

The Pacific Marine Industrial Zone and the Village: Strategies to convert the resource boom into development

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Abstract

The Pacific Marine Industrial Zone is about to come to Vidar on the North Coast of Madang. It is variously said to be worth K6 billion per year or K2 billion per year, making way for 10 fish canning factories, 25,000 employees and requiring thousands of hectares of land. The implication might be that a town for more than 100,000 people is springing up. The land ownership matter was a burning issue at an early stage, but the local villagers now say only, "We want a share in it because it involves our livelihood." How will the villagers proceed despite the fact that they have no ownership control? How will this major international resource be turned into development for PNG? The paper comes from attending village meetings, personal interviews with stakeholders and provincial and national government personnel, official documents of church, village and government, research on Special Economic Zones and on draft documents of the impact communities and protest groups.

Introduction

"There is a big animal out there. Nogut yumi go klostu long banis na em i kilim yumi" – Frank Don 15/02/15 at Rempi.

The Pacific Marine Industrial Zone is planned to be Papua New Guinea's first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) project. The government of Papua New Guinea claims that the project will be worth K2 billion annually, and give employment to 25,000 people. The implication to be drawn from this is that a new satellite town of Madang will grow up with a population of 100,000 residents. This paper seeks to explain what is meant by such developments and to expose the implications of this Special Economic Zone, while taking note of the environmental perils and social impacts that are implied.

Where is the PMIZ?

Vidar was recently a coconut plantation situated some 20 kilometres from Madang town. It was part of a larger tract of land known as Rempi land and consisted of some 4,775 hectares. Vidar currently has a blue metal fence built around its boundaries, extending over the main road, and the land is largely covered in dense bushes after all the aging coconut trees were bulldozed. R D Tuna has established a wharf and port facilities for its fishing fleet at the

waterfront. Vidar port shares the northern part of the Sek harbor with the Catholic Mission although the mission wharf is rarely used anymore with the establishment of the North Coast Road, and the growth of commercial sea transport. A large part of the harbor is covered by mangroves and is rich with marine life. The harbor is the northern end of the *Iduan* and *Godowan* lagoons that form the famous Madang lagoon. The lagoon has sustained generations of Bel, Ari and Rempi people who inhabit the area. The PMIZ land is bordered on the north side by the Rempi villages, on the west by Haven, and south by Midiba and east by the Kananam villages. The impacted people can generally be divided into three distinct language groups: Bel speakers (Kananam, Malmal, Riwo), Arini speakers (Haven, Midiba, Maiwara) and Erempi speakers (Rempi).

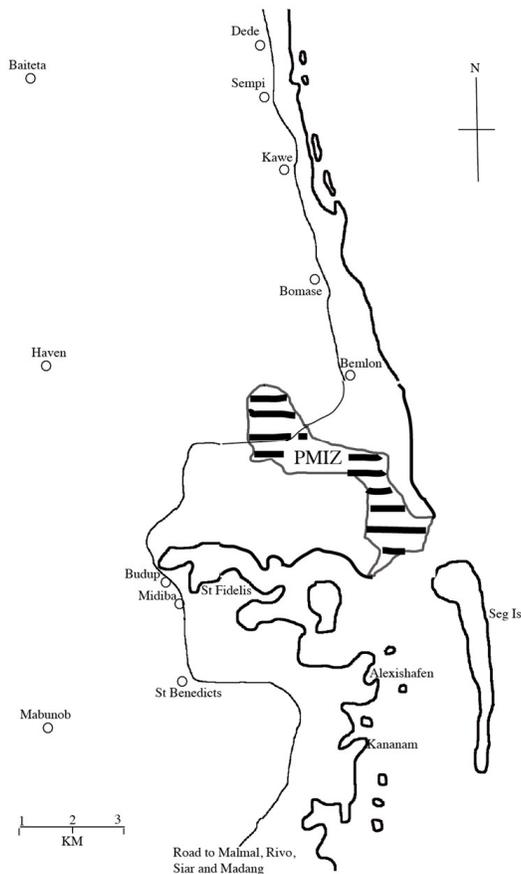


Figure 1: Location of the Pacific Marine Industrial Zone (PMIZ)

The first recorded mention of the PMIZ area comes from the Russian explorer and naturalist, Nikolai Mikloucho-Maclay, in his diary in February 1877. Maclay had arrived and settled in Astrolabe Bay in 1871 and it was on his second visit in 1876 that he decided to visit the Erempi people that he had

heard so much about. “Going past a minor tributary we found ourselves in a small, almost circular lake, or lagoon, surrounded by jungle called Mout-Mongun.” They left their canoe there and walked west. After more than an hour’s walk they came to the village of Erempi. “The inhabitants were very scared by my unexpected appearance and probably by my aspect, as they had not seen a white man up to that time.”

