



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME POLS 355: SPECIAL TOPIC: THE POLITICS OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS 20 POINTS

TRIMESTER 2 2015

Important dates

Trimester dates: 13 July to 15 November 2015

Teaching dates: 13 July to 16 October 2015

Mid-trimester break: 24 August to 6 September 2015

Study period: 19–23 October 2015

Examination/Assessment Period: 23 October to 14 November 2015

Note: students who enrol in courses with examinations must be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the scheduled examination period.

Withdrawal dates: Refer to www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/withdrawals-refunds. If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test or examination, refer to www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats.

Class times and locations

Lectures: Wednesdays 11.00am – 12.50pm

Venue: Hugh Mackenzie – HMLT001

Tutorials: Tuesdays 3.10 – 4.00pm (no tutorial in week 1)

Venue: Hugh Mackenzie LT 103

Names and contact details

Course Coordinator: Jon Fraenkel

Room No: Murphy 515

Email: jon.fraenkel@vuw.ac.nz

Office hours: Wednesdays 1.00 - 3.00pm

Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding. Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and seminar programme will be advised by email, announced in lectures, and posted on the course Blackboard site.

Prescription

This course examines the politics of the Pacific Island states, covering the area from Papua New Guinea in the west to Rapa Nui in the east. Among other topics, we look at the coups in Fiji, at intervention in the Solomon Islands and political reform in Tonga and Samoa.

Course content

This course examines the post-colonial politics of the Pacific Island states. It is particularly concerned (i) with the analysis of conflict and political responses to conflict and (ii) with the analysis of intervention and state-building. It draws on debates amongst political scientists concerning the benefits of federal systems, Westminster-style parliamentary systems over presidential systems, 'special methods' for advancing women's representation, and mechanisms of constitutional design aimed at mitigating tensions or promoting 'moderation'. For some, these may appear remote issues, distant from the everyday concerns of Pacific peoples. Yet the major conflicts in the region since independence have focused on these core political choices; demands for greater autonomy or federation (Bougainville civil war 1987-98, the Solomon Islands conflict 1998-2003), independence or self-government (Vanuatu 1980, New Caledonia) or the role of indigenous rights as compared to those of settlers and/or their descendants (Fiji). Towards the northern Pacific, debates about the strength or desirability of presidential models or directly elected prime ministers continue to provoke major concern among political leaders (Marshall Islands, Nauru). Further south, debates centre on establishing the proper place for custom and tradition in the political framework (Samoa and Tonga).

Conflicts in Timor Leste, West Papua, Bougainville, Solomon Islands, Fiji and Tonga have encouraged claims of an 'arc of instability', 'failed states' and 'Africanization' in the Pacific region. In response, international intervention forces have been sent to Timor Leste and Solomon Islands, and - on a smaller scale and with different focus - to Papua New Guinea, Tonga and Nauru. After Somalia, Rwanda, Srebrenica and Kosovo in the 1990s, the international community, or parts of it, began to accept the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention, encapsulated in the principle of the 'responsibility to protect' that was endorsed by the UN World Summit in 2005. In the Pacific region, ambitious exercises in 'state-building' and in importing 'good governance' have been heralded as the antidote to weak states, corruption and 'ethnic politics'. Also within the islands, reformists have urged legal changes - such as Papua New Guinea's Organic Law on Political Parties and Candidates (OLIPPAC) - that aim to generate stability and 'good governance'. In Fiji, a military coup in December 2006 was inspired by ideas of 'good governance', multi-racialism and hostility to corruption. The course will examine these issues of state-building, military coups and political party reforms again drawing on some of the broader global approaches to these issues.

The course features lectures, video materials and usage of primary source materials. Most weeks cover (i) a thematic issue, usually a core political science problem, addressed in the Pacific context, and (ii) a case study. Although the course draws primarily on the work of political scientists, we also cover issues raised by legal specialists, anthropologists, historians and geographers, as well as focusing on practical issues facing Pacific governments and the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat.

Course learning objectives (CLOs)

Students passing the course should/will be able to:

1. indicate the diversity of political institutions amongst the Pacific Island states and territories, including electoral, constitutional and unitary/federal arrangements
2. analyse causes of conflict in the Pacific Islands, and assess the appropriateness of various institutional (and other) responses to conflict
3. evaluate different perspectives on core issues pertaining to the analysis of the Pacific Islands polities, for e.g. as regards claims of state 'failure', women's representation, and the 'proper' place for custom/tradition
4. apply different theoretical approaches to the analysis of specific contextual issues that arise within the Pacific region

Teaching format

The course will be taught by way of a weekly 1 hour and 50 minute lecture, but using an interactive format that breaks up segments of lecturing with in class dialogue, short in class test-type activities and discussions of video footage segments. There will be an additional tutorial on Tuesdays covering the themes of the previous week's lecture.

