high-level administrative staff they have exchanged visits with commission staff members on the local level and have engaged in discussions about cooperation in a variety of fields. The United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World Health Organization (WHO) have provided ad hoc assistance in setting up training courses, establishing centers, and providing expert personnel in Oceania. In the early 1960s the commission and the United Nations Technical Assistance Board discussed the drafting of a comprehensive agreement concerning the assistance to South Pacific Commission projects from specialized agencies participating in the program of the board. There was also a proposal for a joint FAO-commission economic survey of the region.

At the 1967 South Pacific Conference the participating governments sought, through the commission, the services of the United States Peace Corps and of similar volunteer organizations in other participating countries to assist in carrying out the commission's work program in territories that desire such assistance. In 1968 the commission requested United Nations Development Program aid in the establishment of a reef and lagoon fisheries agency and the development of local tuna fisheries. The Office of External Scientific Research and the universities of Guam and the South Pacific made offers of cooperation with the commission on various projects. Meanwhile, a joint project with the East-West Center in Hawaii in a seminar on health and social planning and urbanization was considered by the commission for inclusion in the 1970 work program and budget.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Over the years the commission has carried out numerous projects of investigation in the region; promoted and conducted a large number of technical conferences, presenting the participating governments and island administrations with advice on a wide variety of subjects; initiated and assisted research of practical significance; stimulated contacts and exchanges of experience between the people of the South Pacific region and those working on its problems; established a working library and built up extensive documentation on those problems; disseminated a vast amount of technical information; and demonstrated methods of training and conducted training courses in useful skills.

These training courses have been organized on the regional and subregional levels. Expert personnel from certain territories were made available to others through the assistance of the commission. By means of many publications, both technical and popular, the commission has made available throughout the area not only expert knowledge but also the practical experience of particular territories. Seven centers have been established, among them the Literature Bureau, the Literature Production and Training Center, the Social Development Clearinghouse, and the Health Information Service. Research and pilot projects have been launched in various fields.

Projects of research and development undertaken in the past have included livestock and crop pest elimination schemes (particularly the eradication of the rhinoceros beetle, a major pest affecting coconuts) and training courses in such subjects as fishing, boat-building, home economics and women's activities, agricultural research and development, literacy promotion, health improvement, nutrition and diet questions, and community development.

A language-teaching project was undertaken with the appointment of a language-teaching specialist to assess the teaching of

the English language in the territories and to make recommendations to the commission and the territories concerned. The commission has assisted in organizing the two South Pacific games held in the region that enabled young athletes from the scattered territories to get acquainted with one another and to develop a community of interest.

WESTERN SAMOA, NAURU, AND TONGA

The independent states of Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga have maintained a cordial attitude toward most countries and have especially close relationships with their neighbors in Oceania and with the metropolitan powers that formerly administered them. Cognizant of their limited power capability, these states have thus far avoided any role in world politics. Instead, they have sought to minimize their international contacts. Because of budgetary considerations and the lack of qualified personnel, they have not yet established any diplomatic or consular missions abroad. The relatively low priority accorded to external affairs accounted for the lack of an organized machinery for the conduct of foreign relations. The conduct of foreign relations rested largely in the hands of the respective prime ministers (chief minister in the case of Nauru) of these countries.

Other than the New Zealand High Commission in Apia, Western Samoa, the British and New Zealand High Commission in Nuku'alofa, Tonga, and an Australian office in Nauru, no diplomatic or consular missions have been established in these three states. Western Samoa has named an honorary consul at Los Angeles and has relied on the Treaty of Friendship it signed with New Zealand in August 1962, which authorized New Zealand to act on its behalf as a channel of communications with governments and international organizations outside the immediate area of Oceania.

Neither Nauru nor Tonga entered into any similar treaty or formal arrangement with their former supervisory power when they received their independence. Efforts by Australia to retain some links with Nauru in foreign affairs and defense matters before acceding it independence on January 31, 1968, did not succeed. Similarly, upon achieving its independence on June 4, 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga canceled the remaining sections of the Anglo-Tonga Treaty of Friendship of August 25, 1958, which relate to the control of its foreign affairs and defense by the United Kingdom, leaving a simple Treaty of Friendship which states that "there shall be perpetual peace and friendship" between the two countries.

None of these independent states were parties to any defense arrangements in the region, although Tonga once indicated interest

in joining the Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) defense treaty, while Nauru proclaimed a policy of "absolute neutralism." In mid-1970 none of these states were members of the United Nations. Western Samoa, however, had joined two United Nations specialized agencies, WHO and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE). It was also a member of the Asian Development Bank, the South Pacific Commission, and technical agencies such as the Asian Broadcasting Union. The other two independent states have also developed extensive contacts with these United Nations specialized agencies and other similar United Nations bodies that operate in Oceania in joint cooperation with the South Pacific Commission.

Other than contact with these specialized agencies of the United Nations and with the South Pacific Commission, Nauru's international activities were minimal. These activities have largely been confined to its associate membership in the British Commonwealth, which entitled the country to participate in all functional activities of the Commonwealth, to receive appropriate documentation in relation to them, and to participate in nongovernmental Commonwealth organizations. The country has no representation at Commonwealth prime ministers' conferences, but its representatives may attend Commonwealth meetings at the ministerial or official level in such fields as education, medical cooperation, and finance.

Although Tonga was not yet a member of the South Pacific Commission in 1970, Tongan representatives had been attending the South Pacific Conference by invitation of the commission. Tonga became a full member of the British Commonwealth on June 4, 1970.

CHAPTER 10

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY

The task of maintaining public order and security throughout Oceania in 1979 presented no serious internal or external problems. At the beginning of the 1970s the islands were not known to be coveted by any external power. The United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Nations had basic political and defense responsibilities in the area and maintained a physical presence there to insure continued tranquillity and territorial integrity. The United Nations had also some basic political, economic, and social responsibilities in the area. Because of these international and national concerns, the development of indigenous armed forces was unnecessary, although in some areas native units had been raised and incorporated into military formations of various protecting powers. These native forces, where they did exist, were tiny and used primarily for ceremonial rather than defense purposes.

The sphere of influence exercised by each external power is well established, except for a minor problem involving competing claims of the United States and the United Kingdom to the Phoenix Islands and some of the Line Islands group. This problem is regarded by the powers concerned as neither critical nor demanding of an immediate settlement, however, and it has occasioned no tension between the rival claimants.

Among the island components themselves there is no longer strife or contention. The interisland wars that characterized the area in the past were suppressed during the colonial period and have not been permitted to recur. Accordingly, individual islands and groups have remained at peace with one another throughout the twentieth century.

There is occasional evidence of rising nationalism in some areas, but it is fully contained by the governing powers and has never been serious enough to result in open rebellion. Perhaps the most important factors in keeping it under control have been the well-publicized objective of granting independence to each area as soon as possible and the fact that progress toward self-government has been initiated by the governing powers rather than by the people clamoring for it. These factors are given credibility by the full, independent statehood already granted to Nauru, Western Samoa, and Tonga.

From time to time, nevertheless, another form of internal discontent promoted by mystical, semireligious organizations has had some disruptive impact. These movements or cults are based on the obvious wealth of alien peoples who have come to the islands and on the natives' desire to participate more fully in the distribution of this wealth. They arise when a local leader professes to have had a visitation from ancestral spirits informing him that such things as refrigerators, canned food, cigarettes, and other luxuries are freely available in the outside world but are deliberately kept from the islanders by the newcomers for ulterior motives. The leader then preaches that if certain preparations are made, if a policy of non-cooperation with government authorities is followed, and if strict adherence to ancient custom and tradition is observed, the spirits will bring similar wealth to the faithful.

The most serious of these manifestations occur in western Melanesia where the cargo cults (see Glossary) of the area in general, the Marching Rule of Malaita Island in the Solomons, and the Jon Frum movement of Tana Island in the New Hebrides are representative (see ch. 5, Religion). Sometimes force has been required to suppress these groups, but more often they have been effectively controlled by tactful administrative measures and education.

Orderly daily life at the base of island society is regulated by the powerful restraining force of the family organization and by social sanctions imposed by traditional rules of deportment governing membership in the village community. Punishment for violating these rules is not punitive in the legalized, Western sense of the word but usually involves a tongue-lashing by the community chief-tain, the loss of social and economic privileges or, in serious cases, ostracism from village society.

Outright criminal activity is regulated by more formal procedures. Each island or group that is a political entity has its own constitution, penal code, and local ordinances that form the law of the land. These legal instruments are patterned after those of colonial predecessor governments, modified as necessary to accommodate customary native tradition and the local situation. Each component also has a police force of varying size and sophistication, a judicial system of graded courts and formal trial, and some form of penal institution.

The islanders are generally law-abiding, peaceful people, and organized crime is virtually nonexistent. Serious crimes, such as murder, rape, or grand larceny, are rare. Lesser offenses, such as drunkenness, traffic violations, petty theft, or trespassing, are uniformly low.

INFORMAL CONTROLS AND PROCEDURES

Public order at the lowest levels of island society is governed by elaborate, unwritten codes of local custom that are administered

without assistance from the police or other formalized agencies of law. These codes differ from island to island, but all are based on ancient traditions that have guided and controlled native behavior for centuries. Temporal provisions in the codes are so intertwined with those having purely religious overtones that it is almost impossible to separate one from the other.

This thorough mixture stems from a deep-seated belief, held generally throughout Oceania, that an individual's life and deportment are influenced as much by supernatural forces and beings as they are by mundane rules and institutions. Accordingly, many anthropomorphic goblins and ancestral spirits are believed to reside in the community, where they take an active interest in the welfare of their kinsmen, punish malefactors by bringing them disease and other disasters, and reward those that are circumspect about observing customary norms by granting them popularity and prosperity. Masked impersonations of these unseen but very real beings are universally employed to impress members of the community, especially children and young people, with the spiritual power behind the codes and to intensify an awareness of their efficacy within the community at large.

In routine daily practice, however, enforcement of the codes is a function of the family, in both its nuclear and extended forms, or of the village and larger community councils of chiefs, elders, heads of households, and other important personages that form the basis of local government (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

When a violation affecting only the family occurs, the matter is brought before the assembled household for consideration and disposal. If the offense is serious or of interest to the community at large, it is placed before the village or larger community council. In both these forums, decisions are reached by general discussion rather than by a single individual pronouncing judgment. The meetings are lengthy; every conceivable aspect of the case is argued; the process cannot be hurried for any reason, and talk goes on until a unanimous decision is reached. After the discussion has run its course and a trend becomes discernible, the head of the household or the chief of the council, as appropriate, enumerates what appears to be a consensus. In his summary, the leader is careful not to crystallize sharp opposition or to slant the findings into agreement with his own opinion. If the summation, including the degree of punishment involved, is accurate, it is adopted unanimously, or discussion continues until everyone is satisfied that a true consensus has been reached.

Negative sanctions are seldom applied for violations of a customary code. Incarceration has little meaning in an island environment where movement is severely restricted anyway. Sometimes an offender may be required to perform certain public works, such as helping to build a new village meetinghouse, to construct a dam

supplying water for the community, or to repair a fishtrap that is communally owned and used. Most often, however, a tongue-lashing by the village chief, with its attendant shame and implication that the offender has displeased the spirits as well as his fellows, is sufficient and effective. Individuals so punished forfeit esteem and cooperation of the group, become unpopular, or even may be ostracized. Since life in island society is rather meaningless without the approbation of one's fellows and full participation in group activities, the benefits and rewards of conforming to tradition and customary law and the unpleasant results of breaking them promote a minimum of deviation. Crime and delinquency thus are kept at a minimum.

FORMAL CONTROLS AND PROCEDURES

The maintenance of public order and tranquillity in Oceania is vested in uniformed police forces that vary in size and organization according to the needs and capabilities of the local area in which they are established. There is no common standard for the structure of these forces throughout the islands; each, rather, is patterned after similar forces of the major power with which it is politically aligned. Thus the police of New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, and French Polynesia are characteristically French in organization and operation; those of other islands or groups except the New Hebrides are replicas of their counterparts in nations of the British Commonwealth. In the New Hebrides, which is an Anglo-French condominium, two separate and substantially equivalent police forces, one British and the other French, operate to protect their respective national interests. More often than not, police forces also administer and operate the penal institutions of their areas. In the independent countries, the security arrangements and system of justice have been shaped by historical association with external powers before independence.

The administration of justice is carried out by each island government through a system of graded courts located strategically throughout its territory. Usually, but not always, there are three levels of trial courts having jurisdiction over both civil and criminal matters. They include magistrates courts (or their equivalents), which deal with minor offenses against the penal code or local ordinances, and one or two levels of higher courts, which adjudicate more serious offenses and sometimes hear appeals from decisions of courts immediately below them. In addition, there is nearly always some form of appellate court to settle disputes arising from decisions of the trial courts (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

On many of the small, isolated islands in each group, where life is simple and the population is tiny, the establishment of a system of formal courts is not practicable. In such places, minor violations of

the penal code or of local ordinances, as distinct from customary law, are handled summarily by the local administrative officer, acting in the capacity of a policeman or a magistrate as the occasion demands. Persons guilty of more serious offenses warranting formal trial are taken to larger communities where proper facilities have been established.

REGIONAL SECURITY ESTABLISHMENTS

The Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea

The Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea are distinct political entities that are administered as a single unit by the Commonwealth of Australia through an appointed territorial administrator. The administrator has full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order and, by virtue of his position, is supreme commandant of the Royal Papua-New Guinea Constabulary, the primary police organization for the combined territories. Within the governmental structure the constabulary is organized as a separate department of the administrator's office rather than a subordinate division of some other department or agency. The administrator, however, has delegated his command authority to a commissioner of police, who is the actual commander of the force.

The Police Force

In addition to security duties common to police forces everywhere, the Royal Papua-New Guinea Constabulary is assigned a number of other associated missions. The force, for example, performs all firefighting duties, controls traffic, licenses motor vehicles, and regulates the sale and use of liquor, explosives, and firearms. The constabulary also contains a thirty-five-piece band that, together with appropriate police units, performs during parades and ceremonial functions.

Top control of the constabulary is exercised by the commissioner of police from Constabulary Headquarters at Port Moresby in Papua. This command post contains four major, functionally organized staff sections called the police, the training, the special, and the criminal investigation branches. The Police Branch coordinates and directs the daily activities of police stations and units throughout the territory. The Training Branch plans training programs for the force as a whole and operates the Central Police Training Center at Bomana near Port Moresby. The Special Branch is concerned with internal security and directs the activities of plainclothes policemen assigned to that type of duty. The Criminal Investigation Branch maintains the Office of Criminal Records and the Fingerprint Bureau. It also operates ballistics, photographic, and scientific aids sections that constitute an embryonic crime laboratory.

Operational Organization. The Royal Papua-New Guinea Constabulary is divided into three operating elements to carry out its basic police mission. The Regular Constabulary is the major element of full-time professional members, graded and ranked in quasi-military fashion into commissioners, superintendents, inspectors, noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and constables. They man police stations and carry out conventional duties, such as urban and rural patrols, basic criminal investigation, the apprehension of criminals, and such other duties as are necessary for the general maintenance of law and order. The Regular Constabulary is usually unarmed, but stocks of rifles are available for use in times of emergency.

The Field Constabulary is the element that patrols rural and remote interior areas where no Regular Constabulary stations have as yet been established. This force is armed with rifles when on patrol and operates under the general supervision of local administrative officers of the Department of District Administration. The size of the Field Constabulary is gradually diminishing as central authority over remote areas expands, new permanent police stations are set up, and field personnel are absorbed into the Regular Constabulary.

The Reserve Constabulary is a permanent corps of part-time volunteers appointed by the commissioner of police to aid police in areas where constabulary strength is austere or where additional strength may be required in an emergency. Members of the Reserve Constabulary have the same authority, organization, and responsibilities as the Regular Constabulary when called to duty.

Territorial Organization. Below headquarters level, the constabulary operates through four territorial commands, each headed by a senior police officer. The first division includes Papua and its associated islands; the second, third, and fourth divisions are in New Guinea and consist of separate commands for highland, coastal, and island areas of that territory. Each territorial division in turn is divided into districts and subdistricts, to which police contingents are assigned on the basis of population and the availability of forces. Many interior areas have not yet been brought under full governmental control so that police presence in them is minimal and sporadic. In such places, and until the constabulary develops in size and capability, police functions are discharged by members of the field staff of the Department of Local Government (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

Strength and Manpower. The constabulary had a total strength estimated to be a little over 3,700 in 1970. The commissioner and about 150 officers were experienced personnel seconded from Australian police forces; the rest of the officers and all the lower ranks were natives recruited locally. It was contemplated that ultimately the force would be manned completely by natives, and toward that end alien officers were being replaced as fast as natives could be trained to take their place.

Procurement of personnel is accomplished entirely by voluntary enlistment from among the population at large. Criteria for acceptance as a recruit are not high, requiring only that a man be intelligent, of good character, and in excellent health.

Training. Personnel for the ranks are inducted as probationary constables at the Police Training Depot of the Central Police Training Center at Bomana. They undergo six months of classroom instruction in police procedure, first aid, report writing, elementary law, physical hygiene, foot drill, rifle training, and traffic control. After completing this phase, they are assigned to regular police stations for two years' training on the job. If at the end of this period they are judged acceptable, the probationary period is satisfied, and they become full-fledged constables of the constabulary.

Individuals accepted as officer cadets are sent to the Police Training College at the Bomana center for a course of training that lasts four years. The first twelve months are devoted to theoretical studies and operational training covering all phases of police work. Successful cadets are then assigned to police stations for three years' additional on-the-job training. If the cadet's training during this period warrants it, he is graduated and commissioned a subinspector in the permanent establishment.

The Police Training College also offers refresher training to officers of the constabulary from time to time, but in 1970 it was not equipped or staffed to present advanced or specialized training. Many officers instead were sent to police schools in Australia, England, or other nations of the Commonwealth for this type of training.

Uniforms. The duty uniform worn by both officers and men of the constabulary is essentially the same except for headgear. It consists of a light-blue shirt, dark-blue shorts, a black belt, and black shoes. Officers wear visored caps; other ranks wear berets. Officers and sergeants also have a dress uniform consisting of a light-blue shirt, dark-blue slacks, a Sam Browne belt, a dark-blue tie, and a dark-blue cap.

Penal Institutions

The penal system in Papua and New Guinea is separate from the constabulary, although it also operates directly under the administrator in the executive branch of government. Operational control is vested in the Correctional Institutions Branch of the Department of Law, whose director, called the controller of corrective institutions, has his office at the main facility of the system located at Bomana. All jails, regardless of size or type, are called correctional institutions, a designation that reflects the basic concepts under which they operate. Every attempt is made to correct and reform inmates rather than to punish them for their misdeeds.

The institution at Bomana is used as a detention point for pris-

oners from all over the territory who are sentenced to terms exceeding one year. It is a modern facility and is well equipped to rehabilitate inmates through a balanced program of discipline, education, and vocational training and the performance of constructive work programs. Literacy training and instruction in primary academic subjects form an important part of its activities. The institution has a number of shops where inmates are encouraged to learn a trade and a penal farm where agriculture and animal husbandry are carried out on a large scale.

Similar but less extensive correctional institutions are located at all district headquarters to accommodate prisoners whose periods of confinement are not longer than one year. In addition, each urban area and each patrol post in rural areas has a lesser institution for short-term prisoners and for those awaiting trial. Inmates who are expected to remain in custody longer than thirty days are required to attend literacy classes conducted at each institution.

Nauru

Nauru is a tiny, independent island-state that has a total land area of only eight square miles and a population of slightly more than 6,000, including non-Nauruan laborers engaged in phosphate mining. The community is ruled by an elected council, one member of which is designated the director of police and given responsibility for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity.

Information on the organization and methods of operation of security forces is scant, but it is known that there is a police force of sixty constables directly subordinate to the director of police. Since the island is so small, its subdivision into police districts is considered unwarranted.

No figures on the incidence of crime were available in early 1970. There appeared to be little incentive to violate the law. Nauruans receive a royalty on every ton of phosphate produced on their island, which gives them a prosperity higher in material values than that of most areas of Oceania. Most offenses, therefore, are not criminal but consist of violations of local ordinances against drinking or disturbing the peace by brawling. For these offenders, the police maintain a compound in the southwest corner of the island that serves as a local jail.

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate

The Solomon Islands group, excluding the two northern islands of Buka and Bougainville but augmented by the Ontong Java atoll in the north, the Santa Cruz group in the east, and the islands of Rennell and Bellona in the south, form the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), administered by the high commissioner for the

western Pacific from headquarters at Honiara on Guadalcanal Island. The law of the land consists of the BSIP Constitution, local ordinances based on it, certain imperial statutes and orders in council, and the substance of English common law and rules of equity. It is enforced by the Solomon Islands Police Force under the command of an appointed chief of police. The administration of justice is carried out by the High Court of the Western Pacific and a graded system of magistrates and native courts (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Force

The Solomon Islands Police Force is a relatively small establishment containing a total of 333 officers and men. Its mission, in addition to the conventional maintenance of law and order among the BSIP's 213,770 inhabitants, includes immigration control, fire-fighting, and the administration of prisons. The force also is called upon frequently to participate in ceremonial functions and maintains a small band for that purpose. Despite the heavy burden placed on the force by these combined duties, there are no other kinds of police in the protectorate, although the Customs Authority employs a number of uniformed guards.

Operationally, the 10 officers, 7 inspectors, 275 NCO's and constables, and 41 prison wardens of the force are controlled centrally by the chief of police from headquarters at Honiara. Administratively, BSIP is divided into four police districts, which correspond to similar divisions of the political administration. Each police district is commanded by a senior inspector and is assigned operating forces in accordance with geographic and population needs. The Western District covers Choiseul Island and the Shortland and New Georgia island groups from its headquarters on Gizo Island in the New Georgia group. The Central District includes Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Bellona, Rennell, and the Russell and Florida island clusters. Its headquarters is contiguous to that of the overall force at Honiara. The Malaita District embraces Malaita Island, Sikaiana, and the Ontong Java atoll. Its headquarters is at Auki on Malaita. The Eastern District directs police activities on San Cristobal and Santa Cruz from a headquarters at Kirakira on San Cristobal.

Personnel, except for most officers who are assigned from British police forces, are recruited from local Solomon islanders to the greatest extent possible. Because qualified men are scarce, many in the lower ranks are obtained from the nearby Fiji Islands. As development of the BSIP progresses and as educational programs expand, it is anticipated that British and Fiji personnel will be replaced by Solomon islanders.

Training for all ranks is carried out by headquarters at Honiara through the Police Training School. Facilities at this institution

were quite limited in 1970, but it did conduct a few courses for a small number of students. Two courses in basic police activities were presented each year, as well as one designed to prepare constables and inspectors for promotion. In 1967 the school began a course in criminal investigation that has been repeated annually. There is no training for direct entry into officer ranks, and apparently none is contemplated in the near future. Advanced training is also lacking, but officers and men of the lower ranks requiring specialized training in fingerprinting, higher levels of police administration, and leadership techniques are regularly sent to appropriate schools abroad. Among foreign schools most frequently attended are the Police College at Bramshill and the Herndon Police Training School in England, the headquarters school of the Royal Papua-New Guinea Constabulary in Port Moresby, and the Nasese Police School near Suva in Fiji.

Members of the Solomon Islands Police Force are issued two uniforms, one for duty wear and the other for ceremonial dress occasions. The working uniform consists of a khaki shirt and shorts, a blue beret, and black sandals; the dress form has a white tunic, a blue *sulu* (short sarong), and black sandals. Both types are worn with a black belt superimposed on a red sash.

The Penal System

The chief of police is concurrently the superintendent of prisons and, as such, runs the protectorate's four major prisons and directs the activities of the forty-one wardens and keepers assigned to them. The Central Prison at Honiara, serving the Central Police District, is the largest and best equipped institution. It is used to detain prisoners guilty of serious crimes that are punishable by long terms of incarceration. Similar but smaller prisons, called district prisons, are established at the headquarters of the other police divisions. All operate under policies that attempt to rehabilitate violators rather than to punish them. Thus, all are equipped to provide vocational training that will enable inmates to gain useful employment after their release. The Central Prison also holds adult education classes in which English and arithmetic are mandatory subjects for all prisoners serving sentences over three months. The average daily population of all prisons together is just over 300, about two-thirds of whom are serving sentences of three months or less.

The Incidence of Crime

The incidence of crime is relatively low, although published figures indicate it has been gradually increasing since about 1965. This does not necessarily mean that the people of the protectorate are becoming more unruly; on the contrary, the increase is believed to be due mainly to improved police efficiency in uncovering viola-

tions and apprehending those responsible for them. The actual number of crimes requiring police attention in 1967, the last year for which published figures are available, totaled 1,306. Of this number: 761 involved offenses against the person; 186, against property; 67, against public morality; 38, against lawful authority; and the remainder, against other miscellaneous regulations and ordinances.

French Regional Territories

Territories of Oceania in which France has an interest are New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, French Polynesia, and the Anglo-French Condominium of New Hebrides. New Caledonia and French Polynesia are ruled by governors representing the metropolitan government of France who have full executive authority and responsibility for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity within their respective areas. The governor of New Caledonia, additionally and concurrently, is the French high commissioner for the western Pacific, a post that gives him similar responsibilities for Wallis and Futuna and for French interests in the New Hebrides Condominium.

Each governor is aided in the discharge of his missions by uniformed police forces that are organized and controlled as overseas elements of the National Gendarmerie or are raised locally to serve local authorities. The laws they enforce are the laws of France, including the national Penal Code, augmented by such ancillary regulations and ordinances pertaining exclusively to Oceania as are promulgated by local authorities.

The administration of justice follows standard French practice and procedures. It involves separate judicial departments in the governments of New Caledonia and French Polynesia and a body of qualified judges, magistrates, justices of the peace, and public prosecutors within a system of graded tribunals, some of which are especially adapted to handle native affairs (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Forces

The major police in French areas of Oceania, excluding New Hebrides, are members of the French National Gendarmerie. Because responsibility for New Hebrides is shared with the British, the police in that area are differently organized.

The gendarmerie is a quasi-military organization, strictly disciplined, highly mobile, and armed and equipped for security patrol and other police duties in nonurban areas. Its basic personnel, including all officers and NCOs and a large portion of the lower ranks, are recruited and trained in France before being deployed to Oce-

ania for duty. In New Caledonia or French Polynesia, however, vacancies in the unit may be filled by inducting native personnel.

Two groups, or divisions, of the gendarmerie are deployed in Oceania—one to New Caledonia and the other to French Polynesia. Neither the specific organization nor the strength of these units is a matter of public record but, if standard tables of organization applicable to the parent force in France are followed, the basic operating unit in each is the brigade. A brigade is a small element of from five to fourteen men, commanded by an officer or an NCO, and stationed in one of the police districts or subdistricts into which New Caledonia and French Polynesia are divided. Brigades are organized into differing forms for specialized duty, such as routine patrol, traffic control, criminal investigation, counterintelligence, riot control, or general guard and escort assignments. Standard practice is to assign twenty-five brigades to each department (administrative unit) of France and, since both New Caledonia and French Polynesia have that status, it may be assumed that each has at least that number on duty.

Two or more brigades, usually but not always of mixed types, are grouped into larger units called companies. These units are responsible for security operations in territories that vary in size from one to several police districts. All companies, in turn, are subordinate to a single commander and to Central Headquarters at Nouméa or Papeete as appropriate. The companies in each area make up the division assigned to that department.

In addition to the gendarmerie, the mayors of Nouméa and Papeete are authorized to raise local urban police forces organized along lines of the Sûreté Nationale in France. These forces are commanded by a chief of police, called the *préfet*, and contain sections that are conventional to municipal police forces everywhere, except for the added mission of firefighting. The *préfet*, senior officers, and inspectors of each force are trained and experienced officials recruited in France; most of the patrolmen, called *gardiens de la paix*, are natives that are recruited and trained locally.

The Incidence of Crime

The incidence of crime throughout French Oceania is not great enough to cause serious problems or concern. Murder and other crimes of violence are so rare that often not a single occurrence is reported over a year's time. Burglary and theft are confined mainly to urban areas and, even there, are not frequent. Most violations are simple misdemeanors arising out of offenses against local ordinances. Organized crime, as such, does not exist.

The New Hebrides Condominium

Responsibility for public security and the maintenance of law and order in the New Hebrides group is shared by the United Kingdom

and France. Operational authority is not necessarily joint, although both powers cooperate fully with each other, nor is it based on the assignment of specific territories or missions. It is determined, rather, by the involvement, or the degree of involvement, of each power's nationals in police or judicial matters. Matters involving only British or only French nationals, or either of these nationals with native personnel, are handled separately by institutions of the appropriate power concerned. In cases where nationals of both powers, with or without the participation of natives, are involved, jurisdictional competence differs slightly between the police and the judiciary. Police jurisdiction in such cases is awarded to the national authority that took original action in the matter or that has dominant interest in its outcome. Court jurisdiction may follow the same pattern, or it may be awarded to a joint court (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Forces

New Hebrides police forces consist of two separate national corps, one British and the other French. There is no joint police organization or control point so that, except for the administration of a common prison system, each national force operates independently under its own headquarters at Vila on Efate Island. A continuous liaison among personnel attached to these headquarters insures sound cooperative action when necessary. Both forces have identical missions of a conventional nature and are authorized the same basic strength to carry them out. Accordingly, organizational details of the British force are representative of the French as well.

British headquarters is a typical command and staff organization under an officer-in-charge who bears the title of commandant. The staff includes two superintendents of police, an inspector, several NCOs, and a number of unrated constables and administrative personnel. They plan, supervise, and direct operations of the entire national force, which has an authorized strength of seventy-nine members.

Below headquarters, the Condominium is divided into four operating territorial districts, whose headquarters are at Vila on Efate Island, Santo (Luganville) on Espiritu Santo Island, Lakatoro on Malekula Island, and the major settlement on Tana Island. The Vila district has responsibility for Efate Island and others in the south-central portion of the Condominium. It is assigned the largest force, consisting of an inspector as commander and about thirty NCOs and constables. The Santo district covers all the northern islands of the group and has the second largest assigned force. Its commander, an assistant superintendent of police, controls a force of nineteen NCOs and constables. The Lakatoro district includes all islands in the north-central portion of the territory. It is commanded by an NCO and has a force of one other NCO and six

constables. The Tana district operates in Tana and Aneityum islands with a force identical to that of the Lakatoro district.

Personnel of the force having the grade or rank of NCO and higher are all nonnatives. Men of the lower ranks are natives recruited locally and given minimal basic training at headquarters in Vila or, more commonly, are simply trained on the job. There are no facilities for advanced or specialist training, and all selected individuals are sent to police schools in England or Fiji.

Prisons

There are four prisons and one rehabilitation center in the Condominium, all of which are jointly manned and financially supported by the two governing powers. The prisons are located at Vila and at each police district headquarters. The prisons, though small, are well run and adequate. Convicted persons sent to them undergo various types of vocational training to fit them for useful occupations after their sentences have been completed. An unusual feature in their administration is the automatic remission of all imposed sentences by as much as one-third for good behavior. This reduction is awarded each inmate at the time of his admission and is revoked only if he fails to measure up to the standards of expected deportment. Few inmates are confined for long terms. Most serve sentences of a month or less for drunkenness. The average daily prison population for the Condominium as a whole is about seventy.

The rehabilitation center is a relatively new institution located at Pialulub. Prisoners who are especially well behaved and cooperative, including those sentenced to long terms for serious crimes, are sent here from other prisons to serve the final portions of their sentences under reduced disciplinary control. At the center they are permitted to have their families with them and, after a training period, work for wages in one of the enterprises run by the authorities. A mandatory savings program has been instituted, enabling them to build up funds for a new start in life after release.

Fiji

Fiji, preparing for independence in October 1970, was a British crown colony ruled by a British governor who had primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order throughout the territory. Much of the governor's authority, however, was delegated to the chief minister whom he appointed from among the elected members of the native Council of Ministers. This partial relinquishment of responsibility was undertaken to facilitate the imminent transition of Fiji from colonial status to that of an independent, self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth. Among the chief minister's specifically assigned duties were the administration

and control of the judicial system and its courts and of the Fiji Police Force (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The changeover to dominion status was not expected to alter any of these established institutions. The laws of England and local ordinances, already modified to meet conditions in the colony, were planned to continue in force as dominion entities. The administration of justice (including the number, types, and jurisdiction of courts) would be redesignated to indicate sovereign Fiji control but otherwise would remain unchanged (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). The Fiji Police Force, unaltered in organization or mission, would remain as a national, centrally controlled law enforcement agency.

The Police Force

The Fiji Police Force (FPF) has an authorized strength of 752 uniformed members in all ranks and some additional 70 civilian employees who perform various administrative duties. A supplementary force of a little over 600 special constables, paid on an hourly basis when on duty, acts as a police reserve to augment the regular forces when necessary. There are no local or private police forces apart from the regular establishment, except for a small contingent of uniformed guards at Nadi International Airport, near Suva in western Viti Levu, that has limited authority within that installation. The FPF, therefore, is a national state force having complete and exclusive enforcement authority in all urban and rural areas throughout the territory.

Under the supervision of the chief minister, the FPF is commanded by a commissioner of police from headquarters at Suva. This control post is organized as a typical command and staff facility containing the Office of the Commissioner and his Deputy, the Special Branch, the Criminal Investigation Division, the Immigration Branch, the Training Department and Police School, and a band. The Special Branch plans and supervises all police activities concerned with security matters; the Criminal Investigation Division investigates serious crimes that occur anywhere in the colony and maintains the Office of Criminal Records; the Immigration Branch issues passports and entry permits and monitors their use; the Training Department prepares training schedules and operates the Police School at Nasese (near Suva); the band plays at parades and ceremonial occasions.

The mission of the FPF involves all usual functions concerned with the enforcement of law and order. It also has the added responsibility of immigration control and the protection of fishermen in Fijian waters.

Below headquarters level, the police operate in four major police districts whose boundaries correspond to those of the political ad-

ministrative districts (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). These police districts are further subdivided into a variable number of provinces depending on the size of the population subsumed under each and the area of the district involved. Police elements assigned to the headquarters of each district are deployed down to the provinces where they man posts and stations located in their areas.

Police personnel are procured from two basic sources. The commissioner and most senior officers (inspectors) are usually trained and experienced officials seconded from British forces. Many in 1970, however, were natives promoted from the ranks. The bulk of NCOs and constables were native Fijians recruited from the population at large. Prerequisites for acceptance as a police recruit were that the applicant be between eighteen and twenty-seven years of age, be at least five feet seven inches tall, be physically fit, and have completed the standard class 8 schooling as a minimum. Men accepted as recruits are given six months' basic training at Nasese, from which they graduate as constables.

General training for the men of the FPF in all grades and ranks is also provided at the Nasese school. This training is based on schedules used in the United Kingdom and includes refresher and promotion courses as well as a special leadership course for men in the junior ranks. There was no locally offered training in advanced police or specialist subjects in 1970. Personnel requiring instruction in such subjects were sent to appropriate schools in England or Australia.

Because of the large numbers of Indians in the Fiji population, special effort was made to recruit members of this racial group for policy duty. In 1970 an estimated 260 men of all ranks were Indians.

Members of the FPF of different racial origins wear distinctive uniforms when on duty. Fijians wear blue shirts, white *sulus*, red cummerbunds, black belts, and sandals. They do not wear headgear of any kind. Indian constables wear blue caps fitted with a badge, blue shirts, blue slacks, and black shoes. Both racial groups carry truncheons but no firearms. When engaged in drill or rural patrol, both groups wear khaki uniforms, Fijians with shorts and Indians with slacks.

Prisons and the Incidence of Crime

Prisons in Fiji are not administered by the police but by a separate commissioner of prisons at Suva. This official controls activities at eight penal institutions, the major one of which is located at Suva. Three other prisons are located at population centers on Viti Levu Island, and one each is situated on Vanua Levu, Taveuni, and Rotuma islands. The eighth penal institution is a prison farm at Maboro, near Suva.

Operating policies at all prisons result in enlightened measures

aimed at rehabilitating offenders so that they may return to normal life as productive members of society. Recidivism, accordingly, is at a very low level. Prisoners are provided with facilities for some academic as well as much vocational training. Recreational programs and equipment are available, and inmates are encouraged to engage in competitive team games. The prison farm employs inmates to produce food for the prison system at the same time it offers them training in agriculture and animal husbandry.

Precise figures on the incidence and type of crime were scarce in 1970, but estimates may be drawn from published figures released on court activities for 1968. In that year the Supreme Court adjudicated twenty-nine cases, resulting in the conviction of twenty-six persons. Most crimes (thirteen) were for assault with intent to do bodily harm; seven were for murder; two were for indecent assault; and seven were for offenses against property.

Lesser offenses, heard in magistrates courts, totaled about 13,000 cases. Of this number, almost 12,000 resulted in convictions. Specific offenses were not listed, but the competence of such courts extended to minor offenses, such as drunkenness, simple theft, traffic violations, disturbing the peace, and other violations of local ordinances.

The Pitcairn Group

The Pitcairn group of four islands is British territory administered by the governor of Fiji. Local government is in the hands of the six-man Island Council, one of whom is designated a magistrate and charged with the preservation of law and order. The Island Council is empowered to enact local rules and regulations and to enforce their observance without reference to the Fiji government. Penalties for criminal violation of local laws and the penal code in force in Fiji are limited to those involving a sentence of no more than three months or a fine of £10 (1 British pound equals US\$2.40). Beyond these values jurisdiction is exercised by the Supreme Court of Fiji, and the accused is sent to Suva for disposition of his case.

Criminal activities in Pitcairn are rare and usually consist of no more than the use of abusive language, simple assaults, or trespassing. Offenders are taken into custody by the magistrate, who is authorized to conduct summary trial if the offense carries a penalty for conviction no greater than a fine of £2. If the sentence to be imposed is between £2 and £10, the offender is tried before an island court, consisting of the magistrate and two assessors. In an average year only about two violations of any type require official handling.

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC) is a British crown colony under the jurisdiction of the high commissioner for the

western Pacific at Honiara. The high commissioner is represented in the GEIC by a resident commissioner on Tarawa Island (Gilbert group) who is charged with supervising the activities and operations of the local government, including the administration of justice and the maintenance of public order and tranquillity. The GEIC's judicial system recognizes the supreme authority of the High Court of the Western Pacific at Honiara but operates locally through a number of graded courts located strategically throughout the colony (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Force

The major police force is the GEIC Constabulary, a centrally controlled and administered enforcement agency having authority and presence in all sections of the colony. In 1970 it had a total strength estimated to be about 126 members, graded and ranked under a chief police officer into a system of superintendents, inspectors, NCOs, and constables. This force included two female constables, based at Betio on Tarawa Island, who were charged with duties involving sex crimes and juvenile delinquency.

A second police organization, called the District Police, is employed to support the work of the regular constabulary in some areas. This force is a decentralized element of part-time local police that is established on every island having a separate administrative authority. It operates under the administrative officer of its area rather than the chief police officer of the constabulary. It has no set strength but is organized as necessary to meet the needs of the individual islands. The overall strength of the District Police rarely exceeds 150, and individual units range from a force of only one constable on the smallest island to as many as twenty-four on the largest.

Headquarters of the regular constabulary is located at Betio and consists of the chief police officer, his deputy, and a number of staff officers and men to coordinate and control police activities on a colonywide basis. Below headquarters level, the force operates through five territorial police districts serving Ocean Island and the Gilbert, Ellice, Phoenix, and Line island groups. Small detachments of police are deployed to each district, where they are assigned to fixed police stations at major settlements. The Ocean Island district has a single station; the Gilbert Islands district has three stations located at Betio, Bairiki, and Bikenibeu on Tarawa and fifteen on other islands of the district; minor police posts have been established at Funafuti in the Ellice group and at Washington, Christmas, and Fanning islands in the Line Islands group.

Officer personnel of the regular constabulary are largely experienced police officials assigned from Commonwealth forces outside the GEIC. Most constables and men of the lesser ranks are locally recruited inhabitants of the colony. Recruits receive basic training

at a school operated by the constabulary at Betio, predicated on schedules adapted from those of English police schools. There are no facilities or programs for advanced training, and all such instruction must be obtained at Fiji or in England.

Prisons and the Incidence of Crime

Until 1968 the colony operated a total of five prisons located at strategic centers of population throughout the area. In that year, however, all island prisons were closed, and activities were centered in the single Colony Prison on Tarawa Island. It is used to accommodate all prisoners sentenced to terms of two months or more; those given shorter terms are not confined but serve their sentences extramurally in their home areas.

Conditions for a prisoner are not onerous, as the quarters and diet are good and discipline is not harsh. Those serving sentences, either in confinement at the Colony Prison or extramurally elsewhere, are only required to work on public projects, such as roadmaking, seawall repair, maintenance of prison facilities, gardening, or fishing. For women prisoners this involves only light work and handicrafts.

Prisoners serving sentences of more than a month in duration may have their terms reduced by as much as one-third for good behavior. The resident commissioner may also at his discretion release a prisoner on probation. In general, there is no provision for aid to prisoners after their release, nor is such assistance necessary. Imprisonment carries no social stigma with it, and released offenders are accepted back into their home communities as though they had simply been on a voyage.

The incidence of reported crime in the colony has gradually increased since 1965, a phenomenon that is attributed to better police coverage and efficiency rather than to mounting disregard for law. Figures for 1968 indicate that there was a total of 2,404 violations that required police attention in the colony as a whole; 1,149 of these were statutory offenses, and 1,255 were violations of local regulations. Most statutory cases involved offenses against property (435), followed by offenses against the person (219). The greatest number of violations of local regulations were traffic offenses (501), followed closely by those involving the liquor ordinance (480).

Juvenile delinquency, in contrast to the incidence of crime in general, appears to be dropping. Only 33 juveniles were brought before the courts in 1968, compared to 157 in 1967. Also in 1968 a total of 186 offenders, none of whom were juveniles or women, were committed to the Colony Prison.

The Tokelau Island Group

Control authority over the three atolls of the Tokelau Island group, a New Zealand dependency, is exercised by the State Serv-

ices Commission of that nation. The commission, in turn, appoints the Tokelau Islands Public Service, investing it with responsibility for actual operations. The maintenance of law and order fall within the scope of these missions.

Apart from petty offenses, there is little crime in the group so that complicated control mechanisms are not required. There are no courts in the conventional meaning of the word and no jails, and the entire police force consists of seven Tokelauan officers. Three of the officers are stationed on Fakarua atoll, and two each on Alofi and Nukunono atolls.

Each island has a *faipule* (mayor) who administers all government activities in his area. He controls operations of the police and, when necessary, presides over a local court to dispense justice.

Life in the group is simple, regulated more by custom and traditional methods of community discipline than by legal codes and ordinances. When an offense requiring attention by the *faipule* does occur and the offender warrants punishment, he is tried summarily and sentenced to perform public labor in an amount commensurate with his offense. Since there are no jails, this duty is performed with no restraint on the individual's personal movements.

Western Samoa

Western Samoa operates under its own constitution, laws, and regulations. It administers them through a regular system of courts patterned after those of other British Commonwealth countries and enforces them by a national police force of about 170 officers and men (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

Western Samoan society is based on the *matai* (see Glossary) system, in which an individual's behavior is governed and controlled by ancient customs and tradition imposed and enforced by family heads and community councils. This basic control at the family level is extremely effective, significantly reducing the incidence of crime and keeping police intervention at a minimum. Generally speaking, therefore, Western Samoa is an orderly state in which major crimes are rare. Most offenses that require police attention consist of petty theft, assaults, disorderly conduct, traffic violations, trespassing, and unlicensed production, sale, and consumption of beer. These offenses are largely confined to urban areas where influence of the family has been weakened. In rural areas the *matai* system is stronger and keeps the incidence of crime at considerably lower levels.

Within the structure of government, the Western Samoa Police Force and the penal system are organized as the separate Department of Police and Prisons, directly subordinate to the prime minister. The police are commanded by a commissioner of police,

who exercises his authority over all operating elements without any intervening headquarters or territorial divisions. In 1970 the strength of the force totaled about 170 officers and men, divided into functional units for general patrol, traffic control, and criminal investigation duty. There is also a unit at headquarters in Apia that does fingerprinting and maintains an office of criminal records.

Elements of the police, as appropriate and required, are assigned to stations located on Upolu and Savii islands. There are three stations on Upolu and three on Savii, each of which is responsible for policing outlying islands in its immediate vicinity.

The prison service is headed by a police sergeant who controls a force of three corporals and sixteen wardens from headquarters in Apia. This force administers Samoa's two penal institutions—a conventional prison at Tafa'igata near Apia and a prison farm at Vaia'ata on Savii Island. These institutions contain facilities that offer vocational training to inmates and are operated with a minimum of imposed discipline. In an average year the prison population totals about 200, 75 percent of whom are held in the prison at Tafa'igata.

The Kingdom of Tonga

Tonga is a constitutional monarchy that gained its independence on June 4, 1970. It operates under its own constitution and body of laws promulgated by the representative Legislative Assembly. Responsibility for administering justice and for maintaining internal order is vested in the Department of Justice, which contains both the kingdom's system of courts and its police forces (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Force

The Tonga Police Force is a national agency that has exclusive jurisdiction throughout the kingdom, making the development of separate local or municipal police unnecessary. It is commanded by a commissioner of police and has an overall strength of 133 officers and men controlled from a central headquarters in the capital city of Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu Island. Below this command post, the force is deployed in three territorial districts that coincide with the political administrative divisions established for the Tongatapu, Haapai, and Vava'u island groups.

Most of the police forces are permanently stationed on Tongatapu Island, where the bulk of Tonga's population resides. Optimum protection of other areas is sometimes difficult, not only because the number of available police is limited but also because many islands are too small to warrant stationing sizable forces on them. In addition, some areas are so remote that communications

with them are irregular and sporadic. The island of Niuatoputapu, for example, is so far to the north that it is visited by a government vessel only once every two months. Accordingly, peace and order in much of the kingdom are maintained only through the authority of local chiefs and the stabilizing influence of ancient customs and traditions.

The mission of the regular police, in addition to the standard duties of law enforcement agencies, includes a number of other assigned tasks. Members of the force, for example, are responsible for monitoring sales in retail shops, issuing licenses to whalers and other types of fishermen, registering bicycles, and performing as truant officers for the school system. They also regulate all matters having to do with Tongan custom and tradition in support of local community chiefs.

Personnel for the force are recruited exclusively from among Tongan subjects who, as far as can be determined, are selected without reference to any particular educational qualifications. Successful applicants for duty undergo no formalized recruit training but are simply given lectures by police officials at headquarters for a period ranging from five to eight weeks. Upon completing this period of orientation, they are assigned directly to duty units. There are no police schools, and continued training is not extensively carried out. Duty personnel usually devote about one hour a week to foot and arms drill and from time to time are required to attend lectures on practical police work delivered by their superiors. In outer areas these lectures are provided by mobile teams sent out from headquarters. Occasionally, selected officers and men are sent abroad for specialized training in English police schools.

Tongan police on regular duty wear uniforms consisting of a khaki shirts and sarongs, a blue cummerbund fitted with a black belt, a navy-blue slouch hat, and black sandals. For dress occasions a white jacket is worn over the shirt, and the khaki sarong is replaced by one of white material. The force is unarmed, but batons are held in reserve and may be issued when required.

Prisons and the Incidence of Crime

Tonga's penal system consists of a main prison at Hu'atolitoli, near Nuku'alofa, and three lesser jails located at Haapai, Vava'u, and Niuatoputapu. Prisoners sentenced to terms of six months or more, regardless of their home island or where they committed their offenses, are incarcerated at the Hu'atolitoli institution. All sentences of more than one month may be remitted by as much as one-fourth for good behavior. This reduction is automatically granted at the time the prisoner enters the prison or jail and can be revoked only if he fails to live up to disciplinary standards.

Living conditions in all penal institutions are relatively good.

Food and quarters are sanitary and adequate; discipline is lightly applied, and security measures are neither strict nor burdensome. Prisoners are required to perform labor on public works, much of which involves work on copra plantations owned and operated by the government.

The incidence of crime is not significantly high. The police handle about 2,500 cases a year, most of which would be classed as misdemeanors in more advanced Western nations. The most common violations, in descending order of frequency, are: adultery or fornication, offenses against property, cruelty to animals, fighting, simple assault, theft, trespassing, and traffic violations.

The Island of Niue

The laws of Niue, a dependency of New Zealand, are based on those of England, except where they are inconsistent with the Niue Act of 1966 or where they do not apply to circumstances on the island. New Zealand statute law does not apply on Niue, but the governor general of New Zealand is empowered to make all regulations he thinks necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the area. The present policy of New Zealand is to award Niue as much autonomy as possible in legal matters and to replace New Zealand regulations with local ordinances wherever feasible.

There is no tribal system or hereditary chieftain group in Niuean society. The basic social unit, rather, is the biological family, whose head is responsible for the behavior of its members. Village matters, including the preservation of law and order, are discussed and controlled by a council of all married men in the community. Church activities provide the most important form of social control outside the family.

Formal control of the government is vested in a resident commissioner, appointed by the government of New Zealand. He is assisted by the four-man Executive Council, one of whose members is delegated power and authority over police matters and another over judicial affairs. The judicial system consists of three local courts, which exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction in the name of the Supreme Court of New Zealand (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Force

The Niue Police Force is a small organization headed by a chief officer of police, who is directly responsible to the Executive Council member charged with police matters. The chief administers a force of about twenty constables that, because the island is so small, is not organized on a territorial basis but operates throughout the territory as a whole. The chief officer of police and his subordi-

nates are all local Niueans, trained on the job by New Zealand police advisers.

Prisons and the Incidence of Crime

Niue has no formal jails or prisons, as prisoners customarily serve their sentences extramurally under minimal supervision. In unusual circumstances when confinement is necessary, offenders are evacuated to appropriate jails in New Zealand.

Serious crime on Niue is rare; the only murder on record, for example, occurred in 1963. Most offenses are petty and total less than 1,000 cases in an average year. During 1968, the last year for which firm figures are available, there were only 926 convictions, the majority (478) for minor traffic violations. The convictions in descending order of frequency, also included: assaults and affrays (55), liquor offenses (46), thefts (34), disorderly behavior (28), unlawful trespass and burglary (23 each), obscene language (20), and a variety of similar misdemeanors (219).

The Cook Islands

The Cook Islands group is a self-governing territory under the protection of New Zealand, whose seat of government is at Avarua on the island of Rarotonga. In addition to a New Zealand commissioner who acts as head of state, the government consists of the prime minister, a cabinet, the Legislative Assembly, and the House of Arikis (Maori chiefs). The House of Arikis deals with matters relating to native custom and tradition; the Legislative Assembly is the principal lawmaking body; the cabinet is the executive branch of government under which the administration of justice and the operation of police are carried out (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

The Police Force

Under the supervision of the prime minister, the minister of police is responsible for the maintenance of law and order. He is assisted in this mission by the chief of police, who controls and directs the police force from a centralized headquarters at Avarua. Although the Cook Islands cover an ocean area of about 850,000 square miles, the total permanent strength of the force is only sixty-two officers and constables. Most of these are located on Rarotonga, so that many outlying islands have no police at all or, at best, are served by only a single constable. In recent years this situation has been the subject of debate in the Legislative Assembly, where representatives from remote islands have demanded a more equitable distribution of forces.

In 1970 the chief of police was a New Zealander, but plans called

for his replacement by a qualified Cook islander in the near future. All other police were men recruited in the islands. Cook Islands police wear short-sleeved shirts and slacks of khaki cotton drill, a red tie, brown shoes, and a peaked cap of matching khaki color. They are not equipped with either firearms or batons, but each man is issued a pair of handcuffs.

Police training has presented some knotty problems, only partially solved by the adoption of a program in which selected members of the force were sent to New Zealand schools for instruction in basic police methods and procedures. Upon their return to Avarua, these men were assigned to conduct in-service training of their fellows at a temporary school established at police headquarters. Classes lasted about one week and gained additional impact by a practice of sending copies of all lectures to police in outer areas. Since 1968 this system has been extended and improved by the establishment of mobile training teams that tour the islands conducting similar classes wherever needed. In addition, some members of the force are brought to Rarotonga each year for refresher training.

Prisons and the Incidence of Crime

The traditional practice of controlling public behavior through social sanctions imposed by the family and local village councils reduces the necessity for formal penal institutions. The Cook Islands, in fact, maintain only one facility of this type, a plantation at Arorangi that produces commercial crops as well as much of the subsistence used in government agencies. Prisoners maintain the plantation's buildings and equipment and fulfill their sentences by working in its fields.

The incidence of crime in a typical year rarely exceeds 700 cases that require police attention. The numbers of violations handled in village councils is unknown because no record of them is kept. By far the greatest number of offenses involve the illegal production of beer and drunkenness. Next in frequency are traffic violations, such as driving with no lights, speeding, and reckless driving. Among criminal offenses, thefts, assaults (with or without intent to do bodily harm), and illegal trespassing or entry into homes are most common.

SECTION III. ECONOMIC

CHAPTER 11

CHARACTER AND STRUCTURE OF MAJOR ECONOMIES

The island groups of Oceania were shaped by political relationships into colonial-type economies in which the islands provided raw materials for an administratively related foreign power and, reciprocally, the latter supplied processed and manufactured goods (see ch. 13, Trade and Transportation). In 1970, although Western Samoa, Nauru, and Tonga had attained political independence and the trend in other groups was toward a loosening of the ties with outside powers, the pattern of economic dependence persisted. The goal of most powers concerned, however, was increased economic independence, an objective that was supported by the improvement of education and health services, which had been stressed since World War II.

Since World War II the island groups have been in a state of slow transition from traditional to modern economic and social organization. Development programs varying in character have been initiated for all groups (see ch. 14, Economic and Social Development Programs). There has been some growth of manufacturing industry, an increase in paid employment, a movement from rural to urban areas, and a great emphasis on health and education services (see ch. 3, Living Conditions).

Despite the steps that have been taken, however, the per capita economic gains have been somewhat diluted by the population growth and the rise in the price level attendant upon the growth of tourism and expansion or initiation of large-scale mining projects. Furthermore, islanders do not necessarily look upon change with unmitigated approval since some consider the maintenance of traditional cultural standards of importance as well as a rise in the material standard of living.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE ECONOMIES

The economies of the island groups have the same basic structure but differ in details. They are based on the primary industries, agriculture and mining, greatly buttressed since World War II by

tourism and related service industries. The agricultural sector is dualistic in character, based on subsistence production that provides a means of living and a cultural background for a large segment of the population and commercial agriculture made up of the production of a narrow range of commodities mostly for the export market.

Foreign trade is of much importance to all islands. Production and processing of commodities for export are a source of income and employment for the monetarized sector of the economy, and customs duties provide the major portion of local government revenues.

Manufacturing industries traditionally have not filled an important role in the economy. Because of the colonial function of foreign powers as suppliers of manufactured articles, the establishment of industries was not encouraged; furthermore, domestic demand was small because of the islanders' way of life and the smallness of populations. With increased exposure to Western societies during and after World War II, however, the desire for material things has grown and, with the growth of the monetary sector, domestic demand has increased somewhat. New activity in mining, with its attendant inflow of foreign personnel, and the encouragement of tourism have also increased the demand for modern goods and services.

