

**Ph.D Course**  
**CIPS/ SIS/JNU**

Course:	<b>PhD</b>
Course No:	Course Number: SA 667N
Course Title:	<b><u>Politics and Security of the Pacific Island Countries</u></b>
Course Type:	<b>Core Course</b>
Semester	<b>Monsoon</b>
Course Teacher & Contact Details:	<b>Name:</b> Dr. Shubhamitra Das, <b>Room No:</b> 331, SIS-II <b>Email:</b> <a href="mailto:shubhamitra70@gmail.com">shubhamitra70@gmail.com</a> <a href="mailto:shubhamitra@mail.jnu.ac.in">shubhamitra@mail.jnu.ac.in</a> <b>Tel No:</b> 9871385692
Credits:	<b>4</b>
Instruction Method	Lectures/Seminars <b>4 hours/week</b>
Course Duration	One Semester
Course Hours	4 Hours per week

**Course Statement**

Pacific Island Countries (PICs) or Oceania have been one of the last to become independent from the colonial rule. After UN declared decolonisation in 1960s, most of these countries became independent while some countries chose to be freely associated with their former colonisers. South PICs continued to hold a special position in the geopolitics of Indo-Pacific, which urges one to look deeply into the social, historical, political and economic background of these islands, their vulnerabilities, strengths and major security issues that is not just traditional but mostly Non-Traditional Security issues. Climate Change, illegal fishing, economic crisis making most of the islands aid dependent and with severe governance issues in the domestic front requires deeper insight. Looking at the growing issues of security and the rise of new style of regionalism among the SPICs is an interesting subject of study. Moreover, SPICs relation with Australia and New Zealand is a dichotomous one- both as partner and as patron. The impact of other players in the region like Japan, South Korea, US, UK, France, China and India makes the region both fragile and dynamic at the same time thus furthering the region's prominence in the international platform. The role of the Pacific Islands in the present Indo-Pacific politics is fast evolving and making the remote countries become political and diplomatically sought by the regional as well as the extra-regional players.

The PICs are diverse and complex in both security and governance issues. South Pacific

comprising of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia has become the focus in the recent past due to a) the increased strategic presence of bigger countries like US, China, Japan and recently India, b) the economic powers of ASEAN, its institutional strengths and its allies playing a crucial role for the South Pacific region, c) issues on human security since these countries are one of the first to be affected by climate change, waste management and also trans-border crime, d) internal conflict leading to instability in governance structures and limited resources and capacity for law enforcement and aid dependence on the one hand and the possibility of the region to be the latent hub for terrorist activities, drug-trafficking and piracy on the other, since the region has become the transit point for global trade routes. These multiple issues have created urgency in deciphering the perspectives and equations that require a re-look and re-designing of the foreign policies of the countries, regional groupings and multilateral ties for security and economic cooperation.

### **Course Objectives**

1. Understanding Colonialism and Post Colonialism in Small States
2. Assess Small Powers diplomacy and their geopolitical significance in the World Order
3. To evaluate the involvement of big powers' with the Microstates of the Pacific Ocean
4. Understand how human security becomes more pressing an issue than traditional security
5. Evaluate and understand the difference between small power regionalism and big or middle powers regionalism
6. Asses the strategic consequence of the economic/infrastructural vulnerabilities among the microstates to be the reason for insecurity to the regional powers

### **Learning Outcomes**

1. Explain the politics of Small Powers in the world power game
2. Helps in analysing the ways and means of major power involvement in the Pacific region since World War II
3. Helps in emphasising on human security and issues of survival and sustainability of the most vulnerable islands and their existential crises
4. Helps in increasing the critique on power politics and peace processes
5. Gives clarity on disaster management issues; adaptation, mitigation and resilience

### **Evaluation Methods**

Sessional work including term papers and its presentation in the class, book reviews and mid semester exam of 50 marks and End Semester Exam for 50 marks

Students will be required to maintain a high degree of academic integrity; i.e. abstaining from copying and plagiarism.

