

THE FIJI ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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The Fiji Anti-Nuclear Movement is old as independent Fiji and as long as the nuclear powers continue to endanger the Pacific region, the deeply felt concern of the Fijian people will gain expression in organized forms. Unfortunately for the peace movement in Fiji the popular gut-suspicion to nuclear activities in the South Pacific is not transferred to a popular movement of active opposition. Far too many people in Fiji are pre-occupied with the demands of daily survival to participate in organized protestations. This paper outlines briefly the evolution of the anti-nuclear movement in Fiji, starting first with the formation of the Against Tests in Mururoa (ATOM) Committee in 1970 and its work, its dissolution into the Pacific Peoples Action Front (PPAF) after the mid-70s and finally the apparent demise of organized protests by the late 70s and early 80s. It then deals with the resumption of organized opposition to nuclearization with the birth of the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG) in the contemporary period. In the paper a number of constraints that limited the expansion of the movement will be dealt with some of these impediments continue to bedevil the present organization and the failure to surmount them will certainly affect the movement's future growth.

#### THE ATOM COMMITTEE

From 1970 to 1976, the ATOM Committee provided the vanguard of the protests against nuclear activities. ATOM was formed by concerned individuals from the Pacific Theological College (PTC), the University of the South Pacific (USP) and the YMCA, and was from its inception backed by the Fiji Council

of Churches (later the Pacific Council of Churches) and the University of the South Pacific Students Association (USPSA). The ATOM Committee aimed to inform the Fiji public about the nuclear tests in French occupied Polynesia and also to act as a pressure-group to urge the Fijian government to take steps to stop these tests.

Those involved in the ATOM in the early 1970s included Dr. Graham Baines, a biologist at USP, who was its President for a number of years, Mrs. Suliana Siwatibau, another biologist, Dr. Julian Hartley, Rev. Akuila Yabaki, University Chaplain and organizer of the Fiji Student Christian Movement, and Amelia Rokotivuna of the YWCA. The biologists in the organization provided the scientific information about the consequences on the environment of the French atmospheric tests (begin in 1965).

ATOM successfully publicised the issue of the French tests in Fiji. In the early 1970s, the governments of Fiji, Australia and New Zealand were quite active in their opposition. ATOM Committee members prepared press releases, information kits, leaflets and news sheets to educate the public. Several demonstrations were organized in Suva. They also were able to meet the Fijian Prime Minister to communicate to him their concern about the tests. He supported ATOM activities and was prepared not to react to the actions of Airport Workers Union at the Nadi International Airport. The Airport workers were led by Mr. Apisai Tora in disruptive tactics against the French airline, UTA. A BBC TV programme covered ATOM activities, thereby, given the organization wider publicity.

Members of ATOM also visited schools to speak to students about the dangers of French atmospheric tests. They showed slides and distributed information sheets. Public awareness activities took several forms. In July 1973, two activists, Chris Plant and Bob Miles organized an ATOM Variety Show at the Suva Civic Auditorium. Various schools participated with their own items and a satirical play "Pompidoom" was enacted. A number of University staff were involved. In the following month, the Committee held a panel discussion on the topic, "Whether a Nuclear-Free Pacific is Possible." Panelists included, Senator Ramanlal Kapadia, John Marvor of the PCC, Barak Sope, a USP student from Vanuatu (who later became the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in Vanuatu) and Professor Walter Johnson, a visiting historian from Hawaii. At the conclusion of this panel discussion, a resolution was passed to urge the Fiji government to begin diplomatic moves in the South Pacific Forum to declare the Pacific, a Nuclear-Free Zone (Fiji Times, 15 August 1977).

By this stage the Fiji Trade Union Congress (FTUC) had become active in its opposition to the French tests. Its executive directed trade union members to boycott French goods and services. Tora's Airline Workers Union's refusal to handle UTA flights resulted eventually in the suspension of all UTA aircraft movement to Fiji. ATOM spoke out against the import of French perfumes.