Mandatory course requirements

There are no mandatory course requirements other than students are required to achieve a 50% grade to pass the course.

Workload

In accordance with University Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 200 hours to the course throughout the trimester, approximately 13 hours a week across the trimester.

Assessment

Assessment items and workload per item	%	CLO(s)	Due date
1 Essay (1,500 words)	25%	1, 2, 4	Friday 21 August - 5:00pm
2 Research Essay proposal (1 page)	5%	2, 3, 4	Friday 11 September - 5:00pm
3 Research Essay (2,500-3,000 words)	30%	2, 3, 4	Friday 9 October - 5pm
4 Final Examination (3 hours)	40%	2, 3, 4	TBA

Submission and return of work

All written work must be submitted in hard copy to the PSIR school programme office, with a programme cover sheet attached. Essays and research essays must be simultaneously lodged through *Turnitin* on the course blackboard website. The hard copy that you submit will be used for marking purposes.

Essays and tests will be returned at times to be advised. If students fail to attend these times, they may collect their essay from the PSIR Office, between the hours of 2.00 and 3.00 pm from Monday to Friday and must show their Student ID card before collection.

Extensions and penalties

Extensions

Late submission of **assignments** will **not be accepted** unless the student makes an appointment with the course coordinator to explain the lateness before the assignment is due to be submitted. The circumstances under which an extension will be considered are outlined in section 3.2.1 of the Assessment Handbook.

(See: www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/staff-policy/assessment-handbook.pdf).

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of assignments – **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 10 weekdays late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but may not be marked.

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. Extensions on deadlines for written work will only be granted under exceptional circumstances.

Set texts

There is no single textbook for the course. Required Readings will be available on Blackboard. A list of tutorials and reading materials is attached.

Library and Online Materials

The Victoria University library carries an excellent collection of materials on Pacific Island politics. It also has materials on many of the core political science themes raised during the course. Online archive of news stories from across the Pacific can be found, dating back to 1998, on the Pacific Islands Report website (<http://archives.pireport.org/archive/search.htm>) and, from 2002, on the Radio New Zealand International website (<http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=archive>). A useful collection of legal material, including court judgments, can be found on the Paclawii website (see <http://www.paclii.org/>).

Class representative

The class representative provides a useful way to communicate feedback to the teaching staff during the course. A class representative will be selected in the first week of the course. Students may like to write the Class Rep's name and details in this box:

Class Rep name and contact details:

Student feedback

The 2013 class responded positively to the depth and variety in course materials, and the topicality of the themes covered. The interactive style of the lectures was also appreciated, as was the occasional use of video footage and the occasional presence of guest lecturers from, or with experience in, the Pacific region. The course was not taught in 2014.

Student feedback on University courses may be found at www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback_display.php.

Other important information

The information above is specific to this course. There is other important information that students must familiarise themselves with, including:

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/integrity-plagiarism
- Aegrotats: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/exams/aegrotats
- Academic Progress: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/academic-progress (including restrictions and non-engagement)
- Dates and deadlines: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/dates
- FHSS Student and Academic Services Office: www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin
- Grades: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/study/progress/grades
- Resolving academic issues: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications
- Special passes: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/dvc-academic/publications
- Statutes and policies including the Student Conduct Statute: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/strategy
- Student support: www.victoria.ac.nz/students/support
- Students with disabilities: www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/disability
- Student Charter: www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/student-charter
- Student Contract: www.victoria.ac.nz/study/apply-enrol/terms-conditions/student-contract
- Subject Librarians: <http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library-v2/find-your-subject-librarian>
- Turnitin: www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin
- University structure: www.victoria.ac.nz/about/governance/structure
- Victoria graduate profile: www.victoria.ac.nz/learning-teaching/learning-partnerships/graduate-profile
- VUWSA: www.vuwsa.org.nz

Session by Session Outline

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE (15th July)

Required reading:

Firth, Stewart 'Contemporary Politics of the Pacific Islands 2014'. Unpublished manuscript (on Blackboard)

