COLONIALISM, DEVELOPMENT, URBANIZATION AND THE WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY: AN EXAMINATION OF SUVA, FIJI; NOUMEA, NEW CALEDONIA; AND PORT MORESBY, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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"The conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much."

This thought, expressed by author Joseph Conrad, succinctly describes the reality of the expansion of Euro-American economic forces across the planet, commencing with the 15th century voyages of discovery and continuing to this day. The focus of this paper is the Euro-American expansion into the Pacific Basin and the development of urban areas therein. Although this expansion is often viewed as the result of competition among several nation-states, the thesis adopted here is that the expansion has been of the world capitalist system. The nation-state is viewed as a conveyance or host for the spread of an economic system based on appropriation of land, resources and labor in order to maximize wealth (profit) for a few at the expense of the many (Forbes, 1984; Frank, 1972a, 1972b; Wallerstein, 1979).

The genesis of this paper was a desire on my part to develop some understanding of the forces that have been at work in the establishment of cities in the Pacific Basin. At the beginning, I, too, viewed the phenomenon as the result of nation-state rivalry in the region. However, as my research proceeded, it became apparent that specific nation-state involvement in the region might affect the fine detail of a city's development (its architecture, religious reference, or specific political administration), but the common thread was that of the advance, intrusion and domination of capitalist structures.
The viewpoint taken by this paper is a blend of theories and approaches advanced by Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein. Specifically, my thesis is that the urbanization that has taken place in the Pacific Basin is not part of an evolutionary path from underdevelopment to development. Instead, the urban areas in the region are peripheral cities whose purpose is to serve the core in a variety of ways delineated below. In addition, this system of core-peripheral (and semi-peripheral) areas, is part and parcel of the world capitalist system. In other words, urbanization serves specific functions that are of benefit to international capitalism (Chase-Dunn, 1985; Clammer, 1985; Firebaugh, 1985; Fox, 1977; Frank, 1972a, 1972b; Hohenberg, 1990; Hope, 1986; Johnson, 1972; Kentor, 1985; Sawers, 1984; Smith, 1985; Sokolovsky, 1985; Timberlake, 1985 a and b; Wallerstein, 1979, 1980, 1989).

I believe this perspective is strengthened by the apparent "victory" of capitalism over authoritarian communism as represented in the former Soviet Union and its companion "satellites" in Eastern Europe. The rapid advance of capitalist institutions and processes into the vacuum created by the collapse of the Soviet-style system in Europe is evidence of the readiness of the world capitalist system to exploit any opportunity for expanded markets and new labor pools. Lest any "gungho" capitalist reader exalt in this realization, it should also be noted that the newspapers and television news shows are now rife with reports of the difficulties of adjustment to this new system. Dachas
once frequented exclusively by communist party apparatchiks are now the playgrounds for the capitalist elites. Prostitution, although never totally absent from the previous system, is now a growing business and a quick means to acquire hard currency well above normal income levels.

I advance this line of thought only to show the expansive nature of capitalist processes, structures and social relations. In the Pacific such expansion also occurred, but at a more leisurely pace. This paper will discuss the tempo of capitalist expansion into the Pacific, as well as the mode or manifestation of that expansion.

The urban areas that are explored in this paper are: Noumea, New Caledonia; Suva, Fiji; and Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. I chose these three cities because of location and history. New Caledonia and New Guinea are part of the Melanesian culture of the Pacific. Pre-contact Fiji had a mix of Melanesian and Polynesian peoples (Oliver 1967; Stanley, 1986;).

The histories of the selected islands are different, not only because of different indigenous culture histories, but because together they represent examples of British and French colonization. New Caledonia continues to be a French colony. Fiji, now independent, was annexed by Great Britain in 1874. New Guinea was of interest to the Dutch, Germans, British, and Australians. Thus, this survey permits an examination of how the world capitalist system, through the forces of European nation-states, expanded into the region and shaped the development of the indigenous societies, most importantly the
establishment and growth of urban centers (Barclay, 1978; Cameron, 1987; Oliver, 1967).

The first part of the discussion concerns the history of initial European involvement in the region. In that context there is some examination of the social and economic systems that existed at the time of contact. A caution is necessary here. The records of these systems were made by Europeans of a particular interest or viewpoint (expedition leaders, sailors, missionaries, merchants, etc.). Thus, the reliability of their reports are subject to question. However, it is possible to glean some picture of the cultures that would be forever changed by contact with the Europeans.

Each locale and its post-contact history will be examined, with a focus on the forces of urbanization. It will be seen that although political administrative centers and ports/trading centers had developed by the end of the 19th Century in each locale, the urbanization process quickened only after the Second World War. At first glance, one might conclude that such urbanization was a result of the changing balance of power and competition between the super powers. But, again this is the conflict that occurs on the surface of our collective consciousness. The real "action" is the development and expansion of global capitalism, as represented by multinational corporations. Thus, the last part of the paper will look at the impact of multinationals on the three urban areas and the future prospects for these cities/towns.
HISTORY

Oceania, comprising the islands of Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, was one of the last areas on earth to be settled by humans. More than 50,000 years ago people from Southeast Asia migrated to what is now New Guinea and Australia. Sea levels were much lower at this time and, consequently, the landmasses were closer than they are today. From time-to-time a landmass connected New Guinea with Southeast Asia (Sunda), with a shallow sea separating it from an area encompassing all of present day Australia and land now beneath the sea (Sahul). By the end of the Pleistocene (10,000 years ago) sea levels were rising and Australia and its aboriginal population was cut-off from the New Guinea (Cameron, 1987; Kirch, 1985; Stanley, 1986; Terrell, 1986).