Special Economic Zones and the PMIZ

Papua New Guinea, in accord with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982, institutionalized long-standing coastal and island state claims over its 200 nautical mile coastal zones (referred to as the Exclusive Economic Zone, cf. Article 56, as reported in Havice and Reed 2012, p.416.) We are told that three target tuna species migrate through PNG’s waters: skipjack (*katsuwonus pelamis*), yellowfin (*thunnus albacares*) and bigeye (*thunnus obesus*). Ships from various nations have been fishing in PNG waters and “by 2009, the annual tuna catch taken in PNG waters exceeded 500,000 tonnes (up from less than 100,000 tonnes in 2001), an export value of US\$766 million, and accounted for more than 10 per cent of the entire fish supply of the multi-billion dollar tuna industry” (Figure 1, Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency database, as in Havice and Reed 2012, p.419).

PNG was making money at what is called a first-generational level, by licensing boats fishing in its waters. This yielded about \$45 million per year. The Minister for Trade, Commerce and Industry, Richard Maru, notes that industry experts estimate PNG loses up to US\$808 million annually because it does not process fish caught in its waters. He observes that the biggest beneficiaries of PNG’s fisheries are foreign fleets who take unprocessed catch from PNG waters to their fish factories overseasⁱ. Another way of reporting this is that “PNG’s 3.1million-sq-km fishing zone is the second-largest in the South Pacific, yielding up to 20% of the global annual tuna catch. However, until recently, the country was losing an estimated two-thirds of its potential downstream and value-added business due to a lack of domestic processing facilities.”ⁱⁱ

Movement to a second-generational level in the tuna industry involved PNG having its own downstream processing facilities in the form of RD Fish Cannery in Madang, and accounting for the fishing catch for all boats registered with these facilities. Even though much of this catch might be assigned by the processing company to overseas factories of the company, this approach raises income from tuna fishing for PNG enormously.

Havice and Reed write that the Managing Director of RD conceived of a Pacific Marine Industrial Zone (PMIZ) to reduce production costs, and for nine years lobbied the National Fisheries Authority (NFA) and the Department of Commerce and Industry to take on the project. They further comment, “The PMIZ began as a tuna processing hub, but government officials have begun to explore exporting agricultural and other products from the Zone as well.” (2012, p.430 fn.49). This means logging and mining interests might use the

port facilities of the PMIZ. Job Pomat, chair of PNG's National Fisheries Board agrees, "We have re-scoped the project from just a marine landing and processing hub to a special economic zone to include processing and export of other products like agricultural commodities, timber and minerals."ⁱⁱⁱ

According to the Oxford Business Group, in 2012 PNG exports of tuna had risen rapidly by 26% over the previous two years to 91,267 tonnes. Movement to a second-generational level in the tuna industry involved PNG having its own downstream processing facilities in the form of RD Fish Cannery in Madang, and accounting for the fishing catch for all boats registered with these facilities. The industry's domestic processing capacities were expected to more than double by 2015, and their report continues, "PNG is already home to four commercial tuna canneries, which have a combined maximum daily processing capacity of 640 tonnes" (which is 200,000 tonnes a year). (Economic Update, 2013)

The World Bank briefly defines a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) as an extra-legal, 'multi-use, geographically delimited area with conditions conducive to investment' (World Bank 2009, 1). The idea is that an SEZ gets an income tax holiday, exemption from national and local taxes, enjoys simplified profit repatriation, imports equipment duty free and has excellent infrastructure in terms of water, power and telecommunications. Whether national labour or immigration laws apply inside the Zone seems to be a matter for negotiation. From a certain view, these industries are not embedded in the broader PNG economy.

