

**Submission to Senate inquiry on  
Australia's relationship with  
Papua New Guinea  
and other Pacific Island countries**

Nic MACLELLAN  
July 2002

The Secretary,  
Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee  
Room S1.57  
Department of the Senate  
Parliament House, Canberra

Dear Sir,

Please find attached my submission to the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee into  
"Australia's relations with Papua New Guinea and other Pacific Island Countries."

The submission is made in a personal capacity, and I would be available to speak at any public hearings  
that may be held as part of the inquiry.

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# Submission to Senate inquiry on Australia's relationship with Papua New Guinea and other Pacific Island countries

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## 1) Introduction

“Although it may be argued that there is a basic fund of goodwill towards this country [Australia] in many of the islands, we have to recognise that particularly in Fiji, persistent criticisms arise from a combination of factors: Australia's restrictive immigration policy (in the face of island over-population and limited employment opportunities, especially for educated islanders)...Australia's heavily and in most cases increasingly favourable balance of trade with the region; the association of individual Australians with racially discriminatory practices in the islands themselves. In all, there is a tendency to feel that Australia's attitudes to the islands are dominated by selfish concentration on its own interests in the region, principally commercial profit, and that Australia takes too little account of the wider interests in the welfare and progress of the Pacific community..

“While the South Pacific remained a collection of colonial dependencies, Australia's unforthcoming image may not have mattered a great deal in real terms. Relations with the island authorities could be conducted over the heads of islanders. With the constitutional developments of recent years, the situation has changed. The maintenance of our own place in the South Pacific now depends increasingly on the goodwill of island governments and their recognition that we are sincere in seeking to co-operate on the basis of respect and equality.”<sup>1</sup>

1.1 These words are quoted from an Australian Cabinet paper from 1971, released to the public in January 2002. The paper was presented to the Cabinet after the formation of the South Pacific Forum in 1971, as the Australian government attempted to come to terms with a newly assertive political leadership in Pacific island countries. The issues, however, are just as relevant today, and many Pacific islanders would agree that “Australia's attitudes to the islands are dominated by selfish concentration on its own interests in the region, principally commercial profit, and that Australia takes too little account of the wider interests in the welfare and progress of the Pacific community.”

1.2 There have been many examples where relations between Australia and its neighbours have not been built “on the basis of respect and equality.” In recent years, Australia's relations with neighbouring Pacific countries have been damaged by Australian policies on asylum seekers and refugees, climate change and global warming, sanctions on Fiji after the coup, and the provision of military aid and training for the conflict in Bougainville.

1.3 There are historic debts and legacies of colonialism that influence perceptions of Australia in the eyes of many islanders, and many questions about the costs as well as benefits of Australian trade and aid policies.

1.4 Australia's engagement with the Asia-Pacific region is influenced by the obvious impacts of geography and proximity – it's our region, and affects us directly. Australia plays an important role as a major power in the Pacific islands region, through trade, aid, defence, tourism and cultural relations. Australia is a member of many regional inter-governmental organisations and networks – yet most Australians are not aware of their activities, or engaged with them.

1.5 Australians are *in* the region, but are they *of* the region? Australia's strategic role in the region is not matched by broad public awareness of the contemporary Pacific. In place of the paternalism that

often informs the relationship, Australia has something to learn from neighbouring Pacific communities, on issues such as reconciliation and indigenous rights.

1.6 There are many reasons why Australian government agencies should focus more resources and attention in the Pacific islands, especially as many European and American agencies are pulling out or reducing their programs in the region. AusAID's bilateral and regional programs in the Pacific are not primarily aimed at a community level.

**Recommendation:**

**The Australian government should increase support to the non-government and community sector in the Pacific, which is seeking assistance from Australia.**

**There is also a need for overarching “whole of government” policy integration, so that short-term government cost-cutting does not damage Australia’s outreach in the Pacific.**

## **2) Developing long term strategies rather than crisis-driven responses**

2.1 Recent crises in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Timor and Solomon Islands have provoked a new bout of concern on the rise of “ethnic tension” in Melanesia, and media commentary about the “arc of instability” to the north of Australia. One leading journalist warns: “Melanesia is on fire and the flames will one day engulf Australia.”<sup>2</sup>

2.2 In the overseas aid sector, development priorities have been sharply affected by these crises. In recent years, the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) has reallocated tens of millions of dollars from long-term bilateral and regional programs, towards emergency relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction programs in Bougainville, Timor Lorosa’e and Solomon Islands. New crises await, such as the potential for greater conflict in Indonesian-controlled West Papua.

2.3 A response driven by perceptions of crisis in the Pacific will distort the response taken by Australia to regional developments. The overwhelming sense of crisis presented in much media coverage doesn't reflect either the diversity of the region, the dynamism of change, nor the fact that Pacific islanders are engaged in dealing with the social, environmental and political problems affecting the region.

2.4 When talking of “the Pacific”, there is often an underlying assumption that all Pacific societies are the same – but there is vast diversity of social, political and economic circumstances across the region. The current crisis in Solomon Islands has parallels in a few Pacific countries, but not many, and it is important to look at the unique and complex circumstances of each society (e.g. most Polynesian and Micronesian nations – with a strongly chiefly tradition, a monolingual society, and the safety valve of emigration - don't face the so-called “ethnic” conflict of multi-lingual Melanesian societies).

2.5 Many of the problems affecting the Pacific are global ones, not particular to the region: e.g. the HIV / AIDS pandemic; the problem of finding jobs for young people; environmental crises that affect development opportunities; the impact of trade, debt and privatisation policies on the national economy; reconciling the rights of indigenous peoples to their land and culture with the demands of capitalism and resource-hungry transnational corporations. Pacific islanders are struggling with the questions posed for everyone in this age of globalisation: How do we provide employment

opportunities for young people, at a time when there are significant changes in the economy, and governments shed jobs as part of restructuring based on trade liberalisation and the privatisation of government services? How can we deal with the sexual violence that has become a feature of contemporary culture, with sex tourism and abuse against women and children? How do we reconcile the cultures of the Pacific, the values of hospitality, family and spirituality, with the values and mores of the global Internet culture?

2.6 Crises come and go, and a sense of historical perspective is important. Remember the crises of the 1980s? Whatever happened to the Kanak uprising in New Caledonia, Libyans in the Pacific, Russian fishing deals with Kiribati, French nuclear testing, debates over the “nuclear allergy” and the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone treaty?