Further 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

2. FROM COLONIAL RULE TO DE-COLONISATION IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (22nd July)

The colonial past in the Pacific Islands has been variously interpreted. The accepted European view in the 1920s and 1930s was that colonial rule brought immense benefits to Pacific Islanders. To replace endemic warfare with "law and order" was something that the average High Commissioner assumed was self-evidently a good thing. Missionaries had no doubt that to free villagers from their fear of the spirits and to open their hearts to Christ was desirable, just as planters believed they were improving the lot of the people by giving them a job on the plantations. In the 1960s, as Island territories moved towards independence, a contrary view became popular. By this account, which was simply the old view inverted, colonialism was a disaster for the Island peoples, destroying vigorous cultural traditions, imposing alien work disciplines, replacing traditional beliefs with a puritanical and oppressive Christianity, and incorporating the Islanders into

a global economic system in which they were inevitably marginalised and exploited. Both these interpretations had one thing in common: they put Europeans centre-stage, assuming that in Island history the colonising foreigners were the movers and shakers around whom everyone else revolved and to which everyone else reacted. The interpretation has now shifted again, this time to a more balanced appreciation of the place of the outsiders in the colonial history of the region.

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.

- What was the extent of colonial rule in the Pacific Islands? What different forms did it take? To what extent did the character of indigenous political organization – egalitarian, hierarchical, small-scale, large-scale – determine the character of colonial rule in the Pacific Islands? Should we think of colonial rule as subjection to outsiders, or as interaction between outsiders and Islanders? Did colonial administration create strong and effective states? Was colonial rule much the same across the Pacific Islands or did colonial powers administer their territories in fundamentally different ways?
- 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?

Required reading:

Stewart Firth Excerpt from 'Colonial Administration and the Invention of the Native', in *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, 1997

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

3. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE POST-COLONIAL PACIFIC STATES (29th July)

The post-colonial Pacific Island states vary as regards natural resource endowment, population size and economic potential. Towards the western Pacific, larger volcanic islands on the 'rim of fire' have considerable mineral resources, such as copper, gold and nickel. Towards the east and northern Pacific, nation-states tend to be tiny atolls or raised coral islands with few exportable land-based resources. Nevertheless, even the atoll micro-states have control over huge Exclusive Economic Zones, i.e. sea areas, and thus potentially capture substantial revenues from fishing license fees or undersea mining activity. Of the Pacific states, only Fiji and Papua New Guinea have substantial manufacturing sectors (though Fiji's sugar industry is in chronic decline). A liquid natural gas project in PNG's Southern Highlands has the potential to transform the largest of the

region's economies (with 7 million people PNG is larger than all of the rest of the independent Pacific Island states put together). In Micronesia and Polynesia, micro-states' formal sector economic activity often depends on a regular flow of remittances and/or aid from overseas, a phenomenon described as the MIRAB phenomenon by Geoff Bertram (MIRAB is an acronym that stands for migration, aid, remittances and bureaucracy). In Melanesia, balance of payments linkages with the outside world are less significant internally, and subsistence-oriented production still accounts for a large share of economic activity. Here, population growth-rates are much higher than in Polynesia, but most people live in rural areas. Weak state-control over logging and mining activity, and political corruption, have generated major domestic controversies and a threat of social rebellion in a region often romantically misleadingly described as a tranquil paradise. Oddly, GDP *per capita* is considerably lower in the resource-rich Melanesian states than in the resource-poor Polynesian and Micronesian states.

- Why are the resource-poor economies of Polynesia and Micronesia the richest in the region? What are the political repercussions of Melanesian-style reliance on large subsistence sectors, and extensive foreign natural resource extractive industries? How does this influence the shape of the state? Does Fiji have an alternative to reliance on the sugar industry, and can that industry survive after the end of European Union price subsidies? Do outwards migration and inward flows of remittances provide a sustainable economic option for the MIRAB states? How does aid influence the economic activity of the islands? Has aid 'failed the Pacific' (as Helen Hughes argues) or are there viable methods of aid-dependent economic growth and/or infrastructure development? How severe is poverty in the Pacific region, and what can be done to bring Pacific peoples out of poverty? Do demographic trends in Melanesia help to explain negative political developments, such as coups and elite attacks on democracy?