At the beginning of the 1970s objectives of most of the island economies included some expansion of industrial production, particularly of commodities that could be import substitutes, and incentives were provided to encourage the establishment of plants. Island groups tended to lack raw materials and the technological expertise that are required for modern industrial production. Distance from foreign markets, which would engender high transportation costs, has precluded the development of export markets for manufactured goods that would make feasible large-scale production based on imported raw materials to supplement available domestic ones.

Foreign investment and management were instrumental in the initiation of production for export and the conduct of foreign trade. Although the place of foreign investment in the production of agricultural exports has declined somewhat, it remains essential in the exploitation of minerals except in the instance of phosphate mining on Nauru, and shipping continues to be carried on largely through foreign firms. Island administrations at the beginning of the 1970s recognized the need for additional foreign capital in developing economic resources.

Because of factors peculiar to social organization, individual private enterprise did not assume an important role among the indigenous population (see ch. 4, Social Systems). In 1970 the public

sector was involved to some extent in enterprise, but the goal of administrations was the encouragement of enterprise by the private sector, reserving the maintenance of the economic infrastructure as a function of the public sector.

FISCAL, BANKING, AND CURRENCY SYSTEMS

Public finance of the island groups is based on locally raised revenue and on grants and loans. The exact composition varies according to the political status of the group and the affiliation of dependencies.

The most important source of local revenue, common to all island groups, is customs duties. Personal income tax also is levied in all island groups except in the French Overseas Territories and the independent state of Nauru. Other sources of local income are licenses, fees, excise taxes, and income from various government enterprises. In most island groups a capital budget allocating investment expenditures in accord with a multiyear plan is presented along with the budget for annual recurrent expenditures.

Banking facilities tend to be incomplete and, except in Western Samoa, which has a domestically organized bank performing a comprehensive range of services, provided by institutions with non-indigenous headquarters.

Savings facilities, often operated by the postal system, are available in most island groups. In the larger ones branch banks of Commonwealth countries or of France provide commercial, savings, and other banking services for related island groups. In the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which are the most populous in the area, a branch of the Reserve Bank of Australia is established in Port Moresby and carries out central banking functions for the territorial administration and the Commonwealth government departments.

The currencies of Oceania are divided into a British sterling-related zone, a French zone, and the indigenous currencies of Western Samoa and Tonga (see table 5). The British, or sterling, zone includes the Australian and New Zealand currencies and the currency of Fiji, which is domestically issued. Australian currency is used in Papua and New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), Nauru, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC). New Zealand currency is used in the Cook Islands, the Tokelaus, and Niue.

The currency in use in the French Overseas Territories of New Caledonia, French Polynesia, and the Wallis and Futuna Islands is the French Central Pacific franc (franc Comptoir Français du Pacifique—FrCFP). The currency, which formerly was issued by the Bank of Indo-China (Banque de l'Indo-Chine), has been issued by a

Table 5. Currencies of Oceania and Exchange Rates with United States Dollar, 1969

Island Group	Currency	United States Dollar Equivalent
Western Samoa	tala	1 tala equals US\$1.39
Nauru	Australian dollar (A\$) .	A\$1 equals US\$1.12
Tonga	pa'anga (T\$)	T\$1 equals US\$1.12
Fiji	Fijian dollar (F\$)	F\$1 equals US\$1.20
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	Australian dollar (A\$) .	A\$1 equals US\$1.12
Gilbert and Ellice	— do —	Do.
New Caledonia	franc Comptoir Français du Pacifique (FrCFP)	FrCFP1 equals US\$0.0111
French Polynesia	— do —	Do.
Wallis and Futuna	— do —	Do.
New Hebrides	Australian dollar (A\$) and franc Comptoir Français du Pacifique (FrCFP)	A\$1 equals US\$1.12; FrCFP1 equals US\$0.0111
Papua and New Guinea	Australian dollar (A\$) .	A\$1 equals US\$1.12
Cook Islands	New Zealand dollar (NZ\$)	NZ\$1 equals US\$1.12
Niue and the Tokelau Islands	— do —	Do.

Source: Adapted from *Pacific Islands Yearbook and Who's Who* (Ed., Judy Tudor) (10th ed.), Sydney, 1968, pp. 6, 44.

government agency in France since 1967. In the United Kingdom-French Condominium of New Hebrides, both Australian currency and the FrCFP are used. The FrCFP is not at par with the franc of France.

By mid-1967 all British territories except Fiji had changed to the decimal currency system, following the precedent of Australia and New Zealand. Fiji, which had issued its own sterling-linked currency notes since 1914, changed to the decimal system on January 13, 1969. In 1967 Western Samoa issued its own currency for the first time; it also was based on the decimal system. The new banknote is known as a tala and is the equivalent of 100 sene, or cents. Tonga, which had formerly issued its own notes and used British and Australian coins, converted to the decimal system in 1967 and initiated its own system. The unit is known as the pa'anga and is the equivalent of 1 Australian dollar. It is divided into 100 seniti, or cents.

ROLE OF ADMINISTERING POWERS

The United Kingdom, France, Australia, and New Zealand, which hold administrative power over specific groups, have filled a significant role in island economies. In addition to their function as markets for raw materials and sources of consumer goods, through

financial and technological aid and the provision of services, they have been major factors in the development of the islands (see ch. 13, Trade and Transportation; ch. 14, Economic and Social Development Programs). Although the broad overall objectives are similar, the specific details of implementation are more or less determined by the type of existing political relationships and the expectation for the future (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

Financial assistance has largely consisted of grants that were used for financing public works and other projects that further the objectives of economic and social development plans and provide the basic framework for investment. Assistance has also been provided through the loan of consultative and administrative personnel to implement programs and provide essential services.

The trend in relationships between Great Britain and its Pacific dependencies has been toward less centralization and more local authority with the goal of the ultimate divestment of heavy economic as well as political responsibility. British financial assistance was expected to change after the independence of Fiji, scheduled for October 1970, from grants to interest-bearing loans. For the French Overseas Territories the control of financial assistance and planning is more closely held by French authority, and in mid-1970 there was no indication of future plans of independence for the territories.

Australia has worked with international organizations and territorial administrations in constructing long-range economic development programs for Papua and New Guinea and has provided financial and technological aid aimed at better use of resources and raising the income of the territories. Although the objective of Australia was self-government for the territories and an alleviation of the financial and political burden imposed by the United Nations Trusteeship, it was conceded that, even after the attainment of self-government, which was planned for 1972 or soon thereafter, Papua and New Guinea would require financial and technological aid during the transition period. New Zealand also has provided financial aid, technological and administrative personnel, and employment opportunities for the Cook Islands, Niue, and the Tokelau group, which are administratively related.

ECONOMIES OF INDEPENDENT STATES

The economy of Western Samoa, which was the first of the states in the area to achieve political independence (1962), is dependent upon agriculture and the export of a narrow range of agricultural products. The pattern of land tenure based on family ownership and control is not conducive to increased productivity or economic growth.

Before independence Western Samoa was held in trust by New Zealand, which furnished economic assistance and has continued to do so since independence. It was uncertain, however, where the state would obtain the funds necessary to carry out its development program.

The economy of Tonga, the newest state, which became an independent kingdom in June 1970, is also based on agriculture. Tonga is plagued by an unfavorable ratio of land to man, a system of landholding that inhibits efficient use, and a lack of employment opportunities. During the period of protection preceding independence, Great Britain provided funds for development programs. This assistance was expected to continue, at least for a short period.

In contrast to Western Samoa and Tonga, the economy of Nauru is unique in that it is based solely upon the exploitation of phosphate, which has a foreseeable exhaustion date. The government, through ownership of the mineral and management of the income therefrom, plays a central role in the economy.

CHAPTER 12

ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Island groups in Oceania differ widely in size, population, and resources (see table 1). Nevertheless, they share some common characteristics and common problems. The major issue confronting most of them is the use of existing and potential resources to achieve the greatest good for the island populations with least cultural dislocation.

The most commonly available resource of major importance is agricultural land, which produces subsistence food crops and a few highly specialized crops of commercial value. Coconuts are grown throughout the whole area. They are a source of native food and drink and fibers. Processed into copra, they provide a major source of public and private income. Although coconuts are more important among some groups than among others, their cultivation and processing is a common denominator of income throughout the islands.

The problem most commonly faced is that of an expanding population pressing on a relatively inelastic supply of agricultural land. Although the supply of land in the early 1970s was great enough so that actual hunger did not exist, and an ample supply of fish supplemented food crops in the diet, the continuing migration of islanders to Australia, New Zealand, and other areas bore witness to the narrowing of the per capita subsistence base.

Resources for industrialization also are limited. The incidence of minerals for industrial use is small, with the exception of nickel deposits that rank third in production among the areas of the world, and sizable deposits of phosphates that are partially exhausted. Mineral fuels are lacking as a source of power, and fresh water to generate electricity is available in only a few areas.

Human resources, the islanders themselves, are in a transition stage from a purely agricultural way of life to one that fits an industrial and urban pattern. They have been unaccustomed to working for wages, are lacking in industrial skills, and are reluctant to change their mode of living. An increasing number, however, are undergoing training to fit them for modern employment needs.

Except for three independent countries in the area, all of the island groups have a political relationship with a foreign power involving some degree of dependency. Therefore, their economic

policies are frequently influenced by decisions taken outside the area (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

The Australian government has been actively involved in guiding the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea toward the best and most productive use of economic resources, agricultural, industrial, and human. The major objectives are twofold: the protection of the interests of the indigenous peoples with their expanded participation in economic activities at increasingly

The Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries has encouraged the expansion and upgrading of agriculture and livestock production by research carried on at agricultural and pastoral stations that provide practical, individual help for planters. The government provides facilities for agricultural education at various levels and trains extension agents for fieldwork with farmers. It also plays a further role in agricultural developments through the determination and implementation of policies on land use and tenure.

The expansion of the manufacturing sector to increase the territorial gross product and provide employment for the growing labor force is a major goal of economic planning. Although manufacturing is conducted by private enterprise, the administration plays an active role in its expansion by providing incentives. In 1965 the Industrial Development Ordinance was passed providing incentives to pioneer industries. This ordinance provided low rates of taxation to firms, a five-year tax holiday to approved new industries, and duty-free entry of plant, equipment, and necessary raw materials. The government also assumed responsibility for the provision of social and economic infrastructural facilities and industrial sites for new plants.

In addition to conducting training programs based on studies of manpower use and future requirements, the government has played an important role in the development of human resources through legislation. Labor policy provides for the growth and legal recognition of industrial labor organizations, the encouragement of good industrial relations, an orderly determination of wages and terms of employment, the encouragement of technical and vocational training, and protection from and compensation for all occupational hazards. Legislation was passed at various times to implement these objectives, and in 1961 a Department of Labor was initiated in the territory to oversee all matters pertaining to labor.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the most important sector of the area's economy. It is the source of the major part of export income and provides employment and income for about half the labor force in paid employment and for almost all of the self-employed. Livestock, forestry and fisheries, and agriculture in the mid-1960s contributed about one-third of the real gross national product (GNP) of the monetized sector of the economy, which is estimated to be about 60 percent of the total.

A shortage of usable land is not a major problem. Because of various factors, including terrain difficulties, only 6.9 million acres, or about 6 percent of a total of 117.5 million acres, were being used in 1967 for improved pasture and cash cropping, subsistence gardens, sago (palm) cultivation, and forest lands owned and controlled by the administration. Of the unutilized 110.6 million acres, it was estimated that there were: 9.0 million acres of grasslands suitable for cattle pasture; 2.5 million acres of forest lands that could be exploited; and 2.5 million acres suitable for agricultural production. Thus, about 21 million acres, or 18 percent of the total, were potentially available for use.

In early 1970 detailed current information on land ownership was not available. In the mid-1960s, however, it was estimated that 97 percent of the total land was owned by the indigenous population, 1 percent was controlled by Europeans either as freehold or leasehold from the administration, and 2 percent was held by the administration. Native land, for the most part, was communally held.

Protection of the ownership of land by the indigenous peoples is an objective of the administration. As a measure to safeguard these rights, native-owned land may be alienated only to the administration, which has the right to acquire land by negotiation or by compulsory purchase when necessary. The administration may grant land on lease to private individuals, but since 1922 it has been contrary to accepted policy to grant freeholds. Existing freehold land, most of which was created during the German administration, may be purchased from its present owner (see ch. 1, Historical Setting).

There is considerable diversity of land tenure patterns that vary from clan to clan and from village to village. Although land is mostly owned communally, an individual may establish certain use rights that are inheritable according to different customs. Tenure patterns that arose in response to past circumstances when hunting and food gathering were the way of life are not suited to the development of commercial farming. If either foreign or indigenous investment is to be feasible, long-term or permanent use rights must be provided. Investors otherwise will not finance the planting of new crops, such as trees, with long-term maturation and delayed

return on investment. Larger scale production also involves the need for financing that is based upon land titles.

In 1963 a bill was passed to provide for registration of individual titles to land held by natives. The ordinance provided the machinery for the survey of other land and its registration as a freehold, which gave the owner the right to convey title to the land and enter into contracts concerning its use. Systems of land tenure, however, are deeply entrenched in past customs, and indigenous peoples have been slow to change. Provisions also were made for restoration of land records that were lost or destroyed in the evacuation of the administration in World War II.

Gardening is the main form of subsistence agriculture, and key crops are sweet potatoes, taro (an edible root), yams, cassava, bananas, peanuts, leafy vegetables, bean-type legumes, maize (corn), and sugarcane. Garden crops are supplemented by fruits and nuts gathered from both wild and planted trees. Crops differ somewhat according to geographic region. The sweet potato is the main subsistence crop of the cooler upland areas; bananas and taro are the key food crops of the lowland areas. Taro is cultivated in the rain forests.

Cultivation methods are similar in the various areas. Land rotation is widely practiced, for example. Land is cleared and planted to crops for a year or more, then allowed to revert to grass or other natural cover and lie fallow for a period to recover soil fertility. For the most part, the size of a garden plot is determined by the food needs of the family, only a small part of production being used for barter, although there was a tendency to cultivate dual-purpose crops, which were used for domestic consumption and for cash income.

The main commercial crops, which are grown for export, are coconuts, cocoa, coffee, and rubber (see ch. 13, Trade and Transportation). Coconuts are by far the most valuable crop, providing about 56 percent of the value of total production in 1965, which was A\$35.9 million (1 Australian dollar equals US\$1.12). Coconut plantations and cocoa plantations, which are located in the lowlands, particularly on the islands of New Britain, New Ireland, and Bougainville and near Madang on the mainland, were initiated during the German administration. Cocoa is planted alone and also under cover of coconut trees, a method conducive to successful growth and production. Coffee was also introduced during the German regime, but commercial production of consequence did not begin until about 1950. Two varieties of coffee are cultivated. Arabica is grown in the highlands and robusta in the lowlands. Most of the production is arabica, grown in the eastern and western highlands.

Pararubber plantations were initiated in Papua by Europeans in

1903. Growth of production was slow, however, and annual exports did not reach 1,000 metric tons until 1935. In the 1960s production remained very small, representing an insignificant part of the world total. The quality produced, however, was considered comparable to that produced by Malaysia and Indonesia, which were two of the major rubber-producing countries. All of the plantations were established near Port Moresby or in the three adjacent districts.

In the early 1950s peanuts were introduced in the highlands as a dual-purpose crop, for subsistence and income. They are produced both by indigenous growers and by Europeans, and the available surplus is exported to Australia. Tea and pyrethrum, both of which are highland crops, are considered to have commercial possibilities. To be profitable, tea cultivation requires large-scale plantings and high investment, which are obstacles to native production. Pyrethrum, an ingredient of insecticides, is valuable because it is suited to growth at high altitudes where possibilities for commercial agriculture are limited. Cultivation of the African oil palm in the lowlands was included in the plan for agricultural development from 1968 to 1972. Increased production of existing crops and introduction of new ones for diversification are partly dependent upon potential world demand for, and supply of, commodities and partly upon the availability of investment and an increase in research and extension services.

Before World War II the indigenous peoples contributed little to commercial farming except as laborers. After the war the situation changed significantly. In mid-1965 native farmers controlled about 50 percent of the total planted area of coconuts, cocoa, coffee, and rubber, which was 686,600 acres, and contributed about 30 percent of total production with a value of A\$85.9 million. Coffee provided the outstanding example of successful participation in commercial agriculture by the indigenous population, which in 1965 controlled about 55 percent of the acreage or 65,500 acres, planted to coffee and contributed about 54 percent of the value of production, which was A\$6.2 million. Native farmers were also important in the cultivation of coconuts. They controlled about 53 percent of the land under crop but contributed only 28 percent of the value of production.

Cocoa cultivation was largely in the hands of nonindigenous planters, who controlled almost 80 percent of the 147,100 planted acres and produced about 76 percent of the crop value, which was A\$7.2 million. Up to 1965 rubber remained almost entirely in the hands of European entrepreneurs. Native planters controlled slightly more than 1 percent of the acreage planted and produced about 0.4 percent of crop value. Indigenous peoples provided the labor for planting, tapping, and processing rubber, but management

and investment were provided by Europeans. With adequate technological training and access to suitable land with assured tenure, however, it was considered feasible that natives could produce rubber successfully on small holdings.

Estimates of the cattle population varied, ranging from 35,000 in 1965 to about 50,000 in 1968. It was estimated that about 80 percent were owned by native peoples. In 1968 there were about 400 native small holdings raising cattle. The first small holding was established in 1960. Cattle were imported at the end of the nineteenth century, and the number was estimated at 20,000 head at the beginning of World War II. During the war, however, cattle were slaughtered for food; only a few animals were left, and herds had to be built up again. Expansion of livestock raising was an integral part of the agricultural development program for the period 1968 to 1972. The objectives of expansion were the provision of needed additional protein for domestic consumption and the development of cash income. The plan envisaged increased participation by indigenous farmers and made provision for necessary training and financing.

Most cattle are beef type. In the lowlands Brahman, Santa Gertrudis, Africander, and Droughtmaster breeds, mixed with Zebu, prevailed. In the highlands temperate-climate breeds, such as Shorthorns and Aberdeen-Angus, predominated. Dairy-cattle farming was on a small scale. Jerseys were used in the lowlands, and Illawarra Shorthorns in the highlands.

The raising of pigs is ubiquitous among the native population. Pigs are small in size and poor in quality; they are slaughtered mainly for native celebrations and do not add importantly to the protein available. Although the number is not expected to increase significantly because of the lack of domestically grown grain for food, the government is making an effort to upgrade the quality of the existing pig population.

Small flocks of sheep are maintained by nonnative farmers and at government stations, but sheep raising is not extensive and not included in the agricultural development program. Poultry is kept by both indigenous and nonindigenous farmers. European farmers have been more careful than natives about the quality and care of flocks, but extension workers are making an effort to teach better methods to native farmers. One obstacle to extensive growth of the poultry industry is the need to import feed, which adds to the cost of production.

At the beginning of the 1970s fisheries were not of great importance either as a source of dietary supplement for the population or for cash income, although a wide variety of fish, including shellfish and freshwater fish, existed. The farmers of the agricultural devel-

opment program, however, considered that the prospects for improving both aspects of the industry were good.

Commercial fishing is largely concentrated along the coast of Papua where it is carried on by natives with a small fleet of motorized canoes. Expansion of the industry is hampered by the lack of good transportation from ports to cities and inland territory and by inadequate refrigeration and processing facilities, which confines the use of fish close to its source whether it is coastal or near fresh water. Any improvement in facilities would be planned to substitute domestic fish for imported canned fish to some extent.

About 75 percent of the land areas of Papua and New Guinea and the major adjacent islands are covered by forests. Because of the lack of roads to the interior and the character of the terrain, however, only a small part of timber resources were under exploitation at the end of the 1960s.

In 1962 a five-year plan for forestry development was initiated. The main objectives were the institution of a reforestation program supported by nurseries producing seedlings, the establishment of forest reserves, and an orderly but substantial increase in forest exploitation.

Various hardwoods were harvested for furniture and for general use. The main areas of timber cutting in 1967 were the Bulolo Valley in New Britain, the Gulf of Papua district and the area around Port Moresby. Plans were made to open new districts, and emphasis was placed upon the desirability of attracting foreign lumber companies with adequate capital and technical knowledge.

Industry

At the end of the 1960s the contribution of the mining and quarrying industry to the economic resources of Papua and New Guinea was not significant, and prospects for the future were uncertain. In 1966 the value of mineral production represented only about 0.3 percent of the territorial gross national product. Increased exploration and exploitation of minerals, however, was an objective of the program for economic development, and in 1967 and 1968 an increased number of prospecting permits were issued, based on new geological investigations. The new aerial methods used in these surveys were able to overcome to some extent the handicaps presented by dense forests and mountain terrain.

Gold was discovered in both Papua and New Guinea before World War II, and production was carried on between World War I and World War II. Silver also was recovered as an accompaniment to gold mining. Production of the Papuan fields declined early, and by 1967 the major field under exploitation was in the district of Morabe in New Guinea. Gold production declined throughout most

of the 1950s and 1960s, and at the beginning of the 1970s the hope of the government lay in the development of other mineral resources important in an industrial world. Even in 1967, however, small-scale gold mining was an important source of cash income for indigenous farmers.

Copper, iron, lead, zinc, nickel, chromium, manganese ore, and low-grade coal deposits were found at various times. Their location and supply, however, did not warrant exploitation at the time of discovery. In the late 1960s increased interest in mineral resources was displayed by a number of international mining companies. The most promising results were in the field of copper. International companies, including Kennecott Exploration Company, American Smelting and Refining Company, and U.S. Metals Refining Company (all United States-based firms), Anaconda Australia, Inc., and Conzinc Riotinto Exploration Company of Australia, conducted a search for copper on the mainland and on the islands of New Britain, New Ireland, and Bougainville. Conzinc Riotinto Exploration Company discovered extensive, low-grade copper deposits on Bougainville, and in 1967 a company was formed to undertake the mining venture that was in operation by 1969. The ore reserve was estimated at 234 million metric tons, averaging 0.63 percent copper content. Exploration for nickel was carried on by the International Nickel group in 1968. Although deposits were found, preliminary investigation did not indicate the yield to be sufficient to warrant immediate exploitation. Quarrying of gravel and clay was increased to fill the needs of the growing construction industry, and search for limestone for industrial needs was carried on.

Exploration for petroleum in western Papua, where prospects of discovery seemed favorable, began in 1912. Despite continued search up to 1970, no oil deposits of exploitable character had been found. In 1967, nevertheless, sixteen companies representing foreign capital were engaged in petroleum exploration.

In the process of drilling for petroleum in 1958, four gas wells were discovered in the foothills near the Gulf of Papua. Offshore drilling also produced gas in 1968, but the discoveries remained unexploited because of the problems of piping the supply to centers of demand. Possibilities of liquifying gas for shipment abroad were under consideration, dependent on whether the resources proved large enough.

Under the mining and petroleum laws of the territory, ownership of minerals and petroleum resides with the administration. Royalties are paid to the administration by operators at varying rates established by law. Owners are compensated for damage incurred when prospecting takes place on private land and, in the event of exploitation, receive 5 percent of the royalties paid to the administration.

Domestic resources provided the base for secondary industries, which, until 1950, consisted almost entirely of the production of copra from native-grown coconuts and the curing of rubber for export. Manufacturing for export expanded in scope and diversity and in 1967 included plants to produce plywood from native pine, to produce coconut oil from copra, to extract passion fruit pulp and juice, to extract pyrethrum, and to process coffee and tea.

Manufacturing expanded to serve some needs of the home market, which was growing in size, diversity, and sophistication. In 1967, among the enterprises that had been established to supply both the indigenous and nonindigenous population were those producing cigarettes, twist tobacco, wire products, building materials, concrete products, oil drums, paint, assembled electric appliances, boats, beer, and furniture. Imported as well as domestic raw materials were used.

From 1963 to 1967 the average annual growth in manufacturing output was 19.6 percent. The number of factories had increased about one-fourth, and employment about one-half. More than 90 percent of the employees were natives. Almost all ownership and management was in the hands of nonindigenous peoples with participation by local people only in sawmilling, furniture making, and cottage industries. Indigenous workers, however, were being trained for management positions by both private employers and government agencies.

Factories, for the most part, were small, employing 20 workers or less. In 1966 only 43 plants employed 50 or more persons, and of those, 15 employed a work force of more than 100. Port Moresby was the major industrial center. Lae, on the southwest coast of New Guinea, and Rabaul, on New Britain, were also manufacturing centers.

The construction industry plays an important role in an economy that is expanding industrial plants and business facilities, upgrading existing housing facilities and building new ones, and carrying on a program of public works. The value of new buildings increased from A\$9.5 million in the 1961-62 period of A\$29.9 million in the 1966-67 period, an annual average increase of 26 percent. In addition to dwellings, construction projects included hotels, hostels, shops, offices, and factories, as well as educational, religious, health, and recreational buildings. The share of construction undertaken by the private sector increased from 20 percent of total value in 1962 to 36 percent in 1967. The importance of dwellings also increased from 44 percent of total value to 52 percent within the same period of time.

Construction in 1967 was largely carried on by a few large firms located in Port Moresby and other coastal towns and by about sixty foreign contractors. There was little participation in management

and investment by native entrepreneurs, and the number of indigenous subcontractors had declined from thirty-eight in 1962 to four in 1967. The labor force, however, was almost entirely made up of native workers. The number employed more than quadrupled from 1962 to 1967. To cut the cost of production, save on foreign exchange for imports, and expand local industry, contractors were encouraged to use domestic building products, and research was conducted concerning the development of new and improved local resources for building.

Electric power to support industrial production, commercial enterprises, and domestic use consisted of stations serving individual towns. The Electricity Commission, which was created by a territory ordinance in 1961, owned and operated installations at Port Moresby, Samuray, Lae, Madang, Goroka, Wewak, Kavieng, Rabaul, and Kokopo.

Expanding electric power capacity to meet public and private demands was complicated by the lack of local fuels, except for natural gas in the gulf district, and by the character of the land and distance between centers of demand. The territories, however, possess significant potential hydroelectric resources, which had been under investigation by the Commonwealth Department of Works during the 1960s.

The Labor Force

Classified by the means of livelihood, the population is divided into three sectors: subsistence workers, who derive their entire support directly from subsistence farming; a transitional class, which consists of those who derive their living mostly from subsistence farming but also earn some cash income; and those in the monetary sector who depend almost entirely on cash income. As estimated by the 1966 census, 44 percent (940,000) of the native population belonged to the subsistence sector, 37 percent (790,000) to the transitional sector, and only 19 percent (420,000) to the monetary sector, or cash economy.

In mid-1966 about 57 percent of those employed in the monetary sector were employed in agriculture, livestock, forestry, and fisheries. Other major employers of labor, by industry classification, were community and business services, the building and construction industries, public authorities and defense, commerce personal services, and manufacturing. Most of the positions requiring trained technicians, artisans, and clerical workers with high school training, as well as semiskilled and unskilled jobs, were filled by the indigenous work force. Of the higher level posts, including professional and semiprofessional positions, top and middle management and high-level technical positions, 72 percent, or about 6,900, were filled by the nonindigenous work force. A major objective of the

government was an increase, through training and education, in the participation of the native population in high-level occupations.

Based upon the expectations of an expanding economy, it was estimated that at least 95,000 new employment opportunities would be available from 1968 to 1973. Job requirements were expected to expand at all levels, in forestry and livestock activities, the building and construction industries, manufacturing, mining, commerce, and transport.

Considering the rate of increase and the age composition of the population, no difficulty was anticipated in providing native manpower for less skilled jobs. The supply of workers at subprofessional levels was also considered reasonably adequate. Training programs, including apprenticeship training, however, were conducted to increase the supply of qualified labor at middle and subprofessional levels. The survey of manpower supply and demand for 1968 to 1973 indicated that, during the period, it would continue to be necessary to rely on overseas manpower to some extent, particularly to fill positions at the highest level.

FIJI

Through numerous departments and agencies that provide regulation and services, the government has taken an active role concerning the use of resources. The major objective is the creation of channels for an environment in which the equitable and constructive development of resources of all kinds will be made possible.

In 1965 the government took the first of two steps to achieve a long-range plan for the use of resources. At that time the Natural Resources Council was organized to coordinate the work and programs of all authorities involved in the use of natural resources. The council consists of a chairman, who is the minister of natural resources in the Legislative Council, a secretary, the manager of the Native Land Trust Board, the manager of the Fiji Development Company (a governmental agency), and eight other members.

In 1967 a second step was taken to provide coordinated, constructive long-range resource planning when the Manpower Resources Council was initiated. The council is presided over by the chairman of the Public Service Commission; it has eleven members, mostly drawn from the private sector, and its own administrative staff.

The council is a nonstatutory agency that acts in an advisory capacity to the chief minister of the Legislative Council. Its main functions are the matching of individuals and jobs to make the best use of available manpower and to assure a trained labor force for the future through cooperation with educational and training facilities. It also functions as a liaison between government and the private sector in employment matters.

In addition, the government encourages the establishment of new industrial firms through incentives in the form of tax concessions and free entry of necessary imported industrial equipment and materials. The Ministry of Commerce Industry and Labor also provides services and information to assist industrial firms.

Agriculture

A major objective of public policy since the acquisition of the islands by Great Britain has been the protection of the land rights of the Fijians. Consequently, no land has been alienated since 1875, except for the period from 1905 to 1908. In 1966 title to about 83 percent of all land was held by the indigenous population on a communal basis. Title to about 10 percent of the land area was held on a freehold basis by various owners, including Europeans, Indians, Chinese, individual Fijians, Banabans, Ellice Islanders, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, and others. The remainder was crown land that was held as freehold or land that had been unclaimed at the time of cession or that had reverted to the crown because the owning clan had died out.

The Department of Lands, Mines and Surveys administers lands. Crown freehold lands may be sold only under special circumstances, and the sale requires the approval of the secretary of state; they may, however, be leased, and leases are arranged by the department. Other freehold land may be purchased, transferred, or leased by private agreement.

Since 1945 the Native Land Trust Board has had the responsibility of controlling all native land and administering it on behalf of the indigenous peoples. The board has the duty of protecting native rights by reserving sufficient land for present and future needs, providing land for settlement, and assuring continuity of policy and security of tenure. Reserved land may not be leased to anyone but indigenous residents. The objectives of the trust have been strictly construed, and the conditions of land tenure have posed problems for the development of land to serve the best needs of agriculture, industry, and services.

In 1968 about 30 percent of the land was classified as being suited to permanent agriculture, and of this, only 20 percent was considered prime land suited to crop production with no improvement except the use of fertilizers. About 23 percent was classified as suited to the production of certain crops with major improvement such as massive doses of fertilizer or drainage improvement. This class of land was also considered suited to pastoral farming, orchard crops, or forest preserves under certain conditions. The remainder was considered unsuited to crop cultivation but was useful for forests and protection of water resources.

Agricultural production is composed of a wide variety of crops grown for domestic consumption and those grown for export either

in their original state or processed. The latter has been an important source of cash income for many sectors of the economy. Crops grown for local consumption include rice, beans, peas, citrus fruits, root crops, and vegetables. Market gardening is largely confined to the vicinity of urban areas because of the problems of long-distance transportation and food preservation. Surplus production of citrus fruits and vegetables is exported to nearby markets. In the mid-1960s the islands were self-sufficient in the production of root crops, which were composed of taro, tapioca, potatoes, and yams, but not in all food crops. Rice, peas, and beans were imported.

The major crops contributing to export earnings as well as to domestic revenue are sugarcane, coconuts, and bananas. Both sugarcane and coconuts are processed domestically and provide employment and income for the industrial labor force as well as for farmers.

The cultivation of sugarcane as a commercial crop was initiated in 1870 soon after the collapse of the cotton-growing industry that had burgeoned during the period of the American Civil War. With the establishment of a sugar mill by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company of Australia in 1882, the industry became more firmly entrenched, and by the World War II period it had become a mainstay of the economy. Sugarcane was first grown commercially near Suva on Viti Levu, and the first mill was established on the Rewa River close by.

Cane was cultivated on large European-owned estates, and the labor force was mainly made up of indentured Indian immigrants. After the indentured labor system was terminated in 1916, the large estates were broken up, and sugarcane was grown on small farms. In 1967 about 159,000 acres were devoted to sugarcane cultivation, although not all acreage was under crop at one time. About 20,000 workers were directly employed by the sugar industry. Of the 14,000 farmers growing sugarcane, about 35 percent were tenants of the mills, and most of the remainder leased land from the Native Land Trust Board or from the crown, although a few had been able to buy freehold land. Holdings averaged about ten acres each, but some farmers had more than one holding. Sugarcane growing was confined to the western and northwestern areas of Viti Levu and the Labasa area of Vanua Levu.

As an outgrowth of a study of the sugar industry made in response to dissension among sugarcane farmers, mill workers, and owners, the South Pacific Sugar Mills Ltd., a local subsidiary of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, was organized in 1962. The major objective of the change was the increase in domestic control of the industry. Ownership shares were made available to island residents, but there was a very limited response to the stock offer. In 1967 the company operated four mills producing raw sugar.

The Sugar Industry Board and Sugar Advisory Council were

organized soon after 1961 to control and administer the sugar industry. Before the lapse of the International Sugar Agreement in 1961, Fiji had been restricted to production of about 200,000 metric tons of raw sugar annually. After the breakdown of the agreement, production was unregulated for several years. In October 1968, however, a new International Sugar Agreement was concluded whereby the annual production of Fiji was fixed at 336,000 metric tons of raw sugar.

Coconuts provide the second most valuable commercial crop. In 1966 it was estimated that 185,000 acres were planted with coconuts. In contrast to sugarcane, coconuts are produced on plantations, mostly restricted to the wet sides of Vanua Levu, Taveuni, and the Lau islands, because other areas have been infested with destructive moths. Plantations are owned by Europeans, part-Europeans, Indians, and some Fijians. Some have been owned by one family for a long period of time and are in need of replanting because the trees have passed their prime bearing age. In 1963 a coconut subsidy scheme was introduced to encourage the replanting of trees and the clearing and better maintenance of groves.

The processing of coconuts into copra and coconut oil were early industries. Copra had become the second most valuable export by the mid-1960s. The processing of coconut oil, which did not achieve early importance because of the cost of production, increased in volume and value after a large-scale crushing plant was established in 1953. Both copra and coconut oil were exported. Other byproducts sold commercially were coconut meal and oilseed cake. Coconuts also have great domestic value in addition to their monetary significance. They serve as timber and thatch in the construction of native houses, provide food and drink, and supply the material for many handicrafts.

Since 1965 the Coconut Industries Board and the Coconut Advisory Council have presided over the industry. The board is not a marketing organization but sets quality standards of production and licenses buyers and processors.

Bananas, which are the third most important cash crop, have been cultivated chiefly by the native population as village enterprises. In 1963, however, a land settlement program was undertaken whereby 100 families of all races were established on 10-acre plots for banana cultivation. Most bananas are grown on the tributaries of the Rewa River in southeastern Viti Levu, and in 1966, it was estimated that about 5,000 acres were under cultivation.

Banana production suffers from the crop's susceptibility to disease and to damage from strong winds. As an export also, bananas have faced adverse conditions in the development of a nearby market. At greater distances they must compete for entry into markets that traditionally had been held by Latin American

countries. The Banana Marketing Board was established in 1960 but by 1967, because of continued disorganization of the industry, it had been made the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries.

Other crops produced commercially on a small scale are pineapples, green ginger, passion fruit, cocoa, and tobacco. Pineapples and passion fruit are processed for export.

Both beef and dairy cattle have thrived in the area, and in 1966, according to a livestock census, there were on the islands about 160,000 cattle of all kinds. The Department of Agriculture has been active in experimenting in the breeding of both beef and dairy cattle and has crossed Santa Gertrudis cattle with Herefords and Friesians with good results. Friesians are of particular importance for dairying. Dairy firms pasteurize milk and produce butter, and the islands are considered capable of being self-supporting in dairy products.

Pigs, goats, and poultry are raised in conjunction with other products. Goats and pigs are slaughtered in registered slaughter houses, and two firms prepare chickens for the market. Sheep farming has been tried but without success.

Marine products are an important source of protein for the population. Most operations are small-scale individual enterprises supplying fish to municipal markets in Suva and other major ports. In 1964 a new company, the Pacific Fishing Company, was organized for the purpose of pursuing tuna fishing and processing on a large scale. The firm, which employed Japanese fishing boats under contract, established freezing works at Levuka and, in 1966, exported frozen tuna to Japan and the United States. In 1968 twenty-seven vessels were engaged in tuna fishing, and the company was experimenting with canning for the local market.

The Department of Forests is responsible for the management and conservation of forests, which are a valuable resource. Both hardwoods and softwoods are produced but, traditionally, timber resources had not been exploited efficiently, largely because of the custom of granting only one-year leases that offered no opportunity for effective long-range management and reforestation programs. In the early 1960s the policy of forestry management changed. Long-term concessions, which were in operation in 1967, were granted to six firms, and three others were under consideration at that time. A survey of timber resources was underway, and the Department of Agriculture was conducting an active reforestation program. Imports of timber in 1966 were only about half of the 1964 amount, and exports had almost doubled. Royalties to owners of the land and fees to the government were paid on all timber cut, according to the class of timber.

About fifty sawmills were in operation in 1967. Many were small

and primitive in operation. Lumber was produced for domestic use, including construction of packing cases for transoceanic shipments. It was considered that the quality and quantity of resources were adequate to fill most domestic needs, including the production of furniture.

Industry

Mineral resources exist in the Fiji Islands, but their exact extent is not known; the mining industry had not been well developed by the early 1970s. In 1968 the government was considering a comprehensive airborne survey to determine the presence of minerals. Negotiations for the survey were being carried on with a Canadian firm, but the outcome had not been announced at the beginning of 1970.

Gold, which was the third most valuable export in 1968, had been mined since the early 1930s when three rich gold mines, the Emperor, the Loloma, and the Dolphin, went into production in the Tavua area on the north side of Viti Levu. By 1968 the Loloma and Dolphin mines had closed, and mining was confined to the Emperor mine at Vatukoula. Gold mining employed 1,500 islanders and was important as a source of employment as well as a source of foreign exchange.

Small amounts of industrial minerals have been produced. They have been exported, however, and domestic demands for industrial production have been filled by imports of metals and manufactures. Copper was produced by a Japanese firm, the Banno Mining Company, at the mine on Vanua Levu. About 3,600 metric tons were exported to Japan during 1968. The reserve, however, was found to be limited, and new prospecting was undertaken for additional sources. Manganese was produced in western Viti Levu and exported to Japan. The feasibility of exploring bauxite resources and of obtaining iron from sands near the Sigatoka River on Viti Levu was under consideration, but no operations had been established by 1968. All mineral fuels were imported, and no exploration was being conducted in that field.

The ownership of all minerals and control of the industry are vested in the British crown. Royalties are payable on all minerals exported from the islands.

The most sizable manufacturing operations are those based on the processing of agricultural commodities for export. In addition, enterprises have been initiated producing a wide range of commodities for domestic use. For the most part, these enterprises are small, and do not employ a large labor force. Since no basic metals industry had been established by 1969, manufacturing in large part, was dependent on imports for raw and semifinished materials.

Among the commodities manufactured on a small scale in 1968

were: bakery goods; fabricated metal products, made from aluminum and steel; construction materials, including concrete blocks and ready-mixed cement; furniture and plywood; clothing, jewelry, and cosmetics; plastic articles; paper products; and a great variety of food products. Many industries also had been organized to provide repair and personal services.

Because of the growth of population, coupled with the growth of industrial production and the increase in services provided by the public and private sectors, construction was active in the 1960s. The provisions of low-cost housing had been a major construction project for some time. In 1957 the Housing Authority was organized, and in 1958 it began the construction of housing for workers in Suva and Lautoka. The first project of twenty-eight concrete-block cottages in Suva was initiated in April 1959, and a subdivision in Lautoka was begun at the end of the year. Subsequent developments included single-family houses, duplex dwellings, and apartments and were open to all racial groups. They were reserved for families with limited incomes. Private firms also provided housing for employees.

Among other building projects from 1959 to 1968 were the construction of office buildings, government buildings (including schools, medical centers, and hospitals), and judicial, police, and prison facilities. Construction projects also included bridges and roads to serve rural areas. A growing volume of tourists was responsible for the building of new hotels and the extension of existing ones in urban centers.

Electric power to supply industrial and commercial enterprises and domestic users was provided by a number of different sources, both public and private. In 1966 the Fiji Electricity Authority was organized to assume the eventual responsibility for generating and distributing electric power throughout the islands. In 1968 the electricity authority supplied power in Lautoka, Sigatoka, Levuka, Labasa, and Nadi airport. Power in Suva was supplied by the city council, which also supplied power to Nausori. The sugar mills generated their own power, as did some hotels not in urban areas.

All power was generated by diesel-operated plants. The provision of power was relatively costly because of lack of domestic fuel and because the terrain and number of islands limited the possibility of mass distribution.

The Labor Force

The composition of the labor force is mixed, including indigenous persons and later arrivals. Recruiting of outsiders began in the mid-nineteenth century when Europeans found it necessary to turn to other sources for the provision of sufficient labor to work the

newly established plantations. Laborers from the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides were brought in first, but before the end of the century, indentured Indians became the principal source of additional labor. A large part of the indentured Indians chose not to leave when their period of service ended, preferring to become permanent residents. By 1966 it was estimated that 90 percent of the Indian population had been island born. Indigenous islanders and Indians remained the main component of the labor force, although there was a sprinkling of Europeans, Africans, and West Indians that had immigrated voluntarily. The indenture system had ended in 1916. Indians make up a large part of the sugar farming population. Fijians provided labor for the mines and some casual day labor, such as dock workers. They also filled many professional places of importance.

In 1967 it was estimated that about 31,000 persons were engaged in wage-earning employment. This did not account for the total labor force because it did not include self-employed persons, such as farmers and fishermen. It also did not account for all wage and salary employment, since it excluded casual workers, domestic workers in private households, office workers, and members of the civil service. An all-inclusive estimate was not available from official sources.

There is no statutory general basic wage. For more than 60 percent of the labor force, minimum wages and conditions of employment are determined by collective agreements between trade unions and employers. Another segment of the labor force is covered by statutory Wages Regulation Orders established under the Wages Councils Ordinance. In 1967 four wage councils had been established covering workers in the building and civil and electrical engineering trades; hotel and catering trades; road and transport trades; and wholesale and retail trades. Regulations issued by the councils were enforced by the Department of Labor.

In 1964 a new Trade Unions Ordinance was promulgated. Trade unions were separated from industrial associations and were required to register with the registrar general. In mid-1968 twenty-six unions had been registered. Industrial associations regulating conditions within an industry also were required to register.

The Department of Labor, made up of a commissioner of labor and a staff with specialized duties, performs the functions connected with the regulation, programs, and problems related to employment. Under legislation passed in 1960 the Apprenticeship Council was set up, and in 1962 the Derrick Technical Institute was opened to provide selective and advanced training for the labor force. Among the various programs conducted in 1968 were a series of management forums and a training program for civil servants. The Department of Labor operates employment offices at Suva, Lautoka, and Labasa.

BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE

The announced objective of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) government is the development of natural and human resources to enhance the level of the economy and raise the standard of living for all sectors, at the same time minimizing the shock of change from traditional patterns. To create a framework conducive to the productive use of natural resources, the government has undertaken a program to determine land boundaries and ownership and register secure titles. The government also has taken the initiative in crop research to broaden the agricultural production base; it has conducted aerial and ground surveys to determine the presence of exploitable minerals.

Labor legislation has been passed to provide guidelines for satisfactory working conditions and to protect jobs for islanders against intrusion from outsiders. The government has also taken the initiative in establishing training programs to upgrade skills of the native labor force so that it will eventually be unnecessary to fill positions with immigrants, even temporarily.

Through the Protective Industries Ordinance, the government has taken an active role in increasing jobs and income for the growing labor force. It has sought also to use resources to increase the supply of goods for domestic consumption and, hopefully, for eventual export. To achieve this goal, it makes tax concessions and offers financing to new industries, particularly those representing foreign capital.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the islands, although there is no means for measuring accurately its importance to the economy of the land and its people. The two most valuable exports, copra and timber, are principal products of the land, and cocoa also is exported. Agriculture and forestry accounted for about 23 percent of registered employment, more than any other sector except government. In 1967 total registered employment was 12,090 persons.

Ownership and use of land also indicates the importance of agriculture, both subsistence and commercial. In 1965 it was estimated that about 96 percent of the land total, which is 11,500 square miles, was held by native people, and the land was classified according to use as bush, garden, and village land. Bushlands produce wild crops that are gathered by local residents, who also hunt animals for food in those same areas. Garden lands are those that are cleared and planted with food crops, whereas village land consists of plots, close to village houses, which are planted with food and some commercial crops.

Most native land is held by kinship groups. According to customary tenure, the land is owned by the group but used by individuals

who may own certain objects such as trees or houses. In addition to native customary land, there is also freehold and public land. To further security of tenure and productive land use, the Land and Titles Ordinance was passed in 1959 to provide general principles of land tenure and conditions for the registration of titles. Groups holding land under customary tenure have been permitted to continue their holdings until the owners desire a registered title. In 1967 another ordinance was prepared to simplify carrying out provisions of the former. Progress in land registry has been very slow because of the lack of adequate staff to conduct surveys and the complexity of settling disputes concerning land use and ownership.

The major crops grown for domestic food consumption are sweet potatoes, yams, taro, and green vegetables of various kinds. The demand for these crops is increasing because of the growth of urban areas where any surplus can be marketed. Tobacco and peanuts also enjoy a local market. Since the end of World War II, experiments have been conducted in both wet and dry rice culture, as an import substitute and a possible export. Experiments in growing wet rice had not been entirely successful, but in 1967 there was good prospect of large-scale dry rice cultivation on the Guadalcanal plains by a firm combining local and Australian capital. Plans included the extension of rice acreage and the large-scale production of soybeans.

Coconuts, as the source of copra, are the most valuable commercial crop. Coconut plantations were initiated near the end of the nineteenth century by European traders who had been obtaining coconuts from native growers. Early enterprises were small in size, but after 1900 operations increased in scale and in the amount of investment required. In 1904 Lever Pacific Plantations entered the Solomon Islands, and in 1908 the Burns Philp Company initiated operations. Both firms built up large-scale plantations and enterprises for growing coconuts and processing them into copra.

Many of the coconut palms, especially those on plantations, had passed the prime bearing age, and in 1967 the government introduced a subsidy to encourage the replanting of 10,000 acres of overage trees. Copra production of the islanders increased from 11,629 metric tons in 1961 to 13,770 in 1967, whereas that of the plantations decreased from 12,257 metric tons to 9,747. Research to improve the quality of coconut palms was being conducted by Lever Pacific Plantations and the Department of Agriculture.

Cocoa is also produced commercially and exported. Planting began about 1958 with the encouragement of grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Cocoa is grown commercially by individual farmers on Malaita and by cooperatives in the Western District. The Department of Agriculture buys and processes cocoa produced by farmers on Malaita, but the cooperatives have their

own fermentaries and drying equipment. The production of cocoa has not been notably successful, and research has been carried on by the government to develop better plants and growing techniques. Experiments were also conducted concerning the cultivation of the oil palm as a commercial crop.

Production of livestock is mostly on a small scale, carried on more to keep weeds down on plantations than to produce beef for consumption. In 1967, however, the Guadalcanal plains enterprise, which was engaged in rice growing, became interested in beef production as well and established a herd of good stock on a ranch near Honiara. Initially, the herd numbered 300 head. During the same year, Lever Pacific Plantations embarked on a large-scale livestock production project. The Department of Agriculture also maintains three demonstration farms from which it distributes pigs and poultry, as well as cattle, for the purpose of upgrading stock.

Small-size commercial fishing operations are conducted near the major population centers, Honiara, on Guadalcanal, Auki on Malaita, and Gizo in the New Georgia Islands; otherwise, fishing is on a subsistence basis. Marine products, including shells and green snails, are exported and provide welcome foreign exchange.

Since World War II, forests have been recognized as an important resource, although no survey of their potential was undertaken until 1956. Timber had been cut and exported as round logs from Gizo, Santa Isabel, and the Shortlands and about 20,000 acres near Vangunu in the New Georgia Islands were available for exploitation in 1967. A mill was operated near Honiara to provide lumber for local use.

Administration of forestry programs is under the direction of the Forestry Department. The major goals of forestry management are the creation of a permanent forest estate by the purchase of land from native owners, and the implementation of regeneration and reforestation programs. A further policy of the government is the control of the management of import areas privately owned. The lack of staff and technically skilled local workers has been a handicap in carrying out plans rapidly.

Industry

The islands are not well endowed with minerals as a source of foreign exchange or as a basis for industrial development. No mining industry of significance has developed, but the full extent of mineral resources is not known; both the government and private enterprise have shown interest in more comprehensive knowledge. In 1967 the Geological Staff, which included a United Nations Special Fund team, undertook ground explorations for minerals on the basis of a previous aerial survey. Deposits of low-grade nickel,

copper, and manganese and one bauxite deposit were known to exist, but their exploitation had not been considered. Prospecting licenses granting exploration rights for almost 1 million acres on Malaita and San Cristobal were issued to two private mining companies also in 1967.

Alluvial gold produced by panning on Guadalcanal by islanders was the only mineral output. Production in 1967 was 672 troy ounces, about seven times the amount recovered in 1963, which was 95.5 troy ounces.

Mineral rights are vested in the British crown. Prospectors' rights, prospecting licenses, and mining leases are issued by the Mining Board.

Manufacturing activities are limited. Aside from the facilities maintained for processing copra and cocoa for export, enterprises, which are located near population centers, mostly produce for local needs. Smallness of demand and difficulties of transportation have prevented the growth of large-scale manufacturing. Among the commodities produced for domestic use are furniture, concrete blocks, water tanks, hot-air driers for copra, and various metal objects. Bakeries exist in all urban centers. A tire-retreading plant exists in Honiara, and in 1967 a tobacco-processing plant was organized there. A wide variety of handicrafts are produced, but there is no central distribution agency.

The provision of services to support economic growth and improved living conditions has necessitated a variety of construction activities. In Honiara a housing project was initiated in 1967, and work was started on more than 200 low-cost housing units during the year. Housing developments were underway in other population centers also. Among the other buildings completed in 1967 were a hospital on Malaita, a laboratory in Honiara, and a dormitory for girls at King George VI Secondary School.

Expanded economic activities also called for a variety of public works projects. Roads were constructed on Malaita; an airfield was built on Guadalcanal, and a new wharf was completed at Tulagi.

Electric power to support industrial enterprises, to supply public buildings, and to fill the small demand for home use is generated by small units using diesel engines at the major urban centers. Power installations are operated by the Public Works Department in most instances. In Honiara, Auki, and Gizo, where the provision of power is continuous, consumption increased significantly from 1966 to 1967. The increase in Gizo was outstanding. In this center, power consumption more than doubled during the year.

The Labor Force

For the most part the labor force is made up of native islanders who provide an adequate supply of unskilled labor, and a small

force for positions requiring skill and training. Increasing economic and social development, however, have been responsible for a growing need for professional and skilled workers. In the mid-1960s these needs were filled by employment of qualified nonindigenous peoples, since the native supply was inadequate. In 1966 it was estimated that there were about 8,000 Solomon Islanders engaged in paid employment.

Programs to train the Solomon islanders to fill the skill gap were being conducted by both private enterprise and government in the mid-1960s. An apprenticeship training program was initiated by the construction industry in Honiara in 1965. The program, which was assisted by the government, continued through 1967. Government departments operate training programs for employees or send staff members to various countries for training. Employers are required to obtain a license to hire immigrants to fill positions that cannot be filled from the native pool of skills. A condition of receiving the license, however, is that native workers should be trained to take over the positions as soon as possible.

Wages and conditions of employment are set forth in the Labor Ordinance of 1960. The ordinance is administered by the Department of Labor, which is headed by the commissioner of labor and which also contains a labor inspector who makes regular trips to different areas. Trade unions were required to register with the registrar of trade unions; in 1965 the only two registered unions suspended activity, and within the next two years no other interest was evident. The Department of Labor encourages joint consultation between employers and workers to settle problems.

Manual workers have a forty-five hour work week with additional pay for overtime and holidays. Wages are expressed in money and paid in legal tender except by agreement with the workers. Employers are required to provide nonresident workers with quarters having sanitary facilities that meet legal specifications. They are also required to provide them with medical care.

WESTERN SAMOA

The economy of the islands that make up the Western Samoan nation has been almost entirely based on agriculture of a primitive type not conducive to high productivity from the soil. In general, agricultural practices have been the result of the character of the soil and terrain and the development of the social system. Western Samoans recognize the need for increasing productivity and diversifying crops to provide for population growth, broaden the base of the economy, and provide increased cash income for the private and public sectors. In the mid-1960s the Western Samoans were considering means to meet the needs without undue destruction of the social organization.

Agriculture

Agricultural practices have been wasteful. Following practices that have long prevailed, cultivation is carried on at coastal levels until soil fertility is exhausted, after which the land is abandoned and cultivation is moved to a higher level, which has been cleared of bush. Fertility of the new land is of short duration, lasting only a year or two, after which the process must be repeated to achieve improved crop yields. It has been estimated that a period of more than ten years is required for fertility recuperation.

Patterns of land ownership and control also have contributed to less than maximum agricultural productivity. In 1965 it was estimated that about 80.5 percent of the total of 1,097 square-mile area was held as customary land ownership; that is, ownership vested in the extended family group, with no individual owning a specific portion. Control was in the hands of the chief or head of the family, who permitted use of a plot of ground to family members in return for the performance of services of various kinds. Plots were usually small, which contributed to inefficiency of utilization, and uncertainty of tenure also has inhibited investments by the individual to upgrade production and raise long-run productivity. Both subsistence and commercial crops have traditionally been produced within this framework.

Government-owned or public land accounts for 11.3 percent of the total area. Privately owned freehold and mission land accounts for 3.7 percent. In addition about 32,000 acres, or 4.5 percent of the total, are owned by the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation. This enterprise is government owned and run by a manager and board of directors. The land, which consists of eleven estates on Upolu producing tree crops, originated as plantations taken over as reparations from the Germans after World War I and transferred to the Samoan people in 1957 by the New Zealand government. Although the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation is the largest commercial enterprise in the islands, its contribution to the export value of crops is relatively small. Including production of independent planters, the share of export value generally has ranged from only 10 to 20 percent of the total. Government land can be leased for periods of twenty years, with sixty years as a maximum. Freehold land can be disposed of at the discretion of its owners. Customary land was rarely leased, but the Alienation of Customary Lands Act, passed in 1965, made it possible for customary land to be leased to chiefs or foreigners but not to untitled village members. Customary land can be leased for agricultural purposes for an initial period of twenty years with one renewal period. For hotels or industrial purposes it can be leased for thirty years, with one thirty-year renewal period.

