

TINPIS MAROR:
A SOCIAL IMPACT STUDY OF PROPOSED RD TUNA CANNERY
AT VIDAR WHARF, MADANG

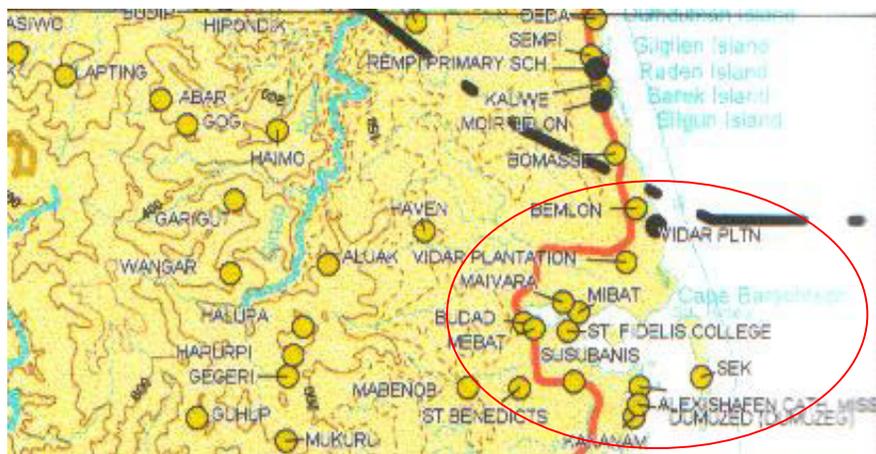
By Dr. Nancy Sullivan, Thomas Warr, Joseph Rainbubu, Jennifer Kunoko, Francis Akauna,
Moses Angasa, and Yunus Wenda
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Satellite image courtesy MLMMA Network Report (A. Jenkins 2003)

Map 1. Map of Madang Province indicating Madang District

Map 2. Map of Madang District indicating RD Cannery and RD Fishing areas



RD Fishing PNG Pty
Ltd Cold Storage,
Wharf & Ice Plant
location



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1. Executive summary

RD Tuna Cannery PTY Ltd and RD Fishing PNG Pty Ltd have now been in operation in Siar and Seg, respectively, for seven years. Although very brief social impact statements were inserted within the original environmental reports for both facilities, there has never been any sustained sociocultural study of the impact of RD Company (i.e. both the Cannery and Fishing companies) upon these host communities. In an attempt to redress this, but more specifically, to assess the potential impacts of the establishment of a new Cannery in Seg, Nancy Sullivan Ltd. was asked to survey the communities in question for the changes that have thus far occurred, and those that the community foresee happening with a new Cannery, as well as those we might be able to independently foretell. Our report is therefore a combined assessment and prognosis of sociocultural change in Seg, primarily, and Siar and Nobnob secondarily. Six male and female fieldworkers were sent to these Villages, as well as related hamlets and villages, to interview community members. They spoke to Ward members and RD employees, Church Sisters and Clan leaders, young men, young women and the elderly. We make no claims to comprehensiveness in this survey, but we have collected data from representative samplings of all the affected communities, with an emphasis on the owners of the land. In all instances, we encouraged both positive and negative feedback about RD, and maintained a cover of non-affiliation by saying we were University students conducting school research. Combining this data with the history and ethnography of Madang, as well as the environmental reports thus far available, we have compiled a picture of the sociocultural changes, both long and short-term, that have been wrought by the presence of RD Tuna. Our final recommendations are not made lightly; the evidence we have compiled raises serious concerns about the ability of RD to manage its operations on a humane, legal or safe basis.

Madang cultures are renowned for their trade systems, which knit different languages and cultures together. One group provides the pots, the other the wooden plates, another fish, another yams, and so forth, in a dense skein of relationships spread from the Rai Coast up through Bogia. These relationships are all about particularity and diversity, and rest upon the survival of hundreds of different local languages. While the introduction of Western mores and the cash economy have had their impress upon these systems, they are not necessarily incompatible with them. One of the things Papua New Guinea has taught the world recently, is the great diversity and resilience of traditional culture in the face of Western influences. PNG is one of the places where social change is not always a threat to cultural integrity, and where it is not possible to simply shrug off cultural loss as an inevitable by-product of development. Indeed, despite the heavy-handedness and even violence of some of the first emissaries of western culture, Papua New Guineans remain enthusiastic about assimilating western developments to their own culture, and doing it on their own terms. It is understandable that the people of Siar, Nobnob and Seg initially welcomed the presence of RD Tuna Cannery and Fishing in their areas. After the Catholic Mission and German planters had taken so much of their land, and after a succession of Mission-related small-scale businesses had closed, these people were eager to host a project of this size. How

propitious it was: just when the sawmill, printing press and other jobs in Seg were folding, here was a large tuna cannery ready to offer all the landowners steady wage labor. Just as the land pressures on in Nobnob and Siar had become critical, now that settler populations brought in by the Germans to work Siar plantation were growing, here was the prospect of a viable solution in manufacturing. There were promises of new spin-offs in security, catering, maintenance, trucking, and credible assurances that enough fish would be available in the sea to support not only the Company fishing vessels, but also a hearty business of local fish sales to RD [we refer to the agreements between RD, and the National and Provincial Governments, cited below]. Women would have money for their children's school fees, brideprices and funeral feasts could be funded, and a surge of cash into the local economy would generally raise everyone's living standards. Provincial and National Government commitment would also ensure better infrastructure, better services, and even more commercial projects in the future. How good it all looked. RD's agreement even suggested that their wharf operations might act as a tourist attraction [see below]. What they failed to explain was that none of these benefits were built into the contracts with landowners or the government; nor were they even realistic for these communities.

Because the communities had already lost their land and could not sustain themselves traditionally, they were in no position to negotiate terms. They were vulnerable: without the single most important natural resource, and the basis upon which all PNG cultures thrive, they had only their sea to provide for them. Were it actually possible to host a Cannery and retain traditional fishing resources, the situation would be very different. For one, villagers would have a choice between working for a wage at the Cannery and fishing for cash, food and trade. But once their fishing resources were forfeited to RD, the people from Kananam, in particular, were without any options. They had exchanged their customary sustenance for wage labor with RD. But even this was an un-reciprocal exchange. Because RD's operations have always been dedicated to a harboring of profits, and a reduction of profit sharing at all levels, none of its workers actually make a 'living wage.' The working conditions are deplorable, representing not the least investment on the part of the Company in their labor force. More importantly, none of the environmental responsibilities laid out in RD's environmental reports has come to pass, and therefore the longer the Company stays, the greater the price is paid by all the landowners with their marine resources. In exchange, they receive sub-minimum wage for strenuous physical labor that puts them at health and, we have learned, frequent security risks (particularly for the women) traveling on Company transport.

The Kananam, Nobnob and Siar people are now locked in a cycle of dependency that is grinding away at the very fabric of their sociocultural life. Without land, they must fish. With RD's presence, they cannot fish as they once did. Without fish, they must labor for RD, which prevents them from working their gardens. Without sufficient pay, they cannot feed their families, or pay school fees or health expenses. They are left in a double bind: no way to sustain themselves, and at constant risk of

losing everything. Meanwhile, the Company has begun to turn the screws by opening up employment opportunities well beyond local landowners, attracting settlers from all over Madang. This puts greater pressure on the land, and on the cash-strapped landowner communities. Opportunely, a small number of women have created a niche market with RD Fishing employees that presses traditional trade relations into a new form of prostitution. They are now able to feed their families, while crewmen find ‘comfort’ between their well-publicized Sunday worship and Wednesday Bible study classes (see Appendix k below).

Inflated expectations and broken promises are phrases commonly heard in the aftermath of failed development in PNG. They also echo the popular assessments of what people have called ‘cargo cults’ in the Madang area that have existed for over 100 years now. The assumption is that Papua New Guineans have no understanding of the ‘means of production,’ and therefore associate the technological and material superiority of Europeans with a magico-religious advantage. And it is an advantage that Europeans are loath to relinquish. This alone can explain the great disparity between how Europeans and villagers live, it is said. Thus inevitably, all the promises of Christianity and its homiletic speech--the bounty of the Lord, the rewards of a life in Christ, and so forth--will always ring hollow. In the same way, after decades of obeying a colonial administration’s laws and laboring under their managers, while no significant change has occurred in their standard of living, villagers can only deduce that a secret is being withheld. While these more dated rationales now sound patronizing, their echo can be heard in contemporary explanations such as ‘People expect too much,’ and ‘The project has raised their expectations beyond reality.’ But we argue that these throwaway assessments of ‘cargo thinking’ only mask what are very real economic injustices.

Look closely at what RD has promised the landowners. Compare it with the conditions they have been given, and look again at what these landowners are requesting. They have been promised spin-off business ventures, and have been given secondhand vehicles carrying onerous bank loans, which can never be paid off by the rate of pay fixed by the Company. Landowners are asking for business ventures that do not serve the Company’s profit margin, but instead serve the community’s needs. Nevertheless, they are not asking for charity: they can service loans, as they have proven, but not at the rates fixed by RD. They will work for a living, but not at starvation wages. They will tolerate Filipino managers if they see skills transference down the line. They will also share their marine resources, if they can compete fairly with the fishing vessels’ sales to the Cannery. But where there is no quid-pro-quo, where there is no prospect of a fair exchange, the landowners are bound to feel cheated in a moral as well as economic sense. There is a culture of equivalencies, of both short and long term reciprocities. In the interviews collected here, there are a number of people who emphasize the longer-term or bigger-picture rewards from RD’s presence: the revenues to the province and country, the importance of encouraging manufacturing in PNG, and so forth. But when such long term gains are also proven empty—now that it appears that RD will continue to enjoy tax exemptions, that their spin-off enterprises are structured

to profit RD only, and that RD workers will never see Papua New Guineans as equals---the landowners can only feel morally, and culturally affronted. Aggravate the situation with stories of rape, of crewmen urinating on village women, of seducing women on bootleg rum, and of community donations that consist of one carton of tinned fish, and there is bound to be anger. This is not ‘cargo thinking,’ but the overdue realizations of people who have been cheated.

1.1. Findings:

1.1.a. Sociocultural: The presence of a fish cannery and its fishing operations is bound to place pressures on the social fabric of its host communities. Were the canning and fishing operations safe, clean, environmentally sound and profitable to all workers, there would still be points of stress. Most notably, there would be strains in the relationship between younger and older generations. Money makes young men more important than their fathers in societies where hereditary status and the management of customary obligations used to mean everything. Wage labor substitutes store-bought goods for all the garden produce, clay pots, baskets, shell valuables, dogs’ teeth and other traditional goods of the past. It gives women a degree of independence they never had before. And it places emphasis on western language and education over the vernacular language and fields of customary knowledge. The inevitable tensions cannot be wholly blamed on RD. A foreign manufacturing plant may only aggravate what might be small rents in the social fabric dating back to the first missionaries and colonial administrators. But these are the strains of social change everywhere in PNG, not only Madang. Throughout the country communities are managing these pressures with increasing concern for preserving cultural values. But such a balancing act always depends upon two things: first, an abundance of renewal resources, and second, a program of tangible benefits to the host communities, whether this means infrastructure or fair wages.

However, in the case of RD, neither of these premises exists. The fish are dwindling, and the human population grows impoverished. Women are more than ever dependent upon their market sales to feed their families. But as RD withdraws from its policy of preferential hiring for landowners, more settlers come into the area and provide competition at these roadside markets. Husbands who have little time to see their families are taking on girlfriends and neglecting customary obligations. The old trade relationships are falling away for lack of time and the traditional goods to maintain them. Younger people are marrying across cultural, even provincial, boundaries. In Nobnob, the male initiations that used to be conducted as recently as 2001, can no longer be performed because elders fear the young men are neither as fit nor as pure as they need to be to endure its physical demands. In Seg, young women are selling themselves to get the fish they used to call their own. There is a general disrespect shown by the RD Filipino workers to their PNG counterparts, and most brazenly, to PNG women.

1.1. b. Economic: In Kananam, as in Siar, by eliminating the one resource upon which rests the people’s subsistence and customary trade practices (fish), RD has sent the community hurtling into the cash economy, without any lifelines. Rather

than offering benefits, which would serve the autonomy and self-reliance of the community, and thus buffer the transition by preserving certain basic institutions, they have offered business spin-offs that serve to profit only the Company. The Cannery and Wharf wages are so low as to make survival on the cash economy impossible, thus locking the Siar, Nobnob and Kananam people into a dependency cycle that can only look to charitable relief rather than a self-reliant future. They have no more chance now of returning to a traditional economic base than they do of succeeding in the cash economy under RD's oppressive system.

1.1.c. Environmental: The loss of fish is not simple due to over-fishing by the RD vessels, but a combination of pollution and over-fishing. Independent environmental reports have verified the high levels of human waste in the rivers feeding the sea, and serving the community's needs, and the unusually low levels of larger fish left in the Madang Lagoon's northern end. Lack of any suitable protocols for disposing of waste in both the Cannery and Wharf areas has led to horrible smells and suspected sicknesses of adults and children. Marine wildlife—in one case a dolphin—seem to have been poisoned by chemicals spilled in Seg Harbor, and an ammonia spill caused several people to become seriously ill. Not the least of peoples' worries is the level of noise coming from the ships in Seg Harbor, which has disrupted all aspects of community life and made it difficult to sleep at night in the Village.

1.1.d. Religious: The Church in Seg, and elsewhere, has suffered a loss of attendance and a rise in the strain on their services, particularly the Alexishafen Health Centre. In return, they have enjoyed no benevolence whatsoever from the Company. As the institution that people believe maintains social unity in a time of change, the Church now finds it hard to support the presence of RD. Representative church members and staff explain that a disrespect for elders, an increase in vice and teenage sexuality, and the introduction of prostitution, have all arrived as by-products of RD Cannery and Fishing. Perhaps the Sunday services and Bible classes offered by the Vidar ships' resident pastors (see Appendix k below) could be opened to all members of the community, to take up the slack.

1.1.e. Educational: Education across the Seg and Siar region has suffered from the presence of RD. First and foremost are the problem of school fees, and the depressed cash flow in the area that prevents parents, now more than before, from affording these fees. Fewer kids are continuing to secondary school, many young people are dropping out to barter produce for fish with the shipping crews, or to work in the Cannery. In turn, RD has only recently offered gifts of scholarship to top students and donations of stationary supplies and tinned fish. There is small chance that the skills transference promised by the Company can eventuate for a population of under-educated landowners, and a better and better chance now that settlers will be brought in to take whatever management positions are nationalized in the Company.

1.1.f. Employment conditions: Conditions in the Cannery are unhygienic and inhumane. Workers have no breaks, no clean or working toilets or showers, and labor under poor lighting and windless, hot conditions. Their sweat runs off onto the fish in the production area, and the spilled fish scraps are retrieved from a crumbling cement floor only to be lightly washed and processed. There are no provisions for gloves, hair nets, masks or gum boots, although these are available: in one of the meanest of Company policies, use of these basic sanitation and safety items are deducted from the workers pay. There have been documented cases of prostitution and gang rape of local women by Filipino nationals in both the Cannery and Wharf settings, as well as sales of illegally imported cigarettes and alcohol. No unions have been allowed until very recently, and then after pressure from the Iduwad Landowners Association. And this is because the latter finally broke with the implicit gag placed on SSD Members by being payrolled by the Company. The wages are well below minimum national wage, and the hours unmonitored: most workers say they are forced to work over eight hours daily without overtime pay. There are also dubious practices of deducting NPF monies and Company transport fees from workers' pay.

1.1.g. Recommendations: We recommend that RD Cannery Pty Ltd and RD Fishing PNG Pty Ltd cease operations to address the hygiene and safety conditions at both its plants; that it reduce the levels of fish caught in the Seg Harbor and convert to practices that reduce the levels of by-catch fish; that it raise all wages to the legal minimum and above; that it monitor working hours and pay overtime rates; that it institute a fast-track training program for landowners; that preference in employment be given to landowners; that all spin-off businesses be restructured to the advantage of landowners, and that these contracts be offered to all members of the landowning clans; that Health and Safety inspectors monitor the work sites regularly; that assistance be given to Aid Posts, in particular donations of HIV blood test kits, in all landowner communities; that a Clinic be established within Cannery limits to serve emergency medical needs; that pay packet deductions be examined by independent accountants; that material contributions be made to the schools in the area, including lump donations to all students' fees; that local law enforcement be given unfettered access to all work sites for control of illegal activities on the part of RD employees; that a special social abuse office or task force be established within RD to accept and review complaints of abusive behavior between Company employees and local people, especially women.

Alphonse Tengisa, Headmaster of St. Michael's Primary School in Alexishafen, stressed to us that the parents had ample time to prepare their children's school fees, since 2002 was a year of fully subsidized education. It strikes us as a perfect response to RD's extended tax exemptions. The Company has had ample time to establish financial security and provide living wages under safe, hygienic working conditions for their employees. They have enjoyed enough largesse from Madang's government and its people to return basic courtesies to their workers, and to refrain from abusing its sanctity, its beauty and its marine resources.

2. Abstract

This social impact study of the proposed RD Tuna Fish Cannery in Vidar Harbor, the current site of RD Fishing, Seg, in Madang, Papua New Guinea. Two weeks of intensive fieldwork was conducted in both the area of the proposed cannery and the area of the current cannery. By introduction to the study, we briefly discuss the early history of the area, the significance of the Madang people's role in trade networks along the north coast, and the more recent history of Mission and colonial presence. In addition, we outline the features of the peoples' cultural past and what remains key to their cultural survival. The data begins with the principal target group, the Kananam landowners, their landowner associations and the spin-off businesses that have emerged from RD's presence. Also included are women's views and interviews with community and Alexishafen Mission workers. We draw a general picture of what life was before, and what has changed since RD Tuna's operations arrived in the harbor in 1996. To expand upon a projection of what might result, were a cannery to be built in Seg, we then turned out attention to Siar, the site of RD's present cannery. Here we interviewed representatives of the community, cannery workers, market women, people engaged in spin-off businesses, as well as their landowners association. Other views of the in RD cannery also came from church, school, health and government workers, and Kiwo and Nagada villagers.

What our data tells us is that, despite the social impact components inserted into the Environmental Plans of RD Tuna Cannery Pty Ltd, and RD Fishing PNG, Pty Ltd, which generally dismiss the possibility of substantive social effects, these companies have had a significant impact on the quality of life for their host communities. A number of environmental impacts have also had cultural effects, and despite complaints, the company has not made adjustments. Wastes disposal at both the Wharf and Cannery is making people sick, as are the noise and odor of these premises. Over-fishing has left little if any fish for these people to live on and conduct trade. Promises of material and developmental assistance from the company to the landowners have not been fulfilled. None of the schools, Aid Posts or churches has seen any real assistance since their arrival. The social breakdown of traditional authority and family values is most alarming, and while some of this might be inevitable for any large development project, they have certainly been exacerbated by negligent company policies and the behavior of foreign company personnel. We find problems of workplace hygiene, social and sexual abuse of women, improper waste dumping, illicit sales of alcohol and cigarettes, disregard for landowner hiring preference practices, and the payment sub-minimum wages.

3. Introduction

This assessment has been conducted in light of the proposal by RD Tuna Cannery Pty. Ltd. to move its seafood processing and tuna cannery from its current location in Siar Plantation, to Seg Harbor, where it currently operates a cold storage and ice making plant alongside their fishing wharf and fishing fleet.

It is our understanding that the only social impact studies done for the proposed plant at Siar were carried out in 1995 by the Asia Development Bank (pers. comm. P. Schoeffel

2/12/03), as excerpted in the Environmental Plan produced that year (1995) by RD Tuna Cannery for the project. An Environmental Management Plan was also drafted by Nomak Environmental Consultants Ltd. in December 2000 for the proposed cold storage and ice plant projects at Seg Harbor, which includes a very minimal social impact assessment. Neither of these documents acknowledges the sociocultural background of either Seg or Siar, however, and this report attempts to redress this omission.

4. Research design and methodology

This is a qualitative study and its principle tools are ethnographic observation and interviews. Six fieldworkers spent one week in Seg, and then one week at the outskirts of Siar, collecting data through the day and evenings. They went from village to village, from markets to churches, and schools. In addition, they conducted group interviews with representative samplings of target groups (landowners and their families, school employees, church workers, cannery workers) and one-on-one interviews with key informants (Councilors, business people, village leaders, cannery employees, guards, fishermen, market women). Researchers were supplied with a list of sample queries and directions for queries, as well as a brief introduction to frame their investigations. (See Appendix p below).

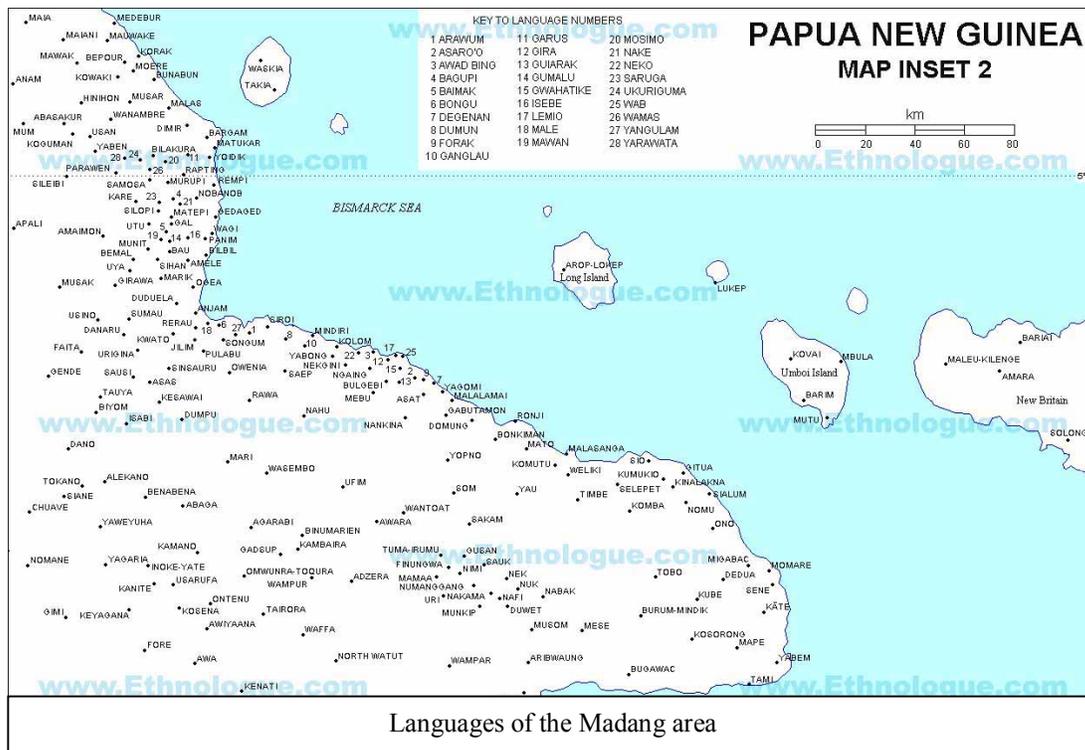
Interviews collected in Tok Pisin have been recorded, transcribed, and in some cases translated, here. All observations of village life, cannery conditions, fishing conditions and general community outlooks have been recorded. Data was collected over a two-week period, then transcribed and analyzed for another three to four weeks. In all our interviews, researchers represented themselves as Divine Word Students collecting information for their own academic reports. Because of the sensitivity of the issue, we felt this was the best and in many cases only way to gain access and retain a degree of neutrality.

Limitations of time and access are acknowledged. While fieldworkers were able to get interviews with representatives of all key interest groups, both pro- and anti-RD, and they were furthermore able to get photos of the interior of the cannery, they did not have access to the workstations themselves in either the cannery or the fishing vessels. Time was our other limitation, but this was compensated for by sending enough fieldworkers to conduct a more comprehensive than usual survey.

Finally, spelling irregularities may occur in this report between proper and place names, due to the range of pronunciation and spellings on the ground. Also note that we use Alexishafen, Seg, Kananam and Vidar somewhat interchangeably in reference to the site of the RD Fishing PNG location; they all refer to the general site.

TEAM'S TWO WEEKS SCHEDULE – 12/11/03 – 24/11/03

<i>DATE</i>	<i>TIME</i>	<i>MET WITH</i>	<i>VENUE</i>
11/11/03	01.00 pm	<i>Made appointments & contacts</i>	Seg Station
12/11/03	08.30 am	Mother Superior: SSPS Sisters	Convent
12/11/03	08.30 am	OIC: Alexishafen Health Centre	Health Centre
12/11/03	10.00 am	Mother Superior: Holy Spirit Sisters	Convent
12/11/03	01.30 pm	Ward Member & Executives of Iduwad	Kaguz Vill.
12/11/03	05.00 pm	Paul Bai: Village & Church Elder	Tavei Vill.
13/11/03	09.30 pm	Ward Member & Iduwad members	Kaguz Vill.
14/11/03	08.30 am	Headmaster: St. Michael's Primary Sch.	School Office
14/11/03	10.30 am	Seg Clan Members	Mozdamon
14/11/03	04.00 pm	Iduwan Islanders	Iduwan Island
15/11/03	11.00 am	Clan Elders	Tavei
16/11/03	12.00 pm	Village Leaders & community members	Kananam Vill.
16/11/03	03.00 pm	Joachim Gunong: Truck owner	Kananam Vill.
16/11/03	03.30 pm	Charlie Tagau: Security Firm Owner	Savalon Vill.
16/11/03	07.30 pm	Mathew Masbud: SSD Chairman	Seg Station
17/11/03	07.30 pm	Ward Member & David Bai	Seg Station
18/11/03	12.30 pm	<i>moved to cannery site</i>	<i>Batnob</i>
18/11/03	09.00 pm	Musas Mumun & family	Batnob
19/11/03	08.00 pm	John Musas, Aloï Buka & others	Batnob
19/11/03	03.00 pm	made appointments for next meeting	Surrounding
20/11/03	09.00 am	Headmaster: Nobonob Comm Sch.	Sch. Office
20/11/03	09.00 am	Sister: Nobonob Aid Post	Aid Post
20/11/03	05.30 pm	Magistrate & Community members	Gamoi Vill.
21/11/03	09.00 am	Headmaster and Staff	Ambarina Sch.
21/11/03	10.30 am	Headmaster: Good Shepherd High Sch.	Sch. Office
22/11/03	12.00 pm	Kiati Batep: Village Elder	Baitabag Vill.
22/11/03	02.00 pm	Nagada Village Women	Nagada Market
23/11/03	01.30 pm	Community Members	Nobonob Vill.
23/11/03	02.00 pm	Ward Member & Community Members	Siar Vill.
24/11/03	07.30 am	Ward Member & few others	Rivo Vill.



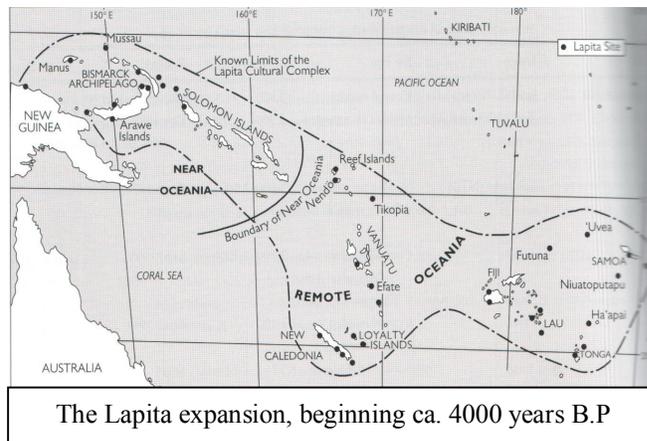
5. Sociocultural background

Papua New Guinea is renowned throughout the world for its biocultural diversity, the enormous reserves of linguistic and cultural integrity that have survived into the 21st Century. Twentieth century anthropology is inextricably bound to New Guinea: borne of an extended field visit in the Trobriand Islands by an Austrian Polish national during the First World War, nursed by a between-the-Wars generation of British and American scholars, and then come of age through two generations of post-War scholars who compiled a data bank on cultural variation that taught all the rest the world about kinship, social taboos, warfare, linguistic diversity, child-rearing, magico-religious systems, ceremony, aesthetics, death, and, not the least, social change. In short, a great deal of what we know about human nature comes from fieldwork in New Guinea.

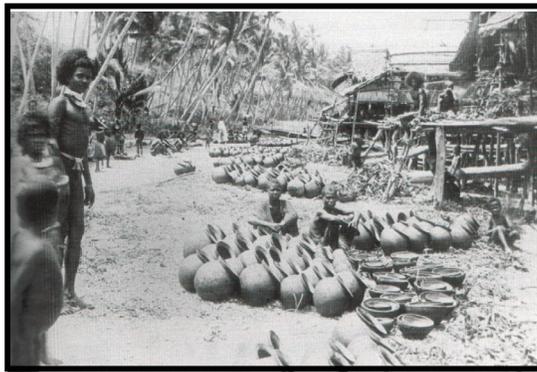
Madang is the most linguistically diverse of Papua New Guinea's nineteen provinces. In the most linguistically diverse country of the world, this makes Madang amongst the most linguistically diverse places in the world. Because linguistic and cultural diversity are closely connected, it follows that Madang cultures are remarkable, in all the world, for their continued integrity and preservation of difference, both in the past and in post-Independence period as well. They are all about diversity, all about holding on to differences through the enacting of complex trade systems. As opposed the highlands cultures, where thousands of people are united by a single language, here, especially in Madang District (pop 87,700), trading systems till knit people together and serve to sustain hundreds of languages. People are polylingual *by design* in Madang; they have a handle on small cultural variations, and are proud to distinguish themselves by them. Moreover, these are generous, open cultures: cultures where people have graciously

adopted migrant and in-law populations, given land to outsiders and regularly exchange enormous bounties of food during their harvest festivals. These aspects of the cultures here have allowed them to be known as friendly and peaceful peoples---who maintain and appreciate difference, and do not struggle to dominate each other. This also makes them vulnerable to the aggressive tactics of church, business, and land encroachment strategies.

Around the beginning of the third millennium B.C., ceramic-making peoples are first evidenced on the large island of Taiwan off the Chinese mainland, and over the course of the next 1500 years, their descendants or closely related peoples expanded south and southeast, toward Near Oceania. Experts argue that an expansion of the ceramic using cultures from Taiwan, through the Philippines, and into the equatorial islands of Southeast Asia represents the expansion of the Austronesian speakers, a particular



ethnolinguistic group. These were horticulturists, fishing people, canoe-builders and navigators, and quite instantaneously appeared on the landscape of Near Oceania in the midsecond millenium BC. Their outriggers and stilt houses appeared on the beaches of Manus, New Ireland and New Britain, where they mixed with the Papuan language speaking populations already there. One of the most fascinating aspects of the Lapita period is the system of extensive exchange between communities. Oceania is famous for its diversity and complexity of exchange systems, and it now seems many of these systems may trace their origins to these first Lapita exchanges. Lapita sites show variety of materials in obsidian, chert, metavolcanic adzes, pottery and shell valuables, that in



Motuan clay pots ready for trade in Port Moresby, ca. 1910.

some cases would have traveled as far as 4500 kilometers from their quarries. (Allen 1996, Kirch 2000).

When pioneering anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski, C. G Seligman and F.E. Williams began their research on coastal societies around New Guinea, they were struck more than anything else by the highly specialized systems of trade and exchange. Malinowski made the Massim's 'kula' network a textbook case of sophisticated rather than 'primitive' economics. (Malinowski 1961[1922]). The Bismark archipelago's variety and complexity of Lapita exchange networks settled into a number of clustered exchanges, accompanied by specialization and linguistic groupings over time. And another kind of specialization occurred in the Vitiaz Strait region between mainland New Guinea and New Britain, where the Siassi Islanders operated as middlemen traders. These trading systems also date back to Lapita times, but their highly specialized routes are perhaps only several hundreds of years old, and are marked by new ceramic styles crossing the straits. (Allen 1977, 1982). Eventually these trade networks also articulated with those running westward from the Huon peninsula through the Rai Coast, to the Madang area, and all the way up the North Coast through to Aitape and beyond, across the (now) Indonesian border. These are the exchange networks still operating today, and trade with partners in Siar, Nobanob, Seg, Krangket and the ceramic centers of Yabob and Bilbil. More precisely, the Ngaing, Sengam, Som and Yam belong to one trading system, which operates along the coast, running eastward from Madang; and the peoples of the Bagasin Area, inland from Madang town, belong to another, which operates in the interior. (Lawrence 1964:26)

“Those of us with claims to Madang town land are the descendants of two brothers, Kumkum and Kunkun, and so we are all related,” explains the Krangket landowner, Aksim Siming. “These are distinguished by the Bel language, and the Belon dialect in Gedaged, Bilia, Siar, and Mitibog; and the Nob dialect in Bilbil and Yabob.” (Siming 2002:3). The former are sons of Kumkum, the latter, sons of Kunkun (Siming, 1.6.01, pers. comm.). Riwo and Malmal are Kananam clans, and they speak a Riwo dialect of Bel. Linguists refer to the language of Gedaged and Siar as Gedaged; and of Nobnob and Seg, as Nobnob language.

The people known as Yam, also called Belon, come from four islands outside Madang Harbour: Krangket [formerly known as Graged], Bilia, Siar and Panutibun. They have always cultivated yam as their staple crop and, more so in the past, had extensive coconut groves. They were known traditionally as keen fishermen and superior sailors, building large seagoing single-outrigger canoes (as did their neighbours in Seg, Riwo and elsewhere). Each island's inhabitants consisted of their own political unit, allied by trade, and linked by intermarriage. They were divided into named, exogamous patrilans, subdivided again into unnamed patrilineages. A settlement typically contained several patrilans, each with its own land, fishing reef, leaders, and the ritual property (such as carved ornaments, slit-gongs, and gourd trumpets). In addition, each patrilan had its own totemic animal, bird or plant, which it regarded as an emblem but not as an ancestor (and in most cases was forbidden as food) (Lawrence 1964:19-22). E.F. Hannemann (1949) noted a ranking to the Yam patrilans, but this (Lawrence confers [1964:11 fn.]

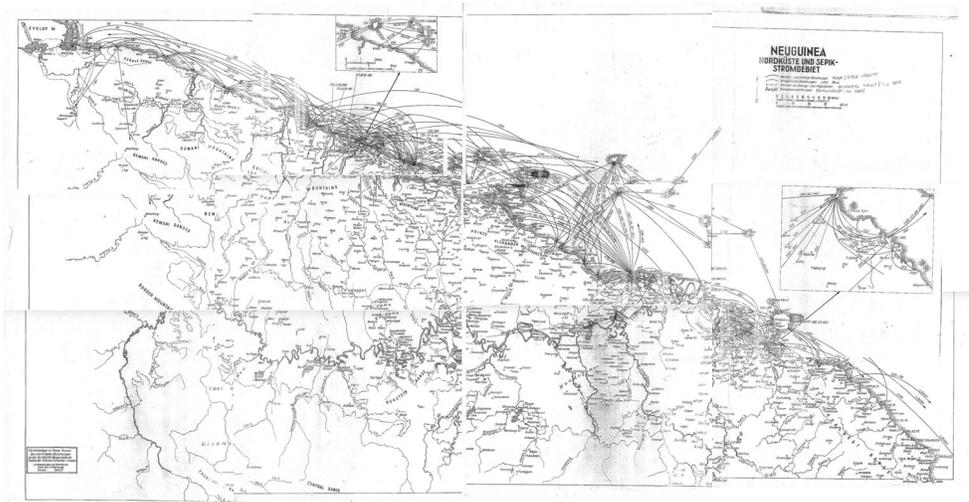
was probably never very marked. There was little stratification by birth or occupation, although these patricians may have gained and lost precedence over one another through time. Nevertheless leaders were neither hereditary nor elected: their positions depended on skill in war, trade and ritual success. Their scope was always limited, and they tended not to innovate so much as stage-manage and direct customary undertakings (Lawrence 1964: 19-22).

A major cohesive force for the communities was the men's cult. This institution varied from the North Coast down to the Rai Coast, but generally consisted of ritual sacrae, dances and esoterica that required young men to be initiated for their full participation in the patrician. Amongst the Yam peoples, this also included the relatively dangerous practice of adult circumcision. As described by a one Lutheran observer, (Inselmann 1991[1944]:18):

The cult was kept in strict secrecy from the women and the uninitiated youths under penalty of death. The women were told that the meziab [meshiab, the spirit of the cult] swallowed every initiate. In order to get their sons back, they had to substitute a pig for every boy to be initiated. The secret cult spirit would then vomit the boys again and take the pigs instead. Thus the women were not only cheated out of the pigs which they especially had to prepare for the great festival, but were also subordinated by means of the secret cult which gave a definite prestige to the men.

As well as trading dogs' teeth and Siassi beads, the Madang peoples—in particular the Yabob and Bilbil people—provided the Rai Coast with cooking pots, for they had large clay deposits which the Saidor area lacked (although there were some deposits to the west at Mindiri). In return, they received wooden bowls and bark cloth made by the Ngaing. The Sengam, Gira and Som were the middlemen, and trade relationships reached at least from the foothills of the Finisterres to the Hansemann Mountains. On the Rai Coast, bush groups inhabiting the same ridge running down towards the sea, together with the bush group at its tip on the coastal plain, formed a trade league. In each bush group, every patrician had its opposite number in the next bush group, and between the patricians individuals were paired off in private partnerships. The coastal bush groups had similar patrician and personal links with the Madang island groups, which had partners on the mainland as far inland as Kurog, Kauris, and Nobnob. Mainland Madang groups exchanged wooden plates for pots and valuables from the islands. They also assembled canoes, loaded with pots and valuables, and traveled eastward along the Rai Coast, putting in at all villages from Singor to east of Wab, where they traded for additional bowls or bark cloth from their Ngaing-speaking partners (see, e.g., Hannemann 1948, Lawrence 1964, J. Leach 2003).

Below is a reconstruction of a German Neuguinea Kompagnie map representing traditional trade route and war alliances along the north coast of New Guinea, running from just west of Madang to beyond the Dutch New Guinea border. This gives some sense of how complex and dense these trade networks were.



The Madang peoples believe in a creator god, called Anut by the Yam, and Dodo by the Seg people. This creator brought into being two deity brothers, Kilibob and Manup, whose birthplace is generally accepted as Karkar Island, although the Seg and Milguk people (inland from Yabob) separately claimed the honor for their own areas. The full Kilibob-Manup myth has two main versions, each with local variants: one from the Yam, Yabob, Milguk, Rempi, Sraang, Erima, Bogati and Bongu peoples; and the second from the Seg, Bilbil, Sengam, and Som peoples (see Harding et al 1994). Most importantly, however, is the myth's central idea that one of the brothers, Manup, is the forefather of all Europeans, and the other, Kilibob, of all Papua New Guineans. The former has denied the latter access to the superior technologies and cargo of the European world. In most versions of the myth, both brothers are expected to return to Madang and finally reveal these secrets to the people here.

Anthropologist Peter Lawrence (1964, 1988) argued that, although deeply religious, coastal New Guineans are also pragmatic and assume that gods and spirits are as real as human beings. He found the post-war Madang peoples would spend a lot of time considering the meaning of both their own myths and Christian scripture, hoping to involve both deities and ghosts in their own human affairs to their advantage. He also traces the spread of the Kilibob-Manup myth to areas far beyond southern Madang, and describes how some version contain strictly traditional information, and others function in part as explanations for why Europeans have access to manufactured goods and Papua New Guineans do not. Lawrence argues that the coexistence of both versions of a narrative such as the story of Kilibob and Manup suggests continuity of belief and an interest in religion "both as an explanatory mode and a technology" (Lawrence 1988:17).

It is the invocation of these myths in different forms that have framed successive so-called 'cargo' movements in the Madang area since first contact in the nineteenth century. Indeed, the first 'cargo' beliefs began with Niklouhu Maclay who arrived in

1871 at Bongu, Rai Coast. He came back later in 1876, at which time the people took him for a deity, calling him Tibud or Buga, which meant masalai and spirit of the dead. (In some areas 'Magalai' is used for masalai still, which derives from his name.) In turn, Maclay called Madang the land of Anut, and noted there were European clothes and tools and steel weapons in some places already. (See Burrige 1954, 1960; Hermann 1992; Lawrence 1964; Worsley 1957).

In 1884 the German Administration arrived, followed soon thereafter by the Missions. The Rheinisch Mission arrived in Madang and Bogajim, and then by 1896, the SVD Catholic Mission had arrived in Alexishafen. It wasn't really until 1901 that the SVD constructed a station in Bogia, and then settled at Doilon (Alexishafen) in 1905. New stations followed soon thereafter in Mugil (1909), Danip (1910), and Madang (1914). In an effort to make the Alexishafen Mission self-supporting, the SVD soon began clearing land for coconuts and rubber trees, and a school was established on Seg Island. After this, came a sawmill, workshops, residences, a clinic and a chapel. Steel tracks were laid for trolleys pulled by water buffalo, and the first wharf was established for these mission enterprises. (Yumi Pipel Blong God flyer 1982).



These Catholic workers were a welcome contrast to the German administrative presence, which was notoriously harsh during its first two decades' reign (see Hannemann 1949).

The new Europeans were arrogant and mean. The worst shock came in the early 1890's when, as Maclay had predicted, the New Guinea Company began to take up the land Kubary had 'bought' in 1887-8. Although there is no record of what happened at Bongu and Bogati, it is possible to give a clear picture of events at Madang. In 1892, two Company agents landed at Kaisilan, the site of the Madang wharf. They gave the Bilia (Yam) natives, three owners of the immediate area, two steel axes, and some paint and matches. The natives, not as yet under administration and quite unused to dealing with Europeans, accepted the presents purely as rent for the small plot

of land on which the newcomers built their house. But thereafter, to the people's horror, the agents began to cut bush through what is now Madang township and then towards the south. The Bilia natives lost most of their land and ever since have had to borrow or rent garden sites from affinal and cognative relatives in other groups. The inhabitants of Nob, Yabob, and other villages also lost many of their holdings. (Lawrence 1964:67).

The second 'cargo' belief came as a result of people around Madang discovering that the Germans were not in fact deities, or the return of Kilibob (as prophesized in some versions of the myth), but mere humans after all. The general malaise and disappointment culminated in 1904, when the Yam people planned the first uprising against their German overlords. They planned to kill all German men and take in the German women and children as their own. Only the revelation of these plans by a servant thwarted the episode, and led to its ringleaders being put to death. (Lawrence 1964:68-9). A period of passive resistance followed, until just before 1912. Plantation clearing had continued, and people were growing anxious about their land. The District Officer at the time found the people hostile, and became worried about the enthusiasm with which they performed the Mens Cult ceremonies. After receiving rumors of a new plan to revolt, he sent several Yam and Bilbil-Yabob people thought to be responsible to the north coast, to Rabaul, and to the Rai Coast area of Suit and Galek, where they had trade partners. These leaders were exiled for two years (Ibid:72).

Thus it is possible to say that the cultural melieu of Madang was predisposed to disappointment with any Europeans who were not, in the end, Manup or Kilibob. And this disappointment could only be aggravated by the extreme difference in European and local lifestyles, as between the promises people assumed were being made with the foreigners and the realities that ensued. These misapprehensions of each other tended to escalate dangerously between the wars, until it seemed to Lutheran and Catholic church officials that all indigenous forms of worship were hysterical, at the very least, and a danger to the colony at worst.

In the words of one Bilbil elder, Pipoi Masput (age 76), "Lutheran church first came to Bilbil, Yabob, Krangket and Siar—the Lutheran Mission. Our grandparents brought them around 1909 or something. Slowly it 'buggered' the sitdaun blong kukurai [the authority of the chiefs]. The Lutheran church was jealous and found a way to rausim power bilong kukurai. Rivo people came and brought it up there, Yarom and Sautu [the husband and wife missionaries] blong Samoa came to Riwo, and they all made their house. Riwo village was on an island, Damasa island bilong Riwo is where they put their house. They marked 3 clans, and 3 chiefs, and brought them to the mission to work. To teach the kids and bagarapim pasim tumbuna [eliminate traditional custom]. Baptised and change ikam. 3 chiefs came and joined and dug a big hole in Rivo ples and collected all the puripuri power and putim long hol na kukim wantaim keresene....Power for finding fish and fight and rain and wind sun and cloud and find game and kill sea. Powa bilong kontrolim bel insait long dispela sevenpela ailans [power for keeping peace within the 7 islands of Madang]." (Pers. Comm.26.8.01).