At a broader level, the publicity given to the opposition to French Nuclear testing in the Pacific by Australian Labour

Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam and his New Zealand counterpart, Norman Kirk, also helped to make Fijians aware of the tests. Fiji was involved with Australia and New Zealand in sponsoring a United Nations Resolution calling for an end to the tests. Fiji also backed Australia and New Zealand in taking the issue of the French Nuclear tests to the International Court of Justice at the Hague. Public feelings were also aroused by the sending of New Zealand frigates, Otago, to Mururoa (Fiji Times, July, 1973).

Within Fiji, the growing international opposition to the French atmospheric tests took the form of public protests and a petition to Paris. In February 1974 a petition, signed by 1380 persons was sent to President Pompidou in Paris. A public demonstration in Suva, supported by the Churches, the Trade Unions and especially the USPSA, marched from the Phoenix Theatre to the Sukuna Park. At the Sukuna Park, an effigy of a bomb was burnt (see Fiji Times, 14 and 15 February, 1974).

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE PACIFIC AND THE PEOPLES' PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE TREATY

The idea of a small conference of South Pacific delegates for a Nuclear-Free Pacific (NFP) was mooted by ATOM in late 1973 but had to be abandoned for the lack of funds. At a meeting at Auckland in mid-1974 of representatives of ATOM, CND NZ, Campaign Against Foreign Military Activities in NZ (CAFMANZ), South Pacific Action Network (SPAN), Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (CTCD) of Australia, Les Francais Contre Le Bombe (French) and the Student Christian Movement

(Fiji, Australia and New Zealand) agreed to hold the Conference for a Nuclear-Free Pacific (NFPC) in early April, 1975. This meeting at Auckland was a fruition of a long history of cooperation and mutual support among these movements. ATOM was influenced considerably by New Zealand-based activists who sent useful materials to Fiji.

Between April 1-6, 1975, the NFPC was held in Suva, attended by more than a hundred persons, including 93 delegates from 86 organizations from 22 Pacific nations and 2 European countries. Pacific Island representatives came from Kiribati and Tuvalu, Guam, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Western Samoa, Tonga, Hawaii, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Belau, Tinian Saipan, Philippines and Rongelap. Anti-nuclear activists from the rim-countries included representatives from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan and the United States. England and Sweden were also represented. These participants comprised students, anti-nuclear campaigners, academics, trade unionists, government officials, church based groups and anti-colonial activists.

Amelia Rokotivuna, the ATOM organizer, coordinated the logistics of the Conference as well as the Conference proceedings. Fiji's Prime Minister sent a message of welcome to the participants and the keynote addresses were given by Bishop Finau of Tonga and Dr. Ahmed Ali of Fiji, who spoke on Imperialism in the Pacific. The NFPC programme included discussions on topics such as Radioactivity and Environment and Militarism and Colonialism in the Pacific (with case studies on Micronesia and the French Territories). Panel discussions were also held on possible lines of action and on a NFP Treaty. Work groups

were concerned to deliberate the NFP Treaty, its implementation and promotion at the national, regional and international levels; French territories; Micronesia; Nuclear Power and Uranium Mining; Trade Union Action; and Racism.

The NFPC promulgated 17 resolutions which included the Treaty for a Nuclear Free Pacific Zone; message to regional governments to the CHOGM in Jamaica, UN NGO Special Disarmament Committee, OAU and World Bishop's Conference in the Vatican in 1975; a petition to the UN Trusteeship Council about American abuse of the trusteeship arrangement in Micronesia; sponsorship of a Micronesian delegation to the UN and the USA; the study of radio-activity in the Pacific; nuclear-arms testing, nuclear-reactors and arms stockpiles; and French Colonialism, on Imperialism; on the Law of the Sea; on Uranium Mining and export, on Youth Action; on Trade Union Action and on a Continuation Committee of the NFPC. Letters were also sent to various leaders including the President of France, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada and the governors of New Caledonia and Tahiti.