2.7 Pacific cultures have mechanisms for negotiation and reconciliation that are often untapped, and Pacific islanders, given time, have negotiated solutions to many of these problems. Since the violent conflict in New Caledonia between 1984-88, Kanaks, Caldoche and the French State have negotiated a peace accord that has held for over a decade and Kanak independence activists are now part of a coalition government. A decade after the 1987 coups, Fiji islanders managed to develop the 1997 Constitution with entrenched human rights provisions that put Australia’s to shame. After thousands of deaths, Bougainvilleans from different political tendencies have negotiated a settlement with a long period of autonomy leading to a vote on self-determination.

2.8 There are undoubted problems facing the region, but it’s not all gloom and doom. Australian government officials and media commentators often under-emphasise the capacity of islanders to respond to crises, as well as ignoring the contribution made by the policies of donor nations, including Australia, to creating and exacerbating the problem.

### **3) Building community awareness of Australia and the Pacific region**

3.1 Many Australian commentators reinforce the idea of Pacific nations as small, vulnerable states scattered across the vast Pacific Ocean. They highlight features such as:

- widely dispersed islands and distance from international markets;
- small domestic markets, ongoing aid dependence and the continued dominance of subsistence economies;
- vulnerability to natural disasters;
- rapid urbanisation and high population growth;
- continuing poor economic performance, particularly small or negative growth, and worsening balance of payments;
- strength of traditional cultural, influencing political and economic activity.

3.2 But in contrast to this image of “islands in a far sea” - isolated and impotent - Tongan author Epeli Hau’ofa has posed a different perspective. Hau’ofa celebrates “our sea of islands”, talking of a region unified by the Grand Ocean and common elements of island culture.<sup>3</sup> A sense of Pacific regionalism is not new, as Australia’s island neighbours seeking to transcend old colonial boundaries and re-create the historical trade and cultural links of pre-colonial islanders. The perception that all island states are low-growth backwaters is not reflected in economic statistics throughout the 1990s.<sup>4</sup> There is a strong sense of regionalism in the islands, and a belief that lines drawn on the map in colonial times do not reflect the unity of the region.

3.3 Through media exposure, travel and education in Australian institutions, many elite Pacific islanders have a better knowledge of Australia than comparable Australians have of the contemporary

Pacific. For older generations of Australians, there was an “organic knowledge” of the Pacific and varied interaction between Australia and the islands. Australia was a colonial power in the region, and there were extensive links through the missions, through the colonial administration, and through military service during World War Two.

3.4 Apart from the hundreds of Australian volunteers who work at community level in the Pacific, most people of today’s generation only know the islands through the prism of tourism, or media images of the crises that wrack the region. The dominant headline cliché is either ‘paradise’ or ‘paradise lost’ – tourist brochures provide the image of sunlit beaches and smiling faces, while the media focuses on crises like the coups in Fiji, human rights violations in West Papua or environmental disasters like the Rabaul volcano or Aitape tidal wave. Rarely do people from outside the region get a good sense of the daily life of islanders, as they live, work and enjoy life with friends and family. Media commentary persists in referring to the region as Australia’s “backyard” or “doorstep” – an unfortunate image that ignores the need for good neighbourly relations.<sup>5</sup>

3.5 A new generation of leaders have been at the forefront of recent events in the Pacific – and personal ties are eroding between Australia and this new generation. In the past, relations were governed by paternalism, if not racism: can we transcend that legacy of colonialism by working in an equal relationship?

3.6 In spite of fine work at the Australian National University (ANU) and other institutions, Australian academic expertise on the Pacific is thinning (there used to be four universities in Australia with Pacific history courses – now there is only one – and government cuts to higher education have seen significant reductions in the number of Pacific studies and anthropology courses). Today, most Australians do not have a good sense of history or geography of the Pacific region, in comparison to New Zealand, which has a large Pacific Islander community.

3.7 It may seem that history of the Pacific is not a priority, but the reconciliation debate in Australia has shown that a sense of history is important for charting new directions and can inform our understanding of contemporary problems.

3.8 In recent years, a range of government policies has adversely affected Australia’s reputation in the region. Elite opinion has often been alienated by patronising comment – such as that shown in the leaked AUSTEO document in 1997 - or the hectoring tone used in recent Pacific crises. While rejecting the criticism, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer acknowledges: “Commonly over the years, we have heard, throughout the countries of the South Pacific, references to Australia as the ‘big brother’ throwing its weight around the region and dominating the affairs of its smaller neighbours.”<sup>6</sup>

3.9 At times, Australian policy has isolated us from fellow members of the Pacific Islands Forum (e.g. on climate change and the transport of nuclear wastes through the region). After recent coups, there has been much talk about civil and political rights in the Pacific, but less on economic, social and cultural rights – the right to self-determination, the right to development, the right to a clean environment. At the time when “smart” sanctions were imposed on Fiji and aid workers withdrawn from Fiji and Solomon Islands, many islanders commented on Australia’s perceived lack of commitment when times get tough.

3.10 Key allies see Australia playing a central role in the Pacific, as noted in the 1997 white paper *In the National Interest*: “Australia’s international standing, especially in East Asia and North America and Europe, is influenced by perceptions of how well Australia fulfils a leadership role in the islands region.”<sup>7</sup>

3.11 New Zealand diplomat Nigel Moore has noted: “Countries in North America, Asia and Europe look to New Zealand and Australia for interpretation of what’s happening in the region. And when the Pacific goes through a tough patch - as it is now - they have more than a passing interest in how we plan to respond.”<sup>8</sup>

#### 4) Poor media coverage

4.1 It is scandalous that most media organisations in Australia – except the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) – do not allocate sufficient resources and staffing to report on the Pacific islands region.

4.2 With a few notable exceptions, Canberra-based reporters going to the annual Pacific Islands Forum are poorly briefed with little knowledge of the region. Apart from ABC media programs focussing on the region such as ‘Asia-Pacific’ or ‘Pacific Beat’ on Radio Australia, there is a dearth of regular reporting on island affairs. Only *The Australian* newspaper maintains a reporter solely dedicated to South Pacific affairs, and this journalist is a long-time resident of the country married to a Solomon Islander.

4.3 The overwhelming sense of crisis presented in much media coverage doesn’t reflect either the diversity of social, political and economic circumstances across the Pacific region, the dynamism of change, nor work being done by Pacific islanders to deal with the social, environmental and political problems affecting the region. Media commentary often under-emphasises the contribution made by the policies of donor nations, including Australia, to creating and exacerbating these problems.