The general feeling through the Madang area was that the Europeans had required great sacrifices of them and given little or nothing in return; that they were still withholding the secrets of their faith, and their politico-economic authority. The person who gave voice to these sentiments eventually was Yali Singina, the Rai Coast man whose politico-religious career following WWII created a nationally known movement (and whose adopted son is now Madang's Governor). As recently as the 1960's, such tensions had yet to be resolved, and gave rise to at least one bizarre misinterpretation of both Yali's and the church's teachings. As one observer reported (Steinbauer 1979: 54), in 1962, in Garegut Village, near Seg,

Lahit, the luluai of Seg-Abar and an ex-catechist of the Roman Catholic Mission there, planned a sacrifice in honor of the ancestors. The Catholic Bishop Noser was invited to the ceremony. At first a rooster was brought—presumably it was to be slaughtered. Suddenly a man named Lagundemi stepped out of the crowd, knelt down and was beheaded by Lagit with a large bush knife. The public was shocked. However, this deliberate sacrifice was consistent with Yali's repeated statements that Jesus had died for the Europeans, that they only had been redeemed. Lagit was convinced that at the moment when the blood the sacrifice touched the ground the world would be wonderfully transformed. He was surprised when nothing happened as a result of the voluntary sacrifice. The action had been based on the argument that blessings are possible only through sacrifice. Europeans are blessed; Christ was their sacrifice. Brown people are not blessed; hence they needed a sacrifice too.

The point here is to emphasize that the history of Madang's contact with the western world has not been untroubled. It does not require a long memory on the part of Siar and Seg peoples to see their current experiences with RD Tuna as part of a pattern established by the German administration and the Missions. Foreigners arrive, strike a deal for land and resources, require certain cultural changes of the people, and appear to promise the opportunity for an enhanced lifestyle—a better life. Before long, and after straining to fulfill their half of the bargain, it appears that there is no quid-pro-quo here. For a people who only know quid-pro-quo, indeed are masters of maintaining it in their exchange relationships, this is no small deception. Neither is it simply a matter of two different business protocols. It is, at least, a social affront, and a barrier to establishing any trust between the guest and the host communities.

In 1885 the German Administration, under which the Madang was known as The Western District of Kaiser Wilhelmsland, replaced Neuguinea Kompagnie Directors with Imperial Officers. In 1912, the land in Siar was alienated from the Nobnob people under the name of Carpenters Pty Ltd, for the Imperial Administration. “[The Company] alienated huge tracts of land from natives whom it left in their traditional state and with whom it had only tenuous relations” (Lawrence 1964: 40). It was at this time that the people now associated with Siar moved in as settlers from Rai Coast, North Coast and

even the Sepik regions. They became settlers on the Nobnob peoples' land, and have since become 'naturalized' as Madang people in the public imagination. (Ibid:36-44).

6. Supplemental literature

6.1. RD Tuna Cannery and Fishing Pty Ltd environmental impact plans

Turning to the materials produced by RD Tuna Cannery and RD Fishing PNG in anticipation of their cannery and fishing operations in Madang, we begin with The RD Tuna Cannery, Pty Ltd. Environmental Plan (1995). This document was produced before construction of their Siar-based cannery. Among its claims at that time were:

This project will benefit (sic) community far in excess of its minimal impacts. (p18)

A study conducted by Stephanie Fahey, in 1988* found the Siar Village showed (sic) that the effects of the cash economy are that young women were (sic) benefiting in that families in Siar invested more in the education of girls because employed women spent more of their wages on their families. Furthermore, educated women were more likely to marry educated men who indirectly provided benefits to the woman's family. Generally in Siar, food production was falling while the purchase of food was increasing due to population growth and land shortage, increase in wage employment as loss of labor for agriculture. Many Siar people now see wage employment as a primary way of life (p73).

SOCIAL IMPACT – WAYS OF AMELIORATION

A study was conducted by the Asian Development Bank on the social impact on the surrounding communities for the development of the first cannery proposed for Seg Harbor. This study is applicable to any major development in an otherwise relatively undeveloped community and consequently is applicable to this installation. The study was conducted by Ms. Penelope Schoeffel of the New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development.

A follow-up study (June 1995) was conducted (sic) Reg Sanday, Sociologist/Gender Specialist – ANZDEC on the ADB Social Impact Study of June 1993, specifically to determine the consequences of having two canneries in the Madang area. They undertook to apply the findings and recommendations of the original Schoeffel (sic) study to apply to both canneries. The follow-up study confirmed the original findings.

The findings were that both positive and negative impacts can be expected for such development. **The positive impacts far outweigh the negative impacts and as a consequence, the project is encouraged to proceed.** (Emphasis added). The effects (sic) of the negative impacts can be ameliorated and suggestions as to who, when and how these can be dealt with are presented. The following is a summary of the study:

The cannery will provide numerous employment opportunities to people in the surrounding villages. Many of these villages are extremely short of land for food production, commercial agriculture and other economic activities. The people of these villages are already dependent on the cash economy. All the villages in the area who (sic) were consulted (7) say that they have many young people who have left school and are looking for wage employment. **Most villages say they have smaller numbers of**

* No reference given, but probably 1985, Producers or consumers? : Women's entry into the cash economy in Madang, Papua New Guinea, In *Women in Development in the South Pacific*, Canberra: ANU Development Studies Centre: Conference Papers, pp, 137-155.

people with higher levels of education and skills training who would also seek work with the cannery. (Emphasis added)

The people of the area are in favor of the cannery being built in the area because they believe it will create employment opportunities for them and opportunities for spin-off business...

Local Perceptions – Labor Migration--**All communities consulted were worried that the cannery would attract influx of outsiders to the area seeking jobs and business opportunities. All were strongly opposed to this happening. An influx of “outsiders” (i.e. people from other parts of the province and from other provinces) would cause many problems for local villages. They believed outsiders would set up squatter settlements in the area, as they have done around Madang Township.** (Emphasis added). They believe that local government and village government mechanisms would be inadequate to control outsiders and law and order problems would result. **They further thought that outsiders would take away jobs and business opportunities, which should go to the villages of the area.** (Emphasis added).

Access to Employment – **All communities consulted believed that employment opportunities should be reserved for people from the area.** (Emphasis added). They recognized that some skilled workers from other areas may have to be recruited, but they hoped the management would rent or build accommodation for them so these people would not be squatters. They also recognized local people would have to prove their worth as workers and could not expect to be retained, just because they were locals, if they did not work well.

“Landowner” Expectations – Although former landowners appear to recognize that they have no legal claim to this land, they still consider themselves to have an interest in it, which is why they expect special consideration...allocating jobs and spin-off business opportunities.

Other concerns noted were for relocation moneys (sic) and a **worry that somehow traditional fishing grounds will be spoiled and the harbors and beaches polluted.** Additionally, concerns about nutrition suffering (sic) because if the women were working in the Cannery, who would tend the gardens. This is offset by an increase in women’s autonomy and the choices made possible by wage employment. **Law and Order problems resulting from the uncontrolled entrance into the area of outsiders and forming squatter developments. There were also concerns that prostitution might become a problem because of the increased number of seaman from tuna boats.** (Emphasis added).

WAYS OF AMELIORATION

The study went on to suggest actions which could be undertaken to ease the potential negative situations.

By the Cannery –

- **Give a clear priority to the selection of its workforce from neighboring villages.**
- Set up a worker-management committee to maintain Industrial Relations with the workers.
- Reduce the unrealistic expectations by the community about Spin-Off Business, and
- Set up regular communications with the Tuna Committee at the Provincial level to ensure that everyone understands each other.
- **Collaboration with the Provincial Agencies such as funding studies to survey human resources, inventory of people living on site, nutritional status of the population and NGO Business Enterprise Support Team to assist in setting up workshops for spin-off businesses.** (sic) (Emphasis added)

By the Provincial Government

- Through the Provincial Tuna Committee, to conduct a human resources survey to determine the feasibility of giving preference in hiring workers to a selected few.
- Utilize the Provincial Tuna Committee as a formal official channel of communications between the government and the local communities.
- Inventory the people living on site to establish status and to monitor the situation to avoid further squatters from coming onto the land.

By the National Government

- Commission the Institute of Medical Research to carry out a baseline survey of the nutritional status of the population in order to monitor long term impacts of the Cannery on local people. (pp 74-8).

Public Involvement

The operating concepts of the principals in this project are to be Good Neighbors and good businessmen. **Community involvement is essential in the overall success of the project. Our primary goal will be to have satisfied and dedicated employees, as this we feel is the basis for any successful business.** Forming a team between owners, managers and workers is essential for success. Since team members are also members of the local community, we will rely on them to be our emissaries. **We also plan to be active in local civic groups and religious organizations. Participation in local planning groups, child and adult educational programs and a variety of other projects are also envisioned by our company.** (p108). (Emphasis added).

The observations by the ADB team, if glancing, are prescient; they still apply today. Landowners still worry about migrants moving into their land, about having priority in employment, and about securing spin off businesses that benefit the entire community. The informants clearly expressed concerns even at that time for law and order, health, working conditions, and not the least, contamination/elimination of their fishing grounds. We underscore virtually every suggestion made by these researchers as ‘ways of amelioration,’ and yet note that few if any have been instantiated to date.

The spin-off businesses RD projected at the time are impressive:

This project, if allowed to proceed without further delays, promises to reverse that long standing trend, and to bring the benefits of the abundant ocean resources on shore. A NATIONAL PRIORITY...The project will generate significant opportunities for local fishing developments for up to 200 smaller boats employing 2 to 5 people per boat. Spin-off business for fishing supplies, repair services, hotels, restaurants, food suppliers, fuel sales, and retail outlets, to name just a few, will spring up. (p3)

The “payao” method of fishing is effective, environmentally friendly, and supports significant spin off fishing activities for local fishermen. (p2) (Emphasis added).

Rather than only a few large vessels with limited opportunities for PNG crews, our fleet will number up to fifty (50) vessels of various sizes. Anticipations are that initially up to 25% PNG Nationals will be used as crew on these vessels, more later...“Payoes” (sic) present the opportunity for local fishermen (utilizing inexpensive hand lines and tackle their existing outboard powered skiffs, and proven fish catching and handling methods) to catch, deliver, and sell the highly prized large Yellowfin and Big Eye Tuna. If properly handled, the fish qualify for Sashimi Grade prices, either for domestic consumption or export. Even fish which for one reason or another are not Sashimi grade, but are still usable, will have a local market. ...The cannery will employ another 1000 people from the area, and the impact of this on the development of spin off businesses is going to make Madang one of the leading cities in PNG. (pp37-8)

Most unexpected, perhaps, are the prospective benefits the cannery and fishing wharf are expected to have for tourism:

Effect on Tourism Industry

This project is not expected to have any negative impact on the Tourism Industry for Papua New Guinea, in fact, it is anticipated to have a very positive (beneficial) effect. Presently, Madang is a very pleasant location, but seriously lacking in some important infrastructure necessary to promote tourism to levels much higher than it presently enjoys. Developments such as this Cannery will stimulate the infrastructure growth, thus making it more attractive for tourists.

Important improvements in the air, ground and water transportation systems, potable water distribution, consistency in the electrical supplies, availability of food stuffs, more and better facilities for accommodations, additional goods and services, medical/dental facilities and the increased development of recreational facilities, will all be stimulated by the increased economic levels in the community, resulting from this development. (sic)

The deep seas game fishing resources will not be negatively impacted by the raw products requirements (sic) of the Cannery. Game fishing stocks are not targeted by purse seiners utilizing the "payao" methods. **These large fish normally remain much deeper than the purse seine nets are able to reach, and therefore, are not captured.** These larger game fish, are however, attracted by the "Payaos", (sic) and they tend to congregate in greater numbers, thus making it even more attractive to game fisherman and Tour Boat operators.

The vessels calling with fish to deliver often become a prime tourist attraction, as this activity is not often seen by international travelers. The vessels themselves and the discharge of the cargo are not objectionable neither visually nor odorwise, as the vessels are maintained and the fish fresh. (pp64-5). (Emphasis added).

With regard to the environment, their conclusions are as follow:

The environmental impacts to the country are not severe, and certainly controllable. **The latest developments in waste water treatment, odor abatement, and air pollution controls will be employed.** The levels of monitoring, the effluent discharges, and the control systems proposed are equal to or better than those currently being employed in the United States, Canada or Australia.

The Environmental impacts are:

- (a) **There will be no effects on local sea water.** Wastewater treatment will render the effluent clean, odorless, oil and grease free, and suitable for irrigation. Drain fields will allow the treated water to reenter the underground aquifers, and thus be recycled.
- (b) Solids will be collected, burned in incinerators, recycled or hauled to authorized landfills.
- (c) Fish meal will be manufactured from unused fish parts. Oils will be collected and used as boiler fuel.
- (d) **Fish odors will be purged from escaping steam by utilizing scrubbers. Proper sanitation practices will reduce other sources of fish smells.** (Emphasis added)
- (e) Existing provincial power supplies have been verified adequate by Elcom, the existing paved North Coast Highway will handle the expected additional traffic, and all water consumed by the Cannery will either be rainwater captured from roof runoff or bore water from on-site.
- (f) No effect is expected to animal and plant life as the site is located on an existing plantation, which was cleared and cultivated by the Germans in the early 1900's.

- (g) The facility will be designed to be efficient, not unpleasant to look at, and set back from the highway. The site is designated for industrial development, fenced, landscaped, and maintained in good order.
- (h) The traditional land owners have been interviewed and advised that no known archaeological, historical, or ethnographic items are there. (pp 4-5)

Five years later, RD produced an environmental plan for the storage, wharf and ice plant at Vidar, titled: The RD Fishing PNG Pty Ltd Cold Storage, Wharf & Ice Plant Projects (Vidar, Madang Province) Environmental Management Plan (4 December 2000). In it, they go into slightly more depth as to the community relationship with the company. Interestingly, in some instances the community seems to exist at a safe distance from potential contaminants, whereas in other cases it is conveniently proximate. Thus, on p. 29 of the document, we learn, “The whole facility is located in an isolated location far from any inhabited settlements or villages. Indeed the nearest village on the mainland side is over 1.5 km away and Seg Island is a similar distance away to the east.” On the following page, however, we are told that, “The development of this facility right close to where the communities are was determined as vitally important to ensure the operation of the facilities can be of benefit to the local communities.”

The sociocultural impacts are assessed as follows:

Impacts on Sites of Cultural/Archaeological Significance: The site upon which the facilities have been built and the immediate surrounding area is part of a very old coconut plantation grown since the days of German occupation, which was recently acquired by the company. As such, if any important sites of cultural or archaeological significance, which may have existed prior to the development of the coconut plantation, would have been (sic) destroyed at that time when the land was cleared of vegetation and planted with young coconut trees. In order to confirm the actual status of the current situation, discussions with older men from the nearby Seg Island were conducted on site during fieldwork time. The discussions were necessary to determine whether such important cultural features might exist and establish the feasibility of recording their significance and or salvaging any identified important features by the PNG National Museum. However, the discussions with the local elders revealed that as far as they could remember no sites of cultural or archaeological significance existed on this site or the areas immediately surrounding the facility. To their best knowledge (sic), they do not believe locating this project on the present site has done any harm to any sites of cultural or archaeological significance. They claimed the run-down coconut plantation developed many decades ago was under producing and as such, the development of this new facility has the potential to bring better economic and social benefits to the local people of the area. (p21-2).

Community Impacts: Because of the nature of the resource and its operations, the company fully appreciates the fact that its operations in PNG in fishing and canning are here to stay for a long time to come. As such, the company fully recognizes that one of the very essential ingredients for its operations to be successful in the long run, is the need to establish a good and stable relation with the community within which its operations are physically located. In its endeavors to achieving that goal, the company has made a number of moves into addressing the community relations issue. A Community Relations Division (CRD) has been established within the company with the primary task of establishing that relationship with the surrounding community through village-based meetings and discussions. The existence of the CRD also provides an avenue for the local people to come and express their concerns, desires and needs, as well as obtaining feedback from the company on the progress of work being done to date and answers to queries and questions.

The development of this facility right close to where the communities are was determined as vitally important to ensure the operation of the facilities can be of benefit to the local communities. **Already, the company's presence in the area has benefited the local communities in a number of ways.** Direct assistance to the communities have included service contracting through their local companies, security services, stevedoring, ground maintenance, and eventually to include canteen and transport operations to service the local employees. By establishing the wharf right next to the local area and making available ice to local fishermen, hopefully will (sic) encourage more and more participation of local fishermen to fish and sell to the company. (p30). (Emphasis added).

There is no stipulation for landowners to have first access to jobs generated by the wharf, although they do say:

Another area being actively pursued by the company to strengthen community relations and contribute to local development is in the area of employment. Almost all of the local labor requirements are sourced from the nearby communities and all service contracts are awarded to community business entities (p30).

They also mention health care contributions (of which we have no evidence) and the benefits Madang accrues from the company tax (for which they received an exemption):

The company has been providing medicines, construction materials for the building of two community health clinics as well as construction of a new community food market for the local people of the area. The people are also benefiting from selling vegetables, fruits, fish and livestock to the company. On the basis of the above, the overall impacts in the community arising from the company's fishing operations appear to be positive and beneficial to the people of the area as well as to the Madang Province. Papua New Guinea benefits in a big way through foreign exchange earnings and company tax (p30). (Emphasis added).

Their prognoses of the environmental impacts are as follow:

Impacts from Effluent Discharges:

Given the nature of the facility and its operations, organic rich effluents or poisonous contaminants of a highly polluting nature will not be produced and discharged to both land and the marine environment in Seg Harbour. The exception will be that the facility will be discharging a combined wastewater stream of 750 liters per hour (or 12,250 liters per day) into Seg Harbour....The following physical and chemical characteristics of the combined wastewater streams will be as follows: Appearance, color, smell & variation: Unobjectionable. (p22).

Impacts from Operation of the Cold Storage Unit: There is no air emission and noise problems are (sic) generated by the cold storage unit. A small amount of solid waste generated by staff from the office complex located on the upper floor of the cold rooms is normally collected and transported to the waste garbage dump at the plantation for burning. Sewage waste goes direct to septic tank system.

Impacts from the Operation of the Ice Plant: Operationally, the ice plant is a clean, high technology facility, which does not produce any excessive noise or poisonous air emissions. (p23).

Impacts from the Operation of the Fishing Fleet: The main waste sources produced by all the vessels include used oil, bilge waste and solid waste and sewage. Between 200-300 liters of used waste oil generated by each vessel per month are normally collected and poured into 200 liter drums, carefully sealed and transported in the carrier vessels to the Philippines for recycling purposes. Only in emergency or special cases, used oil drums maybe taken onshore for temporary

storage. ...Bilge waste from the fishing boats and the carrier vessels are normally stored in the boat's bilge waste tanks where oil and grease are separated using an oil/grease separator before pumping the water out into the open sea. No bilge water or oil is allowed to be discharged anywhere inside Seg Harbor. All other solid waste generated on board each vessel is carefully collected, placed inside plastic bags and properly disposed of by loading it at the wharf area where it is subsequently dumped at the garbage dump. (p24)

Impacts from Oil Storage and Handling: **...(I) n the event that some oil drum spills into the sea inside Seg Harbor (although this is highly unlikely) by accident, the management will require (sic) to take charge of a clean up operation.** (p25) (Emphasis added).

Impacts from Noise: **There is very little noise generated by the facility from any aspects of its operation, which will be of nuisance or a health concern to anyone in the community.** The whole facility is located in an isolated location far from any inhabited settlements or villages. Indeed the nearest village on the mainland side is over 1.5 km away and Seg Island is a similar distance away to the east. **As such, whatever little noise generated by the facility should not affect any community or village, in way (sic).** (p29). (Emphasis added).

That same year, the Agreement (dated 28 July 1995) Between The Independent State of Papua New Guinea and RD Tuna Cannery, Pty Ltd ("RD Tuna Cannery") and The Madang Provincial Government (MPG) and RD Fishing, Pty Ltd ("RD Fishing") Relation to the Establishment and Operation of a Tuna Cannery in Madang Papua New Guinea (ISPNG 1995) lists the terms by which the State has agreed to allow RD to operate. Most salient is the item stating:

MPG covenants and agrees with RD TUNA CANNERS that no Provincial Tax other than Land Tax shall, during the Project Life, be levied or imposed on the Operations or any goods or product of any nature be utilized in the conduct of the Operations or produced by the Operations or to be utilized by RD FISHING in the conduct of the Fleet Operation... (p17)

On pp20-21 the Agreement also states:

RD TUNA CANNERS and RD FISHING in consultation and co-operation with each of the State and MPG will by the Commencement of Commercial Production or as soon as practicable thereafter:

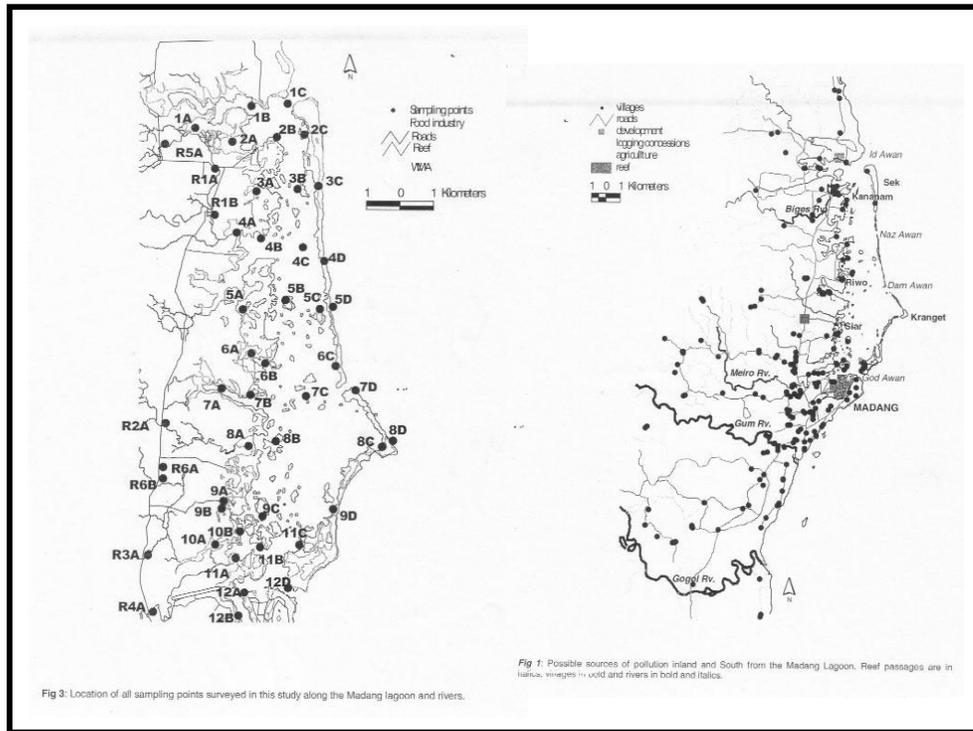
- (a) devise a spin-off business development program which will encourage and assist participation by firstly the landowners, then the people of Madang, followed by other PNG Controlled Companies.
- (b) devise a plan whereby RD TUNA CANNERS, where possible, sources at competitive prices goods and services provided by firstly the landowner companies, companies owned by the people of Madang and by other PNG Controlled Companies;
- (c) Assist MPG to devise a business development plan which indicates potential businesses which could be carried out by landowner companies, companies owned by the Madang people and then other PNG Controlled Companies; and
- (d) Conduct an annual review of the progress being made in relation to the matters particularized in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c).

Towards the end of the document (p26) there is also a provision whereby RD agrees to:

select and train its personnel in accordance with the law and practices in force from time to time relating to training and localization so as to confer the maximum training of and benefits to Papua New Guineans and, in particular, those from Madang Province.

6.2. Independent environmental studies

At this point, we offer data from the first of two environmental impact studies for the Madang Lagoon. The first is WWF's Madang Lagoon Water Quality Monitoring Report (May 2003 draft only), by Dr. Ariadna Benet Monico (Monico 2003). Among the salient points made about the Lagoon in general are the following:



WWF SOUTH PACIFIC PROGRAMME MADANG LAGOON WATER QUALITY RESULTS SEPTEMBER 2003
 BY DR. ARIADNA BENET MONICO: fig1, left: location of sampling points along Madang lagoon and rivers; fig2: possible sources of pollution inland and south from Madang Lagoon

Faecal coliforms (FC) were higher than the permitted bathing levels (WHO) in several occasions in coastal and river sampling points. Due to health implications, strong priority should be given to assess the frequency of high FC values in these points. It is almost sure that children and women either bath or clean dishes in these waters. Points 9A, 9B, R6A and R6B [of their map] were specifically located on the coast and on the rivers around Siar village to assess the tuna cannery factory near it as a potential source of pollution. All of the sampling sites showed abnormal values in at least one occasion and DO, which indicates depletion of oxygen due to high loads of organic matter, was low in three of the sites. **It has been reported by several villagers that the rivers and creeks near the factory are very dirty and smelly. When heavy rain [comes?] it seems that the pond and drainage of the factory overflow and all wastes get spread all over the place around the factory and eventually end up to [in?]the nearest creeks and rivers. Villagers also explain that women wash the dishes and children play in these waters and some of the children have got[ten] seek [sick] after it. It seems that these rivers are the ones that have been sampled in the study.** The river point R6A (Siar Creek) is of special concern, since all the indicators except temperature clearly fall off the identified trigger level, indicative of risk of pollution and need to undertake further investigation and appropriate action. (p21) (Emphasis added).

sample #	River	counts/ 100 ml	counts/ 100 ml	counts/ 100 ml
	# survey	I	IV	VI
R1.A	Eiges, N	2000	82	30
R1.B	Eiges, S	2800	500	30
R2.A	Nagada	8900	150	1150
R3.A	Miss	69000	3600	6200
R4.A	Meiro	6700	140	not sampled
R5.A	Marrain	1400	1370	625
R6.A	Siar Creek1	9000	0	107000
R6.B	Siar Creek2	560	70	0

Table 2: Faecal coliforms in rivers

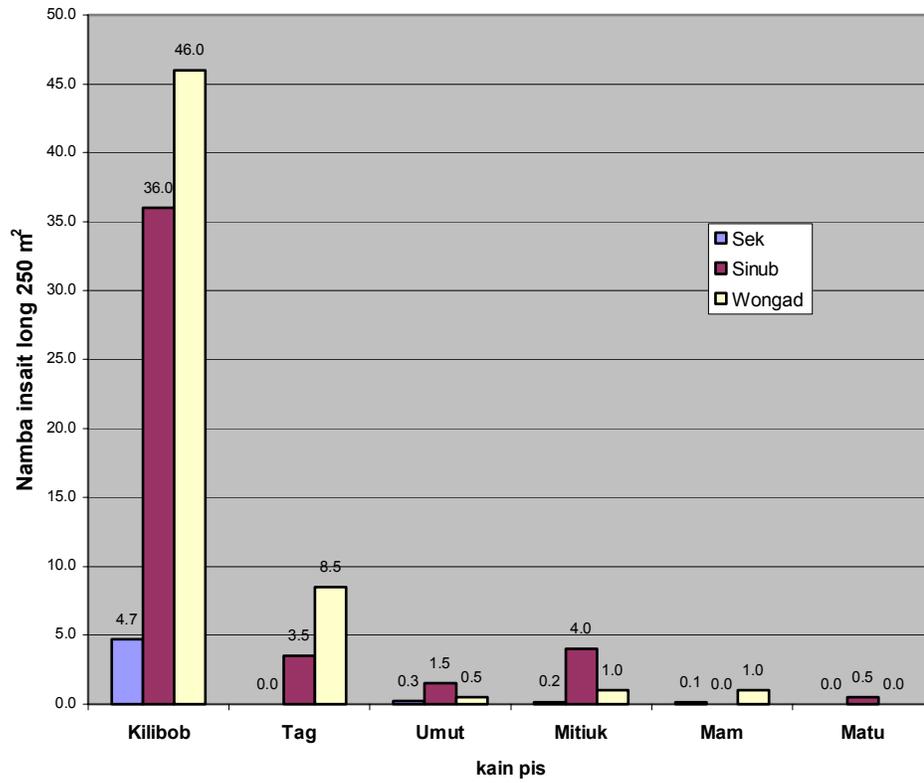
The second report we wish to cite here is by Aaron Jenkins, of the Madang Locally Managed Marine Area Network, Nov 2003 (A. Jenkins 2003). Some of the background statistics Jenkins notes are worth repeating here, for example: Madang Lagoon is the largest on the north coast, at 40 km squared, serving a Madang population of 40,000. Its five landowners are: Kananam, Malmal, Riwo, Siar and Krangket people. 11% of the entire world's varieties of reef fish live in Madang Lagoon, and 17% of all of PNG's endemic fish are also here. 25% of all fish live on the reef, hence the reef is vital to fish survival, and the Madang Lagoon holds 4000 hectares of reef. More varieties of reef are found here than in Australia's Great Barrier Reef. It holds more unique endemic fish species, more fish and reef variety than elsewhere in PNG. Fish breeding grounds can be found all over the Lagoon. There are 4 endangered species of fish; 1 whale, 2 dolphins and 1 dugong near extinction here. It holds 2 clamshells near extinction. There are even more kinds of snails here than elsewhere in PNG.

The southernmost readings of the study were taken at Tab, an island across from the mouth of the Nagada River, between Siar and Riwo on the mainland. North of this, readings were taken at Tabad, Wongad and Sinub, three islands clustered north of Riwo within the Lagoon. Farther north, readings were taken at Milinat and Seg. Three of these locations are also fishing reserves: Sinub Island Marine Wildlife Management Area (since 1998), Tab Marine Wildlife Management Area (since 2000), and Tabad Marine Wildlife Management Area (since 2001). It would therefore be expected that the results would be better, healthier, at these sites than at the others selected.

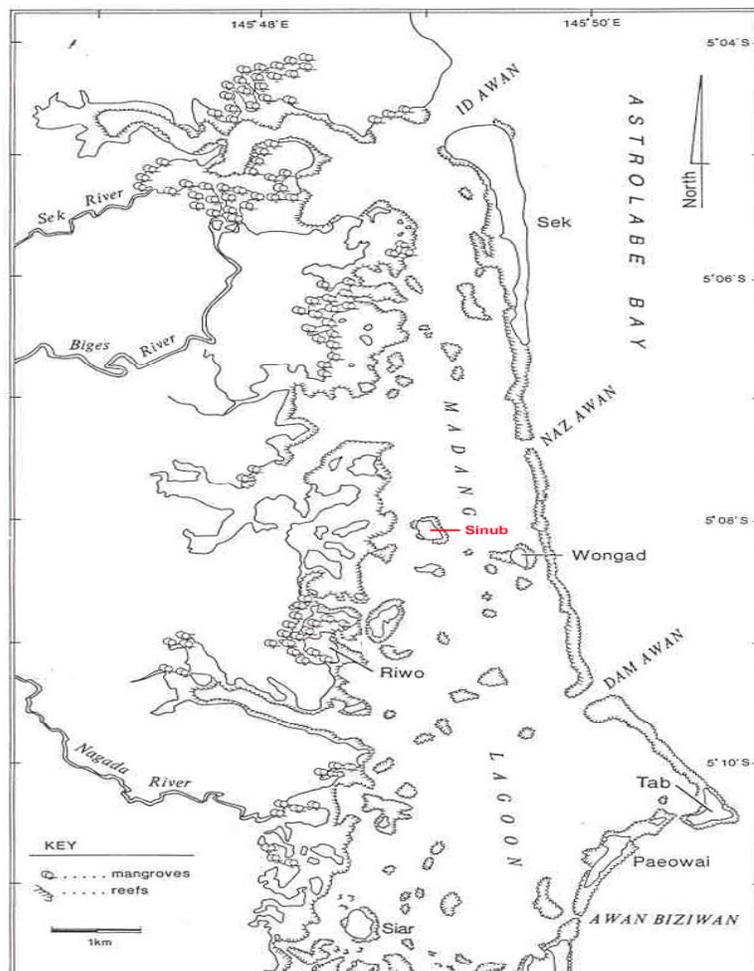
General findings include:

Ol kumu I wok long karamapim rip hariap na namba bilong ol laip koral wok long I go daun. Ol namba bilong pis save kaikai kumu I wok long go antap na ol namba bilong olbigpela pis I save kaikai ol liklik pis is go daun. (Algae are increasingly covering the reef while the amount of live coral is declining. Accordingly, the small fish that eat algae are rising, while the large fishes that eat the small fishes are going down.) (Emphasis added).

Pis long 3 meters long Sek, Sinub na Wongad long 2003



[Kilibob (Butterflyfishes), Tag (Snappers), Umut (Sweetlips), Mitiuk (Groupers), Mam (Humphead wrasse), Matu (Bumphead parrotfish).]



Madang Locally Managed Marine Area Network Map of Madang Lagoon, showing points where readings were taken

Soft coral is dying, the reef is dying, and algae are growing. Fish numbers are good overall in the Lagoon, but their variety is down, and the larger fish are being replaced by smaller ones.

The findings also show that by far the greatest reef and fish loss occurs in Seg, with slightly better numbers improving incrementally as the readings run south, that is, closer to the Wildlife Management Areas, and farther away from the Seg Harbour. In Seg, at only 3 meters depth, half the reef is now dead. Numbers of variety and of fish are down as one ascends the lagoon toward Seg; coral numbers go down as one ascends toward Seg.

“Planti ol eria we I nogat wailaip, namba bilong pis na sais I wok long go daun.”
 (“Where there is not wildlife preserve [WMA], the numbers and varieties of fish have gone down.”)

In Seg, the numbers of kilibob, tag, umut, mitiuk, mam, and matu are all down. In fact, only the kilibob (butterflyfish) are left in any numbers, and then far lower than at other points in the Lagoon. Whereas at Seg there are 4.7 kilibob per 250m squared, elsewhere there are 36-46. The general trend is a loss of larger fish, a rise in algae, promoting the growth of smaller fish, which has kept the numbers of fish within the lagoon above crisis level, but with significant loss of diversity.

Boat oil is one cause of algae growth, blocking sunlight and killing fish. But when Seg area peoples talk about the cause of fish loss, the mention over and over the levels of noise from fishing vessels. Noise, they say, is driving all their fish away.

In sum, and at risk of oversimplifying all the abovementioned studies, we conclude that there has been measurable environmental damage to Madang Lagoon. The fish people catch to eat and conduct trade; the water they wash in; the reefs and coral that support the marine ecosystem---have all suffered from the presence of RD Cannery and RD Fishing operations.

7. Developmental significance of the study

The RD Tuna Cannery is the first of its kind in Madang, and one of the largest development projects to be introduced to the province. Its benefits could, in principle, outweigh its costs. And yet little if anything in the management and operations of the RD Cannery in Siar, and the RD Fishing operation in Seg, lead us to believe that this will be the case. The idea that a major manufacturing business from the Philippines can lodge itself in two relatively traditional settings outside Madang town without conducting a thorough social impact assessment, much less an awareness campaign, is a sign of the arrogance that permeates the Company's relations with the communities. It is unrealistic to assume such a project would have no serious sociocultural effects, but it is commonplace in PNG to expect ameliorative strategies to be put in place, and not simply added to a project proposal. This study supplies evidence that none of the community relations ideas suggested in their original agreements were ever intended seriously. Surely the long tax exemptions RD has enjoyed would have guaranteed their establishment otherwise. On one level, the importance of this study is to ensure that empty promises are not so easily offered landowners in the future. On another level, the study is unique insofar as it is able to trace disparities between plans and reality over six years of a company's operations, and to use this measure to gauge the future social impact as the company expands. In this case, there can be no suspension of disbelief: what has not eventuated so far is not likely to eventuate in the future. More importantly, the erosion of social bonds, of the traditional fishing base, of the social and economic well being of these communities, is likely to be compounded by opening a Cannery in Seg. Development is not the issue here; the issue is ensuring that a community has freedom of choice in its type of development. For a country as rich in biological and cultural diversity as Papua New Guinea, it is imperative that these resources be protected

and assimilated into the course of development, and according to the needs of the community.

8. Results and Findings

8.1. Seg

8.1. a. General trends:

8.1.a.1. Traditional culture

We begin with the most immeasurable, and arguably the most valuable, resource of the Kananam, Nobnob and Siar landowners, and that is, their traditional culture. Many customary institutions were deeply affected by the Mission and German administrative presence, and of course, continue to be affected by the cash economy. On the other hand, Madang cultures have been remarkably durable and the effects of modernity have served to more or less 'modernize' these institutions. Thus, traditional trade systems have been infused with cash and modern valuables, while systems of kinship and land tenure have also been updated to accommodate wider marriage connections. Most importantly the quintessentially Madang values of generosity and deference to others have never been seriously threatened by capitalist values and their call for nucleated families, wealth accumulation and individualism. Madang people still conduct great exchange feasts and are generous to a point amongst themselves. Prestige is about knowledge and giving, rather than hoarding and loaning.

In the past, before Independence, clans stayed together. After the pre-Independence demarcation of lands, people began to live separately on their land. This was a fundamental shift. Now that a major manufacturing plant has become part of their lives, this shift has taken on momentous proportions and the anxiety over land boundaries has created rifts throughout all the landowner communities. On the day-to-day scale, life has changed as if overnight: rather than going to their gardens and fishing for their dinner, people are focused on earning money to purchase their food. They are focused on their pay packets and on creating spin-off businesses that will keep them out of a wholly new state: destitution. For the first time, there are Madang people going hungry, homeless and aimless. Women are bartering their bodies for tuna. Young people are drinking bootleg rum and stealing from the fishing vessels.

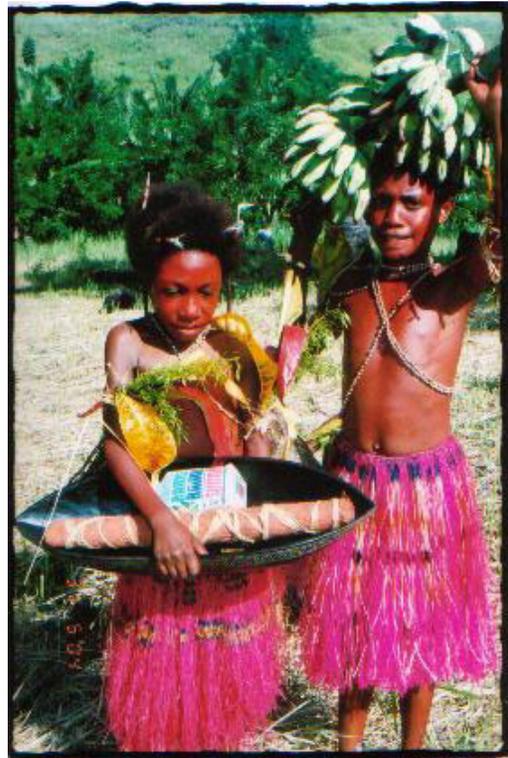
Seg's community elders tell us that too many young people roam around doing nothing. After the Mission undermined the single most important institution for Madang men—the Men's Cult with its Haus Man. The institution was all encompassing, and it served to discipline as well as entitle its male citizens. As Yangsai Dui explains (in personal communication, June 2000) of the Krangket case:

Mazoz em olosem sapos nau yu kam long mi, mi bai putim buai, simok, daka and well eat together. Ready food and well all eat, and were friends. This is traditional mazoz. Who breaks tradition, the leader will ask him to bring a pig and pay this as tax, to stretim the road. If not, leader will tell him again. If not, then before, he'd ask if he wanted to usurp the big man, or he can chose to die--- and he'll die, if the big man wants it.

Benedict Sim, of Matanan clan, Kananam, explains:

Maror em kastom blong mipela. Em istap gut na mipela istap bel isi na stap. Wonem kaikai mipela mekim, mipela kaikai wantaim bel isi. (Maror is our custom. When we live customarily, we are at peace. Whatever foods we make, we eat in peace.)

Maror is the yearly feast for the Kananam people; it is related to the Mazoz of the Yam people, and what the Amele people call Malol. Maror is still observed in Kananam, and involves traditional fishing, traditional yam planting, and the secrets of the men's house. Now, however, this has become more ceremonial than real, as the Men's House was long ago burnt down by the Mission, and the education in traditional fishing and gardening is



not as consistent as it was in the past. Nevertheless, some of the older people still hold onto the more esoteric knowledge. The only traditional custom which is alive and well is the funeral custom. Their greatest fear is that soon their language will die out, too. Asked why this is so, they say that intermarriages and modern education are forcing people to speak Pidgin and English now.

The loss of a strong Mazoz/Maror and Male Cult created a void might have been filled by a gradual transition to the cash economy. Places all over PNG are managing this transition quite ably: where cash crops supplant traditional gardening for food and keep the greater system of community, ceremony and ritual together, even while new ideas and objects are introduced (see LiPuma 1999). But few places in PNG have been confronted so rapidly and thoroughly by the cash economy as have Siar, Nobnob and Seg. With minimal land and sea resources left, there is not enough of a subsistence base

to serve the population and RD Tuna both. Thus, the population has been radically pressed into service of the latter. They make so little money in the time they have forfeited from gardening and other traditional labor, that they can no more balance these two ways of life than they can afford now to stop working. Those who have left the Company have done so to return to the much more comfortable life of subsistence farming. But not everyone has the land to do so these days; nor can the local fishing business be successfully revived while commercial fishing still exists in the area.

In the past, marriages were arranged by the man and woman's parents. Brideprice was a pig, diwai plates, bilums, dog's teeth, and graun pots, all of which came from the many trading systems that knit the peoples together in Madang (see above). Seg people would buy graun pots at Bilbil and Yabob and then use these to buy wooden plates or pigs from elsewhere, and then collect all these valuables to pay brideprice.

A Church and Gmarmatu Clan leader from Kananam, 68 years old, describes the traditional trade routes for Kananam as follow: They would trade fish with clay pots from Bilbil and Yabob villages; trade kina shells with taro and other garden foods at Nobnob village; and trade the (Bilbil-Yabob) clay pots for tobacco, galip nuts and pigs from Karkar. He says this began to break down in the middle 1970's, because of the new cash economy. Now, with the fishing boats entering places where they used to fish, the most important resource in this trade network, for the Kananam, is depleted (see below). (In the past, he furthermore tells us, people could earn up to K400 within 3 days from their catch, but now they have a hard time making half of that.)

The slow loss of traditional marriage patterns has been grossly exacerbated by the presence of RD: the lack of trade systems and the resources that they depend upon; the elimination of traditional forms of sociality; the introduction of settler communities; and the desperate and recent shift from bartering for food to bartering for sex, have all restrained conventional forms of marriage. Underage girls are 'befriending' young men, and having children out of wedlock. The ideas—the values and beliefs-- of Kilibob and Manup are eroding.

In Seg, they still speak Bel language, we are told, although with the many mixed marriages, the growth of Tok Pisin and the English school curriculum, this is changing rapidly. All of this has also been aggravated by the presence of RD—the long working hours, the separation of parents from young children, the emphasis on English in the workplace. The Mission Sisters in Alexishafen say that the language is dying out, that the local Kananam people no longer speak it. Benekison Sem, of Matanan Clan, however, tells us they have a plan to build an elementary tokples. Most people between Seg and Siar are related and understand but do not speak each other's language. Understanding neighboring languages has always been a critical component in trade relationships throughout the North Coast, running up to the Sepik. In Madang, as elsewhere, when the younger generation stops speaking the vernacular, it also stops understanding the neighboring vernaculars, and thereby obscures the roads for trade in the future. It is likely now that, having such unusual distortions placed on the trade

systems throughout the area, this generation of young people will not have trade to bequeath to their own children.

In Siar and Nobnob, raising cocoa and marketing garden food were the main sources of cash before RD came. Before, most women made gardens and sold produce at the market in town, says one informant (Gameg). During that time they sold at 10t for 10 pitpit, 10t for buai, and so forth. She herself lived in Gamoi, Nobnob, and would wake up early while it was still dark and walk to the town market. The price of foods in stores there was lower too. Bread was 20t, 1 metre laplap was 50t. Also a Lutheran missionary (Ben Droff) was at Nobnob and they used to go and exchange with him for salt and kerosene. Nobnob women also used to sell their produce at Sagalau and Daleb markets (on Nobnob maus road), where they could make pretty good money.

They have big gardens, and yet there is a shortage of food due to the shortage of time nowadays, with people working for cash. Some families do have a problem with land for gardening, though, because the German Company planted coconuts on what was garden land. Now RD has extended the plantation boundaries once again, and because of this, villagers have resorted to making their gardens behind the Cannery.