ATOM was requested by the NFPC to set up a committee to draft a Peoples' Treaty proposal. The NFPC's initial statement for the preamble to the Treaty included this statement:

This Conference, noting in particular the racist roots of the world's nuclear powers, calls for an immediate end to the oppression, exploitation and subordination of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific.

We, the Pacific people, want to get some things clear. We are sick and tired of being treated like dogs. You came with guns and fancy words and took our land.

You were not satisfied with that so you took our language and raped our culture and then tell us we should be grateful. You forced your way of life on us and we want to tell you we do not like your way of life. It stinks. You worship dead things like your concrete jungles and now you bring in your nuclear bomb and you want to "practice" on us.

The Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone was to be bounded by the Treaty of Tlatelolco area, Antarctic and Indian Zones, and latitude 10° N but including Micronesia and Australia (See Map). The Treaty banned all testing of nuclear weapons and devices connected with their delivery. It was to seek the removal of all test facilities and banned all transportation and communication facilities associated with nuclear weapons. It also was to include provisions for verification and enforcement, as well as a timetable for the implementation of the treaty. A peoples' treaty, it was stressed, was to be in a language understood by the people of the Pacific.

The NFPC was a resounding success, in terms of the materials covered, the quality of papers presented, the quality of discussions and the solidarity it created among the participants. The publicity given to the conference also created public awareness in Fiji about the issues involved. Channels of communication were opened between peace-groups from all over the Pacific and with European movements.

An aspect of the Conference that needs comment is the shift in the direction of the thinking of a large member of participants including ATOM members. Whereas in the initial states, environmental concerns registered as the main preoccupa-



tion, it became very clear in the later stages of the Conference that the central issue was colonialism and racism. This view came out clearly in the Peoples' Treaty preamble quoted above and in the press release, "The Fiji Declaration", given at the conclusion of the NFPC:

The Conference was told by experts on nuclear weapons and strategy that the building of planned U.S. Trident nuclear submarines in Bangor, Washington, and B-1 nuclear bomber bases on Tinian Island in Micronesia will mean a major U.S. escalation of the nuclear arms race with grave implications for the Pacific island peoples.

The Pacific peoples must unite efforts to prevent continued use of the Pacific area by the United States as part of U.S. military and economic strategies in Indo-China, Middle-East and Korean war theatres. The time had come, the conferees stated, to take a strong stand and appropriate actions.

The Conference agreed that racism, colonialism and imperialism lie at the core of the issue of the activities of the nuclear Powers in the Pacific. The Pacific peoples and their environment continue to be exploited because Pacific Islanders are considered insignificant in numbers and inferior as peoples, the delegates stated. "For these reasons, nuclear bombs were first used and continue to be tested in our region in blatant disregard of our expressed opposition, rather than in areas with large concentrations of white people,".....

The Conference rejoiced over the victories of the people of Vietnam and Cambodia and expressed its solidarity with them. It further stated that these victories proved that the struggle of oppressed peoples are stronger than weapons systems of imperialist Powers.

The implication of this shift was very significant because within ATOM there had been earlier disagreements over what the organization should be. Some of its founders felt that it should purely be an environmental group whereas others had advocated its role as also being an anti-colonial one. With the establishment of the Continuation Committee for the NFPC, the "anti-colonial and anti-imperialist" faction became deeply occupied with the draft Treaty, arranging for the delegation to the United Nations and the United States, and sending letters to various bodies, including the non-Aligned Movement. They also formed the Pacific Peoples Action Front after the 1975 Conference (thereby effectively displacing ATOM) and published a newspaper called "Povai" (Tongan for war club). The anti-nuclear faction, who adhered to the ATOM slogan "ban the bomb" attempted to continue this tradition.

