

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Political Science and International Relations
INTP 452: Special Topic International Relations in the Pacific

TRIMESTER 1 and 2 2012
5 March to 17 November 2012

PART II

Teaching dates: 16 July to 19 October 2012
Mid-trimester break: 27 August to 9 September 2012
Study week: 22-26 October 2012
Examination period: 26 October – 17 November 2012

Please note: The assessment for this course includes a final exam, which will take place during the examination period for trimester 2. Students must be available for the whole of the examination period.

Note: *Students enrolled in this course must be able to sit the class test on Friday 8 June and attend an examination at the University any time during the formal examination period at the end of trimester 2.*

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

Names and contact details

Course coordinator (second trimester): Professor Jon Fraenkel
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Office: Murphy 510
Phone: 463 5972
Office Hours: 11-1pm Fridays

Class times and locations

Seminar time: Fridays 9:00-10:50am
Seminar venue: Murphy 404

Course delivery

The course consists of weekly seminars. Students are expected to have completed all readings and be fully prepared for active participation in class. Attendance and participation in the seminars is an essential aspect of the course.

Communication of additional information

Additional and updated course information and materials will be distributed in seminars.

Course prescription

This course will focus on international relations in the Pacific.

Course content

This course examines the international relations of the Pacific. The first part of the course focussed on shared New Zealand and American policies toward and interests in the Pacific. It had a particular focus on efforts to promote security and stability in the region. The second part of the course will examine the domestic politics of the Pacific states, and their linkages with the Pacific Rim powers. It will examine political and social change within regional states and the implications these developments have for the international relations of the region. A substantial component of the second part of the course will be devoted to presentations of student research papers.

Learning objectives

Students passing the course should be able to:

- Understand basic concepts related to both traditional and human security and relate these to security dynamics in the Pacific
- Independently research a topic related to security in the region
- Effectively participate in seminars
- Demonstrate a broad understanding of key security challenges facing Pacific states
- Be able to contextualize the Pacific in the evolving geopolitical dynamics of the broader Asia Pacific region

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote a total of 300 hours to the course. This includes time in seminars.

Readings

Recommended Reading: Additional recommended readings will be identified in class.

Assessment

There are three pieces of assessment for the course. These are as follows:

2 Hour in Class Test	30% of the final grade	Friday 8 June
5000 word Research Essay	40% of the final grade	Friday 19 October
2 Hour Final Exam Closed Book	30% of the final grade	Date to be advised

In in-class test is designed to test your understanding of the materials covered in the first semester. It is closed book.

The research essay is designed to give you a chance to show your understanding of the concepts and ideas discussed in the course and to apply these to a question or issue. You can come up with your own topic for the paper, but you should consult with the course coordinators in doing so.

The final exam is designed to test your familiarity with the materials covered in the second part of the course. It is closed book.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- Sit the class test
- Sit the final exam

Statement on legibility

Students are expected to write clearly. Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:

- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply;
- the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply;
- if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet

- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcacademic.

Schedule of Classes: Trimester Two

1. Friday 20th March – Introduction: The State of the Pacific and the Pacific State

In this session, we will take a broad view across the Pacific Islands at the different kinds of states, their distinct linkages with the outside world and the varying central political issues in each. The second part of the session will be devoted to setting up a schedule for research essay presentations for the rest of the semester.

2. Friday 27th July – Colonisation, De-colonisation and the Post-colonial Order

Decolonization has one clear and unambiguous meaning in the history of the international system of states since World War II. It refers to the withdrawal of the colonial powers from direct legal and constitutional control over their territories. The process by which the modern states system of Africa, South-East Asia and the Pacific Islands came into being is "decolonization" as envisaged by the United Nations in the 1960 decolonization resolutions, which were passed at the height of international enthusiasm for the dismantling of the colonial empires. If we adopt this straightforward definition of decolonization in the Pacific Islands we start with the independence gained by Western Samoa from New Zealand in 1962, proceed to recount the withdrawal of the Netherlands, Britain, Australia and New Zealand from their dependencies in the region up to 1980, move to the decolonization of American Micronesia and end with the achievement of independence by the Republic of Palau in October 1994. By this account, decolonization is the transfer of legal and constitutional power from colonial elites to the elites of newly formed sovereign states, with some limitations in the case of the five freely associated states. In the region as a whole the most obvious exceptions to this process are the three French territories.

