CHAPTER VIII

NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE PACIFIC

Movements for political freedom and decolonization were accelerated with the proclamation of the NAM principles against colonialism and neo-colonialism. However, the Pacific islands remained under the influence of America, Australia, the Britain and New Zealand, who, on the one hand, exploited their natural resources and, on the other, granted the people of these islands some self-governing powers in the face of the rising wave of independence. Hence, the liberation movements were delayed in this region due to its small population, which was mostly illiterate, and remoteness from the Asian mainland, which was the home of the NAM activities. But gradually, the NAM became popular in these islands also through the Micronesians who visited the United States and Europe and learnt about the NAM declarations and resolutions.

The NAM disarmament movement also had an impact in the region. The Nuclear Free Pacific Conference held in Suva in April, 1975, attended by more than 80 delegates from national and international organizations opposed the French nuclear testing and the continuing colonialism and imperialism in the Pacific. The conference observed that about two-thirds of Tinians, in the Marianas, had been taken over by the US army. Guam and Hawaii protested against the use of many areas of good agricultural land for military purposes. New Hebrides and New Caledonia spoke for independence and Maori delegate from New Zealand demanded their lost land.

The NAM was the guiding force of the struggle for national emancipation in the Pacific. It inspired the intellectuals of the Pacific. Revolutionary underground papers lit the flame of desire for independence. In the Ode to Abe, Yap Senator John Mangefel, the Micronesian Man of the Year (1975), hopes that Micronesia would "again become self-sufficient and self-governing". He says that the Americans have sowed the seed of disunity in Micronesia and they "fool our Micronesian family", adding that the Americans "truly believe in the idea of democratic fairness. But ... they believe it for themselves, but not always for others".

2. Ibid., No. 4, April, 1975, p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. Ibid.
From June, 1961, to September, 1977, the NAM held nineteen important meetings including five Summit conferences of heads of state or government and it is certain that the Pacific Islands, owing to vast network of news agencies, came to know about them. Naturally, the desire for independence has burnt in their heart. But since they are surrounded by imperialist colonies and depend to a great extent on their assistance, they did not dare to join the NAM. However, they could also not restrain their desire for independence instead of remaining protectorates or being granted self-government. Thus, the decolonization in the Pacific Islands was an indirect result of the Non-aligned Movement and its moral force, which forced the administering powers to bow down and fulfil the aspirations of the people of the region.

The Pacific Conference of Churches at its meeting at Port Moresby in February, 1976, condemned the continued use of the Pacific by foreign powers, which occupy the areas of the Pacific for "nuclear weapons testing, storage, waste dumping, the mining of uranium for destructive purposes and the disregard of the stated wishes of the people of the Region for self-determination in this matter". The conference reiterated its February, 1974 demand for the creation of a Nuclear Free Pacific Zone.

In 1977, at the UN General Assembly, Western Samoa's Prime Minister, Turuola Efij, expressed his sympathy "with the people of the New Hebrides in their struggle for freedom" and hoped that the Solomon Islands, the Gilbert Islands and Tuvalu would soon achieve independence. He felt sorry that the elements of colonialism were lingering on in the Pacific, as well as elsewhere. On the other hand, in September, 1977, the United States claimed 25 islands in five Pacific chains as her colonies. The Pacific islands are used by the United States, Japan and Great Britain for military purposes. Christmas Island hosts a Japanese satellite tracking station. The United States uses the islands of the Phoenix chain for their missile tracking programmes. On some of the islands, the British have their air bases. So, colonialism is still

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., No. 9, September, 1977, p. 57.
rampant in the Pacific. The NAM pronouncements against colonialism and neocolonialism cautioned the Pacific nations against the imperialist designs. They have risen and are struggling to safeguard their boundaries, both on land and sea. It is expected that, in view of the NAM policy of establishing Zones of Peace, sea area would also be decolonized in the Pacific region. On the other hand, in 1977, the United States claimed 200-nautical miles within the Line Island's waters which included "an expanse of ocean nearly as large as the continental USA".

Since the White race has dominated the Pacific islands, the Western countries have helped the missionaries Christianize the local people. Having, by and large, become co-religionists of Europe, the people of these islands have some spiritual relations with them. In spite of this, the Colonial Powers continue to exploit the natural resources of the islands. The islanders seek justice in the London courts. Europe and the United States help the islanders financially. Further, the natural resources of some islands have made them prosperous and they do not like the political domination of foreign powers and have launched movements for independence. They dislike Communism and prefer democracy. They consider Communism a menace to their religion and culture. However, the islanders, to safeguard their integrity, try to keep themselves aloof from power politics. Thus, though they do not directly participate in the NAM conferences, they are influenced by the NAM, due to its role in the decolonization of some islands in the Pacific.

In July, 1983, a Conference for a Nuclear-free and Independent Pacific was hosted by the Vanuatu Government at Port Vila. It was attended by 2,000 diplomats belonging to different races - Polynesians, Melanesians, Micronesians, Japanese, American Indians, Europeans, Filipinos and Australian Aborigines. Deputy Prime Minister Sethy Regenvanu reiterated the anti-nuclear stance of his government and opposed the "continuing colonialism in the Pacific". Resolutions adopted at the conference called for, among other things, ending colonialism and nuclear testing, recognition of land rights of the aborigines and

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., Vol. 54, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 29.
cessation of uranium mining on aboriginal lands. The deliberations and resolutions showed that the Pacific nations believed that Asian aid would be helpful "in achieving an unpolluted, independent Pacific".

Socialist ideas are taking roots in the minds of the Polynesian freedom fighters owing to as many as 101 of nuclear explosions by France between 1966 and 1983 in the region and a plan to continue such experiments till the year 2000, besides building of large naval transport base in spite of the protest of the people, who asked the French bombers "to go home and carry out their allegedly harmless tests in their own backyard".

The NAM has given an impetus to the ongoing struggle for self-determination and independence in the Pacific islands, giving a momentum to socialist ideas, which have made the people hostile to foreign occupation of their lands. Looking upon colonialism as a devil and a peril, as against socialism and democracy as a harbinger of peace and self-reliance, the Pacific islanders are struggling to become independent of the "big brother" patronising attitude of the colonialists. It is worth noting the US policy in this regard. Replying to the question: "When will the U.S. accept that autonomy and independence mean governments in places like Palau?", a US presidential adviser said: "The Reagan administration cannot be asked to consider seriously the opinions of countries of 15,000 people in opposition to the views of the political leaders of the U.S."

The extent to which the NAM has made its inroads in the Pacific can be assessed from the observation of the Fifteenth South Pacific Forum, held at Funafuti, Tuvalu, on August 27-28, 1984, that the "Asian countries are expanding their power and influence at a pace beyond the aspirations". The conference realised that islanders' consciousness of the serious consequences attending upon conflicts between the United States, France and the United Kingdom, for expanding their territories for purposes of nuclear tests. It noted that the Monurora Report had not only described the extent to which the 100 nuclear tests contaminated

12. Ibid., p. 31.
15. Ibid., No.10, October, 1984, p. 21.
and damaged the island, but also expressed concern over the "state of health of the 166,000 inhabitants of all the other islands in French Polynesia".

There are people, who, being inspired by the NAM policies regarding disarmament and decolonization, do not like foreign domination. Fiji, Tonga and some other island nations welcomed visits to their ports by American naval ships without asking whether they were nuclear-powered or were carrying nuclear weapons. The PNG opposition leader, Paul Torato, accused the PNG Prime Minister, Michael Somare, "of all manner of sins, ranging from "seeking super-power popularity" to "betraying the security interests of PNG". The Pacific nations think that US nuclear-powered ships maintain balance in the region. They are afraid that if the Americans "went home", the Russian nuclear fleet, which is operating near the Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, will take their place. Thus, they prefer to enjoy their freedom beneath the awful nuclear umbrella of the United States. But for this protection, they have to pay a high cost. The United States exploits the natural resources of the seas and islands. Though the islanders desire to get rid of the US warships at their door, they are powerless and have to be content with their fate.

In a conversation with the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, David Lange, Premier of New Zealand, pleaded that the South Pacific nations "be free to make their own decisions on whether or not to permit a nuclear presence in their part of the world". He said that the motive of nuclear weapons was to enhance security, but, in fact, it enhanced insecurity, and, hence, no country wanted to be surrounded with nuclear weapons. The above discussion reveals that though the Pacific islanders are, they are, in effect, dependent nations.

The Pacific nations, like the PNG, indirectly recognise the NAM objectives and its role in decolonization, both economic and political. The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which includes some NAM members, also assures assistance to nations struggling for

17. Ibid., Vol. 56, No. 6, June, 1985, p. 5.
18. Ibid., p. 17.
independence and against colonialism and neocolonialism. The PNG Foreign Minister, John Giheno, speaking in July, 1985, to a session of the ASEAN in Kuala Lumpur, said: "Island nations were committed to the quest for a peaceful solution to the Caledonian issue and sought ASEAN support for that cause". 

The political developments in the Pacific islands and the role of the NAM in their decolonization are stated below:

(A) NORTH PACIFIC

(1) TOKELAU

Situated in the Central Pacific Ocean, Tokelau comprises three atolls, with an area of 10 sq. km. and a population of 1,900, according to the 1961 census.