4.4 The Howard government’s 1997-8 budget cuts to international broadcasting services – only now being reversed – are another source of the problem. Radio Australia (RA) and ABC Asia Pacific TV are widely used around the Pacific region, with RA reaching out to isolated rural communities. But the broadcasters have no domestic lobby to protect them from government razor gangs. In recent years, government cost-cutting has set back radio and TV broadcasting to the region. The Federal Government’s 2001 pledge of \$15 million a year for the next five years for the new international TV service ABC Asia Pacific is a welcome but insufficient contribution to rebuilding Australia’s international broadcasting capacity.

4.5 The 1997 closure of Radio Australia’s French language service (at a time when New Caledonia was moving towards a negotiated solution after the conflict of the 1980s) was a significant blow to growing links between Australia and one of it’s nearest neighbours. The government should increase funding to resume this important service.

#### **Recommendation:**

**The Australian government should expand funding for the ABC’s international broadcasting to the Pacific, especially the English language news and Tok Pisin services of Radio Australia, online Internet services and ABC Asia Pacific TV.**

## 5) Development assistance programs

5.1 The historic role played by Australia and New Zealand as the key aid donors to the independent island nations is fading. As Australia and New Zealand have reduced their overseas aid budgets in the last decade or shifted from untied to tied aid, other players have stepped into the breach, including Japan, China, Taiwan and the European Union.

5.2 Australia provides generous development assistance to Papua New Guinea and the Pacific islands, focussing on support for “governance and economic reform, education and training, health, environment and natural resource management and private sector development.”<sup>9</sup> In unadjusted figures, AusAID grants to the Pacific have increased from \$109.7 million in 1990-1 to \$165 million in 2002-03. A further \$351.4 million is allocated especially for Papua New Guinea in 2002-3. The Australian Government focuses much of its aid on implementation and policy at national level, with programs of institutional strengthening, especially of central government bureaucracies.

5.3 However this focus has meant a neglect of rural development and outreach to the provinces in some countries, and the impact of “policy reform” and structural adjustment programs has contributed to social and political crises in recent years.

5.4 Policy Management and Reform remains a central focus of AusAID programs in the Pacific. From \$4.6 million in 1995-6, the PMR budget has increased steadily – in the 2002 budget, \$20 million is allocated. But Australian policy towards structural adjustment in PNG and the Pacific islands has been sharply criticised by community groups in the Pacific, which are concerned about the social and cultural impacts of these “reform” policies.<sup>10</sup> A regional NGO meeting on globalisation, debt and trade in May 2001 noted: “These economic models and policies enrich a few people while impoverishing most others. There is growing evidence that current economic policies ‘operate above the heads’ of the people, marginalising many from the decision-making processes of governments, and particularly those shaping and directing our economy and its impact on our lives. All of these trends present major concerns for churches and non-government organisations.”<sup>11</sup>

5.5 Australian policy makers have underestimated the social costs of the current restructuring, but are reluctant to acknowledge the influence of past or present policy errors (it is a salutary lesson to reread old predictions from Canberra about how resource rich Melanesian countries would do well in a globalised economy, while small island states in Polynesia would suffer – a far cry from Canberra’s current lauding of Samoa and angst over Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea). There has been remarkably little self-criticism about how a generation of Australian consultants promoted the expansion of government bureaucracies in the Pacific, but are now touring the region saying big government is an impediment to development!

### **Recommendation:**

**As the Australian government has endorsed the importance of an ongoing “economic reform” program in the region, it is important for government agencies to address the social impacts of economic policies, especially as some Pacific government leaders – especially from the smaller island states - have expressed concern at the pace and social and cultural impacts of structural adjustment.**

5.6 Public sector reform has meant that programs are focussed on restructuring government and selling off public assets, without maintaining outreach programs in provincial and rural areas or addressing the basic needs of marginalised and outer island communities. Australian perceptions of mismanaged aid are matched by Pacific critiques of inappropriate projects and a “consultant culture” that distorts the potential benefits of overseas investment in development.<sup>12</sup> Public sector reform programs have meant local staff are sacked, while overseas advisors, consultants and volunteers are retained with outside funding.

5.7 AusAID has announced that reducing poverty will be the “central integrating factor of Australia’s aid program.”<sup>13</sup> It will be essential that AusAID ensures poverty eradication is central and integrated into all aspects of the PNG and Pacific islands program in coming years (especially as the previous *Pacific Islands Development Strategy 1999-2001* lists “better governance, stronger growth, greater capacity, better service delivery and environmental integrity” as the principal outcomes of the strategy, but not poverty reduction!).<sup>14</sup>

5.8 There is a misperception that there is little poverty in the region, even though the UNDP’s Human Poverty Index indicates that nearly 43 percent of the population of Pacific island countries are disadvantaged. Out of 162 countries listed with the UNDP Human Development Index in 2001, Papua New Guinea (ranked 122) is listed lower than Nicaragua, Botswana, Cambodia and Myanmar. Samoa is ranked beneath El Salvador and South Africa, Vanuatu beneath Vietnam, Indonesia and Honduras, while Solomon Islands are between Equatorial Guinea and Namibia.<sup>15</sup> This issue of poverty is a growing concern in the region and there are enormous development challenges facing small island developing states that are different to larger developing nations. As in other countries, women and young people are more disadvantaged in development opportunities.

5.9 There are a number of weaknesses with AusAID programs in the region:

- AusAID’s “contracting out” culture and the rotation of staff are weakening the personal connections that are so important in the region.
- One problem often highlighted by Pacific community groups is the rapid turnover of staff in AusAID and DFAT. Many Pacific islanders have stressed the issues of building relationships and spending time in-country to understand the complex dynamics of Pacific cultures.
- The focus on administrative and policy reform in central government bureaucracies has downplayed the need to focus on rural development programs, and creating economic, educational and employment options for young people in rural and outer island communities.
- There is a common – but unfounded - attitude in AusAID that NGO and community development initiatives don’t have a great deal of sustainability

**Recommendation:**

**Government agencies should allocate more time and resources for travel, to spend time to build face-to-face relationships with partners in the field. There should be increased programs to develop Pacific language skills for Australian embassy and high commission staff.**

## **6) Community mobilisation**

6.1 A crucial weakness in many Australian government programs is the dismissive attitude to the community sector in the Pacific, but many church and non-government organisations (NGOs) are long established and well respected, and play a crucial role in development, governance and national policy.



Some of the most dynamic and outspoken Pacific leaders are to be found in local churches, women's groups and NGOs.

6.2 Member agencies of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) have programs focussing on working at community level with non-government, community and church partners in health, education, welfare, agriculture, environment and other development sectors; support for women's organisations and programs targeted at children and young people; rural agriculture, energy and food security programs; support for health education and services, in tuberculosis, HIV / AIDS and other infectious diseases; programs of rehabilitation, reconstruction, trauma counselling and emergency response in post-conflict and post-disaster areas; funding of capacity building for NGOs, improving skills in management, accounting and leadership; support for regional NGO networking, training and information; trade union training; and much more.