Three forms of constitutional status now characterize the Pacific Islands region: sovereign independence, free association, and territorial status. If we include Hawai'i, Okinawa, West Papua and Rapa Nui, we may add a fourth status, namely, incorporation into another state. What are the differences between these statuses and what consequences do they have for Pacific Islanders? Were the political arrangements left by colonists responsible for post-colonial difficulties? What are the different electoral systems found in the Pacific? What form do political parties take in the region? To what extent do Pacific political systems reflect traditional approaches to politics?

Reading

Fraenkel, Jon. 'Oceania's Political Institutions and Transitions', State, Society & Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper, available
http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion_papers/2010_05_fraenkel.pdf

Levine, S & Roberts, N., 'The Constitutional Structures and Electoral Systems of Pacific Island States', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 43, (3), 2005, pp. 276-95.

Bertram, Geoff. 'Economy', in *The Pacific Islands; Environment & Society*, (ed) Moshe Rapaport, Bess Press, Honolulu, 1999

3. Friday 3 August – Conceptualizing Ethnicity in Oceania – Primordialism, Instrumentalism & Constructivism

Conflict in the Pacific Islands is often seen as driven by ethnic frictions, particularly in Fiji. The Solomon Islands conflict of 1998-2003 was also, at times, seen as pitting rival 'ethnic' groups from Malaita and Guadalcanal against each other. How accurate are these representations of conflict in Fiji and Solomon Islands? What about New Caledonia and Papua New Guinea? How useful are 'instrumentalist' theories that portray ethnic identities as tools used by unscrupulous elites to achieve hegemony or dominance? Do 'constructivist' theories offer a plausible alternative? How widespread or convincing are 'primordialist' theories? Is there an alternative perspective that acknowledges the strength of ethnic identifications, while simultaneously tracking their historical construction? Can there be *any* meaningful general theory of ethnicity?

Tarcisius Kabutaulaka 'Beyond Ethnicity: The Political Economy of the Guadalcanal Crisis in Solomon Islands', *State, Society & Governance in Melanesia*, Working Paper, 1, 2001, http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/working_papers/tarcisiusworkingpaper.htm.

Stephanie Lawson *Tradition versus Democracy in the South Pacific: Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Fraenkel, Jon *The Manipulation of Custom; From Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Victoria University Press, 2004, chapter 4.

Young, Crawford 'The Dialectics of Cultural Pluralism: Concept & Reality', in *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* (ed) Crawford Young, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993, p21-25 [Segment on 'instrumentalism', 'primordialism' and 'constructivism'].

Benjamin Reilly, 'Ethnic Conflict in Papua New Guinea,' *Asia-Pacific Viewpoint*, April 2008.

4. Friday 10th August – Papua New Guinea's 2012 Election – guest speaker Norm Kelly (Observer 2012 elections – PNG)

Follow the election reports on Radio Australia, *Pacific Beat*, Radio New Zealand International, Pacific Islands Report, the *Melbourne Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Investigations of past elections:

May, Ron (2006) "Papua New Guinea: disorderly democracy or dysfunctional state?", in D Rumley, VL Forbes and C Griffin (eds), *Australia's arc of instability: the political and cultural dynamics of regional security* (Dordrecht: Springer)

May, Ron 2008 "The 2007 election in Papua New Guinea", *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia*, Briefing Note, 7, pp1-6

- May, Ron. J, Wheen, Katherine and Haley, Nicole 2011 "Assessing the shift to limited preferential voting", in May, Ron. M, Anere, Ray, Haley, Nicole, and Wheen, Katherine., eds, *Election 2007: The shift to limited preferential voting in Papua New Guinea*, National Research Institute (PNG) and State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, Australian National University. Available <http://www.nri.org.pg/publications/>
- Okole, Henry (2005) "The 'fluid' party system of Papua New Guinea", *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 43 (3): 362-81
- Reilly, Benjamin (2002b) "Back to the future? The political consequences of electoral reform in Papua New Guinea", *Journal of Pacific History* 37 (2): 239-53
- Standish, Bill (2003) "Papua New Guinea's most turbulent election", *Catalyst* 33 (2): 130-48
- Standish, Bill (2006) "Limited preferential voting in Papua New Guinea: some early lessons", *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 21, (1), 195-211