Speakers of a non-Austronesian language, Papuan, would be the next migrants to New Guinea. These people were of short-stature and dark-skinned. They would come to occupy the highland areas of New Guinea. By 3000 B.C. another people, speakers of an Austronesian language had taken up residence along the coast of New Guinea. These people are most readily identified as the Lapita peoples or culture, by virtue of a red pottery found in association with their settlements. The spread of this Lapita culture was rapid and it reached Fiji and the islands of Samoa and Tonga by the mid-thirteenth century B.C. It
would be in this region that what we know as "Polynesia culture" developed (Kirch, 1985; Green, 1967; Stanley, 1986).

After gestating in the area of Tonga and Samoa for a thousand years, these early Polynesians migrated to the Marquesa Islands. From here they would occupy what we now call the Society Islands (Tahiti), Easter Island (2300+ miles to the southeast) and the Hawaiian Islands. Easter Island was settled about 400 A.D., about 100 years after the Hawaiian chain. Finally, by no later than 1000 years ago and perhaps as early as 800 A.D., New Zealand had also been settled. This completed the pre-European contact peopling of the Pacific (Kirch, 1985; Terrell, 1986).

The first Europeans to reach the region were Spanish and Portuguese explorers. The Portuguese explorations were designed to find new passages to the "Spice Islands" -- the Moluccas. The Spanish motives were no less acquisitive. They were seeking gold, silver, new territories/colonies, and an opportunity to convert heathens.

During the 17th Century the Dutch appeared on the scene, using the routes pioneered by the Spaniards. Their influence in Indonesia and the island of New Guinea would continue well into the 20th Century. In the 19th Century they, along with the Germans and the British, would make a tripartite division of New Guinea.

Although other Englishmen preceded him, Captain James Cook is the most famous English seafarer to explore the Pacific. His three voyages into the
Pacific (1768-71; 1772-75; and 1776-79) were extraordinary achievements of exploration, scientific investigation and navigation. His explorations ushered in the British era in the Pacific. In the following century, German and American influence would be felt in the region and by the 20th Century Japan would be a key catalyst in the fate and history of the Pacific (Cameron, 1987; Oliver, 1967; Stanley, 1986).

This brief history is offered to present both a temporal and spatial context for the discussion that follows. Each of the islands and its chief city, of course, possesses a unique history. But virtually all of the islands of the Pacific were impacted by one, and usually more, of the European nation-states. As in North America, the arrival of Europeans also meant the arrival of European diseases, such as measles, influenza, tuberculosis, dysentery, smallpox, typhus, typhoid, and whooping cough. Never having confronted these before, the islanders had no established immunities to them upon contact. Venereal disease, alcohol and firearms would helped accelerate the disintegration of native populations and their cultures. From the time of Magellan's arrival in the Marianas in 1521 to the beginning of World War II total native populations in the Pacific islands declined from 3.5 million to 2 million, a staggering loss of 1.5 million people. A relatively small population, for the vastest geographic region on earth, became smaller. This would have direct implications for the tempo and character of urbanization in the region (Oliver, 1961; Stanley, 1986).
FIJI

Although the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman sighted the islands in 1643, he did not land. James Cook did anchor off the island of Vatoa in the Southern Lau Group in 1779. Ten years later, William Bligh, following the Bounty mutiny, was chased by canoe-loads of cannibals, as his crew rowed to Timor. However, it was not until the arrival of the American Exploring Expedition, led by Lt. Charles Wilkes, in 1840, that the area was mapped. Two of Wilkes crew were killed in a skirmish with Fijians on Malolo Island, which is off the present day town of Nandi on the west side of the main island of Viti Levu (Douglas and Douglas, 1989).

Not only were the inhabitants of the area perilous to the Euro-American encroachers, but so were the reefs. These two conditions tended to discourage visitors. However, in 1804 word spread that there was sandalwood along the coast of Vanua Levu, the second largest island in the group and northeast of Viti Levu. This caused a rush of traders and others to the islands.

Sandalwood trade can be considered the initial resource of exploitation in many of the Pacific islands. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, European traders were particularly interested in promoting trade with China. In part this interest can be viewed as a result of a "domestic revolution" in England. At the end of the 17th Century the beverage of choice in England was still ale, but
during the 18th Century tea became exceptionally popular. The government imposed heavy duties upon tea and derived considerable revenue without putting the slightest dint in the consumption levels that continued to grow (Oliver, 1967; Shineberg, 1967).

It is hard, perhaps, to imagine how a decision half a world away can have such significant impacts on a region or people, but this is a good example. In 1784, Parliament passed the Commutation Act which lowered duties on tea from 119% to 12.5%. As a result by 1785-86 the East India Company imported 15 million pounds of tea, which was two-and-one-half times the amount imported for 1783. By 1800 the annual figure had risen to 23.25 million pounds and by the 1830's to 30 million pounds. Even with the lowered duties, tea provided a full tenth of the revenues collected by the British Exchequer (Shineberg, 1967).

What, the reader may ask, does all the tea in England have to do with sandalwood? The answer is that China was among the largest consumers of sandalwood. The substance from the heart of the tree, the inner root being most-prized, is used to make incense. This became very important for the adherents to the Buddhist religion, which had originated in India. However, India had plenty of sandalwood of its own. China had none, but it did have tea.