6.3 There are a number of ways that Australian agencies could refocus attention on the Pacific islands region. Support for capacity building initiatives for their Pacific partners or affiliates, with grants for training, equipment, workshops etc, and the allocation resources for capacity building for agencies *within* Australia, to operate more effectively in the Pacific region.

**Recommendation:**

**The Australian government should increase its co-operation with the member agencies of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) which have programs in the Pacific islands focussing on working at community level with non-government, community and church partners.**

**Government agencies should extend collaboration with academics and students, to develop research and case studies with a Pacific islands focus.** The government should further resource specialist courses which focus on the Pacific region, such as ANU's State Society and Governance in Melanesia project, or Victoria University's community development course.

**The Australian government should increase funding support for NGO and community initiatives that facilitate and encourage people to people exchanges between Australia and its Pacific neighbours,** such as the Uniting Church's Young Ambassadors for Peace or Australian volunteer programs.

## **7) Increased action on HIV / AIDS**

7.1 A key area for development assistance is extending support for Pacific initiatives to address the HIV / AIDS pandemic. AIDS is a global crisis, and the Pacific islands are also affected. Should epidemics of similar magnitude to Africa and Asia occur in the Pacific Islands, it would be particularly devastating given that population sizes are small and a high proportion of the population is young.

7.2 The number of people with HIV in Papua New Guinea is expanding at a rate of about 30 percent a year, largely through heterosexual transmission, with a mainland epidemiological pattern that is different to isolated small island states. Many fear Papua New Guinea is heading for an outbreak of HIV like those seen in southern Africa, with all its attendant development consequences. Officials are predicting that the pandemic will greatly affect those who are the most productive contributors to the economy. Lack of accessible health services, information and condoms has meant serious health problems, especially in rural areas and outer islands.

**Recommendation:**

**It is vital that Australia continue to support regional government and NGO initiatives on HIV, AIDS and STDs, promoting multi-sectoral responses to the epidemic and addressing questions of policy on care, confidentiality, testing and anti-discrimination.**

**8) Governance and the changing Pacific State**

8.1 Many independent Pacific nations are still seeking to transcend the legacies of colonialism. Foreign Minister Alexander Downer has noted: “The poverty of the colonial inheritance has been felt in political or constitutional terms. All the Melanesian states have had to grapple with poorly laid out power-sharing arrangements between the centre and the provinces, as feelings of dispossession and of being denied a share of government resources have emerged in rural areas and outer islands.”<sup>16</sup>

8.2 Colonialism typically included a paternalistic and distant form of government, with a strong emphasis on centralisation and the state as a provider of services. In many areas of Melanesia, colonial powers sought to build administrative coherence over essentially stateless societies, comprising enormous heterogeneity of language and culture. Local participation was generally restricted to a small number of educated elites, active in tightly proscribed roles within the civil service. This often meant that the legacy of the colonial period includes radically new approaches to politics and social organisation, while also leaving local communities with limited experience and skills in managing and directing those systems.

8.3 Today, efforts to meld customary systems of governance with Western parliamentary and public service traditions are a focus of debate in most countries in the Pacific. There is extensive work being done to integrate customary systems and institutions of law and justice with Western judicial structures.<sup>17</sup> There is broad concern in the region that institutions of government inherited from colonial administrations are inappropriate in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

8.4 Since the early 1990s, this discussion about government in the Pacific has been influenced by the “good governance” agenda being promoted by multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB), and adopted enthusiastically by AusAID and DFAT.<sup>18</sup> The governance agenda has highlighted the need for institutional reform, especially of the public sector, with greater accountability and transparency by public authorities.

8.5 Concern over mal-administration of aid in the contemporary Pacific has some merit, especially as Australia is pumping tens of millions of aid dollars into the Pacific. But many critics ignore the constraints on island governments in meeting popular aspirations: a lack of a strong tax base; the failure of transnational corporations to pay adequate taxes and royalties for timber, marine and mineral resources; and a lack of creativity in altering bureaucratic cultures inherited from former colonial powers.

8.6 “Good governance” rhetoric has increasingly been criticised for failing to address the motives of the donor nations in prioritising aid projects that focus on institutional strengthening of central government bureaucracies in the Pacific. There has been growing concern of the social and cultural impacts arising from the neo-liberal economic orthodoxy that underlies programs of structural adjustment in the region. Critics have noted that the good governance agenda “is seen by some as a

way of explaining the disappointing lack of progress which emanates from basic flaws in the donors' policies; by others as a device for legitimating a reduction in aid volumes; as a means of disciplining states which fail to provide the capacity for the implementation of projects; and as a means of assuaging domestic discontent by those in donor states facing new austerity measures associated with economic restructuring."<sup>19</sup>

8.7 Australian programs on good governance have placed renewed emphasis on the role of civil society and "non-state actors" (churches, NGOs, private sector organisations, trade unions). But these programs have often failed to define the place of customary authorities and indigenous structures that are so important in the region. Some Pacific islanders have expressed concern that "the governance agenda may ironically lead to greater centralisation of government by de-emphasising the role of community-based [cultural] groupings and replacing them with 'artificial' non-governmental organisations which are closely linked to the government."<sup>20</sup>

8.8 The issues of indigenous rights and self-determination are an integral part of contemporary debate about governance in the region. Australian officials who talk a lot about democratic rights say remarkably little about the right to self-determination for colonised people in West Papua, Kanaky (New Caledonia), Te Ao Maohi (French Polynesia), Guahan (Guam) and other non-self-governing territories.

8.9 Current good governance programs are often based on Western models which downplay the significant rights entrenched in many Pacific Constitutions: Palau's Constitutional guarantees on land ownership, open access to government documents and bans on nuclear activity; the Bill of Rights in the 1997 Fiji Constitution, which entrenches the National Human Rights Commission and extensive anti-discrimination provisions (unlike Australia!); Papua New Guinea's commitment to women's rights. The challenge is to transform these aspirations into practice, promoting increased community governance and drawing on existing cultural strengths; promoting democracy between elections and bringing more women into senior levels of government.

8.10 There is also a tension between the Australian government's policy on good governance and its programs supporting the privatisation and corporatisation of public institutions and agencies in the Pacific.