### **Course Outline:**

#### **Module I: History and Geopolitical Significance of Pacific Region**

- Process of Colonisation
- Methods of mainstreaming the remote Pacific Island Countries
- The geopolitical understanding of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia
- The reasons for geo-strategic and geo-economic issues gaining importance in the regional perspective

#### **Module II: Political Institutions of Pacific Region (Independent states)**

- Governance Patterns of Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands, New Caledonia
- Reasons for political turmoil and rebellion – history, society and politics
- Challenges faced due to poor governance- Corruption, crime, drug and women trafficking and violence against women
- Colonial governance and traditional governance patterns in all 14 Island States
- Politics of dependence and independence in the post-colonial era
- Internal governance mechanisms and foreign intervention and involvement

#### **Module III: Politics and Diplomacy of Small States**

- Small States Diplomacy
- Diplomacy of the Small or Micro States vis-à-vis great powers
- Dependence on Economic aid and its impact on diplomacy
- Trading partners of the Pacific Island countries; in the pre and post-Cold War era
- Diplomacy on Climate Change

#### **Module IV: Role of Australia and New Zealand in the Pacific Region**

- Geopolitical Significance of the Pacific Region to Australia's and New Zealand's foreign Policy
- History and politics of Australia and New Zealand- Colonisation and Post Colonisation

- Foreign Policy Making of Australia and New Zealand
- Relations of Australia and New Zealand with SPICs as partner and/or patron
- Australia's emphasis on Australasian security
- Australia, India, Japan and US Quadrilateral Group and its emphasis on PICs

#### **Module IV: Security Challenges of the Pacific Island Countries**

- Political dynamics in the region, the interplay of security and diplomacy by PICs, leaders in the region, cooperation, conflict and confrontation due to ethnic violence, political instability and foreign intervention
- Non-Traditional Security (NTS) and global challenges like climate change and its direct and first impact in the South Pacific, migration, sustainable tourism, urbanisation, natural disasters and environmental issues and Illegal Fishing
- Human security- Emphasis on Regionalism
- Gender mainstreaming for nation building and regional cooperation

#### **Module V: Regional Cooperation of the PICs**

- Regionalism in the Pacific- Emergence of the 'Pacific identity' in the region, enhancing the "Pacific Way"
- Blue Pacific – Methods for Regionalism and Diplomacy
- Pacific Community
- Role of Pacific Island Forum (PIF) in the promotion of regional cooperation through its sub-committees like FFA (Forum for Fisheries Agency etc)
- Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF)
- Regionalism and Pacific Agency at the United Nations Organisation (UNO)
- Trade Agreements like Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) and Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA)
- Regional cooperation on climate change like SPREP (South Pacific Regional Environmental Programme), SPICE (South Pacific Ocean Circulation and Climate Experiment)

#### **Module VI: Role of Resident and External Powers**

- US, France, UK
- Japan, China, South Korea, Indonesia
- Pacific Islands and India

#### **Module VII: Pacific Island Countries and Indo-Pacific**

- Indo-Pacific- Issues and Prospects for the PICs
- Understanding of Indo-Pacific Construct by the PICs
- PICs understanding of security and great power rivalry
- Pacific Islands regional diplomacy of Blue Pacific within the Quad's security agenda

## Readings

### Essential Reading

1. Azizian, Rouben and Cramer, Carleton (2015), "Regionalism, Security and Cooperation in Oceania" Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii
2. Baker, Richard.W, (1992) "International Relations in the South Pacific: New Visions and Voices", Honolulu: East-West Centre
3. Brady, Annie-Marie (ed), (2010), "Looking North, Looking South: China, Taiwan and the South Pacific", Singapore: World Scientific
4. Brij Lal, Kate Fortune (eds), (2000), "The Pacific Islands. An Encyclopedia", Honolulu, (Encyclopedia)
5. Cheeseman, Graeme and Grant, Bruce (ed.) (1996), "*Discourse to Danger and Dread Frontier: Australia's Defence and Security Thinking after the Cold War*", pp 157, Allen& Unwin and RSPAS, the ANU, Canberra
6. Cumberland, Kenneth Brailey, (1956), "South west Pacific: A geography of Australia, New Zealand and their Pacific island neighbourhoods" London, Methuen Publishers
7. Denoon, D., Firth, S, Linnekin. J, Meleseia, M, Nero, K (eds), (1997) "A Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders". Cambridge. (Pacific Islanders)
8. Doyle, Timothy and Rumley Dennies (2019), "The Rise and Return of the Indo-Pacific" Oxford University Press, UK, London
9. Dommen, Edward and Phillippe Hein (1985), "States, Microstates and islands", London, Dover N H: Croom Helm Publishers
10. Feeny, Simon (2009) "The Millenium Development Goals and Beyond: International Assistance to the Asia-Pacific", Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
11. Grastan, Hartlay.C (1963) "The South west Pacific to 1990: A modern History: Australia, New Zealand, the islands, Antarctica", Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
12. Hastings, Kristen and Fogolwig, Karen (2012), Climate Change and Human