By the time of the Conference, ATOM had set up a Young ATOM grouping comprising of high-school students, and other youths. An ATOM committee was set up in Tarawa in the Gilberts. After the conference, George Talasasa formed an ATOM Committee in Gizo in the Western Province of the Solomons. An ATOM existed for a while in Honiara, as well.

After the 1975 NFPC, ATOM gradually petered away. The Continuation Committee of the NFPC (CCNFPC) contained a core of former ATOM activists but others, especially expatriates had drifted to other things or had left the country. The CCNFPC had an office in Suva with three full-time employees besides the ATOM members. It had a very close association with PPAF and had a Pacific-wide orientation, tending not to continue ATOM

activities. This meant that ATOM disappeared as a distinct organization by the end of 1976.

Several factors contributed to the disintegration of ATOM including: (i) the ideological split between the environmentalists and the anti-imperialists; (ii) the lack of funds to operate a separate Fiji-based organization; (iii) the shortage of active personnel which meant that as the CCNFPCC became Pacific oriented, the Fiji-directed activities were not pursued; (iv) the ATOM activists were also involved in other organizations, like the Pacific Peoples Action Front and the YWCA and were concerned about especially women's issues. Some of the ATOM woman attended the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City and subsequently became more embroiled in the women's movement and (v) other members moved on to other matters of more immediate concern.

It is noteworthy that ATOM activities did have important consequences. The Fiji government took up the ATOM objective of a NFZ and continued to keep this concept alive after 1975. Greg Fry (1983) points out that Fiji reiterated the NZF notion at the UN in October 1980. In late 1982, Fiji again called for a Tlatelolco-type NFZ for the South Pacific, at the United Nations.

ATOM's goal for a NFP was taken up by the Pacific Council of Churches (PCC). PCC had been supportive of ATOM activities and had sent separate resolutions seeking a NFP as early as 1974. Subsequently, PCC continued to advocate an end to French tests, which from 1975 had been taken underground, and for

a NFP (PCC submission to UN Special Session on Disarmament, May-June 1978).

By late 1976, the funds for the CCNFPC had ran out and its work was concluded. The group involved with this committee had also been active in the Pacific Peoples Action Front (PPAF) which continued to stress the underlying connection between nuclear-testing and colonialism. The PPAF produced a newspaper, "Povai" to this end. "Povai" became the vehicle for linking participants in the post-1975 NFPC. This paper had an erratic history but continued to be produced till the late 1970s in Fiji. PPAF members in Fiji sought to transfer "Povai" to the PPAF branch in Papua New Guinea but this move felt through because of a weakening of the Port Moresby group. In the post-1980 period "Povai" was produced in Vila, Vanuatu, as part of the "Vanuatu Viewpoint", the Vakuaku Party newspaper.

The PPAF and the PCC jointly organized the second NFP Conference in October 1978, in Ponape in the Carolines. This conference actually was divided into two conferences, one dealing with nuclear issues and the other - in closed sessions - was on independence struggles. The NFPC ratified the Peoples' Treaty for a Nuclear-Free Pacific. It also made the PPAF the coordinating body of the Conference and directed it to produce a newspaper. Country reports were received on anti-nuclear activities. Similar reports were received by the Independence Conference on Vanuatu, Tahiti, New Caledonia, Belau, East Timor, West Papua, and a number of other colonial territories. Reports were also received from Maoris and Aboriginal representatives.

In his submission to the Conference, Rev. Akula Yabaki expressed regret at the collapse of the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Movement. He noted that with Fiji's incorporation into the Lome Convention, the agreement between the ACP and the EEC, Fiji's Anti-Nuclear stance had weakened. Although the solidarity between the churches, student organizations and trade unions had disintegrated, Rev. Yabaki maintained that the PCC, PPAF and the Methodist Church had kept the issue alive. The latter, as a member of WCC had written to the Fiji Government urging it to support the UN Conference on nuclear disarmament in July, 1978.