The three major commercial crops are coconuts, cocoa, and bananas. Other cash crops include coffee, papayas, mangoes, avocados, fresh coconuts, limes, taro, nutmeg, mace, and other tropical products for export. In 1965 about 52,000 acres were planted with coconut trees, 20,000 acres with cocoa, and 16,000 with bananas. Coconuts have long been a major commercial crop. Cocoa gained importance as a cash crop in the 1940s and in four different years—1951, 1953, 1958, and 1962—exceeded copra in export value. Bananas have been a cash crop since the 1920s. They did not, however, achieve commercial significance until the 1950s.

Concentration on three commercial crops is considered undesirable as it makes the economy vulnerable to the problems of these commodities in the world market and the possibilities of crop fluctuation or failure at home. Coconut production has suffered from the ravages of the rhinoceros beetle, which was introduced into the islands before World War I. In 1964, however, a joint project by the United Nations Special Fund and the South Pacific Commission was undertaken to control the pest, and by 1970 reasonable success had been achieved. Coconut groves are also liable to hurricane damage to some extent, as are cocoa and banana tree plantations. Furthermore, there was need for replacing coconut trees past the peak of their bearing.

Banana trees have suffered from a disease known as bunchy top, as well as from the effects of infrequent hurricanes. In 1967 infested trees were being destroyed in an effort to eradicate the disease. Cocoa plantations were planted with a disease-resistant variety that produced cocoa of good flavor, but its prospects as a source of income suffered somewhat from the tendency toward world overproduction in the 1960s.

To improve the position of existing cash crops, research has been carried on to develop strains with higher yields and having more resistance to disease. Experiments were also carried on to develop new crops of commercial value with this objective in 1965. Experimental work with macadamia nuts was carried on by the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation, assisted by the Department of Agriculture; the Lata Land Development project proposed the planting of 4,000 acres with this crop.

According to a count made in 1963, livestock consisted of 2,522 horses, 17,770 head of cattle (including 321 dairy cattle), about 36,000 pigs, and 66,000 head of poultry. In 1968 numbers had increased to 2,924 horses, 20,601 head of cattle, and 44,641 pigs. Horses were mainly used as pack animals, transporting products from the mountains to the coast. Cattle served a dual purpose, that of keeping down underbrush on coconut plantations and that of providing fresh meat and a small amount of milk for consumption. A soil survey conducted in 1956 indicated that about 81,000 acres

were suited to permanent pastures. In 1965, however, only 20,000 acres were in grassland, and it was considered doubtful that upland soils, because of lack of fertility, could be used for extensive grazing.

Although fish is found in the water around the islands, only subsistence fishing was carried on in the 1960s. It was considered that there was a place for the development of both wholesale and retail markets for fresh fish and that fish canning could be initiated to serve the market as a substitute for imports.

Forests of the islands are a potential economic resource of importance as well as a protection for the water supply. In 1966 a proposal was made by a timber enterprise of the United States (Potlatch) to lease a large forest area and establish an integrated project in logging, tree farming (on a sustained basis), and sawmilling. As part of the project, the American firm assumed responsibility for provision of roads, installation of a powerplant, upgrading of port facilities, and assistance in providing schools and health facilities.

Industry

The industries that had been developed by the end of the 1960s were mostly devoted to filling the needs of the local market, which was small and not highly developed. Processes used were largely uncomplicated and did not require a high level of technology or large capital investment. Manufacturing was based partly on the use of native resources and partly on imported materials. Among the small enterprises that were established in the mid-1960s by local businessmen were those producing clothing, based on imported textiles, bakery goods, ice cream, and soft drinks.

No minerals had been found to provide a basic metals industry or add to wage and salary income by mining. Forest and tree crops provided the most promising resources for expanding manufacturing enterprises for home and foreign markets. In the mid-1960s negotiations were under way to establish a wood-processing operation. Research also was being conducted to determine the feasibility of processing native fruits and exporting them in the form of juice, jams and jellies, fruit cocktail, or canned fruits.

Growing tourism in the area also stimulated the establishment of manufacturing plants. A tide of tourists, which necessitated the construction of visitor facilities in American Samoa, was the occasion for the establishment of a plant in Western Samoa manufacturing Danish-style furniture. This closed in 1966, however, when the demand from American Samoa was saturated. Although tourism in Western Samoa was not as actively courted as in some of the

other island groups, the growing number of tourists called for a sizable extension to a hotel. Visitors also enlarged the market for native handicrafts.

The government supported the expansion of manufacturing and service facilities by a program of constructive legislation. In 1965 the Enterprises Incentives Act was passed, which granted tax and import duty concessions to a wide array of economic activities, manufacturing, hotel and visitor industries, fisheries and forestry development, and research and development services. The act is administered by the Enterprises Incentives Board, which is composed of: the minister of economic development; the director of economic development; five voting members, including two members of the Legislative Assembly; a representative of business and a planter; and four nonvoting members who are directors of related governmental departments.

Electric power to support industries and fill the modest but growing need for domestic use was provided by diesel and hydroelectric installations, which functioned within an area of twenty square miles around Apia, and by a number of small private or village-owned diesel generators throughout the islands. From 1965 to 1966 installed capacity more than doubled, rising from 2,410 kilowatts to 5,770 kilowatts. There was no increase in installed capacity from 1966 to 1968. Rural electrification began in 1967 when a distribution line was installed west of Apia.

Any significant increase in industrial production or rise in the standard of living would require an increase in power availability. There are ample sites where, with needed capital, hydroelectric facilities could be installed. Not all sites, however, could support year-round service.

The Labor Force

According to the 1966 census, agriculture was the occupation of almost three-fourths of the economically active population, which was 35,292. Village agriculture, in particular, accounted for 68 percent of the labor force. Ranking in the following order as the next important sources of employment were the professions, government administration services, and commerce. All other occupations accounted for slightly less than 10 percent of the economically active.

Because of the structure of the social system, Western Samoans had no need to work for wages and were reluctant to enter the employment of foreign firms or individuals that established plantations. In consequence, labor to work the plantations was imported from the Solomon Islands in the mid-nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was an inflow of indentured Chinese to work on plantations and in domestic service,

and later laborers were brought in from Niue and Tonga. Although much of the nonindigenous labor was later repatriated, a few Melanesians and Chinese remained in the 1960s.

With the expansion and diversification of the economy, slow though it has been, wage and salaried workers increased, and more Samoans entered paid employment. Because of this trend, the Labor Ordinance and the Workers' Compensation Act were passed in 1960. By 1965, however, no labor union had been organized.

FRENCH POLYNESIA

Agriculture

Most of the island groups that make up French Polynesia, which has an area of 1,543 square miles, are very fertile. A wide variety of crops for subsistence, domestic markets, and export are produced on the coastal plains. These areas are tropical for the most part, but the output of the area also includes fruits and vegetables suited to the more temperate climate of some islands. Among the food crops raised are arrowroot, coffee, oranges, bananas, pineapples, limes, mangoes, breadfruit, taro, and tomatoes. The flourishing tourist industry provides a commercial market for food crops in addition to the demands of the grower and his family. Food crops also add to the value of exports in a modest way.

The most important commercial crops are coconuts and vanilla. About one-third of the coconut crop is consumed domestically as food or made into soap, oil, or cattle feed. The major part is exported as copra. Large areas of the islands and, in some instances, entire atolls are planted with coconut trees. Production is mostly on small holdings, as few European-type plantations were in operation in the early 1970s. Vanilla is grown on numerous islands by family groups, many of them Chinese. Because of the careful and time-consuming effort required to grow the plant and process beans for shipment, vanilla does not lend itself to large-scale planting.

Livestock and poultry are grown for the domestic market and for export, as well as for family use. Cattle, which are raised for both beef and dairy purposes, thrive where there is adequate pasturage. The Marquesas Islands are important for the production of all types of livestock. They raise cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, and poultry, and are particularly important for raising sheep. Tahiti raises cattle and pigs and is a major source of poultry. The Leeward Islands, the Tubuai Islands, and parts of the Tuamotu Archipelago also raise livestock. Because Papeete is the major center for visitors and the largest port, it is the destination of most of the livestock and poultry that is marketed. Domestic production is not adequate to meet the demand, and meat, dairy products, and eggs are imported.

Fish of many kinds abound in the water surrounding some of the islands and in various lagoons. Fishing, however, remained a domestic enterprise carried on for the local market or as a supplement to individual food supply. No fish-processing plants of size were in operation. In addition to a supplement to the food supply, the waters of French Polynesia produce mother-of-pearl, which is valuable as an export. Forests exist in the interior of some of the higher islands, but they have not been exploited commercially, and in the early 1970s no plan had been formulated to do so.

Industry and the Labor Force

With one exception, no minerals have been found as a resource for the development of industry, or as a source of export income, or of employment for the labor force. Makatéa Island, which is part of the Tuamotu Archipelago, is one of the three islands of the Pacific where phosphates have been discovered and exploited. (The other two are Nauru and Ocean island.) Exploitation on Makatéa was initiated jointly by the British and the French about 1910 and continued until 1966 when the reserves were exhausted and the mine closed.

All manufacturing is for domestic consumption or for the satisfaction of tourists who have been instrumental in expanding the market and diversifying demand. At the end of the 1960s there were two breweries and facilities for processing fruit juice and soft drinks under license. Vinegar was made from bananas, and commercial arrowroot was produced. Buttons were made from mother-of-pearl shells and from coconuts. A garment industry using hand-blocked textiles served both the native population and visitors; a wide variety of handicrafts, including carved wood articles, shell jewelry, baskets, mats, and similar commodities, was produced for sale to tourists. Small amounts also were exported.

The construction industry has been the most dynamic sector of the economy. The interest of foreigners in visiting the islands of French Polynesia, which gathered momentum in the 1950s, was responsible for the building of hotels, beach bungalows, and commercial buildings. From 1959 to 1962 at least a dozen new hotels were built in Papeete alone, and construction was not entirely confined to the capital. A new wave of construction accompanied the establishment of nuclear testing facilities from 1963 to 1967. This also brought a need for housing construction on a large scale, and in 1968 almost 900 permits were granted for new residences in the Windward Islands.

Government office buildings, including a new post and radio communications center, were constructed about 1966. Other new buildings included the Bank of Indo-China, a cathedral, and office buildings. A new harbor for Papeete was constructed also.

Electric power was provided by ten installations using fuel oil for power. In 1968 installed capacity was 14,030 kilowatts, and about 45 million kilowatt hours were consumed during the year. The total number of subscribers was slightly more than 8,000. Power was produced for household and industrial use.

The industrial composition of the labor force reflects the economic activities of the islands. In 1968 it was estimated that the economically active population numbered about 32,000, of which 23,900 were covered by protection similar to social security. The construction industry accounted for 5,000, or 21 percent of those covered, and commerce accounted for 15 percent. Industry and agriculture employed only 8 percent and 6 percent, respectively. The remaining 50 percent of the labor force was distributed among tourist service industries, transportation, public administration, and household and occasional workers. No information was available concerning workers in subsistence agriculture.

Ethnically, the composition of the labor force is somewhat mixed. From time to time there were infusions of foreign labor to fill a special need. When this need was passed many of the workers became permanent residents. The Chinese in particular play an important role in the labor force. They are engaged in retail businesses of all kinds, from small shops to large department stores. They engage in market gardening and the cultivation of vanilla and act as middlemen in the sale of copra. Europeans who came to establish plantations no longer fill the important place they once did.

Although the administration provides services for agricultural producers aimed at raising the quantity and quality of crops, major efforts have been directed toward the encouragement of the tourist industry. The industry is planned and coordinated by the Tahiti Tourist Development Board, which was established by the local Territorial Assembly in 1966 to take the place of a former tourist board. The government also offers tax and import duty rebates to encourage construction of tourist facilities and has established a hotel training school to train students in the basic aspects of hotel management.

NEW CALEDONIA

New Caledonia, which covers 7,355 square miles, is unique among the island groups in that it counts as a major economic resource a wide diversity of metals of importance in an industrial age and has a well-developed mining industry. Among the mineral resources are large deposits of nickel, iron, chromium, manganese, and cobalt. Antimony, mercury, copper, silver, lead, and gold are known to exist in sizable quantities, and there are significant deposits of coal.

In 1967 nickel, iron, and chromium were under exploitation. In that year New Caledonia was the third largest producer of nickel in the world.

Nickel, which is of exceptionally good quality, was discovered about 1875 near Nouméa and has been exploited in all but a few years since then. In 1967 Kaiser Chemical and Aluminum Corporation of the United States formed a partnership with Société Le Nickel for the production and marketing of nickel. In the same year, the International Nickel Company of Canada joined with a consortium of French companies to develop nickel deposits. Chromium, which also is of excellent quality, had been exploited since about 1940. In 1962 production ceased because of lack of demand, but it was resumed in 1967 on a small scale.

Nickel refining is the major secondary industry. Other industries include small plants producing commodities for the local market. Among the plants are a brewery, two soap factories, several carbonated water plants, and four sawmills. The lumber produced by the sawmills is entirely absorbed by the domestic market.

Electric power for the smelting industry has been partly supplied by a hydroelectric station powered by the Yate River dam. The power produced, however, was not sufficient to keep the smelter operating at maximum capacity, and it was supplemented by production from a diesel plant.

The construction industry was active in the 1960s. Several housing projects, including one providing housing for nickel workers, were underway, and the growing numbers of tourists was expected to increase the demand for hotel facilities.

In addition to minerals, crops, forests, livestock, and fisheries contribute significantly to economic resources. A wide variety of crops is grown for domestic use; among the subsistence crops are yams, taro, mangoes, maize (corn), sweet potatoes, rice, bananas, and other fruits. Coffee and coconuts were the major commercial crops. Land is held by the state, which leases it for farming and mining. Land is reserved for native use.

Forests cover about 15 percent of the land and produce several varieties of trees of commercial value. The New Caledonian pine is found in no other place in the world. A considerable portion of forest land is under exploitation, and in the mid-1960s a reforestation program was being carried on.

Livestock is of importance. There are large areas suited to the production of cattle, and Herefords and Santa Gertrudis have been imported from Australia to raise the quality of herds. Europeans own most of the cattle, and meat production is absorbed by the local market. Dairy farming is limited. Pigs and sheep exist in small numbers, and there are several modern poultry farms near Nouméa.

Abundant saltwater fish of good quality exist. Commercial fishing, however, is for the local market, and no fish-canning plants had been established by 1967.

The composition of the labor force, which was estimated at 16,839 at the end of 1966, is highly diversified, reflecting the number of Asians and Pacific Islanders that have been introduced by the French in the past to provide labor for the mines and house servants. Some of the early labor groups were indentured, but after World War II, the system declined and in 1951 was ended. For several years repatriation of laborers and families continued, and by 1959, those that remained were free to work in any business they chose. Many of those that had formerly been indentured laborers became independent businessmen. In 1966 French and New Caledonians made up more than half the labor force, which also included Tahitians, Wallis islanders, New Hebrideans, Vietnamese, Indonesians, and a few Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Commerce claimed more of the labor force than any other category. After commerce, the most important sectors of labor use were the minerals industry (excluding actual mining), public administration, and construction.

TONGA

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Kingdom of Tonga, and it has been estimated that more than 90 percent of the population are involved in farming, usually on their own plots. A very wide variety of small crops grows well, including most of those grown in other Pacific island areas. These provide part of the food supply of the population and some export revenue. Coconuts grow here also. When there is shipping space, small quantities of pineapples and melons are exported to supplement cash income.

Of a total of the country's 173,000 acres, about 121,500 are classified as agricultural lands; slightly more than 2,000 acres are permanent pasture, and about 27,000 acres are forest land. In the past cultivation was carried on by the bush-fallow method that permitted land to have four or five years of rest to recoup fertility. In the mid-twentieth century, however, the growing population increased pressure on the land, and it was considered that more intensive cultivation methods using fertilizers would be necessary to maintain or raise agricultural production.

The system of land ownership has gradually evolved from past practices. Traditionally, all land belonged to the crown, which made large grants to nobles, who in turn leased to commoners portions of land not required for personal use. The system in use in the 1960s was based on the Land Act of 1927, a complicated document that

modified and interpreted past laws and customs. The essential feature is that every adult male taxpayer (age sixteen) is entitled to an allotment of 8¼ acres of bushland and land for a house in town. In practice, because of the growth of population and the limited extent of resources, it is not always possible to grant all applications for land at the time they are received; therefore, a waiting period is often involved.

Forest lands are almost entirely owned by the crown. The kingdom does not have sufficient timber of usable quality to fill all construction needs, and lumber must be imported. Since 1954 a program to increase resources reforestation work on cutover land has been carried on by the Department of Agriculture, which also maintains tree plantations conducting research in species suited to the environment that could be used for construction and furniture making.

Livestock of almost all types is kept throughout the kingdom. Pigs, which have been kept traditionally, are used for ceremonial purposes and are not sold. In the past cattle were raised by Europeans to keep down the undergrowth on coconut plantations by grazing, as well as to provide food and cash income. Cattle raising by Tongans is a comparatively recent but growing practice. Aberdeens, Anguses, Herefords, and Shorthorns are kept for beef. Friesians and Jerseys are kept for milk production. Nearly all are crossbreeds. In mid-1970 the government undertook an investigation of the possibility of the establishment of a herd of domesticated giant eland, an African antelope, as a source of high-protein food and milk.

Considerable numbers of poultry are kept throughout the kingdom, but flocks are subject to reduction by disease. Goats also are kept, but sheep do not thrive in the climate. In spite of the prevalence of livestock and poultry, the amount is not sufficient to supply the demand for fresh meat, and both fresh and processed meats are imported.

Fish provide an important protein supplement to the food supply. The fish catch is not large enough to fill the domestic demand, and the government has undertaken the encouragement of fishing by supplying a sizable motorized insulated boat for deep sea fishing. The government also exercises careful control over fishing rights, and no commercial fishing by a foreign enterprise is permitted within Tongan waters.

In the mid-1960s no mineral resources were known to exist, and the manufacturing industry was minimal. There was a desiccated-coconut plant in operation, and another processed coconut fiber into brushes, mats, and other articles for the domestic market. Other industries included a plant extracting fruit juices, a cement-block plant, and eight sawmills producing lumber for local

building and for the construction of shipping crates for bananas. The supply of construction materials is not adequate for the need, and materials must be imported.

The use of electric power is somewhat limited. Production must be based on imported oil, as there are no sites for hydroelectric power stations, and mineral fuels do not exist domestically for power generation. Operation and administration of the small system is carried on by the government through the Electric Power Board. Electric power is supplied to the communications system and to essential public and industrial facilities. During the 1960s power lines were being extended to villages as rapidly as generating capacity permitted, but for the most part lighting was supplied by benzine or kerosene lamps.

Because most men make a living by cultivating their own plot of ground, and the country is not developed industrially, the size of the paid labor force is small. The Constitution provides that all men may dispose of their labor as they will, and the need for workers must be met from those who offer their services. The lack of ready availability of land for each adult male adds to the number of those who seek paid employment; moreover, to add to cash income, some people combine cultivation of their plot of land with work in town, such as taxi driving, work in stores, or some other service occupation. To prepare for the needs of a more highly developed economic organization, a variety of training courses are offered. The Public Works Department and the Tonga Construction Company provide apprenticeship training in machine-shop practice and in cabinet and jewelry making. Government departments train agricultural inspectors, wireless operators, telephone linesmen, and various kinds of mechanics, including printing-machinery mechanics. The Electric Power Board also provides apprenticeship training in all types of power installation and operation.

There is no labor department or trade union and no workmen's compensation legislation. Practices providing compensation, however, have been adopted.

NEW HEBRIDES

The islands, which cover 5,700 square miles, are predominantly agricultural, and the definition of land ownership rights and the settlement of land claims are of importance in planning for resources use. Work on the adjustment of claims, with the goal of establishing firm titles, was initiated by the Joint Court of the French-British Condominium in 1927 and was continuing at the end of the 1960s. The basic principle of land policy is the protection of New Hebrideans, and to this end land has been reserved to specific native groups and individuals by the Joint Court of

resident commissioners. This land cannot be alienated without official permission. Ownership of vacant lands does not implicitly reside in the government, but ownership of minerals has been vested in the resident commissioners. European concepts of buying and selling lands are growing and, with this change, the need to establish clear titles to land is increasing.

Crops are largely cultivated on the coastal plains. The pressure of population has not been great enough to force use of the higher areas, but surveys indicate that soils are fertile and suited to tropical crops.

The major cash crops are coconuts, cocoa, and coffee. Soil and climate are particularly propitious for the growth of coconuts, which were mostly cultivated on coastal plantations. On the European-owned plantations, which consist of 50,000 acres, little replanting has been done since World War II, and productivity is low. Locally owned plantations have been better kept since the war and account for about 60 percent of total production.

Cocoa and coffee are not as well suited to the coral-derived coastal soils as coconut palms. These crops were mainly cultivated by European planters before World War II. Since that time the Condominium Agricultural Department has attempted to encourage native production of these crops, but with only moderate success.

Cattle are raised for grazing on coconut plantations, to add to the domestic food supply and for meat processing for export, although domestic demand is absorbing an increasing amount of the available supply. Cattle raising seems particularly suited to the islands of Efate and Espiritu Santo where new areas are being cleared for this purpose. The Condominium Agricultural Department has taken an interest in improving beef production and, in 1966, imported three Charolais bulls and seven heifers for crossbreeding purposes.

Pigs are used mostly for ceremonial purposes, although the Condominium Agricultural Department is encouraging their consumption as a more important article of diet. Poultry is raised by both Europeans and the native population.

According to an aerial survey made in 1965, forests on the islands of Erromango, Aneityum, and Efate have timber of commercial value. Exploitation was partially impeded by lack of transportation facilities, and only minor quantities had been exploited for domestic and external use. At the end of 1966 timber-cutting rights on Erromango were purchased by a French company, and preparation was made to increase the scale of cutting.

Deep sea fishing is carried on in adjacent waters. The catch, mostly tuna, is frozen and exported to the United States, France, and Japan by the South Pacific Fishing Company, which has American, British, French and Japanese capital. The catch is provided by Japanese fishing boats.

Manganese adds to the known resources of the islands. The deposit, which occurs at Forari on the east coast of Efate, was first exploited in 1962 and is reported to contain about 1 million metric tons of commercially valuable ore that can be mined at the rate of 60,000 to 70,000 metric tons a year. The lease is held by a French company that maintains facilities for washing and concentrating the ore before loading it for shipment. In 1967 production was about 71,000 metric tons. Concentrates contained about 50-percent manganese.

In 1966 Conzinc Riotinto Exploration Company of Australia applied for the right to make general mineral explorations on the islands of Efate, Espiritu Santo, Malekula, Pentecost, and Maew. The company was interested in exploring for copper, manganese, aluminum, lead, and zinc. At the beginning of 1970 no report had been made on the result.

There is very little manufacturing industry, and that which exists is directed toward the home market. At Vila on the island of Efate, there is a brick and pipe works and a stone-crushing plant. Small factories producing carbonated water and fruit juices are located at Vila and Espiritu Santo. There is also a small meat-canning plant in each place that produces good beef in aspic and corned beef for sale domestically and in New Caledonia. Few native handicrafts are produced in the islands.

Construction was active in 1965 and 1966. The government, through five major construction companies, was in the midst of a building program that included housing, schools, offices, a prison, and a wharf. Hospitals and a clinic were also under construction.

Electric power is provided by the Union Electric que d'Outre Mer in Vila, and a small private company in Espiritu Santo that supplies only a limited area of the town. The Union Electric que d'Outre Mer signed an agreement with the Condominium government in 1939, whereby it was granted a license for forty years to supply power to the public within the town limits of Vila. At the end of the period the government had the option of taking over the rights of the company and taking possession of its equipment. Fuel oil is used in generation. Power rates are comparable in Vila and Espiritu Santo.

An agricultural way of life contributed to a disinclination of the indigenous population to enter the paid labor force at least on a full-time basis. In those areas of the islands where the supply of agricultural land is insufficient, part of the male population has entered paid employment and participates in such occupations as plantation working, public services, shipping, mining, domestic service, trade, and general labor. Such occupations, however, are not the first choice of native New Hebrideans.

The labor shortage has been met by the introduction of workers

from Asia and from other island groups to fill specific needs from time to time. Some immigrant laborers were repatriated at the end of their term of services; others remained to become permanent residents. Before World War II laborers from Indochina were introduced to work on French plantations on five-year contracts. At the expiration of their contracts, they could not be repatriated because of political disturbances and were permitted to remain as free citizens. They found employment as shopkeepers, laborers, construction workers, and in service industries. When most of them were repatriated to North Vietnam in 1963, a gap was left that was met in part by the introduction of skilled workers and artisans from Fiji. The small group of Chinese were mostly engaged in small, self-owned businesses.

New Hebrideans consistently have been averse also to employment as plantation workers, and Wallis islanders, Gilbertese, and Tahitians were brought in to fill this need. Despite these additions, the plantations' labor supply was meager, resulting in high wages and a neglect of estates by European owners.

In the mid-1960s, in addition to planting, trading, and missionary service, many Europeans were employed in public service, including teaching. Those of British origin were instrumental in filling the expanding need for civil servants.

The recruitment and terms of employment of indigenous personnel under contract were regulated by the terms of the Anglo-French Protocol of 1914 and by additional legislation. Joint Regulation No. 8 of 1957 governed trade unions and provided for the settlement of disputes. In 1966 comprehensive legislation covering wages and hours and other conditions of employment was enacted.

GILBERT AND ELLICE ISLANDS COLONY

Nearly all land in the colony, which covers 342 square miles, is owned by indigenous people in small, individual proprietorships. Native customary law does not include the unrestricted right of disposal by the owner, who has only a lifetime interest and must pass the land on to his next-of-kin at his death—each child receives a share of his parents' land. The land of an issueless person is also divided among all his next-of-kin. As a result, land ownership is characterized by excessive fragmentation, many plots being too small to support a family of size. In consequence, men often seek employment outside their home island temporarily to earn a livelihood for their families. Employment in the phosphate mines on Ocean Island or Nauru or on the coconut plantations of Fanning and Washington islands is the usual pattern. The only exceptions to personally worked proprietorships are the Fanning and Washington islands of the Line Islands group, which are freehold properties

operated as coconut-palm plantations by a subsidiary of Burns Philp Company of Australia. Christmas Island also is operated as a coconut plantation by the colony.

Coconut palms cover the major part of all islands except Ocean Island, and coconuts are the only commercial crop. Coconuts are also an important food crop; others grown are breadfruit, papayas, and bananas. No timber of commercial value grows on the islands. No cattle exist in the islands, and the pigs and poultry that do exist are largely uncared for. Fishing is on a subsistence basis, although a survey made in 1966 indicated that the deep-sea-fishing potential warranted the establishment of a commercial venture.

Resources of the colony are distinguished by the existence of commercially valuable deposits of phosphate of lime on Ocean Island in the Gilbert group. Mining there is conducted by the British Phosphate Commissioners. The land is owned by the Banabans, who are the indigenous inhabitants. At the end of World War II, the group moved to a fertile island in Fiji, which they bought with the royalties they had received from the commissioners. The Banabans continue to receive rent and royalties from Ocean Island.

The processing of copra from coconuts is the second most important industry. Copra, which is produced by islanders throughout the colony, as well as by firms operating plantations, has been upgraded in quality and, by 1966, was considered first class in world markets.

The only manufacturing industries that existed at the end of the 1960s were a boatyard operated by the Wholesale Society at Tarawa and a plant for manufacturing furniture for local use. Handicrafts are sold through the Cooperative Department and Cooperation Federation.

Construction was largely governmental. In 1968 new office buildings were constructed for the Marine and Customs Department, and new police facilities were built on Ocean Island. New telecommunications facilities were also constructed, as well as a biological laboratory for the department. To encourage and facilitate tourism, extensions and alterations were made to a hotel, and work was undertaken on the rehabilitation of a wartime air strip.

The generation of electric power is limited and depends on thermal units since the terrain precludes hydroelectric facilities. On Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands power is supplied on a round-the-clock basis by the Public Works Department. On Funafuti in the Ellice Islands use of power is confined to the hotel, hospital, and other public buildings. On Ocean Island electric power is generated and distributed by the British Phosphate Commissioners.

Opportunities for paid employment in the colony are limited. The major sources of employment are the open-cast phosphate mines on Ocean Island, the coconut plantations in the Line Islands, and the central and local governments. With small exceptions, the labor

force, which in 1968 numbered something like 3,000, is provided by the indigenous population. At the end of 1968 there were slightly more than 200 nonindigenous workers in the islands, including Europeans employed by the colony government, trading organizations, the churches, and a small number of Chinese employed by the British Phosphate Commissioners.

Labor for the phosphate mines and coconut plantations is provided by inhabitants of the different islands. Residents of the colony eagerly seek employment in the Ocean Island mines, both as a source of income and as an opportunity to see another part of the group. Employment is usually on a yearly basis, and there is no difficulty in replacing a laborer who returns to his home island. With the improvement of shipping services, which was planned for 1969, it was expected that recruitment and repatriation could be carried on at shorter intervals.

Authority for the regulation of all matters concerning labor resides in the commissioner of labor, who is a member of the colony government and responsible to the resident commissioner. Conditions of employment are set forth in the Employment Ordinance, which is administered by the commissioner and his staff. The Employment Ordinance covers such matters as wage disputes, termination of contract, misconduct, and health and sanitation conditions. In 1968 only one trade union was registered under the Trades Union and Trades Dispute Ordinance, although this had been in existence since 1946. The Workmen's Compensation Ordinance of 1952 was amended in 1966.

NAURU

This small island, which became an independent state in 1968, is one of three phosphate-bearing islands in the Pacific and is almost completely dependent on this resource. Makat  a in French Polynesia and Ocean Island in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, are the other two phosphate-bearing islands. Phosphate reserves on Makat  a were exhausted in 1966, and it is estimated that reserves will be exhausted on Ocean Island before 1980. On Nauru reserves that are 85 percent pure phosphate of lime are expected to last until 1995.

About 80 percent of the land area is phosphate bearing. The existence of phosphate deposits was discovered about the beginning of the twentieth century. Mining began in 1906 and has continued under various auspices since that time. The reserves were first worked by the Pacific Phosphate Company. In 1919, however, when the island became a League of Nations mandate in the care of Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand, the three governments purchased the interests of the Pacific Phosphate Company and set up a

commission to manage the phosphate industry. The British Phosphate Commissioners, which consisted of a representative of each government, was charged with arranging for the mining and treatment of the phosphate and its export to the three countries in an agreed ratio. This arrangement continued with some modifications until the island achieved independence. It was then arranged to buy the assets of the commissioners over a three-year period. By 1970 more than 45 million metric tons of phosphate had been extracted, and it was estimated that at least 50 million metric tons more could be extracted before the reserve would be exhausted.

With the exception of small amounts held by the government and by missions, land is owned by individual natives. The coastal strip, where most people live, is fertile. Nevertheless, the island does not produce enough to feed itself, and food is imported from Australia. There are no timber resources of commercial importance.

Manufacturing industries, which are limited, include a bakery, a shoe repair shop, a carpentry shop, and an ice cream plant, conducted by a cooperative society; native industries, such as canoe building and mat weaving, also exist. Electric power, which has been produced by the British Phosphate Commissioners, is available throughout the island.

The composition of the labor force is mixed. To augment the number of Nauruans willing to work in the phosphate mines, laborers are hired on contract from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Hong Kong, and elsewhere. In 1967, in addition to 130 European engineers, it was estimated that about 900 craftsmen from Hong Kong and 700 laborers from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony were engaged in working in the mines. The country also has a large corps of Nauruan civil servants. There has been a Nauru workers' organization since 1953. Labor disputes resulting in strikes occasionally occur.

OTHER ISLAND GROUPS

The Cook Islands are distinguished for the number and diversity of their commercial crops. Oranges, produced mostly on the fertile southern high islands, are the most valuable crop; coconuts are grown throughout the islands. Others of importance include bananas, pineapples, and tomatoes. Coffee is also grown commercially, but in the mid-1960s production was stagnant. The government has taken an active interest in encouraging production for the market. Food crops include swamp taro, yams, manioc (cassava root), and bananas.

No milk is produced, and only a small number of cattle are grown for beef. Fishing is subsistence in character but of high importance to the native diet. No commercially valuable timber is produced.

Land, except that held by the government, is owned by native

family groups. Land rights of the indigenous people are fully protected by the regulation that no native may sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of his lands except to a cooperative society or to the Housing Board to obtain a home loan. He may also dispose of or lease land to the government for public purposes or to a church group for a religious purpose.

No minerals resources exist among the islands. The only manufacturing industries in 1966 were two locally owned clothing factories producing for the New Zealand market, two plants manufacturing jewelry from pearl shells and other native materials, and a plant canning citrus, tomato, and pineapple juice. The fruit-canning enterprise produced its own cans.

Almost the entire population is engaged in farming and fishing. Aside from the small demand for labor from manufacturing firms, the main opportunities for paid employment arise from the government, which employs a large number of casual workers, and from the demand for dock workers when ships are in port.

The island of Niue possesses a limited amount of such natural resources as land, forests, fish and water, not all of which have been exploited fully. Agricultural production has been hampered by thin soil and lack of water; however, the sinking of deep wells has somewhat relieved the water shortage and improved both the crop potential and facilities for raising livestock. Land is held by family groups and may not be sold to foreigners. It may be leased to the government or to churches for appropriate purposes.

With the availability of water, the raising of livestock has expanded, and the most important feature of the plan for developing the economy is the establishment of herds of Santa Gertrudis cattle for beef, and of Friesians for milk production. Cattle are also used for keeping coconut plantations clear by grazing. A small flock of high-quality sheep was introduced for experimental purposes. Research was being conducted under the direction of the Department of Agriculture to develop better pasture crops as well as new and better food and cash crops.

Niue has about 14,000 acres of forest, some of it of high quality, that can be cut, but there are no known minerals or mineral fuels. Traditionally, production of copra and of articles fashioned from pandanus (screw-pine) leaves were the only manufacturing activities. The Niue Development Board, however, assisted in the establishment of several small new industries to add to income and employment opportunities. Among the enterprises that were initiated were a building and woodworking plant, garment-making plant, a passion-fruit-processing plant, and a firm that processed honey, which was an unusually successful small enterprise.

Small electric power installations supply power to a few houses, public buildings, the honey factory, and a milk shed. Standby gen-

erators are located at the hospital and the radio station for emergency use. It was planned to expand power distribution in mid-1969. Resources of the Tokelau group, which is a New Zealand dependency, as are Niue and the Cook Islands, are meager and offer little opportunity for development.

The Wallis and Futuna Islands, which are part of the French Overseas Territories, have a good agricultural climate. Besides the crops raised throughout the general area, a variety of livestock exists on the islands. Pigs and poultry are the most common, but there are also goats, sheep, and a number of horses (on Wallis Island) for use as beasts of burden. The administration has introduced cattle to build up the meat and milk supply. The only industry in the islands consists of handicrafts produced by the women.

CHAPTER 13

TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION

Commercial activity contributed a substantial portion of total income within Oceania in 1970 and was a major complement to agriculture and the extractive industry of the region. Tariffs on imports often provided the major source of internal revenue to the island governments.

The major imports were food goods, consumer goods, fuels, machinery, and construction materials. The major exports were agricultural products, such as copra, and minerals. Only four island groups have recent histories of favorable balances of trade, and in each case minerals brought important or dominant export earnings. The island groups were: the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, exporting phosphate; Nauru, exporting phosphate; New Caledonia, exporting nickel; and the New Hebrides, exporting manganese.

Tourism was a growing industry. Along with foreign investment it represented the major invisible export serving to counterbalance import needs. In 1970 most islands were in the process of expanding tourist facilities. Organized tourism and the promotion of local tourist attractions were highly advocated projects. The majority of tourists in the 1960s had been from the United States and Australia, but by 1970 Japanese tourists were accounting for an increasing percentage of visitors.

The dual role played by most commercial firms in both wholesale and import-export trade linked domestic monied commercial activity and foreign trade. Several large firms and government monopolies dominated large-scale commercial transactions. Hundreds of smaller, independent traders served coastal intransland, and inter-island commerce.

Market activities served social as well as economic functions. Market days and annual fairs were means of social exchange and regional communication in certain areas. Complicated systems of such exchange, separate from economic exchanges but often the occasion for the latter, were used to achieve social merit. Barter was still common in many areas. Certain ethnic groups had come to dominate particular aspects of commercial activity, and localization, or the inclusion of more of the indigenous population in commercial activity and government administration, was a major political issue in several island territories.

Transportation and communication services varied widely but generally were still in the process of being developed. The degree to which this created an obstacle to trade was a function of the geography of each area and its distance from other territories. Water transport played a major role in both interisland and intrainland transportation. The few railroads that existed were usually tied to extractive industries, such as the phosphate works in Nauru, and did not provide passenger or general freight service. Consumer services were largely limited to urban areas.

DOMESTIC MARKETING AND CREDIT PATTERNS

Marketing patterns in Oceania center on several large-scale commercial organizations or government monopolies serving the combined role of export-import and wholesale houses. Processing and transport of major items for export are largely in the hands of these large-scale interests. Much of the large-scale operation is owned by nonindigenous groups. Indigenous groups trade mainly through co-operatives and small-scale trading stores and firms.

Trading facilities in urban areas vary widely. Centers like Port Moresby and Nouméa have refrigeration and warehouse facilities, department stores, supermarkets, arcades, and specialty shops. Port Moresby, in the Territory of Papua, even boasts a suburban shopping center. The distribution of goods from urban receiving areas to consumers in rural areas follows diverse patterns. It is seldom direct but rather passes through several hands. Small-scale village stores handle a variety of objects but seldom have either large inventories or the means of storing perishable goods.

For small islands, such as Ambrim in the New Hebrides, and in some coastal areas, goods are distributed by floating ship-stores, or *sitoe* (see Glossary), which make an appearance every few weeks. The islanders often paddle out to the anchored ship to view displays of enameled utensils, cosmetics, fabrics, and tinned meats and other food items. These ships are often the major means of passenger and mail transport.

Islanders in isolated areas may make annual trade expeditions or attend regional fairs in order to exchange goods. They may also make use of gift-exchange expeditions to barter for various items. The frequency of such expeditions and fairs varies, and the distance traveled may be a few miles across land or long sea trips, involving numerous complexities in preparation and execution.

Some groups specialize in the manufacture of certain handicrafts, such as baskets, pottery, stone implements, canoes, or ritual objects. These specializations are based on the skill of the people, inherited tribal traditions and rights, and the resources available.

Some of the most complex and varied distribution systems exist

among the interior peoples of New Guinea. Among the Arapesh, for example, distribution systems known to the Western economies are absent. For the Arapesh the entire process of production, gathering, and consuming is a social process. The fields are worked together by a group of exchange partners, who often live far apart. The scale of the fields seldom warrants the use of so much labor. Each of the partners gives away his kill of wild or domestic animals as well as the entire production of his fields to other members of the group. No individual tastes his own kill or harvest; to do so is considered inappropriate.

Traditional island economies often do not make use of modern currency systems and instead use shell currency or some other commodity as a medium of exchange. Interest rates and saving are both possible under these systems. Complex gift exchange systems also exist that are designed to bring merit and social prestige to the givers. In some cases there is a degree of transference between the two systems, and some items involved in the gift exchange eventually are consumed. The majority of exchanges of pigs and yams, however, are only distantly related to consumption.

The introduction of manufactured items, such as fabric and various preserved foods, has had a profound effect on the island peoples (see ch. 3, Living Conditions). To varying degrees islanders often have developed tastes for these items in preference to others easily obtainable locally. This preference has been a major impetus for the natives to seek wage work or convert fields from subsistence farming to cash crop farming.

The technical level of market practices varies widely but generally is in need of being upgraded. Production improvement associations, such as that on Tonga, were established in the late 1960s for the purpose of qualitatively and quantitatively increasing production through producer and transporter cooperation. Emphasis in Tonga was on methods of transporting, handling, checking, and storing of bananas for export. In the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, business training courses were in operation under programs sponsored by the International Labor Organization and the South Pacific Commission (see ch. 9, The South Pacific Commission).

Regional marketing cooperation is a growing but still limited development in the Pacific island economies. Although longstanding trade patterns have existed in traditional economies, the goods exchanged were only marginal surpluses or items obtained in exchange from other groups. Since World War II organized efforts through local chambers of commerce have attempted to promote island products not only in non-Pacific markets but also in the markets of neighboring islands. Trade in fruits and other food products has been most successfully promoted.

Regional cooperation is an aim strongly advanced by the South Pacific Commission. The commission annually sponsors conferences that focus on particular problems in island economies. Reports and recommendations are made available to both participants and non-participants of the conference, and followup conferences and committees have been established. Technical meetings have focused on cooperatives and trading, and study groups have concerned themselves with such issues as the development of small-scale private enterprise.

It is often difficult for the average islander to obtain credit. Within the traditional society credit extension is possible, but obtaining credit from the monetized economy is more difficult. Some islands, such as Tonga, moreover lack commercial banking facilities. Traders must rely on the island government to obtain foreign currency for import-export transactions. Postal savings systems may be the only means of accumulating capital through currency savings.

In the rural economies of several islands, Fiji—for example—rural storekeepers have played a major role in the credit and marketing system. They themselves have been considerably dependent on their urban suppliers and, in turn, have been obligated to give substantial amounts of credit to farmers until the harvesting of cash crops. Another source of rural credit was from the various companies processing the purchased agricultural products. Liens have often been placed on lease rights, harvest yields, or the rights to the property itself.

A third source of credit has been supplied by urban moneylenders or commercial interests. Most islanders have had to obtain credit equal to a substantial portion of their cash crop. Some have incurred annual debts, which eventually lead to the loss of their property or lease rights. Their standard of living in some cases has become lower than it was under subsistence crop farming. Credit policies of storekeepers and moneylenders have varied, however, and in some cases more value and prestige have been placed on the ability to extend credit than on maintaining balanced books or staying in business.

An important mechanism designed to facilitate marketing and credit has been the establishment of cooperatives. The South Pacific Commission has taken a particular interest in this field. Consumer and marketing cooperatives have been the most successful and widespread. Credit, housing, land settlement, and savings cooperatives have also been instituted. Particularly significant has been the role of cooperatives in aiding cash crop marketing.

One of the early interests of the South Pacific Commission in the establishment of cooperatives was to better organize and centralize the marketing of handicrafts and other locally produced items. Many islands have programs designed to place handicrafts com-

petitively on the international market and bring exchange earnings. Some of the islands have small factories or production centers, but most of the goods are produced in individual homes.

Handicrafts have not yet proved to be internationally competitive. The most marketable handicrafts are those that serve utilitarian purposes and also have aesthetic appeal. Woven baskets and mats are probably the best example of this type of marketable handicraft. Modern products already in the world market, however, not only cost less in many instances but also are more durable.

In the late 1960s nearly every island territory for which information was available had at least one cooperative, with the exception of Tonga (see table 6). Pitcairn had a consumer cooperative that had first opened in part of the school building in 1967 and, in 1969, had its own concrete block building. Although the largest membership was held by Papua and New Guinea, Fiji had the highest number of cooperative societies. The cooperative movement had an early start in Fiji, and by 1949 there were 17 cooperative groups. The major period of growth came between 1959 and the late 1960s, when the number of cooperatives rose from 87 to 765.

Some cooperatives for the marketing of handicrafts have proved successful in making small-scale home production economically profitable. The costs of urban living and traveling long distances have been avoided by replacing factory centers with cooperative distribution and collection systems. Although the attitude of the membership is important, much of the success of each cooperative is highly dependent upon the quality of its manager. The manager serves not only as coordinator but also as secretary, agent, quality controller, paymaster, accountant, packer, and forwarding agent.

Table 6. *Cooperative Societies of Oceania in the Late 1960s*

Island Group ¹	Year	Number of Societies	Membership
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	1968	139	6,000 ²
Cook Islands	1969	70	n.a.
Fiji	— do —	765 ³	15,440
Gilbert and Ellice	1967	30	18,196
Nauru	1966	1	n.a.
New Caledonia	1968	15 ²	n.a.
New Hebrides	1966	40	2,766
Papua and New Guinea	1968	300 ²	100,000
Pitcairn	1969	1	n.a.
Tonga	1965	0	n.a.

n.a.—not available.

¹ Information not available for French Polynesia, Niue, Tokelau, Wallis and Futuna, and Western Samoa.

² Estimated.

³ 1967 figure.

TOURISM

The most marked economic development in the Pacific islands since World War II has been the growth of tourism. Because of their choice location on international air routes, Tahiti and Fiji were the first to participate in the tourist trade, which during the 1960s increasingly became the hope of most islands for balancing their import needs. Despite its material attractions, tourism has not been universally accepted with enthusiasm on all islands or by all elements of those islands where it is being officially promoted.

The rates of growth in tourism for all islands were not available on a comparable basis. Fiji showed an annual rate of increase of at least 25 percent during the 1960s, and this rate was estimated to have increased almost six times between 1968 and 1969 (see table 7). The number of tourists in New Caledonia between 1966 and 1967 had increased by over 100 percent. Tourist figures for Western Samoa doubled between 1966 and 1967 and increased again by 22.5 percent between 1968 and 1969. Some of the increases in figures were spurts to be followed by leveling-off periods; nevertheless, a high rate of growth for these islands was a continuing trend up to 1970. Hotel chains were expanding, and all areas were constructing facilities with at least moderately international accommodation standards.

Estimates for Tonga showed an increase in the number of tourists for 1970 of 80 percent over the figures for 1968. The first hotel facilities with moderately international standards opened in 1966. The only air facilities in 1970 were on the main island of Tongatapu. The Faonelua Tropical Gardens on Tongatapu, opened in November 1969, included five acres of flowering plants and trees surrounding an oval green, around which booths offering entertainment, refresh-

Table 7. Tourism of Oceania

Island Group ¹	Year	Number of Tourists	Year	Number of Tourists	Percent of Increase
Fiji	1968	70,000	1969	170,000	142.8
French Polynesia ..	1969 ²	80,000	mid-1970s ²	360,000 ³	350.0
New Caledonia	n.a.	n.a.	1969 ²	40,300	----
Niue	n.a.	n.a.	1970 ²	1,000	----
Papua and					
New Guinea	1968	21,819	1969	28,326	30.0
Tonga	— do —	2,500 ⁴	1970 ²	4,500	80.0
Western Samoa	— do —	11,902	1969	14,584	22.5

n.a.—not available.

¹ Information not available for British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Cook Islands, Gilbert and Ellice, Nauru, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, Tokelau, and Wallis, and Futuna.

² Estimate.

³ Tahiti only.

⁴ Figure for tourists arriving by air only.

ments, and handicraft sales outlets were located. Tour facilities were available for certain island attractions, such as sixty- to seventy-foot-high water spouts, caused by the breaking of waves under an exposed coral reef. Sunday blue laws were still a restrictive force.

In Papua and New Guinea, on the basis of a 1964 International Bank Survey, the administration established the twelve-member Tourist Board in 1966. Before 1965 hotels and air transport facilities provided service largely for the internal needs, but since 1965 the proportion of visitors from outside the territories has been steadily increasing. A major issue for tourist development has been whether or not facilities in small population centers should be equal to those in urban areas and to what extent all facilities should match international standards.

In the Cook Islands tourism was largely undeveloped before 1968. The only hotel, built in 1914, was used largely as a boardinghouse for New Zealand public servants; some renovations were made between 1966 and 1967. Private interest in building additional facilities was hampered by difficulties encountered in obtaining land for construction sites and reflected a sharp controversy over government versus private ownership of hotels. Control of architecture and Sunday blue laws were also concerns of those interested in advancing tourism in the Cook Islands.

French Polynesia has been particularly anxious to develop tourism as a means of offsetting export earnings lost when its phosphate industry collapsed in 1966. The Tahiti Tourist Development Board was formed in 1966 to promote tourism, welcome visitors, provide local information, and maintain local historic sites and picturesque areas. A weeklong festival to celebrate Bastille Day has been advanced as a special attraction for tourists.

To increase its initial benefits from its position on international traffic routes, Fiji, as have many islands, has granted customs and tax concessions for tourism and tourist facilities. It has a largely government-supported visitors bureau. By the late 1960s tourism was the greatest single source of foreign exchange for Fiji. Although European interest was growing, the leading sources of tourists were Japan and the United States. Special consultants were hired to develop tourist brochures to attract more Japanese tourists to the island. Fiji is one area in which not all aspects of tourism were welcomed by the population. An issue arose over Sunday trading, and considerable hostility was evidenced over the erosion of traditional customs for the sake of tourism.

There are many areas in which Sunday blue laws prohibit sales and the operation of taxicabs and other transport facilities. Additional problems include the quality of tourist brochures and making information on the island otherwise readily available to potential tourists. Lack of facilities for tourists is even more of an inhib-

iting factor. Many of the small cottages and rental units designed for tourism have been taken over by island residents, particularly businessmen, because of the basic housing shortage in most areas (see ch. 3, Living Conditions). Organized tours on the islands reportedly need qualitative and quantitative improvement to meet standards of competing areas.

In the New Hebrides the expense of publicizing the islands and their attractions has been cited as a major problem. Western Samoa, cool to tourism until 1965, has hired an international travel consultant and set up short-term and long-term plans for the development of tourism. It has also joined the Pacific Area Travel Association.

Tourism has brought foreign exchange earnings, aided local development, and provided employment for island youths who might have otherwise left the islands. The concern of each island population over the disadvantages of tourism, however, is well articulated. One of the major concerns is the negative effect tourism may have on traditional culture and native morals. Some express concern over the debasement of native art forms and rituals, which have meanings sacred to traditional culture but which are meaningless to most tourists. Some express concern over the exploitation of certain members of island society by others for the sake of profit. More visible causes for concern are the sanitation and pollution problems to which tourism contributes. Tourism has led to the sale of land to foreign interests in some economies whose future agricultural development already suffers from a scarcity of land.

FOREIGN TRADE

Papua and New Guinea

Because the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea are jointly administered by Australia, the two territories are frequently treated in statistical reports as a single unit (see ch. 8, Political Advancement). Figures for fiscal year 1967/68 (beginning July 1, 1967, and ending June 30, 1968) showed a trade deficit for the combined territories of about A\$73.1 million (1 Australian dollar equals US\$1.12). Before World War II there generally was a surplus in the trade balance of New Guinea; since 1955, however, there has been a deficit. Exports have not balanced imports in Papua since the mid-1930s.

Combined exports for fiscal year 1967/68 were valued at about A\$70.3 million, an increase of about 31 percent over the previous fiscal year. New Guinea provided about 91 percent of the total value of exports in fiscal year 1966/67 and 83 percent in 1967/68. Between fiscal years 1960/61 and 1967/68 the value of New Guin-

ea's exports had increased 2.2 times, and exports from Papua during the same period increased almost twice.

Cocoa beans and copra were the most important exports for Papua and New Guinea, representing 25 percent and 26 percent, respectively, of the total value of exports in fiscal year 1967/68. Coconut oil provided 12 percent, and coffee beans provided 12.3 percent. Plywood, timber, and rubber each represented 3 to 4 percent of the total value of exports.

Imports for 1967/68 were valued at about A\$143.4 million, an increase of about 13 percent over the preceding fiscal year. New Guinea's imports represented about 57 percent of all imports and had increased by 2.5 times over 1960/61. Papua during the same period had increased its value of imports by about 3.1 times. The major import was food, representing about 29.5 percent of the total value of imports for the two territories. Transportation equipment represented 14.8 percent, and machinery represented 11 percent. Textiles, base metals, hardware, electrical goods, clothing, and manufactured items each represented from about 2.5 to 6 percent of the total value of imports.

The largest single source of imports was Australia, supplying about 54.5 percent of imports by value. The United States and Japan supplied 13 percent and 10 percent, respectively. The United Kingdom was the fourth largest supplier, at about 5 percent. Most exports were destined for Australia and the United Kingdom, which received 41.7 percent and 18.9 percent, respectively, of the value of all exports. The United States received 7.7 percent, and West Germany and Japan each received about 6.6 percent of the total value of exports.

Import duties provided about 33.6 percent of total internal revenue and almost 14 percent of total revenue for the territories. Customs tariffs are based on the Custom Tariff Ordinance of 1959 and subsequent amendments. Many items are admitted free of duty.

Fiji

Statistics for 1968 showed a trade deficit of F£9.6 million (1 Fijian pound equaled US\$2.40). Since 1958 the only year Fiji has had a trade surplus was in 1963. Figures for the value of both imports and exports rose annually from 1958 to 1965 but fell in 1966. By 1968 exports had still not reached the pre-1966 level, but imports has risen to an alltime high.

Exports for 1968 were valued at about F£24,559,000. This represented an increase of 15 percent over 1967 figures and about 60 percent over the value of exports in 1960. The major export by value was sugar, which earned slightly over 50 percent of the value

of all exports. The next two exports were coconut oil and gold, providing about 10 percent and 7 percent, respectively, of the total value of exports. The contribution of coconut oil and gold to the total value of exports has not grown as rapidly as sugar, which between 1962 and 1968 increased in value by 50 percent.

Imports in 1968 were valued at about F£34,201,000. This was an increase of 22 percent over 1967 and an increase of about 110 percent over the 1960 figure. Food products were the major imports and represented about 23 percent of all imports by value. Machinery, including vehicles, and manufactured goods each represented about 19.5 percent. Fuels and lubricants represented just under 11 percent of the total value of imports.

About 38 percent of Fiji's exports were sent to the United Kingdom, and another 30.3 percent went to other Commonwealth countries. The United States, Fiji's second best customer, received mostly sugar exports. About 11 percent of Fiji's exports, mostly gold, went to Australia.

The major sources of imports were Australia and the United Kingdom, which provided 26.2 percent and 21.3 percent, respectively, of the total value. New Zealand and Japan were the next most important sources of imports. Commonwealth countries, excluding the United Kingdom, provided about 50 percent of all imports by value.

In 1969 a port and customs service tax ranging from 2½ to 5 percent was payable on most goods. The major exceptions were publications, goods for government use, and items used for technical or medical research projects. With the establishment of the Fijian dollar (1 Fijian dollar equals US\$1.20) on January 30, 1969, a new tariff schedule was introduced. The tariff schedule was based on the internationally accepted commodity categories with varying rates. British preferential rates were included. Exports were subject to a 2-percent export duty, with the major exceptions of beer, cocoa, coffee, and gold and silver bullion.

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate

Trade statistics for 1968 showed a deficit of about A\$4.1 million. Since 1955 there has been a deficit each year, in part because many of the copra-producing palm trees have passed the prime bearing age (see ch. 12, Economic Resources). Scrap metal left over from the campaigns of World War II still represented a minor export earner, and attempts were being made to promote rice exports to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony and to Fiji.

Exports in 1968 were valued at about A\$5.3 million. This was an increase of about 7.9 percent over 1967 figures and an increase of about 54 percent over the value of exports in 1960. The two lead-

ing exports were copra and timber, representing 68.4 and 26.6 percent, respectively, of the total value of exports. Other exports included scrap metal, tobacco, and marine shells.