Mobility: Global Challenges to the Social System”, Cambridge (England): New York, Cambridge University Press

13. Howe, K. R., Kiste, R., Lal, B (eds), (1994), “The Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century”, Honolulu 1994 (Tides)
14. Minahan, James (2012), “Ethnic Groups of South Asia and the Pacific: An Encyclopedia”, Santa Barbara Calif, ABC-CLIO
15. Osborne, Charles (ed) (1970), “Australia, New Zealand and South Pacific: A Handbook”, London Anthony Blond Publishers
16. Rees, Henry (1968) “Australasia: Australia, New Zealand, and Pacific Islands” London, MacDonal & Evans Publications
17. Robinson, Kenneth. W. (1960 & 62), “Australia, New Zealand and Southwest Pacific” London, University of London Press
18. Rouben Azizian and Carleton Cramer (ed), 2015 “Regionalism, Security and Cooperation in Oceania” Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies, Honolulu
19. Sheila Harden (Ed), (1985: 20) “Small is Dangerous: Microstates in a Macro World” A Report of a Study Group of The David Davis Memorial Institute of International Studies, Frances Printer (Publishers) London
20. Suzanne Lowe Gallen, (2015) “Micronesian Sub-Regional Diplomacy,” in Greg Fry, Sandra Tarte (ed) “The New Pacific Diplomacy, ANU Press, p 175-188
21. Shibuya, Eric and Rolfe, Jim, (2003), “Security in Oceania in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii
22. Wolfers, Edward (ed) (1976) “Australia’s Northern Neighbours: Independent or Dependent?” West Melbourne, vic: Thomas Nelson Publishers, Australia

#### Articles

1. Alan Dupont and William J Reckmeyer (Feb 2012) “Australian National Security Priorities: Addressing Strategic Risk in a Globalised World”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 66, No 1, 34-51
2. “Asia-Pacific Security”, *Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol 36, no 3-4, *Special Issue* 2008
3. Beeson, Mark, & Jayasuriya, Kanishka (2009) “The politics of Asian Engagement: Ideas, Institutions and Academics” *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol 55, No 3, 360-374
4. Benvenuti, Andrea and Jones, David Martin, (Fall 2011) “Myth and

- Misrepresentation in Australian Foreign Policy: Menzies and Engagement with Asia”, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol13, No 4, 57-78
5. Bruke, Anthony, (2010) “Questions of Community: Australian Identity and Asian Change”, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 45, No 1, March, 75-93
  6. Crawford James, “‘Dreamers of the Day’: Australia and the International Court of Justice”, *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Vol 14, 2013, 520-549
  7. Croissant, Aurel (2013) “Coups and post-coup politics in South-East Asia and the Pacific: conceptual and comparative perspectives” *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 67, No 3, P264-280
  8. Castles, Stephen and Vasta Ellie (2004), “*Australia’s Immigration Dilemma*” in Hollifield, James. F (ed), 2004, “Controlling Immigration” Second Edition, Stanford C.A, Stanford University Press, 1-24
  9. *Congressional Research Service* (July 6, 2007), Report for Congress, “The Southwest Pacific: US interests and China’s growing influence” 1-27
  10. Docker, John (1992) “Dilemmas of Identity: The desire for the other in colonial and post-colonial cultural history” *Working paper in Australian Studies*, Working paper no 74, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London
  11. Droessler, Holger “Whose Pacific? US Security Interests in American Samoa from the age of Empire to the Pacific Pivot” *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, Vol 4 No 1 Fall 2013
  12. Downer, Alexander, “Securing Australia’s interest- Australia’s Foreign Policy Priorities”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 59, No 1, 7-12, March 2005
  13. George, James and McGibbon, Rodd, (1998) “Dangerous Liaisons: Neoliberal Foreign Policy and Australia’s Regional Engagement, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 33, No 3, 399-420
  14. Greenwood, Gordon, (Jul1957) “Australia’s Triangular Foreign Policy”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35 Issue 4, 689-703.
  15. He, Baogang (2011) “The Awkwardness of Australia’s Engagement with Asia: The Dilemmas of Australian Idea of Regionalism” *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 12 (2), 267-285
  16. He, Baogang, (Dec 2012) “Symposium: Power Shift A Concert of Powers and Hybrid Regionalism in Asia” *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 47, No 4,