Now that RD is here, they sell their things at the RD Cannery market [just outside the Cannery], and their income on a good day is K40-50. But an average income per week is about K100. The market houses were burnt down this year during the June eviction, although after two months they were built again. The women sell produce as well as cooked food such as: doughnuts (20t) flourballs (10t), sausage (1.50), fried banana (10t), and fried sago.

In Riwo, people say traditional forms of generosity are breaking down. Before, people shared food and betelnut freely between families, now they give money instead, and always think of themselves first. Simon Bissell of Riwo tells us, “Before we shared or gave freely to wantoks—food, goods, and more. Now we hold back because we think of the children.”

8.1.a.2. Traditional trade

The traditional trade routes for the Kananam were as follow: With Bilbil and Yabob, they traded fish and kina shells and garden food for clay pots; with Karkar, they traded these clay pots for pigs, galip nuts and tobacco. With the Nobnob inland areas to Baitata (Mabunup, Heven, Halofa, etc), they would trade fish for taro.

The Yam peoples had the following routes: Nobnob would trade garden foods with Riwo, Siar and Kananan, for fish. They would also exchange yam, taro, bananas and other garden food for clay pots in Bilbil. Trade was conducted with friends and inherited trading partners. The Yam also traded for diwai plates from the Rai Coast people: they would send word to their friends to come bring the plates, and they would exchange for garden food and pigs. Age-old trade connections remain intact in many places, but the demands of a cash economy have put certain strains on these relationships. In Krangket,

for example, the land pressure is such that they can no longer produce their own morata roofing, so they trade fish for this with Siar.

8.1.a.3. Initiation

Madang people are renowned for their circumcision practices in male initiation. The boys/young men undergo protracted dietary deprivations to prepare themselves for the experience, and it all rests on a delicate balance between purity and magical prowess. Seg has not had initiation since the Catholic Church arrived, which means that the older men, not having been initiated, have no knowledge of how to conduct it. Male and female initiation were both banned the Mission; the Kananam haus man was also burnt down and its associated customs called 'satanic.' Even the old men no longer have any knowledge of these practices, and so they cannot be revived.

The Nobnob and Siar people, however, come together with Riwo to initiate their young men in Riwo, as this is not performed in Siar proper any longer. The Nobnob people used to circumcise boys up until the year 2000, at which point they stopped because the older men generally felt that young men were no longer pure or strong enough---they were having sex and doing drugs, and therefore were likely to be injured during the process. Spells could backfire and children could die. And the blame would then rest on the teachers performing the procedure.

The Nobnob initiations would occur in Matupi, but they have been suspended in 2001, 2002 and 2003. The older men have agreed that the youths are simply not fit enough for this, that they engage in too much sexual activities and now drink and take drugs. Their bodies have none of the purity necessary to withstand the physical and psychological strain of initiation. The elderly people fear that something may go wrong and youths may serious problems, even death, during the process. The knowledge of conducting initiation is still there, however, and could be revived if the social context changed.

The loss of initiation practices has been considered causal in many parts of PNG to the rise of 'raskalism' and social unrest among young men. Without specifying exactly, it is possible to describe the knowledge imparted to young men during these rituals as both secular and sacred. Not only do young men learn the ritual sacralae that allow them to lead and administer major ceremonial institutions of their culture, but they also learn the simple things that make for citizenship in small scale society: how to make love to a woman, how to look after a wife and children, how to hunt, fish and garden, how to control the younger generation coming up in their wake. These are not lessons normally imparted from father to son, as would be the case in nuclear families, but in traditional society, they are left to the collective of older men to instruct the young ones. Without such an education, many people speculate, the very fabric of inter-generational unity in a culture begins to unravel. Moreover, gender relations suffer. Some would say that it is only an uninitiated man (from anywhere in PNG) who would consider raping a woman or molesting a child. Thus, while the Church may rightfully take the blame for much of this cultural loss, there is some culpability on RD's part, too, as they have created the situation, and the general lack of respect for traditional culture, that has allowed young men to be alienated from these values. At very least, this last thread of intergenerational

cohesion between older and younger men has been a price paid for hosting RD (see Dinnen 1992, 1998; Harris 1998; Leavitt 1998; Schiltz 1985; Zimmer 1990).

8.1.a.4. Sacred sites

Despite the information acquired by RD Fisheries Environmental Plan researchers,



SIWA, in Yavira, Almami LLG, Bogia: produced from sulphuric springs and used for curing a range of ailments, most importantly, sanguma

which asserts that there are not now nor have there ever been any sacred sites within the Vidar Harbor plant area, we are told that an underwater spring of some medicinal significance used to exist in the Harbor and has been destroyed by the RD operations. These sorts of underwater springs are common throughout the Madang lagoon area, and similar to springs that occur inland throughout the Madang Province. Where these are sulfuric (evidence by the strong smell of rotten eggs), they are often used effectively for healing purposes. Their clay may be dried as cakes, as in the case of *siwa* (photo above) found in the Almami LLG area, and dispensed to cure everything from stomachaches, and skin disorders, to more life-threatening cases of *sanguma*. It is very possible that this underwater spring in Vidar had the same capacities, and in the past, was used for ritual as well as everyday healing.

8.1. b. Kananam Landowners

Kananam Village is in Ward 10 of Ambenob Local Level Government.

8.1.b.1. Population :

Total 1050 (623 Male, 427 Female).

8.1.b.2. Clans:

Kananam has 3 major clans, and 2,3 or 4 subclans:

1. Seg Clan – leader: Leo Panu (possible subclan Kidipain)
2. Matanan clan – leader: Martin Kikai
3. Gamarmatu clan – leader: Henry Tamad/Paul Bai
4. Geunen subclan – leader: Laurence Kandu
5. Panufon subclan – leader: Paul Bai/Charlie Tagau

6. Panuwaden subclan—leader (unknown)

This information is conflicting, and we believe further research into clan histories is urgently required.

8.1.b.3. Interest groups and key figures:

1. IDUWAD ASSOCIATION – anti-RD
Chairman: Mr. Francis Gem
Vice Chairman: Mr. John Debb
Women Leader: Mrs. Alexia Bai Tokau
Women Leader: Ms. Cabrini Kikai

2. SEG SAMALANG DUN – Pro-RD
Chairman: Mr. Mathew Masbud
Vice Chairman: Mr. Joachim Gunong

3. ST. MICHAEL’S PRIMARY SCHOOL
Head Master: Mr. Alphonse Tengisa
Deputy Headmaster: Mr. Benny Ikuma

4. ALEXISHAFEN HEALTH CENTRE
Officer In-charge (OIC): Sr. Valsi Kurian

5. SSPS – HOLY SPIRIT SISTERS (International)
Mother Superior: Sr. Inez

6. ST. THERESE SISTERS (all Papua New Guineans)
Mother Superior: Sr. Martina Kawai

8.1.b.4. Development history for Kananam:

Father Limbrock when they first came to Alexishafen found locals to give him land for the Mission. They were: Futol—from the main Seg clan, subclan Panuwaden, which is from Riwo and adopted into Seg. Kesu—from Gamarmatu clan. Their story says he was not supposed to give the land away but because he was angry about someone stealing from his breadfruit tree, so he did. The gift of payment included: gull (necklace), an axe, salt, and cold tar. There was no written agreement. The pay they gave the luluai was 10 shillings, his name was Nangai. Villagers had no Tok Pisin at the time. Limbrock supposedly mimed the action with the words ‘Nan eg tan’ meaning ‘This is my piece of land.’

Benekison Sem, Matanan Clan (translated from Tok Pisin):

Before the mission came our ancestors were lived in peace, when the mission came they took away our custom and we became poor. Mission prohibited us to use traditional beliefs to catch the fish, plant the yams and hunt wild animals [prohibited garden and hunting magic]. They burnt down our houseboy. The Seg clan took Futile from Rio and when the Mission came he give the land to Father Limbrock. Then the Mission did not bring any changes to improve our living

standard; I was working with the mission but I did not get any compensation or retirement benefits, for example.

I would say yes, there are benefits from the Mission, but they were general, like health, and education services; but the principle landowners did not get direct benefits at all. The good things from the Mission are education and health services. The bad things are the burning down of our traditional beliefs, taking away our land without proper arrangements, and not preparing local people to take control over the mission station.

Gmarmatu clan church and clan leader, age 68: The bad side of the Mission is that they destroyed our culture {houseboy}, the traditional exchange systems died out, and they left no special services to the landowner. It failed to fulfill a promise to establish work for future generations of Kananam. The missions taught our ancestors first and foremost to plant rice and coconuts, which tricked them into expanding the Mission land holdings, all the way up to Vidar. They took all the land from Danip to Vidar. There the mission saw the kwila trees, wanted them for their constructions, and justified their harvest by planting coconuts afterwards. The landowners received no real benefits from the church. They were paid laborers only.

Doilon (place, also known as Maiwara) is where the Mission planted gardens for their own use, not for the community. Plantation workers were also recruited from East and West Sepik, and Morobe, for one shilling (10 t) per month, which allowed them to sidestep landowner requests. Another strategy was to foment dissension within landowner clans.

The second missionaries came, and they were very friendly to the people. And the third missionaries came with new laws and regulation. A marine biologist priest made research to develop the Vidar Bay and he registered the land for 99 years lease. After the lease expired the mission did not transfer the land to us but sole it to RD. Before the Mission sale, in the 80s we had been asking the Mission to give back our land. We had a court dispute, until we realized that the land was already sold to RD.

Lawrence Kaiyok, Geunen Clan:

Futol (the ancestor responsible in selling the land to the missionaries) em blong Riwo na ol tumbuna blong mipela adoptim. Bifo ol tumbuna igo na kilim ol Riwo. Taim bilong ol tumbuna, em bipo pait isave stap. So ol kilim ol Riwo na ol ikisim tupela, Futol na igat wanpela more. Ol ikisim ol ikam na yu save pasin blong bifo em mipela isave poret long blut or bai mipela ikisim sik orait na mipela salim ol igo stap long Seg clan. So wanpela man blong Panuwadan nem blong em Sawat na nem blong meri blong em Bulel. Meri blong Sawat em blong Dugulel. Bulel em bel blong em nogut na em ino save karem pikinini. So ol salim Futol ikam na Sawat em adoptim em bikos em inogat pikinini. Dispela graun nau Seg Mission station isindaun nau long em, em graun blong dispela man Sawat. So

Futol em ino pikinini tru blong Sawat. Em adoptim Futol tasol olsem pikinini blong em. Bikos Sawat inogat pikinini nau, Futol ikamap olsem pikinini tru blong em na ikarem dispela nem papa graun. Olsem na em igivim graun nau Seg Station nau istap long Fr. Limbrock. Dispela em bikos dispela hap graun em blong Sawat, so Futol olsem adopted pikinini blong em isalim dispela graun.

(Futol was from Riwo and out ancestors had adopted him. Before, we were enemies of Riwo. So when they fought Riwo, they stole two captives, and Futol was one of them. So we brought him here, and you know our custom, how we're afraid of blood for fear of poison, so we sent him to Seg clan. A man from Panuwadan clan named Sawat, his wife was named Bulel from Dugulel, and she couldn't bear children. So Sawat adopted Futol. This land now where Seg Mission stands is Sawat's land. It became Futol's, but he's not the real child of Sawat. And Futile gave this land to Father Limerick.)

Taim Futile igivim dispela graun long ol missionaries pinis, ol mission nau isindaun long hap. Ol istap igo na ol laik planim sampela lain kokonas blong ol, so ol igo long toktok nau orait ol kisim ol papa graun blong faivpela clan blong Seg husait ibin orait na passim toktok long givim graun long ol mission. Na ol igo long Vidar na makim graun we bai ol mission usim na planim kokonas. Ino bin igat money stret we ol bin usim long baim graun. Ol usim ol kainkain samting nabaut olsem ol samting bilong bilasim skin olsem glass (mirror), beads na ol narapela samting. Ol mission grisim ol tumbuna long ol dispela samting na ol tumbuna igivim ol graun.



(When Futol gave this land to the missionaries, the mission came and moved there. Before long, they wanted to plant coconuts, so they found the landowners of five clans and got them to give them more land. They went all the way to Vidar with this new land purchase, but it wasn't a money purchase. They used all kinds of things—decorations, mirrors, beads, and so forth. They seduced our ancestors with these things to get the land.)

Taim Catholic Mission ikam sindaun long here ikam inap nau, mi no lukim wanpela senis long life style bilong ol manmeri blong dispela ples. Wankain tu long nau RD ikam insait. Ino gat wanpela gutpela senis em ibringim long ol

manmeri blong dispela ples. RD nau imore nogut ken long RD. Long sait bilong company em olsem, sampela man husait I pas gut tru wantaim company, em tasol ol benefit long em. Na mipela ol lain husait ino pas gut wantaim company, em mipela ino benefit. Mipela ino akensim ol, bikos mipela lukim olsem ol ino save mekim gut long mipela. Mipela toktok ol save rausim mipela, olsem na mipela tok mipela mas stap long wei na lukluk long ol. Spin off now istap long ples em ikam long nem bilong klan tasol nau lo kamap pinis olsem samting blong wanwan man.

(When the Catholic Mission arrived here, we didn't see any real change in our lives. The same with RD now. There hasn't been one significant change for the better for us. RD doesn't help, only the leaders benefit from the company. Those of us who aren't insiders, we don't benefit. We don't ask them because we've seen their ways already. If we talk, they fire us. So now we're standing back and watching their activities. The spin off businesses are in the names of the clans, but the rules for them now only apply to individuals.)

Victor Tamote (from Tok Pisin): The ZZZ Company was the first company to come and clear the land. But after four years they did not come. And later the government and RD came to start their business without any proper arrangement with the landowners. In the first place I (Victor) and Vitalis we tried to stop the operation. However, police came and arrested us and told us if you stop the operation that mean you will go to the court. My father was afraid and told us to stop and let the company operate.

The first Catholic Priest to establish the Mission station in Seg was Fr. Limbrock. He made the payment to Futol who was from the Seg Clan. However, it is disputed that Futol was not the rightful landowner to sell the land to the mission. He was from Riwo but was adopted into to the Seg Clan. We were told that because of he difference among the landowners he sold the land away. Kasu was the other man initially from Gamarmatu clan who received payment from the mission.

The land was eventually developed into coconut plantations. By doing so the land was taken away completely. Apart from that most of the Kwila trees in Doilon Bay was cut into timbers that were used for building up what was/is Seg Station. After logging the area the land was used for making gardens. After the vegetables were harvested the land was turned into coconut plantation. Nangai was paid 10 Dollars for that piece of land.

Landowners were used as slaves to work the gardens and the coconut plantations. The landowners found it difficult to continue with the labor work. As a result the mission started contracting people from East and West Sepik Provinces, Morobe, Finchafen, and other parts of Madang Province. The laborers who came from outside were used as security by the Catholic Mission. Whenever there was any argument of any sort with the landowners the laborers were used against them. It also happened that the landowners fought among themselves and thus the Mission people took advantage of the situation. That is to say that some of the local Kananam people were with the Mission.

According to the landowners most of the benefits should have gone directly to the landowners but that was not done as expected by them. Though the School and the Health Centre was built they still see this as services that are not only for them as traditional landowners but for anyone who has access to them, especially the Mission laborers.

According to the agreement signed between RD and both the National and the Provincial Government of Madang it was the responsibility of the Government to find land for establishing the project. At just about the same time, the 99-year lease for land now occupied RD Fishing expired. Madang Development Corporation, the business arm of the Madang Provincial Government got the land and sold it to RD for K3 million. There was no consultation with the traditional landowners of Kananam. While that was happening at the back of them they were pushing the Catholic Mission to get their land back. All their fight to get their land back was ruined when they learnt the RD was going to operate in their area.

The people of Kananam were force into accepting RD. They were not given a choice but they were promised employment and business spin-offs. There was no agreement signed but they were told everything would be fine and most of the problems would be elevated should the company operate in their area.

SSD was the incorporated landowner company that should be the umbrella company that should oversee all the business activities. These business activities should come under the landowner package where the RD Company kick-start the landowners with business spin-offs.

8.1.b.4.a . Vidar Plantation

Vidar Plantation dates from the Mission era, when 860 hectares of land were alienated for coconut and cocoa cultivated from Vidar up to Maiwara. Today RD has added cattle farming and is not introducing rice. None of the product or proceeds is shared by the landowners, and most of the employees, we are told, are not from the area anyway. The following is a 18/12/03 interview with ‘Alex Gabriel’, Mauna subclan, Rempi, a former employee (1997-2003) of Vidar Plantation:

Alex: From my Department at Vidar Plantation we had two Filipinos. One came in on a tourist visa and that expired—that tourist visa is three months, and after three months he was working, like, 12 days without any visa so then I think Immigration notified the Labor, and then they came in and they investigated. And he went away to Moresby, and he was in Moresby and his passport and visa were held in Madang by the police, and he was in Moresby a month and then they deported him with a ‘black ban’—he was black banned. I don’t know, it might have come from Immigration, and they told Labor.

Nancy: Is this common for the Filipino labor at RD?

A: I don’t know if it’s common, but that’s one instance of it. I don’t know if that’s what happening in the company.

N: ...Have you seen any prostitution?
A: No I don't see any of that because in the plantation we don't have female employees. I saw ladies, but I cannot speak about that because I don't know anything.
N: What about your pay there?
A: My rate was 1 kina per hour.
N: That's rural minimum wage I think.
A: Right, right...But I don't know if it's legal or not.
N: You were management?
A: I was not a manager, but there were people below me.
N: So people below you were paid less?
A: Oh yea, of course. They were 65 toea or 68 toea or 70 toea per house. Producing copra and cocoa.
N: The same people who had been working for the Mission were working now with RD?
A: Yea yea, they were the same people. From the Catholic Missions they came to RD.
N: Were they given housing there?
A: I think the plantation, they don't give houses. But they were allocated the land to build houses, for themselves, to live in.
N: And that stayed the same when RD came?
A: When RD came they used to move us around, and then I had a problem there, I'm going to bring it up in court. Because this year, during the eviction time [March 2003] they told us to move out of the land, I mean they didn't even give me an eviction notice.
N: You were the employees?
A: Aha. They called us settlers and we had to move out from the land. They even brought the police and then they burnt down my house. So we all lost our property, we lost our houses.
N: And RD didn't protect you?
A: Right.
N: Then you went back to work at the same job without housing?
Without housing. Yes.
A: And no compensation?
N: No, no compensation.
A: And this agreement had always been there during the Mission times, where that was settlement land for the workers?
N: Yea, it was.
A: ...Actually we came in, my family came in, with RD, we were not there for the Missions....We just moved in there at that time [1997], and you know, that was our land, we thought it was our clan land. We lived on that land. But we thought the Catholic Mission had taken the land from us, and sold it to the Madang Provincial Government.
N: So it was part of Rempi land?
A: Yea, yea. It was, we thought it was our clan land from Rempi. Mauna clan.
N: So that was never clarified with the Mission?
A: We went to the missionaries, the Catholic Mission. We tried to talk about our land but they said You don't really own that land. So you know, we were trying, we were forcing the mission during that time, but then they had to fast track that land and...

N: Are there people in your clan who can confirm that is your land?

A: My uncle, my cousin-brother, and one of my clansmen, the Magistrate for Rempi, Joseph Mokoi, is one, he knows.

N: So clearly the Mission came in in 1907 and did not make a clear agreement about what land was whose?

A: No, no, we did not have any agreement between the landowners and the missionaries, they just came in there. My Uncle told me that the Mission, what agreement they gave them was that after growing the land, after growing the coconut and cocoa, whatever, after the lease expires, the land has to go back to the landowners. But that didn't eventuate, after the least expired, that was in 1990 at least I think, it might have been 1994 or so. And then the missionaries, they sold the land to Madang Development Corporation, and from there it went to ZZZ Fishing, and then they could not develop the land and so, and then those contractors like Amri and Ambesugi, all those people, they upgraded the land where the road should be, they were claiming their money—because they were owned money by ZZZ, and the government was part of it. So they auctioned the land. I don't know if it's right to auction the land, but they auctioned the land, they put it to auction, and I was there.

N: At Smugglers?

A: No, at Madang Resort. And then they bid for the land and RD won.

N: Rempi people are affected along with the Kananam, but are there other people then?

A: Yea, Budup Village, Mediba Village, and Haven Village, they are all affected. Those people past Seg, up past Danip at at St. Fidelis College, that's where Mediba Village is, those people. That was their land too.

N: Has the plantation changed much since RD has been there?

A: Oh no, not much, there was a bit of planting when I was there, some hard woods, coconuts and cocoa, but so far as I know, now it's gone bushy. The management, I don't know what's wrong with them, they're not looking after their cocoa. I mean we grow betelnut, too—you've seen it.

N: And they sell it?

A: No, they cannot find a market for it, so people are helping themselves to the nuts. People are stealing it! Yea, when I was there, I talked with management and we set up the market in Maiwara, you've seen that. Not just for buai, for everything. I did that as a community leader, not as part of my job. I tried to bring some benefits and assistance. I asked them, Can they help us build a market? Because the ladies cannot just sit on the road, it is very dangerous for them to just sit on the road.

N: Did they help you with money?

A: No, they helped us with the building, not money. Just one building, it's a permanent building and a concrete floor and iron roofing. And now we are using that market.

N: So you've seen the whole span of RD's time in Vidar. Have they improved their public relations in this time?

A: No. I don't think so. Public relations wise—I mean, we should be having school, which they promised us—we have elementary school there but it's not been upgraded. We tried out best to get them to upgrade it for us so that we could have a Primary school there, and we even have a church building there and its not been upgraded. They told us to put proposals in there, and we put proposals in there, but all this time we did not get back any feedback. Nothing happening in almost 6 years now.

N: How do the Filipinos treat the Papua New Guineans?

A: Well, they're a bit all right, I mean sharing things, they're a bit all right. But I mean, you know this attitude they have, they used to speak their own language...

N: Tagalog?

A: That's one thing, they speak their own language, they do their own thing.

N: It's a big problem?

A: Yea, it's a big problem.

N: They are having girlfriends now too.

A: Yea, well, that actually I don't know. I heard that's a problem in Kananam. Actually I've got one of my cousins whose got a baby from one of the ships crew. Actually he's not married to here but he visits her every time he comes in from the ship. I don't think he'll marry her, because he's a bit older. But you know he gives her food, clothing, money. Her family has accepted her. His kid is about 4 years old now, too. I think what they're doing is trying to get ladies from Papua New Guinea, but I don't know if they're happy to back to the Philippines with them. Only a few are not married in Philippines anyway.

N: When the mission was running the plantation, was it still a low wage?

A: I think it was still a low wage.

N: What about your gardens in Rempi, have you still got enough land?

A: Well, our problem for making gardens is not a big one, because some part of our land is still customary land, but our worry now is that we just want to sit on the roadside now because we want access to the road, because the road system going into our places our villages is not there. So we want to just sit on the road so that we can have some sort of development there.

N: They have given no spin off business to Rempi?

A: No, to Rempi, we don't have them.

N: What's your opinion of RD now?

A: Well in my point of view RD should look into the social well being of the surrounding communities. Like for instances, in my community Maiwara, and all the surrounding areas, we need a better school in there, better sport facilities, and then we need roads—Because when there is new development there are problems there, so from our point of view we would like to ask RD if they can assist us by putting up all those things in there, putting up a small police force in there to cater to the problems coming in there, because more and more workers are coming in, too. They live on the land, and that's where the problem is.

N: So the basic problems that come with any development they have not looked at, and they have not helped?

A: No, no.

N: What about these tax breaks they've gotten? Do you see money coming back to PNG?

A: Well, I don't think that we [in PNG] are making money, because if we were making money then the government would come in and develop the place where RD was, to put the money where the people are. But they're not doing it at the moment. In my area in my place—I don't know about Kananam. But in my place, we haven't seen any development. Even the roads, you know, there's a village up there, Haven Village, there's a road leading through the plantation to the village, and we have requested of the company, so that they can just put some gravel and get some

bulldozers and like that to grade it , so that the people have access to the road, and the plantation has a way to get the copra out, but up to now we haven't heard anything yet.

N: So do you think RD is having money problems?

A: No, I don't think with RD money is a problem, but you know, it comes down to management and how they use the money. Because from the Company owner, I think he has a good vision for the people, he wants good things for them. But it's the management here who's holding up this, the local Filipino management. The Owner has a good vision, he wants to work with the people. Like when he opened the market, which we started around 2000, he said he has a vision to work with the people and to give help to the people in the communities. But then, it might be him, or it might be the management in the middle here. We trust the owner of the company, but not the people here.

N: What about the CRO, he's Papua New Guinean right?

A: Right. He's a Papua New Guinean. He's from Siassi, the CRO Manager in Siar. Before he was a policeman.

N: But it strikes me he hasn't been doing his job.

A: Yea, of course. And of course we need the CRO to go into every community, but its not there, we don't have CROs going into the communities, only you have police going in after something's been done. We have one in Siar and one in Vidar. The man in Vidar was from Rai Coast, but now he's from Sepik. There are no Rempi, Kananam or Siar people in the CRO's department.

8.1.b.5. Broken promises

Our researchers conducted several open meetings throughout the Seg and Siar areas, encouraging a range of views. As might be expected, people were more eager to lodge complaints than register their satisfaction with RD. But even where people supported RD's presence, and commended the benefits provided, they spoke in terms of a history of broken promises.

A general consensus seems to be that RD Fishing and Canning Companies have contributed towards law order problems in the area. One of the main problems is the division wrought between the landowners themselves. While the Kananam people had been expecting to fight for the return of their land after the 99-year lease expired, they were trumped by the government's sale of it to RD. But then the Company promised employment and small business spin-offs, which sounded good. Upon the advice of Joseph Balim of Siar, they formed what is now SSD, the Incorporated Landowner Company, to manage these small businesses. However, it soon seemed to other members of SSD and community leaders that these small businesses would not generate benefits for the entire village. This is why they formed Iduwad Landowners Association.

The disappointment with RD's inability to positively benefit the community is a sentiment that actually dates from the Mission era in Seg. In return for handing over their land and autonomy to the Catholic Church, the community had thought tangible, substantial development might eventuate. Failing that, they expected secure employment and skills from the Mission, which only happened in very limited numbers. They also

watched as the Mission carved out larger and larger expanses of territory to serve their own cash crop enterprises.

Presently, their living standard remains low, and they have no traditional resources with which to better it. RD's arrival initially implied that better times had come. They assumed, as it true with most new business projects in PNG, landowners would get first preference for jobs in both the Cannery and the Wharf, but this has not been the case. Instead, RD has followed an equal-opportunity policy that has left landowners competing for a right to work on the own land with laborers from all parts of Madang, and settlers from elsewhere in the country. Landowners also assumed wages would be living wages; but this is not the case. Not only are they below minimum legal wage for PNG, but they have left families unable to feed themselves, without either the land or the time to work their gardens. Indeed, in a repeat of the Mission's strategy, RD has also extended its land reach to accommodate their own cash crop projects, which again, do not directly benefit the landowners.

For fishermen, the experience has been devastating. Those people who made their living selling fish, simply cannot do so any longer. They believe RD made an agreement to take tuna only, and no other kinds of fish; but this has not been the case. They believe RD made an agreement not to catch by nets, but this has not been the case. All the large fish are gone from the Seg Harbor, leaving nothing for people to sell, and still less for them to eat. Indeed, the result of this has been a bizarre exchange system of food for these peoples' own fish, caught by RD crewmen and thrown back to the landowners. As time has gone by, the twist on this trade has been straightforward and insulting: fish for sex. The landowners in both the Siar and Seg areas are living under a malaise of disappointment. The feel promises have been broken by RD. In this culture, where exchange values are everything, and where no one gives without expecting a return, they continue to look for RD's real benefits to the community. Rather than sub-standard pay packets and a dependency based on depleted resources, they are looking for spin off that actually benefit the entire community, and assistance that will build their self-reliability. Whether RD taxes do or do not stream back into the PNG economy, the relationship between landowners and RD is not and never has been quid-pro-quo.

James Sungai asks "Why do they have to live like fools since the first day RD came because nothing through their agreement was done to help them?"

People say that the Mission and RD have taken over the land and sea and left them with barely anything on which to survive. Here are no basic services like a water supply or water tanks, permanent housing materials, or employment with a living wage.

8.1.b.5.a.Meeting with Seg Clan, Mozdamor 14/11/03

The Vidar wharf is built on the land that is claimed by the Seg Clan as theirs. Unfortunately in the name of development they were not consulted at the early stage of the development. They were aware that the 99-year lease was about to be expired but just about the same the land was tendered and RD won it paid it. This was all done behind their back and therefore since they know that they are rightful landowners they still insist

to get their land back. They said that it was shameful that the main culprit Catholic Mission could not give the land to the traditional owners. Why did the Church give the land to RD Company is still a question.

The issue of benefits was raised again at the meeting. They said it is true that the CM had brought in developments like what is now the primary school, the Health Centre, Girls Vocational Centre, Minor Seminar, the Agriculture Technical School and developments but these according to them are not direct benefits. Some got employment with the CM but they were paid as laborers and that money was not sufficient to pay for their family needs such as school fees and building of permanent houses. It is sad to see that most of the people still live in simple bush material houses; some of them are similar to those in the squatter settlement.

Instead of improving the living standard of the people the situation has worsened as pointed out during the meeting. RD was a complete disaster since it has negative environmental impacts that eventually have the impacts on the social life as well the economic life of the concerned landowner. Prior to the arrival of the RD marine resources were abundant and thus these resources sustained their livelihood. Sex trade is the result of this and parents could not afford to pay their children's school fees either. (Refer to the list of students suspended for unpaid fees).

Noise pollution was a concern that was raised at the meeting. Since they live a few hundred meters away from the wharf they stated that it is very disturbing since there is no one time of the day or night engines are put. They also pointed out that noise pollution gets worse when 5 or 6 fishing vessels come into to the harbor. In such situation they find it very difficult to sleep at night.

Almost all the young men of Seg Clan worked with the company but when they found that the terms and conditions of the company were not good they left. They felt that employment was more like working like a slave. Salary is the main problem since they are paid standard salary. There is no such thing as incentives/bonus like giving away by-catch.

They feel that they have been disregarded as the rightful landowners and they see little reason why RD should be allowed to stay. RD's operations in the area have so far disrupted the environment and the well being of the community. RD has been a bad influence on the social lives of the people, bringing in illegal alcohol (Tanduay rum), and participating in acts of group sex. (For discussion of this kind of behavior in PNG, see C. Jenkins 1997). One case in point is the account we were given of four Filipino men abusing one Kananam woman at Vidar .

Fish still is an important resource for the Kananam people. Apart from food, fish has been used to exchange with the inland people for other foods, and more recently, to earn cash for school and health fees. This is not the case any more, since RD has reduced the level of viable fish in Seg Harbor. As a result, women are forced to trade sex for fish with the RD ships' crew these days. Some women cannot resist because they feel it to be

their only means of survival. An eye witness (name withheld) described accounts of this sex trade on the ship to us. He said these activities usually happen at night, but that when the Iduwad Association started raising the alarm about it, such activities started declining.

According to the people at the meeting there is no guarantee that there will ever be long-term benefits from RD. They describe the spin-off businesses as lousy since they preclude any profits for the landowners.

8.1.b.5.b. Dumunseg Island Meeting 14/11/03

People in Dumunseg Island, Seg, concur that there have been no benefits from RD. The Company promised them spin-off businesses, and a water supply, but none of these have eventuated. The Mission provided a clinic and a school, as well as employment and skills in their sawmill, garage, and boat building house---but all these are now gone. Real direct benefits would mean equal participation, preferential hiring, some equity or ownership of the spin offs, with the consequent upgrade in their living standards.

8.1.b.5.d. Iduwan Island Meeting 14/11/03

Most people who met with us on Iduwan Island were from the Seg clan. The eldest member of the clan, according to other clan members, had been bribed by RD and thus he supports the company. The impact of RD was much the same here as elsewhere: negligible benefits, considerable costs. During the meeting those who witnessed instances of the sex trade and group sex told us their stories. RD has brought a lot of environmental and social destruction, although people admitted that it has provided employment for youth and others.

It was also noted that such a big development should boost the cash flow of the local community, rather than diminish it. Social indicators should show improvement since RD's arrival in 1997, but this is certainly not the case. People cannot afford to pay school fees and the majority of the population still lives in bush material houses. Prior to the arrival of RD, Kananam people had only one aim, and that was to get their land back. When RD came in they were divided into two groups, one pro-RD and the other anti-RD. Those against RD are spear-headed by the Iduwad Association, a community group which is vocal on the negative impacts of RD on the environment and the social well being of the people. These issues have divided families and clans. Those who support RD are on the payroll and find it hard to speak against the company. In addition, they have spin off businesses, which they identify with personally. It has been an effective policy of divide and rule for RD, some say

According to the people at the meeting, the Catholic Mission first stole their land, and was thereafter "greedy" in selling the land to RD, when it should have passed it back to the landowners. Only a few individuals are benefiting from RD spin offs, people told us, and this has caused divisions amongst the Kananam people. SSD may be composed of two members of each clan, but these members are serving their own interests and not the community's. On the other hand, according to the Village Recorder, Martin Baleng, SSD directors are not benefiting at all; they are only used by RD to protect RD's own profits.

This is not to say the communities do not acknowledge the benefits of RD, in terms of job opportunities, and the introduction of cash crops (in their rice project, for example). But the litany of negative effects in Seg alone represents a real imbalance: waste and oil polluting the harbor; loss of traditional fishing grounds, reef bleaching and dying; people neglecting their gardens; young people involved in drink; unwanted pregnancies; and a drop in church attendance. Is all this worth a few low-paying jobs?

Michael Kob claims that he is the Kananam Village chief, and he is the only member of Seg clan on the RD payroll. According to him, RD will improve after a few more years, when it has time to improve its benefits policy and its distribution to the community. RD has already started to support the school and will continue to offer support, he notes.

Canisus Urate, of Seg Clan, totally opposes what Michael Kob says. The support to the school, he says, was only after pressure put on RD by Iduwad. He also says that the chief and the others who support RD are all on the payroll. Having been bribed, they find it hard to say anything against RD. He further stated that those who support RD are feeling more and more insecure about the prospect of RD leaving. A clinic was conducted by an RD medical team, as a result of pressure Iduwad put on the Company to donate medical assistance. But they came once only.

One of the youths raised a concern that RD is not addressing the real problems affecting the youth. Employment opportunities, as noted elsewhere, should go to the locals, but those employment opportunities are themselves exploitative. The money they earn is not enough to sustain their lives. The young people need real jobs and real skills.

A woman representative pointed out that women are not benefiting from RD. Company workers are degrading women with this sex trade and practice of group sex. She wants RD to pack up and leave; only then will they be free and they can enjoy the life they once enjoyed.

The sex trade seems to have no end, another person tells us. Since their sea has been polluted and over-fished, they have no choice but to exchange sex for fish from the crew. First it was vegetables and other things being exchanged, but then the crews began asking for sex. The hard evidence of this trade are the mixed children now being born. One of the women, Rosemary, said that she would testify or make herself available in court to give evidence of this 'sex trade.' It was reported that some women have been given Tanduay (the Filipino rum) and forced into group sex. This practice is common, she verifies. Unfortunately the women who have been victims of this have moved away or are too hesitant to speak out to us. (We therefore have no testimonials of women who have either asked for or been victimized by these behaviors).

8.1.b.5.d. Sample comments:

Joseph Sawat, Matanan clan: Mi les long RD long operate long graun bilong mi. Mi les long Catholic Mission Tu.

Francis, Matanan clan: We can get many spin offs but it would replace the damage of our environment.

Leo, Seg clan: I as a chief of Seg clan; I don't want RD continue operating on my land at Vidar; RD must pack up and go.

Amilus Mana: RD came and promised to bring services (school, boat, cars and water supply). But after six years of operation there is nothing been done. I don't want RD to operate in my land; RD must go.

Patrick Manan: Before RD came we caught a lot of fish and supported our families, but after RD came we can't afford to help our families.

Researcher: Why did you say that?

Patrick: Our land was taken away by the mission and now RD has taken away our sea, our only means for survival. I don't know what will happen to our future generation. More, our daughters are involving [themselves] in the sex trade. I don't want RD to operate on my soil, because we don't get any benefits.

Researcher: Did you know that RD had a plan to buy a school bus? What do you think about that?

Patrick: We are living on the island; how would a bus operate to the island? Whatever promises RD would give to us, I wouldn't accept it because all promises made by RD, they will never fulfill.

Clement Bam: RD had promised to bring development as my clansman said, but there is no implement[ation] process. That way I support the idea that RD should pack up and go back to the Philippines.

Gmarmatu clan leader, and church leader, age 68, is asked, Did the Mission give any help to the community?--Not until 1980, when people asked the Mission to improve the services to the principle landowners. The Mission promised to build a workshop. However, the promise wasn't fulfilled. Due to that, many people turned against the mission, especially the young people.

Statement by Igi Yabu, former Seg Mission worker, born in Wewak, married and settled in Seg: Mi bin marit long hia long 1989 olsem na bai mi stori liklik long life bilong dispela komuniti bipo na after RD I kam. Nambawan samting mi lukim em taim RD ikam insait, wanpela o tupela yia, em samting igo orait. Bihain long em, em planti ol bagarap ikamap. Mi lukim life bipo em I moa better long nau RD istap. Mi hukim pis, mi salim na kisim moni, mi baim skul fi blong ol pikinini na mi gat moni blong mi yet tu. Nau em nogat. Mi save painim hat long skul fi. Namba tu pikinini blong mi ino pinisim grade 8 bilong em bikos mi nogat inap moni long pinisim skul fi blong em. Narapela samting em mi lukim em life blong dispela ples mipela save kisim long solwara tasol. Emi wanpela rot we mipela save kisim fast moni em long solwara. Na nau em mipela ino kisim bikos long bikipela bagarap ikamap bikos long RD fishing.

8.1. c. Seg Samalang Dun (SSD) Corporation

SSD is the Incorporated Landowner Company, established when RD first arrived. Because the Mission bid went to RD at Vidar without negotiations or an MOA/MOU with the landowners, RD supported the establishment of a landowner group through which worker and landowner complaints could be aired. The Directors of the company are leaders of the five clans of Kananam. They received business spin-offs from RD on the principle that their entire clans should benefit. Many informants say this has not been the case, and that the Directors took full control over the businesses, as good capitalists, harboring all the profits for their own families. Nothing in their agreements with RD stipulated what sort of benefits distribution was to be made to the general clan members.

The Seg Samalang Dun (SSD) key figures are: Chairman, Matthew Masbud and Vice-chair, Joachim Gunong. The Members consist of two appointed members of each landowner clan. SSD Corporation was founded to act as an umbrella business organization, representing the landowner interests in the following spin-off businesses: Trucking, stevedoring, catering, fisheries, building and maintenance, and security services. These were apportioned to the LO clans as follows:

1. Panufor clan—Charlie Tagau—Security
2. Gamarmatu—Matthew Masbud—Catering
3. Geuwanen—Joachim Gunan—Trucking
4. Matanan—George Malot—Building and Maintenance
5. Seg—Adolf Skarmai --Stevedoring

Matthew Masbud explains (paraphrased):

The concept of business is not known to the local people, they misunderstand how to run a business. Many clan leaders do not know business concepts, successful businesses are privately owned, or joint ventures. RD is a family company—Rodrigo and Delores Rivera. The Company has no work ethics, bench-marking systems, no code of conduct, corporate manual, work manual, etc—so give it another 5 years to work these things out. A majority of people in Kananam have false expectations of the company. Community services are the responsibility of the government and not RD. RD improves local people's work attitude. RD is providing free transport services, and giving contracts to landowner companies. Company rates increase with the profit increases. RD gives 100% guarantee to spin off businesses, where landowners do not otherwise have financial backing. Any environmental problem is a national concern, such as reefs, seas, spills. It is a failure of the Provincial and National governments to address issues of the local people's knowledge of working with investments such as RD. Localization is a problem of the company's. The future of business management at RD is through a localization program, a move by SSD Corporation to attract the private enterprise, and to have Papua New Guineans work in the company's management positions. All clan leaders are on the company's payroll of K70. All landowner directors of SSD are on RD's payroll of K100/fortnight. The social problems are minimal, such as stealing, and disruption of property by youth. RD provided school supplies to Alexishafen

primary school and is also offering scholarships to five top up students in 2004. The company supports people who are ready to support themselves, such as supplying 27 water pumps [These pumps are not in use, have never been installed, but for one on Iduwan island; the remainder are now rusting]. Socially they are all better off without the company, due to prostitution, drunkenness, etc., but economically, compared with the Mission before it, RD has done well for the community. The benefit with RD for Kananam is with fishing really, not the Cannery—which belongs to the Siar and Nobonob people.

As the Vice-Chair of SSD, Joachim Gunang reports that he is not happy that the services provided by RD are not beneficial to the entire community. There was one RD-sponsored health clinic conducted, but it has had no follow-up. It is the same with the water pumps, he says. RD brought in water pumps but did not follow up and install them, so the project remains unfinished and rusting. Joachim also said he is happy the Cannery is moving to Vidar. But he raised the concern that the Company should look seriously at the benefits to traditional landowners.

8.1.d. Iduwad Landowners Association

Iduwad Landowners Association is the landowner group fighting against RD Tuna Fishing Company. Iduwad means the “Voice of the village.” The Chairman of the Association, Mr. Francis Gem, is the former Advisory Director of the SSD, the Incorporated Landowner Company of the people of Seg (see above). He quit his position as Advisory Director, he explains, because SSD Directors were being paid fortnightly by the company. He recognized this as a ‘gag’ stratagem, and saw that this would prevent them from saying anything against the Company. Initially, RD formed the SSD to accommodate landowner concerns, and yet, according to Iduwad members, SSD Directors of the group were unsuccessful in negotiating with the Company to improve basic services to the people, so they felt compelled to form an alternate group.

8.1.d.1. Meeting with Iduwad Association 13/11/03

In attendance: ILA leaders include Ward Member (Councilor) James Sungai, Iduwad Chairman Francis Gem, Iduwad v/Chair John Debb, and Women’s leaders Alexia B. Tokau, and Cabrinie Kikai.

ILA (Iduwad Landowners Association) is a pressure group, a landowners group of Kananam villagers in the RD fishing area. It was formed to voice their concerns regarding environmental destruction, illegal practices such as smuggling in of Tanduay rum (a very strong alcohol – at 80% proof), and the social break down in the community as result of RD’s presence. Their focus is more communal than SSD’s, they say. SSD members are more concerned about short-term benefits and personal gains. It is the Incorporated Landowner Company supposed to be representing the people at large; but the Iduwad members say that is has not been the case. Those who wanted to raise the concern that SSD might be misrepresenting the people came together to fight for their rights, as Iduwad LA.

Kananam people have always depended on sea and land for survival, and even more so on the sea after their land was taken over by the Mission. Now RD Tuna has taken the sea. The population is growing, and they are locked into a dependency with these low wages from RD. The old barter system of food for clay pots with Bilbil, for instance, has been replaced by a new barter system of fruits for fish with Filipinos on ships, with the more recent replacement of sex for the fruit. Now they are demanding sex for the fish.

In 1996 ZZZ Fishing was the initial company, which was to operate a fish cannery here in Madang. However, ZZZ Fishing found it could not continue with the project. RD Tuna Company then came into the picture with their Fishing and Canning Companies. As the Government and RD have agreed, it is the responsibility of the Government to find land and sea for the company. The Catholic Church, without consulting the people of Kananam, auctioned the land where its plantations were operating and RD bought it for K3 million.

The traditional landowners claimed that their rights were denied since the 99-year lease expired about the same the land was sold to RD. The acquisition of the land by the first Catholic Missionary, Fr. Limbrock, was also not fair in the eyes of the traditional landowners. Their land was bought with an axe, bead necklaces coal tar. Meanwhile, the real landowners still have received nothing more than the beads, axes, metal pots, tar, mirrors and knives the Mission first handed over (some of those beads are now with Martin Kikai, Matanan clan leader). They blame the Church for an inadequate level of community development after all these years. Moreover, those payments were made to Futol from Seg Clan and Kasu from Gamarmatu clan, and they all agree that Futol was never a legitimate landowner. There was no formal agreement whatsoever, no more than a verbal understanding forged from hand signals between the parties.