Imports in 1968 were valued at about A\$9.4 million. This represented an increase of 14.6 percent over 1967 figures and an increase of about 50 percent over figures for 1960. The largest categories of items imported included rice and meat, representing about 7.7 percent and 3.4 percent, respectively, of the total value of imports. Fuels were about 2 percent, and clothing, liquor, and flour each represented about 1.6 percent of the total value of imports.

The major source of imports was Australia, which provided about 45 percent of the total. The United Kingdom and the United States provided about 4.3 percent and 5.6 percent, respectively. The major market for exports was the United Kingdom, which received about 51 percent of all exports by value. Japan and Australia were the next leading markets, purchasing 27.9 percent and 18.5 percent, respectively. Hong Kong was a growing purchaser of exports.

In the late 1960s the value of customs duties, including excise taxes, provided over half of the total local revenue. British preferred rates existed. Export duties were charged on all major and some minor exports.

Western Samoa

Figures for 1968 showed a trade deficit of about A\$1.66 million. Imports have exceeded exports ever since 1959, when the value of imports reached an alltime high of about A\$6.6 million. Both the relative and absolute value of imports continued to decline into the late 1960s but then rose slightly.

Exports in 1968 were valued at about A\$3.8 million, an increase of 20 percent over 1967. The major exports were copra and cocoa, representing about 49 percent and 32 percent of the total value of exports. Bananas, the next export by value, represented about 6.9 percent of the value of exports. The export of handicrafts was increasing in value.

Imports in 1968 were valued at about A\$5.46 million, which was a decrease of 2.4 percent over 1967 but an increase of 8.3 percent over 1961. The major import was clothing, representing about 12.5 percent of the total value of imports. Imports of meat, fish, and flour each averaged at about 8.5 percent. Timber, sugar, and motor vehicles each represented from about 5.5 percent to 6 percent of the total value of imports.

Commonwealth countries provided about 73 percent of all imports. The largest source of imports was New Zealand, providing 39 percent, followed by Australia, providing 24 percent of all imports

by value. The United Kingdom and the United States each supplied about 13.4 percent, and Canada provided about 3.6 percent. The major market in the late 1960s for exports was New Zealand, which accounted for about 55.5 percent of all exports. Increasing percentages of total exports were being made to Japan, Denmark, West Germany, and the Netherlands.

Import duties in the late 1960s provided about half of the total internal revenue. Commonwealth countries were granted preferential tariff rates on most imports. Amendments were made to some duties in 1968 listing tariffs of 15 to 50 percent on certain items, including soap, bread, and beverages. Export duties of 10 percent were placed on copra and cocoa, as well as for *bêche-de-mer* (see Glossary), bananas, timber, and certain other exports.

French Polynesia

Trade figures in 1968 showed a deficit of about FrCFP14.6 billion (1 franc Comptoir Francais du Pacifique equals US\$0.0111). The economy entered the 1960s with a tradition of a negative balance of trade, which was reinforced by the closing in 1966 of the phosphate mines on Makatéa that had provided the economy's largest export by value. By 1968 imports exceeded exports by almost fourteen times. The large difference was offset by tourism and overseas investment.

Exports for 1968 were valued at about FrCFP1.03 billion, which represented a decrease of about 3.3 percent over 1966 figures and about 4 percent below 1961 figures. Before 1966 the major export was phosphate, but with the closing of the phosphate mines copra became the largest export. In 1968 copra exports were valued at about FrCFP145 million, or about 14 percent of all exports by value. The next two major exports were vanilla and mother-of-pearl, representing about 7 percent and 2 percent, respectively, of the total value of all exports.

Imports for 1968 were valued at about FrCFP15.6 billion. This was a decrease of about 3.1 percent over 1966 figures and an increase of about 7.4 percent over 1961 figures. Major imports included foods, fuels, machinery, textiles, and small manufactured goods. Some rice was being imported from South Vietnam. There are few imports from Japan because of limited shipping routes between Japan and French Polynesia.

France supplied about 70 percent of all imports by value. The United States provided 12 percent and represented the second major supplier. New Zealand and Australia provided 2.7 percent and 2.1 percent, respectively.

A selective system of import control through duties on imports from outside French territories existed. Ease of obtaining import

permits had been increased. All imports were subject to a customs service fee. Goods from member countries of the European Common Market were also given preferential rates.

New Caledonia

A trade surplus of about FrCFP1.8 billion existed in 1968. In the early 1960s imports had exceeded exports, but by 1966 this trend had reversed, partially reflecting increased earnings from nickel exports.

Exports for 1968 were valued at about FrCFP10.2 billion. This was an increase of about 22 times over 1960 figures and an increase of about 43 percent over the figures for 1967. Nickel accounted for just over 97 percent of all export earnings and in 1968 brought earnings that were 2.5 times greater than in 1961. The value brought to the economy by coffee represented the next largest single export but was declining.

Imports in 1968 were valued at about FrCFP8.4 billion. This represented an increase of 2.5 times over 1960 figures and 18 percent over figures for 1967. The major imports were fuel and food products.

Over half of all imports came from France. Imports from Australia became increasingly important during the 1960s and supplied about 20 percent of all imports. About 50 percent of all exports were sent to France, and Japan received about 25 percent. Canada and the United States received about 14 percent and 6 percent, respectively, of all exports by value.

Licenses are required for all imports. With the exception of certain goods, these licenses are largely a formality for Common Market countries. New Caledonia has sufficient domestic supplies of beef and pork but needs to import fruit and vegetables for half of each year. There are no restrictions on food imports from Australia except for flour, which is designed to protect flour imports from France. The heavy dependency of New Caledonia on Australian foods has created an imbalance of trade between the two countries.

Tonga

Trade figures for 1968 showed a deficit of about T\$1.3 million (1 Tonga dollar equals US\$1.12). During the 1950s there was usually a trade surplus. Since the early 1960s when copra exports declined, however, the economy has had to sustain a deficit.

Exports in 1968 were valued at about T\$3.85 million. This represented an increase of 13 percent over figures for 1960 and just under 8 percent over figures for 1967. Major exports by value were bananas and copra, representing about 46 percent and 38 percent, respectively, of total export earnings. Since 1966 bananas have

overtaken copra as the major export by value, and in 1968 bananas provided five times the value they represented in 1958. Other exports included desiccated coconut, fruits and vegetables, and handicrafts. Vanilla was a new export, providing T\$5,130 in 1968.

Imports in 1968 were valued at about T\$5.15 million, representing an increase of 3.3 percent over 1960 figures but a decrease of 5.7 percent over 1967 figures. Major imports were textiles, flour, canned meat, and tobacco. Fuels, liquor, and hardware were also important imports.

The majority of imports come from British Commonwealth countries, particularly Australia and New Zealand, but with increasing competition from the United States, Holland, and Japan. Most exports are destined for British Commonwealth markets. Until 1962 all Tongan bananas were shipped to New Zealand; since 1962 those bananas not absorbed by the New Zealand annual quotas have been exported to Japan.

In 1963 a port and customs service tax of 5 percent was payable on all imports. A tariff of 33 1/3 percent ad valorem for non-Commonwealth goods and 15 percent for Commonwealth goods was generally collected in addition to the service charge. Some items, such as seeds and books, regardless of their source, and such items as radios and agricultural equipment from Commonwealth countries were admitted duty-free. Export duties were charged for certain goods, including copra and bananas.

New Hebrides

In 1968 the group showed a trade surplus of about A\$1.3 million. Since 1963 the trade balance has been favorable, largely because of the recently developed fishing and manganese industries. The value brought by coffee and cocoa has declined.

Exports in 1968 were valued at about A\$10.4 million. This was a decrease of about 9.3 percent over the 1967 figures. Copra supplied about 53.4 percent of the total value of exports, and fish and manganese supplied 23 percent and 14.5 percent, respectively. Both canned and frozen meat were being exported in 1968.

Imports in 1968 were valued at about A\$9.1 million, which represented an increase of about 9.3 percent over the previous year. Principal imports included machinery, metal construction materials, vehicles, and fuels and lubricants. Tinned meat and fish, rice, and clothing were also imported.

About 46 percent of all imports by value came from Australia. France was the next largest source and provided just under 20 percent of the total. Approximately 40 percent of all exports went to France. About 19 percent went to Japan, and 26 percent went to North and South America. Trade with Italy was growing in the late 1960s.

A customs service tax of 1 percent f.o.b. (free on board) value was paid on most items. The standard tariff rate was 16 percent. Special rates for alcohol, tobacco, and certain luxury items were in force. Articles for government use, fertilizer, flour, fresh fruit and vegetables, agricultural machinery, and publications were major items admitted duty-free. Export duties were charged for copra, cocoa, fish, coffee, and a few other items.

TRADE AND SOCIETY

Trade has served social as well as economic functions in both traditional and modernizing societies of the Pacific. The major source of contact with modern technology for most islanders has been through trade. It is difficult to determine the total effect of this contact upon the lives and attitudes of the average islander, but new desires and tastes have been created, and some islanders have entered the wage economy in order to satisfy their felt needs for imported or locally manufactured items. New skills and concepts have also accompanied these products (see ch. 4, Social Systems).

Rural stores and small urban trade centers have often served as centers for social communication. Weekly market trips have often been made just as much to hear the news as to purchase goods. In the more remote areas of New Guinea annual fairs and trade expeditions serve the same economic and social functions. These events allow the demonstration of symbols of social prestige and rank and result in increased social integration and greater knowledge about the outside world or even neighboring tribes.

A major means of demonstrating social prestige and rank is through exchange systems. These involve prestige gifts that have only secondary or no commercial value. These exchanges are of largely social and political importance; however, they do offer the occasion for trade after the gift exchange itself has been completed. The best examples of these systems in Melanesia are provided by the *kula* exchange of the east coast and offshore islands of New Guinea, the yam exchange of the Trobriand island peoples, and the *moka* (see Glossary) exchange of New Guinea highlands tribes.

The *kula* system is a circuit exchange of upper arm bracelets, made by cutting white cone shells, and necklaces made of strung disks cut from red shells. Details of the exchange are fixed and regulated by traditional rules and conventions. A limited number of men engage in the exchange, often accompanied by elaborate rituals, with fixed lifelong partners. The bracelets and necklaces flow in opposite directions, with each recipient of an item repaying his obligation with the opposite item of equal or greater value.

The bracelets and necklaces are prestige items that the owner never uses to buy other goods and seldom wears himself. Prestige is achieved through the exchange of an item of equal or greater value

or by being able to lend such an item for ceremonial purposes to a friend or relative. The islanders seldom see the total scope of the exchange system or its role in social interpretation.

Although the exchange itself is basically noncommercial, commercial activity often takes place before or after the major gift exchange and ceremonies take place. Since the exchange often requires water transport, trade arrangements often are required to obtain seagoing canoes from certain ethnic groups that specialize in their construction. Foods and other goods must be obtained for the journey, and some items are taken along specifically for exchange along the way or at the final destination.

The peoples of the Trobriand island group have a prestige system based on the exchange of yams. Men rise early in the morning to cultivate yams, which they do not eat but which are valued as a sign of wealth and status. Yams are stored in small sheds and are given different names depending on the quality and stage of their development when harvested. Although some may be consumed through various ceremonial feasts, the large majority of them rot. The accumulation of wealth thus becomes an annual endeavor.

Some tribes, which have poor soil or which are located in coastal areas not producing yams, participate in the exchange system through gifts of baskets of fish. These are usually exchanged with specific lifetime partners. Some tribes are unable to assure a supply of yams through socially accepted means of exchange and resort to barter for them. These tribes and those who exchange yams with them are looked down upon with considerable scorn.

Among various peoples pigs are used in exchange systems. The *moka* exchange system of the Mbowanb of the Western Highlands district of New Guinea is based on exchanges of pigs and shells. Political and social prestige are built on oratorical ability and the ability to make exchanges and to assist clansmen in the payment of exchanges. Certain exchanges accompanying death and marriage and others are simply interclan exchanges.

Pigs and shells can be mutually exchanged but are usually exchanged together. A medium-sized pig may be worth about four pearl shells of average quality. To begin an exchange one needs a pig and two pearl shells. The partner he chooses should return *moka* of eight or ten shells. He can then separate these into sets of two shells paired with a pig and exchange them with new partners, using the increased returns to make a larger exchange with his original partner. Each set of eight or ten shells exchanged entitles the giver to place a bamboo strip on a prestige tally necklace of similar strips. The pigs used in the exchanges may be slaughtered eventually, but the purpose of the exchange is not the goods obtained but the social prestige resulting from successful exchanges.

On Ambrim in the New Hebrides the Papuan pig is used in mixed

prestige and monetary exchange systems. The upper canine teeth are removed to allow the lower canine to make a full circle through the jaw and then start over again. The teeth are sometimes worn on necklaces as an index of social prestige. Teeth having completed two circles are very rare and valuable. Pigs may be used in exchanges for other pigs, which are then slaughtered to help buy one's way up in the social system, for yams, or for valuable items, such as roof beams or other items not locally available.

Gift exchange systems also exist in Polynesia. Although some prestige may accrue from the ability of an island to produce a surplus of a certain item, the major function of these exchange systems is not social but is tied to consumption. Exchanges are based on the superiority of production techniques or supply in one area and the needs of another area. Whale teeth are sometimes used in the exchanges for prestige or to indicate monetary value. Arrowroot, volcanic stones for oven cooking, fabrics, and sometimes cash are the most commonly exchanged items. Pottery for ceremonial and cooking uses was once widely exchanged (see ch. 6, Cultural, Educational, and Communication Patterns).

Certain ethnic groups have come to dominate various aspects of commercial activity in both traditional and modern systems. The southern coastal groups of New Guinea have traditionally engaged in trade and in the construction of seagoing vessels used in the *kula* exchanges. In part this stems from geographic and topographic facets. Both the Siassi, of the Vitiaz Strait area between New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Mailu, off the eastern coast of Papua, have been forced to make up for poor soils by commercial activity, including the manufacture of seagoing canoes.

In the modernizing economies nonindigenous ethnic groups have often become dominant. The three major nonindigenous groups include Europeans, Chinese, and Indians. The Chinese have become particularly dominant in the commercial structure of French Polynesia. In the late 1960s they held at least half of all trading licenses and owned half the businesses in the territory. The Chinese population of Tahiti represented about 10 percent of the total population, but they controlled at least 80 percent of the island's commerce.

Chinese businessmen in the late 1960s in Papeete were found in businesses ranging in scale from small shops to large department stores. They owned a large proportion of the restaurants and controlled one-third of the import-export business. They also engaged in skilled trades, such as tailoring, butchering, and construction. Engineering attracted many Chinese. About 35 percent of all Chinese in French Polynesia were engaged in agriculture, producing over half the vanilla and all the vegetables available in Papeete's markets. They dominated the pearl industry and filled a large proportion of the white-collar jobs in commerce.

The Indians of Fiji played a role similar to, but less dominant than, the role of the Chinese in French Polynesia. In the late 1960s, 80 percent of the economy of Fiji was controlled by European interests; the remaining 20 percent was controlled by Indians. Indians dominated the fields of rural retail trade and road transportation, and they played major role in such trades as tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry. Most of the Indians were attracted to Fiji as indentured agricultural workers. Those engaged in shopkeeping, however, are more likely to have come after World War I and usually are Gujarati Hindus or Punjabi Sikhs (see ch. 12, Economic Resources; ch. 4, Social Systems).

Before World War II Japanese businessmen were influential traders in certain areas. In New Caledonia there was a Japanese store in every village, and most shopkeepers in Nouméa were Japanese. Their displacement as a result of World War II eliminated the influence of the Japanese for nearly two decades. By the mid 1960s, in addition to the growing trade partnerships with Japan, the Pacific islanders found increasing interest by Japanese investors in involvement in island economic development, and Japanese tourists represented one of the major potential sources of foreign exchange earnings for the territories. Japanese vacationers and land developers were expressing an increasing interest in buying land for the construction of vacation homes and tourist facilities.

CONSUMER, TRANSPORTATION, AND COMMUNICATION SERVICES

Consumer Services

Although statistics on the precise contribution of consumer services to the economy of any island group were not available, consumer services were known to have played a minor role up to 1970. Almost without exception, water and electricity were the only two consumer services to be reported. The extent to which these have been developed varied widely but was at most limited. Dependable or regular service was often confined to urban areas.

Securing potable supplies of water is a problem of major importance for many of the island groups, particularly for the small atoll islands, and stands as a major obstacle to improved health conditions in the area (see ch. 3, Living Conditions). Rainwater from tile and metal roofs has sometimes been drained into cisterns, and some of the volcanic islands have natural reservoirs in extinct craters. Piped water systems, however, are limited to the houses of Westerners, hotels, and better urban residences.

Nauru, which imports water from Australia, and some of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands have annual water shortages. Tonga has

experimented with skimming basins to separate fresh and salt water. Fiji had a well-developed water system with twelve pipe systems in urban areas and well-supply systems in rural areas. Experiments were underway in 1970 under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission to develop solar stills to convert salt water into fresh water. By 1968 stills had been installed and tested in French Polynesia, Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Papua ad New Guinea, the Cook Islands and Nauru.

With the major exception of Port Moresby and New Caledonia, electricity in the Pacific is supplied by diesel generators. The generation of electricity is relatively costly because of the limited possibility of large-scale distribution and the cost of importing mineral fuels for the operation of the diesel generators. Much of the available supply is used for public needs, such as hospitals and government buildings, or for industrial purposes.

Water Transport

Most of the islands for which information was available in 1970 had shipping services with two or more major shipping companies. Fiji had fifteen major shipping companies, French Polynesia had eleven, New Hebrides had four, and the Tokelau island group had one (see table 8). The frequency of call of each of these major shippers, however, averaged slightly less than once a month. Information for three of the major shipping companies serving the British Solomon Islands Protectorate was not available but, of the other four companies, two had ships that came every two weeks and two had ships that came every five to six weeks. Arrivals in Western Samoa were one every two to three weeks and four every five to six weeks. Numerous small vessels, for which statistics were unavailable, were also engaged in interisland and coastal shipping. Vessels of both categories served major roles in passenger and mail transport, particularly for islands not having major air service. In addition to commercial facilities, many small, family-owned or community-owned craft ply the waters between the islands carrying both passengers and cargo.

In the late 1960s deepwater facilities were available in only 60 percent of the island groups for which information was available. Western Samoa had two deepwater facilities, but access to one was not yet opened at the end of 1968. The eight deepwater facilities in Papua and New Guinea represented the largest number found in any of the island groups. Some of the islands used jetties for unloading or used small craft to ferry goods from ships at anchor to whatever dock facilities were available. Several of the reefs, which offered natural harbor protection, were under threat from crown-of-thorns starfish infestation (see ch. 2, The Islands and People).

Table 8. Ship Transport of Oceania, 1968

Island Group	Number of Major Shipping Companies	Frequency of Call				Number of Ships Cleared	Deepwater Facilities
		Not Stated	Every Two to Three Weeks	Every Four Weeks	Every Five to Six Weeks		
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	7	3	---	2	2	n.a.	n.a.
Cook Islands	2	1	---	---	1	n.a.	1 ¹
Fiji	15	4	3	1	3	1,219	n.a.
French Polynesia	11	1	---	4	6	218 ³	n.a.
Gilbert and Ellice	2	1	---	---	---	39 ⁵	1
Nauru	n.a.	---	---	---	---	173	n.a.
New Caledonia	8	3	1	---	3	n.a.	yes
New Hebrides	4	3	---	---	1	251 ⁷	n.a.
Niue	1	---	---	---	1	n.a.	---
Papua and New Guinea	7	6	---	---	1	n.a. ⁸	8
Pitcairn	3	2	---	---	1	41 ⁹	---
Tokelau	1	---	---	---	---	n.a.	---
Wallis and Futuna	n.a.	---	---	---	---	n.a.	---
Tonga	4	1	1	---	2	104	3
Western Samoa	5	---	1	---	4	292 ⁹	2 ¹¹

--- indicates zero.

n.a.—not available.

¹ One also under construction.² Three every month; one every two months.³ 1966 figure.⁴ One every two months.⁵ 1967 figure.⁶ Two every three months.⁷ Figure for Villo and Santo only.⁸ Figure for New Guinea alone in 1966 showed 903 ships cleared.⁹ 1965 figure.¹⁰ One ship anchors every six months.¹¹ Access to one not open.

Figures for the number of ships cleared and their total tonnage were incomplete. Fiji cleared 1,219 ships with a total tonnage of about 2.7 million register tons in 1968. Tonga cleared 104 ships with a total tonnage of about 290,000 register tons. Many of the larger ships and more regular service are provided by administration or company vessels.

Planners have encountered various problems in the development of port facilities. An example is Papua's Port Moresby, one of the major shipping centers in the Pacific. A United Nations Development Program transport survey completed in 1969 called for a more detailed master plan for the port and recommended staggering working hours to reduce traffic and docking congestion in the port. Plans early in 1970 called for continued enlargement of facilities at Port Moresby and Lae in New Guinea at a cost of A\$13 million by the mid-1980s.

In early 1970 shipping representatives were protesting the way in which the plan was being implemented. They claimed that ports besides Port Moresby were being neglected and had far inferior wharves, storage facilities, and navigational aids. They stated that many ports were too dangerous for use after dark and that shipping costs were excessive owing to damage from lack of storage facilities (see ch. 14, Economic and Social Development Programs). Many of the smaller vessels in service, half of which were over twenty years old, would not be able to take advantage of the port improvements planned for large vessels.

Land Transport

The development of land transport is of varying importance for the individual island economies. Areas with any great landmass, such as Papua and New Guinea, are highly dependent upon continued expansion of their road network. Papua had just over 2,000 miles of roads in 1968, which was slightly less than the road miles in French Polynesia, which has a land area sixty times smaller than Papua (see table 9). Pitcairn and the Tokelau Island group would benefit only marginally from any expansion of their present road systems. Of those island groups for which a breakdown of road types was available, only Fiji and Tonga had more than half of all the roads sealed or all-weather roads.

The areas having the largest total number of vehicles in the late 1960s were Fiji and Papua and New Guinea. Except on New Guinea, private vehicles outnumbered commercial vehicles. Figures were incomplete for certain vehicles, such as taxicabs and rented cars. Totals may have been distorted in some sets of statistics by the inclusion of agricultural machinery, such as tractors, as well as

Table 9. Land Transport of Oceania

Island Group ¹	Area (in square miles)	Roads ²			Vehicles			
		Sealed or All-weather	Secondary	Other	Total	Year	Private	Commercial
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	11,500	150 ³	36	332	518	1967	n.a.	n.a.
Fiji	7,055	900 ⁴	n.a.	268	1,168	1966	6,495	6,034
French Polynesia	1,543	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2,322	1967	8,700	839
Gilbert and Ellice	342	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	300	1968	n.a.	n.a.
Nauru	8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1969	n.a.	1,450
New Caledonia	7,355	109	n.a.	n.a.	2,737	1968	n.a.	n.a.
New Hebrides	5,700	150 ⁵	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	—do—	998	309
Niue	100	80	n.a.	50	130	1966	n.a.	413
Papua and New Guinea	86,100	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2,148	1967	3,032	1,426
Tonga	92,160	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5,800	—do—	3,856	5,462
Western Samoa	270	160	95	16	271	—do—	n.a.	n.a.
	1,097	233	103	151	487	—do—	705	588
								1,293

n.a.—not available.

¹ Information not available about road systems in Cook Islands, Pitcairn, Tokelau, and Wallis and Futuna.² Miles in 1968.³ 140 miles of plantation roads not included.⁴ 1967 figures.⁵ Includes 1,433 other vehicles.⁶ Includes 658 other vehicles.⁷ 1966 figures for Ellice and Santo only.⁸ Includes 342 other vehicles.⁹ Includes 3,143 other vehicles.

bicycles and motorcycles. Both motorcycles and motorscooters were important means of transport for many islanders.

Bus services are not widespread, nor are they always reliable when in service. Buses may be converted trucks with canvas canopies and wooden benches, and they are often government operated. The delay of efforts on Rarotonga to establish a private bus service is typical. A twenty-one-mile coastal bus service with three standard buses was finally established in mid-1969; by the end of the year the service had yet to make any profits.

Air Transport

Regular but limited air service was initiated during the 1930s to some areas of the Pacific. Some services at that time experimented with seaplanes. The greatest growth of air transport in the Pacific came largely after, and as a result of, World War II and marked a major intrusion into the perennial isolation of many of the Pacific island cultures and stimulated social change (see ch. 4, Social Systems).

World War II channeled heavy expenditures to the islands for the construction of airfields. Most of the island economies were too undeveloped to have afforded such an expenditure for many years. Since the war technical and safety provisions have been improved. In 1970 about 73 percent of the island groups had external air connections in their territory (see table 10). Two of those islands lacking air facilities were in the process of constructing them. Only Papua and New Guinea and Western Samoa had daily external connections. About 57 percent of the island territories for which information was available had internal air service.

Most airports have tourist stopover facilities of some kind, but few are sufficient to fill present demands or future needs. Jet landings are impossible in some areas. The new Concorde supersonic jets scheduled to begin service in 1973 or 1974 could be accommodated only at Nadi, Papeete, Nouméa, Pago Pago (American Samoa), and possibly Port Moresby.

Communication Services

The two major internal communication networks are the telephone and postal systems. Although cables are used between some islands, telephone systems are dependent upon radio links for part of domestic communication and for a major portion of external communication. In many cases the postal and telephone services operate out of the same building and are manned by the same personnel. Most of the systems are government owned and operated.

Table 10. Air Transport of Oceania, 1970

Island Group	Internal Connections	External Connections	Highest Frequency of Regular Connections
British Solomon Islands Protectorate	Yes	Yes	3 (weekly)
Cook Islands	None ¹	None	None
Fiji	Yes	Yes	2 (weekly)
French Polynesia	— do —	— do —	4 (weekly)
Gilbert and Ellice	— do —	— do —	1 (weekly)
Nauru	None	— do —	Every two weeks ²
New Caledonia	Yes	— do —	2 (weekly)
New Hebrides	— do —	— do —	2 (weekly)
Niue	None	None ³	None
Papua and New Guinea	Yes	Yes	Daily
Pitcairn	None	None	None
Tokelau	— do —	— do — ⁴	— do — ⁴
Wallis and Futuna	n.a.	Yes	Monthly
Tonga	None	— do —	4 (weekly)
Western Samoa	Yes	— do —	Daily

¹ Old airport closed August 1969 for construction. Estimated reopening schedule for April 1971.

² In 1968 there were no scheduled air connections, but in 1970 regular connections were to be established.

³ Airport under construction in 1970.

⁴ Every four months an amphibian aircraft from Fiji is scheduled.

Of the eight island territories for which complete information was available, only one system in the late 1960s, that of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, was fully automatic, and it has less than 400 phones in service (see table 11). The average size of the eight systems was just under 5,000 phones. Pitcairn, which had the smallest system, had two party lines, one public and one government, using a numbered ring system to call particular individuals or all subscribers at once.

One of the largest systems was on Fiji, with over 12,800 phones in 1968. About 78 percent of all phones in service on Fiji were serviced by automatic switchboards, including Suva, those in the area of Lautoka, Nadi, Namaka, and Levuka.

All the island groups have postal systems, offering services that vary in both kind and efficiency. The postal system in Western Samoa in 1969 had one main office in Apia and sixteen suboffices. The three post offices of the Tokelau system are also administered from Apia. There are 954 private mailboxes in Apia, and the system also provides savings facilities.

The postal system of Fiji has 140 post offices; of these, 73 accept telegrams and operate telephone exchanges. There is direct mail service to twelve overseas countries. Airmail service is as frequent as

Table 11. Telephone Systems of Oceania in the Late 1960s

Island Group ¹	Year	Phones in Service	Switchboard Type
British Solomon Islands			
Protectorate	1968	370	Automatic
Fiji	— do —	12,802	78 percent automatic
French Polynesia	— do —	4,994	Manual
Gilbert and Ellice	— do —	87 ²	n.a.
New Caledonia	1967	6,004	Partially automatic
New Hebrides	1966	550	Do.
Niue	1969	172 ³	n.a.
Papua and New Guinea	1967	12,904	Partially automatic
Pitcairn	1970	— — — ⁴	Manual
Tonga	1968	— — — ⁵	Partially automatic
Western Samoa	— do —	1,550 ³	n.a.

n.a.—not available.

¹ Information for Cook Islands, Nauru, Tokelau, and Wallis and Futuna not available.

² Bairiki and Betio.

³ Subscribers.

⁴ Two systems, one public and one government.

⁵ In 1963 there were 664 telephones.

air flights. Interisland first-class mail is dispatched by air if it is the quickest way.

Nauru, however, has no regular airmail service and is dependent on ships to carry the mail. Many islands, such as Tonga, rely on small trade vessels for mail distribution. Customs officials sometimes serve as postmasters.

CHAPTER 14

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

At the beginning of the 1970s economic and social development programs were underway throughout Oceania, from the largest to the smallest island group. All programs shared a common goal, that of using resources to increase the production of goods and services, upgrade the quality of life, and modernize the economic and social systems. Economic and social development are interdependent. Projects that increase the production of goods and services tend to raise the general standard of living, and social projects related to health, sanitation, and education raise the quality of the population, which is reflected in the amount and character of goods and services produced.

Aside from the common, overriding objective, great diversity of planning exists. Independent island groups are responsible for the formulation and administration of their own plans. Territories that are not autonomous share some measure of this responsibility with the external administering power. In some instances plans are directed toward preparing the island group for economic and social responsibility and eventual political independence.

Programs also differ in scope, time range, and pace of execution. Some are comprehensive, integrated programs covering almost all aspects of the economic and social organization; others are fragmented and limited in application to a few fields. In length of time, plans range from those of short duration to others covering five years or more. The pace of change resulting from program implementation also differs, ranging from rapid and drastic changes in the economic and social environment to a slower pace designed to effect change with the minimum of social dislocation compatible with ultimate modernization. For example, the growth of tourism tends to bring about a rapid change in the social climate.

Prospects for the realization of development goals depend upon a number of factors, including resources, the availability of investment funds, the rate of population growth, and world economic and social conditions. The achievement of a durable and significant measure of change requires the cooperation of the public and private sectors and, at least, a reasonable spirit of commitment to development on the part of the islanders.

PROGRAMS OF INDEPENDENT ISLAND GROUPS

Independent island groups in mid-1970 consisted of: Western Samoa, which gained independence in January 1962; Nauru, which became an independent republic on January 31, 1968; and Tonga, a constitutional monarchy under the protection of Great Britain that became a completely independent state on June 4, 1970. Fiji, a crown colony of Great Britain, expected to attain independence in October 1970, but in midyear details of the change in status had not been fully decided.

Western Samoa

Before the independence of Western Samoa, New Zealand, as the United Nations Trustee for the islands, initiated and directed a development program through the agency of the New Zealand Aid Programmes to Western Samoa. The program, which was maintained from 1960 to 1964, was partly designed to equip Western Samoa economically and socially to cope with political independence and meet the challenges of the modern world.

Soon after independence, moves were initiated to establish machinery for the preparation and implementation of economic development plans by the new state. In 1964 an economic development board with an advisory committee and a secretariat was established, and in October 1965 an act was passed establishing the Department of Economic Development, headed by a minister and a director. The board became a legal entity with defined functions and was empowered to set up advisory committees on agriculture, land, industry, finance and credit, public works, and health and education.

The framework for planning was supported by a series of legislative acts designed to remove obstacles and facilitate the development process. Among the laws passed were: the Enterprises Incentives Act, which established the Enterprises Incentives Board to administer the provisions of the act; the Handicrafts Industry Act, which established the Handicrafts Industry Development Corporation; and the Alienation of Customary Lands Act, which liberalized provisions for land use. At the same time, a survey of the possibilities of tourism was made by an international consulting firm; the Immigration Act was amended to accommodate short-term visitors; Western Samoa joined the Pacific Area Travel Association; and a staff was retained to encourage tourism. In planning the development organization and legislation, as well as in the preparation of the programs that followed, Western Samoa was assisted by a team of United Nations economists.

In 1965 the first development plan of the new state was prepared and accepted, and a beginning was made on implementation. The

program consisted of a series of projects designed to stimulate activity and provide jobs and income in as short a time as possible. Most of the projects were in the fields of agriculture and tourist development.

The five-year development plan for 1966 to 1970 that followed the short-term plan was a comprehensive, integrated plan covering the fields of agriculture, tourism, secondary industry, public works, health and education, trade development, and telecommunications. Projects in each field were carefully worked out, including estimated cost and priorities, and were evaluated according to their job- and income-generating possibilities. Of the total number of projects embraced, fourteen were in agriculture, ten in public works, four in education, and two in health services. Tourism and secondary industry accounted for three projects, telecommunications had three, and two others were related to trade development. It was necessary to postpone part of the proposed program because of financial problems caused by a hurricane in 1966.

Inasmuch as investment capital for the implementation of development projects was limited, it was recognized that it was necessary to encourage the investment of private capital and to obtain foreign loans to supplement domestic funds. Private capital investment was encouraged by the passage of the Enterprises Incentives Act, which granted benefits to new and growing industries, and by the liberalization of policies of leasing land for agricultural, hotel, industrial, and commercial purposes (see ch. 12, Economic Resources). In addition, a trade and development office was established in New Zealand to acquaint overseas investors with opportunities in Western Samoa.

Foreign loans, mostly from New Zealand, augmented scarce domestic capital for public investment projects, such as roads, power development, transportation, and health and education. In order to prevent a burdensome accumulation of annual interest to be met, careful consideration was given to the capacity for annual payments and the benefits to be derived from projects before making loan commitments. In 1969 negotiations were underway for a loan from the Asian Development Bank to be used for the improvement of the airport at Faleola and the reconstruction of twenty-four miles of the road from the airport to Apia.

Implementation of program projects was undertaken according to the availability of funds, and it was found necessary to postpone some projects. Agricultural plans emphasized the improvement and expansion of production of the three major cash crops—coconuts, cocoa, and bananas—although the ultimate goal was the diversification of production to relieve dependence upon such a small range of commodities. To achieve a basic change, a project of small crop

development was undertaken at three agricultural schools. The Lata Land Development project, a more ambitious plan for crop development and large-scale farming, was postponed indefinitely.

By the end of 1968 progress had been made in some of the public works projects included in the 1966-70 program. A project to provide water supply and school sanitation for ten villages in Safata District had been completed, and another one providing water for about 4,000 people on the east coast was almost finished. Plans in the fields of education and rural public health, which had been made with the assistance of appropriate United Nations agencies, had lagged because of the lack of funds for financing them. Under the provisions of the Enterprises Incentives Act, fourteen enterprises had been declared eligible for assistance. The enterprises included hotel construction companies, clothing factories, ice cream, biscuit, and food-processing factories, fishing and fish-processing enterprises, and a tractor assembly plant. Not all were in production in mid-1969, the latest period for which information was available.

Nauru

At the beginning of 1970 economic development planning on Nauru was in a rudimentary phase, consisting mostly of a few uncoordinated projects. The state was aware of the need for organized, long-range economic planning but was perplexed as to what course would be feasible.

The only natural resource of the small island, covering eight square miles, is phosphate, which is a wasting asset of limited duration (see ch. 12, Economic Resources). Phosphate mining has left the land in a condition unfit for agricultural and industrial development and mostly uninhabitable for the rapidly increasing population. Rehabilitation of the worked out land would be costly because it would entail the importation of soil to fill in the area ravaged by mining. Furthermore, Nauru has few advantages for development as a commercial center, as it is off the main shipping lanes and has no deepwater harbors.

Revenue from phosphate mining in the form of royalties and other payments has previously brought prosperity to the island and a high per capita income to its inhabitants. Although details of payments have changed from time to time, since the mid-1920s management of revenue through contributions to trust and investment funds with well-defined functions has been channeled toward the provision of long-range private and public income. According to the Nauru Phosphate Royalties Act of 1968, revenue intended for public use contributed funds for housing, rehabilitation, local government councils, and development. For the private sector, revenue contributed funds to be invested for landowners and cash payments

for owners whose land had been exploited in the previous quarter of the year.

A plan to purchase the assets of the British Phosphate Commissioners and operate and manage the phosphate industry was the first project undertaken by the new state to stabilize the economy and ensure continued income and development. On June 30, 1970, the Nauru Phosphate Corporation, organized in 1969, took over the operation of the industry, which had been paid for in April 1969. After all expenses and royalties had been met, net profits of the corporation were to accrue to the island government to be invested judiciously as protection against the time when revenue from phosphate mining would cease.

In the search for other sources of income, a number of projects have been undertaken. In 1968 the Pacific Sporting Pools, with headquarters on Nauru, was organized to operate football and rugby pools covering games in Australia. Investors were mainly non-islanders, and the Nauru government was to receive a percentage of the company's profits. The enterprise built a hotel to provide living quarters for the staff stationed on Nauru. Later the hotel was to be made available to tourists. As another source of income for the state, from 1968 to 1970 about thirty companies made up of foreign investors and operating in other countries were incorporated or registered on Nauru, providing revenue from registration and a fixed percentage of the funds flowing through the small island state. These projects, however, are minor and are not expected to fill the need in the long run.

The social development and welfare program is active and coordinated, in contrast to the condition of economic planning. The government has taken the responsibility for the construction of houses, which are financed by phosphate revenues paid into a trust fund. Rent is nominal. Education from ages six to seventeen is compulsory and free. The state maintains hospitals and clinics, and no fees are charged for medical and dental services; furthermore, patients are sent abroad for treatment when necessary, and the government bears the expenses for native islanders. Telephones, newspapers, and eye glasses are among the other commodities provided at no cost to the consumer.

Tonga

In 1970 the island kingdom of Tonga was completing its first development plan, covering the years 1965 to 1970, and was preparing to launch a second five-year plan in July, just after independence. Although Tonga had had essential control of its own internal affairs for many years and had been officially connected with the United Kingdom only through the control of defense and foreign

affairs, in development planning and implementation of plans it had received both technical and financial assistance from Great Britain and expected to continue the arrangement throughout the period of the second plan.

The first five-year development plan included both economic and social services. Implementation was under the direction of a financial adviser appointed in 1966 as part of the United Kingdom-Tonga Technical Assistance Program. Financing was to be provided by both local and nonlocal sources, mainly by the United Kingdom, which provided a large grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for plan implementation and a special loan for a proposed new wharf at Nuku'alofa.

Reorganization of the agricultural system with special emphasis upon the rehabilitation of coconut groves was a major goal. The plan also included the development of transportation, communications, and social services to support economic growth. Among the projects completed before the end of 1969 were the deepwater wharf at Nuku'alofa, an airlines terminal building, public structures for postal service, police training, and government administration, and a fresh-water supply system. A hospital with a capacity of 200 patients was almost completed.

Among the continuing projects in the field of health were a national tuberculosis campaign and the establishment of maternal and child care facilities and of family-planning clinics. The clinics were considered important because of the high rate of population increase and the limited amount of land available. Rehabilitation of coconut planting was undertaken with the guidance of a consultant from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. The plan called for the annual replacement of 4,000 acres of unproductive palm trees with new ones.

Planning for the 1970-75 period was based upon a survey of past accomplishments and a forecast of future needs. Technical advice was provided by an economist from the United Kingdom who had spent considerable time in Tonga evaluating the economic and social environment. He emphasized the value of long-range planning, covering as much as ten years. Among the factors stressed in considering the final form of the second plan was the need to accord agricultural development a continuing priority and to liberalize land tenure policy in order to achieve both agricultural and industrial growth. Educational development also was given a priority, but it was considered essential to base the future upon a survey of manpower needs and to adjust realistically to the selective requirements for vocational skills rather than to expand the educational system comprehensively.

In April 1969, just as the island kingdom was entering the final year of the first development plan, the government invited foreign

capital to establish and operate a variety of industries. To encourage the participation of foreign private enterprise in development, the minister of finance prepared a list of desired industries, including possible export producers and import substitutes. Industries providing services for foreign personnel and tourists were also among those suggested. The government undertook a survey of procedures essential to remove obstacles to the functioning of foreign private enterprise and provide a hospitable operating environment. By mid-1970, however, no comprehensive program had been made public.

PROGRAMS OF ISLAND GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH EXTERNAL POWERS

British Dependencies

In 1967 the United Kingdom was providing assistance for the economic and social development plans of the crown colonies of Fiji and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and for the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Assistance was financed, for the most part, by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and by the Overseas Service Aid Scheme that assisted overseas governments in obtaining qualified personnel to staff their public needs until an indigenous staff could be trained.

Development programs had been functioning in Fiji since the end of World War II, as a means of facing the problems of a growing population and of coordinating in an orderly way the financing of projects for economic and social development. The plan for the 1966-70 period, which was drawing to a close in 1970, was the fifth one. Plans were set up on the basis of five-year periods for budgeting purposes; in practice, the implementation periods tended to merge.

In 1959 a commission under the direction of Sir Alan Burns was sent to Fiji to survey the relationship between resources and population. The result, presented in 1960, was known as the Burns Report. Although the report was not adopted as a whole, ensuing plans were largely based on its recommendations. Programs established covered agricultural development, expansion and improvement of transportation facilities, and social development in the fields of education and health. They also included measures encouraging tourism.

Annual expenditures for development have been presented in the capital budget that was based on the longer term five-year plan. Among the projects in progress in 1968 and financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and local funds were subsidy payments to farmers for fertilizers and weedkillers, cocoa planting, coconut replanting, and forestry development. Public works projects included installation of radio navigation beacons, airfield im-

provements, new road construction, and surfacing of existing roads. Projects in the fields of health and education included the construction of school buildings and new hospitals, the expansion and replacement of existing ones, and the improvement of rural medical stations.

The preparation and implementation of development plans are coordinated in the central planning office. In 1968 the work was under the direction of an economist from the United Nations. Other organizations supporting preparation and implementation of plans were the Natural Resources Council, the Land Development Authority, and the Fiji Development Bank. Fiji was scheduled to attain independence by the end of 1970, but in midyear no information was available concerning the impact of this change in status. Preliminary work on the plan for 1971 to 1975 was initiated at the end of 1968.

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony faces an array of serious basic problems, such as an unfavorable ratio of land to population, poor soil, poor communications, isolation and, with the important exception of phosphates, a lack of mineral resources. Furthermore, the islands are confronted with the depletion and imminent exhaustion of phosphate supplies and with an attendant decline in income and employment opportunities unless sources of economic growth can be developed in a relatively short period of time (see ch. 12, Economic Resources).

In the light of these problems, programs for development were initiated in the early 1960s. Projects at first centered on developing the coconut industry and improving communications within the colony. To assist in implementing the coconut project, an agricultural officer was appointed in 1962 to direct the planning and organization of plantations. Later planning was undertaken on a more comprehensive base, and a three-year development plan for 1965 to 1968 was adopted. This program included expenditures for communications, public works, education, and public health, as well as for agricultural expansion.

Development plans are coordinated by island councils with the help of agricultural committees. The Economic Development Committee, which represents a cross-section of the economy, is also consulted concerning the coordination of projects. To study the possibilities of long-range development, the Mooring Socio-Economic Survey team was appointed and presented a report at the end of 1967.

With some reservations the House of Representatives in December 1968 accepted the portions of the report calling for the creation of a Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony development corporation to take over the functions of the government-owned Wholesale Society, the Marine Department, and parts of the Public Works

Department. According to the proposal, the corporation would be composed of five divisions—trading, finance, transportation, engineering, and enterprises—and would be managed by ten directors. In 1970 no information was available concerning the organization or functioning of the proposed corporation.

Implementation of development programs has depended heavily on grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and on assistance from international and regional agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and Australia's South Pacific Aid Programme. In 1968 the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund financed projects in education, water supply and sanitation, harbor dredging, improving transportation and communications, and a variety of training programs.

One of the most important projects undertaken was the establishment of the Merchant Marine Training School for training islanders for service on overseas shipping lines to alleviate the scarcity of employment opportunities. Experiments in coconut culture confirmed the feasibility of its expansion as a significant factor in economic growth, and a plan was underway to develop 4,000 acres of virgin land into a large plantation. Tourism was also being considered as a possible source of additional income and employment.

Great Britain has long been involved in the economic and social development planning for the Solomon Islands, just as it has been for other dependencies in the Pacific. To ensure an orderly allocation of projects and finances, plans have been drawn up for more than one year; most of them have covered about three years. The Fifth Development Plan (1968–70) was nearing completion in 1970.

Plans have covered all sectors of the economic and social system with the ultimate goal of raising the general standard of living and strengthening the economy to the point that the islands could be self-supporting on a continuing basis. The structure of each plan and the specific programs proposed to implement it were presented to the Legislative Council for approval. Different plans have placed particular emphasis on special programs; for example, the Fourth Development Plan (1965–68) stressed raising the standard of education and developing the communications system.

The Fifth Development Plan continued programs that had been initiated under the previous plan but broadened its aims to include an increase in productivity in all fields of the economy. Recognition was given to the need to bring into production all unused land and to the need for an increase in the staff of specialists.

The financing of development programs is a joint responsibility of local government and the protectorate. Because of the lack of local income, however, financing has leaned heavily on grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund of the United Kingdom.

Of the total cost of the Fourth Development Plan, which was A\$12.4 million (1 Australian dollar equals US\$1.12), A\$8.8 million was allocated from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

French Overseas Territories

Programs for the French Overseas Territories have been largely confined to the provision of a favorable environment for the development of the most valuable territorial resource in each area and of supporting services. Since the beginning of the 1960s development in French Polynesia has been centered on tourism, particularly in Tahiti. Revenue from tourism has partially replaced that lost by the closing of the phosphate mines on Makat  a. The Tahiti Tourist Development Board is the agency for promoting tourism internationally and for guiding its development domestically. The board was established in 1966 by the local territorial assembly and has an annual budget financed from locally raised revenue. An objective is the encouragement of tourism on the beautiful but undeveloped outer islands to relieve the concentration of population on Tahiti. This, however, would require heavy investment in facilities on the islands.

Among the specific projects undertaken to promote the growth of the tourist industry are the establishment of a visitors bureau and of travel agencies that organize tours. Entry formalities for visitors have been cut to a minimum. The Tahiti Tourist Development Board, with the cooperation of the Education Department, offers weekly televised courses in English, and a school was organized for training islanders in hotel management and service. The government also encourages the construction of hotels and of other facilities by tax and import duty incentives.

The inflow of funds from an increase in the tourist industry was also accompanied by an inflow of investment from the establishment of the atomic testing center in French Polynesia (see ch. 12, Economic Resources). These sources of growth, however, were regarded as unstable, and the islanders were desirous of preparing a broader program with a long-range solid base, including the development of fishing, cattle raising, and agriculture.

Expansion of the mining sector, particularly nickel mining, and the development of tourism, which were the major bases for growth, have brought to New Caledonia the economic and social problems of a rapidly industrializing society. To meet the demands of foreign personnel of mining enterprises and tourists and the needs of islanders whose way of life was becoming increasingly sophisticated, New Caledonia needed more housing, more and improved health and sanitation facilities, a higher level of education, training facilities, and an increase in services of all kinds.

Although there was activity in some industrial sectors, such as construction of modern hotels, there was no comprehensive economic and social program that brought all sectors into long-range balance. The islanders looked to regional organizations, such as the South Pacific Commission, for realistic assistance in studying their problems and devising programs to cope with them.

The Wallis and Futuna Islands, which are self-governing territories of overseas France, have carried on modest but comprehensive programs since 1961. Projects included the development of production, the improvement of the economic infrastructure, and plans for social development. The five-year plan adopted by the Futuna Islands in 1967 stressed the exploitation of timber resources.

France furnishes some technical assistance and financial aid for development purposes to overseas territories. Appropriations are made from the Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development (Fonds d'Investissement pour le Developpement Economique et Social), which is the counterpart of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund of the United Kingdom.

United Kingdom-French Condominium

In the New Hebrides, which is governed by a United Kingdom-French condominium, economic development programs are the responsibility of both administering powers. There is a well-defined division of responsibility, and development is carried on through a joint plan, two national development plans, and a local development plan. Funds for their implementation are derived from different sources.

The most important programs have been undertaken under the joint development plan, which is financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund of the United Kingdom and the French Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development. Projects undertaken jointly have included the improvement of communications and education, a major plan for agricultural development, and assistance in the organization of cooperative societies. Financing of projects is on an equal or counterpart basis. Each national government contributes the same amount or, in those instances where a project is financed entirely by one government, the other government is responsible for one of equal size. Among the projects undertaken for the improvement of communications have been the construction of new receiving and transmitting stations and the construction of a road to Waisisi, the most important port on the island of Tana.

Programs for the New Hebrides have emphasized the agricultural sector, and in 1962 the Joint Development Plan for Agriculture was initiated. The plan provided for the establishment and staffing of

agricultural stations and for an agricultural training school at Tagabe. The training school was financed by funds from the United Kingdom. The French government financed a coconut research station because the expansion of coconut culture was the major factor in increased agricultural production. In 1969, however, cattle breeding, rather than the expansion of the coconut industry, was stressed because of competition from synthetic substitutes for coconut oil.

Under national plans the British and French governments separately have assisted in the establishment and maintenance of educational and medical facilities. Funds are provided from the same sources that finance joint programs. Assistance for educational institutions has also been provided by voluntary agencies and by the Australian South Pacific Technical Assistance Programme. Funds derived from local taxation are used to finance small-scale public works programs, such as improvement of water supplies and of secondary roads contained in the local development plan.

As in many other island groups, tourism has been a growing source of income and employment in the New Hebrides, and development of hotels and resort areas was in process at the end of the 1960s. Furthermore, foreign investors have been buying land with the objective of building houses for foreigners who would like to enjoy life on an island in the Pacific. The growth of tourism is favorably regarded by islanders and the administration, but the construction of subdivisions for foreigners is looked upon with uncertainty.

Territories Administered by Australia

In June 1967 a report on the potential economic development of the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which are administered by the Commonwealth of Australia, was presented to the House of Assembly. The broad guidelines rested upon the recommendations of a survey undertaken in 1963 by a mission from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) at the request of the Commonwealth government. Under the terms of the trusteeship, the government is responsible for the economic, social, and political development of the territories (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems).

After some revision the major recommendations of the mission were incorporated in a program covering the fiscal years 1968/69 to 1972/73. The broad objectives of the program were the increase in production of all sectors of the economy and the greatest possible participation of the native population to prepare for economic and political independence.

The program was comprehensive and coordinated. In economic development it covered the fields of manufacturing industry, agri-

culture, mining, power supplies, transportation, communications, and tourism, with long-range plans and shorter targets for accomplishment. The program also estimated population growth, labor force potential, and financing needed, and envisaged a division of responsibility between the public and private sectors. The program recognized the need for financial aid from Australia and for foreign investment in attaining proposed goals (see ch. 12, Economic Resources).

The development plan for the fiscal years 1968/69 to 1972/73 included proposals for the improvement of health and education services, as well as the growth of the economic sector. Expansion of the secondary, technical, and higher levels of education was stressed in the report of the mission as essential to a higher quality of life and to the training of a better qualified labor force.

The mission, in the 1964 report, made specific recommendations, several of which had been implemented before the plan was initiated. These included the appointment of an economic adviser with a professional staff, the promotion of tourism, the establishment of the Papua and New Guinea Development Bank, the improvement in the functioning of the Board of Statistics, and the development of self-help projects in primary education. In 1970, midway through the plan, no published report concerning quantitative results was available. The initiation of work on a Bougainville copper mine was of significance, but it was not far enough advanced to measure the overall impact on the economy.

Territories Associated with New Zealand

At the beginning of the 1970s development programs were established in the Cook Islands, Niue, and the Tokelau Islands, all of which were associated with New Zealand (see ch. 7, Governmental Systems). Plans differed, however, in scope and emphasis.

In the Cook Islands, which became a self-governing territory in free association with New Zealand in 1965, economic planning is provided for at the cabinet level, and the division of economic planning is attached to the department of the premier. In carrying out development programs of the educational system and social services, New Zealand has made sizable grants or subsidies.

Specific development programs are concentrated on the encouragement of tourism and, to implement the programs, the Cook Islands Tourist Authority, headed by a general manager, was established in 1969. Plans for accommodating tourists included the completion of an international airport to be in use in 1971 and the construction of hotels and other services. The goal was the construction of facilities in keeping with the character of the landscape and the maintenance of native culture, insofar as possible. To ac-

comply with these objectives, the manager licenses hotels, restaurants, and night clubs and has the authority to control the architecture, size, and character of facilities constructed. In the interests of encouraging tourists, in 1970 members of the government and cultural groups visited Australia to extol the delights of visiting the islands.

On Niue, also, provision for economic development is included in the government structure and is a function of a member of the executive committee. The Niue Development Board is responsible for planning and financing programs. Because of inadequate revenues, however, economic development has been financed largely by grants and loans from New Zealand, which financed the three-year development program for 1968 to 1971. The major goal of this program was the rehabilitation of the coconut industry by clearing about 1,700 acres of undergrowth to promote increased productivity of the trees already planted.

In 1965 the Community Development Office was established within the administration department for the planning and implementation of social programs. Among the projects under the direction of this office are housing improvement, community water supply, broadcasting service, publication of a weekly newspaper, women's organizations, and various types of social welfare work.

Because of the scarcity of economic resources, development programs in the Tokelau Islands are directed toward improving community facilities to better the quality of living. In 1966 a four-year program was initiated to build new schools, hospitals, post offices, radio stations, and other public buildings and to provide facilities for teachers, doctors, and nurses. New Zealand has provided financial aid in carrying out the programs.

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The islands of Oceania receive substantial assistance from the United Nations through its specialized agencies in the planning and implementation of a wide variety of development programs. Projects are undertaken with the approval of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), which was initiated on January 1, 1966, as a successor to two former programs, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the United Nations Special Fund. Specialized agencies of the United Nations are responsible for implementation of projects approved by the United Nations Development Program. Assistance is provided at the request of the interested island group. For dependent territories, assistance is provided upon the request of the administering governments. There is close cooperation between international and regional organizations.

In mid-1967 sixty United Nations specialists were working in the South Pacific area. They represented the Food and Agriculture

Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Their fields of technical expertise ranged from assistance in the preparation of the development program of Tonga to fieldwork in home economics. Projects were in process in Fiji, the New Hebrides Condominium, Niue, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the Wallis and Futuna Islands, and Western Samoa. Fellowships for special study are also awarded under the United Nations Development Program. Upon special request of a member country, the IBRD has also provided technical guidance for economic and social development.

REGIONAL COOPERATION

The South Pacific Commission, which was established in 1947 by the governments that were responsible for administering territories in Oceania, is highly influential in directing and assisting the economic and social development programs of the island groups. The functioning of the commission is regional, although membership includes related Western governments (see ch. 9, The South Pacific Commission).

The commission is interested in the fields of economic development, social development, and health. It has no administrative authority over territories, but it provides assistance in carrying out programs through its role as consultant and adviser. It prepares and carries out an annual work program in the three major fields of interest. In preparing the project agenda, the commission is guided by advice from the Research Council and the South Pacific Conference, which are subsidiary bodies. The South Pacific Conference must meet at least once in three years; since 1967 it has met annually. It is attended by representatives of dependent territories and by delegates from independent groups. The conference serves as a forum for representatives, who discuss their mutual and peculiar problems and, for this reason, is important in the formulation of a work program.