What's more sandalwood was not only used for religious purposes, but also for secular ones, such as in the manufacture of luxury items (inlaid boxes, fans, ornaments), perfumes, cosmetics and medicines. Thus, sandalwood was
a highly prized commodity for the Chinese. As a result, it did not take the
British traders long to determine that locating sources of sandalwood could
greatly facilitate trade with the Chinese, not just for tea but for other items
such as silk and lacquered ware. At times sandalwood prices were so high that
for the British merchant it was virtually "as good as gold" (Oliver, 1967;
Shinberg, 1967; Stanley, 1986).

As this applies to Fiji specifically, it was the first of the Pacific islands to
feel the impact of this trade. Of course, that trade was very profitable to those
who acquired the sandalwood from the Fijians and sold it to the Chinese. For
the equivalent of $50 worth of trinkets (twice the price of Manhattan Island)
one could purchase a cargo of sandalwood that would sell for $20,000 at
Canton. This is likely to produce a tidy profit even after the deduction of the
cost of ship and crew. Profits re-invested in tea could be sold in England for
even greater returns. This established a system of triangular trade from
Oceania to China to England. However, although the demand for sandalwood
was inexhaustible the supply was not. By 1814-1816, the sandalwood forests
in Fiji had been stripped bare. This fate would be shared elsewhere in the
Pacific (Oliver, 1967; Shinberg, 1967; Stanley, 1986).

With hardly a blink of an eye the traders switched their harvest from
land to sea. Initially, they harvested a sea slug. This creature became better
known as beche de mer. It also brought a good price on the Chinese market.
But, by the 1830's whaling would begin its bloody and lucrative harvest in the Pacific (Barclay, 1978; Oliver, 1967; Stanley, 1986).

By 1855, a watershed year in Fijian history, the 822 islands which comprised Fiji at the time (105 currently occupied) had been united under a former cannibal (converted Christian) chief named Thakombau. In that year Thakombau had defeated his rivals at the Battle of Kamba, with the help of King George Tupou of Tonga. Also in 1855 the British consul-general for Hawaii in Sydney, Australia, proposed that Samoa and Fiji be made protectorates of Great Britain along the same lines as had the Gold Coast of Africa. Others suggested outright annexation not only of Fiji, but also Tonga, New Guinea, the New Hebrides and the Celebes. Although the Foreign Office gave this some due consideration both ideas, for the time were rejected. Instead, two new consul-general's were appointed for the Pacific, one to be based in Fiji (Shineberg, 1967).

As this was occurring the centuries old conflict between Protestants and Catholics led the Wesleyan missionary in Fiji to convince Thokombau to request British protection against agents of France and "Popery." It is likely that the former was a more real threat for the Foreign Office than the latter. The conflict between nation-states that had earlier taken the form of Spanish vs. Portuguese and later Spanish vs. British rivalries, had now taken on the character of British vs. French efforts to dominate events in the Pacific. By the 1840's American traders and settlers had begun to enter
Fiji. Many had incurred losses due to damages or thefts committed by Fijians. This led to a series of claims for damages. The U.S. State Department instructed that an investigation be conducted. The U.S. naval officer selected for the task was a Commander Boutwell, who the British charged was a "papist and a Southerner" and to which Boutwell raised neither defense nor objection.

Boutwell, ignoring orders from a senior officer to make a more impartial investigation, made an assessment and forced Thakombau to accept liability for $45,000. When, in 1858, another American naval officer arrived to collect, Thakombau had no means to make payment. At this point the British consul suggested that Thakombau cede the islands to Britain in return for payment of the debt. The consul, William Thomas Pritchard, agreed to receive 200,000 acres of land on behalf of the Crown. This is by any reckoning a "good deal," equal to 22.5 cents per acre. Without going into great detail about the machinations in Whitehall as to the advisability of annexing Fiji, it is important to note that this was the "Age of Gladstone and Disraeli" and great debates in Parliament as to the future direction of the British Empire. However, it was not until 1874 that Great Britain finally annexed Fiji (McIntyre, 1967; Oliver, 1967; Shineberg, 1967; Stanley, 1986).

Although British rule could be viewed by some as "enlightened" in that it protected Fijians from being forced to work on European plantations, as well as permitting only the leasing but not the sale of Fijian communal lands, it also had its deleterious effects. The most deadly was the measles epidemic in the
year of annexation, 1874. This epidemic had a devastating impact. In 1874 there were 200,000 Fijians. By 1919 that number had fallen to 83,000 (Stanley, 1986).

The decline in population coupled with the prohibition against forced labor meant that the sugar plantations that came to dominate the area needed labor. As a consequence, the British imported 60,000 contract laborers from British India, between 1879 and 1916. This would eventually create serious political problems in the next century and upon independence in 1970. However, the introduction of the Indian laborers was instrumental in the growth of the sugar industry, which was dominated by an Australian firm, Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR). In fact, although Fiji was a political colony of Great Britain, it was more an economic colony of Australia and its giant mercantile companies, such as Burns Philip (Barclay, 1978; Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Oliver, 1967; Shineberg, 1967).

It was shortly after the arrival of CSR in Fiji that the capital of Fiji was moved from Levuka, which had little opportunity for development, to Suva. This town would grow into a city that some would consider the "pulsing heart of the South Pacific" and the most cosmopolitan city in Oceania (Stanley, 1986).

In 1970 Fiji's status changed from that of a colony to that of "dominion" within the British Commonwealth. The majority (48.6%) of the population of Fiji following independence was "Fijian Indian" and 46.2% were "Fijian," with
the remaining fractions consisting of Europeans, Chinese and Polynesians. It had been anticipated that the landownership laws would be changed. Most citizens of Indian extraction considered themselves Fijians, yet prior to independence were prohibited from owning land. However, the new constitution included the restriction of land ownership to those of traditional Fijian ancestry. Thus, 83% of the land is owned by Fijians and only 1.7% by Fijian Indians who managed to skirt the restriction. Of the rest, 6% is owned by Europeans and 6% by the government. Fijian Indians may lease land, but only for 20 years.