Required reading:

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

4. THE STATE OF THE PACIFIC AND THE PACIFIC STATE (5th August)

Since coups in the Solomon Islands and Fiji in 2000, many commentators have talked of the 'Africanisation' of the South Pacific, of an 'arc of instability' stretching from Aceh in the west to Fiji in the east and of the threat of 'failed states' in the region. In fact, contemporary developments differ starkly from those witnessed in many parts of Africa, and many parts of the Pacific remain extraordinarily stable. Some states have been seriously weakened by internal discord, but the crude 'failed state' depiction offers little by way of analysis of what went wrong and what can be done about it. A sense of balance is also needed. Aside from Fiji (& perhaps now Nauru), strong-arm regimes have nowhere emerged, the press and the judiciary usually remain more or less 'free' and elections and associated turnover of governments are a regular feature of Pacific political life. Nevertheless, some of the issues raised by political scientists analysing African polities are of interest for students of Pacific politics – particularly as regards distinctive styles of exercise of political power, forms of state authority, and the composition of rebel movements. For most Pacific countries, self-government came only 30 or so years ago, and both state and society remain in flux.

- *Are contemporary political crises in the region symptomatic of transitional problems or do they represent more intractable difficulties? What is 'state failure'? Have Pacific states 'failed'? Reilly identifies four defining characteristics of 'Africanisation': (i) 'growing tensions in the relationship between civil regimes and military forces'; (ii) 'intermixture between ethnic identity and the competition for control of natural resources'; (iii) 'the weakness of basic institutions of governance such as prime ministers, parliaments and, especially, political parties'; and (iv) 'increasing centrality of the state as a means of gaining wealth and accessing and exploiting*

resources'. To what extent do these highlight areas of useful comparison between the Pacific and African states? Are there any other issues of worthwhile comparison?

Required reading:

Reilly, B., 'The Africanisation of the Pacific', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 54, (3), 2000, pp. 261-68.

Fraenkel, J. 'The Coming Anarchy in Oceania? A Critique of the 'Africanisation of the South Pacific' Thesis', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 42, (1), 2004, pp. 1-34.

5. PACIFIC ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (12th August)

The Pacific Islands possess a diverse range of electoral systems and political institutions. With numerous tiny nations around the size of the ancient Greek city states, the Pacific has been described as a 'natural laboratory' for electoral systems analysis and experimentation. The region includes a constitutional monarchy (Tonga), a state where only customary chiefs or family heads (*matai*) may stand for parliament (Samoa), and a territory with a cabinet composed of three kings and three members appointed as representatives of the French President (Wallis and Futuna). It includes the only country in the world to adopt a ranked-candidate system of voting that is closely related to the system invented by 19th century French mathematician Jean-Charles de Borda (Nauru), one of the few remaining democracies that still uses the single-non-transferable-vote (Vanuatu) and a unique variant on the French-style two round system with multi-member districts and a directly elected president who is nevertheless required to maintain the confidence of parliament (Kiribati). The Pacific has countries which use the Anglo-American first-past-the-post (plurality in single member districts) and block vote (plurality in multimember districts), and others which use list system proportional representation methods of the sort common in Western Europe.

- In what ways do electoral systems in the Pacific differ from each other, and from Australian systems? To what extent can electoral systems be used to engineer political outcomes such as 'moderation', 'compromise' or a lessening of political violence? What has been the influence of preferential voting systems on the type of coalitions forged after elections? What is meant by 'single-peaked' and 'non-single-peaked' preferences, and how can this methodology be used to analyze the results of Fiji's 1999, 2001 and 2006 elections? What is the relationship between Pacific political cultures and preferred electoral systems?

Required reading:

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

6. POLITICAL CLEAVAGES IN WESTERN MELANESIA – PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND SOLOMON ISLANDS (19th August)

Continuing our investigation of electoral engineering in the Pacific Islands, Papua New Guinea (PNG) has also embarked on an ambitious exercise in electoral reform. A limited preferential voting (LPV) system, similar to that used in Australia and Fiji, was introduced in 2002, and was first used in ten by-elections and then in the general election in 2007. In contrast to bipolar Fiji, PNG is a highly diverse country, with over 800 distinct linguistic groups. Under the former first-past-the-post system, candidates were regularly elected with less than 20% of the constituency vote. Reformers urged the introduction of LPV in the hope that this would increase winners' majorities, reduce the number of candidates and improve the chances of women MPs. Similar reasons have been advanced for recommending the introduction of a preferential voting system in neighbouring Solomon Islands. In this session, we review the PNG experience and ask whether the introduction

of preferential voting systems provides a useful option for other Melanesian societies. We also look at high MP turnover and regular government change in Western Melanesia, and consider why this occurs.