Attempts to revive the anti-nuclear movement in 1979/1980 through a broader based organization was not successful. The support given by the PPAF to the dockworkers' strike in Fiji in July 1977 had alienated elements of the FTUC leadership. PPAF's anti-colonial stand was perceived as being too political for the Churches.

The wider Pacific movement had a NFP Conference in Hawaii in May 1980 which was sponsored by Gensuikin (Japanese Congress Against A & H Bombs) and a number of other groups. At this gathering, it was decided to form the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC).

Another conference that was important in terms of keeping the nuclear issue alive, was sponsored by the Asian Students' Association and hosted by the USPSA in Suva, Fiji, in December 1981. The South Pacific International Conference of Students theme was "For a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific". Participants came from most Pacific Island states as well as from Iraq,

Malaysia, Philippines, Hong Kong and Japan. More than 12 student participants were Fijians. Non-student participants included Jone Dakuvula, Amelia Rokotuivuna, Taniela Veitata, Barak Sope and Giff Johnson (PCRC, Hawaii), all of whom had been involved in the nuclear movement over the last decade.

THE FIJI ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUP (FANG)

By the early 1980s an organized anti-nuclear movement did not exist in Fiji, although the PCC and individuals at the USP, the Pacific Theological College and in the trade union movement continued to be concerned about nuclearization in the Pacific. The reporting of French nuclear tests still provoked these elements but no organized protests took place. This situation changed rapidly with the decision by the Fiji Government (that is by the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara) to allow American warships, both nuclear-powered and nuclear-weapons carrying, into Fiji ports from 29th July, 1983.

It was only in February 1982 that the Fiji Government was opposed to visits by such vessels, declaring that ".if a request to disclose whether or not a vessel is carrying nuclear weapons is refused, it will be presumed that nuclear weapons are being carried and entry will automatically be refused." (Fry, 1983:31). This remarkable policy change was not debated in Parliament (the Opposition being virtually defunct) and was rubber-stamped by Cabinet. The absence of an organized anti-nuclear group was deeply felt by concerned individuals and groups. Leading proponents of a nuclear-free Pacific who had just returned from the third Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference (July 10-20, 1983) in Port Vila, Vanuatu,

including Mrs. Suliana Siwatibau and Jone Dakuvula were thoroughly dismayed at this about-turn in Fiji government policy.

Trade unionists, church leaders and academics united once again to form an interim committee to set up an anti-nuclear group. At a public meeting in Suva, on the 1st of September, 1983, the Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG) was formed. Its aim was to coordinate the activities of various groups working towards the goal of a nuclear free Pacific. Among its objectives FANG was to lobby at national, regional and international levels for appropriate actions to achieve a NFP. It was also to "Protest to appropriate bodies against activities that contribute to nuclearization of the Pacific." The organization was to be non-political in the sense that it was not to be affiliated to any political party.

FANG's first President was Bob Kumar, (the General Secretary of Fiji Bank Employees Union and Treasurer of the FTUC). Its Executive was derived from the trade unionis, the USP (staff and students), and the PCC. A number of sub-committees were formed covering areas such as drafting of submissions to the South Pacific Forum, publicity, education, newsletter and funding. FANG has organized a number of public demonstrations and meetings to increase public awareness of the issues involved in Fiji's changed policy and nuclearization.

The Group attempts to circulate its newsletter fairly widely. Its education committee had begun to show video-tapes about nuclearization and its consequences to schools, but unfortunately the video-machine and associated equipment was with-

drawn by the USP. An education-kit has also been mooted. Meanwhile hand-bills on what FANG is all about have been circulated. Towards the end of 1984, FANG sought to make a submission to the South Pacific Forum committee on the NFZ Treaty but were denied the opportunity to meet this committee. FANG was informed that a written submission would be considered. FANG has worked with the Wellington Ad-Hoc Committee on the Pacific NFZ but it is apparent that the joint-proposal was not acceptable to the South Pacific Forum. FANG has also written letters to the newspapers on a regular basis on Fiji's foreign policy.