From the 1960's onward the Mission did little to help the community. Although it provided a school and a clinic, and small jobs, no direct assistance, such a water supply, was provided. They were restricted in the gardening to two small islands between the mission coconut plantations. It had been expected that the landowners would work in the mission and run services, as a benefit, but this did not occur. Then in the 1980's there was a dispute between landowners and the missionaries over the return of the land (Paul Panu was present during the dispute meeting with church leaders and other locals). The landowners were not informed of the sale when it should have reverted to them rather than go to freehold. There was no compensation for the land at the initial handover, and now their land is fully occupied by the Mission, so they have no land to produce cash crops. The ZZZ Company did conduct an awareness campaign with landowners in readiness to buy the land. But the government then gave the land and fishing zones to RD. The transferal of ownership from mission to government to RD was never made known to the landowners; in fact, they first realized RD was coming at its groundbreaking ceremony.

Though the church did not provide direct benefits, it nevertheless only took the land, and left the sea in the hands of the traditional owners.

The business spin-offs were meant to go all members of the five Kananam clans, but they ended up in hands of a few individuals. RD offered to put all the Directors on the payroll but a few of the SSD Directors, like Francis Gem, withdrew and formed what is now Iduwad. According to Francis Gem, putting them on the payroll effectively gagged them from speaking against RD. SSD was caught up in self-interest, says James Sungai, who adds that the Company has successfully used a policy of divide and rule. Thus Kananam landowners are now broken into two groups, the SSD (Seg, Samalang, Dunn) landowners, the pro RD faction; and Iduwad, the splinter organization, against RD's presence.

SSD directors are on an RD allowance of K200 per fortnight, and the LLG ward councilors in the company's operation area receive allowances of K50 (some say K70) per fortnight. Spin-off business ventures have remained in the hands of these payrolled individuals. Iduwad members say the SSD landowners do not sufficiently represent all landowners, but their own families instead.

Problems are on the rise, and Francis feels they need to be addressed. These include:

1. Sea pollution caused by oil spills from the RD Fishing Vessels, killing marine creatures.
2. Destruction of reefs by these same vessels
3. Dumping of waste into the sea just beside the wharf
4. Dumping of waste in the near-by bushes and along North Coast road, filling the air with the nasty smell
5. Marital and sex-related problems, particularly sex trade and group sex
6. Spin-offs are in loan basis and employment in spin-offs like stevedoring is more working like slave than paid employment.
7. Very few are benefiting from these spin-offs since they have made them become their private businesses.
8. Illegal shipment of goods in and out of the country, example; strong alcohol like 'Tanduay'
9. Illegal business activity like shelling of shark fins

Some say the spin-off businesses are failing anyway. One case referred to is the Catering Company run by Mathew Masbud, Chairman of SSD. In the start, he was cooking with a gas stove but now he cooks with firewood, a sign that business is not flourishing. It seems that one day these business activities will be taken over entirely by RD, as the Stevedoring Company has been.

Oil spills from the fishing vessels have polluted the sea, and in the month of April 2003, it is believed that a leakage of ammonia gas killed many sea creatures, and caused at least three people to report sick to Alexishafen Health Centre. People also add that dogs and pigs died because they ate the dead fish after this spill. All the waste from the Cannery is carried to Vidar and either burnt or dumped into the sea, sometimes being left to turn fetid in the dumping area.

Noise pollution has contributed to the decrease in the fish population, people believe. The fish are scared away because of the noise produced by the shipping vessels. It is also disturbing all the people in the vicinity of the Wharf. Many find the noise unbearable, especially when 5 or 6 fishing vessels are together in the harbor.

ILA wants the Company to close down its operations. Landowners have no land or sea to maintain their livelihoods now; their resources are very limited both in the sea and on the ground. RD's working and employment conditions are also poor—they offer very low wages, and low contract rates with landowner companies. There was never an MOA or MOU with Kananam landowners and RD. And finally, the increase in social problems has been critical: a sex trade has intruded upon their old barter system; alcohol has become a problem; domestic disputes are on the increase; and migrants are putting even more pressure on the land. Even school children have lost interest in school now that they can make money trading with the ships' crew.

2. Meeting with the Seg Clan, Mozdamor Village 14/11/03. In attendance: 20 people (3 women):

One ILA Member (Anonymous) tells us:

Why mipela sampela I bin bruk away na lusim SSD em bikos ol RD I bin askim mipela olgeta SSD Directors long sainim wanpela paper we bai yumi ol directors bai stap long allowance olgeta taim. Mi lukim dispela kain na mi withdraw long SSD na kamapim Iduwad. Dispela allowance mi lukim em bai stopim mipela long toktok agensim company. Mi no inap save hamas ol SSD director istap now isave kisim long allowance. Mi bin wokim dispela samting. Olsem na mi no save hamas moni tru ol save kisim bipo. Tasol nau mi harim ol man isave tok olsem ol save kisim K200 plus.

(Why we broke away from SSD is because RD asked all of us Directors to sign a contract to be on a permanent allowance from them. I saw this and I withdrew to form Iduwad. This allowance would prevent us from saying anything against the Company. I don't know how many Directors are still on their allowance. I did this, so I don't know how much money they took in the past. But now I hear they get more than K200 a fortnight.)

Narapela reason why mipela sampela lusim SSD em bikos ol benefits I save kam long nem blong clans tasol mi lukim olsem planti samting em ol directors o save kisim. Olsem mi lukim ino stret na mi lusim SSD.

(Another reason why we left SSD was because all the benefits are in the clan names but we could see the Directors only got the benefits. I saw this wasn't right so I left SSD.)

Narapela reason bihainim dispela em bikos ol lain nau husait istap yet long SSD, ol representim self-interest blong ol tasol na ino blong ol pipol. Mipela sampela i lukim dispela ino stret olsem na mipela lusim SSD na formim Iduwad Association long fight long rights blong ol pipol.

(Another reason for this was because those who are with SSD were representing their own self-interest rather than all the people's. We saw this was wrong so we left to form Iduwad to fight for the rights of all the people.)

Iduwad Members report (paraphrased):

In the first place we were all happy to allow the RD Company to be established in our land, because RD promise to bring spin of benefits to the landowners. However, after six years of the operation we see there is no benefit at all.

Disputes have arisen amongst the clans; the sea has been polluted, (reefs changing color and dying, fish and sea animals dying); wastes and oil have been dumped in the harbor, along with glass and plastic litter. Our traditional fishing grounds have been destroyed. And finally, women have been lured into a sex trade with the fishing vessel crewmen.

Rex Sarea says, "Green gold—their renewable resource [fish]--this company now has their green gold. It could have or should have paid people royalties or subsidies."

Leo Panu tells us, 'Ol papa trutru blong graun itok ol ino laikim tru RD bai stap , olimas igo.'

8.1.d.3. Iduwan Island Meeting 14/11/03, with forty in attendance (14 women):



Michael Koa, Sega clan (in paraphrase): After Second World War {1946} Mission did not recognized our land right and today RD took away our land and did nothing to us.

Augustan Sane (in paraphrase): The government did not consult the landowners. Landowner did not know of any environment plan, and didn't know of any Memorandum of Understanding. The Papua New Guinea government has not addressed the social problems in our community, and RD Company promised to bring benefits to us, but after six years of operation we don't have any. We get no response from government or the Company if we write any proposal for spin offs or small-scale businesses.

Patrick Makat, Village elder: "I don't want RD to operate in my land."

Dick Manat, Youth Representative: "On behalf of youth in the island, I want RD to pack up and go."

Line Tun, Mothers Group: "Mi les long dispela company; mi laikim ground bilong mipela kambek long mipela."

Francis Gem, former Advisory Director of SSD, now Director of the Iduwan Landowner Association, says that spin offs will never solve the problems, especially the social and environmental problems.

Recommendations made by the Iduwad members are that the company halts operations until they improve conditions; a new management replaces the current RD management; and contract improvements be made in local business spin-offs with landowners.

8.1.e. Business spin-offs

Clans, and their representatives, with spin-off business:

1. Panufor clan—Charlie (Solly) Takau—Savalon Security
2. Gamarmatu—Matthew Masbud—Catering
3. Geuwanen—Joachim Gunan—Trucking
4. Matanan—George Malot—Building and maintenance
5. Seg—Adolf Skarmai —Idbanag Stevedoring and by-catch fish sales

8.1.e.1.Savalon Security

Charlie Tagau, Panufor clan, is Executive Director of SSD, a former village Councilor (1997) when RD first arrived, and when SSD was begun. As a landowner of Panufor clan, he received the security service spin off, now called Savalon Security (est.1997). Tagau's firm employs about 30 men, not all from Panufon. His discussion of the business is recorded as follows:

"I run a Security Company called Savalon Security Service, operating at Vidar wharf. To protect the interest of the RD company."

"Did you come across any problem during the operation? "

“Yes, many times my guards got involved to stop the landowners to steal the fish from the boat. Sometimes I asked police to help me.”

“Did your spin off benefit all the clan’s members? “

“Yes.” How did you distribute the money?

“We pay school fees, and hospital fees, and contribute to death (mortuary) feasts.”

“Do you know of the existence of Iduwad Association? “

“Yes, but they were not real landowners.”

“Why do you say that? “

“Because most of Iduwad executives are of mixed parentage’s.”

“Do you why the Iduwad Association was formed? “

“Yes, because of they don’t like the way RD operation system.”

“Did you try to settle the problem between SSD and Iduwad? “

“Yes, but they didn’t turn up when I sent the invitation.”

“Did you know any pollution round the lagoon? “

“I don’t see any waste/oil.”

“Do you know about sex trade?”

“No sex trade, but boy friends and girl friend.”

“What do you thing about some cases of mixed babies? “

“Oh that not my problem.”

“Have you seen any negative impacts of RD? “

“No, nothing.”

“Do you see any positive impacts of RD? “

“Yes, they give spin offs to the landowners; job opportunities; make a name for Madang Province and PNG as well. They’ve brought new cash crop investments, and they have cut down criminal activities. RD is good company; even though [there is] now plenty opposition. But I believe RD will provide good service in the future.”

Charlie went on to say (we paraphrase):

If Iduwad wants to fight RD they should not go on their own in their meetings. The councilor should be a neutral man and not join the Idawad Association. He should meet with the people and bring their concerns up to RD. The company bought 4 cars and gave them to the landowners, but the landowners bugged the cars. The SSD has advised the RD to continue with their plan to build the new mill factory. This will employ 5000 women at Vidar cannery, compared to the old cannery at Siar, which employs only 300. They would build two dormitories that would cater to 85 women each at Maiwara. The contractors are Ela Builders.

RD initially told the people that if they need help, they must make a formal request. From this, landowners have come to assume that, at very least, proposal forms are required, and that they have not been given these.

8.1.e.2. Catering

Martin Kikai, Leader of Matanan clan, explains that the so-called catering spin off owned now by Matthew Masbud is supposed to be the Gamarmatu clan’s business, but it

is not being run that way. It was also agreed that all Filipinos and RD workers would be having meals from this business. But it is not like that—instead, it's more of a kai bar. Filipinos and RD workers have their own mess, elsewhere.

8.1.e.3. Trucking

The sad thing about these spin-offs is that all these businesses are only on loan from RD. It seems that RD Tuna Company does not have landowner package and that was admitted by Joachim Gunong. He was given a used truck on loan by the RD, which he uses to carry the employees of RD to and from.

Joachim Gunan, Vice Chair of SSD, first wanted to start a trucking business with ZZZ, but they left. So he approached RD, and they gave him a secondhand truck (on an unsecured loan, 20.02.03) for his business. The truck, a secondhand Mazda Reg no MAC 959, given by RD with a K46,000 loan, means Joachim uses the truck and the money he makes goes toward repaying this loan. He can only make two runs a day for RD, so he also runs a passenger service to help repay the loan. (No matter how you crunch the numbers, this man is never going to make a profit.) He told RD that his clan should benefit from spin-offs, but they haven't, which means they are also cross with him now. His trucking business charges K40 per trip to the company for tuna cannery workers and passenger fares. His driver gets K200 per fortnight; his boss crew gets K70 per fortnight. He is still paying off RD's loan for the truck. When complete, he will push for better payment of his services. People have business plans, but no start-up money, he explains. If the company helped them, they could start businesses, too. The company gave him the truck without security, after that, he has had to struggle to make it work, though.

Joachim Gunang told us their first fight was for the land; it was what the whole Kananam Village was fighting for. He pointed out not all their land was given to the Catholic Mission, the Church seized it all without the landowners' permission, and they then sold it to the Company.

Joachim made a proposal and gave it to RD so that he could run the trucking business spin off. Since RD was aware that he was a prominent figure in the village he was given a secondhand truck with a loan. He was not really happy that he was given the truck loan and also the fact that the truck was a used one. He complained that he could not make money by transporting RD workers to and from. In order to pay the loan back he needed to add a PMV service. That is how he now makes the extra money to pay his loan. He makes 2 trips a day, and for each trip he's paid K40 by RD. His loan now stands at K46,000 and said that after repaying it he would dispute the K40/trip rate he's been given.

According to him, those who own spin-off businesses are working cooperatively. They work closely with the Company and defend it in whatever way necessary. However, the Company is not fulfilling the needs of the landowners. They have negotiated with RD but there was no positive response at all. In his case, he, too, tries to defend the Company but he knows it is not fair they gave him a secondhand car with a loan for his business.

8.1.e.4. Building and Maintenance

George Malot, Matanan Clan, Building and Maintenance. Increasingly, RD has been using its own people to perform these functions; he believes his business is being phased out.

8.1.e.5. Idbanag Stevedoring and by-catch sales

Adolf Skarmai once ran the Idbanag Stevedores, and he says that they could not make enough money to pay the employees their fortnightly wages. There were no capital monies given to the local stevedoring company to kick-start the project. They paid K8/tonne, which means they are paid K200-K900 per shipment. Stevedoring's contract rate is K1000 per/month, depending on work and tonnage per month, according to John Wasau, Supervisor of Stevedoring. John also says all rate/quotations/wages are determined by RD's Port Manager. Stevedoring employee wages are K40/fortnight. RD makes further deductions in the spin-off businesses for working equipment and food, just as they do at the Cannery (70t per meal in the canteen, K8 for work boots). In the end of the day the Adolf and his clan didn't make any money at all.

He then requested that the company give them their undersized and by-catch fish for sale. This would help pay the wages of the employees and also make a living. Their response was negative, claiming that all the by-catch fish were used for canning. Adolf then started buying the fish from RD at K2.50/kilo, which he would then sell at K2.80/kilo. But when RD saw his business, they, too, raised the price of their by-catch fish to K2.80/kilo, which squeezed out Adolf's profit. Now he still sells the fish, but for no profit.

Faced with such a situation, they've been driven to steal fish. This led to a big fight with Guard Dog Security personnel when they were caught stealing fish. The company was terminated and RD took over the stevedoring work. Spin-off business rates with RD are very poor. They sell off the undersized fish at the high price of K2.50/kilo.

8.1.f. Health

Alexishafen Health Centre serves the Seg community, and it is manned by Mission Sisters, with Sister Valsi Kurian as the Office In Charge.

8.1.f.1. Interview with Sr. Valsi Kurian, the Officer-In-Charge of Alexishafen Health Centre - 12/11/03:

Cases were reported and admitted in the health center during the end of April. It was believed that the people were affected/infected by the ammonia gas spill over the sea by one of the RD's fishing vessels.

Below is the list of patients admitted:

1. Sabina (second name not given) – complaint: diarrhea & vomiting – admitted: 29/4/03
2. Josephine Kasi – complaint: food Poisoning – admitted: 30/4/03
3. Steven Ratengmai – complaint: food Poisoning – admitted: 30/4/03

(Sabina Sarea, of Dumunsek Island, speaks of vomiting and diarrhea when she fell from canoe and drank seawater at Dumunsek Island. She was admitted to Alexishafen Health Centre. Joe Tuaken from Seg clan lost his son, because he ate a contaminated fish. The son of Francis Gem, who washed in the oily sea, drank some of it, and as a result vomited blood.)

According to the OIC, there are many reported cases of scabies, which people now have as a result of washing in the nearby sea. The Sister could not release other information regarding STD since this information is confidential. (Nursing Sisters later explained that, while they do not conduct STD testing, they believe there to be a rise in HIV infections since the arrival of RD.)

They have also noticed an increase in unwed girls becoming pregnant.

Although the Health Centre is in the vicinity of RD's operations, the Sister said that, to date, they have not received any RD assistance. Asked if they requested assistance she said that she had made one request but there was no response.

Kananam people agree that the condition of the working environment at the Vidar base is very unhealthy—there is smelly, stagnant water on floor mixed with fish peelings, extracts, and flies. Only the gumboots and hand gloves are worn by the workers there; they have no masks or hats [in the cool storage area—for the weighing of fish]. Most women at the Vidar plant are employed as stevedores--people who weigh and lift heavy fish trays, work that men should do only. This is affecting their health, giving them back strains, and general muscle and bone complaints. There is no Company policy for accident compensation, either.

Perhaps the biggest single health hazard occurred in the middle of this year, when fishing vessel 829 spilled ammonia gas into the sea. One of the ship's crew (name withheld) admitted that in April of 2003 ship 829 poured ammonia gas into the Seg Harbor. That killed many marine creatures and also infected people in Kananam. The informant said that 2 children at the age of 14 namely Jerome Duakin and Frank Duakin were poisoned and admitted to the Alexishafen Hospital (see 30.4.2003 food poisoning admits above).

8.1.f.2. Interview with Tavei Village women working at Vidar

12/11/03:

When the Company wanted to start up they went and dried a well behind the plant, pumped the water, boiled it and put chlorine in it. It is used for drinking by the women workers, also used for washing fish and cleaning trays and knives. The tank water is only for the Filipinos. At first they gave tickets for drinks, and used to order biscuits from MST. They stopped and started ordering cold kaikai from Elwag. Most workers have sicknesses from these foods, including diarrhea, cough, headaches and vomiting. Some women also used to faint and fall down on the floor, injuring themselves. Those who have worked at the receiving where they used to cut the fish, many have had their fingers badly chopped or chopped off, but the company did nothing by way of compensation.

They stand and work long hours and their legs swell up. During the night shift, many women have also been raped and held up in the settlement areas.

8.1. g. Education

8.1.g.1. Interview with Alphonse Tengisa, Headmaster, St. Michael's Primary School 14/11/03:

St. Michael's Primary School is Catholic Agency School. It enrolls students from Kananam, Malmal, Riwo, Mabonob and the settlements (of plantation workers). Most students walk to school, and a small number arrive by car or canoe. When the current head of the school took office he realized they had a transport problem, and he wrote to RD seeking assistance in the form of a new school bus. However, the Company told them a school bus would be too expensive; and since then, they have not made any more requests for assistance. According to Mr. Tengisa, the school started to receive assistance anyway, after the Iduwad Association put pressure on RD. The first gift was a set of stationary donated in April of 2003. During the donation, the Company's Community Relations Officer (CRO) also promised scholarships for the top five Grade 8 (top-up) students to continue through High School. RD also reconsidered its earlier decision and promised a new bus for the school in 2004. According to the CRO, this is only the beginning of RD's commitment to the school.

The Headmaster pointed out Mr. Mathew Masbud hold several caps in the community. The two important ones are, Chairman of the PCA (Parents & Citizens Authority) and Chairman of SSD. Though, he holds these positions the school did not receive any assistance from RD prior to the existence of Iduwad as mentioned above.

Asked if some of the schoolgirls go exchange for fish, Mr. Tengisa replied that only once four girls went out to the ships to exchange. The next day he received complaints from the parents, so he summoned the girls into his office, warned them, and told them not to get involved with such activities. This was because he heard rumors that women were involved in what they call a sex trade.

Almost most of the students who left or were suspended from school were so because of unpaid fees. He stressed that the parents had ample time to prepare the school fees since 2002 was a year of free education. Further more the fees are below the PEB's (Provincial Education Board) mark and the school fees stand as K150.00 for grades 7 & 8 and K40.00 for grades 3 – 6. Apart from school fee problem there is no other major problem. He pointed out that in order for the children to return to school they have to pay their outstanding fees.

St. Michael's Primary School is based in Seg, and services Kananam and the surrounding communities. Headmaster Alphonse Tenggisa, and Deputy Headmaster Benny Ikuma, both spoke to our researchers. They confirmed that the school attendance numbers have gone down since RD arrived, which they believe to be caused mainly by a lack of money for school fees. This has prevented children from continuing on through higher education. The sea and land is being used by church and company now, prevent many members of the community from making cash for such expenses. Moreover, children do

not have interest in school any longer because they are now busy trading for fish, befriending the men on ships, and generally following this new 'next big thing.' Still, most students do not leave school from the pressure of working trade with boats, but from the lack of school fees. When they are suspended for lack of fees, their parents cannot pay. Prior to 2001, the fees were national subsidized, which made it easy, and the school had expected parent to save for the following years' fees, but this has not been the case. Nevertheless, the Provincial Education Board did assess the fees as below the norm: Fees are K150 for grades 7 and 8, K 40 for grades 1-6, whereas normally they would be K300 for grades 7 and 8, 150 for grades 3-6, and K40 for grades 1-6.

Alexishafen Primary School's Headmaster tells us that his school has requested help from RD but been repeatedly rejected. First they wanted a school bus in 2001 for kids living distant to school. But this was knocked back. The first proposal was written to RD on advice of Mr. Stotic, the CRO of RD; Headmaster didn't want to do it. Then Iduwad Association finally pressured RD and they gave help to the school in form of stationary goods. In addition, they have now pledged scholarships to the first five best top-up students in grade 8, and a school bus for the coming year---but this was 2003, and the bus has not arrived. Their only objection to the scholarships is that RD promises to sponsor any students from any province in the school as long as they are in the top 5; once again, this is meritocratic rather than landowner-preference criteria. After the exam, RD and the school will sign with the top 5 students.

Benekison Sem, Matanan Clan, Kananam Village, tells us (paraphrased here):

Half the children go to school and half stay in the village. Many kids want to go for exchange foods with fish instead of going to school. The families find it hard to raise the money for school fees because our assets (land and sea) for getting the money are spoiled by RD Company and the Catholic mission.

8.1. h. Church

The participation and attendance in Church is very poor. They said that the RD Company is part and partial of these problems occurring in their community. Youths, married men and married women don't go to church because they have to sleep and rest because of the night's discos. Parents do no longer have control over their children as they used to do before.

Sister Vincent Dinmar, House Superior Nun, Kananam, says the positive impacts of RD have been bringing in cash and offering employment. But the negative impacts have been a lower church attendance, a fall-off of villagers working in their gardens, more young kids smoking marijuana, a lack of respect toward church workers, young women are having unwanted pregnancies, and there is now a sex trade for fish with the fishing crew men. We ask, Has RD given any assistance to the church? She tells us, "Nothing."

Sister Louise Marie (from Bougainville) tells us that the benefits of RD include revenue for the government, employment for the young, and transference of fishing skills and knowledge. Kananam Sister Vincent says Church participation is very low; according to

the sisters the religious faith of the locals is very poor. Sister Vincent sees RD as the cause; they introduced money and now money is the main focus of the people's lives. In the 80s and 90s the participation and attendance in the church was high. Before RD arrived, many people were involved in the church organizations (Mother groups, Youths and Communion, and Sport groups). However, this dropped between 2000 and 2003. There is a land dispute between the locals and the Catholic mission (she doesn't know the details). Sister Vincent says Vidar land and bay belongs to the Catholic Church. The provincial government asked the church for it. There was no assistance from the company to the church in Alexishafen. She believes her views are representative of all the sisters'.

Holy Spirit sisters say Vidar land, bay and plantation were supposed to be given to the landowners. But they (landowners) did not really care for it, so the church gave it to the Madang Provincial Government.

Paul Bai, Tavei Community church leader. Paul was working with the church since 1964. He was the church leader of Alex Holy Spirit church. According to Paul, before the 80s, he saw that people's faith was very strong. But it started to drop in the 1990s. This is because of the promises of the mission to give workshops, sawmill and tools to the landowners, which never eventuated. There was a land dispute after the 1980s because mission didn't fulfill its promises. Paul Bai: Youths are now beginning to dislike the church—resent it. In 2000, church participation dropped. According to Paul, it could be the cash or other churches that are diverting the flock. As one of the clan leaders Paul said that the locals and the landowners were not aware of the land lease from the church to the MPG. Paul Bai: Marriage: Before, many people received the sacrament of marriage in the church. Today, not so. There are also marital problems in the community. Paul Bai: But there are water tanks now installed by EU, which might be the initiative of the church.

Sister Mildred (who is Filipino) points out the employment, government revenues, and the skill transferences that all benefit the community. Yet the disadvantages are that young girls exchange themselves for soft drinks from the crew. The Filipino crewmen now have family friends in village. Since the ships have come, they also experience a lot more noise, both from the ship engines and the crew radios. This has eliminated the quiet time they used to enjoy for prayer.

When the Missions first arrived they created small-scale manufacturing shops—a sawmill, a mechanic shop, a book shop (Stella Press). According to the Sisters, many locals were employed in these enterprises. But because of an increase in theft by the local people, these small businesses one by one began to close.

The community has a good relationship with the Sisters. If there is a Church celebration the local people participate, and if there is a village funeral, the sisters go and sit with the mourners. They are involved, they say. The Sisters do say that young boys come and break and enter their convent. This began well before the arrival of RD, but it has been on the increase since. Village leaders are struggling to get a handle on the youths, and the

Sisters acknowledge this. They say the reason they youth break and enter is because they're angry that the Mission closed down the sawmill, mechanic shop and other small-scale industries. They break in to steal goods from the sisters like VCRs, TV and videos, which they sell to get money.

They also break and enter for food from the sisters' kitchen, their common place, because they are also hungry. The people are not happy with the Mission having taken their land and not providing them with any development services, the Sisters say. They therefore feel they can do whatever they like in return. Their original grievance has now been exacerbated by the growing need for cash.

Sister Louise Marie (Bougainville) lists the negative impacts of RD: Women selling their bodies for fish and other goods; parents *allowing* daughters to sell their bodies; church attendance falling to half since RD arrived; young people no longer showing respect for their elders; noise pollution from ships; pollution of the sea from oil; and an increase in HIV/AIDs.

The Mission sisters, as young women, go out into the villages once a week and help local mothers to cook. They also help them prepare herbal medicines—namely Sister Pauline. Sister Pauline goes out to villages once a week to help women with cooking and the use of herbal medicines. Also the novices go to the outstations like Riwo and Tulidik to give awareness talks. Many women are happy with the sisters' work, and men are also taking part. But the standard of living is still poor, they say, and the villages are not clean. The Sisters say that RD is creating laziness. Most youths are lazy because they have easy access to fish for sale. Meanwhile, the traditional fishing skills are being lost.

The Sisters overheard a rumor that by 2006 the Council would remove the Mission, but the Mission has said they will renew their lease.



1. i. Environment

Benedict Sim, Matanan Clan, Kananam Village, explains: “Taim bifo ol mission ino kam yet, ol tumbuna papa ol istap gutpela tru. Taim ol mission ikam, ol kastom blong mipela em ol mission rausim. Bifo God givim mipela gutpela kastom tru. Bifo mipela isave isi kisim ol bikpela pis long kaikai. Mipela istap gut tru, kaikai planti abus ikam ikam na taim RD ikam, sori, dispela pis em mipela ino lukim now. Taim mipela ikarem supsup igo long nambis, mipela ino painim wanpela pis na wankain tu long taim bilong dive em mipela ino save kisim wanpela gutpela bikpela pis olsem bifo.”

Seg Ward Councilor, James Sungai, adds (in paraphrase):

From the beginning of the cannery establishment, there have been a lot of environmental impacts: the color change of corals, wastes dumped at Vidar attracting sharks and crocodiles, fish being contaminated and some children fishing were affected with stomach aches. In 2003 there was an ammonia spill in the sea by RD, and yet compensation for it was given to the mission, not the landowners. The mission was not ceded the sea by the original landowners, so they have no right to take compensation for it. There has been a complete disregard for landowners in this matter.

Leo Afkel, Chair, Committee for Iduwan Island, also says (in paraphrase): Our island is right in front of RD Vidar base where oil spills, it’s smelly and rubbishy, and plastic rubbish bags visible. We feel the effects more than other villages. Dead fish stinks on our shores where people bathe. The noise factor is terrible—from ships and from the generator at night. When RD Tuna had not yet come, we were able to catch around 70 fish a day, and now we catch no more than 5-10. Noise pollution and the bright lights of the ships are scaring off fish from the reefs where a good variety of fish used to swim. Now we cannot catch anywhere near the same amount.

Holy Spirit Sisters at Seg Mission complain of the oily sea, that they can no longer swim. They report that the noise of ships and the music the crews play, especially during RD fortnights, is terrible.

Solly (Charlie) Takau’s views on RD (in paraphrase): There has been no pollution; an oil spill in the seas was mixed with water and neutralized. I have not seen any damage to environment.

Alexia Bai says (in paraphrase): Before RD came, we lived in peace, our husbands went out to fishing and caught a lot of fish. Some, we sold for the money to pay schools fees and other needs. But today we can’t go for fishing because our water is polluted and the noise of the engine of RD fishing disturbs fish in the bay, we’ve found hard to catch any fish.

Comments from Francis Gem, Kaguz ples, Kananam: “Taim company I start na kam inap nau, ol fish I wok long pinis na ol reef tu i wok long dai. Mi yet mi bin lukim ol jelly fish i bin dai na drip nabaut long sea, ol clam shell i bin dai na drip lusim

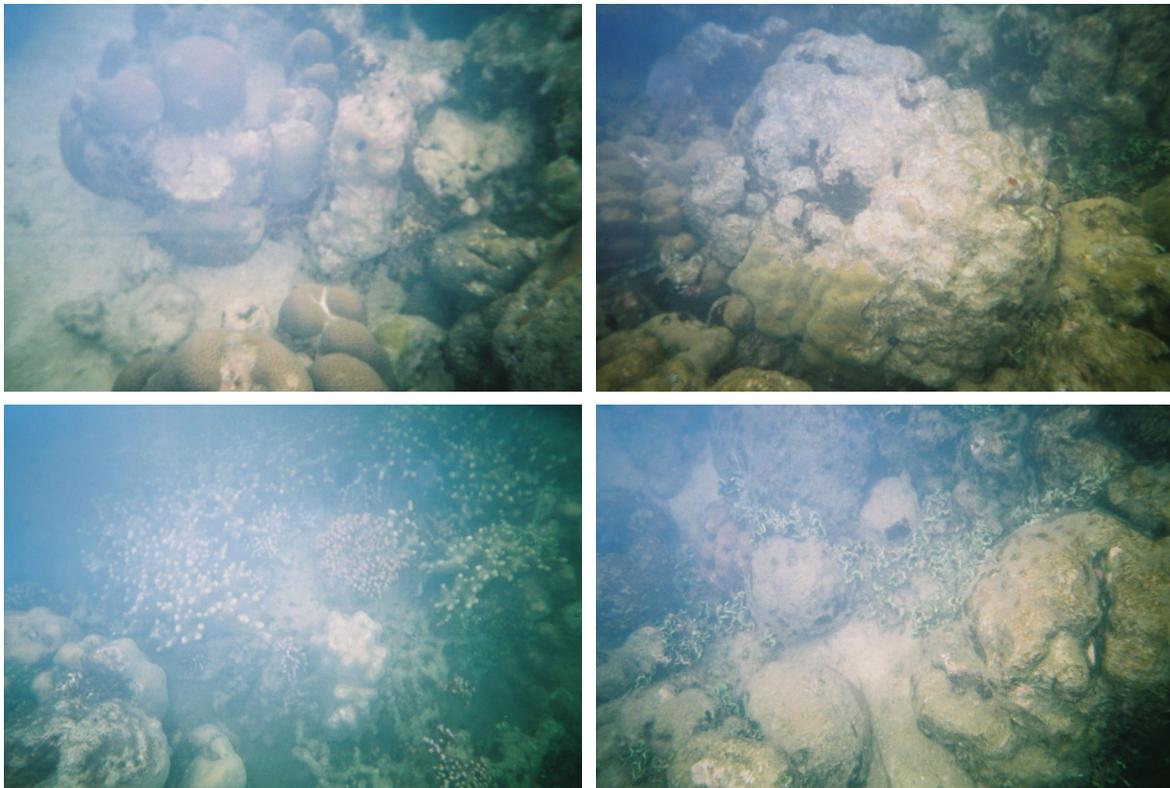
shell blong oli kam antap, na ol maleo (eel) i dai na drip tu. Mipela yet mipela lukim olosem bikpela bagarap tru ikamap. Wanpela pikinini blong mu tu i bin waswas long solwara mix wantaim oli na i bin dring liklik oily sea. Dispela i mekim emi trautilim blut igo inap tulait na mipela bringim em igo long haus sik.”

Augustine Sanat, of Iduwan Island, Kananam says: “Mipela ol papa blong graun imas save long environmental plan blong company bipo long company ikam insait. Mipela ol papa blong graun ino save company i sainim MOU o MOA wantaim husait papa blong graun na nau company ikam insait.”

People report that fishes, and other marine creatures like clams, have been found dying.

There were oil spills from the RD vessels, which polluted the sea for some time, as reported by Sr. Valsi. According to her, the situation has improved because they (Health Workers) raised complaints to the management of RD.

One of the ship’s crew (name withheld) admitted that in April of 2003 ship 829 poured ammonia gas into the Seg Harbor. That killed many marine creatures and also infected some people in Kananam.



According to Alexia Bai, a woman leader in Kananam, the presence of RD has caused many problems for peoples’ livelihoods. The sea is full of oil, no fish in the sea, the numbers have dropped, and women are unable to feed their families. For women, fortnightly pay from RD is not able to satisfy household needs. Daughters who work in RD no longer respect their parents, and they become involved in prostitution for fish.

Regular domestic disputes arise from this. Women workers at the Wharf are also asked to do the tough jobs such as carrying trays of fish.

8.1.j. Skin trade

Barter trade was part of practiced economic system since their ancestral days. The main commodity used was fish, which they trade from the people inland Mabonob and Halopa. They used the food (yam & taro) to trade with the people in Yabob and Bilbil for clay pots. These clay pots are then traded with the people in Karkar for pigs and galip nuts. However, since the introduction of modernity the trade system started to fade away.



View from shipping vessel of Kananam women arriving to sell bananas to crew

The arrival of RD also had impact on this traditional trade system. The people, mainly women of Kananam, go to the RD ships to exchange vegetable and other items with the crews for fish. However, exchanged for vegetables for fish was for some replaced by what many have described as “sex trade”. Sex trade has led to social breakdown. Local leaders tried to find measures to control the situation but find it quite hard. The Ward Member Mr. James Sungai said that when the Catholic Mission took all the good fertile land. The sea was in the hands of the traditional landowners. They did not worry too much cash cropping since they could earn cash by selling fish. The arrival of RD was a total destruction because they took both the land and sea. That forced the women to go into sex trade. That has contributed towards marital problems. We told that there are two half-caste children in Kananam as result of such sex activities happening when women go to the RD ships trying to exchange their vegetables and other items for fish.

We were also told that women also go there to the ship crews to buy cigarette packets, which they later sell. We were told that the ship crews illegally bring in 4 brands of cigarettes, one of them is *champion*. Police taskforce sometimes raids the women while selling the illegal cigarettes and confiscate them. The women do not if the police personnel raid the ships, arrest and charge the ship crews who illegally bring in these products.

The traditional barter system has generally turned into a sex trade. The traditional exchange system of food for fish from RD ships’ crewmen is now converted to an exchange of by-caught fish with the women in Kananam. The RD crewmen eventually refused exchanges of food, preferring to exchange fish for sex with the local women.

Barter system in terms of sex trade has brought a lot of social problems to the community. Problems such as divorce and other marital problems. Our only way to survive has been to get fish from the sea. And if the ladies refuses she and her family have nothing to eat. This is because all our land has been taken by the Catholic Mission and so we don't have any good land to make gardens.

Most women in this village trade for fish on the vessels. They trade garden food for fish, and then sell it at Seg and Sagalau markets. But most fish are poor quality, some are broken, bagarap alittle. There are still exchanges of goods going on with the Filpinos on board, also.

The worst impact from RD that the Sisters Vincent have seen or heard about is ladies earning their living by sex with RD crews on ships. They have seen canoes with ladies going out to the vessels at night and coming back in the early hours of the next day. Seg Sister Valsi Kurian says she has seen young women carrying food in canoes and going to the ships but she does not know what happens there. She knows things are happening but cannot say what they are.

Eunice Akuani says she once went on a trip in the night to exchange a packet of smokes and 4 cans of coke with fish on the RD ships. She and the other women were new to the trade and had to wait for several hours before someone noticed them. They traded the smoke first with 2 big fish and then had to wait again for an hour before exchanging the cans of coke.

The fish the women get from sex is much bigger than those traded for smokes, canned drinks, etc. For the fruits, smoke and drinks they get small damaged fish. But in exchange for sex they would get loads of good fish. There are ladies who always exchange sex for trade, not all women do it. These popular women have partners on board, both national and Filipino. When they see their partner's ship come in, they go out to the ships. Others go out anytime with anyone.

Women in the village do not go for exchanges at night, only during the day, because the men restrict them. Sex trade is happening in this area but people are ashamed of saying so, despite what they've seen. Lots of meetings held in village regarding sex trade, but no change has happened. Women are still going to the ships for sex. Plenty of women in Kananam doing this, it is the cause of many broken marriages. It is obvious where and who is engaged in this sex trade. Some have been encouraged by it to leave school or forget their education. Most children, especially young primary school children who follow these young ladies or women are influenced by it.

Sept 2003 Filipinos came twice for visits with women, but the villagers removed them. They do not want them to come now because they have done nothing good for the community.

The Kananam Village Recorder tells us: Ol pikinini ol save go long ship blong RD long senisim ol fruits na ol kaikai wantaim ol wokman blong sip long pis. Ol save go kisim pis ikam na ol yet isave go na marketim. Ol lukim dispela iving em gutpla more long go long skul. So wanpela samting nau em ol mas lus tinting long skul na go kam long dispela. Wanpela samting we em wanpela major problem tu em ol school fees. Dispela em bikos long nau, mipela inogat wanpela hap more long kisim money na live or baim school fee blong ol pikinini. Dispela em bikos mipela inogat more wanpela hap more long kisim money na live. Only means means we mipela save live em solwara blong mipela taso we mipela save kisim pis na salim na baim ol school fees na narapela samting. Tasol nau company ikam, mipela ino save go more long dispela hap. Mipela nau istap olsem ol man ikam na settle istap we mipela inogat graun na solwara blong mipela. Dispela trade isave kamap olgeta taim. Em long nait san wantaim. Mipela igat tupela pikinini hap kas Filipino ikamap pinis. Wanpela em boy na wanpela em girl. Boy em nem blong em Gregory na mama husait ibin karem em nem bilong em Kodula Bap, em blong Geunen clan. Na pikinini meri em nem bilong em Talisa na mama blong em Alexia. Dispela barter system wantaim ol Filipinos nau em ol Filipinos ino more laikim ol goods. Ol mama na ol meri mas salim body blong ol na bai ol Filipino givim pis long ol.

8.1.j.1. Iduwan Island Meeting 14/11/03: In attendance: 40 (14 Females):



Tanduay rum as it is sold to villagers in Seg

Paul Sing reports: “I saw four Filipino and Ros Matek in the daytime on Vidar wharf. Four Filipinos brought a Tanduay {strong drink smuggling from Filipino by shipment}. After drink she took off her cloths and stood up naked. I saw four of them having sex with her. Four Filipino were crewmember of 347. [Another time] I saw a girl {Maidok} she went to vidar beach and two Filipinos took her into the boat and were having sex with her.”

There are eyewitnesses to RD workmen and local women engaged in group sex, often under the influence of Tanduay, the Filipino 80% proof rum. Felix Siloi works at the Iduwan Island unloading crew. He says that the sex trade started between 1997 and 2000. In 2003, it slowed down due to complaints from the Iduwad Association earlier this year, although it is starting again.

Narrator unknown: “Wanpela rot long daunim dispela hevi em sapos company istap wantaim tingting bilong mipela bai orait. Dispela ol by-catch ol putim ikam insait long ples, em tasol bai nogat wanpela meri bai painim dispela igo na kainkain hevi bai ino kamap na bringim kainkain hevi ikam insait long ples. By-catch ino gat use bilong em na ol ino save procesim tasol ol holim up ol dispela nau ol drugim ol pikinini meri igo na kainkain hevi olsem sex trade iwok long kamap bikpela.”

Ward Councilor James Sungai reports: “Mipela ibin holim miting na especially ol mama ibin kamap wantaim dispela strongpela toktok. Olsem mi tok pinis igat atoriti we mipela ol lo na oda komiti ibin holim wanpela bung na mipela ibin wokim strongpela toktok long mama ino ken igolong bik nait long senis kaikai long pis. Tasol lo mipela iwokim, komuniti ipasim, concen mama ilukim hevi bilong pikinini meri we laip bilong wokabaut ino gutpela long wokabaut long kain bik nait olsem. Tasol laip em pis. Em itru em idangerous na tru em nogut long sait bilong social problems tasol em laip ol imas wokim. Ol dispela social problems na ol arapela problems mipela ibin toktok long ol general miting bilong komuniti. Tasol moni em bikpela problem. Skul fi, tax bilong haus sik na praises bilong ol samting long stoa iwok long igo antap so olgeta dispela lo bilong mipela ipundaun kam daun.”

Herica Maia, Matanan Clan, Kananam, tells us: “Taim mipela save go long sip, em taim mi tu save stap, mi save lukim planti meri ol save mekim dispela kain pasin. Ol save go na ol Filipino save tokim olsem, “Mipela igo Koap pastaim na bai mipela givim yupela pis’. Na mi yet mi save prèt long skin bilong mi na mi save go long we na ol sampela meri we ol save mekim na ol save, em ol save mekim na ol Filipino save givim ol bag pis na ol save karem ikam. Em ol meri long here yet. Mi yet mi save lukim long eye blong mi em ol Filipino save kisim tripela fopela long wanpela dei na ol save go slip wantaim ol. Mi lukim dispela na mi les na mi no save go more long sip long senis long pis.”

(When I was going to trade at the ships, I was there when lots of women would do this sort of thing. They go and the Filipinos tell them, “we go and fuck first and then we give you fish.” Now I’m afraid for my own self and I go there and all the women, all the women are doing this and coming away with bags of fish. All women from here. I’ve myself seen them with my own eyes when the Filipinos take three or four in one day and sleep with them. I see all this and so I no longer go trade for fish.)

Cabrini Kikai says: “Mi laik edim liklik long susa ya, em toktok long bata system first time ol kampani kam ol i givem free pis. Ol i stap liklik sampela mun bihain ol wok ikam sem on bipela mun ol start askim long gaden kaikai na ol satap liklik taim ol i satap long askim smoke, na bihain taim ol i go insait long drink bilong stoa, na bihain ol goinsait long trongplea drinks. Em stap olsem wanpela yia na em pinis bilog en and nau ol i go long meri stret {sex}. Sait bilong mipela olmama, long hia mipela tingting planti long olsem sait bilong sick AIDS nau yet

mipela I no save hau maspal bilong mipela I gat sik ADIS pinis na dispela em I bikpela prèt long insait long komuniti bilong mipela. So mipela no save wanem halpim bai mipela kisim sait long dispela.”

(I just want to add to what my sister here said, she was talking about the barter system and how the company came and at first gave us free fish. After some months, eventually they started to ask for garden produce (for the fish), and after that for smokes. After that, they'd go inside and get drinks from the shop, then alcoholic drinks. After about a year they'd had enough of that and now traded for women only. All of us women here we're very worried about AIDs, and I'm not sure how many of us have AIDs already or not, but it's a big worry, so we don't want to encourage this.)

Benekison Sem, Matanan Clan, Kananam: [The sex trade] happens every day. We have two mixed blood Filipino kids, Gregory Kadula and Bob Geune. One mother is Alexia Talisa (Gmarmatu clan).

Researcher: What do you think about those kids?

BS: We don't like this situation to continue; we want this behavior to stop.

How has it happened?

BS: Love. Force. The barter system.

Researcher: Did you try to settle the problem?

BS: Yes, so many times we told the young boys and girls to stop these activities but we couldn't. Because the only way to survive was to catch fish and sell it. Now, due to RD's operations, we cannot catch from the sea, the only way is to exchange with the Filipinos.

Researcher: Do you see any economic impact?

BS: During the Mission time, and after RD, I have not seen any improvement in the economy of the people.

Researcher: What is the main problem in the community?

BS: Divorce.

Researcher: Why is that?

BS: Cash money from RD, and the sex trade.