5. Friday 17 August – Political Settlements in Fiji, New Caledonia & Elsewhere

A growing political science literature is devoted to analyzing 'political settlements' or 'elite settlements' as the critical precondition for stability and/or economic development. The 1943 'National Pact' in Lebanon, the Northern Ireland 1998 Good Friday arrangements and the Timor Leste independence constitution of 2002 sought to bring together formerly conflicting parties. In both Fiji and New Caledonia, power-sharing provisions have been deployed as methods of mitigating ethnic conflict. In Fiji, all parties with over 10% of seats are entitled to participate in cabinet. In New Caledonia, all parties with over 6 seats in Congress are entitled to join the government. Fiji's rules did not prove effective after 1999 and 2001, but the situation changed after the 2006 polls. In New Caledonia, multi-party cabinet provisions fared much better. In this session, we look at similarities and differences between the Fiji and New Caledonia provisions, and the experience of power-sharing institutions elsewhere in the world (South Africa, Lebanon, Belgium, Switzerland, Northern Ireland, Cyprus).

What is meant by a 'political settlement'? Are political settlements fundamental, as some claim, to making development possible? Why has Fiji failed to reach a lasting political settlement since independence? Has a political settlement yet been reached in New Caledonia? What has been the fate of power-sharing in different parts of the world? Why did power-sharing fail in Fiji but, at least to some degree, succeed in New Caledonia? What is the aim of power-sharing? Is power-sharing, as it has operated in Fiji, compatible with the Westminster system?

Fraenkel, J. 'Power-Sharing in Fiji & New Caledonia', (ed) Firth, S., *Globalisation, Governance and the Pacific Islands*, Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Studies in State and Society in the Pacific, No. 1, 2006. http://epress.anu.edu.au/ssgm/global_gov/pdf/ch17.pdf.

Green, Michael. 'Fiji's Short-lived Experiment in Executive Power-Sharing, May-December 2006', State, Society & Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper, 2. 2009.

6. Friday 24th August – The Strategic and Military Dimension of Pacific Politics

The Pacific Islands have held strategic value for external powers since the 19th century, and were a major battleground during World War II, which curbed Japanese power and gave the USA strategic control of the entire ocean. The Pacific Islands then served as sites for nuclear testing by the USA, the UK and France for half a century. At different times and in different places, nuclear devices were tested almost continuously from 1946 to 1996, leaving a legacy of radioactive contamination in some islands. The Americans continue to maintain a military presence at the Ronald Reagan Ballistic Missile Defense Test Site, and the American island of Guam is undergoing a major military build-up as 8,000 marines are moved there from Okinawa.

Among Pacific Island states, only PNG, Fiji and Tonga have military forces. Of these, the most important have been the Republic of Fiji Military Forces, which have grown from being a tiny force of 200 at independence into the institution that rules the country and overthrows democratically elected governments. Both the Fiji and Tongan military forces participate in UN and regional peacekeeping operations. In this session, we look both at the broader military context for the Pacific Island states, and at the domestic role played by military forces in PNG, Tonga and, in most detail, Fiji.

What has enabled Fiji, which has a population of less than one million, to build a relatively large, sophisticated and experienced military force? Why has that force escaped the control of the civilian authorities in Fiji? What has caused the succession of coups in Fiji? Does Fiji now have a 'coup culture'? What is the likely future role of the Fiji military forces in the political life of that country? What role did the PNG Defence Force play in the Bougainville war? What role does it now play domestically, especially in Southern Highlands province? What is the likely future role of the PNG Defence Force in the political life of PNG?

Fraenkel, Jon. 'The Fiji Coup of December 2006 – Who, What, Where and Why?', in *From Election to Coup in Fiji: The 2006 Campaign & its Aftermath*, (eds) Fraenkel, J., & Firth, S. Institute of Pacific Studies & Asia-Pacific Press, 2007, pp. 420-49.
<http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/addendum.pdf>.

Firth, Stewart and Jon Fraenkel. 'The Fiji military and ethno-nationalism: Analyzing the paradox', in (eds) Fraenkel, J., Firth, S. and Lal, B. eds, *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: a Coup to end All Coups?* ANU E Press, 2009 ANU E Press, 2009, pp. 117-37.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/coup_coup/pdf/ch06.pdf.