In November 1984, FANG invited two prominent anti-nuclear activists to address a public meeting in Suva. They were Dr. James Anthony and Mr. Jone Dakuvula. Other speakers at the meeting were Mr. Alfred Jack of the PCC (Treasurer of FANG) and Mr. Mahendra Chaudhry (FTUC). More than 120 people attended and unanimously passed seven resolutions. These resolutions called to an end to the escalation of nuclear activities in the Pacific, including the influx of nuclear armed vessels, nuclear testing, and the threatened nuclear waste dumping. A resolution called for public participation in the NFZ Treaty discussions. Another resolution applauded the Government of New Zealand for its decision to make New Zealand nuclear free and called upon Pacific island states to do the same.

A decision to establish a full-time FANG secretariat to facilitate the objectives of the Group was enthusiastically supported. Unfortunately the finance to set up such a secretariat was not forthcoming by the sources identified by Dr.



Anthony. Jone Dakuwula and Dr. Anthony also spoke to the National Federation Party (NFP) parliamentarians urging them to seek a debate on Fiji's foreign policy in general and its stand on nuclearization of the Pacific, in particular. It is not clear whether the moribund Opposition took up this issue.

FANG was invited to send a representative to the Seminar on the process of decolonization in Port Moresby in March 1985 by the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization. Simone Durutalo, FANG's Vice President, attended this seminar and presented a prepared statement. In this address, FANG maintained that "it strongly believes that for the Pacific, the question of nuclearization and militarization cannot be separated from colonialism in all its forms." It drew attention to the need to decolonize French, American and Indonesian held territories in the Pacific. FANG also spoke of nuclear colonialism in French occupied Polynesia and the American held Micronesian Trust Territories, especially the latter's attempt to impose conditions allowing it to control foreign policy, defence and nuclear/military bases in the Micronesian states.

During 1985, FANG was able to hold one successful fund raising activity which helped boost morale after the fiasco of hiring a theatre to show "The Day After" in 1984. FANG members have demonstrated on several occasions in 1985. A floating protest was organized against a French Research vessel, this was followed by individual picketing of two American frigates (probably nuclear-armed) in October. In December, an American nuclear-powered submarine, the USS Plymouth slipped into the

Suva harbour, at the very time when the first Peace Conference of the 1986 UN Peace Year was being held at the USP. FANG resounded by organizing individual pickets and hiring boats to protest as close to the Submarine as permissible. FANG also coordinated picketting of a number of foreign embassies by delegating to the Peace Conference.

On New Year's Eve, FANG members held a mid-night vigil in front of the French Embassy. Participants in the Peace Conference, particularly from Australia, joined the vigil and were able to witness police harassment of FANG members. To mark Pacific Nuclear Free Day on March 1st (as decided by the Panape Conference), FANG held a 3-day Peace Festival in Suva. The festival began with a peace procession through Suva, followed by a peace rally where speeches were made and anti-nukes songs were sung. An inter-faith prayer meeting was held on Sunday 2nd March and the peace festival was concluded with a well-attended nuclear-free Pacific rock concert.

At the time of the Peace Festival, the Fiji branch of the IPPNW was formed. FANG invited the IPPNW executive to address a dinner organized as part of the Festival. This initial show of solidarity, it is hoped will begin future cooperation between the medical profession and the FANG.

#### PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The impediments that confront FANG may be listed under 4 headings. These are financial, organizational, ideological and environmental. The shortage of funds has been a chronic

problem for the movement in Fiji resulting in the modification of, and even the failure to mount many well intentioned programmes. Fund raising activities such as film-screening, dances and rock-concerts can be very risky. So far FANG's T-shirts have been a success but again because of the cost of doing the screen-painting, the returns are not that large. If FANG had a larger financial base, a full-time organizer could have facilitated a diverse range of activities including fund raising.