In 1987, following the election of many pro-Fijian Indians to Parliament, two military coups resulted in the collapse of the elected government of Fiji. The coups were led by an army officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka. On October 7, 1987, Rabuka declared Fiji a republic and it withdrew from the Commonwealth. Although a semblance of civilian government exists today, Rabuka is the Minister of Internal Affairs. He controls matters of internal security. A methodist lay minister, Rabuka exercised governmental authority to make religious observances mandatory on Sunday, including the closing of shops, no public transportation and the banning of sporting events (Sutherland, 1989, 1990).

Other effects include an exodus of Indians, to the point that Fijian-Indians are no longer in the majority. They are leaving at a rate of 500-1000 per month. There has been a reduction of tourism. There was also a decline in
the sugar industry (20% within the first 18 months of the coup), due to the loss of the Indian labor. Finally, there have been several devaluations of the Fijian dollar. However, by 1989 the economy was rebounding with growth in both the tourist and sugar industry (Douglas and Douglas, 1989; OECD, 1991; U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1991; Worldmarks, 1988).

Having discussed the history of Fiji in some length, I would like to describe its principal city and capital -- Suva. It is the only sizeable city in the country, with a 1986 population of about 70,000 out of a total of 743,000 (Worldmark, 1988; OECD, 1991). It has a natural harbor and, thus, it is also Fiji’s chief port. It is situated on a peninsula along the southeast coast of the island of Viti Levu. This area of the island is lush, tropical and wet. The business center is modern, containing the only multi-storied buildings in the country, and is adjacent to the wharf and harbor.

There is a light industrial park (Walu Bay) to the north, with a complex of government buildings and housing to the south. In the southeast part of the city, resting upon a hilltop above Lauthala Bay is the University of the South Pacific (USP). It is the leading educational institution in Oceania and is jointly owned by eleven nations of the region (Stanley, 1987; Worldmark, 1988; Young and Stetler, 1987).

The majority of Fijians are engaged in subsistence agriculture (67%). The entire labor force numbers in excess of 246,000 workers, 80% of which are male. Non-agricultural wage earners totaled 18% and salaried workers
15% of the labor force. The 1988 unemployment rate was 11%. The net migration out of Fiji remains at a high level of about 12/1000 each year, as of 1991 (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1991; Worldmark, 1988).

Class distinctions within Fijian society are not a creation of Europeans. Traditional Fijian society was based on what Europeans might see as a type of "feudal" structure. Chiefs and commoners were linked in a patron-client relationship with communal ownership of the land. The colonization of Fiji strengthened this system, including the communal landholding and prohibition of ownership by outsiders (Oliver, 1967; Sutherland, 1989). Following independence in 1970 and until the 1987 elections prior to the coup, a conservative elite gained and consolidated political and economic power. This elite was composed of the eastern Fiji chiefly establishment and some of the Methodist Church. They were supported by some of the Indian business community and the European and part-European middle class. The 1987 elections upset this situation, with the election of Dr. Timoci Bavadra, who among other things threatened the elites privileged position by advocating land reform. By the end of the year Rabuka's two coups successfully exploited Fijian ethnic identity as expressed by radical Fijian ethnic nationalism. The coups were sanctioned by the chiefly factions and their allies among commoners and the Methodist Church. Efforts of organized labor and other progressive elements in Fiji have been thwarted by restrictions on the trade union
movement and political dissent generally (Browne, 1989; Chandra, 1989; Overton and Ward, 1989; Sutherland, 1989 and 1990).

How does all this relate to my thesis that urban development in the Pacific region is an example of the spread of the world capitalist system? In the case of Fiji, soon after initial contact with Europeans (and Americans), interests of financial and economic advantage were instrumental in affecting the lives of native Fijians. The advance of the European powers into the Pacific was a direct result of competition, politically and economically, amongst themselves. Every advantage was sought and pursued, from the eradication of the sandalwood forests to the establishment of a British Crown Colony headquartered in the new capital of Suva. Development of urban areas was indeed slow in the Pacific Basin during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. As we shall see in the discussion of New Caledonia, and particularly, New Guinea, World War II changed the Pacific forever.

Following the war, Suva would become a key city, a port city, a crossroads in the Pacific. It would become a center of trade and commerce and education for the region. In the end, it became unimportant as to whether British, French, German or American capitalists were successful in their endeavors. Capitalism as an economic force knows no nationality. Thus, although the political unrest that occurred in Fiji in 1987 had an initial cooling effect on the economy, it has since recovered. The Rabuka controlled government knows that the key to its power, in part, rests with reassuring
business investors (public or private) that economic success can still be found in Fiji. Thus, capital and capitalism adjust to the indigenous political changes, in order to continue to seek the maximization of profits. The government suppression of labor and other political opponents, coupled with a large reserve labor supply available among the subsistence agriculturalists, offers further opportunities for business success. The return of tourism to Fiji, an industry known for its low wages, further allows for the success of capital at the expense of labor.

NEW CALEDONIA

Unlike Fiji which is now an independent nation, New Caledonia continues as a colony. It is the last surviving bastion of white colonialism in Melanesia. It is one of the last such bastions in the world and like most of the others it is also French. The main island, Grande Terre, is home to the provincial capital, Noumea, on its southern shore near the southeast end of the island. As with all French colonies, the real capital city is Paris.