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK

7. Friday 14 September – Independence and Autonomy

In several of the Melanesian states, regional disparities have proved a festering source of grievances and conflict. In the atoll states, disparities between 'outer islands' and the metropolis and disputes over shipping services, out-migration and resource allocation have sometimes influenced the political agenda. On Bougainville, the presence of the Panguna

copper mine was the focus of a decade of low intensity civil warfare. In the Solomon Islands, relatively resource poor regions, such as those on Guadalcanal's 'Weather Coast' and North Malaita supplied the bulk of youths who participated in the militias that terrorized the country during 1998-2003. In other Pacific territories, the issue is independence, rather than autonomy. Many of the Pacific Islands remain closely associated or tightly integrated with neighbouring metropolitan powers. France retains colonies in New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis & Futuna. Indonesia retains control over West Papua, and Bougainville remains part of Papua New Guinea. West Papua and Bougainville have been the scenes of the fiercest conflicts in the Pacific over the last half century, resulting in thousands of fatalities. Independence movements remain powerful in French Polynesia and New Caledonia. In other parts of the Pacific, separations proved much more amicable. Tuvalu, for example, broke away without much distress from the former Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony in 1975. In some cases, self-governing countries have retained strong links with their former colonizers (Cook Islands, Niue, FSM, Marshall Islands, Palau, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas). In most Pacific cases, decolonisation has proved ultimately inevitable, but, where the former colonial power underpinned above average post-war living standards, free association was often the preferred formula.

In this session, we consider alternatives entailing secession or the break-up of states, as well as those alternatives which keep states together, but accept some degree of devolution of self-government.

What were the causes of the armed conflict in Bougainville, 1989-97? Are West Papua and Papua colonies of Indonesia? What are the prospects of the West Papuan independence movement? In territories such as French Polynesia, Wallis & Futuna, American Samoa, Tokelau, and Guam, as well as in the state of Hawai'i, a decisive majority of Islanders want to remain firmly tied to the metropolitan patron that is the source of relatively high standards of living. Has the high tide of decolonization passed in the Pacific? What part have regional disparities played in the recent history of Solomon Islands and PNG, and what methods of accommodating such differences have been devised?

Firth, S, 'Decolonization', in Robert Borofsky, ed., *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2000, pp. 314-332.

Regan, A. 'Causes and Course of the Bougainville Conflict' *Journal of Pacific History*, 33, (3), 1998, 269-85.

Resource Documents:

'Petition by the Indigenous People of Guadalcanal', 24 March 1988

Demands by the Bona Fide & Indigenous Peoples of Guadalcanal', Guadalcanal Provincial Assembly, 4 February 1999.

8. Friday 21 September – Political Parties and Presidential Systems

In the political science literature, political parties are frequently viewed as essential for functioning democracies. Yet in the Pacific region, parties frequently have marginal significance or do not exist at all. Politicians regularly cross the floor, and even Prime Ministers have been proved willing to dramatically switch allegiances to maintain their hold on office. Only in Fiji and New Caledonia, where ethnic cleavages figure strongly, have strongly party-centred systems emerged (although Vanuatu in the first decade after independence had a strongly party-centred system, and political parties have played a significant role in the Cook Islands and Samoa). In some countries, legislation has been specifically tailored to encourage the emergence of, or strengthening of, political parties. In this session, we ask whether it is realistic and/or desirable to engineer the emergence (or strengthening) of political parties. We also consider reforms aimed at reinforcing the position of governing parties and/or Prime Ministers, such as limits on party-hopping, grace periods during which 'no confidence' challenges cannot be mounted, and financial disincentives to independent candidates.

Presidential systems are usually highly majoritarian and in deeply divided societies generate the possibility of 'capture' by the largest communal group. But they may increase stability by reducing the incidence of 'no confidence' votes, a Westminster device that, in the context of weak parties, can have the effect producing a succession of short-term governments. Efforts to diminish 'no confidence' votes under Westminster systems may reduce the possibility of a mid-term change in government, and so raise the possibility of locking an unpopular government in office.

How important are political parties, and party systems, for the success of democracy? How important are they for the success of the Westminster system? Why are parties weak in much of the Pacific? What accounts for the absence in many Pacific countries of the 'enduring ideological cleavages necessary to facilitate the emergence of a stable party structure'? Why are they nevertheless strong in some countries such as Fiji or New Caledonia? How successful have attempts been to engineer Pacific political systems in order to produce strong parties? What does Jeffrey Steeves mean by 'unbounded politics' and how does it differ from the politics of strong party systems?