Organizationally this need for a full-time person is deeply felt. FANG members are employed full-time and are involved in a number of other organizations. Their ability to contribute their time and efforts to FANG, therefore, is constrained. It has also been noted that instead of coordinating the anti-nuclear activities of other peace groups, FANG is itself the major peace group. The trade union movement, the religious groups (especially non-Christian), educational institutions and other NGOs have failed to organize anti-nuclear bodies within their structures. This has made the task of FANG extremely difficult.

At the ideological the split between the anti-nukes element and the anti-colonial element continues to fester within FANG. Some environmentalists have already left FANG. It has been suggested that perhaps the two factions should form a separate 'peace' and an 'anti-colonial organization which could then be affiliated to FANG but enjoy relative autonomy. The problem that this proposal gives rise to is that FANG is a fair-

ly small group, when the active members are considered, their further division may lead to the collapse of FANG.

In terms of the environment in which FANG operates, it must be realized that peripheral capitalism combined with an authoritarian culture fostered under British colonialism, do not provide the conditions for an articulate population. While there is indeed grave concerns about the vague threats of nuclearization among Fiji's citizens this is not transferred into any popular movement. FANG, like ATOM is largely an elitist organization and its ability to inform the mass of Fiji people is circumscribed by the above mentioned problems. Educated professionals, especially teachers and doctors have failed to bring this issue to the people.

Further, the harassment by the police of FANG members before, during, and after protest activities has not encouraged others to join. It is extremely difficult to obtain permission to engage in peaceful protests in Suva. The democratic rights enshrined in the Fiji Constitution is apparently limited to the paper they are printed on. The rights to assemble and to expression is severely restricted by the colonial public-order act. (More than three persons seen together in a public place may be declared as an illegal-gathering!). Moreover, the practice of foreign embassies and the Fiji Government not to release information about the arrival of foreign military vessels until a day or two before they enter Fiji, means that FANG is unable to get the required permit to engage in protest action. This means that the police are given a free-hand with FANG "trouble-makers".

One other dimension that is worth commenting on is the difficulty of making FANG a broader peace movement. The army and navy in Fiji comprises of predominantly Ethnic Fijians, any opposition to militarization in Fiji, may be construed as being "anti-Fijian".

Despite these problems, FANG continues to be the vanguard of the Fiji anti-nuclear movement because of the commitment of its membership and the widespread sympathy that Fijians give to anti-nuclear actions. Expressions such as "You are fighting for all of us. Thank you!"; "I wish I could join you but I have to think about my job"; and "You have my moral support"; provide the encouragement that keeps FANG going. The Group is also aware that there is an international challenge to nuclearization and militarization. Churches and especially the PCC, have had a long history of anti-nuclear action. PCC continues to be a major source of strength for FANG. The labour movement and the USP students and staff have also provided support. FTUC is a member of the South Pacific Trade Union Forum, formed explicitly to oppose nuclearization. While individuals from FTUC have been supportive there is a greater need for organizational support from the labour movement.

The presence of Sulliana Siwatibau, Amelia Rokotuiwuna, Bharat Jamandas among others, have been inspirational for the rest of FANG. These individuals provide a continuity from the days of ATOM. Finally, the media, especially the Fiji Times, the Fiji Sun and FM 96 have been most sympathetic to FANG activities, giving FANG considerable publicity (sometimes negative)

and thereby providing the link between ordinary citizens and the Group.

CONCLUSION

The anti-nuclear movement in Fiji has had two separate periods of organized protestations. Between 1970-1976, the ATOM provided leadership for those concerned about French tests. At this stage the issues were clearer and the Fiji-government was on side. The period 1976-1982 experienced a down-swing as far as anti-nukes activities were concerned, though the PPAF and the PCC as well as various conferences kept the nuclear issue alive. From 1983 to the present-day, FANG has been active in providing opposition, not only to the French tests but also to the Fiji Government's invitation to the United States nuclear powered and nuclear weapons carrying vessels.

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