The NAM conferences inspired the people of Tokelau to fight for independence from the Administering Power - New Zealand. Inadequate training and education were hindrances to the granting of self-determination and independence to the territory. In 1968, political changes were "insufficient to enable the people to exercise their right of self-determination in the foreseeable future". New Zealand announced that the people would become independent when they expressed their desire for this.

Tokelauans rejected the proposal of union with "neighbouring island groups" and its people preferred to migrate to New Zealand. In 1973, a Resettlement Scheme was implemented so that Tokelauans, on their own choice, could be resettled in New Zealand over a number of years. The Scheme greatly encouraged the people "to seek solutions to their problems and decide their future status for themselves". In 1978, the Administering Power and Tokeluan elected leaders decided to set up an advisory committee on financial and budgetary questions. The Government of New Zealand assured the people of its

22. Ibid.
readiness to change their status, "enforcing a legislation on April 1, 1980", if they so desired.

However, the territory is still on the list of the United Nations for further consideration and is a New Zealand colony.

(2) EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF USA

These territories include Johnston Atoll (including Sand Island), Kingman Reef, Midway Islands (including Eastern Island) and Wake Islands (including Wilkes and Peal Islands). The United States has made them a Naval Defence Sea Area and Airspace Reservation and closed them to public access.

Due to the small sizes and very little or no population, there is no political activity in these territories.

(3) MICRONESIA

Micronesia includes the islands of Caroline, Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Truk, Kosrae and Ponape), Guam, Hawaii, Marshalls, Northern Mariana and Palau. These Trust Territories were administered by the United States under an agreement approved by the Security Council of the United Nations in April, 1947. The United States holds 2,100 islands in Micronesia.

The Micronesian islanders founded the Congress of Micronesia in 1965. In 1966, the Congress adopted an official flag and became a political force. However, the Administering Power continued to exercise control over the executive and legislative spheres thus "restricting

26. Ibid., p. 770.
27. Ibid., p. 818.
progress towards self-determination and independence. The Council of Micronesia demanded the expansion of Micronesian control over the executive and extension of powers of the legislature, and urged the US government to train and appoint Micronesians to permanent positions and have uniform voting qualifications in all parts of the territory. The Council hoped that the voting age would soon be lowered from 21 to 18 years in the Palau district as in other parts of the territory. The Administering Authority assured that Saipan people would also be able to participate as full members and not as mere observers in the Sub-Committee on Political Affairs. The Council was of the opinion that "transformation of the Advisory Committee into legislature composed of representatives of all seven districts" was necessary. It recommended the expansion of the powers and functions of the district congresses. The US Government invited the people to express their wishes on their future status.

The district-wise description of the territories is given below:

(i) **CAROLINE ISLANDS**

During the Second World War, the United States captured the territory. In 1947, the United Nations established the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, including the Caroline Islands, under US administration. Due to struggle for independence, President Carter announced the termination of the Trusteeship in 1981.

(ii) **FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA**

On July 12, 1978, the US Trust Territories - Kosrae, Ponape (formerly Pohnpei), Truk and Yap jointly ratified a draft constitution as a result of which the Federated States of Micronesia came into being on May 10, 1979, comprising these four districts with a total population of 83,000 with its capital Kolonia on Ponape. Though the United States

35. Ibid., 1978, Vol. 32, p. 818; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 766.
had agreed to terminate the UN Trusteeship Agreement for these territories by 1981, in fact, the Federation did not achieve independence but only self-government and it is still a strategic colony of strategic importance to the United States. Independence was never a viable option for the Micronesians as they did not want "to be cast adrift from America". The American aid tied it so strongly that it had either to opt for free association with the United States or to isolate itself and survive on fish from the lagoons. With the US aid it has become a "middling power" in the Pacific. However, the United States has installed its military bases on the islands. The Luanda NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985) demanded the implementations of UN resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, 2621 (XXV) of October 12, 1970 and 35/118 of December 11, 1980, regarding the Declaration of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples so as to end the US domination in Micronesia. The New York NAM Meeting (1985) reiterated the same.

(iii) GUAM

Guam is the largest of the Mariana Islands covering an area of 541 sq. km. It is situated about 2,400 km. south-east of the Philippines and has a population of 130,400 (1987 census).

Guam was first visited by the Portuguese in 1521. After the American-Spanish War of 1898, Spain ceded it to USA and sold other Mariana Islands to Germany. Japan obtained the League of Nations' mandate over it in 1919. The US troops occupied it in 1944.

By November, 1964, the Guamanians had acquired appreciable degree of self-government. However, progress towards "independence was not adequate". The constitutional changes in 1968 were "insufficient

37. Ibid.
40. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 756.
to enable the people to determine their future except in terms of
complete association with the administering power". The people of the
territory demanded a greater measure of self-government. As a result,
a convention was held for the first time in 1970 to elect the indigenous
Governor and Lt. Governor, who urged that the establishment of US
military bases "should be brought to an end as soon as possible".
This was in pursuance of the Resolution on Disarmament adopted by the
Lusaka NAM Conference (1970), which recommended "reduction and destruc-
tion of stockpiles of nuclear weapons". Instead the United States
installed huge military bases and continued to assert the Organic Act
of 1950, which did not give the people "enough say in vital areas of
economic development and possession of land". The Guamanians continued
their struggle to regain possession of lands held by the United States.

There was "a strong Asiatic strain running through the population
of Guam" during the Operation New Life in May, 1975, when more than
106,000 South Vietnamese refugees found a temporary haven on the island.
These refugees brought the people of Guam closer to the NAM. The people
of the territory demanded independence although the US military bases
prevented them from exercising their inalienable right to self-deter-
mination. In May, 1980, President Jimmy Carter of USA constituted
the Guamanian Commission on Self-Determination "to ascertain the desire
of the people of Guam regarding their future political relationship
with the United States". The President also called on the people to
draft a constitution for replacing the then functioning federal laws.
Guamanians have now become US citizens but they have no right to take
part in the US Presidential elections since Guam is an unincorporated
territory of the United States.

44. Ibid.
45. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the
Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External
49. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 756.
(iv) HAWAII

Hawaii comprises a chain of volcanic and coral islands. It has 8 major and 124 minor islands. Its multiracial population was 1,082,500 in 1987. Captain Cool, who was the first to land on the Kauai Island in 1778, was killed on Hawaii in 1779. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, missionaries and other foreign settlers destroyed the indigenous Polynesian culture of Hawaii and Christianity became its national religion. In 1898, the Island was annexed by USA and became the fiftieth US state on August 21, 1959, and has remained so ever since.

Hawaii Island is ruled by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), headed by a nine-member board of trustees, which was first elected in 1980. Some Hawaiians look at the OHA with alarm and fear while others have a positive attitude. On the one hand, the Board of OHA has been urging upon the US Congress "to acknowledge the illegal and immoral actions of the United States in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii" and, on the other, it seeks to "achieve a better social and economic position in American society".

(v) MARSHALL ISLANDS

Marshall Islands consist of two groups of islands - the Ratak and the Ralik - comprising 31 atolls and covering about 180 sq. km. of land. Their population was 35,000 in 1986.

Spaniards visited these islands first in the sixteenth century. In 1899, Germany annexed them. Japan occupied them in 1914, and Japanese mandate over the islands was recognised by the League of Nations in 1920. In 1944-45, the United States captured the territory and the United Nations established the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (comprising the Caroline Islands, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Mariana Islands). The US navy controlled the islands from 1947 to 1951.

52. Ibid.
53. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 766.
In 1961, the Belgrade Summit Conference of the NAM and its subsequent conferences inspired the people of this territory to fight for their independence. As a result, the traditional and political leaders founded the Marshall Islands Political Status Commission (MIPSC) in 1973.

The Marshallese stated their long-standing grievances before the UN Trusteeship Council, which had a number of NAM members. The grievances related to the islands of the Kwajalein Atoll, where the US Defence Department conducted a massive missile-testing programme and from where the Marshallese were evacuated and were forced to be settled on the crowded Ebeye Island (5 km from Kwajalein) inhabited by about 8,000 people. The Marshallese were not allowed to use the shopping, educational, health or recreational facilities at Kwajalein Island. Hence, the MIPSC and the Kwajalein Atoll landowners demanded equal treatment for the Marshallese workers in Kwajalein. The MIPSC demanded its recognition and separation of Marshall Islands from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In May, 1977, the United States recognised the MIPSC and, on July 30, 1977, the people opted for separation from the Trust Territory.

The United States separately dealt with the Marshall Islands and Palau which also demanded separation. There were strong supporters of outright independence in the Marshalls. However, according to a draft constitution, approved by the Marshall Islands Constitutional Conference held on December 21, 1978, and adopted by voters in a referendum held on March 1, 1979, by a substantial majority legislative power was vested in the Nitijela (legislature) which was inaugurated on May 1, 1979. The US Trusteeship ended in 1981.

(vi) NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

The Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands comprises 16 islands having a land area of 471 sq. km. Only six of these islands (the largest being Saipan, Tinian and Rota) are inhabited. These are situated about 5,300 km. west of Hawaii and were once part of the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

In 1973, the Joint Committee on Future Status of Mariana noted that Mariana Islands District had begun talks with the United States and expressed its strong desire to preserve the unity of the Territory. The people of Mariana continued to press for their independence. On June 17, 1975, a plebiscite held there endorsed "the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America". The Northern Marianas, officially became a Commonwealth within the United States on March 24, 1976.