New Caledonia is a dependent territory that is administered by a "High Commissioner" appointed by the President of France. The High Commissioner is the final authority in the province, possessing veto power over the Territorial Assembly. Thus, political power rests in Paris not in New Caledonia (Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Stanley, 1986).
The history of the colony, despite its decidedly French character, is similar to that of the other islands in the Pacific. The first European explorer to see and record the presence of New Caledonia was a Frenchman, Louis Antoine Bougainville, in 1768. He, however, did not land nor did he name it. Both feats remained for the peripetetic Captain James Cook, who landed on the northeast coast in 1774. Eighteen years later another French expedition, this time led by the Chevalier d'Entrecasteaux, sailed along the eastern coast and explored it extensively. Over the succeeding 50 years the island was visited by various groups of explorers and enterprising traders.

The first missionaries to arrive in this group of islands were the protestants of the London Missionary Society, in 1841. Two years later the Catholic Marist missionaries also arrived to commence their conversions. It was not just the competing Christian orthodoxies which coveted the islands, but also their patron states, Britain and France. The French were particularly disturbed by the British success in Australia and New Zealand. Thus, in 1853, Emperor Napoleon III ordered the annexation of Grande Terre. This amounted to a fait accompli, because although not pleased, neither the British nor the Australian colonists in the islands chose to react.

The French openly declared that "the takeover had as its goal to assure France the position in the Pacific that the interests of the military and commercial fleet require and the views of the government on the penal system." The fact that New Caledonia lay in the middle of the shipping lane
between Australia and the Americas certainly explains the French interest. But France was also seeking to find a place for the political prisoners from the Revolution of 1848 and Louis Napoleon's heavy-handed assumption of the mantle of Emperor. The notorious prison at Devil's Island in French Guiana was unbearable for the French (wardens and administrators). New Caledonia offered a much more pleasant climate and was even farther from France, thus making the prisoners' keepers happy and the political troublemakers far from home. The penal colony would eventually be home for about 3900 political prisoners of the Paris Commune from 1872-79. From 1864 to 1904, more than 40,000 prisoners would be transported to the penal colony (Aldrich, 1990; Oliver, 1967; Stanley, 1986; Young and Stetler, 1987).

The penal colony would have less impact in New Caledonia than the discovery of nickel in 1864. The nickel found in Caledonia is a high quality lead-free type and much valued. In order to open access to the lands that held the nickel, as well as to provide grazing land for stock, the French boldly set up a series of "reservations" for the indigenous population. This seems very similar to the method used to remove indigenous populations from other lands invaded by Euro-American interlopers and it would be met by stiff resistance.

New Caledonia is part of Melanesia, with a culture that did not shy away from conflict. Nor were the New Caledonians, dubbed "kanaks" by the early explorers after the Hawaiian name for "human" (kanaka), very much inclined to accept matters as dictated by the French. As a result a guerrilla war ensued
in 1878, which cost 200 French and 1000 Kanak lives. The leader of the rebellion, High Chief Atai of La Foa, was betrayed and assassinated by a rival tribe. The French increased their repression and forced additional clans from their lands. The uprooted clans were forced onto the lands of other clans which generated internecine warfare. The French government simply seized two-thirds of the land and sold another 25% to white settlers. This left about 11% of the land for the indigenous peoples. It would not be until 1946 that the Kanaks could leave their designated reservations without permission of the colonial police. The dispute between the Melanesians, whose culture was based on use of the land and the white Europeans whose culture seems based on the ownership of the land remains at the heart of the political unrest in contemporary New Caledonia (Aldrich, 1990; Douglas and Douglas, 1989).

As with much of the Pacific, World War II had a significant impact on New Caledonia. With the fall of France to Nazi Germany in 1940, a pro-Vichy government took charge of New Caledonia. However, this was short-lived, as the New Caledonia Conseil General voted unanimously to side with the Free French. The pro-Vichy governor was forced to flee to Indochina. New Caledonia would become a major allied base and headquarters for the U.S. military. The Americans would build four airfields, as well as numerous roads and highways. The fleet that would defeat the Japanese at the Battle of the Coral Sea was based in Noumea (Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Stanley, 1986; Worldmark, 1989).
Just as Fiji has been affected by the importation of foreign workers, so has New Caledonia. In addition to the Europeans, Indians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese, Indonesians and other Pacific Islanders were imported to New Caledonia, as well as the other French Pacific colonies. Thus, the indigenous Melanesian population became a minority in their own land. The resentment and resistance to this situation has not diminished since Chief Atai's first rebellion against French colonialism, even though there has been a resurgence of Melanesian population since World War II.

For example, in April 1988, right before the national elections in France, Kanaks attacked a police headquarters on the island of Ouvea in the Loyalty Islands northeast of Grande Terre. Four gendarmes were killed and 27 taken as hostages. After eleven were released, French security forces rescued the remaining hostages, during which two soldiers and 19 Kanaks were killed (Douglas and Douglas, 1989).