677-690

17. Herr, R. A. "Regionalism, Strategic Denial and South Pacific Security" *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 21, No. 4, Contemporary Issues [Part 2] (Oct, 1986), pp. 170-182
18. Ho, Elaine yee Lin and Shirley Geok Lin-Lim "The culture and Literature of Micro-states" *ARIEL A Review of International English Literature*, 32;1, Jan 2001
19. Japan - A Partner in Security? South Pacific States Oil, Terror, Political Spin", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 58, No 4, Dec 2004 (series)
20. Jayaraman, T.K "Efficacy of Fiscal and Monetary Policies in the South Pacific Island Countries: Some Empirical Evidence" *Indian Economic Journal*, Vol49, No1, July-Sept, 2001-2002, P63-72
21. Jayaraman, T.K "External Debt and Growth in Pacific Island countries", *Economics Internazionale*, Vol 61, No4, Nov 2008, P711-28
22. Jayaraman, T K, "Pacific Island Countries in a Globalised World: A Study of Macro Economic interdependence and Regional Integration", *ArthaVignana*, Vol52, No 4, Dec 2010, P283-305
23. Jha, Raghendra, "Vulnerability and Natural Disaster in Fiji, PNG, Vanuatu and the Kyrgyz Republic" *Indian Economic Journal*, Vol 55, No2, July-Sept 2007, P 61-75
24. Macintyre, Martha, "Informed Consent and Mining Projects: A view from Papua New Guinea", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol 80, No 1, Spring 2007
25. McDougall, Derek, "Australia and North-South Political Relations" *The Round Table*, Vol 100, No 415, 361-374, August 2011
26. McDougall, Derek, "Intervening" in neighbourhood: Comparing Australia's Role in East Timor and the South west Pacific, *International Journal*, Vol 62, No4, Autumn 2007, P867-85
27. Newbury, Colin (1993), "Patron and Clients in the Pacific: The Long View", *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol 28, No2, 256-77.
28. Pierce, Charles, "Changing Coastline at Mele Beach, Vanuatu" *Geography*, Vol84, No 363, April 1999, P143-63
29. Ritchie, Jonathan "Pacific Solutions? The Pacific Seasonal Worker Pilot Scheme as a Symbol of Australian Relations with the Pacific Islands" *Social Alternatives*, Vol28, No 4, 2009
30. Reilly, Ben, "Africanisation of the South Pacific" *Australian Journal of*

*International Affairs*, Vol 54, No 3, Nov 2000, P261-68

31. Rimmer, Peter J. (1993), "Japan's 'Bubble Economy' and the Pacific: The Case of the EIE Group" *Pacific Viewpoint*, Vol 34, No 1, 25-43
32. Scalapino, Robert A, "Asia-Pacific Security: The Current Balance of Power" *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 58, No 3, Sept 2004, P368-76
33. Turnbull, Jane "Explaining Complexities of Environmental Management in Developing Countries: Lessons from Fiji" *Geographic Journal*, Vol 170, No1, Mar 2004, P64-77
34. Ward, B D, "Single Currency for Pacific Island Countries: An SVAR Analysis, *International Economic*, Vol 59, No 1, Feb 2006, P 83-112