8.11 One academic and policy adviser in Fiji has noted that "public sector reforms increase, rather than reduce the potential for corruption", due to the reduction of government oversight, arguing that in Fiji "economic reforms are reducing the regulatory links between elected ministers and public agencies and bodies. State quangos, for example, are gradually loosening their ties with the government. Indeed, the corporatisation process requires that this be the case. It is likely that quangos, boards and other public interest committees may become even less governable than they have been previously."<sup>21</sup>

## **9) Human Rights initiatives**

9.1 Addressing the crises in Fiji, Solomon Islands and Bougainville has meant reviewing the independence-era Constitutions. But a focus on constitutional change and civil and political rights downplays the larger question of addressing the underlying causes of conflict, often relating to issue of land, cultural identity, leadership and social and economic rights.

9.2 The question of indigenous and cultural rights remains a central concern in the region. The UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDDRIP) provides an important affirmation of human rights, with the right to self-determination expressed in Articles 3 and 31, including the right to identity, territory, land and resources.<sup>22</sup> Since 1997, the Australian government has suggested that

“self-management” rather than “self-determination” should be the focus of international attention for indigenous peoples.

9.3 Apart from Australia and Aotearoa / New Zealand, there is only one government Human Rights Commission in the Pacific, located in Fiji.

**Recommendation:**

**Australia should support the establishment of other such government commissions in the Pacific (especially in Papua New Guinea) as well as a regional Human Rights centre.**

**The Australian government should support and endorse the UNDDRIP, and assist the development of the Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues as a structure within the United Nations system to address these concerns.**

9.4 Community groups play an important role in promoting values, morals and citizenship (active not passive involvement in society, communal rather than individual responses, collectivity rather than the market as a solution). NGOs have an important role in creating the sentiment in Pacific communities that they should be governed well. But human rights agendas will only resonate in the region if they move beyond a focus on civil and political rights, to address broader collective rights and integration with economic, social and cultural rights (the right to development, to self-determination, to a clean environment).

## **10) Refugees and asylum seekers**

10.1 President Rene Harris’ June 2002 comment that the Pacific solution on refugees had become a “Pacific nightmare” reflects growing anger in the Pacific region that Australia’s refugee policy is based on self-interest, without concern for the dignity and development of neighbouring Pacific countries.

10.2 The Australian government has repeatedly said that the processing of asylum seekers in Nauru and Papua New Guinea is a temporary measure. But the government has budgeted \$430 million over the next four years for offshore processing in Pacific island countries.

10.3 In 2001-02, detention of asylum seekers on Nauru and Manus Island has cost taxpayers more than \$140 million, including \$72 million spent on establishing and running the two detention centres on Nauru, and \$42.5 million for the camp on Manus Island. Beyond this, \$26.5 million of “additional aid” has been allocated for Nauru in 2001-2003, to meet pledges made by then Defence Minister Peter Reith and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer.<sup>23</sup>

10.4 Senior government, church and community leaders have continued to express concern over the political, economic and social impacts of the detention of refugees in the Pacific.

10.5 The current Australian policy has exacerbated domestic political conflicts in neighbouring countries, contributing to the sacking of the PNG Foreign Minister and the electoral defeat of the long-serving Governor of Manus Province. In Nauru, senior public servants have been suspended for opposing the policy. There is growing concern over long-term economic management by the government led by President Rene Harris, leading to the resignation of Nauru’s Chief Secretary. The current Australian aid program for Nauru has been developed in an ad hoc and unsustainable manner, and long term planning is needed

10.6 The Australian government has not been transparent with the public in Australia and Nauru about the length of time to be taken for the processing and resettling refugees. Political pressure on the Nauruan government is likely to increase if Australia cannot quickly find resettlement places for those people who have been determined to be refugees.

10.7 There is growing concern in the region that Australia's "Pacific solution" is breaching the Constitutions of Nauru and Papua New Guinea. Both Constitutions prevent arbitrary detention from occurring, with explicit provisions providing for the right to a lawyer and for detainees to be brought before a court and charged with an offence requiring detention. These human rights have been denied to the detainees on Nauru and Manus Island.

10.8 The money spent on the so-called "Pacific solution" is badly misallocated. The focus on the 1,500 people affected by the "Pacific solution" masks the tens of thousands of internally displaced people and refugees in neighbouring Pacific countries such as Solomon Islands, Bougainville and West Papua.

**Recommendation:**

**The Australian government should close its detention camps in Nauru and Papua New Guinea, and develop new policy on asylum seekers in the Pacific region, based on humane and sustainable alternatives. This should involve increased support to address the situation of refugees and internally displaced people in the Pacific islands in West Papua, Bougainville, Solomon Islands and other countries; support for Pacific Island governments to sign and ratify the *1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees*, the *1967 Protocol* and other relevant human rights instruments, and to fully meet the relevant obligations; and a review of resettlement policies, with Australia to increase the numbers of refugees accepted each year.**

## 11) Addressing militarisation

11.1 "Stability and cohesion of neighbours" are major concerns for the Australian government, according to the 2000 *Defence Review*. At the Tarawa Pacific Islands Forum in October 2000, Prime Minister John Howard announced a long-term extension of the Pacific Patrol Boat program after 2002, costing A\$350 million over 25 years. The Patrol Boat Program has provided boats for maritime surveillance of island Exclusive Economic Zones.<sup>24</sup>

11.2 A worrying feature of some Pacific island nations is the militarisation of their military and police forces, and the culture that accepts the use of force by the State to resolve political and social conflict within the society. Military doctrines have now turned inwards, to deal with threats to the security of the State from resource and landowners, indigenous groups and movements for democratic rights. In a worrying development, a number of states have seen the intervention of military forces in the civil affairs of the society

11.3 In Papua New Guinea, PNGDF military troops have also been used in other civilian situations: e.g. the policing of industrial disputes; clashes with land and resource owners over mineral and timber projects; and crackdowns on criminal "raskol" gangs and unemployed youths. Governments in Papua New Guinea and Fiji have tried to develop Internal Security Acts to justify their control of such "rebellious" groups. The blurring of roles and responsibilities between military and unarmed constabulary police is a major concern.

11.4 As well as the direct effects of military operations, the culture of militarism can affect the values and ethos of a society. The role of troops in internal operations has indirect spillovers to other sectors of society (e.g. incidences of domestic violence against Papua New Guinea women by soldiers returning from the Bougainville war; the use of stolen military weapons in robberies in post-coup Fiji; the gun culture that has flourished in Solomon Islands amongst marginalised youth). Criminal behaviour by groups of young men has become a serious concern for local communities, and the militarisation of youth will pose increasing threats to the security of island states.

11.5 The Defence Co-operation Program became controversial through the 1990s with Australian supplied patrol boats and helicopters used for the blockade of Bougainville. Australian military aid to the PNGDF in the early 1990s contributed to the way that the Bougainville war poisoned the body politic in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands and has limited the ways in which Australians is perceived as an honest broker. In 2000, the Solomon Islands boat was co-opted by Malaitan militias against Guadalcanal villages.