Researcher: What are other social problems?

BS: Land disputes among clans, RD, settlers and the Catholic Mission

Elisabeth's story: Mi yet wantaim narapela meri nem blong em Milli, long nait mitupela plan long go huk arere long ol boat save trap. Em dispela long last yia. Taim mipela go kamap long hap em 8 oclock nambaut. Nogat narapela kanu kam yet mitupela go kamap. Mitupela go long kayak na mipela go arere long sip. Long hap mitupela lukim tupela lapun Filipino huk stap. Mipela go na mi go na mi askim ol, mi tok, predo—mipela laikim bait. Ol askim mipela osem, yupela laik fish, na mipela tok yes. Oli go kisim wanpela tuna kam. Na ol tokim mitupela yupela laik huk orait taitim rop blong yupela long sip. Na ol onim lait blong mitupela. So mitupela taitim rop long iron ladder blong sip na mitupela huk. Mitupela huk igo inap long ten oclock nau sampela lain ol drink. Wanpela man em kam na tok Hi meri! Na mi tokim narapela meri Nokin bekim ol. Yu bekim

bai ol wokim kainkain. So mitupela no bisi long ol. Mitupela wok long huk yet, em wok long kam na singaut. Ating olsem 3pela taim olgeta. Tasol mitupela no bekim em.

(Me and another woman named Milli we planned to go fishing around where the boats go to trap fish. This was last year. It was about 8 PM when we got there. We were the only canoe around then. We went up beside the ship and could see two old Filipinos line fishing. We went up to them and said, Friend, can we have some bait? They asked us, You want fish? We said yes, and so they went in and came back with a tuna. Then they said, okay you want to fish, tie your canoe to the ship. They turned the light on for us. So we tied our rope to their iron ladder, and we started fishing. We fished until about 10 PM, while they were drinking onboard. One man came over and said, Hi meri! I told the other woman not to say anything back or they'll start coming onto you. So we ignored them and kept fishing. The second time he called out again, and we said nothing. This went on for 3 times...)

Long namba 4 taim em kam singaut gen na mi belhat na mi stat kros long em nau. Mi tok, Hey yu lukim mipela huk tu o? Yu gat wanem bisnis wantaim mipela? Mipela laik huk na mipela les long toktok. Taim mi tok pisin em lusim mipela na go. I no long taim em kam bek gen. Em kam tasol em pispis antap long mi, long baksait blong mi. Mi pilim olsem wara pundaun long het blong mi. Na mi sanap na mi stat kros wantaim em. Na wanpela national crew kam autsait, na mi askim em long nem blong Filipino long mi. Na em no toktok. Tasol mi luksave long pes blong em pinis. Na mi tokim em yu wetim mi na stap. Mi go long bris bai mi ripotim yu long ol polis. Taim mi tok olsem ol Filipino kam autsait na switchim olgeta lait off.

(The fourth time he came and called for us, I got angry and yelled at him—Hey, can't you see we're fishing too? What do you want with us? We only want to fish, not talk. When I spoke Pidgin he turned and went away. But he quickly came back. He stood and pissed over us, onto my back. I could feel the urine hitting my head. I stood up and started to yell at them. One of the national crew came outside and I asked him for the name of the Filipino man, but he said nothing. But I recognized the Filipino's face. I said, You wait here-I'm going to the bridge and will report you to the police. At this, the Filipino came over and switched off the light.)

Mipela go long nambis ol policeman ol save night-day long Vidar ol stap na mi go na givim ripot. Tasol mi tokim ol morning bai mi kam, mi save long pes blong ol. Mi no save long policeman tasol mi save long pes blong em, so ol tokim mi long morning bai ol kam. So em go antap em putim statement pinis. So morning mi kisim kar go long maus rot Vidar stap na CRO blong RD kam na mi kalap na mi go wantaim ol. Long dispela taim mi tokim em long wanem samting kamap long mi last night. So mipela go daun long Vidar na CRO ringim dinghy blong dispela sip, na boat kam na mi wantaim tupela polisman na CRO mipela go long

dispela sip. Mipela go stret mipela go kamap long kebin blong man ya. Shirt em werim asde nait em stap yet long skin blong em. Na mi tokim CRO em tasol. Na em askim yu pispis antap long meri ya? Na Filipino ya em tok yes. Tasol man ya wok long givim kainkain excuse. Polis kwestinim pinis. Long compensatem mi ol givim mi pis. Mi yet mi no laik go long kisim pis. Ol givim mi 8-pela pis.

(So I went over to the 24-hour police at Vidar and reported the incident. But I said I'd come back in the morning, I know all their faces. I don't know the name of the policeman but he said he'd come back in the morning too. And he went and lodged the report. So in the morning I got a car to the feeder road to Vidar and the vehicle for the CRO came by and I jumped aboard with them. I told them about the night before. So I went down to Vidar and the CRO rang up the dinghy for this ship. We came aboard and I went straight to this man's cabin. He still had the same shirt on from last night. I told the CRO this is the man. He asked the man, Did you piss on this woman? The Filipino said Yes. But then he made all kinds of excuses. Police questioned him. They gave me compensation. I didn't want to go collect the fish, but they gave us 8 fish compensation.)

We are told there is no sex trade whatsoever in Riwo, however, due to the small amount of Riwo people working at RD. There are also no family disputes because of RD there.

8.1. k. Employment

Most employees of RD are outsiders and settlers, only a few locals are employed by RD Fishing. The lowest wage at RD Fishing is K50/fortnight (although this has now been raised slightly), whereas the minimum national wage, people report, is K75. RD's Casuals' rate is 75t/hour. Only recently has RD been employing locals. But the RD fishing supervisors (Filipinos) do not treat the national workers properly, they force them to work; and if locals don't follow orders, the supervisors gossip about them and sometimes sack them.

Salary is the main problem, according to one local crewmember, they make K165 per fortnight (roughly K10 day for 6-day work weeks). There is no overtime pay for the all-too-common overtime work. Unloading crew rates were 85t/hour, they have just recently come up to K1.50/hour. Seven young women from Seg worked at Vidar.

Crewmembers also verify that there are Pastors on ships, and that they conduct worship on Sundays, and Bible study on Wednesdays.

No mama groups in Vidar ples. Only one youth group. Now they sell betelnut and kulau to raise money to pay for fish at RD Vidar base and sell it for profit. They have depended on fish for food and survival; their sea is the only means for earning school fees. RD hired, then removed landowner youths for work at its Vidar base, due to theft. Now they are employing other people to work there. There was no bung kaikai for the village at the anniversary; it was done in the cannery grounds.

Ward Member James Sungai, and Iduwad Chair, Francis Gem, in Kaguz, says (paraphrased): The mission has closed down small-scale businesses like the bookshop, mechanic shop, and sawmill. As for the people, the small businesses were once promised by the mission as places to be employed first, and eventually for them to own. Their closing down is the main cause of their suffering.

8.2. Siar

8.2.a. Nobnob and Siar landowners

8.2.a.1. Population

Siar Village population: ~1750. Nobnob Village population: 1500+.

8.2.a.2. Clans

The clans with land where RD is operating include: in Siar, Badalon clan (leader Salib Pasakai); and subclan Yazazbi; and in Nobnob, Ditipa Kunta clan (leader Ewadak Mui), and Sasagas no 2 clan (a new splinter clan, with Idiwan Ahi as its leader) Nobnob people claim that the Siars are recent settlers, they came after the Nobnob clans, who are the original owners of all the land from the mountains down to the coast, and as such, they hold all the original place names. There are six clans who signed the landowner agreement with RD. In Siar: Lilung, Miztlimun Wifun, Banablan subclan Sibonten, Dikfon, Badalon, and Badalon subclan Yazazbi (who are said to be the principal landowners). Then there are the Nobnob clans of Sasagas, Kuata, and Hibutba. There are disagreements, however, as to which clans are the real landowners, and the subject really requires a more thorough investigation. Siar's Ward Councilor claims that the biggest problem was the failure of the Provincial Government to identify the real landowners.

There have been several mediations of land since 1996 between the government and the landowners. Badalon is recognized as the principal landowner clan. Sasagas clan has three 'subclans' or sections, Sasagas No. 1, Sasagas No. 2, and Sasagas No. 3. John Musas family from Sasagas No. 1 claims they own all the ground at the Cannery, and that Sasagas No. 2 owns land inland from the Cannery, while Sasagas No.3 owns the land up in the mountains of Nobnob.

Moses Mumun, Sasagas No 1 Clan Leader, explains:

“Around 1800, Gutup and Tunip from Sasagas clan give away the land to the German Company.”

“Was any payment made?”

MM: “Yes. Beads, axes, and salt.”

“Did you keep some of this? “

MM: “No.”

“Who owned the land after the Germans left?”

MM: “The government.”

“What types of business operated on the site?”

MM: “A coffee plantation.”

“How did RD establish operations on your land?”

MM: (In paraphrase): In 1995, the government {Madang Development Cooperation} transferred the land to RD. In 1996, we went to RD to stop the

Company's operation; a government team was sent out, with by Joshua Kalinoe. The outcome of the meeting was a "subsidiary agreement" forced by government on RD with spin off benefits guaranteed to the landowners.

8.2.a.3. Nobnob Village meeting 23/11/03:

The land on which RD Cannery now sits was taken by Carpenter Propriety Ltd (CPL) during the German Administration for a coconut plantation, which was known as Siar Plantation. Then on 25 March, 1956 CPL issued a final restoration order signed by Mumun Koneb for the Siar Coconut Plantation. When CPL left, the land went to the business arm of the Madang Provincial Government, the Madang Development Corporation. The actual transferal happened in 1989. Then on 10 March, 1996, RD Company took the land titles and signed an agreement for another 99 years. In this process, the landowners were legally sideswiped, missing any opportunity they had to appeal for the return of their land. There were roughly eight meetings held between 1995 and 1996 with the landowners, prior to RD Company's commencing operations. The meetings were headed by Joshua Kalinoe, head of Trade and Industry, and Matthew Gubag, Deputy Governor of Madang at the time. Nevertheless, landowners still today believe they were not properly consulted on the arrival of RD; and those who welcomed the Company were enticed by promises of spin off businesses, many of which have not come to pass.

Musas Mumun identifies the social problems that have arisen in the last six years: mixed marriages, and young teenage marriages; marital problems—we are told about ¾ of the men in Nobnob have girlfriends as well as wives; a decline in church service attendance on Sundays, where church, he tells us, has always been seen as a way to maintain order in the community; and a loss of parental control over children. He also tells us that, since 2000, dances have been organized fortnightly around the Cannery area and some employees do not go home at all, but hang around and get involved in fights, among other things. "This is getting out of hand," he says. Division amongst landowners is the most obvious side effect of the Cannery; people who once worked as a team to fight for the return of their land are now fighting each other. At least one man has been killed as a result of this division (Kob Mahak, in the Matupi fight, see below). No more initiation can be practiced for the young men now, which will, in time, only contribute to further social disintegration.

We speak to Ditipa clan elder, Kiatik Batet, in the Good Shepherd area. He says the ground where the Cannery sits is Ditipa land, as it is all the way up to Kumumba baret wara. The German government, he says, first acquired the land with knives and salt. CPL was the first company and it came and planted coconuts. Mato (their tumbuna) gave permission to German government for land. As far as he knows they did not sign any agreement with the government or RD.

8.2.a.4. Siar Village Meeting 23.11.03:

In Siar, people complain that there have been no improvements in their standard of living. We are told that the landowners are restricted from entering the Cannery's premises or having anything to do with it (unless, of course, they are employed inside).

RD had promised to give the landowners the undersized by-catch fish, but they never did; and this is the root cause of the young people stealing from the plant. They say that for the last 6 years RD has done nothing for the lifestyle of the young people. Not many of them work at Vidar, and fewer yet at the Cannery. Just this year, because Idawad pushed, we are told, RD brought in social activities like sports, and the once-only health clinic. The only benevolence from RD has been a gift of Masonite to the Aid Post. Landowners say they need help for new classrooms at the school, and for a bridge at the Kapundik River on the way to Nobnob (which is prone to floods).

8.2.b. Daghan Company Ltd

Daghan Company is the original Incorporated Landowners Group in Siar. The four member clans were: Sasagas, Hibutba No2, Ditipa Kunta, and Bagalon subclan. It was established in behalf of the landowners of the German plantation land to petition for a return of their land. As such, it predates the arrival of RD Company. Sasagas No.1 clan founded the company with their own resources, culled from their family-run trucking and catering businesses. Chaired by John Musas, Daghan became the parent company for the spin-off businesses offered by RD. Daghan eventually broke apart from internal divisions. At one point, a small cheque for canteen supplies was said to be misused by Mrs. Mansley Ewadak, the Daghan secretary. She was asked to explain its use at a meeting, we are told, but instead withdrew from the Company with her husband, Ewadak Mui, without an explanation. Informants suggest this may have been an internal management dispute (Mansley Ewadak had been the first Daghan Manager). In any event, it marks the beginning of the greater rifts within Daghan which ultimately resulted in RD's lawyer, Young Wadau, taking out a court order to terminate Daghan Company's contracts with RD as of 21 November, 2000 (see Appendix q). A split occurred within the Daghan clans, and Sasagas clan voted in a new leader, Idiwan Ahi, and became a new Sasagas landowners group. Daghan officials and security were then physically forced out of RD Cannery's premises by an Army Task Force one night, following a 7 days eviction notice.

They ran a canteen (where three clan members work at the counter, and six in the catering department), cooking food for workers night and day shifts. Eventually they opened up the business to the public also, as the only way they might be able to turn a profit. Normal wage for the canteen, for cooks and workers was K1.15/hour, fortnight average K150 (depending on the shift). The canteen business for RD workers has since been taken over by Filipinos.

The old contract between Daghan and RD, one informant tells us, specified that if the landowners wanted training they would provide it, and sponsor landowners' children in schools.

8.2.b.1. The fight at Matupi

Since 1991, the four clans—Sasagas, Hibutba No 2, Ditipa Kunta and Badalon—had been teamed up in a fight to get their land back. The land was taken by CPL during the German Administration for a coconut plantation, which was known as Siar Plantation.

CPL then left and the land was given to the business arm of the Madang Provincial Government, Madang Development Corporation. The traditional landowners later engaged Powes Parkop to represent them and get their land back, but the issue had not been resolved when RD arrived and the land was given to them.

The following is a sequence of events leading up to and beyond a fight with Sasagas Clan No 1 that erupted in Matupi, Nobnob:

1995—The government and RD signed their agreement.

1996—RD started operations. Meeting after meeting was held to find the landowners, we are told. And yet, ultimately, the landowners protested the operations due to lack of proper consultation and agreements with them. A subsidiary agreement was (they say forcibly) signed by landowner representatives without their reading and understanding the contents. Landowner representatives were influenced by the promise of spin-off businesses. The Company owner, for example, promised Musas Mumun a house, car, and a trip to the Philippines.

Musas Mumun, clan leader of Sasagas No 1 clan, claims they are the principal landowners of the RD Cannery ground. He was instrumental in the formation of the Daghan Landowners Company, registering it on March 1996. Musas, however, claims that he was pressured by Kuson Kong, an officer of the Department of Commerce's Madang branch, to register the company. All four clan leaders were invited to join the Daghan Company, and elders like Ewadak Mui were signatories or witnesses of the registration.

RD gave some capital money to the Daghan Company, under the banner of which a contract of services was drawn for trucking, catering and security. This capital investment enabled the company to start up and, ultimately, begin generating revenues for RD. All Daghan Directors were paid K50 per fortnight by RD. The employee base



Daghan canteen

was: 17 security guards, 2 trucking workers, and 9 catering workers.

We are told that Daghan Company gave financial assistance for students' school fees, and donated to churches in the area roughly K1000. It also contributed to funerals conducted in the community. Nevertheless, it was still a company largely controlled by one family and one clan line—Sasagas clan No 1.

8/3/96 Landowners signed an agreement with RD and the Madang Provincial Government, and Siar and Nobnob landowners register Daghan Company, with Musas (Kumai) Mumun as the principal signatory.

26/1/97 The MOA between Sasagas landowners, RD and the Madang Provincial Government is terminated, declaring the land to be leased to RD.

April 1999 Mansley Ewadak Mui, Secretary of Daghan Company, misuses a cheque originally for the Daghan canteen. According to John Musas, Chairman of Daghan, Mansley used the money for non-operational family matters.

May 1999 Mansley Mui and husband withdraw from Daghan after a management dispute. In the following week they attempt to freeze the Daghan Company accounts in the ANZ and terminate its contracts with RD.

10/8/00 Sasagas and Nobnob clan leaders hold a secret meeting in Nobnob and elect Idiwan Ahi as the new clan leader, effectively ousting Musas Mumun. The reasons given were disagreements over ownership of Daghan Company the distribution of benefits. It was pointed out by Musas Mumun that he himself was not elected but appointed by his predecessor in conformity with tradition. Traditionally, leaders are appointed not elected. Daghan Company security guards pull out to join the newly assembled Sasagas landowner group.

16/9/00 The market haus at RD Cannery is burnt down. The culprit has never been known, but the Siar and Nobnob people suspect Peres Musas and his cousin Samuel. Two days prior they had been drunk and started an argument with Siar people at the market area. This followed an agreement over the market to be restrictively used by Nobnob and Siar people only, especially the women. At that time some highlanders had started using the market to sell scones and other things the local women were also selling. Matthew Musas believes some highlanders set the fire, because the women from Siar and Nobnob RD Market were cross with them for coming all the way from town to sell at their market.



RD Cannery market

18/9/00 A fight between Musas Mumun's family and the Siar people erupts, resulting in a loss of property and one death. While the market house fire is the trigger, the real reasons must be the resentment towards Daghan Company in general.

On Wednesday 18 September 2000, Musas Mumun and his family were at their home at Matupi, when an estimated 100+ men raided the hamlet with axes, bush knives, spears and other weapons. On that day Matthew Musas, son of Musas Mumun, was told by a friend from Siar that there was to be a raid by Siar people. By that time, there was already over 100 men from Siar, Nobnob and the settlements organized to conduct the raid. Matthew alerted the family members, knowing all of his brothers were away. When Matthew came out of the Cannery after work, over a hundred men had gathered at the RD Market area, and he ran from the Cannery to Matupi, to alert his family. Matthew found none of his brothers were there, except his mother, in-laws and younger sister, Cathy. Matthew said that when he arrived at the house, there were about four men who already had entered the premises. One was carrying a grass knife, the other an iron rod, and the other two a stick and an axe.

Matthew's older brother, John Musas, was taking the Daghan Company lawyer Powes Parkop to the airport. (Powes was with [Human Rights NGO] ICRAF, representing the landowners on land issues with RD. Daghan engaged ICRAF, and when ICRAF broke apart, and Parkop started Powes Parkop Lawyers, he was retained by Daghan. [See Appendix r.]

Peres Musas, another brother, was driving a truckload of women RD workers from town. As he passed Matupi and saw the crowd, he slowed down, but men were throwing stones and sticks at the driver and the crew. The men were in a fighting mood, Peres says, they were shouting "Kilim em!" and they were heavily armed with weapons including knives, grass knives, sticks, stones, axes, and spears. The attackers even pushed an iron rod into the truck, so Peres drove off to RD cannery, concerned about the safety of the women passengers. After dropping them off, Peres drove back to Matupi; there the men took sharp iron spears and tried to spear Peres and his boss crew. Matthew was chased by some men with axes, grass knives and sticks, and was narrowly missed by a spear. There was a policeman in the area at the time and he watched everything, without intervening.

The Musas family's house was broken into and looted, its walls smashed. Some of the looted property included pots, plates, stereo, and a lawnmower, while the betel and banana trees were also cut down. More tragically, Kob Mahak, a Magistrate, was hit in the fracas by Peres' truck and died two days later.

When Peres drove off to the Cannery, Matthew says about four men chased him. One of them with a coffee stick (strong wooden rod) hit him on the left arm, and broke his left wrist. The men then chased him with grass knives around the houses. One of the men threw a spear straight at him, but missed. The men chased him towards the sago swamp; he turned and ran back towards the houses, where he spotted a police taxi on the road next to their home. He ran up and found the lone policeman, who was helpless against a crowd of angry men heavily armed and already at the climax of the fight. When

Matthew reached him, the policeman told him to stay away, to run away and protect his own life. So Matthew ran to their neighbours who told him to hide in their house, but he went in their house and came out again and ran into the sago swamp. There he found his mother, and John Musas' wife and children.

According to Musas Mumun's wife, one of the men ran to her and hit her right arm with a stick, breaking her hand. She said the men, about fifteen armed with weapons, smashed into the walls of their house. They then looted their belongings, including pots, plates, a car windscreen, a radio, a lawn mower, and such. Their banana and betelnut trees were also cut down, and two dogs were killed. She said that her husband, Musas Mumun, was informed of the fight earlier that morning, and had been taken by a family member to hide in another village.

Peres was afraid of the angry crowd so he and the crew did not come out of his truck. He sat inside with his boss crew trying to protect themselves from sticks, stones and spears thrown at them. By then, Peres slowly moved the truck towards the houses, where he accidentally hit Kob Mahak, a Village Court Magistrate. At this point the mob became so furious they wanted to kill Peres. Seeing this, he accelerated and drove off right to town, to the Police Station where he reported the matter to police. The police told him, however, that they had no resources available for an immediate response. So Peres drove away to Newtown, to the back of the Jant Compound where he hid the truck and got on a bus back to Matupi. By then everything at Matupi was over, leaving all the property destroyed. Peres' house was burnt down.

According to Peres, Kob Mahak was admitted to Modilon Hospital where he lasted two days, and died. After Kob's death, Kob's family, with the support of Siar and Nobnob people, and some of the settlers, asked Musas Mumun and his family for compensation. The compensation was never given, so the matter was taken to court. At court, Peres and the eyewitnesses gave their stories and the case was ultimately dismissed.

26/10/00 Notice of termination of contracts between Daghan Company and RD Cannery. The agreement was signed at Vidar by RD Company, the Madang Provincial Government, and the Sasagas and Nobnob landowner representatives, ceasing all Daghan operations at RD.

25/11/00 Notice of termination and eviction served to Daghan Company, an eviction notice given by Young Wadau and delivered by police. Notice of termination of MOA (25/11/00) with RD reads:

It is becoming clear that Daghan Company Limited received spin-off business and the cash benefits from the business were not distributed equally to the Four Clans...The search done at Investment Promotion Authority shows that Kumai Mumun owns Daghan Company. It is clear that through fraudulent means Daghan has been depriving the Four Clans of RD spin-off business and the benefits of this business was used by John Musas, Kumai Mumun and his family.

A restraining order is attached whereby John Musas is warned “not to interfere with the RD Tuna Administrative function....You are to stay clear off (sic) the premises.” (See Appendix q).

28/11/00 The Police Task Force delivers to Daghan Company a one-week eviction order.

5/12/00 The Police Task Forces moves Daghan Company from the Cannery premises. In the process, much of the Company property is destroyed or looted, including computers, chairs, store goods, refrigerators, and fax/phones.

The Daghan Company is accused by RD of misappropriating K500, 000, the contract money for all the Daghan spin-off businesses.

8.2.c. Sasagas landowners group

The landowner clans in Daghan Company suffered disputes that resulted in the termination of Daghan’s contract with RD (see Appendix q). Daghan and Sasagas clan’s leader, John Musas, was removed, and a new clan leader, Idiwan Ahi, was elected. The election also marks the first time heredity was ignored in electing a Nobnob clan leader. The clan then formulated (but has not incorporated as) the Sasagas landowners group.

8.2.d. Business Spin Offs

The spin-off businesses from RD are catering, trucking and security. Trucking is the only surviving landowner spin-off offered at present.

8.2.d.1. Canteen:

Daghan ran a canteen (at which all the clan members work), cooking and serving food for workers on night and day shifts; and they also run a kai bar for workers. Normal wage for the canteen workers is K1.15/hour, fortnight average K150 (depending on the shift). A cheque for the canteen supplies was misused by Mrs. Mansley Ewadak, the Daghan secretary; she left and the group dissolved. On 21 November, 2000, a Saturday, Young Wadau, a private lawyer, took a court order to stop the Daghan Corporation from its contracts with RD. The Daghan officials and security were physically forced out of the RD cannery premises by an army task force one night, based on a 7-day eviction notice. RD subsidizes the food at 75t/plate for workers (which is deducted from workers’ pay). Originally John Musas ran this canteen, and now it has been taken over by a Filipino.

8.2.d.2. Trucking:

John Musas also ran this initially, and now, since the conflict with the Musas family, when many Daghan clans resigned from the company, another collective of clans came in to run this, and they are also known as Daghan. (This is a point of contention between clans now.) RD buys trucks and gives them to landowners on loan. The company pays for fuel, pays the trucking company for its services, and then deducts loan payments from the fortnightly pay. The driver makes K150/fortnight (and has worked for RD 3 years—before that he was a delivery driver for Martin Tsang [MST] and made K167-

170/fortnight), although the pay depends on the number of runs they make. The driver goes as far as Sarang and Mirap to pick up workers in the morning, but we are told that sometimes young boys throw stones at the vehicles, and hold them up. The boys know when the trucks pick up girls, and they go after them.

Nobnob Area, Leleb says, 'Nogat wok RD wokim long mipela.' Spin-offs belong to four people only.

8.2.d.3. Security: Mansley Ewadak managed this business under Daghan Company until the termination of Daghan contracts with RD.

8.2.d.4. Gamoi Village, Nobnob, Meeting, 20/11/03.

In attendance: Philip Gonmatot, Kalol Makanu (RD driver, Ihudbak clan), Wadak (Engineering in the Lutheran shop), Ruth and Sabeth Gonn (mother and daughter).

Informants say RD told them in 1997 that they would give very good conditions to landowners. People say the cannery workers work for 80t per hour, without good rest breaks. They have no time left for families. In the beginning and end of their shifts they wait for long periods of time for the RD transport; and yet, at the beginning of their shift, RD always insists they arrive on time. Spin-off businesses are not really gifts, but loans, people say. No one can make money from them. Most Councilors are on the RD payroll anyway.

The marketplace on the road leading to Nobnob is not permanent, and has no infrastructure. They need a market house, and indeed, believe they were promised this by RD as a community service. All companies have a responsibility to the communities they enter, people argue. But thus far RD has paid no Nobnob school fees. In fact, Nobnob has received no community services whatsoever. Nor were there any social impact awareness campaigns before the Company arrived. The 'smell pollution,' they also say, is the worst in the Nobnob area.

Many people in the meeting agreed that RD should stay, as it helps the development of Madang and PNG in general. But they are just as adamant that it should raise its standards and wages. Some reported that this year RD did send word around that they would begin to help communities more.

One suggestion from the meeting was that RD should appoint committees representing each sector of community, for awareness campaigns and provision of services. Only the landowner clan leaders who signed the agreement benefit from it. RD wants to attack the economy of the village landowners, they say. 3500 people will be working at the new RD compound, and there will be many side effects, more than what they experience now. Under the new agreement there should be guaranteed training and localization. But the number one concern of Nobnob and Siar landowners, we are told, is the breach of RD's agreement to give landowners hiring priority.

RD has not provided the landowners or the school in Siar with proposal forms for them to seek assistance from the Company.

Siar's Ward Councilor Simus says the people were at first happy with RD, but now they see their promises were empty. He also says the Office of Provincial Affairs failed to identify the real landowners at Siar. There are six clans who signed the MOA with RD: Lilung, Miztlimun Wifun, Banablan subclan Sibonten, Dikfon, Badalon, and Badalon subclan Yazazbi (who are the principal landowners). In addition, there are the Nobnob clans of Sasagas, Kuata, and Hiburba. There are disputes now, however, as to which clans own which parcels of land.

Promises were made to help women with cooking lessons, and to bring a tailor in from Philippines to show the women how to sew uniforms for each department. These they would then sell to RD (where, presumably, employees would then buy them back through pay packet deductions). The women expected RD to establish a Community Resource Center with sewing machines, which would also work as a venue for the cooking classes. They had also promised a poultry farm for the youths, assuring them they would find markets for the chickens, too.

Because all that they have been promised has not come about, the only thing the women want now is for the Company to build a good permanent building for their market. The current one is only made of bush materials. Before RD came the women of Siar used to go and sell their goods at the town market; they'd sell banana, yam, fish, greens and coconuts, etc. A lot of the women at the market fight about men, one elderly woman says. The women believe RD helps others from other provinces, but those at their doorstep they don't help at all.

8.2.e. Health

8.2.e.1. Siar Village Meeting 23/11/03: attendance: 30 (15 male, 15 Female):

Ward Member Simus Tekei (paraphrased):

Where do you get you medical supplies?

Evangelical Christian Church {EBC}, Madang District Health Center and AusAid {Healthy Island Donation program}

Did RD give help to Aid Post?

No, just recently {month September 2003} they came and promised to extend our Aid Post, but we don't really believe they will carry out their promise, because we have experienced this sort of thing in the past, the promises made by RD. But after seven years nothing has been done.

What kind of sickness is found in the community?

Short wind, for example.

RD has given masonite to the Siar Aid Post. Lately, they also proposed to improve the Aid Post by getting some health workers in to be paid by RD. This was in response to a petition by villagers after 13 deaths in village due to lack of proper health services.

RD never came to the community to talk to people. One woman who started work at RD, Audrey Bihoh (Nagada ples) began work at K35/K45 a fortnight (and, with overtime K50), but left in 2000. She would finish at 12 PM—it depended not on the hours, but on when the work was done for the day. Finally she left for lack of a real wage. The smells really affect the workers, she says, especially during the rainy season. She now markets vegetables and earns more money than she had working at RD (K100 per week). Now most of the settlement young people work at RD, where prostitution and promiscuity are common. Audrey Bihoh (Nagada) worked in the production area: she claims conditions are not healthy, they are unhygienic. No gloves worn for scraping fish with knives. They wear uniforms, aprons, and hairnets only. Fish skin and rubbish is often left on the floor and water thrown on it. There are no fans inside, so sweat gets mixed with the product, and flies are everywhere. Their only break is for one hour's lunch at noon. Initially, she says, the Filipinos treated them well. It depends on the young women, how they conduct themselves in the company area. At the production area the lights where they scrape the fish onto the trays are very low and have contributed to damaging her eyesight. RD often throws rubbish and stinking waste in Good Shepherd's field and river, the Amenbeda River.

People also tell us that, when taking deductions from workers' pay, RD managers often give reasons like tax, and NPF (workers fill forms for NPF). This often confuses the people, says Audrey. She also knows that it is the brown waste meat that is canned for PNG consumption, while the white meat is sold overseas.

Nobnob Aid Post: Natang Kauhat (27 years experience as a CHW Community Health Worker) arrived here June 2003. AusAid supplied first lot of medicine in July 2003, but it ran out by September, and now, because there is none, she is forced to buy it from Summer Institute of Linguistics. Fees are K20 for adults, K1 for children. Common sicknesses are malaria, cough, and pneumonia.

In Nobnob, there is one HIV + woman and she was treated for a womb sore, then never came in again. Natang had in the past worked for BMS, and her husband is currently working at the Works Dept Madang. She said she and her husband are learning to do an awareness talk on HIV and family planning (he is a specialist on HIV awareness). In terms of health and hygiene, Natang thinks the people are not that active keeping their communities clean; overall cleanliness is poor. RD has not supplied any medicine to this Aid Post. She mainly treats malaria, diarrhea, coughs and skin diseases. There are no reports of cancer; no cases of leprosy; but two cases of TB. Ten or less patients come per week. She plans to have the antenatal program come back in the future, and immunization and family planning. Her opinion is the community is good and respectful, with good relations with the Aid Post; they listen to their leaders and take part in community work, like cleaning the Aid Post.

The medicines supply is their biggest problem, and the government has not responded. Now she is trying to work with SIL. She and her husband Jimmy have sent a proposal to RD for assistance in improving the building.

Many of the women at RD get skin diseases like fungus, and still work. Sickneses include: strong coughs, diarrhea, and dysentery. The smells are very strong and affect everyone, though. In Siar, 2 children have died of fever and diarrhea; 2 from 'skin bun nating'—wasting and swollen belly; and 1 from TB. We were told two women have had miscarriages from strenuous working conditions. The women also pointed out that the main sicknesses through the village in these past 6 years have been: strong cough, diarrhea, and dysentery.

The smell from the cannery is so strong it especially affects children. Two security guards had strong diarrhea—Bauti Adrea and Balid Imud—although it is not clear if the wastes at cannery were the direct cause. Some Riwo people have been excreting blood since last year. At present people are scared to eat fish because they believe it is contaminated.

8.2.f. Education

Ambarina Primary School has 19 teachers and 520 students from Siar, Nobnob, Nagada, Riwo, Pau, Nagada Plantation, Baitabag village and station, Amron station and village, Malmal. Enrollment has increased because, in the past, children from Siar plantation didn't come here, but now they do.

Ambarina Primary School faces a shortage of classrooms, teachers' houses, and sporting facilities. RD provided assistance to the school once in 2001, but not since. They sponsored a Duxship award for a grade 8, student and that was all. According to the teachers, early last year and this year, 5 students, mostly female, left school to work in the RD cannery. The school fee problem was the major cause. The fees are: Top-Up K250, grades 3-5 K80. Plus, the teachers say, these students wanted fast and easy money. The Company has no policy concerning underage workers. Thus, when students cannot cope with studies, they leave. There is very little cash flow in the community, even with the Company's presence.

The staff and students also complain of the foul smells produced by the Cannery.

There is no assistance or sponsorship from the Company for any events or activities such as graduation or school fetes. The company had a tin fish promotion at the school in 2003, where they told the students their fish gets taken to Philippines where it is flavored, then sent back to PNG to be sold here.

Nobnob Community School Headmaster is Peter N Siwi. The students are: 103 males and 71 females. There are six teachers, three males and three females. According to the Headmaster, there was no assistance at all given to the school by RD. In 1999, they opened a new double classroom, so the school asked RD to assist financially with the opening ceremony. The Company, in response, donated a carton of Diana Tuna. The Headmaster said that he requested a water tank in the month of May this year (2003). RD Company told him to make a quotation. He did, and sent it to the Company, but they told him there were no funds.

School fees are the biggest problem faced by the students and the school. This problem existed before RD, but has not been alleviated by RD's presence. Children still come to school, but that is largely due to the payment grace period the school keeps giving the parents.

Staff and students also complain about the awful smell that is being given off by the waste produced by the cannery.

Today another problem, the Headmaster says, is that of boyfriend-girlfriend relationships occurring in the school. The students have been influenced by their elders working in the Cannery on this matter. They hear about such relationships in the Cannery and have started to mimic this behavior in school now. There was also the case of two students, a boy and a girl, not attending classes on Fridays, especially payday fortnights for RD Company. The boy is no longer coming to school at all. The Headmaster believes this is because the students' parents are working in the Cannery, and on fortnight Fridays they stay home to get money from their parents' pay. What the students do with the money is unclear to him, however.

8.2.f.1. Recommendations by the teachers

- There must be improvement in the drainage system of the cannery
- The company must close and all the conditions must be reviewed and then reopened the company
- There must be proper sitting places for worker to rest and or to wait for vehicles to bring them home.
- RD must provide bathrooms for workers to wash before they go home. According to the teachers, many RD cannery workers smell badly when they get on the PMV with them. This is because they have been working in such a smelly environment.

Some families have asked RD for help with school fees, but they have been refused.

8.2.f.2. Good Shepherd High School: Interview with Headmaster (since March 31 2003) 21/11/03:

The total number of students is 200, and they have a staff of twenty, plus one Jaica (Japan) volunteer. Five classes are taught, and the schools fees run from K725 to K1208. To pay the entire school's fees would require K35,000. The children are affected by the awful Cannery smell, and yet also have problems meeting their fees. Yet the Headmaster believes the RD Community Relations Officer should look into the problems of the pupils, specifically their school fees problems. There has been a verbal agreement to send the class list to RD tuna, made by the Parents & Citizens Fundraising Committee, to indicate children having trouble with school fees. Thus far, RD has given no assistance at all. The Headmaster believes that because the RD people are Asian they are simply not interested in developing the place. The School Board made a request to the Company for a secondhand truck, which was to be donated on a loan basis. But RD refused them.

The Riwo Elementary School is only bush materials at present, and they would like to put up permanent buildings---as would Nagada and Malmal Elementaries.

8.2.g. Church

Pastor Hiuk Kapaku: Mi em pastor Hiuk Kapaku blong Lutheran Church long Nobnob yet na mi gat 68 yia nau.

Wenda: Yu wok long church hamas yia?

Hiuk: Mi wok long church longpla taim tumas taim mi stap yangpela yet, mi gat wanpela pikinini mi bin lusim ples na mi stap long bus unap 11 yia mi wok evangelist na bihain migo long Pastor seminary na mi kam bek na holim wok Pastor long bush antap long Wanumai yet 5 yia na mi transfer kam bek long as seket blong mi long Amele Seket na mu stap olsem gutnius board blong Lutheran church hia long Madang na regional inap 10 pla yia olgeta na mi kam bek long ples, inap olsem 43 yia igo pinis na mi stap long ples na mi kisim nem pastor na mi stap long ples. Na skru blong mi, lek blong my dai olsem na. District Council blong Madang itok aut klia olsem mi stap long ples na husat ilaikim mi long harem mi, ol ken redim rot na kam kisim mi igo na stap wantaim ol inap pinis blong ol na oli ken bihainim mi kam bek. Olsem na nau mi stap long ples, long Gamoi ples nau mi stap long em mi kam.

Moses: Pastor tenkyu long yu givim stori blong yu olsem yu wok long sios longpela taim. ...nau yu stap long ples blong yu ya long Nobnob na igat wanpela bikpela campani yu yet yu save istap long ples blong yu. Yu olsem lida blong sios na community, bai yu tok wanem long kampani nau em stap long hia long community blong yu?

H: Yu askim long dispela bai mi ken tok olsem kamapani emi kam festaim emi gutpela na mi yet mi stap long dispela taim blong kampani istap em long Baduwak na taim kamapni ilaik stat long mekim wok mi yet kam na sign long dispela kamapani imas wok, so mi lukim olsem wok oli statim na long sait blong lotu kampani pulim olgeta yangpela na dispela wok youth igo lus pinis tasol bihain long dispela em-long lukluk blong mi—ikam olsem 1997 na kam ino sut olsem bipo, inarakaim liklik long sindaun blong kampani. Pastaim long stat blong mipla imas kam sign wantaim ol lain ya—kampani na ol statim wok igo, igutpla tasol liklik long ol lain blong tambu hia. Oli lusim ol na kam aut—long dispela taim em ironng liklik. Long pasin blong sign mipla ibin sign. As tru blong mi laik tok olsem em bifore long ol lain kokonas ya man husat ibin sign wantaim kampani oli mas planim lain kokonas long hap graun blong ol. Orait dispela klen na dispela laim tasol ken stap wantaim ol. Tasol nau long dispela kampani mi lukim na ol lain ibin statim wok hia wantaim kampani oli kam aut na ol arapela lain haphap lain blong haphap graun ya ol isave kam papa long—oli wok wantaim kampani na dispela kain samting em mi no bin lukim bipo. Long wanem mi stap yangpela yet na ol wait skin ibosim dispela ol lain kokonas kampanu ya—bosim ikam. Nagada em Lutheran mission yet tasol tupela kampani hia na oli bosim dispela lain kokonas andap long Gamoi ples na arere ya em dispela kampani blong matupi wanpla ,masta nem blong em Siling emi bosim dispela lain kokonas tu. Tasol as pls blong antap oli bin sign long en, oli mas lukluk gut wantaim

- masta ya, arapela lain noken go insait. Tasol nau long dispela kampani mi lukim narapela kain liklik long pasin oligat nau.
- M: Yu tok dispela taim yet kampani RD Tuna bin kam insait, igat sampela gutpela samting yu lukim na anem ol dispela ol gutpela samting inap yu storu long ol dispela gutpela samting yu lukim?
- H: Samting mi tok ya, pasin insait long wok blong ol emi olsem gutpela fren na gutpela wok blong ol tasol insait long wok blong ol yet emi faul liklik long wok oli mekim, Mi no kam insait tasol mi stap autsait na feeling blong mi ino olsem bifo mi bin lukim long ai, feeling blong mi igo narakain liklik long ai bin lukim samting bifo, em as blong feeling mi tok olsem, em narakain liklik.
- M: Long sios blong yu long hap kampani inap nau stat long wanem taim kampani bin kam stap na inap nau kampani givim sampela halvim long sios tu ot long sait blong moni long haus lotu, maintainim haus lotu ot sapatim ol Lutheran Mama or Lutheran Youth?
- H: Sore dispela askim bai mi noinap bekim stret o mi no lukim dispela ikamap olsem na mi noinap bekim stret na mi ken tol olsem oli no halivim.
- M: Na yupela bin traim askim ol tu long halivim o nogat?
- H: Sori mi no kam insait wantaim ol na bai mi traim long askim. Lukluk blong mi yet em mi lukim emi nogat dispela wokibin kamap.
- M: Na yu bin toktok long bihain long 1997 na kam antap, lukluk blong yu olsem pastor yu lukim olsem pasin blong lotu na wok bung olsem community bruk bruk long dispela. So yu stori long dispela. Olsem wanem ol yanpela ino save go lotu o?
- H: Dispela askim blong yu em stret olsem. Ol yangpela iwok igo na bai oli na save spak ibin krangim ol samting olsem na oli no ting long lotu. Ol yangpela ino save long lotu.
- Wenda: Wok wantiam kampani.
- H: Wok wantiam kampani na ino gat lotu. Em long taim mi tok pinis wok youth ipundaun na oligo insait long kamapani na oli ting long go autsait tasol long wok blong lotu.
- M: Long 1997 na kam antap wanem ol sampla kain ol hevi, olsem yu wanpela community lida blong sios na mi askim. Wanem ol hevi insait lonf kampani yu lukim kamap bikpela olsem pasin stil o pasin pamuk o pasin blong no laik go lotu o wanem kain pasin ol hevi insait long komuniti?...
- H: Em gutpela askim blong yu. Mi bin harim planti psain nogut olsem na mi tok olsem dispela ples kamapani nau wok long em o dispela haus imas kamap olsem ples “sodom gomorrah” Bible itok olsem. Orait na feeling blong mu na lukluk save blong mu emi go olsem em stret Bible itok: em kamap Sodom Gomorrah. Olsem na dispela pasin lotu pasin emi selek mi tok em dispela bikpela samting stap. Mi no inap kandim olgeta tasol mi kolim olsem tasol na yu yet iken save olsem dispela nem em bikpela long olgeta hap.
- M: Insiat long sios olsem taim kamapni ikam kamap na ol wok long 1997 ikam antap long lukluk blong yu na long experience blong yu wok long hia bai yu tok wanem, planti man meri ol wok long go long sios na marit long sios or nogat?
- H: Planti oligat dispela pasin ikam, okay ikam anatap long 1997 na kam antap long 2000 nau em dispela pasin krangi ikamap. Ol lain ikam autsait na pasin nogut tu ikam

insait na i papa long dispela hap na istap yet nau. Em lukim blong mi na feeling blong mi istap olsem yet.

M: So nogat planti lain sa go marit long sios.

H: Dispela kain nogat.

M: O ols sa go baptisim pikinini blong ol nogat.

H: Wanwan mipela tasol, oli askim ol yangpela tasololino kam. Mipela wt tasol, sampela taim wanwan isave kam.

Wenda: Yu bin mentionim yu nin signim wanpela pepe wantaim ol lain kampani. Taim yu signing pepa ya oli kam paninim yu o yet bringim yu yet go na yu signim olsem position blong yu olsem witness o klem lida o?

H: Mi em, govt blong PNG ilaikim pastor istap insait long dispela sign o dispela nem, emi gat dispela nem papa graun. Mi pastor na mi mas save long dispela klem oli bin promise long mekim samting orait nem blong mi mas istap.

Wenda: o yu witness tasol.

H: Mi witness long dispela.

Wenda: Govt painim yu long witness long signim agreement.

H: Mi tok pinis ol lain blong singautim mi long signim pepa em ol dispela lain ya na ol lain ikam bihain mi ino save long ol. Em as tingting blong dispela kampani.

M: Husat ol dispela lain yu sign wantim ol?

H: Tambu Kumai, wantaim ol pikinini blong en, Nathan, John, Bab, dispela ol lain, tupela ol liklik ya, Teres.

M: Wanem klen stret ol lain ya?

H: Em Sasagas klen.

M: Na yu bin tok bihain gen ol signim narapela pepa ya em husat ol dispela narapela lain—taim ol brik ya—wanem ol dispela lain?