The former Minister for Commerce and Industry who was instrumental in setting up the SEZ in Vidar, Gabriel Kapris, is now directing one of the few companies already making money out of the PMIZ. He is managing director of Aces Ventures, which is the holder of five Special Agricultural Business Leases (SABLs), which are supposed to be closed by government policy, but are not yet closed. In a recent interview with Kapris we asked if he spent much time defending himself as a Sepik benefiting out of Madang business. To this he asserted that PNG is one country, and he can enter into business in any province. He, together with Sali Tagau, manager of Savlon Security Services, believes and actively campaigns with the neighbours that it is time to "get in there and develop your own resources."

Issues with a special economic zone for deep water fishing

Various blog sites warn of the economic danger, environmental destruction and severe social damage that can come from a Special Economic Zone such as the Pacific Marine Industrial Zone proposed for Madang. The world supply of tuna is a much debated issue involving many countries worldwide. One blogsite states, "More than 3.5 billion people depend on the ocean for their primary source of food. In 20 years, this number could double to 7 billion"^{iv} and a lot of that food is tuna. Efforts of concerned countries to work together for conservation of fish stock; to avoid over-fishing in certain areas; to regulate fishing methods which are destructive of by-catch; and to reward those

countries seeking a label of approval for their product, have all been observed in the breach and have been the subject of cheating.

“Fisheries are one of the most criminalized sectors in the world. This generates so much money that it’s like drugs” (Daniel Pauly, marine biologist at the University of British Columbia. ActNowPNG)

FADs (Fish Aggregating Devices) “are responsible for the wholesale death of baby tuna, sharks and turtles and are a major cause of the decline of the valuable big-eye tuna.” (Duncan Williams, Greenpeace, cf. ActNowPNG) – “the region’s mature population of bigeye . . . is about 13% of what it would be without fisheries.” (ActNowPNG, 14 May 2011)

Bluefin tuna – “their demise will have dire consequences for marine ecosystems. Without large predators, entire food chains may erode, leaving the seas overrun by millions of jelly fish and micro-organisms.” (ActNowPNG)

An international aid official speaking in 2010 declared, ‘If [the PMIZ] were really a feasible project, the government wouldn’t need to take a loan, the private sector would just do it. But this message is lost on the government. When there is money on the table, they can’t resist taking it.’ (Havice and Reed 2012, p.431)

“I have made referrals of officers, some of them very senior in stature who have allegedly involved in graft and corruption involving several project funds and I have no hesitation in referring them for prosecution.” (Stephen Mera, PNG Secretary of Department of Commerce and Industry, *Post Courier* 6/9/2011)

“RD Cannery has almost not paid any taxes in PNG (even though they declare an annual turnover of 271 Million Kina.” (Public PowerPoint lecture by Pete Celso, Managing Director of RD Cannery, Madang, Sept 2013)

In addition to these headline statements, there are publications about the behavior of the present fish processing industrial enterprises that have already come to PNG. Wages are low; benefits to workers are kept to a minimum; promised improvements in the neighborhood in terms of schools, clinics, roads and power supply have not eventuated. The onerous conditions of the fish factories fall mostly on the women. Some women are also in some areas led into a trade of sex for fish. (Sullivan et al. 2003, Sullivan et al. 2005)

While the present authors confess themselves deeply disturbed by these reports, charges and honest complaints, we are in no position in this paper to enter into the conflict discussion head-on. Our purpose here is to document the village point of view, without the sophistication that rightly belongs to the whole question and as is presented in the May 2015 Petition (see later). The village clearly could be overwhelmed by the forces ranged opposite it. (We are speaking of “village” as a worldview rather than as a given set of named localities and communities.) The village has forceful friends, but the big

question in many parts of PNG is, How does a village negotiate with multinational corporations and massive exploitation of their resources? Is this simply a death-dealing embrace? Can the village hope in a future when living cheek by jowl with a PMIZ?