Among the functions of the commission are the organization and conduct of conferences, meetings, seminars, and training courses in fields of interest. The South Pacific Commission is represented at meetings and courses sponsored by agencies of the United Nations and works closely with these agencies in carrying out regional objectives.

The program for economic development includes projects in plant production and protection, exploratory investigations in the role of forests and of fisheries, livestock production, and agricultural education. Among the most important programs for plant protection are the five-year rhinoceros beetle research project, conducted

jointly with the United Nations, and the study of rat control in the South Pacific. This study is assisted by technical personnel from the United Kingdom.

In the field of social development, major projects have been in education, including important innovations in the teaching of the English language, community training, youth work, territorial library development, urbanization, social and labor problems, and population studies. Technical papers prepared under the direction of the Research Council make important contributions to both economic and social planning.

Health projects of the commission included the appointment of a public health engineer in 1964, the establishment of a program for maternal and child health, a training course in mental health, and training in nutrition. Health programs were assisted by specialized agencies of the United Nations.

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(Various issues of the following periodicals were used in the preparation of this section: *Pacific Islands Monthly* [Sydney], November 1969-February 1970; and *South Pacific Bulletin* [Sydney], October 1968-January 1970.)

GLOSSARY

ainoid—A member of ancient, basically white, people whose ancestors migrated out of Asia to Oceania. Akin to the caucasoid peoples of Europe and the Ainu strain in Japan.

ali'i—Samoan title of chief.

ANGAU—Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit. Institution created by the Australian government during World War II to jointly administer Papua and New Guinea. It was the precedent for the establishment of the combined Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1949.

ao o le malo—Title of the head of state of Western Samoa provided under the Constitution passed on May 9, 1961.

arikis—Traditional leaders in the Cook Islands.

bêche-de-mer (also called trepang or sea cucumber)—An edible sea slug found throughout the Pacific and considered a delicacy in China.

"big man"—Pidgin (q.v.) term used in Melanesia, meaning leader or economically successful man.

blackbirders—Unscrupulous nineteenth-century European labor recruiters who raided the islands of Oceania, sometimes using chiefs as hostages, to procure cheap labor for plantations, mines, and other Western enterprises.

Bose Vakaturaga—See Great Council of Chiefs.

cargo cults—Religious movements with political, economic, and anti-European overtones that have appeared throughout Melanesia since the late 1890s. They are often based on the expectation that Western-style goods or other cargo would soon come from the ancestors via some magic ship, airplane, or from an ill-defined source. Policies of noncooperation with the government are common, as are programs of destroying or consuming all the community's goods while awaiting the millenium.

commune—The basic unit of local government in the New Caledonian administrative system in 1970. Each commune is headed by a municipal council elected by universal suffrage which, in turn, elects a mayor from among its members.

demis—French term used in French Polynesia for Polynesians and Euronesians (q.v.) who have assimilated many of the behavioral patterns and attitudes of the European French.

Euronesians—Persons of part European and part Polynesian or Melanesian extraction living in Western Samoa.

fa'a Samoa—"The Samoan way," the traditional and customary way of life.

fale—Samoan word for house.

fautua—Title of adviser held by certain family heads in the traditional Samoan political system.

fono—Samoan word for village council. *See nu'u*

Fono a Faipule—The traditional consultative body of the indigenous Samoan political system.

French Overseas Territories—Territories administered by the French minister of state for the Overseas Departments and Territories, assisted by a director of overseas territories. The heads of the territorial governments are appointed from Paris; inhabitants are French citizens and elect members to the French Parliament by universal suffrage.

Great Council of Chiefs (Bose Vakaturaga)—Advisory body of Fijian political system concerned with rights and welfare of indigenous Fijians.

kava—A Polynesian drink made from the dried root of the arrowroot plant, a species of the pepper plant family. In much of Polynesia the drinking of *kava* is an important social event, and both its preparation and initial drinking follow a rigid ceremony. When consumed in large quantities, it produces a mild, harmless state of intoxication.

lava lava—A draped cloth, knotted at the waist on one side and hanging just below or above the knees, worn by men.

Manutikitiki—*See* Tiki.

matai—Titled village family head in the traditional Samoan political system.

mataqali—Fijian term for patrilineal clan; often, but not always, the maximal unit for land tenure and exogamy. *See yavusa*.

Mau a Pule (sometimes Mau)—A Western Samoan political movement, dating from the early twentieth century, that advocated the restoration of the monarchy and preservation of *fa'a Samoa* (*q.v.*).

Mautikitiki—*See* Tiki.

me'etu'apaki—A traditional Tongan dance that involves the carrying of flat wooden figures representing the human body, resembling canoe paddles.

moka—Traditional exchange system of the highlands of New Guinea involving gifts of pigs between allies. The highlander's ability to supply pigs for the exchange brings social prestige and gives him the right to wear a certain number of bamboo strips hang-

ing down his chest, the number of bamboo strips indicating ... degree of his participation in pig exchanges.

Niagramel movement—A cult, led by Jimmy Stevens, that promised New Hebrideans the recovery of European-owned land and the best of the traditional and modern world. His followers, who numbered about 10,000 in the late 1960s, have occasionally defied the administration by refusing to cooperate with government authorities.

nu'u—Samoan word for village; the basic territorial unit of the traditional political organization.

pidgin—The lingua franca of much of Melanesia; used throughout Oceania to communicate with foreigners. It is composed of a mixture of European, mainly English, words and indigenous vocabulary with native grammar.

pitonu'u—Samoan word for subdivision or section of a village.

Pupu Here A'ia (Patriot's Party)—The second largest political party in French Polynesia, founded in 1965 by its present head, John Teariki.

sago palm—Malaysian palm, especially of the *Metroxylon* genus, that yields sago and is cultivated for the food it produces.

sitoo—Small trading ships whose decks are set up as trading stores, providing the major external commercial link for many small islands in the Pacific. The ships appear on a relatively regular basis, several weeks apart, and often provide the limited freight, passenger, and mail service available for these islands.

tahuna—Polynesian word, conveying the idea of "master," for specialized and highly trained artisans serving not only in the creation of artifacts for pragmatic and ceremonial purposes but also in the performance of ritual ceremonies associated with the use of the artifacts.

tapa (or *siap*)—Bark cloth. A basic clothing material, made by soaking and beating the bark of the paper mulberry tree.

Te E'a Api no Polynesia (or La Voie Nouvelle de la Polynesia—the New Path of Polynesia)—With members and leadership drawn from the defunct nationalist party, it is the largest party in French Polynesia. Its head in 1970 was Francis Sanford, who was a member of the Territorial Assembly and the territory's representative in the French National Assembly.

Tiki (sometimes Manutikitiki or Mautikitiki)—A Polynesian mythological figure who, as an aborted embryo, rose from the sea and captured the sun. He is frequently considered the first man and alternately becomes a god, semi-god, or superman. He is credited with bringing fire to man and with the birth of several island chains. He is a favorite subject for sculptured artifacts,

such as small amulets called Hei-Tikis that are hung around the neck.

totem—An animal, plant, or natural object sacred to a tribe or clan. In some instances, the name of the clan or tribe is derived from the totem, and the totem is alleged to be the supernatural founder of the group. In Oceania a concern with the danger of sacrilege to the totem often involves prohibitions against killing, eating, or handling the totem or objects, animals, and plants thought to be associated with it.

tulafale—A traditional Samoan title meaning orator.

veddoid—An ancient people, akin to the Vedda people of Ceylon and South India, who migrated to Australia and Western Melanesia in the early postglacial period. Taller and lighter in skin coloring than the earlier Negrito migrants, the two intermixed to form the basis of the present-day Melanesian population.

yavusa—Fijian term for a cluster of mataqalis (*q.v.*) united by shared inheritance from an ancient progenitor or by historical traditions of alliance. Where shared inheritance is the uniting factor, the *yavusa*, and not the *mataqali*, is the maximal unit for land tenure and exogamy.

SUPPLEMENT

Guam

American Samoa

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

GUAM

Guam is a possession of the United States. The Department of the Interior has responsibility for administration. Enactment of the Organic Act of Guam of 1950 brought the island its first civilian governor and extended American citizenship to all Guamanians. The Territorial Government of Guam is the only administrative unit and has jurisdiction over all island activity except for matters concerning military installations. The first gubernatorial elections were scheduled for November 1970.

By 1970 little of the original indigenous culture had survived. Chamorro traditions existing at the time of the arrival of the Spanish had been largely displaced by Spanish traditions during the eighteenth century. The presence of United States military personnel and their dependents after World War II, moreover, had largely displaced the 300-year cultural heritage left by the Spanish. Contemporary culture increasingly had become reflective of the basic values and aspirations of American mainland society.

Personnel of the United States military services and their dependents constituted about 40 percent of the population in 1970. Their participation in the island's economy has been a major stimulus to economic growth. The island's strategic location, its use as a major military supply depot, and the projected construction of munitions wharf indicated continuance of the military presence for the foreseeable future.

Heavy typhoon damage in 1962 severely strained economic resources. By 1970 sectors of the economy not only had recovered but had gone on to surpass 1962 levels of development. The major areas of economic activity were government administration, construction, commercial activity, and services. Particular potential was seen in the development of tourism. Much construction of hotels and other tourist facilities occurred during the 1960s, and the island was becoming an increasingly popular stopover for trans-Pacific tourists. Major interest in the island as a resort spot was being evidenced by Japanese tourists.

Social services were well established. The majority of programs were administered through the departments of health and education. The University of Guam offered undergraduate and advanced degrees, and remedial and adult education programs were available; certain island education programs included residents of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Health standards continued to im-

prove, and the medical facilities available through civilian or military centers were of the highest quality.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Indigenous People

Information is limited concerning the history of the island before the arrival of the Spanish. The indigenous language was not put into written form until after the arrival of the Spanish, and early accounts do not record the existence of long chronologies or genealogies similar to those found in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific. If such accounts did exist, they have since been lost. Carbon dating from cooking pits shows the presence of man as early as approximately 1320 B.C. Potsherds, stone tools, and weapons found in archaeological diggings indicate that the island was well populated at least 3,000 years ago and became at some time the major population and trade center for all of the Mariana Islands.

Although the origin of the Chamorros is still uncertain, on the basis of their language and way of life they are believed to be Malayo-Polynesian. Parts of their language are similar to languages found in Indonesia and the Philippines. Potsherds found on the island are similar to some found in the Philippines. They are the only oceanic peoples, moreover, to cultivate rice. On the basis of such facts as these, most anthropologists agree that if the Chamorro did not themselves have origins in Southeast Asia they had prolonged contact and intermixed with peoples who did.

The Guamanians of 1970 had a highly mixed genetic heritage, which included Spanish and other Western European, Filipino, Hawaiian, American, and Asian traits. No pure Chamorro stock remains. The original Chamorros closely resembled the Polynesians of Hawaii. They were tall and well built. The women were attractive and prided themselves on their gracefulness. They had light brown skin and straight, black hair, which both men and women wore long and sometimes knotted on the top of their heads.

Period of Spanish Sovereignty

The arrival of Ferdinand Magellan on March 6, 1521, brought the first contact with the West. Since the crews of Magellan's three ships were suffering from scurvy and malnutrition, they welcomed the three-day stop, not only to replenish the ships' store of fresh water, vegetables, and fruits but also to regain strength. During the stop, one of the small boats used to ferry the crew and supplies back to the larger ships disappeared. Magellan accused the islanders of stealing it and took a landing party of forty men ashore. They killed seven islanders, burned forty or fifty houses, and destroyed several native craft.

On the basis of his experience with the natives, Magellan gave the island the name Isla de los Ladrones (Island of Thieves). It is reported in some accounts that Magellan called Guam and the adjacent islands Isles de las Velas Latinas after the triangular sails the natives used on their sailing praus. The islands were generally referred to by most writers, however, as the Ladrones until the mid-seventeenth century, when they were renamed the Marianas after Queen Marie Anna, then regent of Spain. The island of Guam itself retained the name that the indigenous people had given it, spelled on eighteenth-century maps as Guahan.

With the exception of sporadic visits by various explorers, the major contact with the West for 150 years after the landing of Magellan was the annual layover of Spanish galleons traveling between Acapulco and Manila. The natives obtained metal items through trade with the Europeans. There was little attempt to influence the indigenous culture of the island, and the main interest of Spain in the island was as a source of food and water.

The first Spanish explorer to arrive on the island after Magellan was Fray Garcia Jofre de Loasia in 1525, who stayed for four days. The number of sick men on board resulted in a scarcity of labor. He forced eleven natives to man the pumps and set sail.

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived on January 22, 1565. The natives were reluctant to board his vessel after the seizure by the last visiting captain. From the safety of their boats, they limited their trade to exchanges of food for playing cards, beads, and cloth. A landing party went ashore on January 26 and claimed the island as a royal possession of Spain. When natives stoned a water-collecting party and then killed a cabin boy, the captain reputedly went ashore, hanged three natives, and burned numerous houses.

English explorers and privateers in search of Spanish vessels also stopped. Sir Francis Drake is believed to have stopped for a day in the fall of 1579, and Thomas Cavendish reported firing on natives who followed his vessel in 1588 too far beyond the island for his liking. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, visits by the English and Dutch became predominant. Olivier Van Noort landed on September 15, 1600, for a two-day stopover. Joris Spilberghen stopped for two days on January 23, 1616. Jacob L'Hermite landed in 1626 with the most formidable armed fleet ever to stop at the island. He stayed for seventeen days before setting sail.

During the second half of the seventeenth century the Spaniards established the first permanent Western settlement on Guam. The religion of the Chamorros was supplanted by Christianity. The various wars between the Spanish and the Chamorros, coupled with smallpox and typhoons, resulted in the decimation of the population from an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 in the early 1600s to about 5,000 in the late 1690s.

Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores was the first to be interested in

permanent settlement. He had stopped at the island in 1662 while enroute to the Philippines. Through a series of petitions to the Spanish throne, he was able to obtain royal support for the establishment of a mission on Guam. On June 15, 1668, he brought the cause of the Roman Catholic Church to the island.

Sanvitores was accompanied by a Spanish garrison consisting of a captain, thirty-two soldiers, four priests, and some lay assistants. They found two shipwrecked crew members of a Spanish ship and one Chinese. Through one of the two crewmen, a native of Malabar, they were able to communicate with the islanders. The initial success of the missionaries declined after the first year. The missionaries taught ideas that meant a reduction of the islanders' freedom in most phases of life. The open reception of converts from any class created resentment on the part of the upper class. The enemies of the missionaries, for example, began to report that poisonous water was used in baptism rites.

The first church, Dulce Nombre de Maria, was opened on February 2, 1669. It was built of stone on a site donated by a convert. A school called the Royal College of San-Juan de Letran was built at about the same time. Six months later an interpreter was killed while he was advancing the faith on a nearby island. The first priest was killed in January 1670 on a similar mission. These deaths reflected hostility on Guam as well as on the other islands, and on July 23, 1670, open rebellion broke out.

The rebellion was quelled by October, in the process of which many islanders were killed. Unrest continued, and Sanvitores himself was killed on March 31, 1672. His death brought an end to the check on the Spanish garrison that had existed. Spanish reinforcements continued to arrive, and on May 2, 1672, an incident erupted that brought the beginning of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars, which lasted until 1695.

The first governor of the island, Captain Francisco Irrisarri Vinar, arrived on June 10, 1676. He was the first administrator to hold a title placing the military over the mission. The first two governors were oppressive but were followed by Don Antonio de Saravia, who instituted some reforms and under whose administration the islanders began to adopt certain Spanish customs. He died in 1683. Several insurrections and reprisals followed.

During most of the eighteenth century the island remained a relatively isolated outpost of the Spanish dominion of New Spain. Administration was handled through the viceroy of Mexico. The indigenous population continued to decline under the Spanish and in 1783 reached its recorded low of about 1,500 people. During the first quarter of the century the island was troubled by two pirate expeditions. An expedition was made from Guam to establish a permanent military mission in the Carolines, but it failed. The

Jesuits were expelled in 1769. This created economic havoc and added to the general decline of island conditions. Some reconstruction and reform were instituted under Governor Mariano Tobias, who was appointed in 1771, but he was removed shortly afterward. Major expeditions to stop at the island included those made by Anson, Crozet, and Malaspina.

The nineteenth century marked the end of Spanish rule on Guam. The administration of the island shifted from the viceroy of Mexico to the governor general of the Philippines. Spanish governors attempted to improve island productivity and living conditions, but their efforts were marginal. The three most noted for their efforts were Blanco, Villalobos, and de la Corte. The century saw a number of scientists, travelers, and whalers. The first United States ship recorded to have visited the island arrived in 1802.

United States Possession

On April 25, 1898, the United States Congress declared a state of war between the United States and Spain. The *USS Charleston* and three troop transports under the command of Captain Henry Glass left San Francisco to join Admiral George Dewey's forces in Manila. Glass received sealed orders at Honolulu directing him to divert to Guam and to take it in the name of the United States before proceeding to Manila. On June 20, 1898, the *Charleston* and her convoy reached Guam. The local Spanish commander put up no resistance to the entry of the *Charleston* in Apra Harbor since, according to the last mail two months earlier, the United States and Spain were presumed to be working out a peaceful settlement. The small boarding party of Spaniards assumed that the volley of shots by the *Charleston* was a friendly gesture, and initially they expressed regret that they had been unable to return the salute since they were entirely out of ammunition.

The relatively-calm transfer of political control of the island was followed by about six months of near civil war between various local factions over claims to the governorship. The issue came to an end with the arrival of the first United States governor, Captain Richard Leary. He established certain departments headed by military personnel directly responsible to him. The governor himself was directly responsible to the secretary of the navy, but limited communication facilities left the governor in true command. This pattern was followed for about fifty years. Islanders became nationals of the United States but for some time lacked citizenship. Many needed changes and improvement were made under the naval government, especially in sanitation, agriculture, public health, education, and general administration.

The most violent contact Guam experienced during World War I

was the sinking of the German cruiser *Cormoran* in Apra Harbor by its own crew. This was done rather than to allow its capture by Americans. Between the two world wars the island made substantial economic strides, and contacts with other parts of the world increased. After the establishment of the first Guam Congress in 1917, pressure developed for greater self-government. The island experienced a heavy economic setback in 1940 as a result of typhoon damage. The United States, fearful of Japanese expansion, began to fortify Guam as a key Pacific base.

The Japanese Occupation

The island was beginning to recover from the economic setback it had received in 1940 when World War II broke out in the Pacific. Finding himself virtually defenseless, the navy commander surrendered to the Japanese on December 10, 1941. The Japanese removed all Americans from the island, and for a period of thirty-one months the Guamanians were subject to heavy demands by the occupying Japanese forces. In March 1942 control of the island was shifted from the Japanese army to the Japanese navy. Schools were then reopened in Agana, and all adults and children were required to attend Japanese language classes. Business and religious freedoms were strictly limited, although some initial freedom was granted. Islanders suspected of aiding a small group of Americans hiding in the jungle were shot or beheaded. Only one of the Americans survived, and many islanders sacrificed their lives in order to keep him safe. Some natives were executed on false charges to help keep the islanders obedient. Guamanians were pressed into forced labor along with Koreans brought by the Japanese.

The Liberation and Postwar Years

Food had become increasingly scarce by the summer of 1944. Most islanders were attempting to augment their diets with local food items. Japanese reprisals and discipline were nearly unbearable. On July 21, 1944, American reoccupation forces landed on the beaches. The two landing points flanked Apra Harbor. The Japanese had entrenched themselves in cliff caves, pillboxes, and the major permanent structures. The initial encounter was fierce. Japanese forces gradually fell back, and the Americans pushed north.

Most of the islanders had been herded into concentration camps before the arrival of the Americans. There they remained for about two weeks, suffering extreme deprivation, until they were able to overcome their Japanese guards or were rescued by American forces. Their removal to these camps was a blessing in disguise, regardless of the intention of the Japanese, for it placed the people out of the major areas of combat.

The last enemy command post was stormed on August 12, 1944, and major enemy-organized resistance ceased. Over 7,000 Japanese still remained on the island with no command to call for their surrender. Attempts to round up these soldiers took several months, and some soldiers were still able to conceal themselves. From time to time, even as late as 1960, Japanese soldiers were discovered in hiding. Their major concern was not defense but to avoid returning to Japan.

At the time of the initial capture of the island, a military civil affairs unit was sent in to set up a governmental system for the island. In October 1944 this unit became the Military Government of Guam. For about two years it conducted administrative matters on the island. On May 30, 1946, the Military Government was abolished, and the island was returned to naval administration. The reconstruction of cities and the infrastructure was begun, and the economy mushroomed. In 1947 the secretary of the navy granted certain home-rule powers to the Guam Congress. In 1949 administration of the island was transferred from the secretary of the navy to the Department of the Interior, and the first civilian governor was appointed. On July 21, 1950, the Organic Act of Guam became effective. It granted all the inhabitants of the island United States citizenship and provided for a greater measure of self-government.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Geography, Climate, and Vegetation

Guam is located in the Western Pacific at about 13° north of the equator. It is the most southern, most populous, and largest island of the Marianas chain. The island is 30 miles long and ranges from 4 to 8½ miles in width. It has a total landmass of about 209 square miles. The island has a strategic position in the Pacific Ocean. It is 5,600 miles from San Francisco, 3,318 miles from Honolulu, 1,340 miles from Tokyo, 1,499 miles from Manila, 2,302 miles from Saigon, and 2,006 miles from Sydney.

The landmass was formed by the successive upheavals of a submarine volcanic mountain range and the limestone beds of the coral reefs surrounding the range. The northern end of the island is a plateau of rolling hills set on vertical cliffs rising 300 to 500 feet above sea level. The cliffs are marked with crevices, and small caves are found at various heights in the cliffs. These caves were formed by the breaking of the surf against what was once the sea-level line. The island narrows in the middle around a low dome-shaped mass of land that the islanders named the island's belly.

The southern half of the island shifts its axis by about forty degrees and widens into a complex of mountains and valleys where small streams and several waterfalls are found. The highest point of land is Mount Lamlam, located on the mid-southwestern coast and

rising about 1,330 feet above sea level. Native legends hold the mountain to be the source of the winds. Although small deposits of lignite and flint nodules have been found, the only mineral deposits of any consequence are layers of iron ore.

The island's volcanic origin makes it susceptible to earthquakes. Slight, barely felt tremors are common but cause no damage. A major earthquake of the twentieth century occurred in 1902. Fissures one to two feet wide opened in certain parts of the island, and sulfur fumes were detected in one area. The entire level of the island was raised slightly, creating visible flats of limestone reef at low tide.

The western side of the island offers the most protected beaches, whereas those on the eastern side are beaten by heavy seas. The major beach on the east coast of the northern half of the island is Tarague Beach, which is beautiful but dangerous for the inexperienced swimmer. The east coast of the southern half of the island has many small bays. They are semi-reefbound and can be reached by only the smallest of craft. On the west coast of the southern half of the island, a long stretch of sandy beach is divided into smaller private beaches by rocky fingers of the coastal ridge. Access to them from the sea is closed by reefs. The two most popular beaches are Tumon and Agana, on the lower western side of the northern half of the island.

Tides and heavy swells make anchoring hazardous. The only natural bay of commercial value is Apra Bay, formed in the San Luis de Apra Basin on the upper western coast of the southern half of the island. Its development for commercial uses came largely after World War II and was aided by the construction of the Glass Breakwater. Farther down the coast are Agat Bay and Umatac Bay. Agat Bay has considerable economic potential, and Umatac Bay was used as a supply station by the Spanish.

With the exception of rainfall, the climate is fairly stable. The mean annual temperature of the island is 81°F. The temperature seldom falls below 75°F and usually goes no higher than the upper eighties. The temperature rises in May and falls in November.

The average annual precipitation is between 90 and 100 inches. Brief morning and evening rains are common year-round. The dry season is marked by a decrease, but not cessation, of rainfall between December and March. The heavy wet season falls in the summer months of July and August and ends by October. Thus the periods of maximum heat and rainfall are slightly offset. A single month during the wet season may have 20 to 25 inches of rain. Although the lowlands may be temporarily flooded during heavy rainfall, the island's topography does not result in accumulations of water; by the end of most storms the water has either drained into the sea or been absorbed into the soil where it readily evaporates.

Trade winds blow from December until June, making the climate pleasant. The season from late summer until December is oppressively humid and is marked by southwest monsoons. Typhoons are most common in April and November because of the greater incidence of mid-ocean low-pressure areas during this period. There are usually several typhoons each year. These commonly have winds of 80 to 100 miles per hour moving around a central eye of total calm. At such time the vegetation often is stripped from windward slopes. Most deaths caused during a typhoon are the result of blows from trees, structural beams, or other debris hurled by the winds. Since World War II violent typhoons have occurred in 1949, 1962, and 1963. During the 1962 typhoon structures designed to withstand winds of 150 miles per hour were severely damaged. Winds were estimated at a sustained 175 miles an hour with gusts of 200 miles per hour. This probably was the worst typhoon to have hit the island in recorded history.

Plant and Animal Life

The tropical climate yields a lush vegetation, including vines, savanna grass, and various species of palm and other trees that would rapidly cover most of the island if not constantly cut back. The vegetation cover of the northern half of the island has a lower crown height than that of the south. The winds on the east coast of the southern half of the island have reduced vegetation on the coastal slopes, and in several places these have seriously eroded.

Trees found on the island include coconut, breadfruit, banyan, *ifil*, (ironwood), banana, and several types of flowering species. Coconuts, supplemented by rice, were used as the major food staples before the arrival of the Spanish. A local variety of the banana was cooked in the form of a mash or dried as flour. Additional species were introduced by the Spaniards. Breadfruit was eaten and, in recent times, used as cattle feed. The trees provided fibers and a latex-like base for sizing and whitewashing.

Wild orchids are found, as are frangi pani. Flame trees and hibiscus were introduced from other islands. The fruit of the soap orange tree was used traditionally in the washing of clothing. Three species of the pandanus (screw pine) exist and were used, along with palm leaves and the two species of bamboo found on the island, for the construction of traditional structures.

The areca palm, a source of betel nuts, was probably not an indigenous plant but was introduced well in advance of the arrival of the Spanish. The betel nuts are about the size of a small chicken egg, orange in color, and covered with a fibrous husk. The meat of the nut is wrapped in a leaf of the pepper vine with a small amount of quacklime. The action of the lime and betel nut produces a blood-red color. Betel-nut chewing results in discoloration and

eventual destruction of tooth enamel. It has a mild narcotic effect on the chewer and also kills certain intestinal parasites.

The ironwood tree is the most valued timber tree on the island and is now protected by law. The wood is termite resistant and, when freshly cut, has a saffron color. It turns black with age and eventually becomes so hard that holes must be drilled in it before nails or screws can be inserted. It was used for furnishing better island homes during the Spanish possession of the islands. It was particularly popular as flooring in traditional Chamorro construction. The wood was polished to a high gloss with grated coconut and a soft cloth.

The island has a limited range of animal life. There were no quadrupeds indigenous to the island, and the only indigenous mammals that have been found are two species of bats. One of these species is a large fruit bat highly prized by the Guamanians as a delicacy. Rats and small, large-eared mice abound. Small deer were introduced by the Spanish in the 1770s. At one time the deer were numerous and used as a major source of meat. Today the deer population is low.

The bird population suffered, as did most island animals, during the war. It was reduced by heavy spraying of insecticides after the war. There are numerous shore birds, such as the reef heron and varieties of rail. Although the native kingfisher attacks small birds and baby chicks, the only true bird of prey is a short-horned owl. The only true songbird is a member of the warbler family. There are many varieties of dove, one species of tern, and no seal gulls.

One bird found on the island that many naturalists consider the most beautiful is the rose-crowned fruit dove. The wings and back are green. The lower portion of the body shades from orange or yellow into purple on the breast. The head is capped with a rose or purple crest. The most unusual bird on the island is the megapode. It builds a nest on the top of a mound of earth it has heaped with its powerful feet. The bird has a reddish bald spot on the top of its head. It has become so rare that some authorities believe it has become extinct on the island.

There are no snakes of the usual kind on the island, although there is a six-inch-long scaled worm with microscopic eyes. Sea turtles are common visitors in coastal areas. Insect life is minimal save for many species of mosquitoes, none of which are malarial. Stinging ants, however, have been known to kill a baby chick with their stings. Lice and bedbugs are very rare. Two unique species of butterfly are found on the island, and large water bugs and dragonflies can be found in interior valleys. Termites eat both dead wood and growing trees. Nonpoisonous but painful scorpions and centipedes are common. A social wasp invades structures in December and nests in furniture, stored papers, and seldom-used objects. Large spiders sometimes reach six to ten inches in diameter.

Three different types of lizards are found on the island. The most formidable in appearance is the iguana. Although reaching larger sizes elsewhere, on Guam the iguana usually grows no more than four to six feet in length. It ranges in color from a yellowish brown to a muddy green. It preys on small birds, eggs, and chickens. It has been known to attack small dogs when cornered but generally flees when encountered. The skink is a small lizard usually under six inches long. It has a turquoise-blue tail that detaches when grasped, allowing the creature readily to escape capture. The most common lizard is the ting gecko. It has tiny suction-cup-like pads on its toes enabling it to climb walls and hang from ceilings in search of insects. It is considered bad luck to kill a gecko and, once used to their presence, most people enjoy their bird-like chirp.

Although fresh shrimp and crabs were at one time widely eaten, fresh-water fish are not common and are not prized by the islanders. Species of fresh-water eels have sometimes been found. A variety of hermit crabs, coconut crabs, sea crabs, and night-feeding crabs are found in coastal areas. Small, brilliantly colored tropical fish, eels, and small squid live in the bays protected by reefs. Tuna, shark, blue marlin, and other deepwater fish are found along the coast. The islanders formerly caught fish from magnificent sailing praus. Both the art of fishing and the construction of the boats have been lost.

The numerous kinds of domesticated animals found on the island were introduced after the arrival of the Spanish. Mules and horses were introduced for draft purposes, but the water buffalo, introduced from the Philippines, proved the most adaptable to the climate. Attempts were being made in 1970 to improve the strain of domestic cattle. Most cattle suffered from the heat and were limited meat and milk bearers. Goats were kept by some families. There were some wild cats and dogs, but most of them were at least marginally dependent on population centers for food. Wild boars sometimes mix with domesticated pigs and are reported to roam in the interior portions of the southern half of the island. Chickens provide an important food item for the islanders, and fighting cocks are highly valued.

POPULATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

The population in 1969 stood at 104,000. This was an increase of about 4 percent over 1968 and about 55.1 percent over 1960. About 40 percent of the island's population was composed of United States military personnel and their dependents. The civilian population in 1969 was listed at 62,000. The most recent breakdown of civilian population figures was for 1968. About 79.2 percent of the civilian population was listed as Guamanian. About 8.3

percent were from the United States, and about 3.1 percent were Filipino. Between 1959 and 1968 the civilian population grew by almost 49 percent. During the same period of time the population listed as Guamanian increased by 37.2 percent.

About 52.8 percent of the civilian population was male. Over half of the civilian population of the island was below the age of twenty-five. Emigration of the young in search of employment opportunities has been high, particularly since the typhoons of 1962 and 1963. Japanese reprisal executions of teenage laborers during World War II distorted the age structure of the island's population.

Population centers are concentrated on the coastal or narrow middle areas of the island. The capital, Agana, and its suburb, Agana Heights, are located on the western side of the middle of the island and had a combined population of about 6,200 in 1968. The other major population centers in 1968 were Agat, Barrigaga, Dededo, Mangilao, Sinajana, Tamuning, and Yona, which had populations ranging from about 3,000 to 7,000. All except Agat were located relatively close to the narrow middle of the island.

The average birth rate for the 1960-70 period was about 25.2 per 1,000 population. The death rate for the same period stood at about 3.3 per 1,000. Both rates were relatively stable during the ten-year period. The infant mortality rate in 1968 was 20.3 per 1,000 live births. This was a decrease of about 1.4 percent over the previous year. Maternal deaths stood at 0.39 per 1,000 live births and represented a decrease of 50.6 percent over the previous year. Of the total deaths recorded in 1968, 18.3 percent were under one year of age; 3.6 percent, between one and four; 8.8 percent, between fifty and fifty-four; and 29.9 percent, between sixty and seventy-four.

The leading cause of death in 1968 was diseases of the heart and blood vessels, representing 26.4 percent of all deaths. Motor vehicle and other accidental deaths constituted 13.8 percent; pneumonia and cancer each made up 7 percent; and cirrhosis of the liver and vascular lesions each represented 3.7 percent.

Public, private, and military medical facilities were in operation. The major public facility was the Guam Memorial Hospital, which was fully accredited and offered the most modern stateside facilities. Modernization during fiscal year 1969 brought the total number of hospital beds to 285. Total hospital admissions were listed at 7,667, an increase of 4.67 percent over the previous year. There were 1,819 newborn babies. Outpatient visits numbered 37,246, and 34,363 X-ray examinations were performed.

The establishment of an islandwide system of health care centers was under consideration in 1970, under which both public and private groups would share common local facilities. Funding for the facilities would be provided by an independent, voluntary, non-profit corporation.

One wing of the hospital was being modernized and reconstructed to provide a new forty-eight-bed ward for tuberculosis patients. Free medical service offered to tuberculosis patients increased during 1969, and particular emphasis was placed on prevention of the disease. About 5,000 schoolchildren in grades seven through twelve were given the tuberculin antibody test. Of these, about 111 students were placed on medication, and 1 was given therapy. Groups considered to have a high incidence of tuberculosis, such as alien contract laborers, were also tested. The basic program has been highly successful, and the once grave danger of death from the disease has been virtually eliminated.

During fiscal year 1969 there was an increase in free mental health service provided. Patients numbered 169 in that year. The program was severely handicapped by the difficulty encountered in obtaining professionally qualified personnel. Special interest was being shown in suicide prevention and juvenile problems.

New equipment was installed during fiscal year 1969 in the physical therapy services on the island. The Crippled Children Services provided aid for 4,619 children, an increase of about 63 percent over the previous year. Over 450 new cases of speech and hearing defects were diagnosed, and more than 40 persons were helped in obtaining hearing aids. There was a special program training 60 preschool deaf children, who were victims of the German measles epidemic of 1964.

Various studies of health conditions were in process or had been completed in 1970. Modernization and construction of laboratory and research facilities included the Public Health Laboratory and water-testing services. Modernization of the dental clinic at the Guam Memorial Hospital was in progress, and the construction of a dental training facility was scheduled. There was a scarcity of trained dental personnel, and in the interim the main focus was on dental care for the young. A series of weekly, half-hour television programs offered health education, and there was an information program on drug abuse.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PATTERNS

Social Structure

At the time of the arrival of the Spanish, most Chamorros on Guam lived in small villages of wood and thatch dwellings along the coast. Some of the most prestigious islanders lived in impressive structures built on stone columns. The basic social unit was the family. Although marriages were relatively easily terminated, each man had but one wife at a time. Concubines were permitted, and unmarried males were allowed considerable sexual freedom. After puberty all males lived in the village clubhouse until they married. Each clubhouse had its secret rituals and festivals.

The descent system was matrilineal. A man inherited property and titles from his mother's brother. It was forbidden to marry within the descent line. Society was divided into three basic classes with economic and political implications. About 25 percent of the population were classed as nobility, and most of the others were commoners. Between the two was an ill-defined group composed of persons who had formerly belonged to the nobility but had lost their status by marrying a commoner or committing some other offense. A group of villages was headed by a leader who, if distinguished in life, often became an object of worship in death. The concept of group responsibility for individual acts of right and wrong did not exist, and most events were not viewed as right or wrong but as the result of natural causation.

As a result of the initially rapid conversions to Christianity and the later reduction of the population, the values and structures of Chamorro society were rapidly eroded. By the time the Spanish lost possession of the island there were no genetically pure indigenous people, and the islanders had lost almost all traces of their Chamorro culture. Even the structure of their language had assimilated many Filipino and Spanish elements.

Most of the Guamanians no longer lived in small clusters of villages near their gardens but in towns. The center of their life changed from the men's clubs to the local church. Instead of following patterns set around planting and harvest festivals, they followed the church calendar and the celebration of its festivals. Towns were laid out on Spanish models. The capital had a cathedral, a central plaza, and stone buildings with red tile roofs. Land was held by the government and a few *mestizo* (person of mixed blood) families.

Farming remained the major occupation, but those who worked the land lived in urban areas. The dependence upon barter, the use of strings of seashells for money, and the making of long trade expeditions for highly valued items had been replaced by wage earning and the use of Spanish coinage.

Young women were carefully guarded from contact with members of the opposite sex by a complicated chaperone system. They were never allowed to attend dances or parties where men were present. Spanish clothing styles and adaptations of Manila dress were popular. The matrilineal descent system was abandoned, and European concepts of the family were adopted. Afternoon chocolate drinking became popular, and the men delighted in cock fights. Elaborate preparations were made for saints' days, and long processions and novenas were popular. Feasts of Spanish food followed, or were part of, most social functions.

Beginning with the transfer of the island to United States possession and until World War II, there was a gradual erosion of Spanish

traditions. The village school received greater stress as a center of community activity. American concepts of inheritance were instituted. Parental marriage arrangements gave way to choice by the individuals. A money economy was supported by the governing navy authorities. The *mestizo* upper class was displaced by the navy authorities, who favored a new upper class of entrepreneurs. Although the opportunities to participate in democratic institutions were marginal, the islanders were exposed to such concepts. The youth abandoned Spanish traditions of dress and patterned their lives on models of the United States.

The erosion during the first forty years of the twentieth century was carried further after the United States reoccupation of the island at the end of World War II. Although the maintenance of the Spanish traditions among the old, particularly in regard to religion, still continued, by 1970 this was a marginal aspect of society. The majority of Guamanians reflected the basic culture, society, and values of mainland Americans.

Religion

Indigenous Practices

There is little publicized information on the religious practices of the Chamorro except for the accounts of the early explorers and priests. There was no organized priesthood, but there were three different kinds of professional practitioners of magic. The highest ranking were the *makahna*. It was believed that they could communicate with the *aniti* (spirits) of the dead, the bones of some of whom were kept in baskets and anointed with coconut oil. The *makahna* had control over sickness and death and could also induce rain and a good catch of fish. They may have also performed black magic.

The *kakahna* were a lower class of sorcerers. It was believed that they too could cause and cure disease and sickness, but their other powers were limited. They could pass their supernatural powers on to their children. The third class, *suruhana*, used herbs rather than appeals to the supernatural to cure illness. They are not mentioned in many of the early Spanish reports but are believed by many authorities to predate the arrival of the Spanish.

There were elaborate burial ceremonies. Intense grief was usually expressed through prolonged weeping, fasting, and the striking of shells and blowing of trumpets. When someone of high rank died, the paths in the villages were decorated with garlands of palm branches, and funeral structures were erected. Sometimes homes, boats, or coconut trees were destroyed to indicate the depth of grief. A series of songs and chants called the *tinaitai* was performed

for many days and nights. Internment took place on house sites, in caves, or sometimes in clay burial urns.

The kind of death experienced by the departed was believed to determine his afterlife. Those dying violent deaths went to Sasalaguan (Hades), where the demonic Chaifi heated their souls in his forge. Those dying tranquil deaths went to an underwater world filled with flowers, exotic foods, and sweetmeats.

Christianity

Since the introduction of Christianity in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit priest Diego Luis de Sanvitores, religious expression has been dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. In 1970, 96 percent of the island's population was Roman Catholic. Under the Jesuits stone churches, rectories, and a college were constructed. They operated several ranches, with a herd of cattle at least comparable to the island stock in 1970. In 1767 the Jesuits, having won the enmity of most of the European governments, were banished from all Spanish possessions, and their property was ordered confiscated. News of this decree did not reach the island until two years later. The priests were herded into a small boat with but a few possessions and ordered to leave the area.

The spiritual administration of the island was then entrusted to members of the Augustinian order, who carried on their work until they were deported in 1899 under orders from the first American governor. Only a Guamanian priest, Padre Palomo, was allowed to remain. In 1902 three Spanish priests of the Capuchin order arrived and were allowed to stay by the second American governor.

In 1909 the spiritual administration of the island was placed under German priests of the Capuchin order on Saipan. They tried to replace all the Spanish priests with German priests, but the American authorities resisted. On April 30, 1915, the first bishop of Guam arrived from Spain.

After 1935 Spanish Capuchin priests were gradually replaced by American priests of the same order. With the arrival of the Japanese occupying forces, the bishop and the ten American priests on the island were sent to Japan as prisoners of war. Immediately after reoccupation there was only one resident priest.

During the postwar period, under the direction of the new bishop, William Baumgartner, historic structures that could be saved were restored, and new structures were begun. The first permanent postwar church was dedicated in April 1947. The first school operated by the Roman Catholic Church was opened the following year. In 1955 construction of a new Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral on the site of the old structure, built in 1669 in Agaña, was announced. By 1960 most of the rehabilitation program had been completed.

Protestant missionaries first arrived in 1909. The first group were Congregationalist. Their mission was abandoned the next year for lack of funds. The Congregationalist facilities were reopened in 1911 by the General Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. The growth of the Protestant movement has been slow but steady. Protestant groups included Baptists, Episcopalians, Jehovah's Witnesses, Latter-Day Saints, Lutherans, and Seventh-Day Adventists. Ecumenical efforts were being made between these groups and the Roman Catholic Church.

Education

In 1970 the island had a well-developed education system composed of both public and private schools on the primary and secondary levels and a university offering graduate degrees. The government has placed heavy emphasis on education as a key to development and modernization. Between 1960 and 1969 just over \$60 million was spent for operating expenses, and about \$15.6 million was spent for classroom construction. The total expenditure for education for fiscal year 1969 was \$17.6 million. This represented about 40 percent of the total budget and was an increase of about 13.2 percent over the expenditure for the previous fiscal year. Education was compulsory between the ages of six and sixteen. There were about 1,000 teachers in primary and secondary schools.

In 1969, excluding the university and vocational or technical institutes, there were forty-seven public and private schools. About 33 percent of these schools were private religious schools. The total enrollment in the schools was 26,897. This was an increase of about 50 percent over the enrollment figures for 1960. About 20 percent of these students were enrolled in private schools.

At the opening of the 1969 school year there were about 16,500 students enrolled in thirty elementary schools. Eight of these schools were private and accounted for about 20 percent of the total elementary enrollment. Public elementary schools comprised grades one through six. A publicly supported kindergarten program was planned for the fall of 1970.

In the fall of 1969, 5,465 students were enrolled in eleven junior high schools, and 4,856 students were enrolled in six senior high schools. About 22 percent of the students in junior high and 14.7 percent of those in senior high school were enrolled in private schools. In June 1969, 894 students received high school diplomas from public schools.

Secondary education is divided into three years of junior high school and three years of senior high school. Upon completion of junior high school, students may elect to follow a college preparatory course or a general academic program. They may also elect to

enter the Guam Trade and Technical High School, which offers on-the-job training.

The University of Guam originated in 1952 as the two-year, co-educational, and public-supported Territorial College of Guam. It was housed in quonset huts on the campus of the Mongmong High School. There were about 200 students, most of whom were military dependents with prior teaching experience being retrained for teaching positions on the island.

A general academic program was added in 1963, and a business curriculum was offered beginning in 1956. In 1963 the college received accreditation from the Western Association of Schools and Colleges as a four-year liberal arts degree-granting institution. Reorganization in 1967 created three undergraduate areas—including the College of Letters, Arts, and Science, the College of Continuing Education, and the College of Education—and a graduate school. In 1968 the Territorial College of Guam became the University of Guam.

The university has moved to a new campus overlooking Pago Bay and has undertaken a substantial program of construction. Facilities in 1970 included a three-story science building, the Robert Kennedy Library, a fine arts building, and two classroom buildings. A student center, three dormitories, and a health science building to house the School of Nursing were scheduled for completion in 1970.

Enrollment in the fall of 1969 was 1,885, an increase of 27 percent over the fall registration of the previous year and 166 percent over the registration of 707 in the fall of 1959. About 57 percent of the students attended full time. The average class size was 19. There were 102 teaching faculty members, 21 percent of whom held doctorates.

Degrees awarded by the university included associate of arts, bachelor of arts, master of arts, master of education, and master of science. Continuing emphasis was placed on teacher education. In June 1969 the university granted two associate of arts degrees, eighty-eight bachelor of arts degrees, and twenty-three master's degrees.

In 1969 a wide variety of programs was being coordinated or jointly operated by the Department of Education. There was a preschool program in which 150 children were enrolled to develop English-language skills, and a pilot project under the Learning Resources Center was experimenting with the use of television for teaching English. The Community Action Agency (CAA) had instituted a Head Start program for 938 children from underprivileged homes. Programs had been set up for handicapped children. Milk and lunch programs were available.

Adult education programs offered vocational and literacy courses,

and vocational skills ranging from stenography to welding were available under a program operated by CAA. A special study of the education needs of the island and the effectiveness of the methods being used to meet those needs had been implemented.

Artistic and Cultural Expression

Literary Traditions and Language

The literary tradition is oral and consists of two basic groups of legends as well as numerous short stories. The form and content are fixed, but neither is rigidly adhered to. The oldest cycle of legends concern the creation of man. Chaifi, who ruled the winds, waves, and fire and lived in Sasalaguan, created souls to serve as his slaves. One day, while he was creating another soul, great confusion broke out when one of the fire pits became overstoked. One of the souls escaped to Laso Huao rock at the southern tip of the island of Guam. He turned to stone immediately but, warmed by the sun and softened by the rain, he eventually came to life.

Free to wander on the beautiful earth, the soul longed for company and so molded a man from the red earth and the water. He gave it a soul formed from the warmth of the sun. The story continues with the unsuccessful attempts of Chaifi to find his escaped soul-slave and destroy him.

The second body of legends concerns the Taotaomona (literally, people of beforetime). These were supposed to be the ancestors of the Chamorros and were at least eight feet tall. They were venerated not as gods but as supermen having great strength and power. Each region had its own Taotaomona figure, who may have actually had some historical validity or been entirely fictional. The Taotaomona were originally considered supreme leaders among the Chamorro chiefs. To prove their superiority, the Taotaomona were supposed to level a mountain, sever a coconut three into ten parts, and swim around the island several times.

The spirits of these superhuman leaders were believed to remain near their village after death. They lived in banyan trees or in abandoned houses, which were to be avoided at all costs. The spirits could cause disease and sickness. Care was taken to warn the spirits of one's approach. Even after World War II some fishing parties would group together on the reefs singing songs and calling out the traditional phrase announcing their presence.

Individual Taotaomona were known for particular qualities. Anufat was very ugly. He had a large hole in his side stuffed with fern leaves and teeth six inches long. Gatos was known for being well endowed sexually. Others included Funtan, Mapappa, and Gamson.

A diverse body of tales and short stories exists. Some are about animals, explaining, for example, how the lizard got its spots and

the kingfish got its color. Some tell about the origins of certain rock formations. In explaining the narrow middle of the island, one tells of a giant grouper fish that tried to eat it. The fish was lured through an underwater passage into a spring, where maidens caught it in a net they had woven with strands of their hair. There are many stories for children, such as those about elves who live in the jungle.

Some tales come from the time of the Spanish control. The most famous of these is the tale of the two lovers whose marriage was forbidden by the parents of the girl because the boy was poor. Instead they arranged for the girl to marry the captain of the Spanish troops. The two lovers hid on the wedding day. The Spanish troops found them, but the two had woven their hair together and jumped from a cliff into the sea. The point is still called Puntan Dos Amantes (Two Lovers Point).

Except for some older islanders, almost all Guamanians speak English. Chamorro, a Malayo-Polynesian language, is still used by some families, but its use is declining. Before the arrival of the Spanish it was unwritten. The alphabet that has been adopted is a roman script identical to that used in Spanish. The contemporary form of Chamorro has changed considerably from the old Chamorro in use before the Spanish arrived. Many traditional words and phrases have been dropped from common usage, and new words have been evolved. The indigenous numerical system once used by the islanders has been replaced by the decimal system.

The spellings of words often vary from village to village, depending on the local preference for Spanish and indigenous sounds and forms. Several consonants and some vowels are interchanged. Almost any word can be used as a verb. There are no real adjectives in the language; however, other parts of speech are easily transformed into adjectival forms by the use of a prefix, suffix, or infix. Stress is usually placed on the first syllable of two-syllable words and on the next-to-last syllable of words with more than two syllables.

Music

Both Spanish and American melodies and musical forms have been blended with indigenous traditions. The major traditional Chamorro form is the Tsamorita. It usually consists of two couplets with meanings that may or may not be related. Usually the second and fourth lines rhyme. There are many set songs sung to the Tsamorita melody, but new songs are constantly improvised. Often the first couplet is sung by a tenor, soprano, or falsetto voice, and the second couplet is picked up by a chorus.

The Tsamorita is most commonly used to taunt a rival in sports or to tease an unresponsive party in whom one has a romantic interest

when performed in group sings. It is often directed at a particular individual in one of the groups with improvised couplets bantered between two different groups. It is like a game played until one of the singers or groups cannot come back with a refrain equal to the one sung to it by another group or individual. It was often sung at night by fishing parties or travelers to keep up their spirits or give them courage should they be passing a spot where supernatural beings were felt to dwell.

The major musical instrument to have survived from the Chamorro culture is the *belenbautuyan*. This instrument is formed by stretching a fiber or, in modern times, a strand of steel, over a single bridge attached to a long pole of *pago* or wild hibiscus wood. The string is rubbed with a length of *neti* (sword grass) reed. Attached to the pole is a gourd, sometimes replaced by half a coconut shell. The gourd is placed against the stomach of the player, supposedly to add resonance. In 1968 there were only two islanders who could be said to be masters of the instrument.

There are many songs that represent combinations of Western folk songs and indigenous innovations. Love songs and songs to be sung to children or while working are numerous. There is also a variety of dances. Few of these songs and dances represent Chamorro forms, and many, such as the *punta i tacon* (tip of the heel) dance, were composed in the nineteenth century.

Although there was some interest in compositions blending traditional and contemporary musical forms, the major focus in 1970 was on Western traditional and contemporary music. The Guam Symphony society sponsors a symphonic wind ensemble which, during the 1967-68 season, performed both classical and popular works in concerts. The ensemble is composed of about forty musicians, including college professors, teachers, businessmen, American military personnel, and students. The society also supported the performance of Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* by the Symphonic Choral.

Painting

Although wall paintings can be found in a cave near Inarajan, painting as an art form was not a traditional means of cultural expression. The establishment of art programs in the postwar school system has been a major stimulus in creating a group of young teachers and students with impressive potential. They work with watercolors, oils, and other contemporary media in abstract, realist, and pop styles. Many of these works are on display at the art gallery of the University of Guam, and annual showings of students' works from elementary and secondary schools have existed since the 1950s.

Architecture

Traditional structures were well made and represented some of the most advanced building concepts in the Pacific. There were three types of buildings: houses, men's clubs, and boat-storage facilities. The more prosperous groups constructed their structures on raised stone pilings called *latte*. The supporters were two to three feet in diameter and had a bulbous head to which beams were attached. The remains of these pilings can still be seen and are considered by many natives as places to avoid for fear of spirits who dwell there. The walls were often of thatch and, in many cases, were the lower curve of a mammoth roof. The floors were frequently made of wooden planks.

After the arrival of the Spanish, whole structures of stone were erected. Sometimes they were given a stucco finish and were topped with tile roofs. They were constructed along the lines of Spanish structures with courtyards and balconies. The average islander still lived in thatch structures, and *latte* construction had disappeared. *Mestizo* families lived in stone or wood structures designed along the plan of the stone buildings built by the Spanish. Ruins of Spanish bridges, churches, administrative buildings, and forts can still be found, particularly in the southern half of the island. The most impressive structures standing before World War II were in the capital.

The Spanish stone structures and the structures designed and built by Americans before World War II were destroyed during the war and the liberation of the island. Temporary structures of thatch and later of wood were constructed. The vast majority of postwar buildings were metal quonset huts. By the 1950s wooden frame structures with corrugated, tar paper, or composition roofs were becoming common in the villages, and reinforced concrete and cement block buildings were being constructed in urban and military areas.

Typhoon Karen in 1962 proved as devastating to island structures as had the war. About 78 percent of all privately owned buildings were damaged or completely destroyed. This was a loss of almost \$40 million. Over \$2 million of damage to hospital facilities, \$7.5 million to library facilities, \$3 million to sewers, and \$5 million to schools and university facilities were reported. Many of the structures damaged had been considered typhoon proof. Ninety-seven percent of the structures in Yona, 85 percent of those in the capital, and 90 percent of those in Inarajan were destroyed or severely damaged.

Construction since the 1962 typhoon has been rapid and impressive. The most modern techniques and construction materials have been used. The Guam International Air Port Terminal is a striking adaptation of *latte* pillars forming an umbrella or mushroom-like cover. The Government of Guam Building is a long screen-like struc-

ture with a sculptured facade. Contemporarily designed homes, hotels, churches, and shopping centers incorporate air conditioning, glass walls, and other modern facilities.

Clothing

In general, the Chamorros used very little clothing, although some women wore small aprons suspended from cords tied around their waists. The aprons were usually made of leaves or woven mats. Flowers were worn for special occasions. Paper-thin sheets of tree bark were also sometimes used for clothing. The Chamorro were familiar with neither loom-woven fabric nor the production of tapa cloth.

Men of rank sometimes wore chest ornaments and strings of sea-shells and segments of tortoiseshell, which had social and economic value as well as an ornamental function. While fishing, men sometimes wore hats or eye shades made of pandanus or palm leaves and sometimes palm leaf sandals for protection. Unmarried men carried carved or plain staffs to which three streamers of bark strips were sometimes attached.

The Spanish missionaries encouraged the natives to wear clothing. Spanish styles became the basic model and led to the evolution of the traditional formal dress for women that was still worn by some in 1970. This dress consisted of a long skirt, usually of a floral printed fabric, and a lightweight underblouse, with a transparent overblouse with large puffy sleeves. Flowers matching those in the skirt print were embroidered on the sleeves of the overblouse. The style was similar to that worn in the Philippines. Mantillas and pierced earrings of gold often completed the ensemble. The vast majority of the islanders in 1970 wore Western clothing following American fashions. Semicasual styles were gradually being replaced by more formal attire, especially since the introduction of air conditioning.

Handicrafts

Although potsherds recovered from archaeological diggings indicated that pottery production was once widespread, ceramic work has not survived to the modern period. For many years it was believed that pottery production had never been known on the islands. Pottery was made by hand, not with a potter's wheel and probably not with coils, but patted into shape by hand or with the aid of small cone shell or wood scrapers.

Most of the potsherds—only one intact pot has been found—are of coated ware and do not indicate knowledge of the sophisticated concepts of tempering and firing. They lack glazing, although some were finished with a red clay slip and refired. Most of the potsherds are plain, but about 40 percent have incised geometric patterns or

are impressed with pandanus mats. A few potsherds indicate well-fired and well-tempered work and have what appears to be a brown slip. Pots were used for cooking and as water jars and burial urns. Slingstones and sinkers for nets also were made of clay.