Noumea, which was originally called Port de France, was founded in 1854. It was fairly unimpressive as a town; so much so that Robert Louis Stevenson felt compelled to refer to it in 1890 as having been "built from vermouth cases." It was not until the arrival of American military forces in World War II that it was transformed. Today, Noumea thrives as a maritime center. It is crowded and cosmopolitan and distinctly French in character, despite the presence of the indigenous Melanesians. The city is home to 69,000 or so people, most of whom are European. However, as noted earlier
Melanesian population has been growing and as of 1983, 61,870 of the 145,368 inhabitants of New Caledonia were Melanesian, 53,974 were European, and the remaining inhabitants were from other Pacific Islands, Indonesia, Vietnam, or elsewhere. By 1991, the population of New Caledonia had climbed to 171,559 (42.5% Melanesian). Since 1960, Noumea itself has grown rapidly as a result of increased migration from the rural areas. This migration is a direct result of the planned development of additional nickel resources in the rural areas (Aldrich, 1990; Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Oliver, 1967; Stanley, 1986; Worldmark, 1988).

The New Caledonian economy is a classic example of how colonialism functions. New Caledonia supplies France with raw materials, most notably nickel, in which it ranks third in the world. Nickel accounts for about 99% of the volume of exports and fully 70% of the gross "national" product of New Caledonia. In Noumea, the Societe Le Nickel owns a large smelting operation. It is a part of the Rothschild international mining conglomerate. The colony also is a market for finished products from France.

There are 50,469 members of the labor force. Most of the workers in the mines and on the plantations are foreign. The unemployment rate in 1989 was 16%. Because only a negligible amount of the land is cultivated for crops, 25% of the food is imported. Grazing lands are considerable and are devoted to cattle, but 40% of the beef consumed is imported. Although no figures are available on New Caledonia's external debt, there are figures on its trade

New Caledonia's purpose, in the eyes of the French, is to serve French colonial interests. Its nickel resources are clearly vital to the French economic interests. But it should also be noted that France also views its Pacific colonies as integral parts of its national defense apparatus. The French continue to test nuclear weapons in the South Pacific, despite repeated protests from indigenous people and other nations. They also maintain a military force in New Caledonia, numbering 8000-8500 troops. Thus, while most other nations have divested themselves of their colonies, at least in name, France has not done so (Stanley, 1986).

Its track record for granting independence is not good. A million people died before the French let loose of Algeria. In New Caledonia fewer have died, but France continues to exercise force of arms to control rebellious elements. But force of arms is not the only form of violence. There is violence of the mind. In New Caledonia it is forbidden to teach political science to Kanaks. There are no Kanaks who are doctors, economists or engineers. There is but one Kanak architect (Stanley, 1986).

In spite of all this, I view the primary force operating in New Caledonia as world capitalism in the guise of colonialism. The two phenomena are not
mutually exclusive. Here we find the French national interests fostered by economic interests. The Rothschild conglomerate is multinational in scope. But if France were to disappear from the face of the earth, the conglomerate would not. It might be argued that it is the economic power of such capitalist forces as the Rothschild and its subsidiaries such as the Societe Le Nickel which supports the French state, or at least French colonialism. In the case of Noumea, it is a city that is an economic center outpost. The Europeans who form the elite of New Caledonian society live and work in Noumea. The nickel companies and the exporters are based in Noumea. The colonial political and administrative power is headquartered in Noumea. The work force that this economic and political cabal relies upon is imported. If imported workers become a problem they can be deported and exchanged for others. In this case the reserve labor pool is not the indigenous Melanesian population, but rather foreign workers. Although these workers may be recruited and processed by the French bureaucracy, in the end, they labor for companies that may be French but are also integral parts of the world capitalist economy.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

There is disagreement as to who first discovered and named New Guinea. A Portuguese explorer, Antonio d' Abreu is said to have discovered New Guinea in 1511, as well as named it. Others claim that in 1545 Ortiz Retes, a Spaniard who was attempting to return to Mexico from the Moluccas,
sailed along the north coast of a large landmass. Because the people he saw on this passage reminded him of those of the Guinea coast in West Africa, he dubbed the land "New Guinea." In any event, a variety of vessels of Spanish, Dutch, English and French origin visited New Guinea up to the 19th Century. Captain Cook, of course, was one of the British explorers to visit. However, Philip Carteret was the first Englishman to claim any part of New Guinea, the island of New Ireland, for Britain (Barclay, 1978; Cameron, 1987; Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Oliver, 1967).

New Guinea, or portions thereof, were claimed by the British on at least two subsequent occasions; in 1846 by Yule and in 1873 by Captain Moresby. It was the later who named the city that would become the capital. He named the town in honor of his father. The British showed little interest in New Guinea, but their Australian colonists were very much interested. With the German success in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), the other European powers became concerned about Germany's possible designs on the Pacific. Australia and New Zealand were particularly alarmed, because of concerns about their own security. There was such concern that the Australian Premier in Queensland sent the police magistrate from Thursday Island to Port Moresby. The magistrate, Henry Chester, raised the flag at Port Moresby and claimed southeast New Guinea for the Queen (Victoria). This was on April 4, 1883. However, London refused to ratify the action at the time. The following year the British informed the Germans of their intention to establish a
protectorate. The Dutch had already annexed the western half of New Guinea in 1828. Germany hastily hoisted its flag in northeast New Guinea and in the Bismarck Archipelago, claiming a protectorate on November 3, 1884. Three days later the British finally established their claim in the southeast and it was formally named British New Guinea (Brookfield, 1972; Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Dousset and Taillemite, 1979; Oliver, 1967; Scarr, 1968).

On September 4, 1888, the British annexed the area and placed it under the authority of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1902. Formal administration by Australia began in 1906 when British New Guinea became the Territory of Papua. This administration would continue until World War II.