- In what sense is PNG a 'representative democracy'? How much has the switch from first-past-the-post to limited preferential voting contributed to democratic outcomes in PNG? Is limited preferential voting a useful system for highly fractionalized polities such as PNG or Solomon Islands? How important are the practical challenges of electoral democracy in PNG and Solomon Islands such as maintaining electoral rolls, conducting elections and counting the vote?

Required reading:

Ron May, 'Disorderly Democracy: Political Turbulence and Institutional Reform in Papua New Guinea', *State, Society & Governance in Melanesia Program Discussion Paper*, (3), 2003.
http://ips.cap.anu.edu.au/ssgm/papers/discussion_papers/MAYDisorderlyDemocracyPNG-03.pdf.

Further reading:

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

Video – 'The NEC at Wabag'

<MID-TRIMESTER BREAK>

7. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN PACIFIC POLITICS (9th September)

The Pacific Island state of Fiji has experienced three coups, two directly orchestrated by the military and a third ultimately defeated by the military. Initially, in 1987, the armed forces sided with ethno-nationalist indigenous Fijians in ousting a predominantly Fiji Indian-backed government. In 2000, another coup aimed at ousting a largely Fiji Indian backed government again secured some support from the army, but military commander Voreqe Bainimarama resisted the coup-plotters. In 2006, the military again seized power, but this time extolling objectives of 'multi-racialism', anti-corruption and 'good governance'. Other than Fiji, only Papua New Guinea and Tonga have military forces, although paramilitary groups have been responsible for unrest in both Vanuatu and Solomon Islands.

Required reading:

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.

Further reading:

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>.

8. THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND-LED INTERVENTION IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS (16th September)

The Solomon Islands, like PNG, is highly ethnically diverse, and resource-rich but income poor. It witnessed severe political disruption during 1998-2003 after an uprising by the Isatabu Freedom Movement on the island of Guadalcanal, and the emergence of a rival Malaitan-based grouping called the Malaita Eagle Forces. A coup in June 2000 brought formal sector economic activity to a virtual halt. A failed peace settlement in October 2000 precipitated a new phase of internecine conflict amongst Malaitan and Guadalcanal groups. The Solomon Islands contemporary political history provides some powerful lessons about the shifting character of “ethnic” identifications, and strongly influenced debates about “state failure” in the Pacific Islands region. In mid-2003, a Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) – led by Australia and New Zealand – arrived in the Solomon Islands. Most of the Gualale and Malaitan militants were arrested, and their weapons seized. RAMSI also embarked on efforts to fight corruption and strengthen the finance, police and judicial sectors in a manner often described as a “state-building” exercise. As a result, the Solomon Islands has been an important case study in a debate surrounding post-conflict peace-building and state-building that extends to Bosnia, Iraq and East Timor.

Required reading:

Dinnen, Sinclair. ‘The Solomon Islands Intervention and the Instabilities of the Post-Colonial State’, *Global Change, Peace and Security*, 20, (3), 2008, pp339-355

9. CHINA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (23rd September)

China’s expansion into the Pacific region over the past decade has been dramatic, and has provoked considerable debate in academic and policy-making circles. President Obama’s ‘pivot’ or ‘rebalancing’ towards the Asia-Pacific is often, rightly or wrongly, seen as an attempt to counter or ‘contain’ Chinese expansion. Yet while Chinese capital investment in the Pacific Islands (particularly Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Tonga) has been considerable, there is little sign of Chinese military or navy seeking a major strategic stake beyond the ‘second island chain’ that links Japan to Guam and West Papua. Chinese aid differs in many ways from that of conventional regional donors, such as New Zealand, Australia or the United States, and China has at times been reluctant to sign up to coordination arrangements such as the 2009 Cairns Compact. Soft loans, for example to Tonga to rebuild the Nuku’alofa business district, have raised concerns about potential re-payment difficulties. Chinese expansion into the Pacific is best seen as part of a much broader outreach to the developing world, including much larger investments in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This session will feature a guest lecture by Michael Powles, who has served as New Zealand’s ambassador to China and Indonesia, as well as serving as High Commissioner to Fiji. He has also served as Deputy Secretary of the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and then Ambassador to the United Nations. Michael Powles was convenor of a conference held in Apia, Samoa, in February 2015 on the topic of China’s role in the Pacific Islands.

Required reading:

Wesley-Smith, China’s Rise in Oceania: Issues and Perspectives’, *Pacific Affairs*, 86, (2), 2013.