Although Chamorros were skilled at making stone implements as well as chiseling out from coral slabs the large pillars used to support their homes, there is little evidence to support the existence of figure sculpture in either stone or wood. Rock carvings similar to those found on many islands in the Pacific are reported on the faces of cliffs in the southern part of the island. Carvings sold to tourists today are largely imported from the islands of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and do not represent indigenous traditions. Considerable skill was shown in the construction of the large native praus used for fishing and long-distance traveling. Fishhooks were sometimes fashioned out of mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell.

Indigenous weaving was limited to basketry made of pandanus or palm leaves. The most common items were household baskets or mats. The natives wove the sails for their praus from strips of pandanus, and certain foods were steamed and served in small woven containers. Housing construction utilized woven mats for partitions and sleeping and work areas. Fish nets were also plaited from reeds and fibrous strips.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Government Structure

United States administration of the Territory of Guam is provided under the 1950 Organic Act and its amendments. By law the Department of the Interior is responsible for island administration. The Territorial Government of Guam is the only administrative unit on the island. All Guamanians are citizens of the United States. They do not, however, participate in national elections, nor are they represented in the United States Congress. The Government of Guam does maintain a representative in Washington, and legislation was pending in Congress to allow the island nonvoting membership.

The government of Guam is composed of three branches: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The executive branch is headed by the governor, assisted by the secretary of Guam. Both serve four-year terms. Provision for the first civilian governor came under the Organic Act of 1950. Previously, the island had been administered by the United States Navy, and a naval officer served as governor. Selection of the governor was made by the President of the United States. The first Guamanian governor, Manuel L. F. Guerrero, was appointed in 1963 with the confirmation of the Senate. Under the Guam Elective Government Act of 1968, provi-

sions were made for the popular election of the governor and lieutenant governor. The act limits the term of office to no more than two consecutive terms. Each term is for four years. The first elections were scheduled for November 1970. The administration under the governor is divided into departments, such as the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Education, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Finance, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Administration.

The legislature of Guam is composed of twenty-one biennially elected members. It is unicameral and empowered to pass legislation on local affairs, including taxes and government appropriations. Bills require the signature of the governor before passage. The first legislative body, known as the Guam Congress, was established in 1917. It was limited to discussions of village problems and served only in an advisory capacity to the naval governor. The present legislature was established under the 1950 act.

The judicial branch is composed of two courts—the District Court of Guam and the Island Court. The District Court possesses the jurisdiction of a judicial court of the United States. It decides all cases concerning laws of the United States, all cases concerning amounts over \$5,000, and all cases where jurisdiction has not been vested in the Island Court under the Provisions of local laws. The judge of the District Court is appointed by the president of the United States with the approval of the Senate for an eight-year term. Appeals from the District Court are taken to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States.

The Island Court possesses jurisdiction over some cases where the issue does not involve a claim exceeding \$5,000 in cases concerning domestic relations, in domestic probates, in claims against the government, and in criminal cases not involving felonies. It also has jurisdiction over tax cases.

Political Developments

Although political developments between 1968 and 1969 were dominated by the enactment of the Guam Elective Governship Bill, there were several other important developments. The United States Congress authorized a funding increase of \$30 million for the Guam Rehabilitation Act, established to remedy the devastation wrought by the 1962 typhoon. Congress also approved an appropriation of \$5 million for economic development, including agricultural programs and the establishment of industrial parks. The Guam legislature approved the reorganization of the executive branch, resulting in the creation of four new departments and the revision of two existing departments with the transfer of some of their functions.

In 1970 there was little evidence of any widespread political movement calling for either independence or statehood. The major

interest of most political groups focused more around obtaining the right to vote in the national elections of the United States and obtaining nonvoting representation in the United States Congress. The issue of local labor versus mainland labor or alien contract labor seemed to be increasingly assuming political prominence. One of the major issues discussed by the Guam legislature was the desire of the Navy to expand its harbor facilities into the Cella Bay area on the southwestern coast of the island. The legislature passed a resolution opposed to this expansion and to inclusion of the island in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands with other islands of the Marianas chain.

Development and Research Programs

The government of Guam is the major source of support, either independently or in cooperation with agencies of the federal government or military forces on the island, for research and development programs. The majority of such programs are operated through the University of Guam or through the Guam Department of Agriculture.

In addition to the regular university departmental research programs, such as those conducted by the Science Department in the new Marine Science Building facilities, there is a broad range of research programs being coordinated by the Micronesia Area Research Center (MARC) of the university. In 1970 the Micronesian Institute for the Natural Sciences, a subdivision of MARC, was involved in research and control of the crown of thorns starfish attacking the island's reef. It was also conducting research on the ecology of shallow-water brown algae and, in cooperation with other groups, studying various means of water pollution control. The Council of Anthropological Research, another division of MARC, was conducting research on linguistics and health. Other divisions of MARC were engaged in research on diverse topics, including youth and the law, history of the island, child rearing and personality development, and enculturation in Micronesia.

The Guam Department of Agriculture was engaged in several independent programs. In order to preserve and protect fish and wildlife, the department was making an inventory of animal life and carrying out basic research about their habits and vital needs. It was also engaged in a melon fly eradication program designed to combat fruit flies by introducing laboratory-bred sterile flies into the fly population. This program has been successful and was scheduled to be followed by a leaf-miner control project utilizing host parasite introduction techniques.

The government of Guam was engaged in several research and development projects in cooperation with agencies of the federal government of the United States. Many of these required matching

grants in funds by the government of Guam. Most were through the University of Guam or the Department of Agriculture. Two major programs in progress under joint cooperation between the United States Department of Agriculture and the Guam Department of Agriculture were deep-sea fishing exploitation and control of corn pests.

The introduction of technology to the island arose from the military presence. Some aspects of research and development on the island continue to arise from this source. In 1969 a Radio Corporation of America (RCA) satellite communication earth center began operation. It was designed to handle United States Department of Defense needs but will later be able to serve also private and public communication needs, offering live intercontinental television as well as telephone, telex, and private circuit service.

THE ECONOMY

Recent statistical information on various sectors of the island's economy did not provide in 1970 a general framework or index to measure relative and absolute economic growth in comprehensive terms. The most inclusive publicized information covered goods and services. Gross receipts for the total market value of all goods and services for fiscal year 1969 stood at about \$215.3 million. This represented an increase of about 219 percent over fiscal year 1959 and about 28 percent over fiscal year 1968. The major sectors by value were trade and services. Wholesale trade represented about 26 percent of the total market value of goods and services; retail trade about 35 percent; services, about 36 percent; manufacturing, about 2.3 percent; and amusements, about 1.1 percent. Fiscal year 1969 began on July 1, 1969, and ended on June 30, 1969.

Banking

During the 1960s the number of financial institutions on the island slightly more than doubled from seven in 1961 to fifteen in 1968. The major portion of this growth occurred during the last half of the decade. The institutions included one savings and loan association and two banks and their branches. Two additional banks were scheduled to open in 1970. All banks had home offices outside the island. In 1968 the total deposits in all financial institutions were valued at \$53.1 million, slightly over twice the \$25 million value of deposits in 1961. About 94 percent of all deposits were placed with banks.

The total loans outstanding in 1968 were valued at \$52 million, representing an increase of almost four times over the 1961 value of 13.6 million. Eighty-eight percent of all loans were held by commercial banks. About 25 percent of all loans were mortgage loans,

representing a total value of about \$12 million. This was about 3.4 times the value of mortgages in 1961. About 68 percent of all mortgages were held by commercial banks. Consumer loans represent about 45 percent of all loans outstanding in 1968, and loans to business and commercial enterprises amounted to about 32 percent of all loans outstanding.

In addition to commercial banking facilities, there were also programs sponsored by the local and federal governments. The Guam Housing Corporation was established by the local government in 1965 to assist in financing low-cost housing. Both the Small Business Administration and the Federal Housing Authority maintained branch offices in Agana.

Government Finance

The two sources of government expenditure on the island were the federal government, including the military, and the local government. In 1969 expenditures by various agencies of the federal government were valued at \$5 million and represented about 3 percent of all government expenditures on the island. This was an increase of about 6 percent over expenditures for fiscal year 1968 and 85 percent over fiscal year 1959. Military expenditures for fiscal year 1969 stood at \$95 million and represented 63 percent of all government expenditures. This was a 9-percent increase over fiscal year 1968 and a 63-percent increase over fiscal year 1959.

Operating expenditures by the government of Guam for fiscal year 1969 totaled \$44.6 million, or about 25.7 percent of all government expenditures. This was an increase of 35 percent over 1968 and 235 percent over 1959. Capital improvement expenditures for fiscal year 1969 stood at \$5.8 million, a decrease of about 1.6 percent over the previous fiscal year but an increase of 87 percent over 1959. The largest single operating expenditure was for education, and it represented about 42.4 percent of total operating expenditures. General administration expenditures represented about 12 percent; hospital costs, about 9 percent; and health and social services, 6.8 percent.

Operating revenue for the government of Guam in fiscal year 1969 stood at \$47.6 million. This was an increase of about 28 percent over 1968 and 147 percent over 1959. The largest single source of revenue for the local government in 1960 was income tax, accounting for almost 56 percent of total revenue. The two other major sources of revenue were federal grants-in-aid and the gross receipts tax on business gross sales.

Tax schedules for Guam are generally lower than for other United States jurisdictions, but there is the usual range of taxes. Only one taxing authority exists, however, and there are no county, municipi-

pal, or school district tax levies. The federal income tax of all residents, including military personnel, is diverted to the local government.

Trade

Domestic

The island serves as a major distribution center for much of Micronesia. The growing demand for modern products through the area as well as items to service the tourist trade and for use in construction has been the major cause for significant growth in the wholesale sector. Wholesale trade in fiscal year 1969 was valued at about \$55.9 million. This was an increase of about 1 percent over the previous fiscal year and about 757 percent over 1959. The relative value of wholesale trade increased from about 9.4 percent of the gross value of all receipts for goods and services in 1959 to about 16 percent in 1969.

Inventory turnover rates have been rapid, and warehouse space has not been able to keep up with demand. In fiscal year 1969 retail trade was valued at about \$74.7 million, an increase of about 5.7 percent over 1968 and about 140 percent over 1959. The average growth rate during the 1963-68 period was 11.7 percent. The relative value of retail trade decreased from 45 percent of the total value of gross receipts for goods and services in 1959 to 34.7 percent in 1969.

The majority of retail outlets in 1960 were small-scale family businesses. During the 1960s there was a gradual displacement of these businesses by large, modern, air-conditioned stores holding not only larger but also more diverse inventories. The growth of tourist trade has led to the flourishing of specialty import shops. Stores selling food, clothing, appliances, and other consumer goods have also experienced growth and have become increasingly competitive.

The value of services in fiscal year 1969 represented about \$77.1 million. This was an increase of about 21 percent over 1959. The relative value of services fell from almost 40 percent of all goods and services in 1959 to about 36 percent in 1969.

Practically every service available in the mainland United States is also available on the island. More than thirty-five insurance companies handle all kinds of insurance. Insurance rates are generally comparable to those on the mainland except for typhoon insurance, which is quite high. There are several public accounting firms, land appraisal consultants, and four major architectural and engineering firms. In 1970 there were about a dozen law firms.

The island in 1970 had several organized business groups. These included the Guam Chamber of Commerce, the Guam Tourist Com-

mission, the Guam Contractors' Association, the Hawaii Employers' Council, the Guam Bar Association, and the Society of American Military Engineers.

Foreign

For fiscal year 1969 the island showed a negative balance of trade of about 56.1 million. This represented a general trend throughout the 1960s. Negotiations in 1968 between the United States Department of Commerce and the government of Guam resulted in a change in recording procedures. Import-export figures for that year were not listed as a result of the changeover to the new system.

Imports in 1969 stood at \$60 million. This represented a decrease of about 5.3 percent over 1967 imports but an increase of 112 percent over 1959. Major imports included a wide variety of consumer goods and construction materials but particularly luxury items, such as tape recorders, cameras, wigs, and fine fabrics, owing to the duty-free status of the port. The United States was the origin of about 55.8 percent of all imports, and Japan was the source of about 20 percent.

Exports in 1969 were valued at about \$4 million. This was an alltime low since 1958 and represented a decrease in value of 1.8 percent over the value of exports in 1967. The alltime high was in 1965 when exports reached \$9.3 million in value. As a result of 1968 negotiations, the United States was no longer listed as a separate market. Based on projections from 1967, however, about 52 percent of all exports were destined for mainland markets and 23.6 percent for Japanese markets. The major exports consisted mainly of watches, used automobiles, machinery, and scrap metal.

Tourism

In 1969 about 58,300 tourists arrived on Guam. This represented an increase of 64.6 percent over the previous year and an almost tenfold increase over the figures for 1960. In 1968 about 17,500 visitors, or about 50 percent of all arrivals, claimed business as their exclusive purpose in visiting the island. The average length of stay was twenty days, which was an increase of 33 percent over 1967. The main source of tourists was the United States at 38 percent of all tourists in 1968 and 40.7 percent in 1967. Japanese tourists increased from 20.5 percent to 35 percent of the total between 1967 and 1968.

Tourism has developed largely during the 1960s and has been seen as a major means of offsetting import needs and rehabilitation of the island's economy. The Guam Tourist Commission was created in 1963. Its members were appointed by the governor and were to act in an advisory capacity. A professional consultant was hired to

set up and direct a tourist bureau to promote tourism on the island and improve visitor relations. A major boost came with the institution of a direct air connection between Guam and Tokyo in 1967.

There has been a major boom in the construction of facilities for tourist service, such as hotels. At the end of 1968 the total number of rooms in the various hotels stood at 520—almost twice the 1967 figure. Completion of construction underway or construction financed by the end of 1969 would bring the room total to about 13,000. It was estimated that 15,000 rooms would be needed by 1975.

Consumer Services

Before 1969 consumer services were handled by the Public Utility Agency of Guam (PUAG) in conjunction with the United States Navy. In May 1968 the Guam legislature passed a bill creating the Guam Power Authority and provided for the issuing of revenue bonds. The Power Authority began operation on April 1, 1969. Responsibility for all other utilities remained with the PUAG.

In fiscal year 1969 the Guam Power Authority distributed to private and commercial consumers 165 million kilowatt-hours of electricity having a total value of \$4.2 million. This compared with 149.4 million kilowatt-hours in 1968 with a value of \$3.9 million. The total volume of electricity sold on the island in 1969 to consumers was 180.9 million kilowatt-hours. This represented an increase of 20.4 percent over 1968 and 201 percent over 1960. The average annual consumption of electricity per household was about 8,850 kilowatt-hours, an increase of 13.8 percent over 1968 and 195.5 percent over 1960. The Power Authority in 1969 was servicing 11,712 residential customers, 707 commercial establishments, and 212 government offices.

The Power Authority was purchasing its electricity from the United States Navy which, along with the other military groups, generated its own power. The Power Authority was in the process of obtaining its own generators. In view of an anticipated demand of 277.6 million kilowatt-hours by 1974, the Power Authority was planning capital expenditures of \$11 million between 1968 and 1974.

Traditionally, rainfall catchment served as the major source of water for the island. Reservoir facilities added since World War II provide the island with more than adequate water. In fiscal year 1969 water consumption reached 1.968 billion gallons, an increase of about 14.8 percent over 1968 and 71.7 percent over 1960. The business sector accounted for about half of the increase between 1968 and 1969. About \$3.2 million was spent between 1965 and 1970 for expanding reservoir facilities. During the latter half of the

1960s about \$7 million was spent on expansion and rehabilitation of sewer lines.

Agriculture

The contribution of agriculture to the island's economy has been limited since World War II. This was partly the result of a wartime devastation of cropland, but it also reflected a postwar diversion of labor away from agriculture. Progress made during the late 1950s was heavily disrupted by typhoon damage in 1962 and 1963. Fresh produce and poultry production have been the major areas developed. Legislation was pending in 1970 to extend land-grant status to the University of Guam, which would establish an agricultural education and extension program with federally matched funds. In 1970 the United States Department of Agriculture was lending an extension expert to the government of Guam to provide Interim service.

In 1969 only 820 acres were under cultivation. Although much of this land was in continuous cultivation, it represented less than 1 percent of the total land area of the island. The major crops were truck farm products, including bananas, melons, tomatoes, cucumbers, and beans. A total of 2.2 million pounds of fruits and vegetables were harvested. They were valued at about \$405,000, which represented an increase of about 31 percent over fiscal year 1968 and about 66.8 percent over 1960.

In fiscal year 1969, 400,000 pounds of fish, valued at \$200,000, were caught. This represented an increase of about 16.2 percent over 1968 and an increase of 33.2 percent over 1960. The harvest figures represented only a marginal portion of the fish available in the offshore waters. A program was underway in 1970 under the Fish and Wildlife Division of the Department of Agriculture in conjunction with the Guam Economic Development Authority to investigate the potential of a deep-sea fishing industry for both domestic and export markets.

The hills in the southern half of the island offer a fair amount of potential grazing land. Livestock production grew steadily during the latter half of the 1960s, but it still has been only marginally developed. The major growth took place in hogs and cattle, which in 1970 represented more than 92 percent of the total livestock population. Between 1965 and 1969 hog production rose at an average annual rate of 438 hogs per year. Cattle production increased at an average annual rate of 310. The carabao and horse population remained relatively stable, and the number of goats on the island declined.

Poultry and egg production made good advances during the 1960s. In fiscal year 1969 the number of fowl stood at 124,000. This was an increase of 13.7 percent over the previous fiscal year

and 275 percent over 1960. Production consisted mainly of chickens but also included some ducks and turkeys. Egg production for 1969 stood at 1.3 million dozen. This was an increase of 23 percent over 1968 and 216.7 percent over 1960. The average annual increase in egg production during the 1960s was about 16.6 percent.

Transportation

In 1969, 162,000 air passengers passed through Guam. This was an increase of 60 percent over the previous year and was 10.7 times the 1960 figure. Between 1963 and 1968 the average annual rate of increase was about 23 percent. About 68 percent of the air passenger traffic was transpacific, and the remainder was between Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. From 1964 to 1968 transpacific air traffic had represented about 60 percent of all air traffic. Over 95 percent of all transpacific passenger traffic and traffic between Guam and the trust territory was by air. In 1959 less than 40 percent of this travel had been by air.

In 1969 there were 3,850 tons of air cargo, an increase of 35 percent over the previous year and about 9.7 times the 1960 figure. Increasing reliance was made during the late 1960s upon air freight for such items as perishable foods and spare parts for machinery and technical equipment.

The island was being serviced by three major airlines, and applications for additional lines were pending. The highest frequency of connections included four flights weekly between Guam and Tokyo, five per week between Guam and the United States, five per week between Guam and Asian points, daily between Guam and Saipan, and twice weekly between Guam and parts of the trust territory.

In 1967 the Guam International Air Port Terminal was opened. Before its construction all commercial landings were handled by naval air station facilities. The new terminal provided commercial lines with separate passenger and baggage facilities of the most modern type. Commercial lines still utilize military runway facilities. The terminal building was designed to incorporate certain traditional, indigenous architectural elements and modern construction techniques and materials.

In 1969 the island had a well-developed road system. Communication around the perimeter and across the island at various points was provided by 191 miles of sealed roads. There were both private and military bus facilities, and seven companies provided taxi and service. Four major international and several smaller independent trucking firms provided shipping service for household goods and general cargo. Pallet and warehouse cold-storage facilities were available. Car rentals were available from eight different agencies. Regis-

tered motor vehicles numbered about 36,000, which represented an increase of about 9 percent over 1968 and about 9 percent over 1960.

Accommodations for ship passengers were available, but in 1969 water transport was largely confined to freight. Only 5 percent of all passenger traffic to Guam was provided by water transport. Ten major shipping companies were making regular calls at Guam. The highest frequency of calls was once every ten days between the United States and Guam and weekly between Guam and other islands in the Marianas.

In August 1969 a new commercial port was opened. The unloading facilities installed were based on the most modern transport concepts, including containerization. Over 100,000 square feet of storage were available in concrete, typhoon-resistant warehouse facilities. Additional commercial storage was being leased from sites immediately adjoining the new port. In 1969, 329,000 tons of freight were handled at commercial facilities, this was an increase of 12 percent over 1968 and 42.3 percent over 1960.

Communications

Guam is serviced by a central telephone system connecting all villages and towns. In 1969 the system was operating close to capacity, there being 6,058 telephones in use. This figure represented the approximate annual average for the latter half of the 1960s. Construction of new facilities was begun in the second half of 1966. A sum of \$1.2 million was invested in exchange and circuit facilities, and the changeover to the new system was scheduled for 1969. The first stage of construction would provide facilities for 12,000 subscribers and was to be followed by a \$3.6-million expenditure over five years to serve 8,000 more subscribers.

The island is a major communication center for the western Pacific. Communication links provide instantaneous circuits to almost every part of the world. Both RCA and the Australian Cable Communication System (ACCS) provide modern facilities, including undersea telephone and telegraph cables. International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) services military operations. In 1960 there were 90,000 incoming transpacific calls and about 91,600 outgoing calls.

The island is included within the domestic postal service of the United States. Postal rates are equivalent to those for Zone 8, which includes Hawaii and the West Coast of the United States mainland. Daily letter and parcel service by air is provided. The usual time delay for air mail service between the mainland and the Far East and the island is about three days. Surface mail from the mainland usually takes about thirty days.

In 1970 the island had one commercial broadcasting facility providing both radio and television emissions. The station was established in 1954 offering the only commercial radio facility for the island and the trust territory. Television emission followed in 1956. KUAM-Radio reached out in a radius of 500 miles on a frequency of 610 kilocycles. It provided a communication link for about 150,000 people. KUAM-Television operated on channels 7, 8, 10, 12, and 13 and offered the island a full schedule of American Broadcasting Company (ABC), Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and National Broadcasting Company (NBC) mainland network programs as well as local, live programs. Commercial advertising on both radio and television followed mainland types and practices.

The island is served by two daily newspapers. There are several weekly and monthly commercial publications as well as government and military journals. The Navy Relief Society produced an annual yearbook, *Glimpses of Guam*, and the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, published in Tokyo, is circulated locally. Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), and other news and feature services are available for the use of the local media. Limited printing facilities were available through four local firms. Work was also contracted to Japanese printers.

Industry

Construction

The construction industry received a major stimulus as a result of construction needs after the typhoon damage of 1962 and 1963. Between 1962 and 1964 the federal government provided 75 percent of all construction funds. Construction outlays reached a peak of \$41.6 million in 1964. Between 1965 and 1968 there was a reduction in federal construction and an increase in private and local government expenditures. The number of construction permits fell from 115 in 1964 to 28 in 1969. The average dollar value per permit, however, increased from \$5,982 in 1960 to \$29,406 in 1969. This increase was largely a result of the scheduled construction of large hotel units and the fact that not only did the number of permits for apartment and private dwellings decline but also the average value of single family dwellings increased from \$8,030 in 1969 to \$10,742 in 1969.

Construction in fiscal year 1969 was valued at \$38.3 million, an increase of 52.6 percent over 1968 and 112.7 percent over 1963. Private residential construction was valued at \$9.2 million, or about 24 percent of the total value of construction. Private commercial construction was valued at about \$5.2 million, or 14 percent of the total value of construction. Construction by the government of

Guam was valued at \$2.8 million, or 7 percent of the total value, and construction by the federal government was valued at \$21.1 million, or about 55 percent of the total value. Private construction had risen from an average of 23 percent of the total value of construction in the mid-1960s to about 38 percent in 1969.

Manufacturing

The major expansion in the manufacturing sector took place during the 1960s. The principal growth was in the food industry, including bakery products, dairy supplies, and soft drinks. In fiscal year 1969 the production and processing of food products amounted to \$5 million, an increase of 4.2 percent over the 1968 total. Consumption of these products was confined wholly to the island and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

A new industry arising from the housing shortage created by the typhoons of 1962 and 1963 was the manufacturing of mobile homes. Factory production began in the second half of 1968. By 1970 the industry's annual output was valued at about \$500,000.

In 1970 there were two major incentives for manufacturers to invest in factory production on the island. The first was the granting of tax exemption certificates for certain industries. Depending on the industry and the recommendation of the Guam Economic Development Authority, these certificates could result in a tax rebate of up to 75 percent of corporate income tax for a period of twenty years. The second incentive was the island's duty-free status. Most goods could be imported to the island duty free. Finished products could be exported to the United States mainland duty free if 50 percent of the total finished value had been added on Guam.

The two major industries to take advantage of these benefits during the 1960s were watch assembly plants and an oil refinery. Several watch and watchband manufacturers imported parts from Europe, assembled them on the island, and exported the finished products to the United States mainland. Construction of a \$12-million oil refinery was begun in 1969, and operation was scheduled for the end of 1970. The major products were to be jet fuel and other special fuels designed for military markets. With certain modifications, motor gasoline and middle distillates could be obtained from the refinery. Crude oil was to be brought by tanker and stored in 300,000-barrel storage facilities. The estimated gross revenue of the refinery was estimated at over \$20 million per year.

Labor

The employment level in 1969 stood at 24,500, or about 39.5 percent of the total civilian population. This was an increase of about 42 percent over 1960 figures, when the labor force stood at 17,208 and constituted 42 percent of the total population. Males

represented about 80 percent of all those employed and dominated the fields of construction and public administration.

In 1969 the two largest sources of employment were the government and the military. Local government agencies employed 26.6 percent; federal agencies, 1.7 percent; and the military, 33.6 percent. Based on projections from 1967, the next largest sources of employment were construction at about 19 percent, wholesale and retail trade at about 15.4 percent, and service at 12 percent.

The labor supply for unskilled and some semiskilled categories was adequate. There was a chronic deficiency of skilled labor as well as labor in certain semiskilled categories. Attempts to remedy the scarcity have included vocational and technical training programs and the importation of alien labor.

The importation of alien labor to Guam is subject to most of the same basic restriction and quota system as is the mainland United States. Workers may be specifically brought for short-term, renewable employment contracts for defense projects with the United States military for disaster and reconstruction programs authorized under the Guam Rehabilitation Act. In 1970 about 5,000 Filipinos were working in the construction sector of private industry, and an equal number were working for the United States Navy. Figures were not available for other branches of the military services.

In 1970 the issue of alien labor held political importance. Local demand was pressing for a relaxation of restrictions that limited importations of short-term skilled labor. Official federal policy, however, stressed the reduction of internal unemployment and underemployment, requiring that internal labor sources be exhausted before such a relaxation could be allowed. In addition to the operation of the Guam Employment Service, the government was attempting to increase labor skills through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Manpower Developing and Training Act Program, and the Apprenticeship Training Program. Growing numbers of mainland laborers were interested in the opportunities on Guam and could possibly displace the present alien labor as well as supply future needs for skilled labor that cannot be met by the internal labor force.

All industries engaged in interstate commerce and annually grossing more than \$250,000 are subject to the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which sets a minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour, a forty-hour workweek, and an eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime. A major portion of industry, including most of the semiskilled and unskilled workers on the island, does not fall under this category and is subject to territorial law requiring a minimum wage of \$1.60 and a workweek of forty-eight hours. There are no territorial laws for child and female labor. The standard stateside personnel standards for paid vacations, sick leave with pay, dismissal, and legal holidays are followed. Military wages for a random

selection of skills were just under 31 percent higher than those offered by the government of Guam and just over 32 percent higher than those offered by private industry.

In 1970 there were only two labor unions on Guam. The first union to be organized was the International Operation Engineers Local No. 3. There is also a local of the American Federation of Teachers. It was generally expected that labor unions would become an active operating force in the territory during the 1970s.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY

Before 1968 responsibility for internal security fell to the Department of Public Safety and the Department of Public Health and Social Services. In November 1968 a new Department of Corrections was created. Placed under its authority were youth correction facilities, clinical and rehabilitation services, and the penitentiary. In 1969 there were fifty inmates in the penitentiary. Between October 1, 1968, and June 30, 1969, the clinical section processed ninety-four juvenile cases.

The Department of Public Safety continued to coordinate diverse services. It operated the island's police forces, supervised motor vehicle operation and licensing, and was responsible for firearm registration. Special divisions were concerned with first aid and civil defense. Port security fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce. Closer cooperation was being promoted between government and military law-enforcement agencies.

The island continues to play a major role in the external defense system of the United States. Units of the air force, Coast Guard, marines, and navy are stationed on the island. Anderson Air Force Base, located on the northern tip of the island, is the most important Pacific-Far East base of the Strategic Air Command (SAC). Its airstrip provides service for the twenty-four-hour inflight air alert of SAC. The base has also serviced bombing missions to Vietnam. The headquarters of the commander of the naval forces of the Marianas, who is responsible for 2.5 million square miles of ocean territory, is located on the island. Apra Harbor provides the navy with its major repair and maintenance facilities for the Seventh Fleet and is the major Pacific base for Polaris submarines.

All the military services have provided major aid in the development of island infrastructure and in the support and expansion of local business and services operations. They have also provided major employment opportunities. Although there is concern over the amount of land presently under military control and the expressed military interest in increasing its holdings, relations between the Guamanians and military personnel are mainly cordial and cooperative.

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(Various issues of the *Micronesian Reporter* [Saipan], January 1967-December 1969, were used in the preparation of this section).

AMERICAN SAMOA

The Samoan Islands, situated about 2,600 miles southwest of Hawaii between the kingdom of Tonga and the Tokelau Islands, are divided into two separate political entities. Islands of the group that are west of 171° west longitude are organized into the independent state of Western Samoa; those that are east of that line, together with Swains Island, 200 miles north of and outside the group proper, form an unincorporated territory of the United States, administered by the Department of the Interior.

Land areas of Eastern, or American, Samoa consist of seven islands, none of which is very large or economically important. Tutuila, the major island and administrative center of the territory, tiny Aunu'u Island, and the islands of Tau, Ofu, and Olesega, which together form the Manua group, are rugged, mountainous islands of volcanic origin. Swains Island is a small, raised coral formation, privately owned and operated as a copra plantation. Rose Island is a double coral atoll at the eastern extremity of the group.

The seven islands of the territory have a total combined land area of 76.2 square miles. All except Rose Island, which is barren, are inhabited and contain a population that in mid-1970 was estimated to be about 30,000. A few of the inhabitants, concentrated mostly on Tutuila Island, were government officials, entrepreneurs, tradesmen, and technicians and their families. The bulk of the people, however, were native Samoans who reportedly represent an unusually pure and unadulterated strain of ancient Polynesian stock. All natives are United States nationals, eligible for full United States citizenship simply by migrating to, and satisfying minimum residence requirements in, any of the fifty states.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The early history of American Samoa is intimately associated with that of the Samoan group as a whole but is so obscured by the passage of time that its beginnings cannot be confirmed with any degree of accuracy. The findings of recent archaeological research, although subject to much dispute and contradictory interpretation, generally agree that the original habitation of the area probably took place before 1,000 B.C. during the period of the great Polynesian migration out of southeastern Asia. These migrants were not meticulous recorders of what they did or of what happened to them and so left little data of sound historical value for posterity. Their usual practice was to pass genealogies and a record of events along

to their descendants orally within the circle of the family and the community. In this process, extending over many generations, human forgetfulness and racial pride so garnished these accounts that in 1970 it was impossible to distinguish elements of fact from those that were only mythical and legendary. Verifiable history, therefore, did not begin until early in the eighteenth century when Europeans ranged across the Pacific on their many voyages of exploration and discovery.

The first European to come upon the islands is believed to have been the Dutch captain Jacob Roggeveen, who led a small flotilla westward across the Pacific to Java in 1721 and 1722. One entry in his log reported sighting the Samoan group en route, but apparently the expedition sailed past without landing. Roggeveen calculated the islands' position inaccurately, and their existence was not verified for another forty-odd years. In 1768 the French navigator Louis Antoine de Bougainville, followed the next year by his compatriot, Jean Francois de Galaup de La Pérouse, rediscovered the group. Both sent landing parties ashore and fixed the locations of individual islands more accurately.

Thereafter an increasing number of vessels from many nations appeared in the area. In addition to private whaling, fishing, and trading boats, many were ships on official missions. Among the most important visits, representing first recorded national contacts with Samoa, were the calls of the British warship *Pandora* in 1791, a German expedition under Otto von Kotzebue in 1824, and a United States survey group under Commodore Charles Wilkes in 1838. These three nations rapidly expanded their influence, concluded agreements with local chiefs, and ultimately came to dominate the economic life of the islands. As the number of aliens in the area multiplied, the United Kingdom appointed a consul at Apia in 1847, and the United States and Germany followed suit in 1853 and 1861, respectively.

Concurrently with these commercial developments, the appearance of various missionary groups after 1828 had a profound and lasting effect on Samoan society. The arrival of John Williams, a pioneer of the London Missionary Society, in 1830 was especially significant. Williams not only converted many natives and introduced a leavening of Christian morality into their ancient culture, but he also was instrumental in reducing the Samoan language to writing, a development that promoted a high degree of native literacy within two generations. Moreover, Williams' success was so widely publicized by the British press that the islands and their people became well known throughout the world. This resulted in further immigration and commercial development as well as the establishment of missions by other Christian denominations, such as Methodists, Roman Catholics, Mormons, and Seventh-day Adventists, which vastly increased the pace of missionary effort.

Despite social advancements instigated by the missionaries, Samoa was kept in constant political turmoil throughout the nineteenth century by incessant tribal wars and the struggle of foreign powers for trade and commercial advantage. Local ruling authority was decentralized among numerous tribal chiefs who fought continuously with one another for power and prestige. The alien powers often abetted these conflicts by supporting and arming any faction willing to grant concessions that might benefit their commercial enterprises. Thus a complex of conflicting interests developed during the last quarter of the century that appeared to be leading to the outbreak of general war.

An early attempt to compose the situation was made in 1889 when Great Britain, the United States, and Germany held a conference in Berlin to discuss possible solutions. The conferees agreed to recognize and protect the neutrality of the islands jointly and to support the formation of a somewhat unified governmental system under some of the dominant tribal chiefs. The plan was implemented forthwith, but it never proved to be workable because the chiefs persisted in fighting among themselves and the arrangements did nothing to reduce the fierce competition for trade.

The three powers accordingly met again in 1899, revoked the earlier agreement, and signed a new convention dividing the area into spheres of primary influence. Germany was awarded paramount interest in all Samoan islands west of 171° west longitude and the United States in all those east of that line. The British for their part agreed to withdraw from the area entirely in exchange for comparable rights in Tonga, Niue, and the Solomon Islands. As a result, Eastern Samoa came to be recognized as a separate segment of the group, a status it has maintained since.

The influence of the United States had been strong in Eastern Samoa for many years before the new convention. In 1878 local chiefs had authorized the United States Navy to establish a strategic naval coaling station at Pago Pago Bay on Tutuila Island, a facility that contributed much to life in the islands. Its vessels kept tribal wars at minimum levels, and the station itself provided employment for natives and a ready market for their garden produce. The decision to award sole rights to American interests, therefore, was cordially welcomed by the Samoans. The high tribal chiefs of Tutuila and Aunu'u islands found it so desirable, in fact, that in 1900 they ceded their territories to the United States government. Four years later the tribal leaders of the Manua group did the same. Thus American Samoa (except Swains Island, which was not included until 1925) came into being as sovereign United States territory.

Political and administrative control of the territory was originally assigned to naval authorities at Pago Pago, who exercised their mandate benevolently and generously under policies that, although primarily concerned with maintaining the naval base, demonstrated a

high regard for the welfare of the native population and the preservation of their ancient way of life. Tribal chiefs were permitted wide latitude in ruling local areas in accordance with established custom and tradition. White settlement and the development of large, disruptive commercial enterprises were discouraged. These and similar measures that were continued after administrative authority was transferred from the navy to the Department of the Interior in 1952 shielded the American Samoan from alien influences to a far greater extent than his fellows in Western Samoa and other parts of Oceania. Consequently, his basic Polynesian culture has been little disturbed and remains in purer form than it does in other areas—a factor that in 1970 still contributed much to the pristine charm and serenity of the group.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Islands

Tutuila and tiny Aunu'u off its southeastern tip are the westernmost islands in American Samoa. Both are high, volcanic formations that have a combined area of about fifty-three square miles.

Tutuila, the largest island and the center of activity for all of Eastern Samoa, is about seventeen miles long and varies between two and six miles wide. It consists almost entirely of a range of broken mountains that rise abruptly from the sea, leaving only a narrow littoral with little flat land anywhere except for a broad plain in the western portion. The mountains contain a number of peaks, the highest of which, Mount Matafao, located in the central part of the island, rises to a height of 2,140 feet. Other significant peaks are Mount Pioa (1,718 feet) and Mount Alava (1,610 feet) near Pago Pago Bay and Mount Olotele (1,640 feet) in the west. Mount Pioa is often called Rainmaker Mountain because its summit is usually so shrouded in mist that it appears to be smoking rain clouds. Mount Alava is a favorite tourist attraction because an observation platform at its top affords a sweeping view of the island. The lookout point is reached by an aerial cable tramway that stretches more than a mile across the bay from the village of Utulei.

The central range is gouged by many deep, steep-walled valleys that drop precipitously from the crest to the sea, where the extended promontories of heights that enclose them create an irregular and deeply indented coastline. Consequently, Tutuila has a number of good roadsteads. Pago Pago Bay, an indentation in the southern coast that almost bisects the island, is probably the finest natural harbor in the South Pacific. The other good anchorages, except for Leone in the southwest that can accommodate fairly large ships, are suitable only for small fishing vessels. Leone, despite the depth of its water, is rarely used because it lacks facilities.

Soils of the island, produced by erosion of the basic volcanic core materials, are very fertile, especially in the alluvial flats of the valleys. At highest elevations, however, they are kept to a thin covering layer by heavy rains that wash the dirt down the steep slopes to the floors of the valleys below. Nevertheless, the whole island is covered to the tips of its peaks by lush forests of tropical trees and a dense undergrowth of succulents, vines, and shrubs in great variety.

Aunu'u Island has essentially the same physical characteristics as neighboring Tutuila. Its major differences are its small size (one square mile), its lower elevation, and its lack of severely dissected contours. The tiny island is roughly circular in shape.

The Manua group of three high, volcanic islands (Tau, Ofu, and Olesaga) is located about seventy miles east and slightly north of Tutuila. Tau Island, with an area of fifteen square miles, is the largest and most important in the group. It has an irregular conical shape, the apex of which, Mount Lata, has an elevation of 3,056 feet making it the highest point in American Samoa. The island rises abruptly in a steep escarpment along the eastern and southern shorelines that restricts access to the sea and discourages settlements in those regions; to the north and west, however, the land slopes gently to the sea, providing level beach areas that facilitate offshore fishing. Accordingly, all but one of Tau's eight villages are situated on or near the western and northern coasts. The shoreline is generally regular so there are few bays or inlets to provide usable harbors, although Faleasau Bay, just north of Luma, the major west-coast settlement, affords good anchorage for ships seeking safe haven in a storm.

Ofu and Olesaga islands, a few miles northwest of Tau, are separated by a narrow, shallow strait that is tantamount to a submerged saddle between two exposed peaks. Each of the islands is a miniature replica of Tau, and together they have a total area of only four square miles.

Rose Island is a double, low coral island isolated far to the east of the Manua group. It is a typical atoll covered sparsely with strand vegetation incapable of supporting human life. Moreover, the island is sometimes awash in heavy seas, causing such devastation that settlement has not been attempted.

Swains Island is a true atoll situated north of the Samoan group at about 11° south latitude and 172° west longitude. Originally, considered to be part of the Tokelau Islands, it was transferred to the United States in 1925. The atoll's unbroken land ring encloses a shallow lagoon and is surrounded by a narrow fringing reef. The whole formation has been slightly upthrust so that the bottom of the interior lagoon is partly exposed in some places; other portions are filled with brackish, unpotable water. Swains Island is about

eight miles in circumference and rises about twenty feet above sea level.

The atoll was settled in 1856 by Eli Jennings, an American, and his Samoan wife, who hired a number of Tokelauans to operate a coconut plantation there. Two of Mr. Jennings' great-great-grandsons, Wallace H. and Davis E. Jennings, still owned the island in 1970 and continued to operate its plantation.

Climate

The climate of American Samoa is determined largely by three major factors. The location of the territory just a few degrees south of the equator results in temperatures that are uniformly high throughout the year; the insular character of the group heightens the tempering effect of surrounding seas and keeps the heat at relatively pleasant levels; and the steady southeast trade winds, coupled during part of the year with occasional cyclonic storms, produce heavy rains that make the area persistently wet and humid. A fourth factor usually considered in discussing climate is altitude. In American Samoa, however, this factor is relatively unimportant. Although elevations in some parts are considerable, each individual island is so small that any effect altitude might have on its climate is felt throughout the entire land mass rather than in any of its limited component regions.

Temperatures vary little from month to month, ranging from average lows of about 75° F. in June and July to average highs that are just under 90° F. in December and January. The daily range seldom spans more than a few degrees and is most pleasant just before dawn. Relative humidity remains constant at about 80 percent.

The southeast trade winds bring heavy rainfall to the islands all year long but are strongest and most reliable from May through November. Since the territory lies within the belt of equatorial storms, the trade winds may be interrupted sporadically between December and May by violent hurricanes that bring additional torrential downpours with them. The average annual rainfall is more than 200 inches, except for Swains Island which, as a low atoll, is usually warmer and drier than high islands of the group. The copious rainfall is both welcome and necessary because fresh water is scarce and most of that used for drinking and household purposes must be collected in great catchments built on the hillsides.

Flora and Fauna

The vegetation on Swains and Rose islands is sparse and limited to coconut palms, pandanus (screw pine), casuarina trees, and the usual strand growth common to the low, sandy atolls of the Pacific.

Conversely, the rich soil, abundant rain, and warm temperatures of the high islands produce a luxuriant tropical growth that completely covers their slopes and valleys.

The forests of Tutuila, Tau, Ofu, and Olesaga are filled with many varieties of sizable trees that provide both food and building materials to their inhabitants. In addition to coconut palm, breadfruit, mango, and other tropical fruit trees that contribute much to local diets, there are several species of good timber trees that, although not available in commercial quantities, are adequate to satisfy local construction needs. The most important timber types are the *ifele*, *asi*, *gasu*, *mamalava*, *kava*, and *tamanu*. The *kava*, a variety of pepper tree, gains importance from the use of its roots in the preparation of the traditional ceremonial drink of the same name. The *tamanu*, a light hardwood, is the preferred source of logs for the upright supporting posts of native houses and for the spars and masts of boats. There is also a number of flowering trees, the most notable of which are the *fala* and the *moso'oi*, whose blossoms are used in making leis.

The trees of the forest are interlaced with a mass of lianas, parasitic plants, and much epiphytic growth, such as orchids and exotic air plants. The ground under the trees is densely carpeted with creepers, mosses, ferns, and low-growing bushes and shrubs.

There are no large indigenous land animals, although an occasional pig that has escaped from village compounds and gone wild is encountered. Rats, several small lizards, and a myriad of butterflies, beetles, and bees are native to the area. Other insect life is minimal.

Bird life is also surprisingly limited. A total of about fifty species, including sea birds, has been counted, but their numbers are not great, and most land varieties are seldom seen because they prefer to remain in the depths of the forest. Some species, however, are rare types found only in Samoa. The most unusual among them perhaps is the *manu-mea*, or tooth-billed pigeon, which many ornithologists believe is a link with antiquity.

The seas surrounding the islands teem with game and food fish and other forms of marine life. Game fish, such as marlin, barracuda, and sailfish, are large and challenging. Other fish, abundantly available for sport or food, are tuna, albacore, sharks, flying fish, mackerel, bonito, mullet, and mahi-mahi. An excellent variety of oysters and many kinds of other edible shellfish abound in the offshore reefs.

Natural Resources

Apart from the people, a limited amount of arable land, and the plethora of fish. American Samoa has no significant natural resources. The forests provide good timber but are too small in overall

extent to make their exploitation commercially profitable. There are no known minerals, no navigable rivers, and no watercourses capable of developing hydroelectric power for industry.

DEMOGRAPHY

The People

Non-Samoans, except for a few Americans temporarily on duty as government officials or engaged in certain technical and specialized work, are not permitted to reside in American Samoa for any considerable length of time or to compete economically with the local population. This is in keeping with longstanding policies designed and enforced to keep "Samoa for the Samoans." Thus native Samoans represent a homogeneous society of relatively pure Polynesian stock akin to that of Hawaii, Tonga, and Tahiti, that has been little adulterated by the mixture of races so common to other parts of Oceania.

Most natives were converted to Christianity during the early missionary period but have remained deeply attached to their earlier Polynesian customs and traditions. They have a tendency to accept only as much Western culture as is compatible with traditional ways, adapting it to what they proudly call the *fa'a Samoa*, the ancient way of life that insures plenty of free time for social visiting, singing, dancing, feasting, and the many Polynesian rites and ceremonies that highlight every important event in their daily lives.

Population and Language

The native population of American Samoa in mid-1970 was estimated to be a little over 30,000 of whom about 85 percent lived on Tutuila Island. The rest were scattered unevenly among the outer islands. Tau Island, with approximately 1,800 people, was the second most populous, followed by Ofu, Olesega, and Swains islands, with about 1,400, 1,000, and 100 residents, respectively. Rose Island was uninhabited.

The distribution of sexes among the native population was fairly even, although the number of males was slightly greater than that of females. The infant mortality rate was relatively high by Western standards, amounting to 28.6 per 1,000 live births in 1969, the last year for which figures were available. Despite the infant mortality rate and the emigration of many young men to the United States in search of greater economic opportunity, the crude birth rate of 36.3 per 1,000 population so exceeded the crude death rate of 4.4 per 1,000 that the population was increasing rapidly.

English is the official language, taught in the schools and spoken by most inhabitants of the territory. Native Samoan, however, is

the dominant language used in daily social intercourse. Reportedly the most ancient form of Polynesian in existence, it is closely akin to Hawaiian, Tahitian, and Tongan, with which it shares a common origin in the widespread Austronesian, or Malayo-Polynesian, linguistic family.

Social Structure and Settlement Patterns

Samoaan social organization follows the pattern that has been in effect throughout Polynesia for centuries. The basic social and economic unit is the *aiga*, or extended family, in which all kinsmen related by birth or adoption are considered to be members. Each *aiga* is headed by a chieftain, called a *matai*, who is responsible for directing the use of family land and other assets, for assessing contributions of food and material possessions from members for the performance of traditional rites and ceremonies, and for rendering family honors at births, deaths, weddings, and other landmark occasions. These activities and levies are considered family obligations that are performed willingly and without question. In large communities the *matai* appoints other family heads of his household to serve as lesser officers in conducting community affairs.

Sometimes more than one *aiga* may reside in the same community or region. When this occurs, the *matai* who is the most direct descendant of the family head who first established control over the land is designated the high chieftain, to whom all other *matai* owe fealty and allegiance.

The Samoaan system of chieftainships differs slightly from those in other parts of Polynesia, except Tonga, in that it is based on an intricate hierarchy of graded titles. A *matai* is considered to be the vessel in which *mana* (a mystical essence derived from creator gods that gives strength and life to the *aiga*), dwells and is passed on to his descendants. *Mana* can be lost or weakened by too familiar contact with commoners, so a number of strict taboos was developed around the person of a *matai* to insulate him from lesser members of the community. Consequently, much of his direct power was dissipated by his remoteness, and a body of other *matai* was developed to exercise it in the community.

In modern times Samoaan chieftains appear in two types: *ali'i matai*, the old hereditary leaders who have functions that are primarily ceremonial; and the *tulafale matai*, or spokesmen *matai*, who are the new leaders and the real sources of authority in a community. The accession to status as an *ali'i matai* is purely hereditary; although much of his temporal power has disappeared, such a chieftain is still considered the head of the *aiga* and commands great respect. Accession to status as a *tulafale matai*, although heredity is still a prerequisite, is achieved through election by the extended

family as a whole in which a candidate's general competence, popularity, and ability to make a good speech are the governing factors.

Patterns of living on Tutuila have generally remained unaffected by the pace of modern life, except in or near the major settlements around Pago Pago Bay. In recent years much construction has taken place in this area so that in 1970 its appearance was a far cry from the picturesque shabbiness that Somerset Maugham described in "Rain," his famous short story about Sadie Thompson and the missionary. The old Max Halleck Store No. 3 where the author lived at one time is still standing, but many of the other rundown structures have been replaced by modern shops, offices, banks, schools, at least one first-class hotel, a modern hospital, an industrial section, and many substantial homes. Most residents are on a wage economy, and life in Pago Pago is not too dissimilar from that in any small, developing business community.

Outside the Pago Pago bay area, however, the pattern is simple, traditional, and uncomplicated. On Tutuila Island, which is representative of the whole territory, the native population lives in about twenty-six small villages scattered along the southern and western coasts or a short distance inland on slopes where level land is available. Only about one-third of the villages are on the rugged northern coast, and no more than a handful of people inhabit the interior valleys. *Fales* are native dwellings consisting of an oval or circular ring of upright poles surmounted by heavily thatched roofs. They appear to be fragile but are actually sturdy enough to withstand all but the severest hurricane winds. The structures are usually open-sided to allow the free passage of air, but during storms rolled mats are let down to keep out the rain. *Fales* customarily are grouped under the trees facing a central open area that serves the community as a place for visiting, handicrafts, and the celebration of *fiafias* (feasts) and other village rites and ceremonies. In recent years an occasional non-Samoan house of wood with a corrugated iron roof may be seen in the village. Such structures are regarded as status symbols and are usually reserved for the village *matai* and ranking family members.

The productivity of the soil and the ready availability of natural food in abundance enable Samoans to practice an easy subsistence economy. Cooking is done over open fires in pits outside the *fale*. Regular fare includes fish, taro root, and coconuts in a variety of prepared forms, yams, breadfruit, most common garden vegetables, and much fresh fruit, such as pineapples, bananas, limes, papaya, and mangoes. Whole roast pig garnished with fruit, flowers, and vegetables is a favorite during *fiafias*. Other favorite dishes at *fiafias* are *palusami* (young taro leaves cooked in coconut sauce), *fa'ausi* (grated taro cakes sweetened with coconut cream), *taofolo* (kneaded, cooked breadfruit), *loifa'i* (cooked ripe bananas),

pe'epe'e (papaya baked in banana leaves), *vaisalo* (cooked green coconuts, starch, and sugar), *masi Samoa* (mashed ripe bananas with a dash of lime), and *ota* (fish marinated in peppers and garlic). All the above dishes except *ota* are served with, or sweetened by, coconut milk.

Health

The average Samoan native has a sturdy physique and has developed strong resistance to most common ailments either naturally or as the result of large-scale government programs to improve sanitation and to provide inoculations against major diseases. The Public Health Division of the government in cooperation with the Public Works Department, for example, recently completed the construction of a modern sewage system for the Pago Pago bay area that has vastly improved sanitary conditions in that area. Such systems do not exist elsewhere, but the authorities have implemented a continuing and generally successful program to encourage the development and use of latrines, some of them water-flushed, throughout all villages.

Mobile medical teams of the Public Health Division also conduct periodic clinics in the villages that are designed primarily to serve school and preschool ages but at which many adults are also treated. Each child and adult who presents himself at these clinics is given a thorough physical examination and, if a health deficiency is uncovered, receives treatment and medication on the spot. At this time also he is inoculated, or provided with booster injections against smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, typhoid, and poliomyelitis as necessary.

As a result of these programs the incidence of disease has been declining steadily. Yaws, which once was endemic, has been eradicated. The contamination of water for household use has been sharply reduced. Nevertheless, many health problems remain matters of deep concern.

The major threats to general health in 1970 were leprosy and tuberculosis. Pulmonary diseases of lesser virulence and heart ailments were also common. Because proper sanitation was lacking in some areas and personal hygienic practices had not yet reached optimum observance everywhere, intestinal parasites infected large segments of the population and diarrhea contributed greatly to infant mortality. In 1969, which may be taken as a typical year, the major causes of death, in descending order of frequency, were vascular lesions affecting the nervous system, pneumonia, various heart ailments, malignant neoplasms, and intestinal disorders, such as gastritis, enteritis, colitis, and duodenitis.

Medical facilities, all government-operated are good but few in

number. There is a hospital at Faga'alu and branch dispensaries on Tau and Olesaga and at Leone and Amouli on Tutuila Island. The main hospital has a total of 200 beds, including an 8-bed tuberculosis unit and a 20-bed leprosarium. It also operates a dental service and an outpatient clinic. The dispensaries are capable of providing services only on an outpatient basis; patients in their areas requiring hospitalization are evacuated to the main hospital.

Medical care, surgery, and medicines are dispensed free of charge, but local patients are assessed a service fee of US\$0.50 a day during periods of hospitalization. Nonnatives admitted to the hospitals pay a similar fee of US\$8 per day. In an average year about 5,000 people are hospitalized, and another 60,000 cases are treated as outpatients.

There are no doctors or dentists in private practice; instead, the government employs about 10 American doctors, 3 dentists, 13 native practitioners, and at least 1 pharmacist to staff the hospital, dispensaries, and mobile clinics. These professionals are assisted by a corps of 125 qualified native nurses. Local training facilities are limited to the School of Nursing in the main hospital that offers three-year courses for male and female nurses and for dental aides. A few Samoans each year also attend the Fiji School of Medicine at Suva, from which they are graduated as medical practitioners.

EDUCATION

Samoans are keenly aware of the value of a modern education and have made school attendance compulsory for all children up to sixteen years of age. In addition, they support and participate in an ambitious program of adult education. Educational activities are directed by the Department of Education in the government, whose director is appointed by, and directly responsible to, the governor of American Samoa.

Financial support, excluding operating expenses for a few private schools established and run by various missionary societies, is included in the Department of Education's portion of the territorial budget. The amount of funds made available approximates \$5 million per year, some of which is programmed out of local revenues but most of which is provided by direct appropriations authorized by the United States Congress. Specific budgetary items include allocations for operating expenses, a school lunch program, youth development, television, library services, and adult education.

The school system, both in the public and private sectors, follows the American pattern of eight years of elementary and four years of high school. In 1970 there were twenty-six public and six private elementary schools and four public and one private high schools in the territory. These institutions were staffed by 369 public and 56

private school teachers serving about 8,000 and 1,500 pupils, respectively. Except for a single teacher-training college at Feleti, there were no colleges or other institutions of higher learning. Students desiring advanced training, usually about 150 a year, attended schools of their choice in the United States.

In operations, the Samoan system was unique and the subject of universal attention because of its highly integrated use of television. Classrooms in all public schools were designed and specially constructed to accommodate large-screen television sets used to receive regularly scheduled programs originating in studios of the Instructional Resources Center of the Department of Education at Pago Pago. At the appointed times the receivers were turned on, and a television teacher presented the basic instructional materials. The set was then turned off, and the classroom teacher conducted class-work on the lesson. The private schools used more conventional teaching methods, but occasionally they employed television for special subjects.