Meanwhile, the German Imperial Government had taken full direct control over the northeastern region and the Bismarck Archipelago in 1899. In 1914, Australian troops occupied the area and Australia administered it until 1921, when the British government assumed a mandate on behalf of the Commonwealth of Australia, from the League of Nations to administer the area. This administration would also last until World War II and the Japanese invasion. With the Japanese invasion, civilian administration was suspended. The Japanese held positions in the Dutch and former German areas, but Port Moresby was held by allied forces. With the defeat of the Japanese, the eastern half of the island was joined in one administrative union from 1945-46. In 1949, The Papua and New Guinea Act placed the area under the international
trusteeship system. In 1973, Papua New Guinea became self-governing and two years later, on September 16, 1975, it became independent (Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Oliver, 1967; Young and Stetler, 1987).

New Guinea is a forbidding place, and this probably explains the delay in European exploitation, compared to the other areas in the Pacific. There is a narrow coastal margin and occasional alluvial plains, with a few great river systems. The vegetation is thick and tropical in the lower elevations. New Guinea also has high plateau areas and prominent mountain ranges. The terrain is rugged. In addition, there are a variety of creatures, great and small, that can have a deleterious effect on ones health, such as centipedes, scorpions, snakes, crocodiles and malarial mosquitoes. In addition, the indigenous population, particularly in the highland areas, can be viewed as fierce and warlike. I offer this last comment not judgmentally. To survive in the New Guinea environment requires toughness of body and mental constitution (Oliver, 1967).

It was not until this century that economic exploitation by European powers began to any significant extent. The competition in the area in the previous century was more related to the political maneuvering of European nations in the Pacific region. As elsewhere in the Pacific there were missionaries and plantations. Whalers and sandalwooders had stayed away from New Guinea, because the whaling grounds were distant and the sandalwood that was there was too difficult to reach. The New Guineans had
also avoided most of the "blackbirding" (labor emigration to other Pacific islands) that had occurred elsewhere. This was a form of indentured labor, to put it in the gentlest terms, and was one of the major reasons for the depopulation of many of the Pacific islands. Many labor recruiters operated more like slave traders. In some cases, natives were simply captured and transported to other islands. The labor camps themselves provided opportunities for the introduction and rapid spread of a variety of diseases, due to overcrowding, poor sanitation and inadequate nutrition. But New Guinea was spared the bulk of this scourge. Both the German and the British governments attempted to control trade of labor in the region. The Germans, particularly, fostered the development of a plantation economy in its area of influence. Wherever white settlers established their populations the indigenous population was alienated from the land. New Guineans learned a new type of agriculture, cash cropping, much different from their traditional horticultural system (Douglas and Douglas, 1989; Oliver, 1967).

In 1932, however, Dutch mineral and oil interests began surveys in the region. Minor gold rushes occurred in the highland areas. By 1939 the gold mining communities were home to 700 whites and about 7000 natives. The success of the mining operations in the region led to further acquisition of lands by European interests, as well as exposing the indigenous populations not only to Europeans but also to the New Guinean peoples, who are so varied that they speak 700 distinct languages (Oliver, 1976).
Today, Papua New Guinea is the seventh largest gold-producing country and the eleventh largest copper producer, among market economies. However, agriculture would remain the primary economic activity in the region and today it still accounts for 34% of the economy, although 85% of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture. Industry accounts for 31% of the economy (copper and goldmining, manufacturing, food processing and sawmilling), while "commerce and services" (transportation, finance and social services) account for 36% (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1991; U.S. Department of State, 1989).

Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea, is located along the southern Papuan coast. It is a sprawling city and the terrain is hilly. There are about 150,000 residents and the city has an interesting mix of modern highrise buildings and older pre-World War II wooden colonial-style structures. New Guinea has been urbanizing rapidly. In 1965 only 5% of the population was urban, but by 1989 that figure had jumped to 16%. The rate of urbanization (annual urban growth rate) was 8.2% from 1965 to 1980. That rate slowed to 4.5% for the period between 1980 and 1989. Port Moresby itself contains fully a third of the urbanized population of the country, roughly 5% of the 3.9 million inhabitants of Papua New Guinea (Andrews, 1975; Douglas and Douglas, 1989; U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1991; U.S. Department of State, 1989; World Bank, 1991; Young and Stetler, 1987).
The growth and development of Port Moresby, as elsewhere in the Pacific, accelerated following World War II. The arrival of European trading companies, plantations, and mining operations all helped introduce the Papuans to a monetary economy. Post-War growth and development merely increased the rate and extent of this involvement. Although 85% of the population still makes its living in subsistence agriculture, the economy itself is increasingly dependent on non-agricultural pursuits. This dual economy provides a large reserve labor supply that can be drawn upon during time of non-agricultural economic growth. Although there are about 50 trade unions in New Guinea, many of them have fewer than 20 members (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1991).

The U.S. is a vital part of the Papuan economy, as a major supplier and buyer. The U.S. exports about $50 million worth of goods to Papua New Guinea and imports about $24 million. U.S. companies, such as AMOCO Minerals and Chevron, are major investors. Current U.S. investment totals $500 million. Germany, Japan, Australia, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Spain and Singapore are also trading partners with Papua New Guinea. The country's current account (foreign loan) debt is $551 million. Thus, Papua New Guinea's economy is intimately tied to that of foreign investors, trading partners and lenders.