11.6 In recent years, there has been a new focus on joint peacekeeping operations together with New Zealand and Pacific island forces, including: the South Pacific Peacekeeping Force in Bougainville (1994); the Truce Monitoring Group and Peace Monitoring Group in Bougainville (from 1997); INTERFET and UNTAET in Timor Lorosa'e (from 1999); and International Peace Monitoring Team in Solomon Islands (from 2000).

11.7 But Australian peace-building efforts should increase the involvement of local civil society organisations. The Townsville Peace Agreement, bankrolled by Australia and signed by government and militia representatives without civil society involvement, ignored many concerns raised by Solomon Islands NGO and church organisations (such as the need for a qualified amnesty, truth and reconciliation processes and no amnesty for sexual violence). The Solomon Islands is still living with the consequences of downplaying these local community initiatives.

11.8 The Australian government should increase its support to Pacific churches, NGOs and women's groups, which have been central in efforts for peace building, reconciliation and reconstruction after recent conflicts. A notable feature has been initiatives by women, which have challenged the "boys with guns" culture. Pacific women's groups have expressed concern that "peace" negotiations centre on the armed State and armed militias, without acknowledging the voices and concerns of wider civil society. The Bougainville Inter-Church Women's Forum was central to kick-starting peace negotiations in the mid-1990s after years of violence, while NGOs such as BOCBIHP and Leitana Neihan Women's Development Agency have worked to address the impact of the crisis on non-combatants. The Women's Peace Vigil in Fiji was initiated by the National Council of Women two days after the May 2000 coup, meeting daily in the Anglican Cathedral in Suva to provide a secure venue for dialogue and prayer, and support for the hostages taken in Parliament. In June 1999, women in Solomon Islands initiated a Reconciliation and Peace Committee, with work continuing today through the Women's Peace Initiative, involving members of the Federation of Women, the Family Support Centre and Women for Peace. The Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) and the SICA Peace Office have been central focal points for reconciliation and reconstruction efforts.

**Recommendation:**

**The impact of military aid and training needs ongoing monitoring, and defence aid should be allocated more to peacekeeping and peace building.**

**Australian peace-building efforts should increase the involvement of local civil society organisations. The Australian government should increase its support to Pacific churches, NGOs and women's groups, which have been central in efforts for peace building, reconciliation and reconstruction after recent conflicts.**

## **12) Indigenous rights in the Pacific**

12.1 Most indigenous peoples in the Pacific Islands are still linked to their communal land, indigenous belief systems, spirituality and custom law. There are common social principles that formed the basis of island culture throughout much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: a) service to chief, family or clan; b) strong commitment to customary land ownership by descent groups; c) reciprocal responsibility between leaders and commoners; and d) the uniting force of Christianity. Today, all these principles are under stress and challenge (or are abused by leaders), as the region addresses the impact of globalisation and trade, aid, debt and investment policies from overseas countries.

12.2 For indigenous peoples in the Pacific, land is at the centre of life: as a source of livelihood through subsistence activities; a source of power, authority and status through ownership; and above all as a source of security and identity. In pre-colonial times, land determined the social and political order in Pacific societies, and the recent alienation of customary landowners as a result of the process of modernisation has led to discontent. Issues of land ownership, usage and tenure are at the heart of many conflicts which are presented as racial or ethnic clashes in the Pacific, including the recent conflict in Solomon Islands, the coups in Fiji or ongoing self-determination struggles around the region.

12.3 Throughout much of the Pacific, customary landowners continue to resist the alienation of land, especially for large-scale development projects in mining, forestry, tourism and other industries. There is an ongoing need for training and support for land and resource owners: information from a rights-based perspective; legal support; and creating alternative development strategies to avoid reliance on funds from unsustainable practices such as clear-fell logging.

## **13) Self-determination**

13.1 Since 1994, Palau, Tonga, Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu and East Timor have become full members of the United Nations – more Pacific countries will join in the coming decades as they achieve political independence.

13.2 As we enter the second United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, there are still many colonised peoples in the Pacific asserting their right of self-determination in line with UN principles and practice on decolonisation.<sup>25</sup> Still other struggles involve indigenous peoples seeking self-determination within the boundaries of post-colonial independent states. In some cases, political parties or indigenous sovereignty movements are calling for greater autonomy within the nation state – in others, the demand is for full political independence. This issue affects many territories and administering powers in the Pacific, under different political and constitutional arrangements: New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna (France); Guam, American Samoa, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, and Hawai'i (USA); Tokelau (New Zealand); Pitcairn (United Kingdom); Rapanui / Easter Island (Chile); Timor Lorosa'e and West Papua (Indonesia); Torres Strait Islands (Australia); and Bougainville (Papua New Guinea).<sup>26</sup>

13.3 After the violent conflict in New Caledonia between 1984-88, the Australian government provided some development assistance to the Kanak movement and ACFOA members commenced some programs with Kanak NGOs, following a 1990 ACFOA delegation to the country.<sup>27</sup> But while private sector links between Australia and New Caledonia are flourishing, these community initiatives have faltered and NGO ties with the French territories are very limited. Funding for programs in non-self-governing territories is a major problem, as AusAID only allocates limited money for scholarships in the French territories.

**Recommendation:**

**The Australian government should place increased importance on a range of community links with New Caledonia and French Polynesia, and AusAID should increase its programs in the French Pacific territories. Radio Australia should be funded to resume its French language broadcasts to the region.**

## 14) West Papua

14.1 In the wake of Suharto's fall, the 1999 Timor crisis and growing tensions in Maluku and Aceh, there is increasing international concern over West Papua, as the crisis forces itself onto the regional and international agenda. West Papua will become a central issue for Australia's relations with Papua New Guinea and the Pacific in coming years, with the danger that a foreign policy and humanitarian disaster will be played out in the same manner and scale as for East Timor.

14.2 Many commentators view the current crisis in West Papua through the prism of Indonesian unity, ignoring historic ties that bind West Papuans to Melanesia and the Pacific islands. Current Australian government policy reaffirms the "territorial integrity" of Indonesia. However, the mood in the Pacific islands is that historically, culturally and geographically, West Papua has always been part of Melanesia and the wider Pacific region.