The alienation of the village land

The chairperson of the Rempi village organizing committee, Alphonse Miae, makes a comment about Vidar, the PMIZ site, to the effect that, We know we don't have the land now. We are after the benefits that come to us as an impact group. This brief statement of the present position obviously conceals a lot of heartbreak in the village. Stead (2014) points out, it is already a sad transformation and a loss to say, The villagers are now landowners. This subject-object dichotomy was not part of the picture as the way it always was – a relationship to land that should probably better be termed by the Tok Pisin, “Papa graun”.

How was the Vidar land alienated? According to the findings of the Supreme Court of PNG when reviewing in 1970 expropriation land claims following World War I, the first purchase of the land was made by three members of the German New Guinea Company.

The acquisition was stated to have been in pursuance of contracts of purchase and sale of 23rd, 24th, 28th and 29th December, 1901 and a further contract of purchase and sale of 12th February, 1903. . . . The land was purchased by three officials of the German New Guinea Company. It was later surveyed in German times and the survey included five native reserves. The New Guinea Company did not use the land and it was known as virgin land. The mission built a church on one of the native reserves, being careful not to build on the company's land. . . . [Madoko's] father had told him that his ancestors did not know what they were doing as they could not speak Pidgin and surveyors placed the cements without such ancestors realizing the implications of this action. He thought it was a German who bought the land with trade goods and that that German sold the land to the mission. Cross-examined, he agreed that some payment was made but it was not enough, and that he and his people thought the purchase price was not sufficient. However, he finally stated that he was not over-upset, that his ancestors received only a small price for this area of land. (Supreme Court 1970: 369-374)

This account seems to ante-date and represent a more solemn finding than that given by Stead, who gives an account of land purchase dated in 1902:

Sitting on the veranda of a house in Rempi, in May of 2010, the old man who is the leader of the Bomase clan, Peter Gau Sabum, told the story of how the Catholic Church ‘purchased’ his ancestor's land with a handful of trinkets and quantities of salt. As he told the story he acted out the exchange, cupping his hand as if filled with salt, lifting it

to his mouth, extending his tongue and then recoiling dramatically, scrunching his face as he demonstrated how his kinsmen, one hundred years ago, must have reacted to their first taste. He shook his head in dismay at the easy seduction of his kin, and the trickery of the missionaries.^v (2013: 186)

Sabum's dismay is understood as "lamenting a loss of self-sufficiency and autonomy." Even the Supreme Court report does not make perfectly clear how large was the area alienated by first purchase, and what the boundaries were between Alexishafen mission station, St Michael's, and the five native reserves and Vidar.

The Catholic Archdiocese of Madang gives the following account of the transfer of the land.

1. Through the New Guinea Administration the Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost New Guinea Property Trust in Madang bought the land (Portion 625) on which the Vidar plantation is situated.

[With a generous delay of time after the First World War, the expropriated land of the German mission was returned to them via a contrivance by a Rabaul person in 1927 to make a profit from the land seized before the mission could get hold of it (Supreme Court, p.370).]

2. The Mission was first approached by the Department of Lands, Survey and Mines who offered to buy Vidar Plantation for the purpose of establishing a cannery on the 24/10/1974. That offer was however withdrawn on the 13/01/1975.
3. Then in 1992, the Archdiocese of Madang was approached again, this time by the Madang Provincial Government who expressed an interest in acquiring Portion 625 after partnering with a Company called "ZZZ Company" primarily to establish a cannery. The Church agreed and a price was set.
4. For reasons unknown to the Church, "ZZZ Company" pulled out of Madang and so the initial contract which was a joint venture between the ZZZ Co and MPG was terminated.
5. Madang Provincial Government (MPG) then acquired Portion 625 with a total landmass of 856.56 ha in 1992 for K800,000. Later, MPG auctioned off Portion 625 which RD Tuna acquired for a reported K3,000,000.
6. RD Tuna in turn sold 216ha out of the total 856.56ha to PMIZ for a reported K4,000,000.

When the Mission finished with the plantation, according to the law of Papua New Guinea, the land was given back to the National Government for a minimal payment covering the buildings and improvements on the land. No

profit was realized. No one else can purchase land in PNG apart from the national government, not even the previous *papa graun*.