In October, 1977, President Carter approved a constitution of the Northern Mariana Islands, according to which in January, 1978, the former "Marianas District" became internally self-governing. It was formally admitted to Commonwealth Status in November, 1986. The status will be fully implemented after 37 years when the US Trusteeship will come to an end.

(vii) PALAU ISLANDS

The Republic of Palau consists of more than 200 islands situated about 4,450 miles south-west of Hawaii. Its capital is Koror on Koror Island. In 1988, it remained the last Trust Territory of the US Pacific Islands.

Palauans expressed desire for separation from four other island groups like the Marshalls. The United States dealt with the Palau as it did with Marshalls on the key issues of "future relations with the United States - military bases and financial aids". However, in May, 1977, the United States recognised the Palau Political Status Commission. A referendum held on July 9, 1979, approved the draft constitution adopted by the Constitutional Conference on April 2, 1979. As a result, an interim legislative authority came into being in accordance with Secretarial Order No. 3027 dated September 29, 1979, "pending installation

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60. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 783.

In August, 1982, the United States signed a Compact of Free Association with the Republic, according to which the Trusteeship was to end after the terms and principles of the Compact had been approved by the legislature of the Republic, by the US Congress and the UN Security Council. The Compact had the right to override the Palau constitution with a majority of 75% votes in its favour.

To strengthen the US-Palauan Compact of Free Association, the United States granted an aid of US$1 billion over fifty years, against which the Americans protested. Because of this opposition, the Palauans have imposed a ban on US nuclear weapons or bases on the soil of the Republic.

In April, 1984, a bill was tabled in the House of Delegates to create a Commission to study independence as an alternative to free association with the United States. According to an American Peace Corps volunteer, Palau did not actually gain its independence in 1981. It gained self-government and "it will not gain independence for 50 years". The Trust Territory Administration in Saipan said that Palauans would be independent if they agree that after independence the United States would control its foreign alliances.

In May, 1986, the UN Trusteeship Council endorsed the US decision for ending the Trusteeship agreement with these Islands. In April, 1988, the US Senate approved the terms of the Compact, but since the Supreme Court of Palau did not approve them, Palau withdrew from negotiations with the US government.

However, the US Congress has not yet ratified the Compact, the Trusteeship Agreement is still effective, and the people of the country are struggling for complete independence.

63. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 785.
64. Ibid.
66. Ibid., p. 25.
67. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 785.
(B) SOUTH PACIFIC

(1) EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF AUSTRALIA

The External Territories of Australia include Ashmore and Cartier Islands in the Timor Sea, which are uninhabited, but have petroleum prospects; Australian Antarctic Territory, where Australia maintains scientific stations at Maswan, Davis and Casey; Coral Sea Islands, where Australia has established a meteorological station on one of the Willis Group of Islands, while others are uninhabited; Heard and McDonald Islands, which have no permanent inhabitants, Christmas Islands and Cocos (Keeling) Islands. Since these islands are very small and have very little or no population, there is no political activity.

(2) NAURU

Nauru is administered by Australia on behalf of a joint administering authority of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, under a Trusteeship Agreement, approved by the UN General Assembly on November 1, 1947. The total area of Nauru is 200 sq. km. with a population of about 0.008 million (1982). Nauru is mostly a plateau.

Two-thirds of Nauru contain extensive phosphate deposits. Its economy depends entirely on the phosphate industry "conducted on a non-profit basis by the British Phosphate Commissioners, who represent the Governments of Australia, New Zealand the United Kingdom. The Cairo NAM Meeting (1961) laid stress on the "realisation of the aspirations of millions of people for independence and a better and more prosperous future". Since the prosperity of Nauruans

69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 744.
72. See Chapter IX.
73. See Chapter IX.
76. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, n. 1.
depends on phosphate industry only, for want of fertile soil, the Nauruans have been demanding adequate royalties and "a capital fund sufficient to meet the costs of ensuring their future well-being".

Inspired by the NAM, the Nauruans intensified their struggle for independence. At a conference held in Canberra (Australia) the British Government agreed to a Nauruan proposal that "Legislative and Executive Councils be established by January 31, 1966", but it refused to grant independence. Instead, it "agreed to increase the royalty rates paid on phosphate". But the leaders of the territory raised the slogan "Nauru for the Nauruan people" and demanded that it be made a sovereign nation.

Nauru became independent on January 31, 1968, and the Trusteeship Agreement ceased on that date. The Republic of Nauru is neither a member of the NAM nor of the United Nations. In spite of Australia's exploitation of Nauruan's phosphate for two generations, "the Nauruan is one of the richest persons in the world".

(3) NORFOLK ISLAND

Norfolk Island lies about 1,400 km. east of Brisbane off the eastern coast of Australia. It is 8 km. long and 4.8 km. wide. It was uninhabited in 1774 when Captain Cook discovered it. From 1788 to 1855, it was used as a 'penal settlement' and in 1856, it had 194 emigrants from Pitcairn Island. It remained a colony of New South Wales until 1897. In 1913, its administrative control was transferred to Australia. Norfolk Island is still a part of the Commonwealth of Australia.

79. In 1974-75, Nauru shipped out 1.9 million tons of phosphate and earned $ 123 million profit or "nearly $ 31,000 for every Nauruan citizen, man, woman and child" (see PIM, Vol. 47, No. 2, February, 1976, p. 5) while oil exports brought in $ 51,000 per person in Abu Dhabi and $ 9,000 in Kuwait. The phosphate deposit in Nauru is estimated to run out in about 18 years.
81. Ibid., p. 602.
82. PIM, Vol. 48, No. 6, June, 1977, p. 5.
84. PIM, Vol. 47, No. 6, June, 1976, p. 15.
Earlier in April, 1976, Cedric Hampson, a counsel assisting the Royal Commission, Justice Mimmo, said in an address that the Norfolk Island should have its own elected member in the Australian Parliament and should have greater self-governing power while remaining an Australian territory. Hampson stated that Norfolk Island Council should have all governmental powers, which should be transferred to it over a period of five years. He added that the Island's MP should be allowed "to speak on any measure, but would only be allowed to vote on a bill intended to apply to the island". The Fourth Elections held in 1987, under the 1979 Act, gave the Kingston government wide powers and the island "is progressing to responsible legislature and executive government". However, the Act "preserves the Australian government's responsibility for Norfolk Island as a territory under its authority". In 1985, the Government of the island was given several other responsibilities including civil, defence, public works and services and more powers are expected to be given to it in the future.

The island could not escape from the impact of the NAM. Certain elements on the territory demand self-government and independence. However, those islanders who were born on the island but whose forefathers came to it from about 28 countries of Asia, Europe and Americas, oppose the implementation of some parts of the Nimmo Report on the future of the island.

The island is still under the administrative control of Australia.

(4) PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Papua New Guinea (PNG) comprises the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, the islands of New Britain, New Ireland and Manus, the two northernmost islands of the Solomon Group, namely, Buka and Bougainville; the Trobriand, D'Entrecasteaux and Louisiade island group; and a great number of small islands, all of which together cover

178,260 sq. miles, with a population which was estimated to be 2,531,882 (New Guinea 1,845,264 and Papua 686,618) in 1972. People of this country speak more than 600 languages.

New Guinea is a Trust Territory and Papua is a Non-Trust Territory. New Guinea is administered by Australia under a Trusteeship Agreement approved by the UN General Assembly on December 13, 1946. New Guinea and Papua form an administrative union known as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, under the Papua and New Guinea Act, 1949-1971, with its administrative headquarters in Port Moresby (Papua). Papuans are Australian citizens but have no automatic right to enter Australia even temporarily, while the New Guineans are "Australian Protected Persons".

According to the statement of the Minister of Education of PNG in 1973, there has been a gradual process in progress towards self-determination and independence in the territory since 1951.

The Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea provides for the establishment of: (i) Administrator's Council; (ii) the House of Assembly and (iii) Local Government Council. These "democratically constituted and representative groups have been granted certain statutory powers within the areas of their jurisdiction".

Inspired by the NAM conferences and its vigorous support, the colonial people of the territory have been demanding increase in the number of Local Councils and greater power to exercise self-government in local matters, increase in the indigenous members of the Legislative Council, training for higher administrative position in the public service, direct participation by the indigenous inhabitants in the economic development plans and establishment of secondary industries.

Since the people were unable to use their franchise freely and the House of Assembly did not function as a fully representative and effective body, the people demanded abolition of special and reserved seats in the House of Assembly, which was established under the Papua and New Guinea Act, 1963.

88. Ibid., Vol. 40, No. 2, February, 1969, p. 34.
91. Ibid., p. 370.
93. Ibid.
Paulus Arek of Papua (Member of the PNG House of Assembly), a radical, stated in 1969, that "target dates for, successively, home rule, self-government and independence should be set now". In 1971, the territories of Papua and New Guinea were jointly named as "Papua New Guinea". This anti-colonial movement waged by the NAM countries, made the people more enthusiastic for achieving independence. However, in 1973, the territory made steady progress towards the achievement of self-determination and "progressive steps to that end were being taken by the administering power". The Government of Australia and PNG signed an agreement for establishment of a time-table for granting independence, while the territory has been virtually self-governing since 1970. In 1973, the Minister of Education of PNG stated that self-government was accepted "as a matter of experience" and "independence would probably be attained by 1975".