14.3 Even under Dutch administration, West Papuans were active in regional Pacific meetings and participated in the founding of key regional bodies, before Indonesia's take-over in the 1960s severed links with other island peoples. In 1950, Pacific island delegates came together in Suva, Fiji for the first South Pacific Conference. West Papuan leaders Marcus Kaisiepo and Nicolas Jouwe from the colony of Dutch New Guinea joined fellow Pacific Island delegates at this important regional meeting of the newly formed South Pacific Commission. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the meeting, the Australian Government's official commemorative booklet republished photographs from the time, showing Kaisiepo seated beside Ratu Sir Edward Cakobau of Fiji, Albert Henry of the Cook Islands and Prince Tu'ipelehake of the Kingdom of Tonga.<sup>28</sup>

14.4 In the 1960s, West Papuans were studying at the Fiji School of Medicine and the Pacific Theological College in Suva, Fiji. Pacific churches worked together to found the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) after the Malua Conference of Churches and Missions in Samoa in 1961. At this founding meeting, a church delegation came from Dutch New Guinea, with Reverend Kabel and Reverend Maloali of the Evangelical Christian Church joining fellow Christians from around the region to establish the regional ecumenical body. West Papuan exiles have played a vital role in Papua New Guinea - in government, the media, civil society organisations, UPNG and the education department - since they left their homeland in the late 1960s.



14.5 Today, these links are being recreated. Some Pacific island governments are providing increased support for West Papua's quest for independence. At the September 2000 UN Millennium Summit in New York, leaders from Nauru, Vanuatu and Tuvalu raised the West Papuan issue - the first countries to declare support for West Papuan independence at the United Nations. The Pacific Islands Forum has supported monitoring of human rights in West Papua, even as they acknowledge Indonesia's current political sovereignty.

14.6 At a time when Australia has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on the so-called "Pacific Solution", there are at least 6,000 West Papuan refugees and border crossers in Papua New Guinea, who have fled Indonesian military operations against the independence movement *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (OPM). West Papuans in Papua New Guinea often have difficulty in being recognised as refugees by the UN High Commission on Refugees and the PNG Government (due in part to a tradition of border crossing for indigenous communities that have land on both sides of a frontier that is simply a line drawn on the map). West Papuan refugees have sought rights to services, housing and education, after fleeing from West Papua in 1984 and being housed for years in camps along the border at Vanimo, Iowara (East Awin) and other locations.<sup>29</sup> A new wave of refugees and temporarily displaced people arrived in late 2000, as Indonesia increased military operations against the newly mobilised nationalist movement.

14.7 For more than twenty years, Australia was one of few countries to give *de jure* recognition to Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. But the Australian government proudly attended Independence Day celebrations in Dili on 20 May 2002, changing policy after years of massacres committed by the TNI and military-backed militias.

**Recommendation:**

**It is time for a major policy change on West Papua. The Australian government should support a UN review of the 1969 Act of Free Choice and a recognition of the right to self-determination for the people of West Papua, so we do not have to repeat the shocking events in Timor.**

## 15) Environment and development

15.1 There are extensive problems with transnational corporations manufacturing products in Australia and marketing them in the Pacific without appropriate controls on health or environmental impacts. One example is the marketing of herbicides and pesticides in Pacific countries that have been banned in Australia. Another is the sale of cigarettes made in Australia by TNCs but sold in Pacific countries like Solomon Islands and Kiribati in packaging without the health warnings that are required under Australian law.<sup>30</sup> The mining industry has a poor record of environmental controls in the Pacific, as shown with the pollution of the Fly River, the Ajikwa River and many more.

15.2 The proposal in May 2002 that Taiwanese corporations will ship thousands of tonnes of toxic and hazardous wastes to Makira in the Solomon Islands highlights the importance of the link between environment and development.

**Recommendation:**

**Australia should support regional initiatives to strengthen the 1985 Rarotonga Treaty for a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ) and the 1995 Waigani Convention on the Transboundary**

**Shipment of Radioactive and Hazardous Wastes, to halt other manifestations of toxic and radioactive pollution.**

**The government should speak out against the shipment of plutonium, MOX fuel and high-level nuclear wastes through Pacific fishing grounds and Exclusive Economic Zones by France, Britain and Japan, and increase support to the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP).**

15.3 Industrialised nations such as the United States and Australia have been trying to undermine international efforts to cut industrial emissions through the Kyoto Protocol – now ratified by the European Union. Although the Pacific Islands contribute the least to global greenhouse gas emissions (0.06% of the world's current emissions), they are among the most vulnerable to the effects of global warming. Climate change is not simply an issue of the environment, but of social justice and equity on a global scale. For the Pacific region and other small islands developing states, the issue of climate change and global warming is a fundamental development issue, affecting health, fisheries, infrastructure and other economic sectors.

15.4 Australia must make substantial cuts in their domestic greenhouse gas emissions if fragile and valuable Pacific ecosystems such as coral reefs are to remain healthy and productive. The issue of climate change is not about waiting for sufficient data to determine the extent of sea-level rise in coming decades. It is about addressing the already existing impacts of extreme weather events:

- Devastating droughts, linked to El Nino, have hit important export crops and caused serious water shortages in many Pacific countries including FSM, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Samoa and Tonga. In 1998, Australia spent more than A\$30 million supplying food aid to isolated areas in Papua New Guinea affected by drought.
- Changes in weather patterns have left many Pacific Island countries with substantial reductions in their seasonal tuna catches. Changes in tuna migratory patterns mean they can move in and out of a nation's jurisdiction by leaving the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone. This is important for Pacific jurisdictions that see tuna fisheries are a vital economic source (70% of the world's catch of some types of tuna, worth nearly \$2 billion annually, are caught in the Pacific).
- Fringing coral reefs are a major resource for many Pacific island communities – providing the environment for subsistence fishing (especially artisanal coastal fishing by women). The beautiful coral reefs of the Pacific are also a draw card for hundreds of thousands of tourists who visit the region each year – so damage to coral has massive economic implications for countries that rely on tourism as well as local indigenous communities. Globally, there has been an increase in the warming of ocean surface temperatures, and warmer temperatures have led to the bleaching of coral reefs.
- Warmer temperatures lead to increased incidence of malaria, even in the highlands of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, which previously were too cold for mosquitoes to survive. El Niño cycles have been linked to cholera - there have been outbreaks in recent years in the Federated States of Micronesia and Marshall Islands.
- Internal displacement of people has been related to the vulnerability of small island developing states to climactic and environmental disasters: taro blight in Samoa, volcanic eruptions in Rabaul, drought and hunger in the PNG Highlands.

15.5 Since its inception in 1991, Australia has funded the South Pacific Sea Level and Climate Monitoring Project has helped eleven Pacific Island countries to monitor and analyse climate and sea level changes through a network of sea level monitoring stations, satellite transmission networks and computer systems. But the refusal of the Australian government to seriously address greenhouse gas

emissions that impact on global warming and climate change will have a fundamental impact on indigenous peoples in the Pacific, potentially provoking migration and displacement.