The Government planned to sell the land to ZZZ Fishing Company, but sold it to RD Cannery instead. In the original Agreement between the Mission and the Madang Provincial Government, the final clause §20 states that the Agreement is rescinded if the Z Fishing Agreement does not go through at the same time. (Agreement 1992) This clause seems to have been ignored entirely.

The villages organise

The recent Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the villages and the PMIZ includes three distinct groups of people represented by the landowner umbrella companies. They are Kananam, Rempi and Baiteta. As described earlier, the Kananam belong to the Bel language group and relate to the southern coastal villages of Malmal, Riwo, Siar, Krangket, Yabob. However, Rempi, belonging to the Erempi, live north of the current boundary sites and include the villages of Bemlon, Bomase, Matbob, Kaue, Sempi, Iwuga and Dede. In the current arrangement, the Ari group of people of Haven, Midiba, Maiwara have been grouped with the Rempi despite the fact that the two groups speak different and distinct languages. Haven and Midiba people are trying to separate themselves and form their own company. Baiteta inhabit the inland areas of Rempi and are being considered for this project mainly for the resources their land will provide for the project such as water supply for reticulation and for hydroelectricity. (It is reported at this time – September 2015 – in the village Rempi that electricity will be from bio-mass.)

The structure of the MOU is basically to determine how the impact area people will have the opportunity to participate in the first part of the project which is valued at US\$90m. Each of the villages is required to identify and record its people under their tribes and clans. Such records generally exist within the ward areas to identify villagers mainly for polling during national elections. They only need to be updated with additions of new births and children who are generally left out in the electoral rolls as they are under-aged.

The MOU is a technical document providing a formal framework that identifies the stakeholders and defines their participation in the development of the first phase of the project. It defines who each of the parties are: the Ministry and Department of Trade, Commerce and Industry, the Madang Provincial Government, the developer – Shenyang International Economic and Technical Cooperation Corporations Ltd, and the umbrella companies of Kananam, Rempi and Baiteta.

The participation of the villages will be by getting spinoff businesses, to supply primary materials for construction, and to supply intermediate and final goods and services such as equipment and labor hire, and catering, transport and security/escort services. Another way that villagers can participate in the phase 1 of the project is to register their own companies and they can then offer their expertise, services or resources to the project.

However, up to now not everyone in the impact area is being included in the draft MOU agreement and this has created disagreements amongst the people. For instance, while the Rempi clans have been recognized, the Haven and Midiba people have been left out mainly because they were originally part of the Rempi. Equally while Kananam people near Alexishafen have been included, their cousins in Malmal and Riwo have been excluded as representing too large a bloc of people, thus causing disharmony and opposition from the rest of the Bel people.

Most of the local inhabitants recognize and accept that the PMIZ project land has long been alienated and now belongs to the government of PNG. However, they still have issues over how it was alienated which is one of the main reasons why they want to have a say in how the land is developed. The inhabitants generally accept the government's policy to recognize them as 'impact area people', but how wide the recognition should extend is still an issue for the people. In a meeting at Rempi in February 2015, the villagers were told that the government will only recognize people within a five kilometer radius from the Vidar project site as impact area people. A five kilometer radius would certainly leave out much of Rempi, much of Baiteta, and Riwo. In a meeting at Alexishafen on 22 March 2015 to get the impact area villages to prepare for the voting of their village representatives, Kananam villages rejected the inclusion of Malmal and Riwo villages to be part of their group saying they are outnumbered by Malmal and Riwo and do not want them to be part of the PMIZ. No discussion was made about the five kilometre radius. Haven and Midiba villagers were also not recognised as a group separate from Rempi in that meeting and they expressed dissatisfaction saying they wanted to be a separate group from the Rempis with whom they originally belonged under the Reham umbrella company (Reham stands for Rempi, Haven and Midiba).

The "No PMIZ" protest

In April 2015 we held an interview with Gabriel Kapris who was the Minister for Commerce and Industry when a loan was negotiated for the start of the PMIZ. In 2009 he drew up an MOU with the China Shen Yang Cooperation Corporation Ltd (CSYC), who were backed up by the state-owned Exim Bank of China. Kapris also investigated SEZ ideas in Thailand, Taiwan, Australia, and Europe. He was given encouragement: "You are now controlling your resources." Europe is always thinking of "sustainability" and they investigate the source of the tuna to be sold in Europe. It was understood that Thailand and Taiwan are now over-fished. PNG is now a major source of tuna for the world. Europe said they would limit catches from Thailand and Taiwan, which would force them to come to Madang to the Marine Park (so-called). This will provide investment and employment. "Environment" is certainly a big concern in the exploitation of fish in Madang, but it is manageable, Kapris believes.