There was a separatist movement in Papua. On March 16, 1975, one of the leaders of the Papua independence movement, Miss J. Abaijah, formally declared that "Papua is now a free and independent country. From this day we will not recognise the authority of any person involved with any foreign or colonial power or institution". She asserted that Papua could not be forced to join New Guinea. However, the Government took no action against her as the declaration did not affect the functioning of the services of the central government.

Secession of Bougainville

In 1969, there was a breakaway movement from PNG in Bougainville. Inspired by the NAM, the secessionists protested against the "gross neglect" of the people of the territory by the PNG government.

Bougainville leaders swore to wrest independence from PNG's central government. When Prime Minister Somare took up the reigns of

97. Ibid., p. 652.
98. PIM, Vol. 46, No.4, April, 1975, p. 7.
the PNG government after leading a coup on June 18, 1975, he faced the secessionist threat by Bougainville's Leo Hannett and Father John Momis. However, there were differences among the Bougainvilleans themselves. The loyalists accused the secessionists of being power-hungry. On behalf of the people of north Bougainville, Simon Kariup, President of the Buka Local Government, wrote to the Prime Minister that "the island should remain part of PNG".

At the Arawa meeting held in August, 1975, PNG's Bougainville District Assembly announced its plan to declare the territory independent from PNG on September 1, 1975, or 15 days before PNG became an independent nation.

The PNG government sent emissaries to attempt a settlement with the secessionists. They offered transfer of financial and administrative powers to the territories, but the secessionists demanded separation. The Government looked upon "the Provincial Assembly (of Bougainville) as a child which would have been better stillborn". Chief Minister Somare gave a few days to the Bougainvilleans to come forward with "any reasonable proposals". Bougainvilleans announced that they would declare themselves independence on September 1, 1975, because the people, having become aware of and being inspired by the NAM, had "an obvious awareness of their own identity".

The Shortland Islands in the Solomon Islands also declared their intention to secede from PNG and to join an independent Bougainville.

Papua New Guinea gained independence on September 16, 1975, when the Trusteeship Agreement ceased to exist. The country was admitted to the United Nations on October 10, 1975.

(5) TORRES STRAIT ISLANDS

People of the Torres Strait Islands, an Australian colony, were also influenced by the NAM like those of other islands in the region.

100. Ibid., Vol.46, No. 7, July, 1975, p. 18.
101. Ibid., p. 19.
102. Ibid., No. 9, September, 1975, p. 24.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., p. 23.
They also wanted to retain control over their lands. They claimed that the "islands were given to them by their ancestors, and the islanders had to pass them on to their children". On the other hand, since these islands are situated between the Australian and PNG mainlands, both the countries wanted to annex them, while the islanders were determined not "to give an inch" to them. In May, 1976, Canberra decided to give the seabed of this island to PNG. The islanders felt that in this way their islands and its seas would also be claimed by PNG. Therefore, Getano Lui, Chairman of the Torres Strait Islanders' Advisory Council, declared that the islanders wanted "to remain within Australia's boundaries "and did not like to become part of PNG". He said that the islanders would not agree to give away "one grain of sand or one cup of water" to PNG.

The people of these islands have accepted the administrative control of Australia over their territory.

(6) EASTER ISLAND

Inhabited by the Rapa Nui people of Polynesian stock, the Eastern Island lies 354 km. away from Chile, covering an area of 119 sq. km. Its population was 1,600 in 1978. It was a subject of international dispute between Spain and France in the eighteenth century, and was formally annexed by Chile in 1888. The Chileans reduced the local population to absolute slavery, forcing them to work from sunrise to sunset, giving them just a little food and clothing and taking away their land and cattle. The Chileans rented the land out to foreign companies and the Rapa Nui people had to seek permission even to do the smallest things.

After the Second World War, there was a wave of emancipation movements in this island inspired by the Non-Aligned Movement. They asked themselves "Why should we alone of all colonial peoples not be entitled to freedom and independence?" In 1960, they sent an open

107. Ibid.
letter to the Chilean President complaining that they were not being treated as human beings; that they were not permitted to travel freely; that they had no right to vote in Chilean elections even though they were citizens of the Valparaiso province, and so on. They hinted that they were of Polynesian blood and wanted to join the Polynesian Union that Tahiti wanted to form. They demanded the end of colonialism from the island.

The Chilean Government sent two warships and a party of marines to the island and peace was restored as the marines went around with their fingers on the trigger. The island's leader was elected Commissione and a new constitution gave the islanders the right to vote in the national elections having no effect. But this failed to appease the people since the Mayor became a puppet of the Chilean government.

Easter Islanders submitted a petition to the UN Committee of Twentyfour on Decolonization, seeking a referendum on the independence of the island. They did this after a lot of hesitation because of being "afraid of reprisals". The preamble to the petition says: "In everything but name our island is a colony, and a colony of the worst and most oppressive type, for we islanders have no say in our affairs". The petition also says that they were constantly being told that they were free Chilean citizens, but since their number was small, their votes carried no weight and all decisions were made over their heads on the mainland. "We have no way", the petition continues, "of making our voice heard, for there is no democratically elected council on the island". The petition added that the economy of their island was controlled by Chile, which had increased their dependence on it.

Though they are poor sculptors, the islanders sell their creations to the tourists. They are conscious of the political developments in the world. Thus, indirectly, taking their cue from the NAM nations, they have started demanding independence. The petition has started the process of decolonization of the Easter Island, which continues to be under the administrative control of Chile.

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110. Ibid., p. 18.
111. Ibid., p. 17.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
(7) EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF FRANCE

The territories under French control in the Pacific region comprise two groups of islands: the Wallis Islands (also known as Uvea), which includes the main island and 23 islets and the other, Futuna (or Hooru), comprising two islands - Futuna, the main island and Alofi. These islands are located to the north of Fiji and west of Samoa. They have a total area of 274 sq. km. and a population of 12,408 (1985).

Wallis and Futuna islands became French Protectorates in 1888, and overseas territories in 1961. Since the administration concentrated excessively on Wallis Islands, in November, 1983, kings of both the islands decided to have a separate administration as overseas territories of France. The territories are administered by a French-appointed Chief Administrator, who is assisted by a Territorial Assembly in Mata-Uta.

(8) FRENCH POLYNESIA

French Polynesia covers a land area of 4,200 sq. km. and contains six island groups: Society, Tuamatu, Austral, Gambier, Marquesas and Rapa. Its capital is Papeete (on Tahiti in the Society Islands group). The total population of these territories was 176,543 in 1985.

Society Islands comprise the windward group (Tahiti and Moorea) and the leeward group (Huahine, Ralatea, Borabora and Maupiti). The Tuamotu Archipelago has 78 islands stretching for about 1,500 km. The Austral or Tubuai group is made up of the islands of Mangareva, Taravai and two others. Marquesas island is divided into a northern group (Nuku Hira) and a southern one. Rapa Island is situated in the south-east of Tubuai.

In 1767, Wallis visited Tahiti and other Society Islands. In 1842, Tahiti was made a French protectorate and between 1885 and 1900, other groups were annexed to it under a decree and had this status up to

114. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 819.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., p. 752.
1957, when the French declared it an 'Overseas' territory and instituted a Council and a Territorial Assembly in Papeete.

In September, 1970, the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference urged upon the French government to permit "the peoples of their colonies" to "exert freely and under the control of the UN and the OAU their right to self-determination". In consequence, the people of the islands demanded "increased local autonomy" in 1977. In September, 1982, the Pupu Here Al'a Party (PHAP) sought territorial autonomy and greater (not full) independence from France. As a result, France approved a new statute and Flosse became the first President of the Council of Ministers of the territory. In February, 1985, Papeete and Noumea signed "an anti-independence alliance protocol", which was described as "illegal" and "unconstitutional" by the French High Commissioner to New Caledonia.

In December, 1987, Alexandre Leontieff took over power and adopted a policy "less dominated by the French". He launched a protest movement, along with Australia and New Zealand, against France, which has been testing nuclear weapons at Mururoa Atoll in the Tuamotu Archipelago from the year 1966 and had carried out as many as 100 underground tests from 1975 to 1988 in this region.

French Polynesia is still an overseas territory of France.

(9) NEW CALEDONIA

New Caledonia comprises one large island (New Caledonia) lying to the west of Vanuatu, having a land area of 16,750 sq. km. and several smaller islands - Loyalty Islands and the uninhabited Chesterfield Islands. The total population of the territory was 145,368 in 1983. Its capital is Noumea.

The territory, a dependency of Tahiti, became a French possession in 1853. The French continued to seize the Malanesian lands suppressing the Kanaks' rebellion, the last of which took place in 1917. New Caledonia

117. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 51.
118. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 752.
119. Ibid.
became an overseas territory of the French Republic in 1946, after its people had launched their freedom movement.

The NAM conferences helped the growth of nationalism and demand for independence in the territory. Noumea's most vociferous newspaper, Bernut's Voix du Caqou, criticised the "colonialist" policies of the local French Administration. The French found no way of strengthening their domination due to the popular movement for their emancipation. During the 1960s, the French established a territorial assembly in the island and granted it "substantial self-government".