The government of Papua New Guinea actively seeks foreign investment in minerals, energy development, manufacturing and agriculture. Many
incentives are offered (and accepted) such as accelerated depreciation and tax
deductions for resource exploration costs, feasibility studies and training local
staff. Although foreign managers and technicians are permitted to live in the
country, investors are expected to train indigenous workers and develop key
positions for Papuans (Douglas and Douglas, 1987; OECD, 1991; U.S. Central

What forces have been at work in Papua New Guinea which have led to
the changing economic system and growing urbanization? Again, colonial
forces were operating in the region in competition with one another. Dutch,
German, and British traders and settlers established economic activities in
Papua New Guinea in the 18th Century. For a variety of reasons already
discussed development was not rapid, until the discovery of valuable minerals,
gold and copper, and the war against the Japanese in the Pacific. This war
(WW II), one should recall, was to counter Japanese efforts to establish it
"sphere of greater co-prosperity" at the expense of Euro-American interests in
the region. However, regardless of the national origin of the capitalists or the
extent of their respective national government's cooperation in efforts to
expand, the capital was still focused on acquiring and extracting raw materials
and other resources as cheaply as possible, with the long range goal of
maximizing profits. In the post-war era the world capitalist economy
involvement in Papua New Guinea has increased. The expansion of wage labor
into the agricultural economy via plantations and other forms of cash cropping,
as well as that of the manufacturing and service components of the economy, has forever transformed New Guinean society. Indigenous urban managers and technicians have created widening class distinctions within the society. Because of the close kin relationships of traditional Papuan society, there is a constant flow of people from the countryside to the cities and back. This helps facilitate the movement of the reserve wage labor pool between rural and urban areas as needed. The capital that funds the economy is international in nature and knows no national loyalties. As long as a profit can be turned, Papua New Guinea will have access to international financial resources.

CONCLUSIONS

This look at the political and economic history, and accompanying urban developments, of three island groups in Oceania has revealed unique situations yet common threads. All three groups were subject to colonization efforts by European advance into the region. Although each European nation had its own particular political or national interests to pursue, the impacts on the islanders of the Pacific were very similar. They were subjected to diseases, appropriation of and alienation from their traditional lands (if the lands had any seeming commercial value), depopulation and/or introduction of immigrant labor from other colonial possessions, and, eventually, political subjugation by one or more of the European powers.
In terms of world-system theories, the initial European encroachments facilitated the capitalization of world agriculture (Wallerstein, 1979). In Fiji, after the decimation of the sandalwood forests, sugarcane plantations were established and became the primary element of the Fijian economy. In New Guinea copra plantations would introduce wage labor and cash-cropping. Mineral discoveries would further alienate the indigenous populations from their lands in New Guinea. Although agriculture was not the main force at work in New Caledonia, mining and stock grazing had the same alienating affect.

The introduction of wage labor and alienation of indigenous peoples from their land would lead to concentrations of people into smaller areas -- urbanization. In Oceania the process of urbanization proceeded slowly for a variety of reasons. First, population levels were never great on any of the islands. Native inhabitants lived in balance with the carrying capacity of their respective island ecosystems. Second, initial contact with Europeans killed many of the indigenous people because of lack of immunity to European diseases. Third, the Pacific Basin was not the primary focus of European power competition or capital expansion/exploitation until well into the 20th Century.

It is my view that this has merely delayed a process that has occurred elsewhere -- urbanization and proletarization. As industrialization is introduced the concentration of populations, the expansion of wage labor, and the exacerbation of class differences will continue apace. Accompanying the process of urbanization and proletarization is the establishment of bureaucratic
structures to organize and foster this process (Wallerstein, 1979). Of the three examples, Papua New Guinea most clearly shows this trend. It is the largest of the three (larger than California) and is least subject to constraints of geography. As noted earlier, although 85% of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, two-thirds of the economy is non-agricultural. It is unlikely that the wealth generated in non-agricultural activity will find itself equally distributed to the 85% of the population subsisting in rural Papua New Guinea. Thus, there will be continued pressure to urbanize and expand wage labor opportunities in the urban areas.

Distinctions within Pacific island societies were not introduced by the Europeans. In Fiji, a quasi-feudal system of ranked chiefdoms existed at the time of contact. In New Guinea and elsewhere in Melanesia, the system of "Big Men" provided for continuous reciprocal distribution of resources, with some being better at distribution than others. However, socio-economic class differences as we know them were introduced with the colonization process. Local elites could develop among those most able to benefit from cooperation with the Europeans, such as the chiefs in Fiji who, today, are part of the elite that has supported ethnic nationalist concerns and Rabuka's authority (Oliver, 1967, 1989).

Urban centers such as Suva, Noumea and Port Moresby are not the "core" cities. They are peripheral centers that serve the cores. In today's world the cores can be seen as New York, London, Paris, Tokyo. These are the
centers from which investment is directed. Increasingly, these are the cores from which multinational corporations operate financially. The growth of multinational corporations underscores the internationalist structure of capitalism and contradicts those who view capitalism as a tool of nationalistic development of colonial expansion. The reverse is true. Nationalism and colonialism have been tools of international capitalism. There is nothing inherent to the fundamental theories of capitalism that even require the existence of nation states.

With the world as its arena, international capitalist structures, i.e. multinational corporations, can continue to extract resources from the less developed regions of the world. After all this was how colonialism was used by the world capitalist system. But increasingly the most profitable utilization of capital will be to perform labor-intensive manufacturing in less developed countries where labor is plentiful, cheap and unorganized.

Any prompting of thoughts of the export of American jobs abroad is purely intentional. In my view the current economic crisis in the industrialized world, specifically, growing unemployment and the decline in the percentage of union workers is directly linked to capital seeking other sources of labor. Thus, the urbanization and industrialization that is occurring in the "Third World" is directly related to the deindustrialization that is occurring in the core countries. In the case of the three examples in this paper each is part of this process, but in varying degrees. Each is a cog in the wheel of global capitalism.
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