### *Additional Reading*

#### *Books*

1. Buszynski, Leszek (2004), "Asia-Pacific Security: Values and Identity" London; Routledge Curzon Publishers
2. Cox, Michel. Ikenberry, John G and Takashi Inoguchi (ed) (2000) "American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies and Impacts", Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press
3. Das, Shubhamitra, (2005), "Australia's Defence Policy and South-east Asia", National Book Organisation, New Delhi
4. Grynberg, Roman (2006) "WTO at the Margins: Small States and the Multilateral Trading System", Cambridge University Press
5. Harris, Stuart & Mark, Andrew (1997) "Asia-Pacific Security: The Economics-Politics Nexus" St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin in association with the Department of International Relations and the Northeast Asian Programmes; Research school of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU, Canberra ACT
6. Miller, T B (1983), "International Security in the Southeast Asian and South west Pacific region" St. Lucia, New York, University of Queensland Press
7. Sondhi, M L & Tyagi, K G (2001), "Asia-Pacific: Security, Globalisation and Development" New Delhi, Manas Publications
8. Stutter, Robert. G. (2008), "Chinese Foreign Relations: Power and Policy since the Cold War" Lanham Mc: Rowman & Littlefield
9. Taylor, Brenden (2010) "American Sanctions in the Asia-Pacific", London, New

York, Routledge

Articles

1. Alan Dupont and William J Reckmeyer (Feb 2012) “Australian National Security Priorities: Addressing Strategic Risk in a Globalised World”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 66, No 1, 34-51
2. Atkinson, Joel, “Big Trouble in Little China Town: Australia, Taiwan and the April 2006 Post-Election Riot in Solomon Islands”, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol 82, No 1, Spring 2009, P47-66
3. Ayson, Robert, “New Zealand and the Asia-Pacific Security: New Rationales for Engagements” *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol 22, No 2, Aug 2000, P389-406
4. Batra, Bikram Jeet, “Wicked Wizard of Oz: Australia, Moti and Solomon Islands, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol42, No 31, 4-10 August, 2007, P 3207-08
5. Beeson, Mark, & Jayasuriya, Kanishka (2009) “The politics of Asian Engagement: Ideas, Institutions and Academics” *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol 55, No 3, 360-374
6. Benvenuti, Andrea and Jones, David Martin, (Fall 2011) “Myth and Misrepresentation in Australian Foreign Policy: Menzies and Engagement with Asia”, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol13, No 4, 57-78
7. Bruke, Anthony, (2010) “Questions of Community: Australian Identity and Asian Change”, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 45, No 1, March, 75-93
8. Crawford James, “‘Dreamers of the Day’: Australia and the International Court of Justice”, *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Vol 14, 2013, 520-549
9. Castles, Stephen and Vasta Ellie (2004), “*Australia’s Immigration Dilemma*” in Hollifield, James. F (ed), 2004, “Controlling Immigration” Second Edition, Stanford C.A, Stanford University Press, 1-24
10. Gani, Azmat, “Services and Economic Growth in Pacific Island Countries”, *International Journal of Development Issues*, Vol 9, No2, 2010, P 113-30
11. Hilderbrand, Sophie Foster, “Current Developments in the Pacific: Veiqati, Vaka Viti and the Fiji Islands’ Elections in 1999” *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol 35, No 3, Dec 2000, P253-68