Lowy Institute, Chinese aid in the Pacific, <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/chinese-aid-map/>.

Additional Reading:

Hannan, K & Firth, S 'Trading with the Dragon: Chinese Trade, Investment and Development Assistance in the Pacific Islands',

Firth, 'The New International Relations of the Pacific Islands', *Journal of Pacific History*,

10. DECOLONIZATION AND SMALL STATES: COOK ISLANDS, NIUE AND TOKELAU (30th September)

While most of the Pacific islands colonies obtained independence in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, some states opted to retain close links with former colonial powers. The former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands broke up into separate states, with the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia and Palau signing 'compacts of Free Association with the USA. French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Wallis & Futuna became French overseas territories, although New Caledonia acquired a special status in the French constitution in the wake of the 1998 Noumea Accord. This lecture focuses on those territories that remained close to New Zealand. In particular, it looks at the Cook Islands (which obtained a free association agreement with New Zealand in 1965), Niue (which obtained a free association agreement with New Zealand in 1974), and Tokelau (which rejected the idea of independence on two occasions and which remains a New Zealand overseas territory).

This lecture will be delivered by Professor Tony Angelo from the Law Department, and Caroline McDonald, a PhD student focussing on the free association agreements with the Political Science and International Relations department.

Required Readings:

Ian Parker, 'Birth of a nation? A Speck in the South Pacific Ponders Independence', *New Yorker*, May 1, 2006.

Henderson, J 'The Politics of Association: A Comparative Analysis of New Zealand and United States Approaches to Free Association with Pacific Island States', *Revue Juridique Polynésienne* 2(1), 2002

United Nations Charter – Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories

United Nations General Assembly – Resolution 1514 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

United Nations General Assembly – Resolution 1541 Principles which should guide Members in Determining Whether or Not an Obligation exists to transmit the Information called for under Article 73 of the Charter

11. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (7th October)

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'. 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?

Required reading:

Diane Zetlin, 'Women in parliaments in the Pacific region', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 49, (2), 2014

Kerryn Baker, 'Women's Representation and the Use of Reserved Seats in Bougainville', SSGM In Brief, 2014/2

Kerryn Baker, Roannie Ng Shiu and Jack Corbett, 'Women MPs in Samoa and Kiribati', SSGM In Brief 2013/11,

Additional reading:

Charlesworth, Hilary 'Are Women Peaceful? Reflections in the role of women in peacebuilding', *Feminist Legal Studies*, 16, 2008, 347-361. In Briefs Kerryn Baker, Jon Fraenkel, 'The Impact of Electoral Systems on Women's Representation in Pacific Parliaments', Report for the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, April 2006.

12. NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, 14th October

New Zealand's close connections with Pacific peoples are often seen as informing a distinctive regional foreign policy. Scholarly commentary on New Zealand's relationship with the 'other' Pacific Islands has regularly highlighted growing affinities, the perils of past aloofness and the urgency of coming to terms with the 'realities of being a Pacific island country' (Mary Boyd, 'New Zealand and the Other Pacific Islands'). Both literary and diplomatic emphasis on close connections between New Zealand and the 'other' Pacific Islands is not usually intended simply as a geographical statement of fact, but rather as a claim about growing cultural affinities or appropriate political relationships. New Zealand has always been, geographically, a group of Pacific Islands. Even when the British heritage was at its zenith, the country was never truly detached or aloof from the Pacific Islands, as is implied by Allen Curnow's poem 'The Unhistoric Story' which takes Vogel and Seddon to task for 'howling empire from an empty coast'. Themes nowadays used to extol the greater sensitivity of New Zealand towards Oceania, such as domestic government over a diverse

population including many Polynesians, were once used to justify colonial rule over the Cook Islands, Niue and Samoa. This lecture examines New Zealand foreign policy towards the Pacific island states, and challenges the romantic perspective that seeks to resolve actual and potential frictions through promotion of greater “connectedness”.

Required reading:

Jon Fraenkel, 'New Zealand and the Pacific Islands' - <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/pacific-islands-and-new-zealand/1>.

Greg Fry, 'Recapturing the Spirit of 1971: Towards a New Regional Settlement in the Pacific', SSGM Discussion paper, 2015.

Further reading:

Boyd, Mary. 'New Zealand and the other Pacific Islands.' In *The Oxford illustrated history of New Zealand*, edited by Keith Sinclair. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990, 295–322.