Oliver Stim, the French Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and Territories, held a meeting with members of the Polyseria's Territorial Assembly in March, 1975, and announced new autonomy proposals, revising the territory's statute "to provide for greater autonomy for local government, the creation of a consultative economic and social council and increased judicial and economic powers for townships". However, since the Territorial Assembly wanted the Polynesian Prime Minister to be chosen by election, and Stim wanted to get the statute revised by the Assembly before it was submitted to the French Parliament, the conflict between Paris and Noumea continued. The French suggested meeting the annual budget deficit of the territory. The Caledonians characterised it as a "step towards integrating the island as a dependency of France, making it in effect a department of France". As the French National Assembly postponed consideration of the amended political statutes of New Caledonia until autumn, its Deputy to the French National Assembly, Roch Pidjot, demanded in July, 1976, internal autonomy before 1978. The Deputy, encouraged by the NAM declarations and its support for independence movement, threatened that if internal autonomy was not granted, "the Caledonians will turn towards independence, in despair".

In December, 1976, the French Parliament decided to make the Caledonian statutes effective immediately after elections in the territory on September 11, 1977. But these statutes did not bring the governance

120. Ibid., p. 774.
121. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 4, April, 1975, p. 8.
122. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 8, August, 1976, p. 29.
123. Ibid.
of the territory under popular control. The French controlled the "local government", sea and mining under Paris "guardianship", which allowed direct intervention of France at the municipal level.

French domination resulted in protests and the NAM conferences supported the local people's demand for independence. The French Minister for Overseas Territories repeatedly insisted that "he will not grant these territories (Polynesians and Caledonians) autonomie interne (internal self-government) but the Caledonians were determined to "obtain real internal self-government or, failing that, press for independence".

The French suppressed the 'autonomy movement'. Ex-French Premier, Nessmer, said that New Caledonia was a "showcase for France", which showed that the territory was a crucial pawn in the French power game. The French wanted to use New Caledonia "to influence Pacific countries on behalf of Paris". French navy, based in Noumea, visited the offshore Chesterfield Islands in October, 1977, and commemorated there the "100th anniversary of their annexation by the French in 1877".

A Conference for a Nuclear-free and Independent Pacific, held in July, 1983, in Port Vila (Vanuatu), demanded the independence of New Caledonia in 1984. Owing to the tyrannical attitude of France, the people naturally drew spiritually nearer to the NAM objectives and intensified their movement, which forced the Colonial Power to propose a 'statute of autonomy'. This statute was characterised as "a treaty of occupation" by the Independence Front (IF) parties at the 14th annual conference of FULK, which was attended by more than 100 delegates, held at Mare Island in the Loyalty group of Islands. The conference denounced the autonomy proposals and the IF demanded independence in 1985. On the other hand, the anti-Independence Republican Party demanded the holding of elections in July, 1984, in order to keep the IF-Centre

125. Ibid.
126. Ibid., No. 12, December, 1977, p. 20.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid., Vol. 54, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 29.
Party coalition in power. The Republican Party also rejected the statute and described it as "full of contradictions" and called for "a return to democracy". The Caledonian Front demanded a referendum on self-determination in 1989. On July 31, 1984, the French National Assembly passed a new statute for New Caledonia giving it internal autonomy, leading to a referendum on its future in 1989.

The Kanaks formed the 'Kanak National Socialist Liberation Front (FLNKS) and their "active boycott" of the November 18, 1984 elections was like a rock hurled into a lake. The Kanaks wanted sovereignty but had not demanded a total break with France.

On January 7, 1985, President Mitterrand's Special High Commissioner in New Caledonia proposed a poll on self-determination to be held on July 1, 1985, and "if the vote is favourable, New Caledonia will be raised to the dignity of sovereign state" on January 1, 1986. He said that it would be "a democratic and multi-racial state, entitled to join international organisations". He promised that a special long-term regime would be set up for Noumea. In view of the differences between the objectives of the French Government, the Kanaks and the French settlers, the territory has been divided into three countries: "the French Government controls Noumea, the Kanaks have the east coast, and the locally-born French have a shaky hold on the west coast".

On August 20, 1988, France, RPCR and FLNKS agreed on a draft bill "setting out the statutory and preparatory measures for the 10-year transitional statute and the vote on self-determination" in New Caledonia. A referendum was held on November 6, 1988, by which the Kanaks approved the "provisions for self-determination", while the White southern region rejected the proposals.

New Caledonia is still a French colony.

130. Ibid.; see also for further details Ibid., No. 5, May, 1984, p.9.
131. Ibid., No. 9, September, 1984, p.5.
133. Ibid., p. 17.
134. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
The Republic of Vanuatu comprises an archipelago of some 80 islands including the Banks and Torres Islands, stretching to the east of New Caledonia from Solomon Islands to Hunter and Matthew Islands, and covering an area of 12,190 sq. km, with a population of 140,154 in 1986. Its capital is Port Vila.

In 1906, an Anglo-French condominium was established which governed the territory until 1980. The three powers - the British, the French and the Condominium (Joint) Departments, were responsible to their respective citizens, while the people of New Hebrides had no right to claim British or French citizenship. There were "two official languages, two police forces, three public services, three courts of law, three currencies, three national budgets and two resident commissioners in Port Vila". More than 36% of the land was owned by foreigners. After the Second World War, Na-Criamel, the first political party of New Hebrides emerged, which under the influence of the NAM, demanded independence.

In 1964, in New Hebrides "the political institutions and executive machinery were not fully representative of the people", who were unable to "express their wishes through well-established democratic process based on the principle of universal adult suffrage". The inhabitants of the islands struggled for greater power and independence but the United Kingdom and France, who jointly administered the region, did not agree to make any constitutional changes, nor did they entertain any proposals for change.

Inspired by the NAM, the New Hebrideans launched a heroic struggle against colonialism, for achieving freedom, justice and peace. They demanded immediate introduction of representative political institutions and executive machinery in conformity with the principles of the UN Charter.

137. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 814.
138. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, r. 61.
However, the Franco-British administration was "an obstacle to the political and economic advancement of the people". The forced construction of a new airstrip at Norsup on North Malekula against fierce opposition from the Tautu people and threats of the New Hebrides National Party made it clear that the Condominium Government was not a Government of the New Hebrideans but that of the white minorities who were citizens of Britain and France.

In November, 1975, the introduction of the French-style electoral system caused a split among the people of the territory into, at least, six conflicting groups. In the election, the National Party gained an overwhelming majority. Its leader, Rev. Walter Lini, iterated his call for independence by 1977, while Jimmy Stevens, leader of the Nagriamel Party based in Santo, had already called for Britain's withdrawal and gave "the British the final command to get out". The UCNH Party leader, Remy Delaveuve, demanded fresh elections based on universal suffrage. The Premier of Western Samoa expressed his sympathies with the people in their struggle for freedom. On June 5, 1976, the French Resident Commissioner, Robert Gauger, told the islanders that the country would be "neither French, nor British", as the two powers led it "to independence". Due to the impact of the NAM, the Administering Powers kneeled down and fresh elections were held on February 24, 1977.

The Fifth Congress of the Vanuaaku Pati condemned the British and French colonial presence in New Hebrides, reaffirmed the party's stand for independence in 1977, resolved that "the New Hebrides would now be called Vanuaaku (Our Land), called for exclusion of the six Chamber of Commerce seats from the Assembly, and declared that from January 22, 1977, the British and French District Agents would no longer have jurisdiction within the rural areas".

143. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 5, May, 1976, p. 11.
144. Ibid., No. 6, June, 1976, p. 10.
146. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 8, August, 1976, n. 29.
147. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 4, April, 1977, p. 17.
An internal self-government was granted to the territory in 1978, but this did not satisfy the people. A new constitution was agreed upon and elections held on November 14, 1979, were fair and free. The newly elected government fixed the timing of independence in the middle of 1980. Accordingly, New Hebrides attained independence on July 30, 1980. It was backed by the Pacific Forum and was renamed as the Republic of Vanuatu.

(11) SOCIETY(TAHITI) ISLANDS

Tahiti is one of the Polynesian Windward Islands, including the Moorea Islands. In spite of protests by the government of Australia and New Zealand, France continued with its nuclear tests in this region, which strained relations between Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and French Polynesia on the other.

The NAM anti-colonial movement inspired the people of these islands, but, instead of independence, they wanted more power. On June 10, 1975, a Tahiti delegation visited Paris for a week and organised a mass protest of "angry, tense and determined people, led by the internal autonomy political party". The political leaders of Tahiti demanded a President elected by the people. Olivier Stirm, the French Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and Territories rejected this demand. He said: "Either Polynesia will be an independent state or Polynesia remains part of the French Republic".

Francis Sanford, the French National Assembly Deputy in Paris, did not agree with Stirm and said that Tahiti had a long-standing proposal pending before the National Assembly demanding an elected Government Council President and not a civil servant. The Territorial Assembly President, Frantz Vanizette, pointed out that the independence of Tahiti was not on the agenda and demanded a Government Council presided over by an elected President. Meanwhile, Gaston Flosse, getting a majority in the Assembly, was re-elected President, defeating Vanizette, who, in his turn, declared Flosse's election illegal.

149. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, p. 25.
150. Ibid., No. 7, July, 1975, p. 4.
151. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 8, August, 1976, p. 10.
Flosse led the UDR (Gaulist) while Vanizette led the independents. The former was content with an elected Vice-President with the Governor retaining the Presidency, while the latter demanded an elected President. However, due to unusual alliance between the Flosse and the Vanizette forces, the Assembly was dissolved. Stirn agreed to give Tahiti "more self-determination in running its own affairs". The Territorial Assembly and the citizens called for independence, while Sanford demanded a referendum and threatened to seek assistance from the United Nations. He also demanded a new statute and internal autonomy.