Television also was used extensively in the system of adult education. Each weekday evening for about three hours certain channels were reserved for adult courses to be followed in the home or, in some places, by groups of people assembled in the local school-house. Evening participants at the schools followed the same practices used for regular daytime pupils; those at home could have their progress checked personally or by mail at the Instructional Resources Center.

Religion

Until the arrival of European missionaries early in the nineteenth century, the Samoan people were pagans whose major spiritual concern was to live in harmony with the world of nature around them. They were aware of numerous unseen forces, often personalized, who exerted a great influence on their lives and had to be placated by the performance of many magical rites and ceremonies lest great misfortune descend on the individual and the community. They did not, however, organize their beliefs and practices into anything that approximates the modern concept of religion.

Missionaries found that these pagan precepts were amenable to, and facilitated the acceptance of, Christian teachings, and accordingly worked with great energy to convert the native population. Their efforts were so successful that within a few years impressive churches, which still dominate the Samoan countryside, had been erected, large denominational congregations flourished, and organized religion took its place as an integral part of Samoan culture. In 1970 virtually every Samoan professed and adhered to some form of sectarian Christian belief.

The indigenous Samoan is a devout Christian and a faithful churchgoer. Sunday is rigidly observed as a day of rest, during which work and business pursuits are put aside in favor of spending the day with one's family and neighbors in singing, dancing, feasting, and visiting. Major Christian holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, are revered and marked by appropriate ceremonies. The second Sunday in October, called White Sunday, is also a day of deep religious moment. It is really Children's Day in the islands. Everyone dresses in white, and the people crowd the churches to witness services conducted by children. The young people not only lead the worship but also deliver the sermon, read passages from the Bible, and present religious plays.

Several Christian denominations have churches and active congregations in American Samoa. The Christian Congregational Church of Samoa (formerly the London Missionary Society) is the largest, accounting for about 63 percent of all church membership. The Roman Catholic Church, with about 20 percent, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormon), with approximately 9 percent, are the second and third largest. The remaining 8 percent is fairly evenly divided among the Church of the Nazarene, the Assemblies of God, the Seventh-day Adventists, and the Jehovah's Witnesses.

POLITICAL TRENDS

American Samoa is an unincorporated but constitutionally governed territory of the United States administered by the Department of the Interior through a civilian governor appointed by the secretary of interior in Washington, D.C. Native Samoans are American nationals.

After the territory came under American control in 1900, administrative authority was vested for the first fifty years in uniformed officials assigned to the naval station at Pago Pago. Naval rule was liberal, leaving the conduct of local affairs in the hands of traditional chieftains, but it did little to bring native leaders into the territorial government. A slight move toward this end was made in 1948 when a bicameral legislature was established to advise the governor on island affairs. The body was purely advisory, however, and its influence was not great.

In 1952 governing authority was transferred from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior. Civilian officials replaced naval officers as key administrators, and the seat of government was moved from the naval station to Fagatogo. The change, however, was not accompanied by any reorganization of the system, nor did it provide for greater native participation in the government. Such changes did not come about until 1960, when a

constitutional convention was called to draft a formal constitution for the area. This document, after gaining approval of the people in a territory-wide referendum, became immediately effective and is the legal basis for the government as it has existed since.

The Constitution

The Constitution, in addition to providing the legal basis for the structure and operation of government, guarantees a number of inalienable human rights to all Samoans. Perhaps the most significant constitutional provision, if its position as Article I can be taken as an indicator of importance, is the one confirming and perpetuating the concept that Samoa be kept for the Samoans. It states that "it shall be the policy of the government of American Samoa to protect persons of Samoan ancestry against alienation of their lands and the destruction of their way of life and language."

Other specific articles guarantee freedom of speech, press, and religion; privacy and the security of individuals; fair trial; and the rights of all accused persons. Additionally, the Constitution gives the native population an effective, if limited, voice in government by authorizing the formerly advisory legislature to enact laws for the protection of health, safety, morals, and general welfare. It guarantees free, nonsecular education to everyone and makes school attendance compulsory for all children between seven and sixteen year of age.

In the area of negative provisions, the Constitution prohibits slavery, unreasonable search or seizure, imprisonment for debt, and the operation or passage of retroactive laws. It further forbids the employment of children under sixteen years of age in any occupation injurious to health or morals or that is considered to be hazardous to life and limb.

The Structure of Government

The government of American Samoa is organized into executive, legislative, and judicial branches, which have functions and responsibilities comparable to their prototypes in the United States. The structure has a degree of autonomy in local matters but, as the government of an unincorporated territory, it is subordinate to, and controlled by, federal authorities in the United States. Specifically, administration of the area is delegated to a governor, who is the effective head of state representing the Department of the Interior.

For purpose of administration, the territory is divided into three political districts, which in turn are subdivided into fourteen counties. Each district is administered by its own district governor. Swains Island is not included in any of the three districts, nor does it have a separate governor. There is, however, a director of Swains

Island affairs at the seat of government, and a government representative is permanently stationed on the islands.

There are no active political parties in the territory, and apparently little basis exists for their creation. This is because area-wide political dynamics are determined by the party in power in the United States, whereas those of local import follow ancient Polynesian customs rather than opposing ideologies and formal political platforms. There also is no significant challenge to constitutional forms and, since territorial integrity is insured and protected by the armed forces of the United States, there are no serious threats to internal or external security.

The Executive Branch

The executive branch of government consists of the governor, the secretary, and various department and office heads. The governor and the secretary are both appointed by the secretary of the interior subject to the approval of the president of the United States. Both serve indefinite terms and may remain in office at the discretion of the appointing authorities. The governor exercises all functions inherent in the office of chief executive; the secretary assists him in such administrative matters as the governor directs.

The executive branch also contains six departments and six major offices, each headed by a director or a chief officer appointed by the governor after consultation with the secretary of the interior. The departments are conventional organizations concerned with internal matters indicated by their names. They include the Department of Education, the Department of Medical Services, the Department of Public Works, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Administrative Services. The director of the Department of Administrative Services is also the treasurer of American Samoa. The major offices are those of the attorney general, the port director, the personnel officer, the director of tourism, the secretary of Samoan affairs, the communications officer, and the information officer.

The Legislative Branch

A bicameral legislature consisting of an upper chamber, or Senate, and a lower chamber, or House of Representatives, constitutes the legislative branch of government. Membership in both bodies is elective, although the qualifications and electoral processes are different for each. Members of the Senate must be *matai* and are selected in open council by their peers according to Samoan custom; members of the House of Representatives are drawn from the general public and, except for the member from Swains Island, are elected by general adult suffrage and secret ballot in their constituencies. The

representative from Swains Island is selected in the same manner as a senator but without the requirement for chiefly status.

The full legislature meets every February for sessions that may not exceed forty days in length. It can, however, be called into special session at any time the governor deems it necessary.

The Senate has a total of eighteen members, one from each of the seventeen counties into which the territory is divided, in addition to a member selected in rotation from one of the four counties making up the Western Political District. The seventeen regular county senators serve terms of four years; the eighteenth, in order to equalize representation more evenly among the four counties involved, has a term of only two years. The upper house sits under the chairmanship of a president elected internally by its members.

The House of Representatives has a total of twenty regular members: one representing each of the seventeen districts and one from each of the three political districts. An additional representative from Swains Island sits with the House and participates in its discussions, but he is not entitled to vote on any of its legislative proposals. All representatives, including the one from Swains Island, serve two-year terms. Sessions of the lower chamber are chaired by the Speaker of the House, elected by that body from among its regular membership.

The Judicial Branch

The judicial branch of government is headed by a chief justice who is a qualified and experienced American jurist appointed to the post for an indefinite term by the secretary of the interior. He is assisted by a second American jurist, called the associate justice, and by four Samoan associate justices. All the Samoan associate justices are appointed by the territorial governor on the recommendation of the chief justice.

The system includes a single High Court that has trial, appellate, and probate jurisdiction throughout the islands and one District Court for each of the five judicial districts into which the territory is divided. The chief justice, assisted by the associate justice, presides over sessions of the High Court. The district courts are convened under one of the Samoan associate justices as assigned by the chief justice. All courts are courts of record for both civil and criminal cases. Their decisions are usually final, but judgments of the district courts may be appealed to the High Court.

The United States civil and criminal codes, augmented by such local laws and regulations as are enacted by the Samoan legislature, constitute the body of law adjudicated in the courts. Criminal cases coming before the courts are prosecuted by attorneys attached to the office of the attorney general in the executive branch of govern-

ment. In these cases the defendant is aided and represented by a public defender appointed by the chief justice. Since the bulk of offenses are minor ones handled locally by village *matai* and councils outside of court, most court proceedings are concerned with civil matters. The incidence of crime, therefore, cannot be determined accurately but is believed to be exceedingly low.

THE ECONOMY

American Samoa is a relatively undeveloped territory, and most of its people live in small, self-contained villages and are engaged in subsistence farming. Because the islands are so mountainous and rugged, only a small portion of the land is arable even by rude hand methods; but food production is ample, and life is easy and comfortable. The average Samoan native, eminently satisfied with subsistence levels of living, feels no compulsion to engage in commerce, nor does he see any advantage in employment for hire.

The organization of society into tightly knit kin groups that collectively own their own land and share, rather than trade or sell, its products among their members and neighbors reduces domestic trade to a minimum. There are a few individually owned garden farms in the region around Pago Pago Bay that retail their produce in nearby shops. Some of these stores also offer a variety of native handicrafts for the tourist trade and carry such items as textiles, hardware, metal utensils, and appliances that are not locally produced for internal sale and consumption. Elsewhere, however, there is very little local commercial activity, and the greatest indigenous factors sustaining the economy are the processing and canning of fish and fish products and the production of copra, pandanus mats, and baskets for the export market and a steadily increasing tourist business.

United States currency is legal tender throughout the territory but only in the Pago Pago bay area is money significant or is there anything approximating a wage economy. Even there, the number of workers is limited to about 5,000. Most wage earners are employed by the government, engage in various trade and tourist services, or provide the labor force for the fish industry.

Government operations are financed by an annual territorial budget that rises and falls in value according to planned requirements for social and economic development. Its size is generous but not large, usually ranging between \$11 million and \$15 million a year. About one-third of the money is raised by revenues from local taxes; the rest is provided by grants-in-aid and direct cash appropriations authorized by the United States Congress.

Finance and Banking

The territorial budget, based on estimates provided by the heads of governmental branches and departments, is compiled by the treasurer and director of the Department of Administrative Services in the executive branch of government. It is then submitted to the governor and to the Congress for their concurrence before being forwarded to the Department of the Interior for approval. In 1969 the total budget amounted to \$11,724,791, of which \$4,400,000 came from local revenues and \$7,324,791 from the United States.

The major sources of local revenues are personal and corporate income taxes and various excise taxes placed on a long list of capital and consumer goods, including luxuries. Income taxes were introduced by the Samoan Income Tax Act of 1963, which is based on the United States Internal Revenue Code. In 1970 excise taxes of 100 percent were placed on beer, wine, ale, malt extract, tobacco, and cigarettes. Firearms and ammunition paid similar levies of 75 percent. Rates of 25 percent were in effect for motor bicycles, trucks, and commercial vehicles and 10 percent for private automobiles. Gasoline, oil, automotive accessories, and construction materials were similarly taxed at rates that varied with their units of sale. Gasoline, for example, carried an excise tax of \$0.06 per gallon. Used automobiles and major household appliances imported for the personal use of residents were permitted free entry, but they could not be resold within one year, unless the standard excise tax of 30 percent of their fair market value was paid.

Until 1967 import duties levied on all commodities except food and a few other essentials also provided a significant amount of income for the government. In that year, however, the local legislature passed a bill, designed primarily to increase tourist spending, that eliminated the practice and made Samoa an import-duty-free area. This narrowed the tax income base considerably but did not affect the local revenue position unduly because it was accompanied by an extension of excise taxes to a number of alternate items.

There are two active banks in American Samoa. The Bank of American Samoa was established in 1914 to perform all customary banking services for the territory. The governor, ex officio, serves as its president, but operational responsibility is vested in a bank manager. The bank has operated soundly since its inception and, in 1968, had total deposits amounting to more than US\$6.13 million. In the late 1960s a second institution, the Bank of Hawaii, opened a branch in Fagatogo. The new bank took over all trading functions of the earlier institution, which thereupon was converted to a development bank only.

Trade

Domestic trade constitutes such a small portion of the overall Samoan economy that statistics as to its value are of little relative consequence. Foreign trade, however, is significant and in 1970 reflected a very favorable surplus of exports over imports. This is a fairly recent development, for as late as 1950 the value of goods brought into the territory was three times as great as the value of those shipped out. The change in values began in 1953, when it was ruled that fish caught by non-Samoan fishermen but landed and processed in American Samoa could be shipped to the United States tariff-free. This prompted the development of a fish-canning industry whose products, when coupled with continuing exports of copra and native handicrafts, resulted in a reversal of values that has been maintained ever since. In 1970 total exports of \$24,156,559 were about twice the import total of \$12,220,009. Most exports were consigned to the United States, but large quantities were also shipped to Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Western Samoa.

Textiles, vehicles, electric appliances, machinery, construction materials, and alcoholic beverages are the major items of import. Approximately two-thirds come from the United States (\$8,226,553 in value); the remainder is brought in from those nations forming the territory's export market.

Transportation and Communications

Since approximately 85 percent of the population lives on the large island of Tutuila, it forms the hub of the transportation and communications system of the territory. There are no railroads, but Tutuila has about thirty-five miles of good, all-weather roads. One tar-surfaced highway parallels the southern coastline from one end of the island to the other; a second, similar road planned to serve the northern shoreline. A fleet of buses provides passenger and cargo service over the system. Roads in the outer islands are primitive and consist mainly of unimproved tracks between major villages.

Both sea and air transportation connects American Samoa with the rest of the world. Ships of the Matson Navigation Company, offering both passenger and cargo service, call at Tutuila every three weeks on their regular runs between the United States, Hawaii, and Australia. A New Zealand shipping company offers similar service on a monthly basis. There are also a few locally owned and operated vessels that ply among islands of the group continuously. Tramp steamers seeking cargoes for any place in the world put in to Pago Pago Bay frequently.

Air transportation has developed rapidly since 1962, when a large

modern airport was built at Tafuna. It has a good terminal, hangars, limited shop facilities, and a 9,000-foot runway capable of accommodating the largest and heaviest commercial jet airliners. Pan American Airways and American Airlines offer several flights weekly to Hawaii, Tahiti, and Sydney. Air New Zealand has twice-weekly service to New Zealand via Fiji. Polynesian Air Lines provides daily morning and afternoon service to Western Samoa, and several small companies are available for local short hauls.

A local telephone service is available on Tutuila, which may be tied in to government-operated radiotelephone circuits to Tau, Ofu, and Swains islands. Other telephone, telegraph, and teletype circuits connect the territory with many countries overseas.

Public information media are limited but include at least two newspapers and excellent radio and television systems. One of the newspapers, the *News Bulletin*, is published by the Samoan Office of Information in the government. It is an English-language daily with a circulation of about 2,000 per issue. The other newspaper, the *Samoa Times*, is a private, independent weekly published in both English and Samoan. Its owners claim a weekly circulation of 8,000 copies.

The government-owned radio and television systems, consisting of one station in each medium, operate in the public interest, convenience, and necessity as required by regulations of the United States Federal Communications Commission, the licensing authority. Both media have modern facilities and equipment that, despite their lack of power, enable them to transmit good signals throughout most of the territory.

The radio station, WVUV, controlled by the Samoan Office of Information, operates in the standard broadcast band on a power of ten kilowatts. It is located at Leone, in western Tutuila, and is on the air sixteen hours a day, offering the usual program fare of news, information, music, cultural materials, and some entertainment.

The television station, KVUV, operated by the Department of Education, is a unique complex of eight separate and independent transmitters, which have been thoroughly integrated into the school system. Six of the transmitters are basic outlets operating on channels 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, and 12; the other two are satellites using channels 7 and 11. The station has modern studios at the Instructional Resources Center in Utulei, but all of its transmitters and associated antennas are situated atop nearby Mount Alava, where the high elevation enables their programs to be received clearly in the outer islands.

The television complex broadcasts about thirteen hours a day on all channels. During the day its programs are almost wholly educational in nature and are used directly in school classrooms as an integral part of the curriculum. After school hours the stations

remain on the air until 10:00 P.M. Channels 2 and 4 are then used exclusively for programs of adult education; the other channels provide news, information, cultural telecasts, and some entertainment.

There are no book publishers in American Samoa, but the *Samoa Times* company does job printing and is capable of turning out small tracts and pamphlets. Except for small collections at schools and a new library at Utulei, there are no public libraries; the Book Shop in Fagatago has a good stock of fiction and nonfiction for sale, however.

Agriculture

Seventy percent of all land is heavily forested, leaving only about 12,000 acres suitable for agriculture. Nearly all of the land, except a few parcels held by the government for official use, is owned by Samoans and may not be sold or otherwise alienated. There are, therefore, no foreign planters in the territory.

Virtually all areas, both forested and arable, are classified as customary land, that is, they are lands owned and used collectively by the various kin groups residing on them. Such lands are controlled and administered in the name of the family by the local *matai*, who allocates portions to lesser family heads within the group for their use and cultivation. A tiny portion of the land, called freehold land, may be owned in fee simple by individuals who have broken away from their traditional family groups for one reason or another. These plots are few and of little significance in the land tenure system.

Both customary and freehold lands are given over primarily to subsistence farming, although much acreage is devoted to coconut plantations and the production of copra. Even in areas where coconut plantations are encountered, however, the basic subsistence character of agriculture is maintained by the provision of space between the palm trees for growing vegetables and other edibles.

Major agricultural products, excluding copra, are almost wholly reserved for local consumption. They are cultivated in village plots or gathered in the forest and include taro, breadfruit, coconuts, bananas, pineapples, mangoes, papaya, and a wide variety of common vegetables. Among the vegetables, corn, peas, beans, yams, cucumbers, watermelons, squash, eggplant, lettuce, radishes, sweet potatoes, and onions are prominent. Villagers also raise pigs and chickens, which are allowed to wander freely through the village and are usually of inferior quality. Except for a few garden farms operated in the vicinity of Pago Pago Bay to provide food for that urban area, there are rarely any surpluses for marketing. Quantities of foodstuffs that exceed daily village requirements are usually con-

solidated and consumed at great *fiafias*, in which the whole community participates.

Copra is the only major nonsubsistence agricultural crop and is the second greatest producer of revenue among all exports. Despite this relatively high ranking, however, it accounts for only about 3 percent of the total value of export income, a value far below the 95 percent earned by fish and fish products.

Labor Force and Organization

Virtually the entire economically active portion of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture and displays little desire or interest in working for wages. Consequently, only a small minority is available to form a freely available labor force. Because this potential is so small and because both working conditions and wages are considered to be adequate, there is no need for formal labor organization.

The government is the single largest employer in the territory, hiring much of the available potential as administrative officials and clerical workers, teachers, medical personnel, construction workers, and radio and television staff and technicians. A few other non-government workers are laborers on coconut plantations, and a small number find employment as clerks in stores or in other consumer services. The remaining wage earners make their living in one of the territory's three major economic activities—the processing and canning of fish and fish products, the manufacture of native handicrafts, and tourism.

Industry

Apart from subsidies provided by the United States and government employment for most native workers, the economy of the territory is dependent mainly on the canning of fish and fish products. The Samoans are not commercial fishermen but award contracts to Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese boats to provide catches of deep-swimming tuna for processing in Samoan canneries.

The industry began in 1954 when the Van Camp Sea Food Company, taking advantage of the duty-free status of Samoan processed fish shipped to the United States, built a large cannery in the Pago Pago bay area. Starr Kist Samoa, Inc., established a second cannery in 1963, and the American Can Company erected a can factory in the same area in 1964 to provide both canneries with containers fabricated from tin sheets imported from California. In 1970 these enterprises had become the backbone of the territory's private industry. Together they employed a native labor force of almost 1,500 workers and produced canned tuna, pet food, fishmeal, and

fish oil valued at over \$27 million and constituting 95 percent of American Samoa's total exports.

The production of native handicrafts is an activity many Samoans practice to earn cash for imported articles, such as metal tools and utensils, radios, or tobacco, that they cannot fabricate for themselves from local resources. The size of the labor force so occupied cannot be documented because the activity is not organized; rather, it is carried on generally throughout the islands as a part-time family enterprise to occupy leisure hours or time not required for subsistence farming. Its products include fine floor and wall mats woven from pandanus, many sizes and kinds of basketware, and a diminishing amount of tapa cloth. At one time the production of tapa was quite substantial; but the supply of mulberry trees from whose bark the material is made has proved inadequate to sustain quantity production, and in 1970 very little was produced.

Some of the native handicrafts are sold to tourists visiting the islands, but the greater part is funneled into the overseas market. In 1970 native handicrafts ranked just below copra as a commercial commodity, accounting for about 2 percent of the value of all exports.

American Samoa's third major industry is the relatively new and rapidly expanding one of tourism. For many years visitors to the area were few because the islands were remote, transportation facilities were limited, and hotel accommodations were generally lacking. The few visitors who did arrive were usually passengers on cruise ships that called at Pago Pago for periods of only twenty-four hours or less, and the limited purchases they made had little impact on the local economy.

The tourist situation improved after 1962 when the airport at Tafuna was modernized and its runways were extended. More visitors were able to reach the islands easily, but facilities to receive them were still inadequate. Accordingly, several United States interests offered to build a modern hotel at Pago Pago specifically designed to attract the tourist trade. The proposal did not contemplate native participation in its financing or management, however, and was promptly refused. Thereupon local interests formed the American Samoa Development Company to carry out a similar plan as well as other projects aimed at increasing tourism.

The new company sold shares to about 1,300 native stockholders, raised \$250,000, negotiated a loan of an additional \$1.75 million from the Bank of Hawaii, and began construction of a modern luxury hotel on a promontory jutting out into Pago Pago Bay. The hotel, called the Pago Pago Intercontinental Hotel, was completed in 1965 and employs a native staff of about 110 workers. It has a total of 100 guestrooms, most of which are in a central structure shaped like a turtle, which also contains a large dining room and bar

decorated in lush, tropical fashion. Other rooms are available in small, two-room thatched cottages, patterned after native *fales* surrounding the main structure.

In 1970 there were no large hotels or restaurants in the outer islands, but there were ambitious plans for expansion. The site for a second luxury hotel to be built near the Tafuna International Airport, to augment the restaurant and the handicraft and duty-free shops already there, had been procured, and construction was expected to begin soon. In addition, a third hotel was planned for Tau Island in the Manua group.

The number of tourists visiting the area for periods longer than twenty-four hours rose from a negligible few in 1960 to almost 11,000 in 1968, according to figures released by the Department of Tourism of the government. The same report estimated that these visitors contributed approximately \$3.5 million to the local economy and that, by 1970, 14,000 visitors, with a correspondingly greater increase in tourist revenues, were expected.

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THE TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) is a United Nations trusteeship administered by the United States under an agreement concluded with the United Nations in 1947. Excluding the island of Guam, which has been an unincorporated territory of the United States since 1898, and the Gilbert Islands, which are a part of Great Britain's Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, its elements consist of the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall islands archipelagoes in that part of the Western Pacific known as Micronesia.

The territory covers more than 3 million square miles of the ocean's surface, stretching for 2,675 miles east to west between 132° east and 172° east longitude and for 1,300 miles north to south between 1° north and 22° north latitude. Within this vast expanse there is a myriad of islands so tiny that, despite the magnitude of the overall territory, their total combined land area is only a little over 700 square miles, or about one-half that of the state of Rhode Island. Most of the land is incapable of supporting human habitation, so TTPI's total population of just under 100,000 resides on an estimated 100 of the larger and more productive islands (see fig. 2).

The concepts underlying the formation of the TTPI are unique among those for other trust territories in that, originally at least, they were based more on strategic considerations than on humanitarian concern for the resident population. The rationale for this departure from customary practice originated in the aftermath of World War I when the League of Nations awarded Japan a Class C Mandate over most of Micronesia (Guam stood as a United States possession), and the government at Tokyo exercised this mandate as though it were a grant of total hegemony. Japanese nationals were sent to colonize the area and to develop and exploit its resources for the sole benefit of the homeland. More importantly, the islands were militarized to support Japan's long-range national objectives.

The process of militarization gained momentum when Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and declared Micronesia to be an integral part of the Japanese Empire. Increasingly thereafter, the territory became a closed military area in which existing installations were strengthened and a series of fortified island bases was interposed between Asia and the Western Hemisphere.

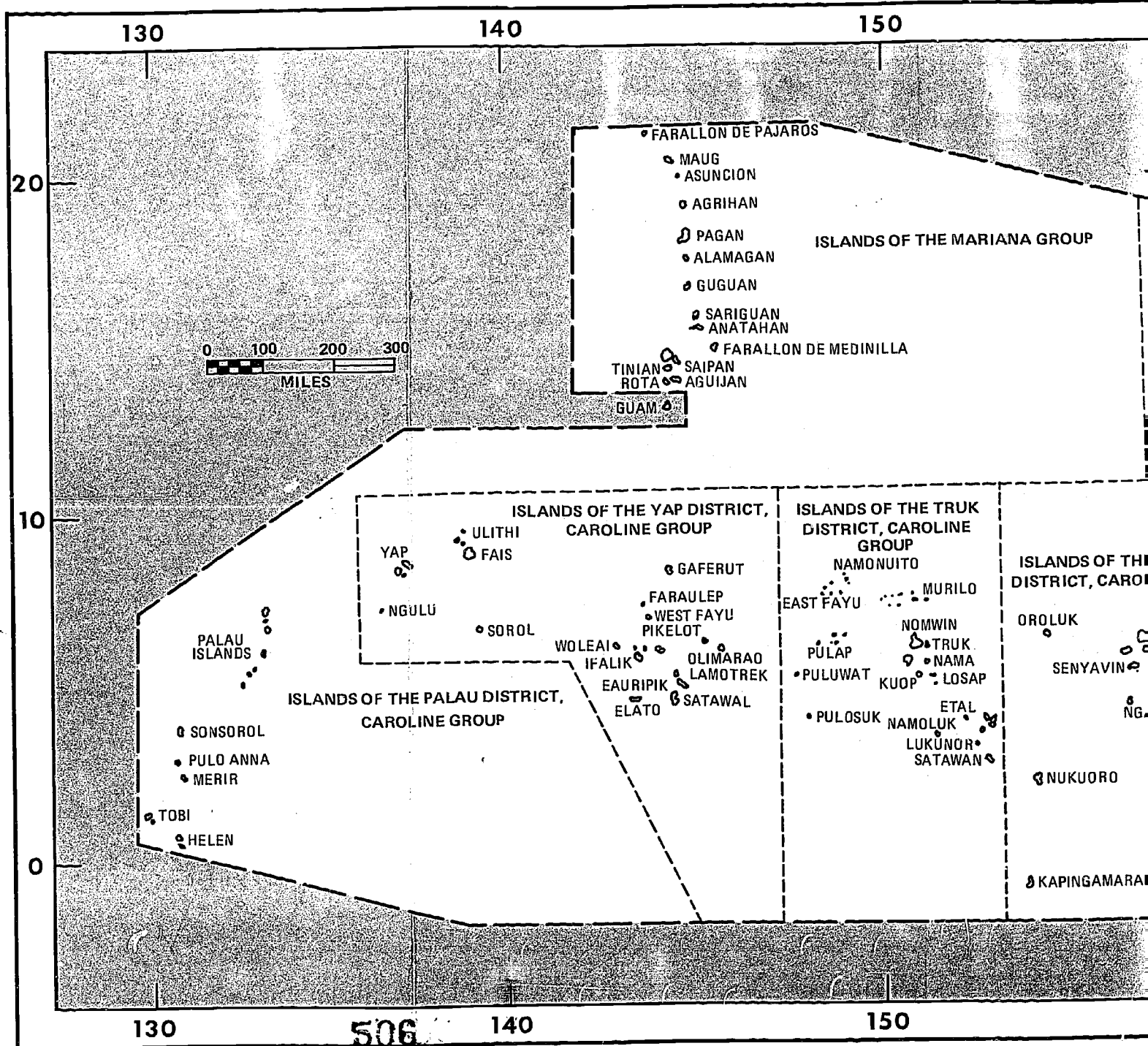
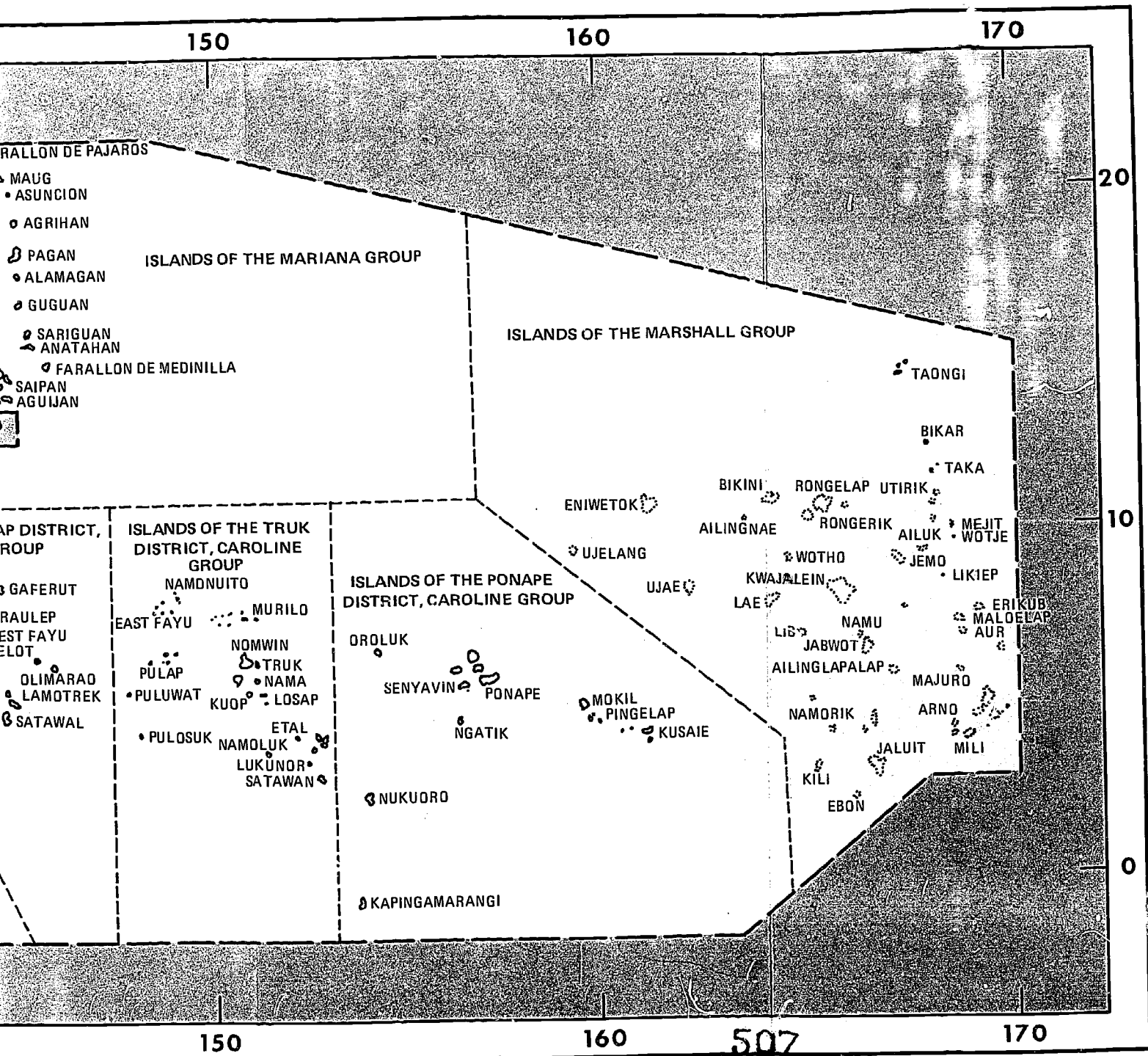


Figure 2. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1948.



The full significance of this action was revealed when World War II spread to the Pacific area in 1941 and the island bases were used to blunt United States and Allied counterattacks in the drive across the ocean to Japan itself. The task of reducing and occupying each island progressively in the process was difficult, and the cost of doing so was inordinately high in terms of human life and other casualties. Accordingly, when the war was over the United States moved to prevent the reestablishment in hostile hands of such bases along the route to its vital interests and treaty obligations in the Far East.

The question was resolved by the designation of Micronesia as a strategic trust of the United Nations, with the United States granted sole administrative responsibility as the executive agent of the world body. In a strategic trust, demographic responsibilities identical to those for a nonstrategic area are imposed on the administrator, but the maintenance of world peace and security are paramount and overriding considerations. Thus in the TTPI, the United States was authorized to establish, garrison, and employ such military, naval, and air bases as were needed to prevent the reemergence of hostile strongpoints in the islands and was empowered to declare the entire territory, or any part thereof, to be a closed area for security reasons. No bases have been established, however, and only the test sites at Eniwetok and Kwajalein have been declared closed areas. Nevertheless, because in a strategic trusteeship the administrator is directly responsible to the Security Council, where the veto power might forestall undesirable or antagonistic proposals, and not to the Trusteeship Council of the General Assembly, such action could be taken freely whenever required.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Very little is known of the history of Micronesia before the sixteenth century because early inhabitants of the area left few records of their life and times. Habitually, genealogies and tales of legendary exploits were transmitted orally from generation to generation within the circle of the family or the community, but the historical value of these accounts is minimal. Over centuries of retelling they were so embellished with glorifying details and romanticized additions that it became impossible to distinguish fact from mere embroidery in their content.

The contributions of modern scientific research and study are scarcely more definitive, not because data are lacking or inaccurate, but because scholars have been unable to agree on the interpretation of their findings. About the only point of common agreement is that original habitation of the area resulted from the successive migratory waves of various peoples from Southeast Asia that

began a thousand years or more before the Christian Era. Thus, verifiable history did not begin until European navigators penetrated the Pacific area on their voyages of discovery after A.D. 1500.

The first European to enter the area is believed to have been Ferdinand Magellan, who visited Guam in the Mariana group sometime in A.D. 1521 during the course of his epic, Spanish-sponsored voyage around the world. After a brief stop to rest and reprovision the flotilla, Magellan continued onward to the Philippines, where he was killed in a battle with the natives. One of his vessels, however, returned to Spain, and his men reported finding Guam. In 1526 Portuguese navigators, who ranged northeastward from Malaysia in search of the Spice Islands, came upon the islands of Yap and Ulithi in the Carolines. These discoveries, too, were reported back to Europe.

The accounts of these first voyagers prompted the organization and dispatch of other, mainly Spanish, expeditions to the area, which resulted in the discovery of the Marshall archipelago and the rest of the Caroline and Mariana groups. Thereafter, innumerable explorers, missionaries, traders, whalers, and buccaneers of many nations roamed freely throughout the territory for the next two and a half centuries, evidencing little concern or desire to establish effective political control over any of its parts. Apparently the poorly endowed islands were considered unimportant and useful only as convenient havens to provision and repair ships, afford rest and recreation for their crews, and provide fertile ground for spreading the Gospel. The one outstanding exception to this pattern was Spain's activities in the Marianas.

In 1565 Spanish authorities proclaimed sovereignty over the Mariana group and the next year established a port on Guam to serve as a supply station on the burgeoning trade route between Mexico and the Philippines. A small garrison of troops was stationed there to protect port facilities and other Spanish interests in the area, but no attempt was made to enforce Spanish authority or to impose European culture and institutions on the native society.

Life for the islanders remained relatively undisturbed until a band of Jesuit priests arrived on Guam in 1668 to propagate the Catholic faith among Guamanians and inhabitants of other islands to the north. This missionary effort was well received initially, but in time the growing power of the priests, supported by harsh punitive action of the troops, created much local opposition. Eventually, open rebellion resulted, and Spain was forced to send strong military expeditions. When the fighting was over, Spanish secular and religious authority was absolute throughout the entire Mariana group.

From this base, the Spaniards then took steps to extend their influence, if not their unchallenged control, southward and east-

ward into the Carolines and the Marshalls. No formal declaration of annexation was made, and political control over non-Mariana regions was weak, but gradually it came to be tacitly understood that Micronesia fell within the sphere of Spanish influence.

The situation remained without significant change until copra became a major commodity in the world market in the late nineteenth century. Then in the international rivalry for trade, Spain's tenuous and unofficial domination of the area began to be challenged. German traders had become firmly established on Jaluit Island in the Marshall group and had agreements with native chieftains giving them preferred commercial rights. About the same time the United Kingdom created the High Commission of the Western Pacific at Fiji and empowered it to protect British nationals in Micronesia as well as elsewhere in more southerly areas. Fearing political encroachment by these and other European powers, Spain formally proclaimed sovereignty over the Marshall and Caroline groups in 1874.

Germany, supported by Great Britain, protested the action on the grounds that Spain had never established administrative machinery in the islands and, therefore, had no viable basis for such a claim. The issue remained in contention for a decade until it was finally submitted to Pope Leo XIII for adjudication in 1885. After studying the problem, the pontiff sustained the Spanish claim but conditioned its validity on the establishment of an orderly government that would guarantee free trade for all non-Spanish powers.

Spain thereupon took steps to fulfill papal terms by establishing branches of the existing Mariana regime on Ponape, Yap, and Palau islands in the Carolines. When this was not accompanied by similar action in the easternmost area, Germany established an administrative headquarters at Jaluit and declared the Marshall archipelago to be a German protectorate. The move was uncontested, and for several years thereafter Spain shared control of Micronesia with Germany.

Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War resulted in new political alignments in the Western Pacific after 1898. In addition to losing the Philippines, Spain had to cede Guam to the United States. The government at Madrid, weakened by the war, was glad to accept a German offer of the equivalent of US\$4.5 million to buy its remaining possessions in Micronesia. Thus Spain was ousted from the area completely; the United States gained a small foothold in the Marianas; and Germany, by adding the Carolines and the rest of the Marianas to its existing protectorate in the Marshalls, became the dominant power in Micronesia.

German control of the territory was brief, lasting only until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. In that year Japan, which had long coveted the islands, took advantage of Germany's total in-

volvement in Europe and occupied the area until the end of the war. At the peace conference in 1919, Japan, supported by England, France, and Russia, sought to gain full sovereignty over the territory. Australia and the United States opposed the idea and, although their objections were not completely effective, they at least succeeded in changing final action from a grant of sovereignty to an award of a Class C Mandate under the League of Nations.

The change may have made continued Japanese control more palatable, but it had little significance in practical political terms. The government at Tokyo proceeded to colonize, militarize, and administer the area in accordance with original Japanese concepts and ambitions, and Micronesia, to all intents and purposes, became an integral part of the Imperial Japanese Empire. This Japanese control not only constituted a major consideration in strategic planning for World War II but also led to Japan's expulsion from the area when the war was over and the present United Nations trusteeship was established.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Islands

The three archipelagoes of the TTPI involve almost 100 island units that contain several times that number of individual islands; many units are complex groups of separate landforms collectively called by a common name. Truk Island in the Caroline group, for example, is really a cluster of 98 associated islands, and Ulithi, in the same archipelago, is an atoll having 49 islets around its central lagoon.

All islands and island units in the territory are small, ranging downward in size from Babelthuap in the Palau cluster, which has a total land area of 153 square miles, to countless others that are mere specks of coral and sand occupying less than 1 square mile of the ocean's surface. The islands are so uniformly tiny in fact that, despite their incredible number, the total land area of the TTPI aggregates only 711.9 square miles.

The islands may be classified as high or low, depending on their altitude, and as continental or oceanic, according to their geological substructure. The Mariana chain, the Palau cluster, and the island of Yap in the Carolines are high types of varying elevation. These islands are also continental because they are formed by the exposed peaks of the submerged mountain range extending from Japan to New Guinea, which represents the easternmost limits of the Asian continental shelf. The outermost reaches of this shelf seaward of the islands are delineated by deep ocean trenches, which contain some of the most profound depths ever sounded. The Nero Trench between Yap and Guam, for example, has been measured at more than 36,000 feet.

Truk, Ponape, and Kusaie islands in the Eastern Carolines are also high islands, having maximum elevations of about 1,500, 2,500, and 2,000 feet, respectively. They are classified as oceanic rather than continental, however, because their substructure is not associated with the landmass of Asia but with great piles of lava extruded from fissures in the floor of the sea itself.

All other islands of the TTPI, regardless of the archipelago in which they are located, are low types that rise only six to eight feet above the surface of the water. These islands are formed by coral growths capping still-submerged peaks of the continental shelf or oceanic lava piles that do not quite reach the surface. Most of these coralline formations are atolls; that is, they consist of a barrier or a fringing reef, or both, enclosing a number of tiny islets around an interior lagoon. Some, however, such as Lib Island in the Marshall group, are single islands that have neither reefs nor lagoons. Still others, such as Fais Island near Ulithi, are raised atolls; that is, they are atolls that have been thrust upward by upheavals in the ocean floor so that their lagoons as well as their encircling reefs are fully exposed. In the elevating process their lagoons are often drained away, leaving a shallow, saucerlike, and usually marshy depression in their centers.

The territory as a whole is so large and complex that for purposes of orderly presentation it is discussed in terms of six component areas or districts. The relatively compact Mariana and Marshall archipelagoes each constitutes a separate district by itself. The larger and more dispersed Caroline group, however, is subdivided into four districts, each centered on and named after the most significant island in its area. Thus, islands located between 130° and 136° east longitude are organized into the Palau district; those between 136° and 148° east longitude form the Yap district; those between 148° and 154° east longitude are grouped into the Truk district; and those between 154° and 165° east longitude make up the Ponape district (see fig. 2).

The Mariana District Group

The Mariana district group consists of a single line of island units running for about 400 miles along 146° east longitude between 14° and 21° north latitude. It contains fourteen major units (twenty-one individual islands) having a combined land area of 183.6 square miles. Although the entire chain is composed of high volcanic island types, it is often discussed in terms of a northern section of nine and a southern section of five island units because of differences in the size, altitude, and soil covering of their respective components (see table 12).

The five islands of the southern section are Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Aguijan, and Farallon de Medinilla, which together have a land area

Table 12. Islands of the Mariana Group

Island		
Unit	Number	Area (in square miles)
<i>Southern Section</i>		
Rota	3	32.900
Agiguan	2	2.770
Tinian	1	39.290
Saipan	3	46.580
Farallon de Medinilla	1	.350
Total	10	121.890
<i>Northern Section</i>		
Farallon de Pajaros	1	.790
Maug	3	.810
Asuncion	1	2.821
Agrihan	1	18.290
Pagan	1	18.650
Alamagan	1	4.352
Guguan	1	1.615
Sariguan	1	1.930
Anatahan	1	12.480
Total	11	61.738
GRAND TOTAL	21	183.628

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1948.

twice as great as that of the northern section. Saipan, which is the site of the headquarters of the TTPI, has a land area of 46.5 square miles and is the largest island in the Mariana chain. Tinian and Rota are the second and third largest, respectively. Aguijan, and Farallon de Medinilla are uninhabited and of little significance.

The southern section, although larger in overall land area, is generally lower than the northern section. Rota has a peak rising to 1,514 feet, but for the most part the section is gently rolling rather than mountainous. Although the islands are volcanic in origin, there has been no such activity for a long time, and their cores are largely covered with limestone terraces, representing former stands of the sea that were upthrust in the distant past. The erosion of this limestone has produced a covering of excellent topsoil, and the well-watered islands have a good growth of vegetation.

The nine islands of the northern section, except for Maug, which is a cluster of three miniscule islands connected by a common base beneath the water, are single islands that rise precipitously as mountain peaks of rocky, volcanic materials. All are quite high, and Agrihan's peak of 3,166 feet is the highest in the entire trust territory. Some of the peaks are active volcanoes, which in the twentieth century have erupted on Farallon de Pajaros, Asuncion, Pagan, and Guguan islands.

The rugged terrain, lack of easily eroded materials to provide soil cover, and insufficient amounts of rain make the northern section dry, barren, and generally unsuitable for habitation. Actually only five islands (Anatahan, Sarigan, Alamagan, Pagan, and Agrihan) are permanently inhabited, and they contain less than 250 people, or about 2 percent of the entire Mariana population.

The Marshall District Group

The Marshall Islands archipelago consists of thirty-three major island units located in the eastern part of the TTPI between 162° and 174° east longitude. These units contain 1,136 individual islands of low, oceanic, coral formation that are so tiny they have a combined land area of only about 68 square miles. The group is arranged in two parallel chains about 150 miles apart running generally southeast to northwest for some 800 miles between 4° and 14° north latitude. The eastern, or Ratak (sunrise), chain contains fifteen island units of 570 individual islands and a land area of square miles (see table 13).

There are no high islands in the entire group. Most island units (twenty-eight) are atolls of the classic type having large lagoons and a varying number of encircling islets. Kwajalein in the Ralik chain has the largest lagoon (839 square miles); its number of component islets, 97, is second to Mili atoll, which has 102 islets around its 295-square-mile lagoon. The smallest atoll, also in the Ralik chain, is Namorik, whose two islets enclose a lagoon of only 3.25 square miles. Five of the island units are single islands: Mejit and Jemo in the Ratak chain, and Lib, Jabwot, and Kili in the Ralik chain.

The district's population of less than 20,000 is fairly evenly divided between the two chains, although the Ratak group has about 1,000 more inhabitants than the Ralik section. Only Arno (1,095) and Majuro (5,602) islands in the Ratak chain and Kwajalein (3,702) have more than 1,000 inhabitants. Five island units in the Ratak chain (Talongi, Bikar, Taka, Jemo, and Erikub) and three in the Ralik chain (Ailingnae, Rongerik, and Eniwetok) are uninhabited.

The Ponape District, Caroline Group

The Ponape district forms the easternmost part of the Caroline archipelago. It consists of ten island units that contain 168 individual islands and a total land area of 175.6 square miles. Two of the island units, Ponape and Kusaie, are high oceanic formations that completely dominate the district, accounting for all but 4 square miles of its land area and more than 80 percent of its population. The other eight units are all low coral atolls of insignificant size (see table 14).

Table 13. Islands of the Marshall Group

Unit	Island	Number	Area (in square miles)
<i>Ratak Chain</i>			
Taongi		11	1.25
Bikar		6	.19
Taka		5	.22
Utirik		6	.94
Mejit		1	.72
Ailuk		35	2.07
Jemo		1	.06
Likiep		64	3.96
Wotje		72	3.16
Erikub		14	.59
Maloelap		71	3.79
Aur		42	2.17
Majuro		57	3.54
Arno		83	5.00
Mili		102	6.15
Total		570	35.81
<i>Ralik Chain</i>			
Ebon		22	2.22
Kili		1	.36
Namorik		2	1.07
Jaluit		84	4.38
Ailinglapalap		52	3.67
Jabwot		1	.22
Namu		51	2.42
Lib		1	.36
Kwajalein		97	6.33
Lae		17	.56
Ujae		14	.72
Wotho		13	1.67
Ailingnae		25	1.08
Rongelap		61	3.07
Rongerik		17	.65
Bikini		36	2.32
Ujelang		32	.67
Eniwetok		40	2.26
Total		566	34.03
GRAND TOTAL		1,136	67.84

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1948.

Ponape Island, the administrative center of the district, is a rugged mountain peak rising to an altitude of 2,579 feet. It has fertile soil and abundant rainfall that results in a dense covering of luxuriant tropical growth. Under Japanese administration the island underwent intense agricultural development and in 1970 still pro-

Table 14. Islands of the ponape District, Caroline Group

Unit	Island	Number	Area (in square miles)
Oroluk		19	.192
Nukuoro		42	.644
Kapingamarangi		33	.521
Ponape		26	129.040
Ngatik		8	.674
Mokil		3	.478
Pingelap		3	.676
Kusaie		5	42.316
Ant		13	.718
Pakin		16	.421
Total		168	175.680

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1948.

duced large quantities of coconuts, breadfruit, bananas, taro, and yams. Kusaie is only about one-third the size of Ponape but otherwise is a small replica of the larger island.

The eight atolls all have populations of less than 1,000, except Oroluk and Ant islands, which are uninhabited. The two atolls of Kapingamarangi and Nukuroro, isolated in the southern portion of the district, are unique in that their inhabitants are physically and culturally Polynesian rather than Micronesian.

The Truk District, Caroline Group

The Truk district consists of fifteen major island units made up of 290 individual islands with a combined land area of 49.18 square miles (see table 15). About 40 of the islands are inhabited, and many of the rest are used as food islands, that is, they are used by inhabitants of nearby islands to grow crops and to raise livestock. Excluding Truk itself, all the island units are low coral formations of undistinguished configuration; 12 are typical atolls, and 2, Nama and Pulosuk, are single islands.

Truk, which accounts for about 75 percent of the district's total land area, is an interesting complex of eleven high volcanic islands enclosed by a coral ring that is broken into eighty-seven tiny, low coral islets. The formation is comparable to that of an atoll, but the presence of the high islands within the lagoon rules out the use of that term. The encircling reef, which in places has a diameter of forty miles, contains several passages into the lagoon affording excellent anchorage for large ships.

The islands of Moen, Dublon, Fefan, Uman, Udot, and Tol are the major interior high islands of Truk. All are mountainous and heavily

Table 15. Islands of the Truk District, Caroline Group

Unit	Island Number	Area (in square miles)
Namonuito	13	1.710
Murilo	28	.497
East Fayu	1	.144
Nomwin	33	.716
Truk	98	38.560
Pulap	3	.383
Nama	1	.289
Puluwat	5	1.313
Losap	14	.396
Kuop	4	.190
Etal	16	.731
Pulosuk	1	1.083
Namoluk	6	.322
Lukunor	18	1.090
Satawan	49	1.757
Total	290	49.181

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1948.

wooded, except in a few places where cultivation, fire, and erosion have reduced them to grasslands. Tol Island, which has a peak rising to over 1,400 feet, is the highest. About two-thirds of the district's total population lives on these six high islands.

The Yap District, Caroline Group

The Yap district consists of sixteen island units that contain 145 individual islands and a total land area of 45.92 square miles (see table 16). The units include the Yap islands proper, five single-island formations, and ten atolls. Four of the island units, Gaferut, West Fayu, Pikelot, and Olimarao, are usually uninhabited, as are many of the smaller island components of other units. About 65 percent of the district's total population of 6,870 resides in the Yap islands proper.

The Yap island unit is a group of four major and six minor high islands surrounded by fringing and barrier reefs. The main island in the group is 585 feet high and, since it rises from the Asian continental shelf, is classified as continental rather than oceanic. All other islands of the district, except Fais, which is a raised atoll, are low, lagoon-type atolls.

The Palau District, Caroline Group

The Palau district is the westernmost administrative component of the Caroline archipelago and consists of six island units that

Table 16. Islands of the Yap District, Caroline Group

Unit	Island	Number	Area (in square miles)
Yap		11	38.670
Ulithi		49	1.799
Fais		1	1.083
Ngulu		19	.165
Sorol		9	.361
Woleai		22	1.749
Gaferut		1	.043
Faraulep		5	.163
West Fayu		1	.024
Pikelot		1	.036
Olimarao		2	.085
Lamotrek		7	.379
Satawal		1	.505
Eauripik		6	.091
Ifalik		3	.569
Elato		7	.203
Total		145	45.925

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1958.

include 349 individual islands involving a total land area of 190.68 square miles (see table 17). The group is formed directly by the exposed peaks or indirectly by coral cappings on still-submerged elevations along the outer edge of the Asian continental shelf. Thus all its islands are classified as continental rather than oceanic in form.

The major island unit is the one known as the Palau cluster. Its main elements are Babelthuap, Koror, Peleliu, and Angaur islands, which are high volcanic types, and Kayangel Island, which is the district's only true atoll. The cluster also includes 338 tiny rock islands of little significance. Only the 5 main islands and 3 of the lesser ones are permanently inhabited, but on them all but 192 of the district's total population of 11,904 is concentrated. All the islands except Angaur and Kayangel are enclosed within a single barrier reef.

Babelthuap is a sizable island that dominates the cluster. It is about 27 miles long, and its area of 153 square miles makes it the largest single landmass in the entire TTPI. Although classified as a high island, Babelthuap is not mountainous. It is, rather, an area of gently rolling hills, which reach a maximum height of about 700 feet. The island also has one of the few real lakes in the trust territory, Lake Ngardok, which is 3,000 feet long and 1,000 feet wide with a depth of 11 or 12 feet. Most of Babelthuap is composed of volcanic materials, but its southeastern corner is raised coral limestone.

Table 17. Islands of the Palau District, Caroline Group

Unit	Island	Number	Area (in square miles)
Palau Islands		343	188.269
Sonsorol		2	.735
Pulo Anna		1	.343
Merir		1	.349
Tobi		1	.228
Helen		1	.761
Total		349	190.685

Source: Adapted from *Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, Washington, 1948.

Koror, which is the capital of the district, Peleliu, and Angaur islands south of Babelthuap are high, rugged formations of raised limestone, which nevertheless have considerable portions of exposed volcanic materials. Like Babelthuap, they are covered with a dense growth of trees and bushes in great variety. Kayangel Island is located twenty-eight miles north of Babelthuap and is a typical low coral atoll having a number of islets encircling its well-protected interior lagoon.

The five other island units of the Palau district are the tiny islands of Sonsorol, Pulo Anna, Merir, Tobi, and Helen. They are isolated in a string extending southwest from the Palau cluster almost to New Guinea. All, except Sonsorol, which has two components, are single islands of raised limestone formation. Merir and Helen islands are uninhabited; Sonsorol, Tobi, and Pulo Anna have populations of ninety-five, seventy-five, and thirteen, respectively.

Climate

The climate of the TTPI as a whole is tropical and maritime, characterized by high temperatures and humidity and by generally heavy rainfall. There are some seasonal variations, but they are small and of little consequence. It is a few degrees hotter, and rainfall is slightly higher in the months of the northern summer (May through October). Temperatures, however, vary little from the territory's annual mean of 80° F., and the humidity is constant, at about 80 percent. By specific areas, annual mean temperatures are 78° F. in the Mariana, 80° F. in the Yap, Palau, and Ponape, and 81° F. in the Truk and Marshall districts. Within each district also there is a slight increase in temperature as one travels from the northern to the southern portions.

Annual rainfall is consistently high but shows some variation among the districts. Except for the northern portions of the Mariana and the Marshall districts, where annual precipitation is about

60 and 82 inches, respectively, all other sections of the territory have 100 inches or more. Specifically, annual rainfall is about 100 inches in the southern Mariana, 155 inches in the Palau, 119 inches in the Yap, 127 inches in the Truk, 185 inches in the Ponape, and 158 inches in the southern Marshall districts.

Weather conditions are generally good in Micronesia but are subject to frequent and rapid changes. A fine day may suddenly give way to one of torrential rains, strong winds, squalls, and occasional thunderstorms. Most of these conditions are related to the interplay of complex wind systems that prevail in different parts of the territory. Islands east of about 150° east longitude are under the influence of steady northeast trade winds most of the year. In summer, however, the intertropical front moves northward, and in southern areas the southeast trades prevail. When these trade winds meet along the front, they give rise to weak cyclones, which bring heavy sporadic rains. The cyclonic storms generally move westward, gathering strength and intensity as they go. They then curve northward from the equator sometimes, bringing much destruction to islands in their paths.