**Recommendation:**

**Australia must make substantial cuts in their domestic greenhouse gas emissions if fragile and valuable Pacific ecosystems such as coral reefs are to remain healthy and productive. The Australian government should sign and ratify the Kyoto protocol on climate change.**

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> “Political Consultation in the South Pacific”, Submission No.47, Decision No.94, Cabinet Minute, Canberra, 20 April 1971, released by the National Archives of Australia, January 2002 (<http://www.naa.gov.au/>)
- <sup>2</sup> *The Australian's* foreign editor Greg Sheridan - “Danger on the doorstep”, *Weekend Australian*, 24-25 March 2001.
- <sup>3</sup> Epeli Hau’ofa: *A New Oceania – rediscovering our sea of islands* (SSED USP, Suva, 1993).
- <sup>4</sup> For a critique of the World Bank’s image of the Pacific islands as the “hole in the donut” of Pacific Rim growth, see Greg Fry: “Framing the Islands – knowledge and power in changing Australian images of ‘the South Pacific’” in *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 9 No.2, Fall 1997.
- <sup>5</sup> Nigel Moore makes the aside that you present your front yard as a tidy facade to the world, but the backyard is your turf, which is private and where you can store your mess and rubbish! Seminar at the State Society and Good Governance project, Australian National University, June 2001.
- <sup>6</sup> “Australia’s Strong Pacific Commitment”, op.cit., November 2000.
- <sup>7</sup> Commonwealth White Paper: *In the National Interest – Australia’s Foreign and trade policy* (Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1997).
- <sup>8</sup> Seminar at the State Society and Good Governance project, Australian National University, June 2001.
- <sup>9</sup> *Australia’s Overseas Aid Program 2001-2* – Statement by the Honourable Alexander Downer MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, 22 May 2001, p21.
- <sup>10</sup> See for example Clare Slatter: “Banking on the growth model? The World Bank and market policies in the Pacific” in ‘Atu Emberson-Bain (ed): *Sustainable development or malignant growth - perspectives of Pacific island women* (Marama, Suva, 1994). The term ‘new doomsdayism’ comes from Greg Fry: “Framing the Islands – knowledge and power in changing Australian images of ‘the South Pacific’” in *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 9 No.2, Fall 1997.
- <sup>11</sup> Regional consultation on Globalisation, op.cit.
- <sup>12</sup> For examples of opposition to expatriate consultants see Laisa Taga: “How truly regional are regional organisations?”, *Pacific Magazine*, March 2001, p4; “When a USP Book is not necessarily a Pacific book”, *Pacific Magazine*, May 2001, p4
- <sup>13</sup> AusAID: *Reducing poverty - the central integrating factor of Australia’s aid program* (AusAID, Canberra, 2001).
- <sup>14</sup> AusAID: *Pacific Islands Development Strategy 1999-2001* (AusAID, Canberra, 1999).
- <sup>15</sup> UNDP *Human Development Report 2001* – “Making new technologies work for human development”.
- <sup>16</sup> “Australia’s Strong Pacific Commitment”, op.cit, 2 November 2000.
- <sup>17</sup> Tess Newton Cain: “Convergence or clash? The recognition of customary law and practice in sentencing decisions of the courts of the Pacific Islands Region”, *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Vol.2 No.1, June 2001; Paul de Dekker and Jean-Yves Faberon: *Custom and the Law* (Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2001).
- <sup>18</sup> Peter Lamour: *Governance and good government – policy and implementation in the South Pacific* (NCDS, Canberra, 1995); Peter Lamour (ed): *Governance and reform in the South Pacific*, Pacific Policy Paper No.23 (NCDS Canberra, 1998).
- <sup>19</sup> Cluny McPherson and La’avaasa McPherson: “Where theory meets practice – the limits of the good governance program” in Elise Huffer and Asofou So’o (eds): *Governance in Samoa – pulega i Samoa* (Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2001). See also Barrie Macdonald: “‘Good’ governance and the Pacific Island states” in Peter Lamour (ed): *Governance and reform in the South Pacific*, Pacific Policy Paper No.23 (NCDS, Canberra, 1998).
- <sup>20</sup> For examples from Samoa, see Peggy Fairbairn Dunlop: “Women’s NGOs within the New Governance agenda – are they still based on alofa?” and Iata Iata: “The good governance agenda for civil society – implications for the fa’a Samoa” in Elise Huffer and Asofou So’o (eds): *Governance in Samoa – pulega i Samoa* (Asia Pacific Press, Canberra, 2001).
- <sup>21</sup> Satendra Prasad, “Tensions between economic reform and good governance in Fiji”, paper to AusAID workshop on Corruption and Accountability in the Pacific, November 1998 <<http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia/prasad.html>>
- <sup>22</sup> For the applicability of this draft declaration to the Pacific, see the *Report of the inaugural Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific Workshop on the UN Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Suva, Fiji, 1996* (Government of the Republic of Fiji / PCRC, Suva, 1997).
- <sup>23</sup> Oxfam Community Aid Abroad: *Adrift in the Pacific – the implications of Australia’s Pacific Refugee Solution* (OCAA, Melbourne, February 2002). Available on the web at <<http://www.caa.org.au/campaigns/refugees/pacificsolution/>>.
- <sup>24</sup> Anthony Bergin: *The Pacific Patrol Boat Project – a case study of Australian defence co-operation*, Australian Foreign Policy Publications, ANU, 1994.
- <sup>25</sup> A detailed study of the role of the UN Decolonisation Committee can be found in Carlyle Corbin: “What future for the United Nations’ decolonisation process?”, IWGIA *Indigenous Affairs*, No.1, January – March 2000.
- <sup>26</sup> For a history of Pacific colonisation, see K.R. Howe, R.C. Kiste and Brij Lal: *Tides of History – the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century* (Allen and Unwin, St. Leonards, 1994).
- <sup>27</sup> ACFOA: *From New Caledonia to Kanaky - report of a visit by Australian NGOs*, ACFOA Development Dossier No.26, August 1990.
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<sup>29</sup> Rex Rumakiek: “Human Rights violations in West Papua” in *No Te Parau Tia, No Te Parau Mau, No Te Tiamaraa* (PCRC, Suva, 2000) p40; John Otto Ondawame: “Self-determination in West Papua (Irian Jaya)”, *Indigenous Affairs*, No.1, Jan-March 2000.

<sup>30</sup> “Smoking kills, but no so much overseas”, *The Australian* 20 June 2001.