Though the Tahitians achieved some measure of power, the French Minister for Overseas Territories refused to grant autonomie interne (internal self-government), while the Tahitians were determined to obtain "real internal self-government or, failing that, press for independence". On the other hand, Ex-French Premier, Pierre Messmer, declared that his party (RPR) was "determined to oppose all autonomist activity ... for that would lead to separatist attitudes". Since Tahiti was on the road to internal autonomy, France began to think "whether to give in or fight for this territory".

The territory is still a French colony.

(12) COOK ISLANDS

Cook Islands comprising 13 inhabited and 2 uninhabited ones are situated between Samoa and Tahiti. The northern Cooks are all atoll while the southern ones are all volcanic. The total area of the islands is 237 sq. km. and the population was 17,185 in 1986. The capital of the territory is Avarua on Rarotonga.

The Cook Islands were first visited by James Cook in 1773. It became a British protectorate in 1888, and a part of New Zealand in 1901. Administered under the provisions of the Cook Islands Act, 1915, the people were unable to "express their wishes through well-established democratic process". Hence, they started their struggle for independence.

152. Ibid., p. 11.
154. Ibid., No. 12, December, 1977, p. 20.
The 9-point programme of the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) inspired the people of these islands to fight for full self-government.

Elections on the territory were held on April 21, 1965, and discussion on the draft constitution took place between May 10 and 19, 1965. The first meeting of the Cook Islands Legislature reaffirmed its adherence to the principle of full internal self-governance and recommended certain amendments to the draft constitution, which, after being enacted by the New Zealand parliament, was approved by the Cook Islands Legislature and a self-governing territory in free association with the New Zealand came into being on August 4, 1965. The Cook Islanders reserve their right to move to a status of complete independence. They have full control over their internal affairs and their future. The people of the territory are New Zealand's citizens. The Island's Premier Sir Albert Henry said: "The people of our nation retain the right to regard New Zealand as their own country even while they enjoy the benefits of self-government within the Cook Islands".

Four of the Northern Cook Islands (Danger Atoll, Manahiki Atoll, Penrhyn Atoll and Rakahanga Atoll) are claimed by both the United States and New Zealand. The dispute between the two over these four islands is still unresolved.

(13) NIUE ISLAND

Niue is a coral island situated 480 km. east of Tonga, covering an area of 259 sq. km. Due to insufficient resources, the islanders migrated to New Zealand and, as a result, its population declined from 5,194 in 1966 to 2,531 in 1986.

The island was first visited by Capt. James Cook in 1774. In 1900, it was declared a British protectorate. In 1901, it was annexed to New Zealand. The local people were unable "to express their wishes through well-established democratic processes".

158. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 744.
160. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, n. 9.
The spark of independence flared by the NAM aroused the people of the territory who started demanding freedom and dismantling of military bases of New Zealand in Niue. New Zealand crushed the national movement for independence and ignored UN resolutions relating to the territory. However, the people's agitation forced the Colonial Power to agree to an election. In 1969, an Executive Committee took over responsibility for those government departments which were previously controlled by the Resident Commissioner of New Zealand. In 1970, the principle of "one man one vote" came into force. The territory reached "the stage of a decisive act of self-determination". The Niue Amendment Act, 1971, provided for the appointment of a Niuean as President of the territory's Legislative Assembly, on the lines of the democratic principles enunciated by the Non-aligned Movement.

In 1972, the people, with an overwhelming majority, expressed their desire for "full internal self-government, wishing to retain their Niuean identity", while some of the islanders expressed their wish for continued relationship with New Zealand retaining New Zealand citizenship for economic benefits. In September, 1974, through a referendum, the people by a substantial majority, voted "in favour of self-government in free association with the New Zealand". This referendum was considered a farce, since the Niue Islanders living in New Zealand and Australia, who outnumber those on their own land, had no right to vote in it. The referendum provided that the Niue Assembly would make laws for the island and the New Zealand Parliament could only legislate on issues relating to the territory only on request from the Niue Assembly.

Niue Island is still a protectorate of New Zealand and New Zealand is constitutionally responsible for "Niue's defence and external affairs" besides giving it budgetary support and developmental assistance.

Western Samoa comprises two large islands Savai'i and Upolu) and seven small ones, five of which are uninhabited. Its total area is 2,831 sq. km. It lies 2,400 km. north of New Zealand, with a population of 158,940 in 1981. 72% of its people live on Upolu. Its capital is Apia.

The islands were first visited by the Europeans in 1700. In 1904, the British ceded the eastern islands (now American Samoa) the United States. In 1914, New Zealand occupied the Western Samoa and the League of Nations granted it "a mandate over the territory" in 1920. In 1946, the United Nations declared it a Trust Territory and New Zealand assumed this responsibility through a Trusteeship Council. Western Samoans had "an aiga system, or extended family group", headed by a matai, chosen by consent of the aiga members".

A number of meetings of the NAM took up for consideration the actual status of the colony and the Samoans started demanding greater control over their affairs. As a result, a cabinet system of government and a legislative assembly were set up in pursuance of the Samoa Amendment Act, 1959. A Working Committee on self-government was "established to consider the constitutional problems involved in the transition to independence". In September, 1960, the Constitutional Convention considered a draft constitution, submitted by the Working Committee, and on October 28, 1960, agreed upon a final constitution. A plebiscite took place on May 9, 1961, through which the people of territory were asked either to vote in favour of the constitution or for independence. White 83% of the people voted in favour of the constitution, 79% voted "in favour of the independence of Western Samoa".

Western Samoa became a sovereign state on January 1, 1962, when the Trusteeship Agreement ceased to be in force.

171. Ibid.
172. Ibid.; see also YUN, 1960, Vol. 14, n. 20, p. 496.
(15) **TIMOR ISLANDS**

Portugal claimed the islands as overseas provinces of metropolitan Portugal but the majority of the indigenous inhabitants did not have the same civil and political rights as the inhabitants of Portugal and were "subjected to forced labour practices". Further, the people realised that "the reforms which Portugal claimed to have introduced since 1961 not only did not meet the basic aspirations of the people", but had not brought about any changes in their political, economic, social or educational conditions. In 1962, Portugal refused to grant independence to the territory. Its people had to face insecurity of life, suppression by force of arms, denial of fundamental rights, discriminatory practices and complete disregard for their legitimate aspirations. Under the pressure of the people's struggle for self-government, Legislative Councils were established in the territory for the first time in 1964.

Owing to the NAM's anti-colonial stance, the Portuguese Government were compelled to agree to a referendum and proposed that "a People's Representative Council should either ratify the decision of the people for complete integration with Indonesia or formulate other suggestions". However, the forces of FRETILIN occupied the city of Dili, jailed, tortured, murdered and eliminated its opponents (supporters of the National Front) and those who could escape took shelter in Indonesia. On November 28, 1975, the FRETILIN regime proclaimed the independence of the territory.

Indonesia expressed willingness to welcome Timor as its integral part if its people decided integration with Indonesia. Australia accepted this proposal provided that the "decision was based on well-prepared process of self-determination". Indonesia proclaimed the Establishment of a Provisional Government of the Territory of East Timor on December 17, 1975. In 1976, Indonesia sent its armed forces to the

174. Ibid.
175. UN "Declaration on the Granting of Indepepence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", 1960.
territory and refused to comply with the UN resolution to withdraw them, on the ground that "the people of East Timor had exercised their right ... for integration with Indonesia". Indonesia's stand was supported by Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Surinam and Thailand. Barbados, Ghana, Haiti, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe called on Indonesia to withdraw its forces and allow the people of Timor Islands to freely exercise the right of self-determination and independence. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976), the New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting (1977) and the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) reaffirmed the right of the people of Timor for self-determination.

However, the UN General Assembly declared that the people of the territory "must be enabled freely to determine their own future within the framework of the United Nations" and urged all concerned to implement its resolution 1514 (XV) which Indonesia totally and categorically refused to do.

East Timor is still a Portuguese colony and is on the list of the UN Special Committee of 24 for further consideration.

(16) IRIAN JAYA

West Jay is the western part of Papua ('formerly Dutch New Guinea or West New Guinea), which was a colony of the Netherlands up to April, 1963. Under the Act of Free Choice, Indonesia annexed it as its seventeenth province on May 1, 1963, against the wishes of the West Papuans.

In 1962, a delegation from the then New Guinea Council visited several African countries "seeking support for their resistance to Indonesian plans to annex their country". In 1975, the African member-nations of the NAM supported the motion tabled by China in the United Nations for giving an opportunity to the West Papuans "to express

180. Ibid., p. 255.
181. Ibid., n. 418.
themselves about their country's future”, but it was lost.

When Indonesia occupied the Dutch New Guinea in 1963, large scale clashes took place between the freedom fighters and the Indonesian soldiers. The Papuan resistance forces formed a 12-member Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of West Papua at Dakar, capital of the West African state of Senegal. The Papuan rebels established their camps on the border of Timor with the Papua New Guinea. From the bases on the PNG side they attacked Indonesian troops. To internationalise their demand for independence, the West Papuans established centres in Doetinchem (Holland) and Port Moresby (PNG). The NAM extended great help to them.

On August 16, 1969, addressing the Jakarta House of Representatives, President Suharto promised to the "backward brothers" of Timor to raise their standard of living "to a level comparable to that of their brothers in the other regions of Indonesia".