West of 150° east longitude, the pattern of the trade winds is broken by seasonal changes over Asia. In the summer months low pressures over the continent draw in air from Micronesia, resulting in prevailing winds from the southwest and the south. In the winter, continental high pressures reverse the flow. Winds blow out from Asia as the northwest monsoon and strong typhoons strike the Mariana, eastern Caroline, and Palau island groups. Typical of these great storms was Typhoon Jean, which struck the Carolines in 1968 and reached its maximum intensity in the southern Marianas. It caused damage amounting to about \$16 million and was so destructive to Saipan that the island was declared a disaster area by the president of the United States.

Flora and Fauna

Virtually all islands of the territory have a lush and varied covering of vegetation because of the warm and humid climate. The types of plantlife vary considerably between the high and the low island forms, although coconut and breadfruit trees and two varieties of bamboo are common everywhere. Hibiscus trees can also be found throughout the territory, except on the driest atolls.

Vegetation on the low Caroline Island is usually limited to coconut palms, breadfruit, casuarina, pandanus, creeping vines, sedges, and associated strand growth. The high islands are marked by three distinct types of growth. The coastal flats have dense coverings of broadleaf forest in which mangroves predominate. The mangroves are often interspersed with nipa palm and other salt-resistant veg-

etation. Inland from the tidal flats coconut trees predominate but give way on the lower slopes to dense rain forests of exceedingly varied composition in limestone areas or to scrubby growth and grassland in volcanic soil regions. The upper slopes of high volcanic islands usually have thin, leached soils that do not permit the growth of tall trees and are covered with wet, mossy scrub forests and an undergrowth of ferns so thick that a path must be cut through them.

The only indigenous land animals in the territory are believed to be four species of bats. Two species are fruit eaters, and two are insect eaters; they are prevalent both in the high and the low island forms. All other land animals were introduced by original inhabitants of the area or were brought in later by European and Asian immigrants. Among the introduced animals are dogs, pigs, several species of rats, horses, cattle, water buffalo, goats, and cats. Of special interest also are deer, which were brought to the Marianas and a few other high islands by the Japanese. These ruminants have multiplied so rapidly on Ponape that they constitute a real threat to native gardens.

The islands are usually free from harmful reptiles, but two species of crocodiles and two types of venomous sea snakes are occasionally found in Palau district. One species of these snakes is also present in the Marshall group. Palau also has a few nonvenomous snakes, including a tree snake, a mangrove snake, a boa, and a rare golden burrowing snake. Several species of lizard, including the large monitor variety that reaches a length of six feet, are abundant on many high and low islands alike.

There are relatively few land birds in Micronesia, but marine and shore birds are abundant. These include tern, albatross, booby, frigate, plover, cormorant, and several kinds of heron. The Palau cluster is noted for one species of rare fresh-water duck and the Marianas, for another different variety. Many other varieties of birds, both land and marine, can sometimes be seen in the islands, but they are migratory rather than resident.

An estimated total of about 7,000 varieties of insects can be found in Micronesia. Approximately half of the different species are known to exist in the territory as a whole; many of the others are endemic only to specific areas.

Marine life in Micronesia is rich in both number and variety. The reefs, lagoons, and shore areas, as well as the open sea, teem with game and food fish and other forms of marine life. All types characteristic of tropical Pacific waters are represented, including bonito, tuna, albacore, barracuda, shark, eel, snapper, flounder, and sea bass. Many highly colored small fish inhabit the reefs, as do octopus, squid, jellyfish, and sea slugs (trepang). There are also many kinds of mollusks and crustacea, such as crabs, lobsters, lon-

gusta, shrimp, oysters, and clams. Of special interest is the giant Tridacna clam, whose heavy, fluted shell is prized by decorators. Marine mammals include the porpoise and the sea cow, or dugong, which once was plentiful in the Palau district but now is becoming quite scarce.

Mineral Resources

The islands of the TTPI have only limited mineral resources. Except for phosphate, which is found on several islands of the raised limestone type, mineral deposits occur only in some of the high islands. Rock phosphate appears and has been mined on Angaur, Sonsorol, Peleliu, and Tobi islands in the Palau district; on Saipan, Rota, and Tinian in the Marianas; on Fais and Gaferut in the Yap district; and on Ebon Island in the Ralik chain of the Marshalls. The largest deposits and the best quality occur on Angaur, but even there the cost of extracting it, coupled with the fact that its removal destroys much essential arable land, makes it economically unfeasible to attempt.

Other known mineral deposits are bauxite, manganese, iron, copper, nickel, and asbestos. Bauxite in small quantities appears on Babelthuap, Saipan, Rota, Yap, Kusaie, and Ponape; manganese is found on Saipan, Rota, and Yap; iron, copper, nickel, and possibly asbestos are found on Yap; and traces of limonite, on Ponape. Nowhere, however, are quantities sufficient to warrant commercial exploitation.

DEMOGRAPHY

Population

The total population of the TTPI in mid-1970 was estimated to be a little over 99,000. This estimate is based on firm census values enumerated for each territorial district as of June 30, 1968, augmented by additional increments of 2,500 persons per year, which has been the estimated average annual rate of population increase since that time (see table 18). The number of males slightly exceeds that of females. Although complete breakdowns are not available, it is known that about 60 percent of the population is less than twenty-five years of age. Crude birth and death rates per 1,000 population are 36.4 and 5.8, respectively.

Ethnic Groups and Languages

The inhabitants of the TTPI are collectively called Micronesians although they do not represent a single racial strain. They are, rather, an uneven mixture of three distinct ethnic groups that migrated out of Southeast Asia in the distant past. The base of the

Table 18. *Estimated Population of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*

District	Male	Female	Total
Mariana Islands	5,818	5,634	11,452
Marshall Islands	9,968	9,030	18,998
Palau	6,119	5,785	11,904
Yap	3,584	3,286	6,870
Truk	13,449	12,919	26,368
Ponape	9,738	9,139	18,877
TOTAL ¹	48,676	45,793	94,469
Estimated growth (two years at 2,500 per year)			5,000
GRAND TOTAL ²			99,469

¹ 1968 census of June 30, 1968.

² Estimated as of July 1970.

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of State, *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (21st Annual Report to the United Nations), Washington, 1968.

amalgam was the wave of medium-statured, mongoloid-like migrants who, after leaving Malaysia, passed through Indonesia and perhaps the Philippines before settling down in the area now known as Micronesia. The other two groups were the short, frizzy-haired, negroid Melanesians, who occupied the islands of the Southwest Pacific, and the taller, fairer, more caucasoid-like Polynesians, who after a sojourn in Micronesia moved on to inhabit eastern Oceania. Scholars cannot agree on whether the Melanesians and Polynesians preceded or followed the Micronesians into the area, but at one time in the process the three groups encountered one another and intermingled to form the basic Micronesian type.

Nowhere was the mixture uniformly carried out, and wide variations in Micronesian culture and physical appearance occur among, and even within, individual islands. Polynesian influence appears to dominate in the eastern Caroline and the Marshall island groups; Melanesian in the southern Caroline and southwestern Palau islands; and mongoloid in the western Caroline islands and the Palau cluster. An outstanding exception are the two atolls of Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi in southern Ponape district, which have remained purely Polynesian.

The basic Micronesian amalgam was further modified by European, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and United States elements after the sixteenth century. Europeans, especially Spanish and German elements, added new Latin and Aryan traits, and Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese migrants deepened the strong existing mongoloid tendencies.

A total of nine native languages, roughly classified into Malaysian,

Micronesian, and Polynesian general types, is spoken in Micronesia. All are derivatives of the great Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family and exhibit some similarities, although each is distinct and mutually unintelligible. Each language also has one or more variants or dialects that sometimes make communication difficult between speakers of the same basic language.

Usually the various languages are named after the major island, region, or people of the area in which they are prevalent. Thus Chamorro, a Malaysian type, is spoken by about 75 percent of the people of the Mariana Islands district and by a small number of residents on the island of Yap. Because these regions were long under Spanish domination, Chamorro contains a large number of Spanish words.

Palauan, also a Malaysian type, is the language of the Palau cluster. It is spoken, with no major dialectical differences, by virtually the entire population of the northern islands that make up the cluster. Residents of the five southern islands of the Palau district speak a dialect of Trukese, which is a Micronesian rather than a Malaysian type.

Micronesian-type languages are Yapese, Ulithian, Trukese, Ponapean, Kusaiean, and Marshallese. Yapese and Ulithian are the major languages of the Yap district. Yapese is spoken in the Yap complex and smaller islands to the south and west of that island unit. It is a complicated medium using thirteen vowel sounds and thirty-two consonants, an involved grammar of several tenses, and distinctions in number that appear nowhere else in Micronesia. Yapese has a dialectical form for almost every island, each of which is so distinctive that a discerning resident can identify a speaker's home island by his speech alone. Ulithian is spoken on Ulithi and most islands in the eastern part of the district. It is entirely unlike Yapese and is related more to the Micronesian form used in the Truk district.

Trukese is the basic language of the entire Truk district. Each island of the region has its own dialect, by which islanders can identify a speaker's home; except for the dialects used in the western islands of Puluwat and Pulosuk, which sometimes create difficulties in intercommunication with other islanders, however, all are mutually intelligible.

Three distinct languages are spoken in the Ponape district. Two of them, Ponapean and Kusaiean, are Micronesian types; the third is a western dialect of Polynesian. Ponapean is the most widespread and is prevalent on Ponape Island and its immediate neighbors and on Mokil and Pingelap islands. Kusaiean is spoken on the high island of Kusaie and its environs. Ponapean and Kusaiean have some common vocabulary and are mutually intelligible. Both also have developed a unique polite form that is used in addressing superiors. Kusaiean, nevertheless, differs in that it is somewhat related to Marshallese.

People of the two atolls of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro, isolated in the southern part of the district, are believed to be the westernmost elements of a Polynesian feedback from eastern Oceania who retained, with little or no Micronesian intrusions, the speech of their antecedents. The language itself is akin to the form of Polynesian prevalent in Samoa and the Gilbert and Tokelau chains.

Marshallese is the language of the entire Marshall Islands district. It is spoken in separate dialects for the Ratak and the Ralik chains. Differences in the two versions are slight, however, and residents of the two chains communicate with one another easily. Despite the proximity of the Marshall group to Polynesia, Marshallese has little affinity to Polynesian; it is, rather, more closely related to Gilbertese and the Micronesian languages of the Caroline archipelago.

Social Structure

Micronesian society is organized primarily along lines of kinship and the family in its extended rather than its nuclear form. Such families are composed of all those who are related by birth, marriage, or adoption and who operate as a single, tightly bound social and economic unit. The extended family collectively owns its own ancestral land, allotting the use thereof to all members on the basis of common agreement. The senior male member of the family is its headman, or chief, who directs the group's internal social and economic activities and represents the family in councils and relations with other families.

When the extended family is small, it may live together within a single household; when it is large and extensive, several households may be required to accommodate all members. In such cases the houses are usually, but not always, grouped into a central hamlet in the center of surrounding open areas that represent the group's landholdings.

Often more than one family resides in an area, which complicates the simple living pattern. When this occurs, the separate hamlets may be grouped into a village, and a number of villages may be strung out to form a community. The problem of leadership then is solved by designating the headman of the family that first established control of land in the area as village chief. By the same process, the ranking village chief may be elevated to community chief, to whom all other chiefs and headmen owe fealty and allegiance.

There is much local variation among different ethnic groups in the territory, but families and family members are generally graded into three strata, or classes, according to their genealogies. Historically, family lineages, except for those in the southwest Palau Islands, the Polynesian atolls of Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi, and a few other

scattered areas throughout the territory, which follow dual or patrilineal systems, are traced matrilineally back to a common, and often mythical, ancestress. Family status then is determined by the degree of proximity to, or remoteness from, the direct line. Families whose headmen are able to claim direct, unbroken descent in this maternal line form the elite, sometimes called the royal, class. Younger members of elite families and those who may have married outside the line, so that direct descent is only on one parental side, constitute an intermediate, or noble, class. Families whose headmen have no claim to direct descent are classed as commoners. Social status within each class is predicated on seniority, and older members outrank the younger.

Chiefs who are heads of elite families usually control large areas containing many villages, communities, and even island groups and are called paramount chiefs. The hierarchy descends in complex but orderly fashion to village chiefs, who represent the lowest echelon of control. Originally, paramount and ranking lesser chiefs exercised great secular, as well as ceremonial, authority over their domains. Their persons, however, had a mystical aura involving many taboos, which increasingly left them remote from the commoners and the conduct of daily affairs. Ultimately, they had to appoint ranking members of their families as executive chiefs to administer mundane affairs, while they concerned themselves almost exclusively with ritualistic and ceremonial functions. The executive chiefs soon developed into the real powers in matters of social and economic affairs, although technically they were subordinate to the paramount chief who appointed them. Moreover, the paramount chiefs suffered no loss of prestige or respect because it was only through them that the all-important lineage on which status was based could be sustained and transmitted.

This basic social structure has been subjected to much stress and considerable weakening since the introduction of modern democratic ideas and practices. Nevertheless, especially in the more isolated outer islands, it still forms the basis of Micronesian society, and its continued viability is sustained by the tendency of the native population everywhere to look to chieftains for leadership and representation in formal political and legislative bodies.

Health

There are no private doctors, dentists, or service facilities in the TTPI, so responsibility for the entire public health program devolves upon the Department of Public Health in the territorial government. The department operates on an annual budget of about \$3.5 million, of which roughly one-third is used for salary payments. According to 1968 figures, which were the latest available,

the department had a total of 1,012 employees, including 50 doctors, 20 dentists, and 286 qualified nurses. Thirty-nine of the doctors, 19 of the dentists, and 263 of the nurses were native Micronesians. All other personnel were employed in technical and administrative staff positions.

Medical facilities operated by the government were 6 general and 3 field hospitals, 2 medical ships, and 139 dispensaries and health aid posts. One general hospital, offering both inpatient and outpatient service was located in each district capital. The 3 field hospitals were on Rota, Kusaie, and Ebeye Islands. The medical ships were based at Saipan but continuously cruised throughout the territory serving isolated islands where no permanent facilities were available. The dispensaries were scattered in all districts to serve islands of greatest need; 5 were located in the Mariana, 44 in the Marshall, 11 in the Palau, 12 in the Ponape, 53 in the Truk, and 14 in the Yap districts.

There were no specialized institutions or care centers for polio, communicable diseases, leprosy, or mental disorders, but each general hospital had isolated sections for persons so afflicted. Each general hospital and the field hospitals on Ebeye and Kusaie Islands also had dental clinics. Maternal and child health clinics were also available at the general hospitals and contributed greatly to a steadily declining rate of infant mortality.

Medical and dental services at these institutions are available to all residents of the territory at rates commensurate with their ability to pay. Indigenous islanders pay no fees for maternal and child health care, immunizations, and dental service or for the treatment of mental disorders or communicable diseases, including tuberculosis and leprosy. There is a schedule of charges for all other ailments, but it is extremely low. Those treated on an outpatient basis, for example, pay \$0.10 to \$0.25 per visit depending on the severity of their affliction; those requiring hospitalization and inpatient care are charged about \$1.00 per day, including food. Surgery is performed at a flat fee of \$10.00. No one is denied treatment, however, and even these fees are waived for those who are indigent. A separate and somewhat higher schedule of charges is in effect for non-natives.

The most common diseases include a number that are endemic and several that have been introduced, but the incidence of none is unusually high. Malaria, cholera, and plague do not exist, despite the presence of many of their vectors. Because of the hot and humid climate, respiratory ailments, such as pneumonia, bronchitis, influenza, and the common cold, are major health problems. Tuberculosis has long been a serious threat in all districts but is gradually being controlled by government programs for its early detection and treatment; leprosy, which once was widespread, is also declining and in 1970 was of major concern primarily in Pingelap

Island in the Ponape district. Other ailments frequently encountered are gastroenteritis, various forms of dysentery, helminthic infestations, filariasis, and gonococcal infections. The most common communicable diseases of childhood are measles (both in the rubeola and rubella forms), chickenpox, and mumps, all of which are endemic and sometimes reach epidemic proportions.

Under auspices of the Public Health Department, aided by the World Health Organization and the South Pacific Commission, territory-wide preventive programs have been greatly accelerated since 1962. They include mass inoculations against various diseases, concerted educational instruction in sanitation, hygiene, and general public health measures, and a number of public works designed to improve environmental conditions.

In the field of environmental health the Public Health Department is involved in both educational and practical control programs. Much of the educational effort consists of materials and courses provided to schools for classroom use, but a considerable amount is aimed at the general public. Nurses and health aids at district hospitals and dispensaries, using posters, demonstrations, pamphlets, lectures, and movies, give instruction in personal hygiene, sanitation, communicable diseases, nutrition, maternal and child care, and similar subjects, which are available to everyone.

Sanitarians of the department also inspect and enforce regulations covering house servants, barbers, and all food handlers and health measures at bakeries and slaughterhouses. They carry out surveys for fly, rat, and mosquito infestations and spray all areas that pose threats to health. Much time and effort are also expended on the disposal of excreta and other forms of pollution. Flush toilets, except for hospitals, schools, government buildings, and a few private homes, are rare. Over-water or over-land privies are commonly used, especially in outer islands, and the increasing pollution of lagoons is serious. An effort is underway to minimize this by increasing the use of water-seal toilets; Yap and Palau districts, for example, have been almost completely converted to this type. Although considerable progress has been made, much remains to be done.

Protected water supply systems, with or without accompanying human waste disposal systems, are limited. Central systems are found only in district centers and a few isolated villages in Palau, Truk, and Ponape. Most homes rely on unprotected springs, shallow wells, or rain catchments for their water and, although an increasing number of these are being chlorinated, a large proportion showed signs of possible pollution in 1970.

Education

Micronesians are keenly aware of the value of a modern education and have made school attendance compulsory for all children be-

tween six and fourteen years of age or until they have at least completed elementary grades. Education through high school is also available but has not yet been made compulsory. In addition, a Head Start program has been in operation since 1968 to provide preschool training, and there is an ambitious program of adult education in all districts. Many high school graduates are awarded scholarships each year to attend colleges in continental United States, Hawaii, Fiji, and New Zealand, and numerous others take extension courses offered by the University of Guam. The Micronesian Occupational Center, a vocational school in Koror, Palau, offered specialized training in welding and sheet metal work, automobile mechanics, carpentry, masonry, appliance and electrical repair, air conditioning and refrigeration, and cooking, baking, and food service for about 500 students each year.

Educational goals set by the Department of Education in the territorial government call for the establishment of a universal, free educational system from elementary through high school, expansion of technical training facilities, and ultimately the development of a junior college system. Local communities are encouraged to share in the support of their schools, but in 1970, except for a few operated by religious missions, most were financed by the government.

The school system, both in the public and private sectors, follows the pattern of eight years of elementary and four years of high school training. In 1970 the territory had a total of 228 schools of all types, including 197 public and 31 private institutions (see table 19). Total enrollment in these schools in 1970 was 31,941 students, about equally divided between boys and girls. Pupils in the elementary grades totaled 27,663 (22,703 in public and 4,960 in private institutions); and those in high school numbered 4,278 (3,054 in public and 1,224 in private schools. The great majority of teachers in the territory were native Micronesians, including 427 who were

Table 19. Micronesian Public and Private Schools, 1970

School	District						Total
	Mariana	Marshall	Palau	Ponape	Truk	Yap	
Elementary							
Public	10	52	19	35	49	24	189
Private . . .	1	5	4	4	5	1	20
High School							
Public	1	1	1	2	1	2	8
Private . . .	1	2	4	1	3	0	11
Total . . .	13	60	28	42	58	27	228

Source: Adapted from U.S. Department of State, *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (21st Annual Report to the United Nations), Washington, 1968.

certificated and 631 who were not certificated. In addition, there were 287 instructors from the United States, largely Peace Corps volunteers, all but three of whom held valid teaching certificates.

The adult education program is quite sophisticated and consists of formal classroom instruction during nonregular school hours, village demonstration projects, discussion groups, and about 1,100 hours of programming a year broadcast over the district radio stations. Local interest is high, and about 4,500 adults participate in the program regularly. Most of the course is devoted to instruction in the English language, but typing, bookkeeping, sewing, mathematics, sanitation procedures, office routine, and motor mechanics are also popular.

Public Information

Mass media in the territory are limited but appear adequate to satisfy most needs for public information. They include forty-nine libraries, two bookmobiles, eight weekly newspapers, eight radio stations, two television stations, and one print shop, capable of turning out bound pamphlets as well as smaller tracts and documents.

Most of the libraries are in the schools, with the largest and best collections being in the high schools. The school libraries contain general works in addition to textbooks; although they are intended primarily to serve their student bodies, they are opened in the evenings and on weekends to the general public. In addition to school libraries, sizable collections of technical and professional books for research and reference are available to the public in the Library of the Congress of Micronesia, the Office of the High Commissioner, and several of the departments of the Territorial government on Saipan. Similar libraries are maintained and available for use of the general public at headquarters of the six district administrative offices.

The two bookmobiles are stocked with sizable collections of general and reference books. One operates in the Mariana group and the other in the Palau cluster, carrying their reading materials on regular schedules to all schools and villages in their respective areas. Plans call for additional bookmobiles to serve other districts of the territory, but as of mid-1970 none had yet been acquired.

Two of the weekly newspapers are published in the Mariana district and two in the Marshall district; the Palau, Yap, Truk, and Ponape districts have one each. All but two, one in the Marshall district and one in the Ponape district, which are privately owned, are government publications. All are small and concentrate on local news coverage, although they also contain some world news. Newspapers in the Mariana district are the *Headquarters Highlights* and

the *Marianas Bulletin*, which circulate 5,200 and 1,500 copies each issue, respectively. The Marshall Islands publications are the *Marshall Islands Journal*, a privately owned newspaper having a circulation of 1,000, and the government produced *Ebeye Voice*, with a circulation of 500. The Ponape district's journal, *The Senyavin Times*, is privately owned and has a circulation of only 250; Palau's *Didil-a-Chais* (circulation 700), Truk's *Met Poraus* (circulation 600), and Yap's *Mogethin* (circulation 500), all government owned and operated, complete the list. Each newspaper publishes in English and the major language or languages of its area.

All radio stations of the territory are owned and operated by the government. Each is low powered and broadcasts in the standard broadcast band. There are no shortwave broadcast stations. Two of the stations, located at Kwajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshall group, are facilities of the United States Armed Forces designed to bring news, information, and entertainment to military personnel stationed in those areas. The other six, located at Majuro (Marshall Islands), Saipan, (Marianas), Koror (Palau district), Yap (Yap district), Moen (Truk district), and Ponape (Ponape district), are owned and operated by the territorial government under supervision of the United States Department of the Interior. The TTPI stations broadcast primarily in the language or the languages of their respective districts but also give much time to English, particularly to English lessons. These stations are used extensively in the program of adult education, in addition to providing much regular fare of music, news, information, and entertainment.

Both of the territory's television stations are located on Saipan and are commercial facilities of the Pacific Broadcasting Company. Station WSZE uses Channel 8, and station WSZF uses Channel 10, offering programs comparable to those available in the continental United States. Both stations are low powered and capable only of providing local coverage. In 1970 an estimated 1,400 television receivers were in operation.

The Territorial Print Shop, a government enterprise formerly known as the Publications Office, is the only publisher in the islands. It is equipped with a number of duplicators, one letterpress, one offset press, and necessary associated equipment to produce about 95 percent of the territory's printing requirements. It is capable of turning out bound pamphlets, government forms, and a variety of small booklets, tracts, and documents. Much of its output consists of informational materials printed in English and the major local languages on agricultural, fishing, and home economics subjects.

Motion pictures are extremely popular; there are no facilities for producing entertainment films, however, and facilities for their general showing are few. In 1970, for example, there were only

eighteen motion picture houses in the entire territory. Seven of these were in the Mariana; five in the Marshall; two each in the Palau and Ponape; and one each in the Truk and Yap districts. Precise information on the number and types of films imported was not available in mid-1970, but virtually all were general features, shorts, and cartoons from the United States.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND GOVERNMENT

Legal Basis

Apart from United Nations actions in accepting a trusteeship over the islands and awarding responsibility for its administration to the United States, the legal basis for the TTPI is provided by Public Law 1-6, enacted by the Congress of Micronesia in 1965, and by the Trust Territory Code. Public Law 1-6 specifies that the government of the territory be democratic in form and consist of separate and independent executive, legislative, and judicial branches. It also delineates the form, authority, and responsibilities of district and municipal governments. The Trust Territory Code, among other things, contains a Bill of Rights that guarantees Micronesians the full list of freedoms and rights enjoyed by citizens of the United States.

The Executive Branch

The chief executive of the TTPI is a United States citizen known as the high commissioner. He is appointed by the President of the United States after confirmation by the United States Senate. The Office of the High Commissioner constitutes the territorial administration consisting of the high commissioner, his deputy, several aides, the attorney general, the public defender, an internal auditor, and five assistant commissioners for administration, health, education, public affairs and resources and development.

The assistant commissioners and the attorney general perform both line and staff functions in directing activities of the executive branch. In the staff role they advise the high commissioner in matters concerning their specialized fields and constitute a body comparable to a cabinet. In the line role they supervise and direct one or more departments that fall within the purview of their separate professional responsibilities. The executive branch as a whole is responsible for the construction and maintenance of primary roads and harbors; the control of banking, business corporations and associations, and import and export activities; the imposition of import and export taxes, the support of public health and education; the distribution of territorial funds to districts and municipalities; and law enforcement on a territory-wide basis.

The Legislative Branch

The legislative branch of government consists of the bicameral Congress of Micronesia, which held its first session in July 1965. The Congress has a twelve-member Senate and a twenty-one-member House of Representatives, elected in biennial elections by secret ballot of all Micronesian citizens who are eighteen years of age or older. Two senators are elected from each of the six administrative districts for terms of four years. Candidates must be at least twenty-five years of age, residents of their areas for one year, have no unpardoned record of criminal conviction, and hold no other key position in the government.

Representatives are elected to the House from twenty-one single-member election districts, whose boundaries are carefully drawn to include about equal segments of the population. Candidates' qualifications are the same as those for the Senate, and the election processes are the same, but members serve terms of only two years. In 1970 the Truk district had five representatives, the Mariana and Palau districts had three each, the Ponape and Marshall districts had four each, and the Yap district had two.

Congress is empowered to enact all legislation appropriate to the territory so long as it does not conflict with laws, treaties, or international agreements of the United States, executive orders of the President of the United States, directives of the secretary of the interior, or terms of the Micronesian Bill of Rights. Bills may be introduced by any member of Congress or by the high commissioner. Once introduced, a piece of legislation must be read, discussed, and passed by majority vote in both chambers. Bills may be vetoed by the high commissioner, but his veto may be overridden by Congress.

The Judicial Branch

The judicial branch of government involves a system of courts arranged in three echelons consisting of a single High Court for the territory as a whole, a district court for each of the six administrative districts, and a community court for each municipality. Court procedures are simplified versions of those employed in United States district courts sitting without jury. Trials by juries of six men are authorized by special legislation of the Congress of Micronesia for certain criminal and civil cases, but the use of juries is rare. Ordinarily court proceedings are in English in the High Court; when litigants do not understand English, simultaneous translation into indigenous languages is authorized. In lower courts the language of the area in which the trial is being held is used.

The High Court is the highest judicial body in the territory. It consists of the chief justice, two associate justices, a temporary

justice, and a panel of three temporary justices. All are United States lawyers appointed by the secretary of the interior. The High Court has full criminal and civil jurisdiction and is divided into appellate and trial divisions. When sitting on appeals, the court consists of three judges—assigned by the chief justice—who reach their decisions by majority vote. When sitting as a trial court, sessions are presided over by a single judge, except in murder cases, when two additional special judges, appointed by the high commissioner from judges of the district where the trial is being held, are added. If the trial is by jury the special judges vote only on the sentence; in non-jury trials they cast equal votes with the presiding judge.

The High Court and offices of the chief justice are located at Saipan, but its sessions are held on a circuit-riding basis in the different districts. The Trial Division sometimes may act as a court of appeal involving decisions of district and community courts that are contested on the basis of law or its interpretation. Rulings of the Trial Division in such cases usually end the matter but they, in turn and like the division's judgement in original trials, may be appealed to the Appellate Division. Decisions returned by the Appellate Division are final.

District Courts

The six district courts are located at the administrative centers of their respective areas, where their sessions are usually held, although they may also sit at any other place in the district. Each district court is headed by a presiding judge assisted by two or more associate judges as required to meet anticipated workloads. All district judges are Micronesians appointed by the high commissioner.

District courts have jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters within specified limitations based on the severity of the offense involved. In civil cases they have original jurisdiction when the value of the property involved does not exceed \$1,000; cases involving more than \$1,000 must be forwarded for trial to the High Court. In criminal cases their jurisdiction does not extend beyond those cases for which punishments of a fine up to \$2,000 or imprisonment up to five years, or both, may be imposed. District courts also may hear appeals from decisions of community courts in their areas.

Community Courts

There is a total of 106 community courts in the territory: 3 in the Marianas district, 16 in the Marshalls district, 21 in the Palau district, 12 in the Yap district, 40 in the Truk district, and 14 in the Ponape district. Each community court consists of a presiding judge

and sometimes one or more associate judges, all of whom are Micronesians appointed by the district administrator.

Community courts, like their counterparts at the district level, have jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases within specified limits of seriousness. They may try civil cases only when the value of the property involved does not exceed \$100 and criminal cases only when the maximum punishment allowed does not exceed a fine of \$100, imprisonment for no longer than six months, or both.

District Government

The six administrative districts of the TTPI are subordinate to territorial headquarters at Saipan and are subject to all territory-wide laws, regulations, and orders. Each however, has its own regional government consisting of an executive headquarters and a unicameral legislature. Minor differences may occur in the size and composition of individual district governments, but their basic structures and methods of operation are the same. Within their respective areas each district government has primary responsibility for the control and licensing of liquor and wholesale businesses, for domestic relations, for the construction and maintenance of secondary roads and docks, for the imposition and collection of sales and other locally authorized taxes, for the preservation of law and order, and for local support of health and educational activities.

Each district government is headed by a district administrator, who performs a dual role. He is the direct representative of the high commissioner and, as such, supervises the activities of a number of departments and offices that are extensions of similar agencies in the territorial government. He is also the chief executive of the district, charged with its general administration and with carrying out and enforcing laws passed by the local district legislature.

District legislatures are chartered by the territorial government to perform all legislative functions appropriate to their respective areas. Except for a few legislators in the Marshall and Palau districts, who occupy their seats by virtue of hereditary chieftain status, representatives in district legislatures are elected by popular vote from electoral units or precincts established in their areas. These units, however, do not necessarily contain a standard number of constituents, and the ratio of representation varies widely among the six districts. In terms of actual numbers the Marshall legislature is the largest, with a total of sixty representatives (forty-one elected and nineteen hereditary). The Palau legislature is second, with forty-three (twenty-eight elected and fifteen hereditary). The other legislatures in descending order of size (all elected) are: Truk, twenty-eight; Ponape, twenty-four; Yap, twenty; and Mariana, sixteen.

Candidates for election to district legislatures must be citizens of the territory, residents of their districts for one year, and at least twenty-five years old, except in Truk, where the age limit is lowered to twenty-three. Successful candidates serve terms of four years in all districts but Truk, which requires reelection every two years.

District legislatures hold two sessions each year, except in the Marshall district, where meetings are convened annually. Legislation is enacted by majority vote and is then presented to the district administrator for approval or disapproval. If that executive disapproves, his veto may be overridden by a two-thirds majority of the entire legislature. If the bill is still unacceptable to the administrator, it is forwarded to the high commissioner, whose approval or disapproval is final.

Local Government

The municipality is the basic unit of local government. Municipalities are usually formed from the customary geographic-political divisions of society whose boundaries may include an island, a group of islands, an atoll, or a locally recognized portion of a large island. This pattern is broken in the Marshall district where municipalities are formed of islands or atolls without reference to the traditional jurisdiction of hereditary chiefs. Regardless of their physical composition, municipalities have primary responsibility for the peace, safety, welfare, and tranquillity of their inhabitants; for the control and licensing of retail and service businesses; for the construction and maintenance of municipal roads, streets, and docks; for the imposition and collection of authorized excise, per capita, and property taxes; and for providing support to public education and health within their areas.

There is a total of 126 municipalities in the territory, including 45 that operate under charters, 59 that are unchartered, and 22 that have a traditional form of government. The basic documents for chartered municipalities are tailored to fulfill the needs and desires of the particular community involved. In general, however, they call for a chief executive, known as a magistrate or a mayor, for a municipal council, elected by popular vote, and for a varying number of other officials, such as a secretary and a treasurer, who may be either elected or appointed to office. These charters also set forth election procedures, terms of office, and the duties and responsibilities of officials. The councils are empowered to pass local ordinances that, after gaining the approval of the district administrator, have the force of law.

Unchartered municipalities usually have a similar form of government, but in them only the magistrate or mayor is elected. He then appoints other officials and the council as necessary. Some un-

chartered municipalities, nevertheless, may operate under a traditional form of government.

Municipalities that operate under traditional forms are administered by chieftains, who acquire their ranks by heredity and whose authority is accepted by their people. No elections are held but, when a chief dies or loses the respect of his people and a successor is needed, a council of elders determines a new leader, using ancient methods of discussion until a consensus is reached.

Political Dynamics

Political dynamics in the TTPI are difficult to segregate and define because the democratic process is still new and not yet well understood by most Micronesians. People are so accustomed to looking to their local chieftains for guidance and direction that, when elections are held, they almost automatically vote for traditional leaders or for some younger man that the chief recommends and supports. Another deterrent is the sense of modesty, which historically has been a cardinal value in Micronesian society. Actively running for public office often is interpreted as a violation of deep-seated norms of behavior and causes many qualified men to avoid announcing their candidacies and many voters to shun those who do campaign as unworthy of their confidence.

As political experience has broadened, however, there seems to be a trend toward change. More and more people are voting for candidates who are commoners but who are knowledgeable and have gained the confidence of their fellows. Campaigns in most areas remain muted and sedate, although increasing numbers of candidates are taking advantage of free radio time to discuss their programs, of public meetings to gain wider recognition of their qualifications, and of visiting voters in their homes to develop greater confidence in their persons.

Political life and activity are based so solidly on personal rather than ideological factors that the need for organized political parties is, in fact, largely eliminated. Registered political parties have been established only in the Mariana and Palau districts. In the Marianas the Popular and the Territorial parties and, in the Palaus, the Liberal and Progressive parties adopt platforms, nominate slates of candidates, and conduct vigorous preelection campaigns toward these objectives. In recent years no candidate in these districts has run as an independent. In other districts less formal groups name and solicit support for candidates of their choice, usually based on personal grounds rather than on a specific party platform.

Public Order and Safety

The maintenance of public law and order presents no great problem in the trust territory because of the strength and efficacy of

family controls in society. Moreover, customary methods and procedures for controlling delinquents, through admonitions and tongue-lashings delivered by the local headman or chieftain, or punishments by deliberative action of village and community councils, which tend to isolate an individual from his fellows and bring shame to him and his family, are usually sufficient to ensure good behavior. When these controls break down or are not applicable, the administration has recourse to more formal laws and institutions.

Apart from the Trust Agreement, applicable laws of the United States, regulations of the territorial government, laws of the various districts, and ordinances passed by municipal authorities, the basic law of the TTPI is contained in the Trust Territory Code as amended. This code, based on precedents in the United States civil and criminal codes, is administered by the attorney general at headquarters in Saipan. It divides violations into misdemeanors and crimes and specifies maximum penalties that may be imposed on offenders. The code does not recognize capital punishment, excessive fines, or corporal punishment as valid but authorizes imprisonment for specified periods of time, fines, or the imposition of unpaid labor on public works projects that benefit Micronesians as a whole.

The Police

The major law enforcement agency in the territory is the Pacific Island Constabulary, a uniformed organization controlled by the attorney general and employed in six detachments throughout the territory. One detachment is stationed in each administrative district where, subject to the supervision of the district administrator, it is commanded by a chief, called the sheriff. Members of the constabulary, in addition to straight police duties, also serve as local firemen and, after specialized training, may be assigned as guards or staff in the penal system.

The constabulary is a small force containing a total of 187 members, graded into sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, sergeants, corporals, and constables (see table 20). Pay scales for the constabulary are nominal, but service on the force is highly desirable as membership carries with it a great deal of local prestige and social acceptance.

Prisons

Each administrative district maintains a jail or prison for persons convicted of crimes requiring incarceration. These institutions are not considered punitive in outlook but are operated primarily to rehabilitate the offender and return him to society as a good citizen. The prison staffs are given special training by the Department of Public Safety in Saipan and are uniformly able, effective officials.

Table 20. The Pacific Island Constabulary, 1970.

Title	District						Total
	Mariana	Marshall	Palau	Yap	Truk	Ponape	
Sheriffs	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Deputy sheriffs	3	2	0	1	1	1	8
Sergeants	13	2	5	6	4	7	37
Corporals	20	4	8	5	7	5	49
Constables . . .	17	11	14	21	15	9	87
Total . . .	54	20	28	34	28	23	187

Source: Adapted from U. S. Department of State, *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands* (21st Annual Report to the United Nations), Washington, 1968.

Prisoners are protected from harsh and abusive treatment. Cells are clean and comfortable, and most afford at least minimum acceptable amounts of space per occupant. Subsistence provided by the prison varies among districts, averaging a little over 3,000 calories per prisoner per day. In addition, inmates may be visited by their families, bringing gifts of food and other luxuries. Hard labor is forbidden, except for that performed on public works projects, and even then work is limited to an eight-hour day and a six-day week. Most institutions have adequate facilities for recreation, medical and dental care, and religious observances. They also have workshops for handicrafts, plots of land for gardening, and facilities for fishing, which are used both for teaching purposes and for producing salable items. Income from these sales is used for benefits to prisoners.

The prison system further has provisions under which an inmate may be paroled for good behavior and attitude. After serving at least one-third of his sentence, he may be paroled by the high commissioner. If the original sentence did not exceed six months or include a fine of more than \$100, the parole may be granted by a district administrator. Parolees are returned to general society but for the remainder of their sentences must report to a parole officer in their home areas at least once a month.

Prison populations are generally quite low and in a typical year rarely exceed a total of 850 inmates. The average number of inmates at any one time is about 75. More than half the prisoners are sentenced to terms of one month or less; rarely are there more than 30 prisoners serving terms of one year or more.

Incidence of Crime

Most major crimes in the territory consist of homicides, aggravated assaults, and thefts with violence. Their numbers are small, however, and sometimes a whole year passes without a single con-

viction for such violations in any one district. Most offenders are guilty only of misdemeanors, such as trespass, simple theft, drunkenness, traffic violations, or disturbing the peace. In 1968, for example, there were only 85 convictions for felonies and 1,198 for misdemeanors in the entire TTPI.

Juvenile delinquency has never been a problem of great magnitude, although in 1970 it was showing some increase in district centers where the influence of the family and parental control were weakening. Any offender under sixteen years of age is considered a juvenile in the TTPI. Such persons cannot be tried in a regular court or sentenced to prison, except for the most flagrant of crimes.

In order to keep the incidence of juvenile delinquency at low levels, each district in recent years has appointed one member of the constabulary as a juvenile officer. This official is responsible for supervising juvenile activities in large athletic and recreational programs and in creating interest in many forms of civic work and religious activities.

THE ECONOMY

The TTPI is a relatively undeveloped region whose people are engaged primarily in subsistence farming and fishing. Residents of the semiurbanized district centers may participate in a money economy, but those in the outer islands, except for occasional sales of copra, have little monetary income. This situation was changing by 1970, however, under the impact of a number of government plans and programs to develop resources and provide an orderly and more balanced economy. These programs included measures to diversify and improve agricultural production, to stimulate and encourage the establishment of new business and commercial enterprises, to expand existing, and construct additional, communications facilities, and to raise the level of labor and managerial skills among the indigenous population.

Public Finance

Public finances are provided in an annual budget that is formed partly of funds raised locally and partly of appropriations passed by the United States Congress. The budget is prepared by the office of the high commissioner with the advice and recommendations of the Micronesia Congress. It is then reviewed and altered as necessary by the Department of the Interior in Washington before being included in the president's budget for final passage and appropriation by the United States Congress.

The size of the budget varies from year to year in accordance with the needs of development programs scheduled for implementation. The overall budget, however, has been steadily increasing since

1962, rising from about \$7.5 million in that year to an estimated \$41.94 million in 1970. Only a small portion of these funds is provided by local territorial revenues; in 1970 \$41.03 million were United States congressional appropriations.

The major sources of local revenue are taxes, imposed by and collected at all three levels of government. In addition, significant income is realized from various fees, licenses and permits, rentals, and a wide range of other reimbursements, such as medical and dental fees, utility charges, freight and passenger revenues, and sales of petroleum products and scrap metal.

The territorial government has exclusive authority to impose export, import, and excise taxes. The major export taxes are a 10 percent levy on copra and trochus shell, 25 percent on nonferrous metal, 5 percent on ferrous scrap, and 10 percent on lead and covered cable. The income from scrap metal, vast amounts of which were available in surplus and abandoned equipment and materiel at the end of World War II, has been considerable but is diminishing as recovery operations deplete the supply.

The major import taxes are those levied on cigarettes and tobacco, alcoholic and nonalcoholic beverages, perfume, cosmetics, toiletries, foodstuffs for human consumption, and a number of other items brought in for resale. The tax on cigarettes is \$0.07 per package; the rate for other tobacco products is 50 percent ad valorem. Nonalcoholic beverages are subject to a tax of \$0.02 per twelve-ounce can or bottle; beer and malt beverages pay \$0.03 per unit of the same size; wine has a rate of \$1.50 per gallon. The import duty on foodstuffs is 1 percent ad valorem and that for all other imported products except petroleum products is 3 percent ad valorem. Gasoline and diesel fuel are subject to an excise tax of \$0.05 on every gallon used, distributed, or sold in the territory.

At the district level the government has authority to impose taxes on liquor that is locally produced and on sales of other commodities. The district government also has the exclusive right to license and collect fees for wholesale businesses. At the municipal level the local government, if authorized by the district, may impose excise taxes on any item except foodstuffs. It may also schedule per capita taxes and a levy on property. Municipal governments further have the exclusive right to license and collect fees on retail businesses.

Money and Banking

United States currency is legal tender throughout the TTPI, so currency and exchanges are regulated by United States laws governing banking. The Bank of Hawaii and the Bank of America have branches in the territory that provide regular banking service to residents of the area. Bank of Hawaii branches are located at Kwajalein in the Marshalls, Koror in the Palau district, and Ponape in the

eastern Carolines; Bank of America branches serve the Truk district and Saipan in the Marianas. These institutions provide full banking services, including some loans to private individuals and business firms.

Most capital for economic development, however, is provided by or through the government-operated Economic Development Loan Fund. This agency, a division of the Resources and Development Department in the high commissioner's office, began in 1956 as a revolving fund established by the United States Congress to make loans available to expand and develop the economy. In 1970 it had a total capitalization of about \$1 million. The fund generally prefers that applicants for loans try to obtain credit from a commercial bank but, when this cannot be done, the agency's services are available. The fund makes direct loans or guarantees loans from any commercial bank to any citizen, group of citizens, corporation, or cooperative society authorized to conduct business in the territory, provided the proposed enterprise is judged economically desirable and creates new employment, replaces imports, increases exports, reduces consumer prices, or provides vitally needed facilities or services.

Other sources of credit for citizens of the territory are the credit unions, numbering about fifty, with some 8,000 participating members. These savings institutions have total assets of about \$1.25 million, representing life savings that average almost \$150 per member. They make loans to members for such things as home building or improvement, education, the purchase of furniture or home appliances, and similar personal needs. These loans are usually covered by insurance that protects members from loss by death of the borrower and from embezzlement.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the dominating economic activity in the territory providing subsistence and, sometimes, the only cash income for the vast majority of inhabitants. Land tenure, consequently, is of paramount importance to the life and well-being of the islanders. Approximately 40 percent, or 174,394 acres, of the region's total land area is privately owned, and 60 percent, or about 270,532 acres, is in the public domain. Private lands that are considered arable total 114,186 acres; 72,723 acres of these lands are planted in tree crops (coconut, breadfruit, and casuarina), 11,533 acres are in agricultural and garden crops (vegetables, cassava, taro, yams, and sweet potatoes), and 29,900 acres are unused. Other privately held lands include 17,695 acres that are forested, 9,184 acres that are devoted to grazing, and 37,312 acres that are rock, swamps, or bushlands.

Traditionally, landownership was in the hands of the various kin groups residing on them, and land was apportioned out for use by

family members as needed. Titles were broken down by the changing policies of succeeding Spanish, German, and Japanese administrations. Thus, when the trust territory came into being, true ownership was difficult to determine. The administration in 1970 was trying to solve the problem, but there was no single consistent system of landholding, and the task was monumental. The traditional system is still strong in many areas; in others, where there has been some land reform, many plots of land are held in fee simple by individuals.

Excluding copra, which overshadows all other agricultural products, the principal farm products are taro, arrowroot, yams, sweet potatoes, common garden vegetables, bananas, citrus fruits, and pandanus. Coconuts, breadfruit, bananas, and pandanus require very little cultivation. Taro is grown in pits, whose soil has been enriched by compost. In some areas, such as Ponape and Palau, where soil conditions permit, there is some dry-land row agriculture; in many others little cultivation is necessary.

The government has established a number of experimental and demonstration farms and stations to develop new crops and techniques that will increase agricultural efficiency and output. Three of their projects are proving to be of some significance. One pilot program concerns the production of cacao, which has become a minor cash crop in the Ponape and Truk districts. Another involves the initiation of pepper farms on Ponape. Ponape is also an area where rice production seems to have a promising future.

In the agricultural sector much attention is also being given to livestock. The principal livestock are swine and poultry. Government stations have concentrated on the development of high-quality breeding stock, the progeny of which are sold to individual farmers to start or improve their own breeds. Cattle development is also a matter of much concern, but has gained significance only on Tinian Island in the Mariana islands group. A private company, the Micronesian Development Company, was given a lease on land in that area for livestock production. The company grows its own cattlefeed of corn, soybeans, and sorghum and in 1970 had a herd of about 1,800 head, which produced enough beef to supply most local needs and with a small surplus for the export market. The government also has a farm on Saipan that raises cattle, swine, and poultry for distribution to indigenous farmers.

Fisheries

The government's program to encourage commercial fishing is wide ranging and includes conservation, inshore and offshore fishing development, boatbuilding, and training. The conservation phase is designed to protect and encourage the maximum proper use of marine resources. Much of its work is closely allied to the educa-

tional effort to teach islanders the value of conserving the abundant marine life in the surrounding sea. The inshore fishing phase attempts to promote sport fishing, skin diving, shelling, and commercial fishing for Trochus, pearl oysters, and trepang. The offshore fishing phase is similar but concentrates on commercial catches of tuna, the development of canning, freezing, and processing of deep-sea food fish, and the expansion of sport fishing for marlin and other game fish. Both fishing phases are supported by government supervision and assistance to the boatbuilding industry. There is a sizable boatbuilding and drydock facility at Palau capable of manufacturing wooden, molded-glass, steel, and ferroconcrete vessels for fishermen and for government logistic use. The shipyard also provides training for workers in modern boatbuilding and repair, many of whom then start their own boat factories in other parts of the territory.

The Congress of Micronesia enacted a Social Security law in 1968 covering all Micronesian wage earners except those in agriculture and family stores. The act is based on the United States Social Security program as adapted to the local economy. Under the law, eligible workers are entitled to a monthly pension when they reach age sixty; surviving spouse and children's benefits are also included. The program is funded by deductions from an employee's pay but are scheduled to increase to contributions of 4 percent by 1983. In 1970 about 12,000 workers were enrolled in the program.

Transportation

Transportation is vital to the development of a viable economy in the islands but is extremely limited in land, sea, and air sectors. Government plans to expand all types of facilities are being implemented as fast as equipment and qualified operating personnel can be available.

Maritime transport is divided into two types of operations—one involving logistic and passenger service outside the area and the other concerned with internal shipping. External service is provided by Micronesian Line (MILI), a private concern that operates four vessels linking the islands with the Orient and the United States West Coast. MILI has a ten-year contract with the territorial government to perform this service. Internal maritime service is provided by private companies, which employ a total of eight government-owned motor vessels, whose operations must be subsidized by the government.

In 1968, the last year for which firm figures are available, MILI carried a total of 81,068 tons of cargo, 403 cabin passengers, and 1,052 deck passengers. In the same period internal vessels carried 96,002 tons of cargo, 1,525 cabin passengers, and 10,259 deck passengers.

There are no railroads, but there was a total of 511.7 miles of roads. The roads range from concrete and macadam paved roads (102.5 miles) in excellent condition to dirt roads (409.2 miles) that sometimes are little more than footpaths. Heavy rainfall makes road maintenance difficult and, coupled with a scarcity of funds, little more than token upkeep on roads outside district centers is possible.

Passenger and some light cargo service is provided by buses operated by local companies in each district. Heavier freight hauling is done by trucks, lighter pickup vehicles, and jeeps. In 1970 a little more than 5,000 vehicles of all types, were registered with territory. One-half of these were cargo types, and half were passenger sedans. About 1,000 motorcycles and scooters were also registered.

Until 1968 air transport was rather haphazard. In that year, however, Air Micronesia was formed to take over air service, and the situation improved considerably. Air Micronesia is a private company formed of Continental Airlines, Aloha Airlines of the United States, and a local corporation called; the United Micronesia Development Association. It provides jet passenger and air service among the islands and as far east as Hawaii.

Air Micronesia, in addition to large modern jet aircraft, operates a number of smaller piston-engine planes and at least two amphibious aircraft. Only the large jet planes are used on flights outside the territory. Originally, flying personnel were all non-Micronesians, but under a broad training program conducted by the company, increasing numbers of natives are replacing them in all positions. It is contemplated that ultimately Air Micronesia will be wholly manned by indigenous personnel.

In addition to providing passenger and cargo service, Air Micronesia is deeply involved in stimulating the growing tourist trade. Its advertising promotes Micronesia as a pleasant and attractive tourist area, and the company is building one new tourist hotel in each district. The construction program was expected to be complete by 1971.

Natural Resources

Only a few minerals have been found in the TTPI, the most important of which are phosphate and bauxite. None are significant enough to warrant exploitation, and in 1970 no mineral areas were under development.

The area has extensive forests containing many varieties of trees, including a number of good hardwoods. The lack of roads and rivers, however, limits their exploitation mainly to small areas that are within easy reach of water transportation. Mangrove is harvested for use in making building posts and constructing native houses and

for producing charcoal. There are five small sawmills in the territory that mill lumber from several varieties of timber trees. The extent of their operations is not recorded, but it is estimated that about 250,000 board feet of lumber for buildings, homes, and boards are produced annually. This lumber is not considered marketable and is almost wholly consumed locally.

Labor

The total number of employable persons in the territory in 1970 was estimated to be about 11,000. About 18,000 of this potential labor force were gainfully employed; half occupied regular full- or half-time jobs for wages, and half engaged in farming, fishing, handicrafts, or boatbuilding tasks for small, irregular cash incomes.

A little more than 50 percent of the regular wage earners were employed by the trust territory government or agencies of the United States, such as the armed forces facilities at Kwajalein in the Marshalls. Most of those in private employment worked in business establishments, performed domestic service, or worked intermittently as stevedores, cargo handlers, or casual laborers on construction projects.

Pay scales and working conditions for government employees are set forth in the Micronesian title and pay plan which, although not binding on private employers, is used as a model by most of them. It prescribes minimum wages for various types of employment; prohibits the employment of anyone under fourteen; provides for pre-employment physical examinations, free medical care, and treatment for employees; prescribes 10 percent additional compensation for night work; offers workmen's compensation, death benefits, and group life insurance to the work force; and bans discrimination in employment practices in line with the Equal Employment Opportunity Law and Fair Labor Standards Law of the United States.

Labor unions are not prohibited, but in 1970 none had been organized in the territory. Employees may join or refrain from joining any labor organization, except those that claim the right to strike against the government.

Communications

The communications system in the territory is severely overtaxed, but a new system is under construction to provide high-speed, multichannel radio-teletype and radio-telephone circuits both within the islands and to worldwide points. The system is scheduled for completion in late 1970. Direct radio-telephone service is already available between government headquarters in Saipan and district centers, and all major islands have been supplied with two-way radio communications. In addition, 146 amateur radio stations

have been licensed in the territory, and these provide an effective medium for use in emergencies.

Commerce and Trade

Commercial activities in the islands are carried out by large importer-wholesaler-retailer enterprises, small retail shops, and a wide variety of service establishments. Many of the large businesses are owned by private individuals and corporations, but many are also operated as cooperatives. In 1970 there were about thirty-five cooperatives engaged in boatbuilding, fishing, copra buying and selling, housebuilding, and retailing. Among the smaller service businesses were auto repair shops, barbershops, charcoal manufacturers, electrical and home appliance repair shops, sawmills, hotels and restaurants, stevedoring companies, construction contractors, buslines, and shipping firms.

There is no large-scale manufacturing in the TTPI. Virtually all such enterprises are cottage-type activities in the subsistence or handicraft sectors. Most of these products are for local consumption, but a few, such as boatbuilding by individual craftsmen, enter the market economy. Handicrafts, for example, are becoming increasingly important because of the developing tourist trade. It is not anticipated that manufacturing in any form will expand greatly in the near future because of the shortage of adequate capitalization, managerial skills, and a trained labor force.

In the area of foreign trade the dollar value of imports far exceeds that of exports. Exports average about \$3.5 million a year as opposed to imports approximating \$14 million. This great disparity between imports and exports is likely to continue into the foreseeable future because, except for basic subsistence and a few local materials useful for local homebuilding, virtually all items and commodities required for modern society must be brought in from abroad. Major imports thus are all manufactured goods, petroleum products, machinery, medicines and drugs, clothing and textiles, building materials, tobacco and cigarettes, canned food, and vehicles. At the same time, useful island products are limited in number, quantity, and responsiveness to world market demands.

The major export items are copra, fish, scrap metal, and handicrafts. A few other commodities, such as meat, vegetables, small boats, and Trochus, are shipped in small but significant quantities. In addition, the "invisible" export item, tourism, is developing rapidly; in 1970 it produced revenue second only to copra. Latest export figures for 1969 show that copra, with a value of \$2.2 million, accounted for 63 percent of all exports, dominating the export market. Tourism brought in a total of \$646,300, or 18

percent of exports by value, and was second in importance. Fish, with \$342,714 and 10 percent, was third; handicrafts, with \$143,698 and 4 percent, was fourth; scrap metal, with \$94,915 and 3 percent, was fifth; and all others, with a combined total of \$75,024 and 2 percent, completed the list of exports.

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