H: Dispela lain nau oli wok wantaim kampani ya em ol lain Hibutba tamblo wantaim long Ditipa Klen, garyn blong ol ikam inap long hap ya na blong ol tu ikam inap long hap ya. Em tru blong ol dispela lain em kampani nau kam sanap.

M: Ol dispela lain bihain ol go insait ya yu kolim nem blong sampla blong ol lain ya.

H: Em Iaduak wantaim meri blong en em ol Ditipa klen na Begbeg wantaim lain blong emoli gutpela tamblo oli kolim. Na ol dispela lain ikam wantaim kampani na lain ibin sign wantaim mi oli stap autsait nau.

M: Yu save blong anem as na yupla ol papa graun yupela stap autsait? Yu gat sampela tingting long dispela?

H: Mi yet mi noinap klia longh wanem as na oli bin rausim ol dispela lain em mi no klia.

M: Nay yet nai yu tok wanem long yu olsem communitie lida na makim sios bai yu tok wanem long kampani. Tingting blong yu em olsem wanem, yu laikim kampani istap o wanem?

H: Bifo long ol lain kokonas I sanap em husat I sign wantiam ol, ol isave stap wantaim ol tasol nau mi lukim ol lain ikam na ikam autsait ol lain istatim wok ya oli kam autsait ol lain istatim wok ya oli kam autsait narapela ikam emi nupla long ai blong mi. Bifo mi yangpela pet mi no lukim dispela kain pasin na mi kam nau na long RD dispela pasin kamap na blong wanem as na mi no klia nau.

M: So yu laik kampani istap o bai igo?

H: Long tok blong mi yet, mi bin toktok wantaim sempela. Dispela lain isave lukautim dispela kampani—oli mas pinis na igo na narapela lain mas kam kisim.

M: Kampani iken istap.
H: Yes, blong wanem em helpim blong PNG pinis
M: Kamapim wok o//
H: Yeh, em tingting mi gat long en. Na mi tokim planti pinis olsem. Sapos kain lain ya oli laik faulim pasin olsem bipo okay olimas pinis nrapela ken kisim ples. Em as tingting blong mi.
M: Narapela kampani?
H: Yes. Long dispela em...
M: Olsem yupela planti Nobnob ino benefit so bai yu tol wanem long dispela?
H: Mi tok pinis, nogat narapela tok. Dispela kampani ken istap tasol ol lain iwok ya oli wok ikam antap na long sign blong mipela oli wok ikam antap na mi lukim olsem faul na oli ken lusim long wok na narapela laim ikam insait. Olsem husat isave long dispela wok iken ikam insait.
Wenda: Nupela kampani?
H: Nupela kamapni.
Wenda: Yu ting olsem nupela kampani bai bringim more gutpela o bau bringim bagarap?
H: Em tingting mi gat long em.
Wenda: Taim yu signim dispela agreement yu sign olsem witness ya ol govt na kamapani bin baim yu o nogat?
H: Nogat. Blong wanem mi lida blong ol orait mi sign wantaim ol. Bihain wanem helpim orait mipela kisim helpim, em as tingting.
Wenda: sampela memba wanem nem blong em.
H: Matthew Guba istap wantam.
Wenda: Em kam wokim wanem?
H: Emi bringim dispela pepa ikam long mipela signim. Em bosim dispela agreement pepa ya na mipla sign.
Wenda: Okay, thank you.

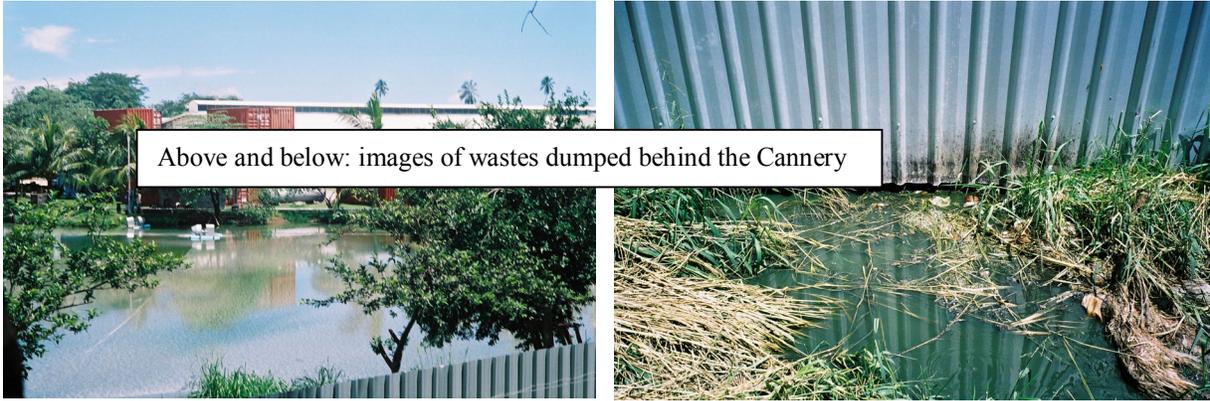
8.2.h. Environment

8.2.h.1. Siar Village Meeting 23/11/03, in attendance: 30 (15 male and 15 Female):

The main environmental problems are:

- Terrible smells
- Kumula Creek water is contaminated
- Coral reef has changed color (been bleached)

Simus, Ward Councilor for Ambenob, asserts that RD should improve its operations and be forced to comply with international environmental laws. Moreover, they should follow the rules of PNG and customary law in place. If they don't they should simply pack up and go. He tells us he will petition the government if they don't pressure to RD



Above and below: images of wastes dumped behind the Cannery

Behind the Cannery; flooding from the Cannery fencing

to improve their operations. Asked if he has any evidence for a court case against the government, he says they are working with WWF on the matter.

According to John Musas, there was never any awareness campaign in the communities on social and environmental impacts by RD. Air pollution is everywhere in Nobnob, he says. Sometimes the smell is so strong at night that members of his family in Matupi have to cover their noses to sleep.



8.2.h.2. Nobnob meeting 23/11/03:

Jim Kawad went to Health Department to seek help on the smell pollution, but there was no real response. They are not aware of anything that RD has done thus far.

Negative impacts: Smells (especially in the nights)—which are bad for children, and could be the cause of sicknesses.



Left: Waste ponds behind the Cannery

Riwo Environmental impacts: Rody Beg: Before, many different kinds of fish were caught; now they're mostly gone. Reef fish 'tangir'. Less numbers. Barracuda is gone, probably by RD> Hammerhead (Rashes) fish where he saw often before, and used to catch, now gone. Reefs and sea are now dirty, reefs dying, color changed. He thinks as years go by most coastal areas along the place will be damaged. Now, they catch 5 or less fish for a whole day. Tuna is now all gone from their area. School fee problems as well.

Simon Bisil, Ward Councilor Riwo--New diseases—bel pen, traut, pekpek wara, probable cause of eating polluted fish? Food poisoning. This sickness started last year. Youth unemployment is high including people with certificates of trade. They have submitted names of unemployed people to RD but often they are not considered. No more 'kanai' exists—a sign of tuna that ...

Simon Bisil was an eyewitness to a dolphin death, when the RD ships were in the Harbor. Their fish income has all but disappeared, and Simon believes they will have no more marine life at all if this continues. So much has happened since 1997 that he can only predict much greater environmental damage in the next five years.

The places in the mangroves where the fish used to lay eggs in Riwo are no longer bearing eggs now. In Riwo the kanai (seagull) is no longer seen around, either. Customarily, people would see kanai and know to catch fish. The water supply in Riwo

is also poor; at present people are digging wells in their sago grounds during the season they dig sago. One man, Kevin, says that in the past people could catch all kinds of fish, including tangir (kingfish). This and barracuda has gone down. David in Riwo also says the rashes (fish) have also vanished. Even though they have long stopped using dynamite to fish, they numbers have fish have depleted recently.

Sister Florence (of Madang) notes that the RD is giving employment to Madang people, and this is a benefit; but she also points out that the serious disadvantages include horrible levels of noise from the ships, such that the Sisters no longer enjoy a quiet time for prayer.

There is also a problem of water pollution. According to John's mother and the others, the Murmurba Creek, which runs near the cannery, is polluted with green fungi and smells badly. Before, this water had a lot of fish, which the women used to catch. Now it has none. Besides the Cannery, drain waste is dug out and emptied towards Murmurba, even though people still use this creek to wash and do laundry. Floods cause it to overflow waste all the way down the creek.

Another woman conferred, saying the drain for the Cannery's waste is dug up to the Murmurbar, and the waste goes down to the river when it rains and floods. The entire drainage system should be looked at, people say; even the rubbish truck smells stinky. They should have a stop-work and review the sanitation conditions.

The wastes dumped in the three ponds behind the Cannery give off a terrible smell, they run into nearby streams, next to local villages, and eventually affect their drinking water. The waste dump has no proper control or neutralization plan. Currently chlorine is dumped into the waste and run by a neutralizing machine. The water itself is black, with a very strong smell. John Musas and family living at Matupi Village, 5 minutes from cannery, says the smell is polluting them, most of their children have scabies and grille as a result of washing in nearby streams. They also have to cover their noses at night to sleep.

The company has employed a group of young men to bury its waste, and that waste includes fish intestines and bones mixed with chemicals. People now worry that the buried chemicals will destroy their crops. The boys at first brought them to Siar to bury them there, but the leaders have told RD to find another place to bury their waste, so now its being buried behind the Cannery. The hired boys include Gusai, Silvernus, Jacobus, Fallen, Bagman, David, Bylen, Alistair, Ase, Robert, Yamag, and Benny. They started this work by the end of October, and every day they go and work there under a contract with RD. They go down to the waste dump and fetch wastes in a bucket that they then put in a container to bury. The smells are so offensive that one lad vomited and had to leave work altogether.

8.2. i. Skin trade

According to John Musa's mother and other Hobnob women at the gathering, there are settlers coming and sitting on their land near the Cannery. The Nobnob women say it is

these North Coast settlers who work at the Cannery that take part in it (in the Cannery). At present there are no half-caste Filipino-Siar children.

‘George’ (from Labeling) confirms that there is definitely prostitution in the Cannery. Another tells us, more obliquely, that “women are going around with the men.”

8.2.j. Fights and lawlessness

There have been two cases marriage break ups in Siar since RD came, but none, we are told, in Riwo.

The Mission Sisters in Seg say the reason young boys break and enter is because they have no jobs, none of the small jobs the mission offered, and the belief that this is still their land. They are hungry and need money, too.

The three kinds of cigarettes illegally sold off the back of the RD vessels are Boiling Gold, Fortune and Champion brands. Also sold is the 80% proof Tanduay rum.

Informants point out that RD Fishing PNG Pty Ltd is a fishing venture, yet it is running its rice farm, cattle coconut, betelnut, cocoa in Vidar, in the Maiwara area. At least the Mission gave a hospital and school to the community, they say, in return for their land grab.

Riwo has no spin off benefits. Councilor Simon Bisil says that the outside contracts with PMVs, for example, cause social problems. In Sept 2003, the weekend workers PMV run for RD caused a dispute with young Riwo people (the PMV driver was from the Highlands, Paul Kawi, dropping off RD workers.)

There is also a dispute over a promise of a payao floater for the villagers, including Riwo. The RD fishing vessels come here, Riwo informants say, where they are not supposed to fish. They promised to put floater in all coastal areas along its ground of establishment, but this was never done.

Other informants tell us the Filipinos at RD used to treat locals like fools, bossing them around roughly. They all work as supervisors, while the Papua New Guineans are subordinates.

People explain the sort of bribery or inducements used by RD in tok piksa. They say, RD gives you Cheez Pops and you’re happy. K50 here, K200 there. To keep you quiet.

Land disputes in Nobnob are now a big problem. Before RD there were no disputes, but the presence of the company has prompted a rise in land disputes.

People report that the security guards from within the cannery arrange for fish to be stolen. There are also eyewitness accounts of RD employees smoking and chewing buai in the cannery's mill and processing sections.

Musas Mumun Family, Matupi area, Nobnob (paraphrased):

The problem of stealing has also increased in the communities. People basically steal in order to sell things at the RD market to earn money. Garden crops are basic things that are stolen in the gardens. In terms of traditional respect that is given to the elders in the village, it is no longer practiced now. Elders are no longer respected, especially in terms of giving advice.

A Sasagas clan member, Matupi, is asked:

Was any social impact study done before RD arrived?

"No, nothing, but they took us by surprise to sign the agreement."

What do you think about RD?

"I don't want RD because RD did not bring any benefit my clans and as well as PNG."

Who owns the idea to remove RD?

"We are the principle landowners; not BRG or WWF."

8.2.j.1. Gamoi Village, Nobnob, Meeting 20/11/03:

In attendance were: Gon Matup, Ruup Gon, Sabeth Gon (former RD worker), Kalol Makan (former RD transport driver), and Mr. Wadak (of Luship Engineering).

Gon Matup explains:

I am not the landowner where RD was sit, but at the first place I though we will get indirect benefit. However, the reality we get nothing. And also company was terminated the real principle landowner {Sasagas clan} from running a spin off.

We asked Kolo Makan how long he worked with RD?

"Three years."

Why did you leave the company?

"Low payment and poor working condition."

What do you think about RD?

"RD must go because after six years, we didn't see any benefit for principle landowner and community as a whole."

At a Siar Village Meeting: in attendance were 30 people (15 male, 15 female).

Ward Member Simus tells us:

"In 1996, RD was started, sponsored by Madang Provincial Government and Madang Business Cooperation. In the first place we thought we would benefit, because RD promised to improve services around company area. However, after six years the company has done nothing."

Did RD give any contribution to the community?

“Yes.”

What kind of support?

“Contributed money to the Mama Group.”

How much?

“K100.00.

Did RD give medical support?

“No.”

How many Siar people are working with RD?

“50; half of the workers are girls.”

What about payment?

“It’s very low –75 toea an hour.”

8.2.k. Employment

We spoke to an RD employee whom we shall call George, and who works in the Labeling section of the Cannery. He tells us that workers in the Cannery are “treated like slaves.” There is no proper finish pay for the workers, he says, and no overtime pay for overtime work. There is also no proper safety equipment for the work. The cleaners in the Production area must clean wastes from the drains with their bare hands, which they then scoop into bins.

There are no free issues of safety equipment like safety boots, helmets, caps, and such. No mouth/ nose guards. Tavei Village woman say: The company used to deduct money for apron, hair net, gum boots, etc. they also deducted for lunch and food, and for transportation of women, even though some women lived close by and walk home. The company gives uniforms but then deducts them from the pay. There are no hand gloves –women use their own hands to skin and pack the fish.

Inside the Cannery building itself, it is not clean enough to produce tinned fish. Here are cobwebs on the walls, no drop ceiling, and thus it is very hot inside. Workers clean the sweat dripping from arms and brows with their hands and then hold the fish right afterwards. The floor is not tiled, and when fish fall on the cement, people pick them up, wash them lightly and continue scraping and packing them, with no thought for cement particles. This is a point corroborated by other observers. Bare hands are used to pack the fish. The Cannery has shower rooms and toilets, but they are not hygienic, not working. People go hungry and often faint inside the Cannery. Some women who work there stand long hours with strong fish smell, and they faint or vomit. One woman who worked for Harbors Board says the conditions here are much worse.

There is no compensation for those injured on the job. Incident of Bugati man (Hausba) cleaning the cutter and losing 3 fingers—he ended up with no compensation. . There is no insurance or finish pay. One woman got her finish pay of K3. For women there is no maternity leave allowance. And some say there is a Christmas bonus of K50, others say there is not.

All department Heads are Filipino. Skills and knowledge therefore are not being transferred. The workers have come to see Asians as corrupt. Many workers are from the settlements. Only this year have they been employing more workers from North coast, South coast and East coast Madang.

The number of Siar women working at RD is estimated at 30. Before RD came no such number of women were working, only educated women worked in offices. These include both young and married women. At the very beginning the company requested all the women go work. As time went by, they asked for only young women. Now they are calling again for all women. Tiona worked with RD for 2 years, from 1997-98. She worked at the Loining Department and was put as leading hand. They used to supervise the new recruits. First time the recruitment was to recruit young girls, accepted from grade 6 to 10-leavers, but now they recruit young and older women only. Riwo Village Councilor, Simon, says that when RD began operations, it put out applications but Riwo people were not recruited, probably because they are not principal landowners.

According to teachers at Ambarina Primary School, RD has no maternity leave policy. According to one Nobnob lady, a teacher in Ambarina school, mothers who are pregnant still go to work because they get no maternity leave. They also say a big security risk exists for women in the night shift, because the vehicles drop them off sometimes by the roadside to Siar at any hour---dangerous to walk in. One female teacher, married to Riwo, said that many of the ladies working at the Cannery are dropped off on the main road and have to walk all the way to their village, even at night. This is just not safe for them. She also said that often her sister in law comes to sleep at her house instead of going home at night, for this reason.

Emmanai Balug from Nagada is married with one child. In 1997 she started work at RD, and left in 2001 when she was pregnant. The wages depended on the shift time. Her first fortnightly pay was K35. Normal rate was K60; the highest pay was K100, and the lowest was K30. It seems the production area gets the lowest pay. She worked in the loining section, where they used to scrape the skin off the fish. They used to clean their fingernails, take off rings and other things before going in to work. There weren't any breaks during the shifts, and they would work until the fish on the tables were put on the trays to be boiled are finished. As for the night shift, many women got sick from stress and exhaustion, and had eye problems from the lights. She herself has growths coming up in her eyes.

We are also told workers are suspended without proper forms being filled out, and without recourse. They are all part of NPF—which is to say NPF is deducted from their pay on a sliding scale-- but they do not get this back when they are finished. Overtime is also very common: most people work beyond the 4:06 PM closing time without receiving overtime pay.

The main concern of the workers is their poor pay. Every year wages get a 5 toea increase. In the Loining and Skinning Section, the rate per hour is 75 toea. There are different rates in different sections. In the Labeling Section, the rate is K1.20/hour.

Suspension and expulsion—according to the women, they said workers are suspended or terminated without the company stating to them or clarifying the grounds. Production employees make K170 or less. To boost attendance, RD has come up with a weekly attendance incentive, every Saturday, by picking a person's name and identification number from a draw. (Some say the names get picked more than once.) The winner gets incentives like kitchen utensils, an umbrella, and plastic containers worth between 10-20 kina. Still, as one woman who left the Cannery told us, the pay was never enough to support her husband and four children.

Women say to form a Workers Union has always been difficult because the department heads are all Filipino, and they would refuse to sign the necessary forms for a Union. There was in the past an attempt to form a Workers Union, but the Company refused to sanction it. Emmanai Balug says she tried to form a workers union but could not, because they used to take out (fire?) the leaders and spokespersons of these Unions. Just recently the Union was reformed through the initiative of a Sepik woman named Angela Lawrence, who is now its Acting President.

There was an inspection by people from the Labour Office this year, during which they were able to see with their own eyes what's been happening. They came with Sir Michael Somare at the end of October, and said they would push RD to improve or else shut down. Their report was to be released in November. There have been other government workers come to check the Cannery, too, from the Environment, and Health Departments. Nothing has come from their reports, though. Workers now believe RD should stay but a new investor should take over.

8.2.1. Other views of RD Company

8.2.1.1. Riwo and Nagada Villagers

Riwo Ward Councilor Simon Bisil tells us that, since 1997, Riwo has experienced no benefits from RD. Most applicants for employment from Riwo were not accepted. The population is about 300 in Riwo and out of this only 10 women were recruited. Priority was supposed to be given to Madang aspies, they said, but most employees are now settlers. He thinks that maybe first priority was given to the landowners from Siar and Kananam. Still, the extremely low wages are the biggest problem. The Company's promise of spin-off income from selling up to 200-m tonnes fish to RD has come to nothing. No one was shown guidelines for writing business proposals to RD, either. The benefits they need are health services and a water supply—they need well water and tanks. During dry season they go dig up their sago patches to collect water.

According to the women of Siar, there has been no direct benefit to them from RD. They say RD promised them a mother's clinic, improved water supply, road maintenance, and more. But nothing has been done. They wanted the Company to help them build a Resource Centre with sewing machines, for one thing. They say that they were happy when the Company first came because their expectation was that RD would help them with employment.

The promises they made to Riwo were: that the people would catch and sell fish to RD, that they would provide student scholarships, and that schools and Aid Posts would be built. 'Helpim' money was given to the Councilors to help move around during the June evictions. They received the money for three pays, but it has been cut off now. Following this, the youth leader organized some boys to hold up a truck of fish.

8.2.1.2. RD Company employees and related staff:

Alexia Bai Tokau, Kananam Village, tells us:

Mi laik stori long wonem pen blong now em istap namel long mipela ol mama bilong Kananam community. Before long RD ibin ikam pastaim mipela ibin istap, mipela amamas wantaim ol man na ol pikinini taim RD ino kam yet. Ol man ol isave go out long solwara na ol isave hukim pis. Na dispela ol pis mipela ol mama isave go salim long market. Em isave takim mipela olsem two weeks, abrusim fortnight blong ol wok man tu taim ol mama save go salim pis insait long dispela bay bilong mipela nau RD ikam na kisim istap. Na mipela inogat kain hevi olsem mipela ifacim nau RD ikam pinis, em before inogat mipela amamas long lukautim pikinin na papa tu. Bikos solwara em wanpela hap we mipela isave benefit long em long olgeta days, 7 days long lukautim ol pikinini bilong mipela.

Na taim RD ibin ikam, na mipela ol mama mipela iting olsem mipela amamas long RD ikam. Na mipela ino bin expectim or mipela ino bin gat dispela kain tingting olsem dispela kain hevi olsem ikam na bumpim mipela bai mipela karem pen blong dispela. Mipela inogat bin gat dispela kain feeling olsem before. Mipela ting olsem bai mipela amamas taim company ikam, na mipela amamas company ikam. Na taim company ikam, still ol man blong mipela ol igo out huk, ol iwok long hukim pis iwok long olsem namel tasol ino olsem pastaim ol isave hukim na kanu isave pulap or half way olsem igat planti abus olsem pastaim. Na since company ikam kisim dispeal graun, em inogat.namber blong pis iwok long go daun. Mipela ol mama iluk olsem mipela iwok long pilim tu, mipela ol mama blong haus, mipela ol mama blong lukautim pikinini long dei to dei, feedim haus em blong mipela ol mama. Orait taim ol papa tu ol amamas ol igo since company ikam insait, ol igo wok ol iamamas na ol igo. Mipela ol mama isalim papa yupela go wok long company. Ol igo wok long company na mipela amamas long wetim fortnight. Taim mipela iwetim fortnight, papa iksism dispela mani kam givim mipela. Dispela fortnight money blong papa ino inap long lastim mipela two weeks olsem before mipela save go salim pis na kisim money blong pis bai em stap igo inap fortnight week iken stap olsem three days bihain em papa iken igo, mipela isalim em long go painim nupela abus blong lukautim ol pikinini. Tasol fortnight blong company taim papa ol igo wok ol ikam, dispela ating blong wanpela dei tasol. Em ino nap long lukautim ol pikinini long haus. Okay dispela em pen nau ol mama ikisim nau.

Okay em ol sait nogut nau em mi laik toktok. Taim mipela ol mama ilukim olsem mipela ino inap long lukautim dispela amount long lukautim ol pikinini, mi salim

pikinini meri blong mi long go wok long company. Na mi ting em gutpela, em wankain hevi olsem. Taim mi salim pikinini meri go wok, emi painim hevi tu. Mi lukim olsem pikinini meri ino sindaun gut long ples blong wok. Ol fortnight week tu, em ino kisim gutpela money. Em ting olsem, yu save pikinini meri tu em itng long lukautim em yet tu. Na dispela money ino nap long lukautim pikinini meri na kam long haus tu. Okay iluk olsem mipela ol mama nau bilong dispela community ikarem bikpela pen tru. Planti samting mipela ilukim, olsem ol pikinini meri ol ilaik long lukautim ol yet na before ol ibin stap ananit long maus bilong mama na papa. Na taim company ikam, planti pasin nogut ikamap, em ol pikinini meri olino save harem toktok bilong mama – papa. Ol ino stap ananit long control bilong papa-mama. Before ol ibin stap ananit long skul blong papa-mama, nau em nogat, ol igo long laik bilong ol. Taim mama itok yu noken go, em igo. Em iwanpela hevi. Em igo insait long RD. After hours em igo, em putim yet pinis long trouble long company. Dispela em wanpela hevi em mipela ol mama isave lukim bikos mipela iwari long laif bilong dispela pikinini. Taim mipela karem em, mipela karem em gutpela pikinini em ino kamap olsem dispela kain pikinini. Na dispela company now em ikam istap insait, em bagarapim laif bilong pikinini meri. Na nau planti pikinini meri blong mipela ol igo insait, ol lainim pasin pamuk, planti pasin nogut ol ilukim na ol wok long practicim. Na bifo, ol ino save long dispela samting. Ol ino bin lukim na nau dispela hevi nau em kamap stret taim company ikam insait. Liklik pikinini under age, em ino save long dispela pasin pamuk, na nau em isave pinis long dispela company. Na dipela pikinini under age tu, em pikinini blong grade 7, 8 especially top-up, ol pikinini blong skul, ol tu taim dispela company ikam, dispela pasin pamuk or pasin nogut emi lukim, em inogat interest blong em long go long skul. Em wanpela hevi we mama kry long laif bilong pikinini bikos future bilong pikinini em important stret. Na mipela ol mama, mipela igat concern long ol pikinini bilong mipela. Na dispela em wanpela bikpela hevi we kry tru blong ol mama blong dispela kominiti Kananam nau. Nau mipela iwari tru bikos eduactaion bilong ol pikinini nau taim company ikam especially ol pikinini meri, ol bagarap. Olgeta isenis nau na olgeta ibagarapim laif blong ol na future blong ol na ol istap. Under age em igat pregnant. Dispela em mipela ol mama ino bin expectim bifo. Mipela ino bin lukim, mipela ino save harem, em nau company ikam mipela lukim dispela samting long lek bilong mipela stret long haus dua blong mipela, especially ol pikinini meri. Mipela wari long future blong ol pikinini meri bikos ol em ol developer bilong country, na province na kominiti. Em samting nogut tru we miplea ol mama nau ikarem pen dei to dei mipela imas kros pait. Even ol yangpela boys tu ol youth blong mipela, ol kros pait since company ikam. Fight em stap dei to dei. Em stap olsem. Dispela fight em involvim ol lida na clan ikam go insait bikos long company.

Em long sait blong barter system, especially ol mama na yangpela girls ol isave kam na exchange long barter system. Pastaim ol iwokim stret, ol iwok long wokim barter system stret long fruits na pis. But igo go nau ol iwokim long narapela wei, ol isenis na ol barter system long sex. Sapos yangpela meri igo na askim long barter system, ol (fishing crews-Filipino) ol no inap tok ol ilaikim

wonem samting em askim, ol laikim bai imas igo sex na bai givim em pis. Ol change long sex ol mama tu. Ol mama ol igo exchange long pis, ol askim long pis bai ol tok bai mipela sex pastaim na exchange long pis. Ol exchanging barter system long dispela bodi long pis na dispela em ino stret. Igo long customary wei blong mipela, dispela em olgeta em nogut tru.

Wanpela taim mi bin igo bikos mi save harem ol mama isave tok ol isave go long sex trade na ol iksism pis. Na mi harem dispela toktok igo na mi yet mi pilim olsem em pen tumas long mi so mi yet mi go wantaim ol. Mi go mi lukluk na taim mi go mi lukim yu save mi bin wari bikos taim ol mama kam ol ikam wantaim ol liklik pikinini. Ol liklik pikinini tu ol sindaun long bet bilong kanu. Na dispela em ino stret tru. Na taim mi bin igo wantaim ol na ol iwok long exchange, sampela ol iwok long exchange long kaikai na we ol iwok long askim ol long exchange long bodi, ol igo long hap sait. Okay taim mi pul long kanu igo long sait igo, wanpela Filipino em ibin rausim trausis em pispis stret long front blong dispela kanu wantaim ol yangpela pikinini sindaun antap long dispela kanu na ol ikam. Okay mi bin lukim stret olsem eye witness na bin singaut. Bifo long mi bin singaut ol pikinini ibin singautim mi, ‘Mama, dispela man em pispis long eye blong mipela’. Na ol itokim em, ‘wanpela maus meri mama em ikam’ na taim em wok long harem, em wok long pispis bikos em ino inap long stopim bikos em pispis em pispis. Em nau mi lukluk igo mi singaut igo antap, mi tok “inogat ples blong haitim bodi blong yu na pispis?” em pispis pinis nau em go insait. Na mi go long hapsait na mi askim security. Mi tok “bai yu go givim mi name bilong dispela man. Na em tok orait mama yu wet bai go na givim yu name bilong dispela man. Na mi tok bai mi go na ripotim emlong polis long wharf. So security givim me name bilong em na mi karem igo na givim long polis long wharf. Mi givim em na ating ol mas kisim na igo antap. So dispela em wanpela samting we me lukim, mi no amamas tru. Bikos liklik pikinini em no sapos long stap long dispela taim dispela man iwokim dispela pasin. Na dispela em pasin we em ino stret tru long eye blong me mama. Dispela samting ikamap long last year tasol mi no klia long date. Mi yet mi stap insait long dispela na mi yet mi eye witness long dispela.

Wanpela pikinini meri em save wok long RD. Mi bin askim na em itok pastaim ol isave kisim K50.00 na nau em isave kisim K100.00. Wanpela samting we mi yet mi lukim taim mi yet igo insait long ples blong wok we ol pikinini meri ol save wok. Dispela tray we ol save pulamapim pis insait, na dispela we ol pikinini meri ol wok, dispela em ino safe long ol pikinini meri. Em wok blong ol man. Na dispela wok ol pikinini meri imekim, mi lukim na mi yet mi no amamas long dispela. Luk olsem ol pikinini meri iwok long kisim bagarap long dispela wok tu. Dispela tray ikilim wanpela pikinini meri last year na em bin kam long haus sik long here na long dispela year tu. Dispela tray ibin pundaun antap long em na brukim ribs blong em. Name blong em Cathy na em idai pinis. Em dai tasol long dispela year, long last month tasol em idai. Planti taim Cathy ibin kisim planti injury long dispela ples blong wok. Company ino bin mekim wanpela samting. Dispela tray em ipulap long ol bikpela bikpela pis. Yu wanpela pikinini meri yu

inap long karem dispela tray pis. Em inap long ol bikpela ol man bai ol karem or forklift mas karem dispela na ol pikinini meri ol karem dispela. Dispela em ino safe long ol pikinini meri bikos bodi blong mipela ol meri em weak. Na em ino wok blong meri. Mi yet stap wantaim em wanpela afternoon na mi yet mi askim em na em isave pilim dispela pain taim em mekim strongpela wok. Na em isave kisim marasin long haus sik. Taim em save kisim marasin long haus sik, taim em save kisim marasin, em save stopim dispela pen.

Moses: Taim RD tuna ikamap nau na pasin blong wok garden na painim pis istap yet long kominiti o em igo daun?

Alexia: Dispela pasin em pinis taim company ikam insait. Ol pikinini I les long wok garden, ol I wok long go ikam long bata system. How often ol I go go long dispela wok? Oh every day olisave go exchange night and day. Nogat ol meri tasol, sapos man I go ol bai ino inap long exceptim yu. Ol les long lukim pes bilong ol man bikos ol laikim ol meri tasol. Dispela em I traditional bay, we mipela save kisim pis long en, tasol nau after dispela kampani kam planti nois na mipela hat tru long kisim pis nau.

Councilor James Sungai, Kananam Village:

Mi olsem Councilor bilong Kananam sapatim toktok long mama I tru planti man/meri I no wok long gaden. Wanwan man ol bilip long wokim gaden oli save wok. Olgeta taim ol I go long exchange bikos didpela RD fising I kamap paradise bilong ol. Planti stil pasin, mediesen, sas,penelti mi as kasola kanselo mi lukim bifo I nogat nau tru long dispela kampani wok long kamap long gaden stilim ol samting, bagarapim ol samting.

Moses: Hamaspela pikinini meri hiawok long RD?

James: Mi as kansula mi witnessim em bikpela number liklik ol wok tasol bikos long pay tasol five kina cheque, six kina cheque sampela bilong ol em ol famili meri na pikinni meri oli lukim dispela I goigo even pikinini meri blong mi tu ibin wok. Ol ibin wok ikam na dispela pasin blong money nau bai ol ino ken kisim six kina na bai ol itok mipela bai iputim igo long next fortnight, igo inogat na ol less na lusim. Na nau nogat long cannery siar company olsem long dispela I nogat planti tumas. Judith wanpela em long RD canning RD ating fishin ating seven samting. Em ol meri tasol.

Dispela mi laik skurim toktok long mama ya, long askim long you na mi go down long hause sik na askim sista insas long hause sik tasol ol ino inap tok aut long mipela sik. Em itok I tambu tru long ol toksave long displa.

Bilasius Nagir says:

Long dispela eria ol meri isave wokim wok we em bilong ol man. Ol sizes bilong pis ol save karim em ol bikpela tru we ol man inap long karim. Na tu sapos ol

wok tumas bihain long laip bilong ol, ol bai bagarapim bilum bilong bebi na bai ol ino inap karim pikinini.

‘Robert’—ex Paragon security guard at RD Cannery: Nem blong mu Ray Kanawi na mi wok long Paragon Security Service na mi laik stori long liklik hap taim mi bin wok long RD. Mi bin wok long hap long 10 months . Mi laik tokim stori long wanem samting mi save lukim taim mi bin wok long hap, ol samting we into steret.

Jennifer: Wanem yia yu bin wok?

R: Mi bin wok long last yia—August 1st yia.

J: Okay yu stori.

R: Sampla samting we long ai blong mu, mi save lukim we ino stret olsem long backyard blong ol. Toktok long kain olsem pipia, hau ol sa putim pipia long back rad blong ol. Ol no sa rausim dispela pipia isave stap olsem 2-3 weeks na ol dispela pipia isave smell.

J: Wanem kain pipia?

R: Ol skin blong tin, ol tin fish we bagarap pinis. Ol sa tromoi nating long baksait long backyard blong ol.

J: Long box o tromoi nating long graun o?

R: Tromoi nating long graun na long drum. Taim drum save pulap isave kapsait do daun na stap long graun. Na taim sa stap nating olsem sa pulim planti kainkain samting olsem flies, kokors sa pulap long dispela sa mekim na dispela hap sa smell nogut tru. Narapela samting tu em long waste water ya, oli no wokim drain igo bikpela bai wara iron igo aut. Bai stap olsem tasol na wara isa smell, sa sting nogut tru.

J: Em wara ron insait long cannery kam autsait long hap area blong autsait blong cannery ya o? Draining blong wanem hap?

R: Dispela em dispela raun wara oli digim stap long backyard blong ol blong waste blong ol fish.

J: Em wanpela raun wara long beksait?

R: Yeh, igat wanpela raun wara stap long beksait.

J: Ol yet digim ah?

R: Yes, ol yet oli digim kampani yet ol wokman blong kampani ol digim. Na ol waste blong ol fish ya isave go insait long dispela raun wara ya.

J: Igat drainage bai go autsait long en o stap tasol long dispela raun wara?

R: Igat drain igo aut tasol dispela drain ino bikpela em liklik na oli no digim go daun tru, istap long antap taim blong isa pulap em hap tasol isave go na bikpela hap isave stap long dispela raun wara.

J: Sampela samting ken yu lukim insait long cannery o? Yu raun na yu yet yu lukim?

R: Samting yet mi lukim we ino gutpela em sait blong ol toilet, blong ol boys na girls wantaim emi sting nogut tru, insait em deti. Na sait blong wok em ol wok nam em ol no sa yusim proper samting blong wok olsem ol gloves na ol samting em ol yusim han blong ol yet na wokim ol fish.

J: Sigirapim fish.

R: Ol sa sigirapim fish ol sa yusim han blong ol yet, nogt gloves blong holim na putim long en na wok long em.

J: Ol gat sampela protection nambaut long wearim long skin blo ol taim oli wok insait o?

R: Em wanpela samting tasol ol sa wearim em apron, tasol ol sa wearim na em tasol. Long footwear em gumboots ol sa wearim em tasol, ino gat sampela kain samting mo ol save yusim long wok insait olsem. Headnet ol yusim tu.

J: Okay, olsem long condition olsem floor na olsem halth long sait blong health blong wok man meri insait long hap em yu lukim em yu ting olsem wanem.

R: Long sait blong insait long factory, yu mean insait long factory?

J: Yeah, insait long factory.

R: Long insait long factory em mi yet mi sa go insait na lukim em ino stret tu. Floor em slippery long ol pipia blong fish na tu em deti na isa smell. Itru olsem isave gat ol lain isave cleanim tasol smell blong fish istap insait ino inap pinis, em sa stap olsem tasol.

J: Okay, olsem long hausait long factory sampela olsem area blong em yu lukim em ol sa klinim tu o igat sampela area we into stret olsem pastem yu tok long backyard...

R: Long front area, em orait, em klin, em luk nais bai olsem ol autsait man iken go lukim bai ol tok oh olgeta hap ating imas orait tasol. Em long front tasol ol sa keepim clean tru.

J: Ol save alawin ol man go long baksait tu blong lukluk long baksait o nogat?

R: Em olsem igat sampela ol man em sa go long visit nabaut em oi sa tokim ol long ol boss man blong kampani oli save tokim mipela ol security long mipela mas strict na tokim ol man long moken go long back yard, ol imas stap tasol long front. Because from emi clean so ol mas stap tasol long front hap we em clan nogut oli go long baksait na oli lukim ol pipia stap long baksait.

J: Taim yu bin wok long hap ibin gat sampela taim ol lain bin wok olsem research or wokim health research or survey na go insait long hap tu?

R: Em dispela taim mi go stap em mi bin harim tasol olsem igat sampela ol health inspector oli bin go long inspectim ol dispela tasol long mi yet mi lukim ol long ai bilong mi em mi no lukim ol but ol wantok blong mu ol stori long mi ol tok ibin gat ol health inspector oli bin go wokim sampela wok painim aut long hap.

J: So long tingting blong yu tu ting olsem wanem taim ol dispela kain health lain ol go em ol lain long kampani ol sa mekim wanem?

R: Mi harim long wanpela klina blong RD, wanpela man Sepik em stori long mi.

J: Wanem nem blong em?

R: Mipela save kolim ‘wan ples’ na mi no save long nem blong en.

J: Okay yu stok...stori.

R: Em stori long mi em tok ol lain blong health inspector bin go na wokim sampela...inspction ol area na oli tok olsem ol kampani, ol boss blong kampani oli bribe im ol na oli no bringim ol ripot nogut blong RD. Oli tok tasol “yeh emi orait tasol” na oli no putim sampela bad ripot blong ol RD olsem RD em backyard oli olsem olsem.

J: Okay, na taim yu bin wok long hap yu bin lukim sampela olsem yu bin experienceim or yu yet yu lukim sampela kain olsem incident ol kamap insait long factory long sampela wok....

R: Yeah, long dispela sait na ol sa kisim bagarap. Mi yet mi stap mi lukim planti ol pikinini man pikinini meri ol wokim long hap oli kisim bagarap, masin katim pingia blong ol em wanpela meri, em wali, masin pulim em.

J: Yu stori.

- R: Em pulim em go insait long ples blong masin save pasim ai blong ol tin pis ya, masin i pulim em igo insait ne em igo stuck insait. So taim oli tokim ol kongkong long stopim masin, ol kongkong ino wok long hariap long stopim dispela masin long pulim aut meri ya. Ol kongkong ol westim taim nambaut go kam, go kam na mipela ikororsim ol kongkong na oli go offim dispela masin na oli pilum meri ya ikam aut. Okay sait blong sampela samting we ol wok man I kism birua na bungim hevi ol dispela lain boss blong kampani ol ino save hariap long kism ol man ikisim bagarap igo long hausik. Em ol man save tokim ol—dispela em kism accident na mas kism em go long hausik,olino save tingim ol, olsem oli no save long mani I kism bargarap pinis. Oli wokabaut go kam olsem tasol. Oline inap tok—okay putim em long dispela kar na kism em go long haus sik. Em nogat. Dispela kain pasin mi yet mi lukim na ino stret. Ol tingting tasol long moni na oline tingting long laif blong ol wok man.
- J: Sampela samting ol sa wokim na yu lukim na yu no sa wanbel.
- R: Sampela samting olsem we mi no wanbel long en em long sait blong wok em igat sampela kain ol wok we ol pikinini Madang o PNG yet iken wokim.
- J: Olsem wanem kain wok?
- R: Olsem supervisor na ol dispela kain. Igat planti kain save man blong PNG na Madang em pulap istap--oli stap tasol because long ol Filipino yet, ol yet I greedy no oli wol long dispela kain section nambaut, we inap long ol planti save man blong PNG inap wokim. Wampela samting tu em ol yet ol igo pas long olgeta section insait long factory. Oli no laik bai wampela pikinini Madang yet bosim wampela section insait. Em ol yet olgeta PNG wok insait ol wok ananit long Filipino. Filipino manmeri wantaim—ol yet ibosim olgeta section insait. Gutpela save manmeri oli wok insait but ol Filipino ol greedy na oli bossim ol section ya na oli stap olsem wok olsem casual tasol ananit long ol supervisor ya.
- J: So yu ting olsem wanem long ol pei blong ol lain wok insait long RD?
- R: Mi yet mi sa sanap long dua blong taim blong ol sa kism pei, mi sa go sanap long dua na mi save singaut long ol man long kam kism pei. Em boss man blong sait blong finance side blong ol RD—em sa tokim mi long bai mi sanap guard long dua na mi sa sanap guardim dispela dua long taim ol sa go kism cheque blong ol. Mi sa lukim cheque blong ol olsem ol poroman blong me ol sa wok insait, Mi sa lukim pei blong ol I tamblo tru, em dispela kain peim em olsem ol haus boi o slave em ol sa kism olsem dispela kain pei.
- J: Kain olsem hamas?
- R: Planti blong ol we mi sa lukim ol 60t, 65 t rate, 70t rate.
- J: Per hour?
- R: Per hour, yes.
- J: So em olsem kain olsem, long fortnight bai ol kism olsem hamas?
- R: Sampla fotnight oli ken kism around, sampla bai kism K55, sampla ol kism K60 tasol, sampla K70, I depend long hau long oli wok. Mi save oli wok long en.
- J: Na ol sa chargin ol long sampla ol samting insait long hap taim oli usim long wearim o long kaikai o kain olsem ol sa chargin na rausim long pei blong ol tu o?
- R: A yes, em olgeta samting oli wok man isave kism em olgeta ol sa deductum long pei blong ol. Gumboots, aprons, hair nets ol kain samting olsem.
- J: Em everyday bai ol deductim o?