Under the inspiration of NAM, there were a number of revolutionary uprisings for the liberation of Irian Jaya. To pacify the people, President Suharto toured Jayapura on September 16, 1969, and established West Irian as an autonomous province with a deconcentratisation of the powers of the central government in Jakarta.

In 1975, the Papua Liberation Movement split into several camps, two chief segments of which were the National Liberation Council (NLC) and the Front National Papua (FNP). The former wanted to operate through international organisations and the latter wanted a government in exile. On February 23, 1976, the West Irianese Committee, set up in 1974 in Port Moresby, warned the PNG government that they would seek Communist help for their cause "if PNG continued to cold-shoulder the West Irian freedom fighters". The PNG Foreign Minister said that to seek Communist help would be a "breach of the agreement which allowed them permissive occupancy in Papua New Guinea" and refused to allow the use of PNG soil for such political activities. The US State Department refused to apply sanction against Indonesia as a measure of support for

184. Ibid.
185. Ibid., p. 8.
186. Ibid., p. 10.
the cause of Papuans. In April, 1977, Nicholas Jouwa, the self-styled Premier of the Provincial Revolutionary Government of West Papua, threatened to launch "Arab style terrorism" against the United States, Australia, New Zealand and other nations of South Pacific, excluding Papua New Guinea.

The NAM support to independence movement encouraged the West Irians. Pro-independence groups of Timor, known as Organiasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) alleged that Australia was helping Indonesia in its erive against them. The Geneva-based Anti-Slavery Society claimed in August, 1983, that Indonesians had murdered as many as 200,000 West Papuans since its annexation of the territory in 1962, and were abusing human rights. The Society called on the United Nations to initiate an independent enquiry in the matter. The OPM forces, amalgamated under the leadership of James Nyaro, the self-styled President of West Papua and illegal arms started flowing to the rebels to support the establishment of an independent state of Irian Jaya. The revolutionaries raised the West Papua flag in Jayapura, which refuted the Indonesian claim that they had the support of the majority of the population of the territory. The PNG people have been urging upon their government to assist the Irian Jayans in their struggle for independence and to pursue the matter in the United Nations and other international forums, in consonance with the objectives of the Non-aligned Movement.

However, Irian Jaya is still struggling for independence.

(17) BANABA (OCEAN) ISLANDS

Britain took over the Ocean Island and held its flag-raising ceremony on September 28, 1901. During the First World War, Britain annexed it to its Gilbert colony. In 1947, some people of the Ocean Island were settled by the British on the Rabi Island in the Fiji Group.

Though there were rich mineral deposits (worth about $ 60 million) on the territory, the Banabans "having nothing" lived on "unripe breadfruit and boiled bananas", while the British Phosphate Commissioners,

187. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 6, June, 1977, p. 15.
188. Ibid., Vol. 54, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 5.
190. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 4, April, 1977, p. 31.
191. Ibid., Vol. 46, No. 4, April, 1975, p. 3.
who represented Britain, Australia and New Zealand "reaped handsome economic benefits" from the phosphate mines. The Banabans were treated like primitive savages by Britain.

Encouraged by the NAM, the Banabans demanded their independence from the GEIC. They agitated for this in vain. Ultimately, they had to fight for their freedom. Members of the United Nations Committee of 24 rejected request of the Banabans to support their cause, with the plea that "UN's encouragement of the Banabans is tantamount to meddling in what they rightfully consider an internal affair of the territory of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands".

The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) strengthened the forces for emancipation and progress throughout the world and opened "the way to a complete liberation for all mankind". In March, 1975, to counter the Banaban independence move in the United Nations, the GEIC Government claimed that "Ocean Island was an integral part of the colony and that the Gilbertese and the Banabans were the same people". The Government officials alleged that "the Banaban claim for sovereignty was a family matter". The Banabans rejected the GEIC claim. They said that the Micronesian settlement took place more than 3,000 years ago and the Banabans had been independent for centuries.

The NAM anti-colonialism move has made the Banabans more conscious of their rights and even some eminent British statesmen came out in their support. Banabans filed a suit in a London Court claiming suitable compensation from Britain for the exploitation of their phosphate and "for damages from the British Government for its alleged betrayal of the duty it owed to the Banabans as their trustee". They also condemned Britain for payment of conscience money.

The Banabans wanted to use the rich natural resources of the Ocean Island themselves. Justice Meecarry observed that, for this reason, the Banabans had good reason to be uneasy. Questioning the Island's constitutional status, he urged the British government to grant

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193. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 93.
194. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 762.
independence to the territory. The British Government announced that "sovereignty over Ocean Island shall pass to the Gilbertese when the Gilbert Islands Colony becomes fully independent". Gilbert Islands became independent in 1979, and the administration of Banaba passed on to them.

Banabans refused to accept the Gilbertese claim that Ocean Island belonged to them. The 3,000 Banaban population of the island believes that their Ocean Island was never "part of the Gilberts until Britain made it so and Britain had no right to do it". The British Government appointed Richard Posnett for a fact-finding visit. The Rabi Island Council of Leaders demanded that fact-finding job should be entrusted to the United Nations in the interest of an impartial enquiry.

However, Banaba is still part of GEIC.

(18) FIJI ISLANDS

The Fiji group of Islands comprises four main islands - Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, Tavenui and Kadavu. Besides these, there are numerous smaller islands, atolls and reefs, numbering about 400, of which only 100 are inhabited. The total population of the territory was 715,375 in 1986, of which 48% were Indians and 46.1% were Fijians. The capital of Fiji is Suva.

Fiji was first visited by a European, Abel Tasman, in 1643. It became a British possession in 1874. The NAM declarations at Belgrade (1961) inspired the Fijian West Democratic Party to demand transfer of all powers to the people of Fiji, to immediately repeal all discriminatory laws and to establish an unqualified system of democratic representation based on the principle of "one man, one vote" in the territory. As a result, in April, 1963, a constitution was formulated, which, inter alia, provided for the establishment of an "Executive Council and a Legislative Council". Elections were held in the territory in 1963.

196. Ibid., p. 30.
197. Ibid., p. 31.
The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) intensified freedom movement in Fiji. The Fijians rose with a new zeal to achieve full freedom. In July, 1965, a constitutional conference was held in London, which promulgated a new constitution establishing a Legislative Council and an Executive Council, consisting principally of elected members. Most of the members continued to be elected on the basis of the three communal rolls, while some were elected under a new cross-voting system.

In 1969, Carton, the Prime Minister of Australia said: "Very soon Britain is going to pull out of Fiji and leave its peoples to paddle their own canoe, if this transition to self-rule is not to be marred by communal strife between Fijians and Indians". He was afraid that after the removal of British control, there would be political chaos and economic disaster due to a large immigrant population.

On May 5, 1970, a Constitutional Conference agreed on an interim solution on the first House of Representative to be elected after independence. The Island of Fiji became independent on October 10, 1970, and joined the Commonwealth as a free Dominion. Fiji became a member of the United Nations on October 13, 1970.

In February, 1988, Rotuma, an island in the north-west of Suva, attempted to declare itself independent but the Government of Fiji crushed the rebellion.

(19) KIRIBATI (GILBERT) ISLANDS

Kiribati, comprising 33 atolls, is scattered over 3,789 km. east to west and 2,050 km. north to south. There are "16 Gilbert Islands, eight Phoenix Islands, eight Line Islands and Banaba. The total population was 63,883 in 1985.

In 1892, 16 atolls of Gilbert Islands and nine Ellice Islands (now Tuvalu) became British protectorates, which were administered under the jurisdiction of the Western Pacific High Commission. The Commission was transferred from Fiji to Solomon Islands in 1953. In

201. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 762.
1900, Ocean Island (now Banaba) was annexed to Gilbert Islands. In 1915, Gilbert and Ellice Islands (GEIC) were declared a British colony and Ocean Islands and two of the Line Islands were added to them. In 1919, Christmas Island (now Kiribati) and another of Line Islands were annexed to GEIC. In 1937, eight Phoenix Islands were also added to it.

During the Second World War, Japan captured the Gilbert Islands. There was a fierce battle between the United States and Japan at Tarawa Atoll. In 1961, the Belgrade NAM Summit Conference was held, which inspired the people of these islands to fight for independence. In 1963, the Government granted self-government to GEIC.

However, the political institutions and executive machinery were not fully representative of the people. Under the influence of the NAM, the people of these Islands demanded self-determination and independence. To pacify the world opinion, the United Kingdom promulgated a constitution in 1967 in these territories, according to which general elections held on the basis of "universal adult suffrage".

The representative government, to prevent "any form of discrimination on the basis of colour", revised the 1967 constitution. This, too, "fell short of goals" of independence as the Administering Authority continued to "retain extensive executive as well as legislative authority".

In the GEIC's House of Representatives at Tarawa, there were often "shouts for independence" or shrill cries of "Britain get out". Gilbert and Ellice islanders were divided into racial parties. There were 44,000 Gilbertese of Micronesian extraction and 6,000 Ellice islanders of Polynesian extraction. The Ellice islanders held more government jobs at Tarawa than the Gilbertese. Naturally, the latter resented this. Moreover, the Ellice islanders were more politically conscious, concerned about the future of the colony and ambitious.

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203. Ibid.
than the Gilbertese who were concerned chiefly with fishing, dancing, drinking and were superstitious, being afraid of spirits and ghosts. The racial and social differences between the people of these two islands embarrassed the GEIC Government which tried "to unify the two groups of islanders".