Leaders of Rempi, Kananam and Baitata were given a K300,000 trip to General Santos in The Philippines to see a SEZ opening there. They were impressed with the cleanliness of the water at the site.

The PMIZ could have been placed in Manus or Wewak, but RD was able to persuade CSYC and Exim to come to Madang. The first stage was a loan of K300m for the wharf and the utilities infrastructure. The zone at Vidar is 216 hectares, which is not enough for future development. This area is sometimes said to be only for fish. Ken Fairweather MP wrote an article for the exploitation of nearby Dylup Plantation for other industries. But the PMIZ can be considered bigger than the Liquefied National Gas projects of the Southern Highlands Province.

Kapris stated that the Marine Park is expected to bring in K6 billion every year as an industrial city. Rempi, Kananam and Baiteta should be planning to develop their resources for this. If more than 100,000 people move in for employment, then housing is needed, as well as shopping centres, schools and clinics. The Marine Park will not just provide spin-off benefits in terms of preferential employment or digging karanas for the roads. The Provincial Government should be spending money to train Board members because this resource will be a very big source of income for the Province. The Holding company, with the Provincial Government, with the National Government should be guiding the 5 (or so) umbrella companies. If the Holding company develops the surrounding resource properly they will become a model for a lot of other developments in PNG.

In reaction to many such reports, the people of the impact area of the PMIZ, apparently under the guidance of Ken Fairweather MP, circulated a petition “Stop PMIZ – a ‘Fishy Deal’” in the third week of May 2015, an answer to which was demanded by 31st May 2015. Their grounds for protest can be summarized with the following topical headlines:

Table 1: Headline topics of petition on behalf of “Madang People” (May 2015)

No consultation	Environment	No benefits	Social impact	Economic impact
No free prior consent	No impact study	No benefits from RD	No social mapping	How to live off own sea?
No awareness for ILGs	No MOA for increasing pollution	No plan for ILGs’ benefits	PMIZ has no-go zones	Royalty payments for fish processed
Forced umbrella companies	Marine Management Areas not protected	No MOU for spin-offs	“fish for sex”	SMEs for the ILG people
Early work without consent	Ocean currents as carrying pollution	No guarantee of 50% employment	Young women leaving school	Power and water bids by locals overlooked
No knowledge of scope of work	Coral Triangle initiative of		Law and order problems	
			Villages to be	

Three mile fishing zone used	Gov		displaced Services for increased population	
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The Petition was presented to the Governor of Madang. Ken Fairweather, the Member of Parliament for Sumkar assisting the villagers, presented it on the floor of Parliament. This brought a reaction from Nixon Duban, the member for Madang proper, who objected in Parliament, “Our people have registered their umbrella companies, they are all organised, and I want to assure the Government that we want this project to go ahead.”^{vi} Within a week Duban had the support of Madang Governor, Jim Kas. The Prime Minister, Peter O’Neill, had already put out a Press Release:

The Government is fully supportive of the PMIZ project continuing. There has been some misinformation, particularly in relation to land ownership, and this is unfortunate. The land where the PMIZ project is located was bought from RD Tuna Cannery for four million Kina and is State land, not customary land as some have claimed. . . . We are satisfied that the project will not cause pollution to the environment, especially the pristine water ways and islands of Madang. . . . In total the project will generate K2 billion every year in economic activity to our nation with most of this being around Madang Province. Through this project, the processing of tuna will be done in Papua New Guinea instead of being sent overseas. The PMIZ will generate more than 20,000 jobs for local communities through direct employment and the generation of small business. . . . Very importantly, the Port township will be jointly owned by the local communities, the Madang Provincial Government and the National Government.^{vii}

The loan from the Exim Bank of China had been delayed by the launching of a court action in Madang. It was released in September 2014, and the present Minister for Trade, Commerce and Industry, Richard Maru, paid a visit to the villages of Kananam, Rempi and Baitata to assure them that K200 million had been released, and work on the PMIZ would start in the following year. Advertisements were placed in the papers for tenders to design and supply a power system providing 30 Megawatts of electricity and 10,000 kilolitres of water to the PMIZ. The providers must also be prepared to partner with local resources owners in Madang in the entire investment.