- R: Nogat em olsa deductim long fortnight olsem sapos gumboot emi K20 em bau oli deductim K20 long pei blong ol fortnight.
- J: Long yusim dispela gumboot ya. Na mi harim olsem sampela ol sa givim ol K% cheque nambaut na taim fortnight lam ol sa kisim olsem K5.
- R: Em dispelsa em tru em mi yet mi lukim long ai blong mi. Wanpela poroman blong mi em sa wok insait long production area—wanpela boy Karkar—em mi lukim long pei blong en emi bin kisim K19 tasol. Na mi askim em hau na yu kisim K19, em tok mi wok 9 days na mi kisim K19. Na mi tok okay dispela em asua stap long husat na em bai stap long lead person blong yu recorder o itsap long lain isave wokim pei blong yupela? Em tok mi no klia nau, mi noinap gimwanpela answer. So em hau mu bin save olsem igat plenti long ol, ol sa kilin skin long wok, bikpela wok tasol yet em pei blong ol em liklik tumas.
- J: Na olsem yu bin askim sampla friends blong yu why na ol wok long hap na why na ol kisim kain ol pei olsem na ol no laik long lusim...?
- R: Okay taim mi bin askim ol tok hau na yu save olsem yu sa wokim bikpela wok na no sa kisim bikpela pei na yu no laik lonh lusim dispela wok. Na oli tokim mi, ol tok, nau em laif I hard I hat long painim wok. Ol mn sa kisim wok em ol pepa man na mipela ol grassroots, ol level blong mipela I tamblo mipla noinap long painim wok so em chance wok maski mi no kisim gutpela pei tasol em orait. At least mi wokim wanpela wok, liklik wok.
- J: Ol sa wokim overtime wo tu o nogat?
- R: Overtime wok, wanwan isave wokim overtime wok.
- J: Na dispela overtime wok em pay blong em orait o?
- R: Nogat. Olsem long sait blong olsem Christmas wok long kam ya, kampani em sa tokim ol wokman—yu wok igo long wanem taim mipela tokim yu long bai yu sta[wok em bonus emi K10 bai mipela putim antap long pei blong yupla. Liklik K10 ya sampla taim em sa tru kampani sa givim K10 bonus pay antap long ol wokman. Sampla taim em giaman, planti ol wok man sa complain—boss itok bai mi kisim K10 long January na January mi kam wok na mi no lukim dispela K10, dispela K10 em ol putim long wanem hap.
- J: Na long sait blong olsem observation blong yu, yu ting olsem ol kongkong save holim sampela meri insait long hap tu, o taim ol wok insait long cannery.
- R: Long mipela ol security mipela save strict tru. Taim mipela lukim husat I bung, bung wantaim ol meri, mipela save go questinem em. Long dispela as ol save pret tru na ol no save mekim olsem. Sapos ol mekim mipela save ripoyim ol long boss na ol bai rausim ol long wok na oo bai go bek long Philippines.
- J: Yu no bin lukim sampla paulim ol meri nabaut?
- R: Em wanpela story tasol mi bin harim long sampela wokman insait, longtaim. I gat wanpela Filipino em paulim wanpela meri go insait long staff haus, na em stap wantaim em. Igo na ol I find aut long em paul wantaim wanpela meri. Em blong Madang. Ol find out long em na ol terminatim em long kampani na em go pinis long pls blong em long Philippines.
- J: Na dispela meri ol rausim em long wok?
- R: Nogat em stap.
- J: Sampla taim ol save fosim ol meri o laik blong meri na ol save bihainim ol?

- R: I luk olsem ino ol Filipino save fosim ol tasol ol meri yet save bihainim ol go.
Because ol save tok, sans wait man ya! Em dispela ol plnati meri long ples husat ino save lukim ol kain white man olsem.
- J: Ol kin long cannery save wok nite tu o nogat?
- R: Yes, two weeks night shift na two weeks day shift. Wanpela fortnight long sun, na narapela fortnight long nite. So em save na em wait long wok long nait.
- J: Sampela samting yu lus tinging na yu laik stori?
- R: Ol wokman ol save wok seven days a week insait long engineering service. Olsem ol mechanic na ol plumber, welda. Ol save wok seven says a week. Nogat malolo blong ol. Olsem insait long factory inogat fan na ol man save wok insait ol save swet na hat nogut tru insait. Sampela swet ol save rausim save pundaun antap long fish. Na ol kongkong tu ol save strict long mipela go insait. No gut mipela go na lukim na toktok. Plenti taim ol lain long ples ol save kam kamplain long mipela. Mipela papa graun, mipela papa graun. Tasol miepla save tokim ol mipela no boss blong kampani....
- R: Igat planti samting we ino stret long em em olsem long fish ol save kisim kain kian fish. Ino tuna tasol. Ol dispela ino tuna, ol save kisim na kaikai. Ol no save givim long ol wokman, ol yet save kisim. So baksait smell save stap olsem, nite na sun wantaim. Ol gutpela waitpela meat blong yellowfin ol save putim long bikpela tin na expotim go long ovasis. Ol dispela long redpela tin na shortpela tin emino gutpel em ol save salim long yumi.
- J: So ol save salim ol tuna tu go long ovasis?
- R: Tuna in water—em dispela tuna ol save putim insait long tin na salim igo.

9. Sample interviews

9.a. Kananam landowners

9.a.1. Iduwad Executives at Kaguz, Kananam Village 16/11/03:

Anonymous (paraphrased): RD Cannery, long 1999, ol meri, sampela ol marit meri, ol yangpela meri. Ol bin protest. Ol save kam olsem long Mawan na long Serang. Sapos rate bilong ol em K0. 75, sampela ol save kisim olsem K40.00 or K20.00 long forthnait. Tasol em depend long wanem taim ol kamap long wok Ol kam late, olsem ol go klokin , ol kisim olsem 3 hour long wok, em na ol kisim kar na go long haus. Sampela taim ol ikam na tok job pinis ha, tasol sampela taim ol igo more pis so ol save wok igo wanem taim fish pinis ol save kalap long kar na igo. But dispela overtime blong ol, long labor law olsem yu mas igat time half na double time, dispela em nogat long paper blong ol. But tru olsem yu mas completeim 40 hours pastaim. But dispeal ol ino inap long wokim bikos ol isave kamap late long wok. Na ol igo slip liklik na next day ol imas kam bek. So condition blong wok blong ol, trangu em hard. Na mi lukim idea ol Filipino ikisim, that is why ol laikim meri tasol long wok bikos oli soft, ol ino inap long toktok.

Long 1991, Peter Neman em labor officer, tu or tripela taim em ikam long cannery. Mi no save wanem kain ripot na assessment bilong em, em wokim. Na nau still ol man iwok long facim problem. Long dispela period yupela ikarem igo long 2000 na kam antap, yu bai harem pay blong increase because pairap iwok

long kamap. Employment bai oli providim olsem brata yu tok bikos pairap iwok long kamap na ol save olsem ol man iwok long readim giaman blong ol. So ol isi isi giaman long mekim na coverim dispela ol giaman blong ol.

Five kina or sixty kina long fortnight yu save deductions save go long T-shirt ol save wearim, gum boot. Emi international company so em mas company supply but ol mas baim na kisim. Na cap blong karamapim blong het tu. Mi bin long dispela taim long 1997, hamaspela man mipela igo pas. Mi go tokim stret Richie Rivera, na mi bin stap chairman blong ol landowners long hap so mi go tokim stret yu wokim pei blong ol bikos sampela blong ol em ol lain blong mi long ples na mi toktok on behalf long ol. So taim ol dispela samting we mi wok long go against long ol ipainim rot blong divide and rule long mipela. So ol ikisim ol sampela man mas yesa yesa long ol. Na mipela ol man isave go against long women samting ol mekim, long enforcim constitution o law blong yumi, yu dispela man yu no fit long society blong ol. Ol bai mas baim rot long yu mas go aut. Mas igat tupela money, every time emi mas olsem. Ol laik traim long buildim strong blong o, ol wok long kisim man nau. So that cry na ol findings nau bai igo pinis nating bikos narapela man em istap long here bai tok mi stap long hap na kam ol giaman. Em dispela technique ol usim nau. Ol bai tok nau ol ikisim gutpela pei, but yu bai surprise olsem not long after some fortnight na dispela ol noise igo down, pei blong ol bai drop, ol bai katim women taim ol complain, na dismiss go. Ol ikisim nupela lain. Nau bai yu no inap long lukim ol planti man painim wok long RD bikos complain istap. Before bai yu lukim olgeta man save pulap long RD, day to day ol bai wetim wok bikos RD save igat man na em ino bisi long yu husait yu wokman long here. Yu ken go na nupela man ken kam. Em system blong RD. Yu no ken complain long wanpela samting. Olgeta stori mipela tok olsem mipela laikim yupela mekim wanpela gutpela findings we papa graun imas first long olgeta samting na ino public.agreement blong ol tu itok olsem landowners first bihain Madang people and then Papua New Guinea at large. But ol ino bihainim ol dispela ol obligations.

9.a.2. Interviews with men and women at Mozdamon (Vidar)

14/11/03:

Jennifer: Taim RD em kamap wanem kain ol samting kamap long ples blong yupela?

Anna: Mipela bin stap long dispela ailan. Nem blong dispela ailan Migazpanag. Taim mipela bin stap wanpela first catcher in bin kaim insait. Mipela mama mipela save kisim kulau, banana na ol samting na mipela save exchange gut tru. Ol save givim mipela gut pis mipela save kisim na mipela save salim, na mipela save baim gut kaikai, Igo igo inap first bris ol wokim. Nau long dispela first bris ol wokim nau, ol wok long stopim nau long exchange. First taim oli bin kam insait oli bin tok olsem ol under-size fish em bai ol givim long ol papa graun. Em service blong ol, ol bai kisim na salim na kisim moni lukautim ol pikinini blong ol, man blong ol. Orait igo igo na dispela second bris I bin kamap, olgeta samting em close, Maski mipela kisim ol samting go na mipela laik exchnage, em bai nogat, na nogat tru. Miepela go bai ol rausim mipela. Fish em blong RD. Na

mipela save tok blong wanem yupela bin kam insait long first taim yupela bin tok ol dispela under-size fish em bai mipela givim free long yupela, na yupela bai benefit long dispela. Na nau yupela senis na yupela tok nogat. Bai olsem wanrem long miepla nau? Solwara blong mipela bipo mipela I stap, man blong mipela save huk na kisim pis na miepla save salim, mipela save baim kaikai. Long dispela as mipela ol mama wok long bel pen nau. Mipela stap mipela wok long lukluk. Night ol meri bai kam nai ol go bek gen. San bai ol kam bek. Mipela ting bai RD senisim tingting blong em na helpim mipela tasol nogat. Ol mangi blong mipela lukim mipela ol mama, na ol belhat. Oli tok how ol RD kam long ples graun blong yumi na wokim dispela kain pasin. Em no raun blong Philippines na em mekim olsem. Em graun blong yumi. So yumi wokim sampela samting na lukim kampani bai senis o nogat. Orait ol mangi blong mipela wok long traim long stilim pis insait long hap. Ol wok long kisim ol pis I kam mipela wok long salim. Nogat I no long taim ol wok long kalabusim ol. Mipela wok long go daun na toktok wantaim ol opis man. Tasol RD no senis liklik. Ol papa blong mipela ol traim go insait olsem papa graun long fight long rights blong ol tasol ol ino bin mekim wan pla samting. Ol kukim ol haus blong mipela.

Jennifer: Em long wanem taim ol bin mekim olsen?

Anna: Em long 2002 na 2003.

Jennifer: Ol kukim amas pela haus?

Anna: Ol kukim 3 pela haus. Em ol RD yet I bin kukim.

J: Blong wanem as na ol kukim haus?

A: Ol I tok ol mangi I stilim pis. Long dispela as nau ol itok oli kam kukim ol haus. Na mipela stap. Mi tokim papa blong ol long go putim ripot tasol em tok maski. Larim yumi stap olsem. Mipela stap ol mangi blong mipela go askim long wok, ol tok nogat na nausim ol kam bek.

J: Na ol lain wok long sip em ol wanem lain?

A: Pastaim ol kisim ol lain blong mipela. Em olsem ol lain skul long em ol wok. Taim ol i bin kam insait ol I bin tok olsem, taim mipela kam insait bai mipela kisim yupela ol asples long wok. Tasol oli no bin kisim wanpela asples long wok, nogat tru. Ol asples em ol bin givim ol dispela 'spin-off.' Ol I wok go na nagat, ol I tok ol mangi blong mipela stil planti, na ol rausim long ol.

J: Spinoff em ol save mekim wanem samting?

A: Em ol save unloadim fish.

J: Wanem samting yu lukim long sait blong impact RD I kam insait? Long sait blong environment or yu lukim ol sampela pikinini kisim sik or...?

A: Mipela save stap I save rausim ol a em save bagarapim sea blong mipela. Fish bai ol tromoi go daun, bel blong em, bai em trip kam nambaut na smell save kisim mipela, Mipela save stap ol mangi ol save go daun aswas long dirty oil na save sik, traut, bel pen. Ol nurse save tokim mipela long tokim ol pikinini long noken was. Na nau mipela save painim hat tru long painim pis. Em tasol em bikpela wari long mipela. Long baim pis em bikpela wari blong mipela ol mama. Sapos mipela kisim K10 go antap ol bai tokim mipela olsem, K10 for 3 pieces. Ol bai tok K1 long wanpela or K3 long wanpela. Ol inap long givim mipela fri pis. Amas pela taim mipela bin holim bung na toktok mo long dispela. Ol office man blong RD ol I bin kam na mipela I bin toktok.

J: Olsem wanem long yupela hukim pis?

A: Hukim pis em pastaim sip ino kam , em mipela ol mama mipela save go, mipela save kam gut. Kanu blong mipela save pulap long fish na mipela save kam bek. Na nau mipela go tupela or wanpela, em, em tasol bai mipela kisim na kam bek gen. Nogat wanpela pis mo miepla save kisim. Nau kainkain ol wok long go daun, em wok long bagarapim sea blong mipela. Olsem na taim mipela go huk mipela no save ketsim planti fish. Mipela bin baim skul fi long ol pis ol papa blong mipela save go aut na kisim, em long taim RD no kam yet. Nau olgeta pikinini blong mipela em kam bek na stap long ples, because nogat skul fi.

J: Yu save long sampela pikinini ol bin drink solwara or kaikai pis na oli bin go long hausik because ol I kisim hevi o?

A: Em wanpela pikinini blong mipela...

Merylyn (her daughter): Long taim mipela igo long Seg long maket na wanpela sip number 780, ol sprayim marasin na ol liklik pis, ol wok long drink dispela solwara na ol wok long dai na kalap, kalap stap. Na mipela kam na mipela lukim ol na mipela kisim ol. Ol Filipino tu ol swim na kisim ol. Ol Kisim ol stap na mipela lukim olsem na mipela go putim kanu long nambis na mipela go kisim ol, kam klinim bel blong ol mipela kukim na mipela kaikai. Ol sampela mangi ol lusim stap next day na ol kukim na kaikai na ol sik na ol go admit long hausik. Ol bel blong ol pen na ol traut, ol trautim oil.

Freda: Mi laik toktok long sait blong ymui ol meri gat man long em ya, em olsem. Planti ol meri, long sait blong RD tasol ol save kam stap wantaim ol wantok blong ol, na ol save kirap na bagarapim—paulim ol man blong mipela. Long dispela mipela planti mama igat bikpela hevi long dispela. Why na RD kam stap na ol bikpela kaim pamuk pasin kamap long mipela. Na planti ol save kros pait.

J: Yu lukim sampela samting kamap long sait blong ol meri long exchange kamap tu?

F: Long exchange sait em olsem, sampela meri ol save go long exchange ol save salim skin blong ol long kisim fish. Em yumi no nap tok em nogat. Dispela em I gat. Dispela em bikpela tru long sait blong pamuk pasin. Em bin stat long taim RD bin kam, Inap nau dispela pasim em stap yet.

J: So yu ting wanem, nau ol RD exceptim ol kaikai move or ol meri salim ol yet?

F: Kaikai em bogat. Sampela meri ol save salim skin na sampela ol save kam long gutpela way. Wokim olsem na mipela long hia, planti ol sista na aunty blong mipela ol gat pikinini long ol lain wok antap long sip.

Joe: Mi wanpela security guard. Ol bagarap save kamap –save bagarapim ol papa graun. Waste blong fish or any something, rubbish oli troim igo daun, smell blong em save kisim mipela long hia. Fish save trip nambaut. Mi lukim dispela igo na hevi em kamap stret long liklik brata blong mi. Em I dai. Emi wok wantaim RD. Emi escotim car igo long Siar long bringim fish na em I dai. Tray fish I bin kilim em. This kamap long 2001 October 10th. Brata blong mi nem blong em Andrew Niambok.

Francis: How stret tray pundaun na kilim em?

Joe: Olgeta tray baksait long kar pundaun na kilim em. Em stap autsait wantaim wanpela boy blong Sepik, nem blong em Raymond. Kompani no lukluk long dispela na ino comeponsate im tupela. Olsem na mi wok long demandim kamapani tasol

kamapni ino wok long lukluk. Mi wantaim ol lain blong mi, I bin wokim wanpela protest long area blong kampani long hia (Vidar). Kampani wok long giamanim igo na nau em tri yias nau. Long dispela mi wok long wari, na mi laik kisim lawyer long kotim kampani. Mis stap igo na sem bagarap I bin kamap long tupela pikinini blong mi. 829 I bin troimoi marasin amonia igo daun long solwara, na ol I bin admit long hausik. Nem blong tupela em Jerome Tuakim na Frank Tuakim.

Francis: Long yupela ol guard, long sait blong wage oli peim yupela olsem wanem?

Joe: Long rate blong mipela ol guard oli peim mipela long 85t/hour. Olsem na mi lukim dispela em no nap. Nem blong dispela sip em 829, oli pumin dispela gas nogut amonia em long 7 oclock morning. Na long dispela taim igat wanpela police man istap. Nem blong em Titus, em blong Awar. Em yet em bin stap na em lukim. Mi yet mi no lukim. Behin tasol mu lukim ol liklik pis wok long kalap, kalap na oli trip. Mi askim ol mi laikim wanpela pis. Mi laik huk long em. Ol tokim yu kam ol pis dai. Ol pikinini blong mi go pinis. Taim ol go ol pis dai na go pas long ston long nambis. Em na miepla kisim ol. Fopela Filipino na miepla New Guinea plenti.

9.a.3. Interviews with women from Tavei Village 15/11/03:

Jennifer: Inap yu stori long experience blong yu taim yu go anap long sip long exchange?

Vivien: Nupela taim kampani bin kam oli bin tok long exchange so mipela save go na exchange. Tupela yiar bihain ol stopim dispela exchange. Ol Filipino stopim barter system na tokim ol meri olsem ol bai go na sex long exchange wantaim ol. Planti meri ol bin bihainim dispela rot long exchange wantaim ol filipino. Nau ol tokim mipela ol landowner mama olsem mipela mas baim pis gen. So mi save baim pis. Tasol long sait blong sex em strong mo. So planti blong mipela stop long go long barter system. Ol meri ol save go wokim kain olsem [sex trade] em ol save pinis na ol save go na usim ol yet long dispela kain rot na kisim fish. Na nau ol dispela ol meri ol stil wok long go kam yet. Planti ol meri mipela save go wantaim, ol save go antap long sip, drink Taudaway (bia blong ol Filipines) wantaim oli na ol save usim ol pinis na givim bag pis long ol. Or givim ol milo, sugar, coffee, na ol save kam.

10. Analysis of data

We see that RD has created an unyielding situation for the Kananam and Siar peoples, whereby landowners subsist with reduced resources and depend entirely upon the minimal cash proffered by RD Tuna. In turn, RD amasses profits and expands its operations, only to take more of the natural resources and place the landowners in a tighter and tighter bind. Because they are unfettered by taxes, unions, and apparently minimum wage regulations or health standards, there is no structure in place by which landowners have leverage against the company. Their standard of living depends entirely upon the benevolence of the company management. When publicity and landowner group pressures pinch, RD responds with very basic and unsustainable 'assistance.' But their general structure of 'benefits' serves their own profit motive, rather than the livelihoods of the host community.

Meanwhile, this double bind of the landowners may not be entirely caused by RD, and it is not unlike the double bind of new capital projects in rural areas across PNG. But this is a particularly imbalanced case, wherein landowners seem to have no alternative but to forsake all their traditional values to serve the company's ends—and the extremely remote prospect that they will share in the company's prosperity. A durable and ancient system of trade has been grafted onto the new conditions at Vidar, for example, resulting in prostitution. Inasmuch as we understand from published reports that priests or pastors accompany all the Philippines vessels and Bible classes are conducted in the crew's down time, this must be as much an ethical horror to the company as it is to the community. So, too, must these instances of plying young women with illicit rum and enjoying group sex with them, be as appalling to the Company as they are to the Kananam people.

We find that, by contrast with the recent past, people no longer have school fees monies, nor do they have time for gardening, as they had before. While they still prepare their mortuary ceremonies with great heaps of food, most of this now must be purchased with the little income they now have from wage labor. In the past, selling fish and garden produce would be enough for them to serve their customary obligations, send children to school, and still eat well. Today, their diet is apparently debased, and they suffer from a battery of new ailments that may come from unsanitary working conditions in the Cannery, or from the suspected pollutants in their sea. The physical labor and long hours puts new demands on their health in general, especially for the women. And yet there are virtually no health services provided by the company, nor is there assistance to the clinics in the area. The company has not supported any of the local schools in any sustained or serious way. And the resentment being stirred, combined with the under-employment of local landowner youth, has lit the fuse on this bomb, erupting already in a couple of fights over fish theft.

RD cannot be expected to solve all the preexisting problems of these communities. But there is some reason to expect them to observe the fundamental ethic of reciprocity for which PNG is so well known. To use the Siar and Seg locations as mere backdrops for RD's ambitions is, at very least, disrespectful. Failing to comprehend the need for landowner preference in employment and spin-off enterprises (or, having acknowledged it, ignoring it) can only lead to settlers and deeper resentment by the original landowners.

When the Mission arrived, they slowly encroached on the community's land holdings. Ultimately, the Seg and Siar peoples focused on fishing, and on their superior fishing skills, to maintain the traditional trade relations all along the Madang coast. With fish, they could at least trade for garden produce, clay pots, wooden bowls, shell valuables and dogs' teeth. The hope was that eventually the Mission would transfer a number of their small-scale business skills to the local people. But this did not happen. Instead, the Mission ceded the land and the sea to the government, who in turn sold it to RD. And the result is that these fishing people are now left without the single most important resource for them not simply to survive but also to sustain the important social relations with neighbors that have kept the languages and cultures alive for millennia.

11. The Social Impact of RD Cannery and RD Fishing PNG Pty Ltd

11.a. Social implications

The social implications of RD Cannery and Fishing PNG cannot be overestimated. There are certainly many Filipino workers, including, we are told, the Company owner, who respect their PNG colleagues and have excellent intentions in their working here. But they are outnumbered, it would seem, by a majority of managers and supervisors who prefer to treat members of the host community as second-class citizens. This is perhaps the single most damaging social repercussion of the last six years. After this, comes the gradual degeneration of traditional authority structures in these communities that surround the RD operations. The inevitable imbalance of authority that comes when younger people have money and older people no longer have a hand in the new economy, is compounded here by the lack of time and subsistence freedom to maintain some of the customary institutions. Were the wage conditions better at RD, the damage would not be as extreme. Many people would opt for part-time work and dedicate more time to traditional forms of ceremony and sociality.

11.b. Cultural implications

The cultural repercussions of RD's presence thus far have included a complete suppression of male initiation (and the attendant male cult), out of fear that the young men are no longer fit enough to endure the process; a lack of respect for elders; and a gradual disregard for the traditional knowledge, ceremonies and social obligations that are necessary to reproduce the cultural identities of these people. Sociocultural change is often tragic, but it does not have to be. Values and ideas are what need to be sustained, nurtured and taught for a culture to continue. The situation in Siar and Seg today is such that, at very least, there remains no time left for these wage earners to consider these processes.

11.c. Economic implications

The economic repercussions of RD have been widespread. People have no money to pay their children's school fees, to pay clinic costs, or start up independent business ventures like trade stores or cash crop gardening. They have so little money, in fact, that they must remain in full-time employment just to subsist, whereas many would no doubt do better with part-time employment and the freedom to work their gardens. The company has not assisted these communities in basic social or infrastructural investments, either, so that market houses, feeder roads, aid posts, schools and churches have all been neglected and, far from upgraded, in many cases deteriorated. It is conceivable that small business enterprises that might otherwise have emerged (with vanilla, cocoa, trucking, canteens, for examples) would have benefited these community fundamentals. And, as many informants suggested, had wages been such that cash did flow back into these communities, and new ventures were begun, we might also assume the provincial government would have made related investments in schools, aid posts and infrastructure. This is only conjecture. But what is irrefutable is the current state of destitution that all these communities face seven years since RD's entry into the area.

People cannot feed their families, cannot serve their traditional feasting, marriage and mortuary obligations, and cannot pay the minimum costs for educational and health services. There are workers who, literally, have taken home fortnight pay packets of K3 and K5, after deductions for NPF, transport, meals and uniforms. Their prospects are also dim: very little training has occurred, and so very few Papua New Guineans see themselves as having better skills or more managerial control down the line.

11.d. Political implications

Politically, the present is a fragile and transitional moment. Landowners feel alienated from their main means of subsistence and identity, which may allow frustrations to foment into instability. In general, the movement from subsistence farming/fishing to a cash economy is always politically shaky. Coastal and island societies in PNG are gerontocracies, where the older men, and to some extent women, rule the younger. People are age-graded and move through different levels of entitlement in their lifetime. Initiation, adolescence, marriage, and so many lesser events punctuating adulthood bring people closer and closer to the ruling center of a community. Overlaying this are sometimes hereditary rankings of clans, so that some places have chiefly and commoner lines, which still hold some resonance today. The fact that the Sasagas No 1 clan *voted* in their new clan leader, in order to replace Musas Mumun, and disassociate themselves from Daghan Company, is very significant. Capitalism brings with it a form of electoral politics that is not necessarily compatible with "democracy" as it has been known in PNG. This is where provincial and national politics have become a buyer's market. And in a subtle way, the same thing is happening on the local level here. Because of the sin-off businesses at stake, clan leadership has become a position of business management, and therefore all the customary rules no longer apply. People campaign, buy votes, and gain the politico-economic authority that is new leadership in PNG. But this leaves elders, initiated men, and those with traditional skills, vitiating of their community respect. They no longer command the same followings, and find it hard to organize customary affairs. Most importantly, age-graded societies are renowned for the ability of older people to control younger ones. Thus, when people say 'We can't control the youths,' they do not simply mean kids are rebelling, in the western sense, but that the very backbone of the community is crumbling. Once youth has more money, more authority, than elders do, the entire continuity of a culture falls away: learning new values becomes more important than learning old ones.

11.e. Environmental implications

The environmental losses include the reduction of big fish in the Madang Lagoon (and most significantly, Seg Harbor), the loss of soft coral and the bleaching and death of the reef in general. At the Cannery itself, there are extreme problems: sewage and fish wastes are running into the rivers nearby, clotting the waste ponds and spreading beyond the Cannery boundaries during periods of rain and flooding. Solid wastes (possibly mixed with chemicals) are being buried in places, possibly at or near water tables. Waste is also being spilled at Vidar and occasionally, into the Harbor there. Chemical spills have been recorded, without any notice to reparations to villagers who swim, and wash in that water. We can see from the WWF report (cited above) that sewage seems to have invaded many rivers that feed the Madang Lagoon. The results are increased sickness of

the stomach and skin, death to marine life (including dolphins), and incalculable levels of reptilian, avifauna and flora loss from contamination. Environmental loss is at least as important as the forfeiture of land and sea to the Company, in assessing social effects upon a community. Whatever natural resources should be left over from such a development project are being lost to environmental damage.

12. Interpretation of data

The Kananam people are locked in a costly relationship with RD. Having once been a wealthy horticultural society, they made a working compromise with the Catholic Mission which left them dependant upon fish for food, trade and necessary cash. But this balance was disrupted as soon as RD arrived. Seizing the one indispensable resource of the Kananam people, and offering a form of indentured servitude in return, RD has radically changed the prospects for these peoples' culture, language and social unity. Those who welcome RD's presence and even look forward to the Cannery moving to Seg, are also fatalistic about their now-desperate need for cash. It is money they need now: their fishing income is gone, their gardens are neglected, and their social obligations forgotten. Their only negotiating advantage was fish. But today they are left with no fish and even less money. Some believe the Company will improve its public relations as it settles in and, presumably, earns more money. This is optimism in the extreme, considering the RD's track record thus far, and the fact that their tax exemptions should have already created opportunities for benevolence. The data collected here convinces us that RD is not now and never has been sincere about its promises to the Seg, Siar and Nobnob communities. Their 'gifts' of spin-off work are nothing more than Cheez-pops, as people say; barely a snack for hungry people. The Papua New Guineans working in RD Fishing PNG and in RD Canneries are no more than a cheap labor force for a Filipino industry based in PNG, and should not presume that they will become anything more. Therefore any contracts struck between landowners and the Company should be scrutinized for both parties' legal obligations, with nothing left to vague promises. But the most important condition for any such agreement would be satisfactory working wages. RD should be responsible to the Departments of Health and Labor in their working conditions, and have regular environmental assessments of their wastes disposals in both Seg and Siar. There is nothing in their operations over the past 7 years to suggest that any of the unhygienic, unsafe and antisocial practices we have recorded will be abated at a new Cannery in Seg.

13. Summary and conclusions

The problem is a large, foreign manufacturing business placed into a cluster of small-scale societies already disrupted by large-scale land loss. Our objective was to qualitatively measure the impact of RD Tuna on the Seg, Siar and Nobnob communities. In order to assess the impact a Cannery may have on the Seg area, and the Kananam community, we planned to compare the expectations of the Company when it first arrived with the status of their relations with the community now, six years later. Our methodology was that of a rapid rural assessment: six researchers went into all three communities, plus related areas, to question key figures, both pro- and contra-RD, from the landowner associations, spin off businesses and employee groups.

Theoretical and practical significance of the study

The theoretical importance of this study involves the potential for large-scale development projects like RD in rural and peri-urban settings across PNG. What are the constituents to the problem(s) at RD and how can they be avoided elsewhere? What sort of correctives can be made now?

Alphonse Tengisa, Headmaster of St. Michael's Primary School in Alexishafen, stressed to us that the parents had ample time to prepare their children's school fees, since 2002 was a year of fully subsidized education. It strikes us as a perfect response to RD's extended tax exemptions. The Company has had ample time to establish financial security and provide living wages under safe, hygienic working conditions for their employees. They have enjoyed enough largesse from Madang's government and its people to return basic courtesies to their workers, and to refrain from abusing it's the sanctity, its beauty and its marine resources.

15. Recommendations

We recommend that RD Cannery Pty Ltd and RD Fishing PNG Pty Ltd cease operations to address the hygiene and safety conditions at both its plants; that it reduce the levels of fish caught in the Seg Harbor and convert to practices that reduce the levels of by-catch fish; that it raise all wages to the legal minimum and above; that it monitor working hours and pay overtime rates; that it institute a fast-track training program for landowners; that preference in employment be given to landowners; that all spin-off businesses be restructured to the advantage of landowners, and that these contracts be offered to all members of the landowning clans; that Health and Safety inspectors monitor the work sites regularly; that assistance be given to Aid Posts, in particular donations of HIV blood test kits, in all landowner communities; that a Clinic be established within Cannery limits to serve emergency medical needs; that pay packet deductions be examined by independent accountants; that material contributions be made to the schools in the area, including lump donations to all students' fees; that local law enforcement be given unfettered access to all work sites for control of illegal activities on the part of RD employees; that a special social abuse office be established within RD to accept and review complaints of abusive behavior between Company employees and local people, especially women.

Applications and actions to remedy weaknesses

We recommend that clan ownership issues be resolved by further studies in these communities before any changes are adopted. Indeed, we further recommend that RD's operations halt until the safety and hygiene issues are clearly resolved. Unions must be allowed to form and seek better working conditions and wages for their members. The Public Relations Department, which at present consists of one Siassi and one Sepik man, is not functioning as it should, and must be made to engage the community more sincerely and regularly. Towards this end, we recommend local Madang people (not necessarily landowners) be appointed to these positions—people who speak Bel language and understand the local culture. We also recommend that by-catch fish be given rather than sold to the landowners, who are clearly desperate for fish. The

interactions between fishing vessels and Kananam women must be standardized and monitored, whether this be by a local police force or an arm of Company together with landowners, we cannot say. Finally, there need to be clear toksaves in each community regarding the Company's long term benefits program, and how individuals and registered groups might appeal for assistance.

Formulation or improvement of policy

Five High School scholarships do not redress the long period of poor community relations for RD. Their CRO is either new, and just turning the corner for the Company (in response to Iduwad pressures), or been asleep for the past 6 years. Perhaps the solution is not simply to hire a CRO but to map a real program of benefits to the community and then place someone in charge of it.

Further research

We stress the need for a more comprehensive study of the landowner clans, their histories and their land claims, before any new agreement is forged with RD. This applies to the Siar and Nobnob clans as well as the Kananam ones, where the lack of a clear ethnographic and historic data has led to conflicting claims. In particular, what needs to be established is the validity of Siar clans' claims to land, and what tenure rules or gifts apply to their claims.

Health and workplace conditions also require urgent investigation by the appropriate officials. This is not so much a research requirement as a legal one, we presume. In addition, medical research should be conducted on the working staff of both the Cannery and the Wharf, where the risks of disease transmission are very high. We have suggested that blood tests be available at all the nearest Aid Posts for ready diagnosis of and protection against STDs, namely HIV. We also suggest research into traditional fishing, gardening and trade systems, which are suffered rapid decline. Language loss is another important area for study, including the recording of esoteric vocabularies that may be lost more rapidly than everyday vernacular.

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- PNG Government to investigate tuna cannery (from the Post-Courier). The East-West Center, Hawaii.

17. Appendices

a. Tuna earnings set to double

Copyright, 1999, Post-Courier Online
October 31, 2000

MADANG-based RD Tuna Cannery, producer of Diana Tuna tinned fish, could double its foreign exchange earnings to \$US2 million next year if it fully utilised its production capacity, managing director Peter Celso said. Mr Celso said the processing plant had the capacity to produce more than its current production of 18 metric tonnes of fish per day. The plant had space for another 500 workers to add to the 2000 already working, he said. Diana Tuna, the local brand, had a shelf-life of four years and all production processes and handling followed international food safety rules, Mr Celso said. He said RD Tuna had also complied with European Union guidelines on environmental practice since the plant went into full operation in July 1997. The company had already begun exporting some brands of canned tuna to American and European markets. Plant manager Alex Bernardino said the company also had a localisation program where it aimed to replace the 40 supervisors with locals over the years. He said training packages had been put in place following an agreement with the PNG Government before the company was granted its operating licence. Out in the ocean off PNG, a fleet of 49 fishing vessels operate around the clock to catch 120 metric tonnes of tuna per day for the processing plant. The tuna, which are caught in the 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone, are frozen offshore and transported to land by carrier vessels. The company's vice president and controller Jun Autentico said the fishing method was an environmentally friendly traditional Philippines style called "peyeo". He said it used nets with bigger netting eyes that let smaller fish pass through. He said the nets were set in the waters where tuna migrate

through. The nets are shaded with "lumo" leaves and the growth of moss attracts tuna as they swim from north to south when the waters in the north are warmer. The bigger fish are netted and transported ashore while the smaller ones slip past the net eyes, Mr Autentico said.

b. The Tuna Gold Rush In Papua New Guinea Papua New Guinea, September 30, 03

Company fortnights in the town of Madang, in Papua New Guinea are like a gold rush story with a rather odd twist: only four local food shops in Madang are pocketing the gold. The gold comes in the form of cheques that the 3,000 fish canning workers bring to the these four shops - Best Buy, RabTrade, MST Supermarket and Madang Butchery - to buy various household items from rice, flour, salt, kakaruk, pikpok, to of course, Diana Tuna. The other 500 workers, who do more complicated jobs at the cannery and offices, use Etfos charge cards. Bearing the name of RD Tuna Cannery Ltd, these cheques have replaced the cash. It's now the currency that the cannery workers carry around when shopping. Cash would be a bit dangerous to handle specially in the afternoon when workers get their wages. Local raskols, some say, have matured enough overtime and won't dare touch RD Tuna cheques, for one reason or the other. "I would spend two days signing those cheques," said an executive at RD Tuna, as he described how his poor signing hand went numb after writing his name on the blank line. Lucky are these three shops because they are the only ones that have been anointed by RD Tuna to accept the cheques as payment, which later they deposit with the local ANZ Bank. In short, Best Buy, RabTrade, MST Supermarket and Madang Butchery, have for themselves a captive market in the 3,000 or more cannery workers who flood the shopping center like a mob in the afternoon of their fortnight. It is only in Madang where you can see all the cash register counters being occupied by only one breed of people - cannery workers. "This is ridiculous ...!" complained one shopper who did not belong to the club. "All counters only for all these fishy workers ... this is unfair..." But the shop managers would shoot back: "Sorry Bro, it's only in a fortnight that we can net all of them in one go ... you see, just like school fish of tuna...". So the poor bloke would have to decide if he would wait till 8pm for the cannery lines to disappear. The cheques are like the real McCoy because you get the change if your purchase was less than the amount of the cheque.

RD Tuna's cheque scheme is also the reason there is a price war among the three anointed shops. Price war in the sense that whoever offers the best price - meaning the lowest - gets the gold. See? For instance, one shop offers buy-one take one come-on. The other shop has thought of issuing discounts coupons to the cheque customers, which they could accumulate up to certain amount, after which they can exchange for foodstuff and other items. Another has raffle draws. One shop would offer free one-bite sandwich and a watery juice in plastic cups. The next shop had thought of packaging together three or more items at a discounted price. When you buy them individually, hold your breath ... you'll pay 20 per cent more. Talk about value for money goods! All those gimmicks, all for the gold. So the Madang gold rush has become a fortnightly notoriety as far as other shoppers - those working for other companies and government entities in town - are concerned. Better to stay away from these shops although the prices they offer are really that good, unless you are able to penetrate the cannery line. Which is impossible, however, because you've got to say the password: RD Tuna. A staff at MST Supermart said there was nothing like this until that time a few years ago when the cannery workers came in waves from Siar village, where their canning plant is located, every fortnight. One recalled that before 1997, when RD tuna came to Madang, shops here were already closed by 3pm and remained closed till the next morning when they open up for the new day. Reason? No business to do. No people traffic - these are those who look-see the goods on the shelves to buy an item or two.

"But even if there was one, if you don't have a kina in your pocket, what's the point going out and see the shops," Mr Kamyra, a former ranking cop in the province, told this writer. Now, there's not only kina in the pockets of the 3,000 plus cannery workers, there's also 29 company hired bus-trucks that are ready to take them to town on fortnights - all for free - and takeover the shops for themselves - at least for a day. Just imagine how much business these cannery workers give to the three shops in two fortnights -about K500,000 - to the chagrin of the other shops nearby who are missing out on the windfall. When these shops make lots of money from the shoppers, they also pay a huge VAT, which goes into the coffers of the Madang government, ready for use on some social projects and the like. What goes around comes around, so they say. "Things have changed a lot for the better in Madang," Mr Kamyra said, "because we've got a cannery here that gives livelihood to over 3,000 people who love to shop."

Landowners in Siar village where the six-hectare cannery is located operate most of these bus-trucks, a spin-off from the cannery business. RD Tuna bought four of these trucks and gave one to each of four clans - at a subsidized cost of K10,000 per unit - and let them pay the balance, also at subsidized interest rates, over five years. Some of the rest of the vehicles are either hired by the company from Madang operators or by the four clans themselves. So, instead of RD Tuna hauling over 3,000 workers to go see the shops on fortnights and to all points in Madang during work days, and back to the cannery 24-hours a day, it's the landowner-clans doing this. And for the services rendered, the bus-truck operators are paid a total of K100,000 kina a fortnight - the amount that the workers would have spent on bus fares combined. It is the same amount that is siphoned into the Madang economy from the bus-trucks operators - part of the K2 million that the company pumps into the economy fortnightly. Truck-bus operators also get big discounts on fuel when they draw it from the cannery's depot. RD Tuna cheques, free bus-rides, and course, subsidized meals at work, and good shopping, - all signs of progress for over 3,000 people. What more could one ask for? Those were the days when Madang town didn't hear the cash registers banging merrily after 3pm. It does now.

Source: Local PNG Press

C. Madang to invest K29 million in tuna fishing fleet stake

08/09/00

Source: The National, Copyright 2000

Date: August 9, 2000

By: BREMABIL KUBLE

THE Madang Provincial Government has announced plans to invest US\$11 million (K29 million) to gain a 51 per cent equity stake in a fishing fleet owned by the RD Tuna cannery, located 20km from Madang. At last week's Mamose regional governors conference in Madang, Governor Jim Kas said the government's acquisition of a stake in three of the four ships owned by RD Tuna would enable the company to gain preferential access to markets in Europe. Mr Kas also urged the governors of the three other regional provinces to participate in the scheme. He said the proposal was in accordance with the Lome Agreement requirement that tuna can only be imported to Europe if the shipping fleets involved were half owned by people in developing countries or by their governments. He especially urged the Morobe Governor Luther Wenge and East Sepik Governor Arthur Somare to help fund his plan. Governor Wenge agreed in principle but Mr Somare appeared hesitant because his province was already pursuing the development of a tuna cannery project in Wewak involving a joint venture with Angco Coffee and a foreign company. He said the Wewak project was progressing well and that it would generate K35 million in revenue for the government once it became operational. It would also create more than 2,000

jobs. He said: "It is an issue of confidence. In general let us talk about cost analysis while at the same time we will have to protect our interest."

f. RD Tuna to bring in foreign investments

By COLIN TAIMBARI

THE RD Group, producer of Diana canned fish brand - is serious about its investments in Papua New Guinea and is here for the long haul, according to its chairman and president Rodrigo E Rivera. Mr Rivera said the Somare Government's export driven economic policy was in the right direction and the Government should use that to bring in more fish processing plants onshore. He said this would create thousands of employment opportunity, bring in much needed foreign exchange to boost the PNG economy and more importantly reduce the price of canned fish by creating a healthy competition, adding that there was room for five or six more canneries in PNG. He said the cannery does not operate any US Dollar account overseas for its export receipts, as 100 per cent of their receipts are brought back and pumped into the economy of the country. "We are bringing into the country, we are not taking money outside of the country," he said, adding that "RD is here to stay for the long haul, these are honest to goodness investments in PNG". The group, which operates the RD Tuna cannery in Madang, employs more than 2500 people - mainly local women - as well as another 500 on its fishing vessels catching the highly migratory tuna species in our waters. Mr Rivera said since 1995, the group has invested about K100 million in its cannery, cold storage, infrastructure including wharf and an ice plant. The ice making plant, which produces 40 tonnes of ice per day, was built mainly to assist the local fishermen - an idea, which has now being further developed in conjunction with the European Union. The company exports more than 100 containers of canned fish to Europe and the United States as well as Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu. Despite criticisms by non-Government organisations about its quality control and standards, Mr Rivera said it is one of the best in the world today. "We are being criticised for what we are doing but our cannery is being accredited by the United States Food and Drug Administration so does the European Union," he said. Part from that, it catches only three per cent of the total tuna catch of PNG, while Taiwanese, American, Korean and Japanese vessels harvest the rest to be processed abroad. He said the company has spent its own funds and also gone out of its way to obtain 24 per cent duty free for exports from PNG to Europe, which all companies from PNG can utilise. Mr Rivera has recently been appointed by PNG Government as its honorary consul-general in the Philippines and he is going out of his way to bring in more investors from Philippines, especially in tourism, food processing, banking and other major investments. Only last week, Mr Rivera brought to PNG a major banker and two big businessmen, who were impressed with what they saw here.

i. PACIFIC ISLANDS REPORT

Pacific Islands Development Program/East-West Center

With Support From Center for Pacific Islands Studies/University of Hawai'i

PNG GOVERNMENT TO INVESTIGATE TUNA CANNERIES

PORT MORESBY, Papua New Guinea (PNG Post-Courier, Oct. 1) - Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare yesterday vowed in Parliament to set up an inquiry to investigate RD Tuna cannery in Madang and the Besta Company in Lae. Sir Michael said the inquiry would be spearheaded by the Environment and Conservation Ministry. He said he would make sure Environment Minister Yuntuvi Bao, Agriculture Minister Moses Maladina and Labour Minister Peter Yama set up a committee of civil servants to

investigate. Bogia MP John Hickey raised concerns and questions in Parliament yesterday about a foul smell detected from the RD Tuna factory in Madang, which company authorities denied and refused to talk about. Mr Hickey also asked if the Prime Minister was aware that many expatriates were occupying positions that local Papua New Guineans were eligible to handle and that many local employees were paid lower than plantation laborers. He also asked if the Government was aware of prohibited fauna being taken out without a permit from the province. "Definitely, there is a need for an inquiry and I'll make sure we set up a small inquiry headed by Environment Conservation, Agriculture and Fisheries to investigate and report back to us in November," Sir Michael said. "I know that these queries are serious . . . on the lower wages and smell in Madang because I drove from Maiwara to Talidig last year and I know there is always this feeling of smell. I think pollution is the biggest problem. "And I will make sure the Minister for Environment, Minister for Primary Industry and Minister for Labor are directed to set up a small committee of civil servants to go and investigate and we'll furnish the report to the honorable Member in November."

Canner takes out court order RD Tuna canners — the local producers of Diana Tuna tinned fish — has taken out an interim court injunction preventing two non-government organizations and an American expatriate from damaging its reputation.