In 1975, Ellice Islands seceded from GEIC and the remaining territory is known as Gilbert Islands. On July 14, 1976, talks held between the Governments of Gilbert Islands and Britain ended in granting the former full internal self-government with effect from November 1, 1976. This achievement was chiefly due to support of the NAM to the liberation movements at the NAM Summit Conference held in Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973) and Colombo (1976). Gilbert Islands achieved self-government on January 1, 1977, and independence on July 12, 1979, as the State of Kiribati, within the British Commonwealth.

Kiribati and the United States signed a treaty of friendship in September, 1979, and the latter "relinquished its claim to the Line and Phoenix Islands" including Kanton and Enderbury Islands, in favour of the former.

(20) PITCARIN ISLANDS

Pitcarin Islands include the mainland and three other uninhabited islands - Henderson, Ducie and Oeno, with a total area of 4.5 sq. km. It is a British colony.

Till 1964, the political institutions and executive machinery were "not fully representative of the people". Their small size, remoteness and limited resources were the causes of delay in their gaining the right of self-determination.

The Belgrade and Cairo NAM Summit Conferences held in 1961 and 1964 respectively denounced the "attitude of those Powers which oppose the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination" and called

208. Ibid., p. 33.
211. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, n. 61.
212. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 20.
upon its members to extend political, moral and material assistance to the liberation movements which infused a new spirit into the hearts of the freedom fighters. The people of Pitcarin demanded transfer of executive responsibilities and more powers to the elected representatives of the people, while the British policy was "to preserve the island's community life for as long as the people wished to remain, until or unless change became inevitable".

Owing to growing influence of the NAM and people's agitations, the Administering Power agreed "to discuss any change of constitutional status with the people of the territory" whenever they so desired.

The territory is still a British Crown colony.

(21) SOLOMON ISLANDS

The Solomon Islands is a Melanesian archipelago covering a land area of about 27,556 sq.km. to the east of Papua New Guinea. The country includes "most of the Solomon Islands, Ontong Java Islands (Lord Howe Atoll), Rennell Island and the Santa Cruz Islands". There are 21 large islands and numerous small ones. At the 1986 census, their population was 285,796. The capital of the country is Honiara on the island of Guadalcanal.

Europeans first discovered the Islands in the eighteenth century. The northern Solomon Islands became a German protectorate in 1885, and the southern Solomons a British protectorate in 1893. Japan invaded the islands in 1942, but the United States recaptured them in 1943. During the period from 1945 to 1966, elected local councils were established on most of the islands.

The NAM conferences and its leaders strongly supported the colonial people asserting their right of self-determination and encouraged anti-colonial struggles. Inspired by the NAM, the people of the Solomon Islands demanded more and more powers for themselves, including the transfer of executive responsibilities to their elected representatives.

216. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 800.
They demonstrated against the High Commissioner who exercised extensive control over them. The British Government declared that the territory would achieve internal self-government on November 1, 1975, and "subject to parliamentary approval, independence should follow within 12 to 18 months" of this date. The country actually achieved internal self-government on January 2, 1976.

The Solomon Islands was educationally backward and 90% of the population did not know anything about a republican system of government. It was NAM which aroused the people of the country. As a result, they began to oppose the foreign rule. Internal self-government did not satisfy them. The British Solomon Islands became independent on July 7, 1978, and are now known as Solomon Islands.

(22) TONGA ISLANDS

Tonga, comprising 172 islands and covering a land area of 748 sq. km. is situated about 650 km. east of Fiji in two lines. Those to the west are volcanic and the ones to the east are coral islands. Only 36 of these islands are inhabited. They are divided into three groups - Vava'u in the north, Ha'apal and Tongatapu in the south.

The Kingdom of Tonga adopted its first constitution in 1875 and came under British protection in 1900. Queen Salote Tupou III came to the throne in 1918, and ruled until December, 1965. She was succeeded by her son Prince Tupouto'a Tungi who took the title of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. In 1958, the United Kingdom appointed a British Chief Commissioner for Tonga.

In May, 1976, a Wellington based Soviet Ambassador, Cleg Selyaninov, visited Tonga and stayed there for four days. His visit "created a lot of attention elsewhere, particularly in the United States". The Ambassador promised support to King Taufa'ahau Tupou in the fields of scientific research, trade, fishing and canning and enlarging of the airport near Nukualofa.

219. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 800.
221. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 807.
Tonga is an independent kingdom and a member of the United Nations. In November, 1977, the King visited the Republic of China (Taiwan) and recognised its regime. Tonga is a member of the South Pacific Forum and is one of the few countries which have not joined the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty. In July, 1988, Tonga signed a treaty with the United States and allowed "the safe transit of US nuclear-capable ships within Tongan waters".

(23) **TUVALU (ELLICE) ISLANDS**

Tuvalu is a scattered group of nine small atolls covering an area of 26 sq. km. Its population was 8,229 in 1985. Its capital is on Funafuti atoll.

Tuvalu, formerly known as the Ellice or Lagoon Islands, was placed under British protection in 1892, and was linked with Gilbert Islands in 1916.

Like the people of the Gilbert Islands, the people of Ellice, one of the tiniest of island nations, were also inspired by the NAM conferences. To expedite their independence, a Constitutional Conference was held on March 13, 1975, at Tarawa to devise a formula for separating the Ellice Islands from the Gilberts and forming the territory of Tuvalu. The Gilbertese raised no objection to the "Ellice people's decision to seek separate status under Britain while the Gilberts go independent". In fact, they were glad as the Tuvaluans would have been an economic liability to them. As recommended by the conference, the Tuvalu Order of September 17, 1975, provided for a separate constitution for the nine Ellice Islands. In a referendum, the people voted overwhelmingly for the new status as they believed that they would otherwise be dominated by the Gilbertese who outnumbered them by seven to one. However, separation was "achieved with great goodwill" and amidst festivities.

The Ellice Islands separated from GEIC and became a distinct colony on October 1, 1975, and the territory is known as Tuvalu, with

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its headquarters at Funafuti. However, its joint administration with GEIC continued till January 1, 1976. In May, 1977, the eight elected members of the Tuvaluan House of Assembly toured all the nine islands to ascertain the opinion of men, women and children on whether they wanted a republic or a monarchical system i.e. a President or a British Governor-General. They voted in favour of retaining the Queen as Head of State, with a Tuvaluan Governor-General.

General elections were held in the 60-year old Crown colony in August, 1977, which resulted in its achieving independence on October 1, 1978.

(24) AMERICAN SAMOA

American Samoa comprises seven islands - Tutuila, Ta'u, Olosega, Ofu, Aunu'u, Rose and Swain (Olosenga) lying about 3,700 km. southwest of Hawaii and covering a land area of 194.8 sq. km. with a population of 36,000 (1986). Its capital is Pago Pago.

First of all the Europeans visited the island in the eighteenth century. In 1872, the Kingdom of Samoa, then an independent state, ceded the harbour of Pago Pago to the United States. In 1899, followed by an internal strife between the rival chiefs, kingship was abolished in the country. Its western part became a German colony while its eastern part known as American Samoa, came under the control of the United States.

In 1964, American Samoa (including Wake and Midway islands) was "far from self-government and independence" and its people were unable "to express fully their wishes with regard to their future status". Inspired by the NAM declarations and resolutions, the local people of the territory decided to take the reign of their land in their own hands and demanded greater executive authority. The Administering Authority introduced constitutional changes which were insufficient to enable the people of the country to shape their future

229. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 735.
Exercising full control over the islands, the United States established military bases there which created hindrances in the path of their decolonization. However, in 1973, a referendum was conducted over the proposals of a Constitutional Revision Committee. The majority of people voted for self-government. In 1976, the people elected their own Governor and members of both houses of their legislature and achieved full self-government. It became member of the UN in 1976.

The United States sent Rex Lee as the last Washington-appointed Governor, an able administrator, who "could rally the people of American Samoa around the US flag, so that there is no danger of breaking away from the United States". However, the people inspired by the NAM, continued to struggle for independence. As a result, a constitution was drafted in 1986 to grant self-governing status to the territory, but it has yet to be ratified by the US Congress.

CONCLUSION

The Pacific Ocean comprises a third of the earth's surface. It contains thousands of islands, which were being ruled by one colonial power or another. Inspired by the proclamations of the NAM, the people of these islands began to demand self-determination and freedom. The former dependent states, which have now achieved independence are Western Samoa (from New Zealand on January 1, 1962), Nauru (from the UK and Australia on January 31, 1968), Tonga (from UK in 1970), Fiji (from UK on October 10, 1970), Papua New Guinea (from Australia on September 16, 1975), Tuvalu (from UK on October 1, 1978), Solomon Islands (from UK on July 7, 1978), Kirabati (from UK on July 12, 1979), Banaba (from UK in 1979), Vanuatu (from UK and France on July 30, 1980) and Timor (from Portugal on November 28, 1975). Tonga is an independent Kingdom. Hawaii and Irian Jaya are provinces of USA and Indonesia respectively.

The states, which are still wholly or partially governed by colonial powers are: Pitcarin (by UK), Wallis and Futune (by France) and Easter (by Chile).

The states which have achieved self-governing status are: Tokelau, Cook, Niue, Norfolk, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall, Mariana, Palau, Guam and American Samoa.