Fraenkel, J., 'The Political Consequences of Pacific Island Electoral Laws', in (ed.) Rich, R., *Political Parties in the Pacific Islands*, Pandanus, 2006. also available http://rspas.anu.edu.au/papers/melanesia/discussion_papers/05_08_dp_fraenkel.pdf

Steeves, J 'Unbounded Politics in the Solomon Islands: Leadership and Party Alignments', *Pacific Studies*, 19, 1, 1996, pp. 115-38. http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/sol_adobe_documents/usp%20only/Pacific%20law/Steeves2.pdf

9. Friday 28 September – Women's Representation in the Pacific Islands

The Pacific Island states have the lowest level of women in parliament in the world. Only 4.1% of members of Pacific parliaments are women, well below the world average of 16%. Levels of women's participation in parliaments also vary markedly across the region. The

New Caledonia and French Polynesia territories have been able to attain higher than average levels of women's representation, owing to their usage of list proportional representation systems and because of their adoption of a 'Law on Parity'. Elsewhere, the picture is much bleaker. Nauru, Palau, Federated States of Micronesia, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu are among the very few countries in the world to have zero women in their parliaments. Papua New Guinea, Tonga and the Marshall Islands each have only one female MP, and Cook Islands, Kiribati and Vanuatu have only two. Gender inequality in Pacific parliaments is often not simply a reflection of women's performance in education or their position in the top echelons of the civil service. Often, women have been advancing strongly in these areas over recent decades. Yet elected assemblies remain largely male-controlled affairs, owing to institutional, political, cultural and socio-economic factors. This session considers the role of the electoral system in generating gender inequality in Pacific legislative assemblies, and the potential for electoral reform to increase the number of women MPs.

Why are women so poorly represented in Pacific legislatures? Is this situation changing or likely to be a long-run phenomenon? What can be done to increase women's representation in Pacific parliaments? How has the French law on parity impacted on women's representation in territorial assemblies in New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis & Futuna? Would similar legislation work effectively for the independent Pacific island states? What are the merits and disadvantages of 'reserved seats' for women' (as in Bougainville) or, as attempted recently in PNG having a number of women appointed by the government of the day? Why are numbers of women at the top echelons of the public service generally greater than the number of women MPs?

Jon Fraenkel, 'The Impact of Electoral Systems on Women's Representation in Pacific Parliaments', Report for the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, April 2006.

http://www.forumsec.org/resources/uploads/attachments/documents/REPORT_2_A_Woman's_Place_is_in_the_House_-_the_House_of_Parliament-51.pdf.

10. Friday 5 October – Intervention and State-Building

The threat of global terrorism changed the strategic context of Australia's policy towards the Pacific Islands. After 9/11, the United States and other Western powers saw Afghanistan as a 'failed state' where an absence of effective government had allowed al-Qaeda to flourish. Policymakers in Canberra began to discern a link between state failure and terrorism, to see fragile states in Australia's own region as threats to national security, and to describe Solomon Islands as just such a state. From 2003 Australia's regional security policy, at least as far as nearby small island states were concerned, was embedded in a discourse of 'failed states' and characterised by a new activism. Governments justify intervention as both humanitarian and cooperative: aimed at restoring law and order for the sake of human security; and agreed to beforehand by sovereign Island governments seeking foreign assistance. Some have characterized the Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) as a technocratic exercise in building a state in a country where no

'proper' state previously existed. Others have claimed that RAMSI should better be viewed as a 'political project that seeks to transform the social and political relations within the Solomon Islands' but nevertheless describe RAMSI as 'a form of emergency rule' (Hameiri 2009: 35). Still others, including the World Bank, have urged 'shared sovereignty' as an inevitable feature of the New World Order.

Why has state-building in fragile states assumed such importance in the foreign policies of Western states, including Australia? Why did Australia initiate a regional intervention in Solomon Islands in 2003? Has that the regional assistance mission succeeded, or is Shahar Hameiri right in arguing that interventions to rescue failed states are deeply contested exercises of political power and resistance, and that they cannot create good governance? Is Dinnen right in focusing on the practical difficulties of state building, and pointing to what he calls 'the very real dilemma of how donors can engage in state building in fragile environments without simultaneously 'crowding out' or marginalising local actors who ultimately will have to take responsibility for running the state.'? Although there is much focus on donor influences over Pacific states, what about those other influences, such as foreign-controlled resource extractive industries? How do these influence the orientation of local elites and so shape the states of the region?

Matthew, Allen, and Sinclair Dinnen, 'The North down under: antinomies of conflict and intervention in Solomon Islands', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 2010, 10(3), 299–327.

Hameiri, S. 'State Building or Crisis Management? A Critical Analysis of the Social and Politics Implications of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands', *Third World Quarterly*, 30, (1), 2009.

11. Two hour final examination (date to be advised)