In all of this, there seem to be unresolved differences about the amount of the loan and the number of jobs: \$US 74 (PINA 2011) or \$US95 (plus “an additional loan of K700 million or roughly US\$ 270.9 million, on top of the US\$95 million soft loan that was earmarked for its initial phase.” (Mindanews 2013^{viii})). Different reports give 20,000 jobs for local PNGans or only 30% of 30,000 jobs (Noha 2009) to be generated by the Zone. The differences are to be

accounted for by the original loan contract, which guaranteed 70% of jobs in the PMIZ to Chinese nationals, and a profit of \$US20 million to the Bank.

Conclusion

Planning for the future seems to be biased unfairly against the villagers, but with the present state of affairs the leaders are prepared to go ahead in the hope of development. The first important task for the Rempi community is that all decisions have to be made “under this mango tree” because the community cannot be holding many meetings which divide the people when they need to be united.

On 12th June 2015 the villagers of Rempi killed a pig (with the unlikely help of the Philippine sailors of RD), gave it to representatives of the Secretaries of Finance and of Planning, and said, “Now you have eaten our pig. Give us some results on the development of the PMIZ within three weeks.” The PNG way.

This study shows that as work on the PMIZ project begins, many issues remain unresolved. Within the impact area communities, there is a divide between those who want the project and those against it. There are also many people who are indifferent to the project mainly because they have little understanding about the magnitude of the development and have no idea of the consequences that they will face. The amount of information they have been bombarded with by the government officers, NGOs and representatives of international organisations have left them confused and they do not know what to expect. They have had some experience dealing with RD Tuna cannery and fishery operations in their area and much of it has not been positive. They have found that working in the canneries is not as rewarding as promised, and many have returned to selling goods along the roadside markets. Land remains a festering issue in Madang mainly because of the way vast tracts of areas have been alienated by the early German New Guinea company officials. Generations of landowners feel cheated, and are always suspicious of government officials and foreigners who speak the language of investors and developers promising jobs and wealth to a people who have heard the same for more than 100 years. People are generally apprehensive about the project. Their feelings are aptly expressed by Frank Don, a Rempi clan leader and a well-educated public servant with a university degree.

Frank warned his people:

“There is a big animal out there. Nogut yumi go klostu long banis na em bai kilim yumi”

(What he meant was: There is a big animal out there and it can destroy us, if we are not careful).

- ⁱ “PNG govt see PMIZ as fisheries solution”, September 2014.
<http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/254658/png-govt-see-pmiz-as-fisheries-solution>
- ⁱⁱ Economic Update. (October 2013). Downstream projects bode well for Papua New Guinea’s fisheries industry
http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/economic_updates/downstream-projects-bode-well-papua-new-guinea%E2%80%99s-fisheries-industry
- ⁱⁱⁱ PNG seeks renewal of agreement with PH tuna firm. (September 2013).
<http://www.mindanews.com/business/2013/09/10/png-seeks-renewal-of-agreement-with-ph-tuna-firm/>
- ^{iv} Save the Sea. (2015). “Help Save the Sea”.
http://savethesea.org/STS%20ocean_facts.htm Accessed 11th June 2015.
- ^v We can at the same time note that “trickery” must be expressed as “*giaman*” in Tok Pisin, which means “mistake” as often as it means “trickery”.
- ^{vi} MP backs marine zone project. *The National*, June 1st, 2015.
- ^{vii} Office of the Prime Minister. (2015). Prime Minister Reassures Stakeholders that PMIZ Project Will Proceed. Approved for Release: 20 May 2015
- ^{viii} Mindanews. (2013). PNG seeks renewal of agreement with PH tuna firm
<http://www.mindanews.com/business/2013/09/10/png-seeks-renewal-of-agreement-with-ph-tuna-firm/>

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