The court order originally obtained on July 9 directs Madang-based Bismarck-Ramu Group and Iduwan Association and American Barry Lalley from publishing damaging articles or statements against RD Tuna. These groups are prevented from making any adverse statements locally or internationally against RD Tuna until the matter goes to trial in the National Court. No trial date has been set yet and lawyers for the company say it would be a while before a date was fixed. RD Tuna went to court after the NGOs and Mr Lalley reportedly published allegations locally and on the Internet claiming environmental damage and poisonous products against RD Tuna. Iduwan Association is a minority landowner group from Kananam village that gets its backing from Bismarck-Ramu Group which is led by Mr Lalley. All want to see RD Tuna closed. But the majority of the people of Madang see the operations of RD Tuna differently and want to see it remain in the province. RD Tuna employs more than 3,500 Madang people. The NGO groups and Mr Lalley had gone to schools and settlements around Madang with pamphlets claiming spillage of a chemical that had already killed several people. The groups had also claimed the products of RD Tuna were poisonous. The multi-billion kina company had denied the claims outright and had gone to the courts to preserve its corporate image.

October 2, 2003

Papua New Guinea Post-Courier

j. RD TUNA: THE WHIPPING BOY

By ALFREDO P HERNANDEZ

In Kananam and Siar villages, on the outskirts of Madang



THE PHOTOGRAPH looked innocent. It showed two small commercial fishing vessels that just sailed in from the Philippines early that morning. The right side of the vessels showed their identifying marks "Davao City RP" painted in white, which simply meant "Davao City Republic of the Philippines" where the vessels are registered.. On the vessels were four to six crewmembers seated on the boat's edge, watching the people, apparently villagers, as they paddled towards the bigger vessels. In one of these canoes, at the centre of the picture, were two young girls slicing their paddles in the calm water. They were also heading for the bigger boats. The rest of the paddlers - about twelve of them and mostly young boys and girls - were doing the same.

It was one of those early morning scenes that unfolded whenever these Filipino fishing vessels docked at the wharf after being at sea for days. Actually, when the picture was taken, the villagers were about to barter their freshly harvested vegetables, ripened bananas and pawpaw with fish or any foodstuff that the Filipino crew have. But the pleasant early morning scene in a private wharf at Siar village depicted in this picture, when it appeared last May on the website of the Sydney-based NGO-oriented website <http://lorikeet.and.com.au>, was maliciously distorted. Its caption read: "RD Tuna boats - the sex trade". There was no photo credit. Adolf Skarmai, 44, father of five boys and four girls and himself a clan leader in Kananam village, has gone ballistic.

He had recognised from that Internet picture that a friend had shown him afterwards the small dugout canoe he built for his eight-year old daughter Tintin (not her real name). And worse, it was his daughter Tintin on that boat that the website had described as being involved in the "sex trade". "This is outrageous ... my little girl is not a prostitute," Mr Skarai told this writer. "No one in our Kananam village is a prostitute ... the women in Kananam are not prostitutes..." Mr SkarMai couldn't still himself as he went on with his outburst: "He's been doing this to us ... maligning the name and integrity of my people in the eyes of the world ... we are decent villagers ... we know the culprit who is capable of putting this on the Internet ... how can he do this to us? Mr Skar Mai told The National he knew the perpetrator of this defamatory information but could do nothing because there was no proof. Internet experts who tried to pinpoint the source of the website material found there were 30 layers of websites leading to the "sex trade" photograph. It was not possible to break through this subterfuge to determine the exact source. An RD Tuna executive said it is common knowledge that a locally based NGO, the Bismarck-Ramu Group, which is headed by an ex-Vietnam veteran from the United States, Barry Lalley, was campaigning to shut down its big canning operations. Mr Lalley, who works out of air-conditioned rooms at the Jais Aven Hotel outside Madang refused to be interviewed by this writer. He also ignored questions emailed to him on his activities in Kananam village. Based on information gathered by this writer, James Yali, the governor of Madang had also politely invited Barry Lalley for a dialogue to discuss and clarify the same issues. However, the Madang governor's invitation was likewise snubbed by Mr Lalley. Although Mr Lalley's name doesn't appear on RBG's roster, Mr Skarmai said the former is actually the group's manager, the fund-seeker, the workhorse and the one orchestrating BRG's activities. Villagers said Mr Lalley was seen almost everyday in the village talking to landowners and taking pictures, some of which have been identified on the offending website. Mr Lalley has ganged up with 15 individuals claiming to be landowners and village leaders to wage a protracted war against RD Tuna Canners Ltd whose plant is located on a company-owned lot at Siar village, next to Kananam. The group, known as the Iduwad Association, is headed by Frances Gem and James Sungai and

claims to represent the interest of the 3,000 Kananam villagers. With clandestine backing from Mr Lalley, the group wants to stop the operations of the cannery and its tuna fishing operations, which employs about 3,500 cannery workers. Earlier, the Iduwad members wanted to squeeze K100,000 from RD Tuna monthly for use of water from the nearby freshwater lake for a new cannery. The company ignored the demand because the lake is within the company's 860-hectare property. Through Mr Lalley, the Iduwads have made known to the international community their intent to shut down the entire operations of the cannery when they posted on the Internet website <http://lorikeet.and.com.au> a manifesto calling for an international boycott of RD Tuna's 13 products brands. The BRG-Iduwad faction accused the cannery of polluting the air, the lagoon and other waterways; spilling huge amounts of ammonia from the cannery's fishing vessel's freezer into the lagoon which claimed "some human lives" and deaths to butterfly fish; non-payment of corporate taxes and low wages for cannery workers, among others. And the claim of prostitution. The unverified ammonia deaths story was reported by The Post Courier on May 12 and was immediately picked up by Sydney based open-publishing website Independent Media Centre with further elaboration and speculation on the "worsening state" of the lagoon next to the cannery. Clan leader Mr Matthew Masbud and chairman of landowners' group SSD Corporation Ltd, told this writer: "We don't believe in the cause being pushed by BRG and Iduwad because it was all lies. "We have repeatedly asked Messrs Gem and Sungai to stop dealing with BRG, particularly Mr Lalley." "And we, the clan leaders, even went to see Mr Lalley on September 8 to ask him why he was doing those things to our people but he refused to see us," Mr Masbud said. For one thing, he said, their (Iduwad) fight with the cannery is only doing harm to our people who make a living from the cannery and from the cold storage facilities. "Not to mention those landowners who have benefited from business spin-offs that came when the cannery began its operations," Mr Masbud said. "We are 3000 against the 15 who are just being used by (Mr) Lalley to get continuous UNDP funding ...: Mr Masbud said. Concerned about Mr Lalley's modus operandi, the BRG officers had recently asked him bluntly why he was agitating the Iduwad members. Mr Lalley shot back: "I don't care about the Iduwads... I've got a job to do..."

THE TROUBLE surfaced after RD Tuna acquired through a court-ordered bidding held in 1997 the 860-hectare property now comprising the Kananam village. It's where the cannery's cold storage facilities, wharf and the jealously guarded 20-hectare freshwater lake are located. Planted to coconut and cocoa trees, the property that also doubles as cattle grazing area, used to belong to the Catholic Mission under a 99-year lease. Several years back, the Catholic Mission got tired looking after the land and feeding the cattle. So it sold the land to the Madang provincial government, which in turn sold it to ZZZ Canning Pty Ltd owned by Lawrence Zuanich, an American-Ukrainian. Mr Zuanich had a plan to put up a fish cannery on the property but it was dropped when he went bankrupt in 1994. When Mr Zuanich failed to settle his debts to the contractors who had started land development in the area, the court ordered the land's foreclosure. A subsequent auction followed on January 27, 1997, handled by The Professional Realty while the Robert Southwell Partners, a KPMG chartered accountants, supervised the repaying of ZZZ Canning's debts from the property's sales proceeds. Some private businessmen and corporate representatives bid for the property. A bid of K3 million gave RD Tuna the 860-hectare property known until now as the "Vidar plantation". Nobody could say how long the mission had held onto the property, but village elders said that as soon as the mission took ownership of the land, they began planting coconut trees. One villager said that judging from the height of the coconut trees "they should be 50-years old now ...". If that is so, RD Tuna can still look forward to another 44 years of business that should further benefit the Siar and Kananam people and Madang town. The town's four other large establishments - Jan Timber, Madang Timber, J Barnes and British American Tobacco - only have a total of about 1000 workers. As of now the cannery is pumping fortnightly into Madang's economy over K2 million in terms of purchased provisions and supplies, fleet fuel, wages, business spin-offs given to the landowners - from workers' transport services to canteen concessions subsidised meals and other business

deals the company does with local business houses and service companies. It is because of the money in the pockets of its 3,500 workers and those who indirectly benefit from RDTC that shops in Madang town become alive every fortnight.

k. RD Tuna: Time to fight back

MR RODRIGO E RIVERA, Sr, chairman and president of Philippine-based RD Group composed of 27 companies to which RD Tuna Cannery belongs, loves to read the Bible. Although he shuns publicity, he was elected president of a huge Bible society called Gideon Society of the Philippines for three consecutive terms from 1991. As its head, he raised money to print Bibles for distribution in the country and at times to other Third World countries. Not surprisingly, the RD Group corporate logo carries a picture of the Bible and tuna fish. Obviously, when Mr Rivera saw the Internet manifesto accusing RD Tuna's fishing boat crews of being involved in the sex trade, he was shocked. In a brief note to this writer from General Santos City, Philippines, the home base of his corporate flagship, Mr Rivera said that he doesn't give credence to the Internet allegations against his workers. He said: "In every fishing vessel that carries the name of RD Tuna, there has always been a Filipino pastor on board. He conducts Bible studies even at sea whenever they can inspire crewmembers to put the Almighty ahead of everything they do and to do good deeds to their fellowmen." Reverend Pastor Romeo B Degolacion, who just sailed in after days of fishing near in the Bismarck waters, told this writer: "I really don't understand why there are people who want to harm the reputation of innocent girls and women in this (Kananam) village ..." "Our crewmembers will never do what they have been accused of, my boys are God-fearing ... they read the Holy Bible almost everyday while waiting to catch the fish and engaging in sex trade as alleged is something that is just absurd ..." There are ten RD catcher boats regularly docking at the Kananam wharf to bring in the tuna catch. Back in the Philippines, Mr Rivera sought the help of a group of Filipino Internet experts to look into the source of the story and pictures posted on the website <http://lorikeet.and.com.au> and on www.sydney.indymedia.org. After days of hacking and looking, the group came up with some 30 layers of websites through which the said stories and pictures went through by the time it reached <http://lorikeet.and.com.au>. But the group was unable to pinpoint the source. Pete C. Celso, RD Tuna Cannery Managing Director for PNG, speculates that some well-funded (foreign) groups with ulterior motives are orchestrating the smear campaign against his company. Mr Celso says a local NGO, BRG, has been campaigning against the cannery. "The tuna fishing and canning is a billion dollar industry ...and one of the major commodities being traded world wide ..." said Mr Celso. He noted that approximately 60 per cent of the world's tuna catch comes from the Pacific waters and of this, 20 per cent comes from the waters of Papua New Guinea. At present, there are 205 international fishing boats licensed to fish in the Pacific region. These are the Taiwanese, Korean, Japanese, US, Filipino and EU fleets. RD Tuna just sails 10 licensed fishing vessels for PNG operations, backed up by some carrier vessels and skiff/ranger boats. Fishing industry sources speculate that big foreign tuna canning companies try to make it difficult for new fish processing canneries to be built in Third World countries like PNG. More canneries being set up in PNG means lesser and lesser fish raw materials being made available to these existing foreign owned canneries located outside of PNG. And the best way to discourage new investors in the tuna processing here in PNG is to bring up the issue of landownership, an issue that is exploited by NGOs. It is enough to agitate landowners and to encourage them to block development on their land. Which brings our focus to the planned US\$70 million cannery, RD Tuna's second cannery in the area. Right now, NGO BRG and Iduwad are holding it up. The plant is to rise on a property belonging to the company just next to the wharf and cold storage facilities. It will give jobs to another 5,000 people in Madang. It is also one reason why the company has not paid its stockholders dividends since it began operating in 1997 since all profits have been ploughed back into expansion and diversification plans. This is in total contradiction to claims publicised on the newswire website [Sydney.indymedia.org](http://www.sydney.indymedia.org) that RD Tuna repatriates profits back to the Philippines every year. Until last year, the company enjoyed a five-year tax holiday as an incentive for being a pioneer canning industry investor in

this country. This is an issue used by the detractors of RD in claiming that the company evades tax. They conveniently omit the fact that an income tax holiday is an incentive given not only to RD but to all pioneering industries approved by the PNG Government. The critics also forget to mention that RD Tuna has been paying other types of taxes like value added tax, excise tax, business taxes etc. Expectedly corporate taxes will now be due effective this year. Moreover, there are a lot of income taxes and other taxes generated by the PNG Government out of direct and indirect business opportunities arising out of the RD project.

WHILE WAITING for its chance to put up the new fish canning plant, RD Tuna has to face - for the first time ever -many detractors. But Mr Celso has expressed confidence that the real truth will always come out and rectify the wrong done against the company. "We have been quiet all along because we knew there was no truth to all of this rubbish," he told this writer. "But when another local daily paper (not National) carried a report on May 12, 2003 about "massive deaths caused by ammonia spill," and the sex trade charges without verifying the facts, we decided "that's it". Mr Celso is very annoyed with the said article. "All it did was put a getaway disclaimer, saying "the reported deaths are yet to be confirmed... But why in the first place report it when the facts have not been confirmed yet?" The "massive deaths" story carried by another local paper and subsequently picked up by the NGO website was enough reason, if they were true, for the Kananam clans to burn down the cannery, the fishing boats and the cold storage facilities." "But until now, not one family has confronted us, proving that the death story was all rubbish," he said.

ONE LATE morning, 56-year-old Mr Paul Basan, a village leader in Kananam, was pleased to see on his dining table a basketful of freshly gathered clams and mud crabs. His wife gathered them from the nearby mangrove. She said it was clamming season again and there was plenty in the mangrove to pick. "And there has been a lot to pick in the mangrove ever since ... who says the water is poisoned? the wife asked. While admitting that an accidental ammonia leak from one of the boat's refrigeration system had occurred, caused by a worn out joint on a refrigerant pipeline, Mr Danilo Zamudio, cold storage plant manager, said it was immediately rectified. He described the spill as a "quick, short burst of gaseous mist" which was immediately plugged. He said the malicious charges made against RD Tuna as a polluter of the environment, particularly the Madang lagoon, was shown to be false when the highly respected WWF South Pacific Program, Pacific Ecoregions Centre, based in Madang, declared in its latest report that water quality was "pristine" in Madang lagoon. In her environmental report dated May 2003, author Dr Ariadna Benet Monico concluded: "From all the data exposed We could say that the lagoon is in a quite pristine state." She further said that pollution indicators in the lagoon were all within reasonable levels. However, she suggested further monitoring around the area, particularly the rivers, creeks and the fresh water lake, which are continuously getting various pollutants from village households and run off from logging operations and big-scale agricultural activities.

FOR RD TUNA CANNERS, it's about time to fight back.

I. FRIGHTENED PNG MEDIA FIGURES OUT HOW TO PUBLISH RD TUNA COURT CASE

Posted by [Kananam friend](#) from () via proxy ? (66.46.158.238) on Sunday, October 05, 2003 at 22:16:16 :
In Reply to: [GOVERNMENT INQUIRY INTO RD TUNA HORRORS REQUESTED BY PNG MP](#)
posted on Sunday, October 05, 2003 at 22:14:41 :

There have been many stories and rumours by e-mail over the past few weeks concerning the complete silence of the PNG media regarding the RD tuna cannery's court case against the Kananam landowners, as well 2 NGOs and an expat. Sources within the Post Courier reported that the newspaper was purposely not

publishing any article about the court case for fear that RD tuna cannery would boycott the newspaper, denying it an important source of revenue. The information from this source was confirmed. Word Publishing also originally debated about not airing the facts for fear of losing RD advertisement revenues. In the end, Wantok Newspaper decided that publishing the truth was more important than losing money from a high pressure Philippino company. With the recent news that the PNG Parliament is calling for an inquiry into the cloud of allegations surrounding RD tuna's activities in Madang, PNG, the Post Courier finally figured out how it could publish such a piece and stop the growing whispering concerning their strange silence. Unfortunately, the Post Courier's tactics are fairly transparent. The intent seems to be to pad the article sufficiently to keep RD tuna happy enough to keep running advertisements in their newspaper. In other words, they tried to be all things to all people. Unfortunately, the strategy they used is a little bit too juvenile. For example, you will see in the article that there is only mention of a court injunction, rather than the court case itself against the Kananam people. Also notice this intriguing sentence that comes totally without backup evidence: "But the majority of the people of Madang see the operations of RD Tuna differently and want to see it remain in the province." Where do they get that statistic? From RD Tuna? The Post Courier has covered its ass very well indeed with respect to retaining their advertisement revenues from RD, but the global media will see how easily they cower and succumb to foreign company pressures in PNG. FYI here is the actual article published by the Post Courier recently:

m. Canner takes out court order

RD TUNA canners — the local producers of Diana Tuna tinned fish — has taken out an interim court injunction preventing two non-government organisations and an American expatriate from damaging its reputation. The court order originally obtained on July 9 directs Madang-based Bismarck-Ramu Group and Iduwan Association and American Barry Lalley from publishing damaging articles or statements against RD Tuna. These groups are prevented from making any adverse statements locally or internationally against RD Tuna until the matter goes to trial in the National Court. No trial date has been set yet and lawyers for the company say it would be a while before a date was fixed. RD Tuna went to court after the NGOs and Mr Lalley reportedly published allegations locally and on the Internet claiming environmental damage and poisonous products against RD Tuna. Iduwan Association is a minority landowner group from Kananam village that gets its backing from Bismarck-Ramu Group which is led by Mr Lalley. All want to see RD Tuna closed. But the majority of the people of Madang see the operations of RD Tuna differently and want to see it remain in the province. RD Tuna employs more than 3500 Madang people. The NGO groups and Mr Lalley had gone to schools and settlements around Madang with pamphlets claiming spillage of a chemical that had already killed several people. The groups had also claimed the products of RD Tuna were poisonous. The multi-billion kina company had denied the claims outright and had gone to the courts to preserve its corporate image.

n. FOREIGN COMPANY TAKES LOCAL VILLAGERS TO COURT: RD TUNA UPD

Posted by [FRIENDS](#) from () via proxy ? (195.22.176.226) on Wednesday, August 13, 2003 at 09:56:59 : RD tuna, a Philippino based company which has a smelly cannery outside Madang, is well known to sell "animal food" grade tuna in its Diana tins for Papua New Guineans, at the same time offering high quality white meat tuna for export. Madang residents know well its existence because of the horrible smell from the cannery that permeates the air night after night. RD's fishing vessels for years have engaged in a "sex for discarded fish" trade in Madang harbour and is now documented that RD's factory and ships are polluting the Madang lagoon, once a world class diving destination. It is mainly women who will accept the low wages offered by the cannery. RD charges the women even for their basic required safety gear, which is quite expensive considering that they work for near minimum wage. RD requires that they use RD transport (and pay for it) at night, and in the old style company exploitation handbook, entices them to spend their remaining paycheque monies at the company store on site. Thyat way, RD gets some of the meager paychecks back again. RD's onshore location is a token way of claiming downstream processing when the fast majority of its fish caught in PNG's waters never see a tin within PNG. Any claims by RD tuna that it is beneficial to the community must be weighed against the above, and a critical eye to the substance and follow up of how they are supposedly saying. That the local Kananam landowners want RD tuna, jobs and all, out of their area is strong testament that all is not well in Madang paradise.

Any one who makes light of the problems RD has caused should really come to Madang, visit the villages, and hear the first hand stories of local women being forced into sex by the Philipinos on board the RD ships. The tragedy and sadness in back of this supposed development is real and it affects people's lives. It is easy to push those realities aside if you are viewing them from afar. However, if you go and learn for yourself what is happening in Madang with RD Tuna, you may come to feel in your heart and conscience what is happening to people in the area. Those who have seen these things with their own eyes have become fortified to not let RD Tuna get away with what it is doing to the people around Madang. The most outspoken critics of RD Tuna have been the peoples of the Seg/Kananam area who claim it is their land that is being used and misused and who never consented to RD using their land. They formed an association called Idawad several years back to address the constant problems which have arisen since RD began operations.

These local landowners have been relentless in their criticisms of RD and the problems they have created. They have NOT been able to be bought off by RD. Early last year Idawad chairperson Francis Gem had said that the strong push for economic development by the government had pushed aside concerns for the village people as well as the environment. The environment may be embraced by overseas greenies in recent years but for Papua New Guineans living off their land, the environment was life and survival well before any greenies came to PNG. When a company pollutes your environment so that local women can no longer without worry catch seafood from near the coast in their canoes, that is a problem for your life. The same is true when forced sex on RD fishing vessels muddies the social environment of the village. Is AIDS being transmitted through these encounters? If so, the repercussions extends to people whose only crime is to live in a village close to RD Tuna. Francis Gem welcomes anyone to come and see for themselves the situation at Vidar point and interested people from the Madang area and elsewhere in PNG have taken him up at his invitation and seen the horror for themselves. As people all around the world have begun to assist the Kananam people simply by spreading the word on their plight with RD and their activism to do something about it, the word has begun to get out. RD Tuna Canneries does NOT want the word to get out and has now filed a defamation suit against local landowners, the local level government representative and a non-profit company in the Madang area to stop the flow of information so that the cannery can continue to operate with impunity as it has up to now. The lawsuit is believed to be the first time in PNG where a foreign company has taken landowners to court in order to force the landowners themselves to shut up about the actions of the foreign company. Previous cases have seen landowners taking companies to court, but not the other way around. As part of this court case of "RD Tuna against the people," an injunction was obtained against the landowners and all other defendants in the case. As a result, all communication from these sources has unfortunately ceased under court order. Fortunately, Friends of Kananam is not an organisation per se but a group of anyone and everyone who cares and wants to do something to stop the stinking mess that RD tuna has created in Madang. Others in Madang who are not party to the court case continue to feed us information because they are free to do so. Recently, MP Peter Barter (could anyone tell me why this politician's name has been censored from being used on this internet site? I was unable to put up a posting using this politician's name) met with all local level governments in Madang except for the LLG representing the Kananam people. In classic politician payoff style, he promised all the other LLGs that RD Tuna would be giving projects to them. In other words, those who stay silent are rewarded, while those who speak out about the realities on the ground will be punished. It seems that this particular politician is not on the side of the people in reality, and the same is said to be true for governor James Yali who also supports RD tuna. Those politicians who spend most of their time in Port Moresby of course would not smell the cannery in action.

The current lawsuit by RD will no doubt be widely publicized both in PNG and abroad. The Idawad landowners association and the local level government representative have laid down the gauntlet recently by taking out advertisements in two local newspapers (31 July) announcing the lawsuit, stating they welcomed the opportunity and they would strongly be defending the charges against them. They also announced they would be representing themselves in the case. It is unclear what the name of the corporate lawyers that RD is now paying to slam the landowners in court. Too often in PNG, people and groups are taken to court as an intimidation action, a way to force costly legal fees upon the innocent and thus encourage them to shut up so that the court case will be dropped. We are pleased to get the report from Madang that the landowners are strongly motivated in a belief that they are right concerning the statements they have made. Although they cannot now talk about any specifics regarding the upcoming court case

(RD has effectively shut their mouths for the moment), they do want the world to know those statements about the horrors RD Tuna is perpetrating on the people in the area, and in due course, are hopeful that this information will be publicized throughout the world. Among the claims from RD Tuna is that the defendants had created and distributed a website (<http://lorikeet.and.com.au/RD/rdtuna.html>) which was defamatory to RD Tuna. Please consult that website and see if you see anything defamatory contained within it. I suspect that RD tuna will have a very interesting time proving that any website was created by local landowners who to the best of my knowledge, do not even have access to computers, much less the money to host such a site. The power of doing something as an individual to help others you see need help, is that it forces culprits like RD Tuna to find out in the end that they are not facing a few disgruntled individuals who want a payoff. Instead, they're facing the people themselves who are angry, fed up, and determined to do something about the problem. Please become a Friends of Kananam merely by passing this information on to your friends. I suspect that the Kananam people will appreciate your words or actions of support, whatever you can offer, if you believe their cause is just and want to give them an encouraging word. Believe me, if these landowners had the primary intent of seeking a payout or compensation, they would have settled long ago for the promised projects or under-the-table money. They haven't and it has now been months of struggle against RD Tuna.

The Friends of Kananam are everywhere!

FRIEND

0. Response to the R.D. Tuna letter (of 13 May 2003)

by Friends of Kananam

14 May 2003

The letter from RD Tuna Managing Director Pete Celso (sent to the tuna industry website, www.atuned.biz, on 12 May, and to the Internet Service Provider of one of our websites on 13 May) displays the arrogance and contempt for the Kananam people that prompted us to take action in the first place. Nowhere in the letter is there recognition of, or even respect for, the traditional owners of the land of which R.D. Tuna operations take place. We might expect that, as guests in PNG, Filipino businessmen might demonstrate some basic courtesy towards traditional owners (Papa Graun) in their host country. Filipino people generally are known to be friendly and courteous. But this tradition seems not to have passed on to the R.D. Tuna managers. Pete Celso claims critics of R.D. Tuna do not have 'any moral right' to question the company's practices. A 'minority' of Kananam people are simply trying to 'blackmail' his innocent company. These people are 'resorting to foul means', but are also 'misled and 'used' by other 'vested interests'. How could these 'simply villagers' have publicised their criticisms of R.D. Tuna unless they were being 'used'? he asks. Of course, R.D. Tuna never expected these poor people to 'bite back' - that's why RD tried to walk over them, exploit their heritage and deny them their rights. Let's look at R.D.'s responses to the Kananam criticisms, one by one:

Claim No. 1--The cannery is seriously polluting their lagoons, wetlands, water and air

RD asks how it is possible that the as yet unbuilt cannery on Kananam land is causing pollution? Here's your answer, RD: (i) the filthy drains from your existing cannery are polluting the entire Madang lagoon, (ii) the stinking offal tanks and settlement ponds from the existing cannery can be smelt all over Madang - yes even 25 kilometres away - and this will be worse for the Kananam with your new cannery, and (iii) the wharf facility is filthy and is dumping toxic waste (eg. the incident on 26 April, from Dolores 829) directly into the Kananam's wetlands and lagoon. In case you hadn't noticed, pictures relevant to these three issues are on our home page. But thanks to your drawing our attention to some specifics, we have added the reference to pollution from the wharf facility, and to the toxic waste spill. We will soon add some more information, based on interviews with Kananam members.

Claim No. 2---Workers are lowly paid (less than US\$2 per day) and unions are banned

We notice that RD did not challenge our reference to "less than US\$2 per day", but simply claims that the wages are "much more than what is legally allowed". Well, wrong again! You are actually "allowed" to pay \$8 or \$10 a day, under PNG law, believe it or not! But if you are trying to say that other workers in PNG are equally badly paid (50-60 Kina a fortnight), and that PNG labour law is weak, well we would agree with you. However, you are exploiting this weakness, to use poor people who you then have the

arrogance to call the 'beneficiaries' of your operation. We were shocked to discover, on talking to some of your workers and ex-workers, that you also 'deduct' the costs of your workers' tools of trade (knives, gum boots, aprons, etc), so that some workers have been presented with cheques for as little as 5 or 6 Kina for their fortnight's work. This is disgraceful! Any decent employer would provide tools of trade, and not force poor workers to buy them as 'personal' items.

As for labour unions, we have now modified our site to read "union organisers have been sacked". RD might be prepared to tolerate a union which questions nothing. But after hearing of the fate of workers who complain about wages and conditions, we have no doubt that your policy is 'zero tolerance' for any real union in your factories. Your own letter (after claiming that it's a "lie" that you ban unions) details some of your struggles to ban the attempts to create a genuine union at RD!

Claim No. 3--RD Tuna ships are encouraging a prostitution trade in the Kananam community.

Another "lie" you say, and you ask, rhetorically, who would believe it? Well we have seen the girls in boats doing their trade with the men on your ships, and girls and men have told us about it. The reason is this - your ships have depleted the tuna in the area, so village people come to trade their products for fish at the wharf facility. But the foreign crews (mainly Filipino men) are not interested in coconuts and fruit, so they demand sex for your tuna. Having had their land taken and their environment degraded, many poor people in the area are desperate for some basic food. So many girls are now skipping school, to engage in the local prostitution trade, which R.D. Tuna (with its fish and bible logo) has created.

Claim No. 4--All senior managers are Filipino.

You deny this but avoid stating what you claim to be 'the facts' - not a good way to nail the "lies", Pete! After speaking with Joe Hare, the Personnel Manager whom you squeezed out a few years back (in 1999), we discovered that he was the one token PNG manager you employed, at that time. Then you got rid of him. By the way, Joe is still quite fond of the big boss (Rodrigo) but is upset by the fact that PNG workers are paid wages "way way below" a decent level. No one complains, Joe says, because they are afraid and have no choice. Joe's former assistant Florian Yasangi agrees: the cannery and working conditions are very dirty, and basic wages are very low. Joe Hare felt excluded in managerial discussions because everyone else would revert to speaking in the Taglog language, which of course no PNG person understands. So maybe you have another token PNG manager, amongst the many Filipino managers, these days?

Claim No. 5--All profits are sent to the Philippines.

So you say you have reinvested all your profits back into the business - good for you! And would you like to tell us how many PNG shareholders there are, who they are and what proportion of RD shares they own? We're waiting!

Claim No. 6--RD Tuna pays no tax in PNG

Bad answer Pete! A Managing Director should do better than this. First you agree that RD had an "initial tax holiday" (you fail to mention that this was for five years) - but then you claim that "RD has directly and indirectly paid a lot of taxes to the Government from day one". Well - which is it? Both statements can't be right! Your answer blusters on with arguments about the 'indirect' benefits of your operations, and about all your happy employees (in fact, many are casual employees from Madang's poverty struck settlements, who come and go very rapidly). We have also heard that your initial five year tax holiday was extended for another five years - would you like to deny this?

Finally, let's look at the 'legal title' of land issue. We understand that this is in the lawyers' hands at the moment (and we accept that the Kananam people have every right to pursue legal remedies without being labeled 'blackmailers'), so we'll avoid detail. But the basic position seems to be this. The Kananam people entrusted certain portions of land to the church (including that of your current wharf facility and your planned cannery expansion), some years ago. As we understand it, this land was for religious purposes. Yet behind the backs of the community the Catholic Church did a disgraceful deal with the Madang

Provincial Government to sell this land to ... RD Tuna. But that isn't the end of the story ...

Well Pete, that's all for now. But remember, the Kananam people have lived on their land for thousands of years - they are the Papa Graun of that area, all decent PNG people respect them, and they are not going away. And their friends aren't going away, either.

Friends

of

Kananam

P. SOCIAL IMPACT STUDY LINES OF INQUIRY OR NANCY SULLIVAN LTD. EMPLOYEES:

Madang is the most linguistically diverse of Papua New Guinea's 19 provinces. In the most linguistically diverse country of the world, this makes Madang amongst the most linguistically diverse places in the world. Because linguistic and cultural diversity are closely connected, we can say that the Madang cultures are remarkable, in all the world, for their continued integrity and preservation of difference, both in the past and in the recent post-Independence period as well. They are all about diversity, all about holding on to cultural differences through complex trade systems and networks of marriage and communication. As opposed the highlands cultures, where thousands of people are knitted together by a single language, here hundreds of people share one language, and trade with similarly small language groups. People are polylingual in Madang, they have a handle on many cultural differences, many linguistic variations, and are proud to distinguish themselves from each other by these differences. Moreover, these are generous, open cultures: cultures where people have graciously adopted migrant and in-law populations, given land to outsiders and exchanged enormous bounties of food during harvest festivals. These aspects of the cultures here have allowed them to be known as friendly and peaceful peoples--- who maintain and appreciate difference, and do not struggle to dominate each other. Thus, they are also extremely vulnerable to the aggressive tactics of business and foreign investment. Culturally, they are trained to step back and give others their space. They do not bite back (immediately). But this quality has put them at risk of cultural erosion at a rapid pace, now that major development projects have been introduced into the province. The need to find harmony between these capitalist and indigenous values is urgent.

Think, then, in your queries, about linguistic diversity and cultural diversity: how many older people still know 4 or 5 languages; how many songs and dances and stories and chants come from other language groups by trade.

What are the marriage patterns from before—who did this clan marry, who did they not marry? How have these changed?

What has cash done to Seg? Brought in migrants? Eroded traditional authority systems? Weakened traditional values such as respect for women, for elders, for generosity, for long term rather than short term profit?

What has benefited? Quality of health? Quality of education? Is there a better diet? Are there more or less domestic disputes? How do the fishing vessel workers treat the local people? Have they learned the local language, or Tok Pisin?

Is there a social difference between having the Catholic Church on this land and having a corporate entity? Do the older people remember why they allowed the church to build there? Why did they give up their land in the first place? What did they think would happen in the community with the church there? How does that differ from what has now happened since RD Tuna bought that lease? Is this what they expected?

Is there more respect for money than traditional power?

Are people still observing harvest festivals, trade relationships, brideprice and other customs?

Ask about values and ethics---how has the presence of these fishing workers changed the way (especially young) people treat each other?

What do the Seg and Kananam people know about the Siar factory? How many people have worked in RD Tuna?

What are the quality control issues within the Siar plant? Hygiene? Enough break time? Enough bathrooms? Enough money? What happens to the family in the village when a father or mother must spend a long shift in the factory for money? Do other things get neglected? Is a man or woman who is working for factory kina not able then to grow a cash crop or raise sufficient garden vegetables for market, or even to feed the family? Do these workers stop contributing to harvest festivals? Or do they substitute store bought things for garden contributions?

What about male initiation in Seg and Siar these days?

What are the family relationships between Seg and Siar peoples? Who are in-laws, who are blood relations?

What are the spin-off benefits from the fishing boats in Seg now? Security firms? Trade stores? Market sales? Carpenters? Electricians? Welders? PMVs? Able-bodied seamen?

What are the immediate economic losses since their arrival? Lack of fish? Lack of tourists? Lack of cash crops? Lack of traditional ceremonies and exchanges (absence of traded pots, for example, would force them to buy metal pots in town).

What are the health changes in the past 6 years? New diseases? Rise in STDs?

What educational changes have taken place? Young people leaving school to work for RD? More people attending school, with school fees? Less people attending because they have no cash crop sales for school fees?

How was village life different six years ago?

How do people think things will change now if RD Tuna brings the cannery to Seg?

NOTICE

The Chairman
Daghan Company Limited
P O Box 2075
MADANG 511
Madang Province

TERMINATION OF MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT OF 26TH JANUARY 1997

We, the undersigned and duly appointed representatives of Sasagas Clan, Hibutba No.2 Clan, Ditipa Kunta Clan, Badalon Subclan, hereby give notice that Memorandum of Agreement of 26th January 1997 have been terminated by unanimous decision made on 26 October 2000.

Annexed hereto is a copy of an Annulment of the Agreement for your information.

In accordance with termination of Memorandum of Agreement of 26th January 1997, we further give notice that Daghan Company no longer have authority to represent the Four Customary Landowners for all or any spin-off business with RD Tuna Cannery.

In the circumstances, we advise that Daghan Company must now cease all business operation it purported to represent the Four Clans and vacate RD Tuna premises immediately. By a copy of this Notice, RD Tuna will be advised not to deal with Daghan Company.

The reasons for termination of Memorandum of Agreement is annexed to the schedule.

SIGNED by the duly appointed representatives of;

SASAGAS CLAN)
HIBUTBA NO.2 CLAN)
DITIPA KUNTA CLAN)
BADALON SUBCLAN)
in the presence of:)

WITNESS

DATED this 25th day of November 2000

q. Termination Memorandum for Daghan Company

SCHEDULE

1. Daghan Company Limited was incorporated to represent the Four Clans for the purpose of receiving spin-off benefits and distribute it equally among the Four Clans.
2. It is becoming clear that Daghan Company Limited received spin-off business and the cash benefits from the business were not distributed equally to the Four Clans.
3. The search done at Investment Promotion Authority shows that Kumal Mumun owns Daghan Company. It is clear that thorough fraudulent means Daghan has been depriving the Four Clans of RD spin-off business and the benefits of this business was used by John Musas, Kumal Mumun and his family.
4. We, the representatives of the Four Clans cannot tolerate the criminal act of Daghan Company Management.
5. As the result of fraud and false pretence of which Daghan Company committed against the Four Clans and deprived them of owning shares in the Company, and to share equally the benefits of the spin-off business, we all agree to terminate the Memorandum of Agreement so that Daghan Company can no longer use the Memorandum of Agreement to its greed and to benefit only few.
6. Restraining Order Attached
We remind you, Mr John Musas the Chairman of Daghan that Court Order taken against you not to interfere with the RD Tuna Administrative function, therefore at the receipt of our Notice you will not attempt to interfere with RD Tuna Cannery's business. You are to stay clear off the premises.
7. All members of Sasagas Clan see that Daghan Company is owned by Kumal Mumun and John Musas family and for this reason all benefits were used by them. All Four Clans suffered at the expense of Daghan Company.
8. The Sasagas Clan held their meeting and unanimously voted out Kumal Mumun for his corrupt practices and voted the new leader Mdiwan Ahi. A copy of the Report of the Meeting attached.
9. All Four Clans now can each negotiate freely for the spin-off business with RD because Memorandum of Agreement has been terminated and Daghan Company can no longer be representing the Four Clans.

SIGNED by the duly appointed representatives of;

SASAGAS CLAN)
HIBUTBA NO.2 CLAN)
DITIPA KUNTA CLAN)
BADALON SUBCLAN)
in the presence of:)

WITNESS

DATED this 25th day of November 2000

r. Powes Parkop Lawyers Brief

POWES PARKOP LAWYERS

Principal: Powes Parkop LLB (UPNG) LLM Warwick Top Floor, Block 2, Section 143, Lot 1
Associate: Sesi Mige LLB (UPNG) PTC Training Centre, 4 Mile Waigani Drive
Warren Kuane LLB (UPNG) National Capital District

P.O. Box 71, UNIVERSITY P.O., NCD, PNO, Phone 3252619, Facsimile 373088 Email: ppl@datec.com.pg

21st January, 2001.

Sergeant Leo Tapukau,
Police Public Relations Officer,
C/Police Station,
MADANG,
Madang Province

BY FAX:
ORIGINAL BY POST

Dear Sir,

RE: BRIEF ON THE ON GOING DISPUTE BETWEEN SASAGAS CLAN & DAGHAN COMPANY LTD AND RD TUNA CANNERS.

We have been request by our Clients, the Sasagas Clan of Nobnob Village and Daghan Company Ltd as to the background and status of the current dispute between our Clients and RD Tuna Cannners Ltd.

In this respect, we can confirm as follows:

1. That we are Lawyers for Sasagas Clan of Nobnob Village and Daghan Company Ltd, a Company incorporated to represent landowners of the land upon which RD Tuna Cannners currently have its cannery at was used to be then Siar Plantation.
2. That we have been representing the Sasagas Clan and Daghan Company Ltd since 1997 when the Memorandum of Agreement between the State (Government of PNG), RD Tuna Cannners Ltd, Madang Provincial Government, Madang Development Corporation Ltd and the Landowners of what was then known as Siar Plantation. In fact we were involved in the negotiation of the Agreement on behalf of the Landowners. That Memorandum of Agreement resulted in RD Tuna Cannners being allowed to set up its Cannery on the current site along the Madang-Bogia Road. We are therefore very familiar with the issues and the difficulties faced by the landowners from day one up to now.

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9. On or around the 20th or 21st of December, 2000 RD Tuna Cannners Ltd locked our clients out of the Canteen even though they were advised that we were intending to apply to the National Court again to set aside their orders as we had filed our application on the 20th of December, 2000 and served their Lawyer on the same day, copy of our Application.
10. After obtaining orders on the 23rd of December, 2000 to set aside their orders of the 19th of December, 2000 RD Tuna Cannners failed to comply with the Court Orders. For example, under the Orders of the 23rd of December, 2000, RD Tuna Cannners was required to allow our Client to return to operate the Canteen but they failed to do so.
11. Eventually they filed another Application in early January, 2001 to try to set aside orders obtained by ourselves on the 23rd of December, 2000. When their Lawyer arrived at Waigani National Court he could not get an hearing as there was no Judge confirmed to hear his application. So in good faith we entered into negotiation with him to reach some settlement on this matter.
12. It was agreed therefore that we agree to allow our Clients to vacate the premise of RD Tuna Cannners Ltd if all the other so called landowners are also prevented from entering the premise of RD Tuna Cannners Ltd. It was also noted and agreed in the negotiation that our Clients will remove all their properties from the canteen and that they would still operate transport service for RD Tuna Cannners Ltd.
13. There was never any agreement to break down or tear down the canteen as the matter is still in court and Lawyers for RD Tuna Cannners Ltd advised us that if we won in the substantive case that is still before the Court, our Clients will return to operate the canteen.
14. It should be noted that the principal issue before the Court has not been decided yet. That is whether the Memorandum of Agreement signed in 1997 between all the Parties has been annulled or lawfully annulled and whether the termination of agreement with Daghan Company Ltd is lawful. RD Tuna Cannners Ltd should not mislead the police to believe that they won the case, because no one has won up to now. All that is in place as a Court order is by agreement or consent of the Parties so as to maintain the situation until the whole case is determined.
15. Since the Court orders was entered by consent in early January, 2001, RD Tuna Cannners Ltd has been acting most insincerely and at times in breach of the consent order and agreement by:
 - (a) Delaying our clients having access to the canteen to retrieve their properties.

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3. Between 1997 until 1999 we use to act for all the three clans involved in the Memorandum of Agreement. However, in 1999 some of clans began to withdraw due to one reason or another. Difference therefore arose between the three clans or at least some their leaders.
4. Some of the clan members therefore began to lobby RD Tuna Cannners Ltd and the National Government to cancel the agreement with Daghan Company Ltd to operate the Canteen and the transport service they provide RD Tuna Cannners Ltd as allowed under the Memorandum of Agreement.
5. In or around October, 2000 some of clan members who were lobbying RD Tuna Cannners Ltd got some members of Sasagas Clan to side with them and purported to annul the Memorandum of Agreement signed between the State, RD Tuna Cannners Ltd. It was on this basis that RD Tuna Cannners Ltd took advantage of the situation to try to evict Daghan Company Ltd from its premise.
6. In December, 2000 or late November, 2000 RD Tuna Cannners Ltd gave the Daghan Company Ltd 7 days to leave its premise on the basis that the MOA in relation to the Landowners spin off business had been annulled. We were advised of this while the Writer was in Madang in early December, 2000 and accordingly obtained a Restraining Orders from the District Court on the 5th of December, 2000 to stop RD Tuna Cannners Ltd from evicting our Clients from its premises.
7. Subsequently we extended that Order at the National Court at Waigani on the 14th of December, 2000. At the same time, RD Tuna Cannners applied for and was granted orders to set aside our orders at the District Court at Madang on the same day. Since the National Court orders was granted earlier on that day, it superseded or applied over the District Court order.
8. On the 19th of December, 2000 the National Court at Waigani set aside the orders we obtained on the 14th of December, 2000 at the same time the orders were obtained ex-parte when the Writer who National Court. This order was obtained at that time was attending a Supreme Court has carriage of the matter at that time was attending a Supreme Court hearing on the same day. We therefore applied for and were granted orders from the National Court on the 23rd of December, 2000 to set aside the orders obtained by RD Tuna Cannners Ltd on the 19th of December, 2000.

(c) Demolishing the canteen when the substantive matter is still before the Court, including whether our clients are still entitled to operate the canteen,

16. It should be noted that from the very beginning RD Tuna Cannners Ltd have been reluctant to allow landowners to participate in spin off business from their Cannery. Our clients had to fight all the way to have a share of cake or in other words, to benefit from the business being carried on by RD Tuna Cannners Ltd on their land. At last, RD Tuna Cannners Ltd have taken advantage of the division between the landowners to kick out our clients and we are doubtful if they want landowners to benefit or participate again in the spin off business. RD Tuna Cannners Ltd will advise you that they are willing to involve landowners in spin off business of their Cannery but our experience shows that they have not been sincere in this respect.

We hope the above would provide you some understanding of the situation between our Clients and Rd Tuna Cannners Ltd to assist Madang police in the discharge of their lawful duties. Too many times, police are seen to be siding with Corporate members of the community like RD Tuna Cannners Ltd rather than being an impartial body to protect every ones interest or rights as is required by law.

Please do not hesitate to contact the Writer for further advise and information, if needed.

Yours faithfully
POWES PARKOP LAWYERS

Per: Powes Parkop (Mr)