12. Japan- A Partner in Security? South Pacific States Oil, Terror, Political Spin”, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 58, No 4, Dec 2004 (series)
13. Jayaraman, T.K “Efficacy of Fiscal and Monetary Policies in the South Pacific Island Countries: Some Empirical Evidence” *Indian Economic Journal*, Vol49, No1, July-Sept, 2001-2002, P63-72
14. Jayaraman, T.K “External Debt and Growth in Pacific Island countries”, *Economics Internazionale*, Vol 61, No4, Nov 2008, P711-28
15. Jayaraman, T K, “Pacific Island Countries in a Globalised World: A Study of Macro Economic interdependence and Regional Integration”, *ArthaVignana*, Vol52, No 4, Dec 2010, P283-305
16. Jha, Raghavendra, “Vulnerability and Natural Disaster in Fiji, PNG, Vanuatu and the Kyrgyz Republic” *Indian Economic Journal*, Vol 55, No2, July-Sept 2007, P 61-75
17. Lal, Brij. V. “Anxiety, Uncertainty and Fear in our Land: Fiji’s Road to Military Coup, 2006”, *Round Table*, Vol 96, No389, April 2007, P135-53
18. Lozens, Peter “Oceania and Security: A Perspective from New Zealand”, *India Quarterly*, Vol 64, No1, Jan-Mar 2008, P154-70
19. Madfis, Josh, et.al. “Emerging Safe Spaces in Haiti and the Solomon Islands”, *Disasters*, Vol 34, No 3, July 2010, p 845-64
20. McDougall, Derek, “Intervening” in neighbourhood: Comparing Australia’s Role in East Timor and the South west Pacific, *International Journal*, Vol 62, No4, Autumn 2007, P867-85
21. McDougall, Derek, “Insecurity in Oceania: An Australian Perspective” *Round Table*, Vol 96, No391, Aug 2007, P 415-27
22. Maclellan, Nic, “Fiji, Iraq and Pacific Island Security”, *Peace and Class*, Vol48, No3, Jan-Mar 2007, P47-62 (Sage Publication, London)
23. Mc Leod, Abby, “Incomplete Arc: Analysing the Potential for Violent Conflict in the Republic of Vanuatu”, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol 80, No 1, Spring 2007, P67-86
24. Naidu, G. V. C. “Asia-Pacific Security: An Analysis of Trends”, *Strategic Analysis*, Vol 24, No 9, Dec 2000, P1725-43
25. Newbury, Colin (1993), “Patron and Clients in the Pacific: The Long View”, *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol 28, No2, 256-77.
26. Pierce, Charles, “Changing Coastline at Mele Beach, Vanuatu” *Geography*,

Vol84, No 363, April 1999, P143-63

27. Ramesh, Sanjay, "Constitutionalism and Governance in Fiji", *Round Table*, Vol 99, No 410, Oct 2010, P 491-502
28. Reilly, Ben, "Africanisation of the South Pacific" *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 54, No 3, Nov 2000, P261-68
29. Rimmer, Peter J. (1993), "Japan's 'Bubble Economy' and the Pacific: The Case of the EIE Group" *Pacific Viewpoint*, Vol 34, No 1, 25-43
30. Scalapino, Robert A, "Asia-Pacific Security: The Current Balance of Power" *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 58, No 3, Sept 2004, P368-76
31. Smyth, Rosaleen and others, "Big Brother? Australia's Image in the South Pacific", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 51, No 1, April 1997, P 37-52
32. Tacconi, Luca "Ecological Economic Approach to Forest and Biodiversity Conservation: The Case of Vanuatu", *World Development*, Vol 25, No 12, Dec 1997, P 1995-2008
33. Tow, William T, "America's Asia-Pacific Strategy is out of Kilter" *Current History*, Vol 107, No 701, Sept 2007, P281-87
34. Turnbull, Jane "Explaining Complexities of Environmental Management in Developing Countries: Lessons from Fiji" *Geographic Journal*, Vol 170, No1, Mar 2004, P64-77
35. Ward, B D, "Single Currency for Pacific Island Countries: An SVAR Analysis, *International Economic*, Vol 59, No 1, Feb 2006, P 83-112

#### UN Documents and Working Papers, Papers presented in Seminars, Web Sites

1. "Background Issues of Oil Supply Trading in Pacific Island Countries", Bangkok, Thailand: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, UN, New York, 1990
2. Bates, Stephen, (1990) "The South Pacific Island Countries and France: A study in Inter-state relations, Canberra, Department of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australia National University (Working Paper)
3. *Congressional Research Service* (July 6, 2007), Report for Congress, "The Southwest Pacific: US interests and China's growing influence" 1-27
4. *Congressional Research Service* (March 28, 2012) "Pivot to the Pacific? The Obama Administration's "Rebalancing" Towards Asia, *Issue Brief*. 2012, 1-29

5. CRS Report of Congress, "The South Pacific: US Interests and China's Growing Influence", July 6, 2007, <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34086.pdf>
6. Bull, Adrian; Craig-Smith, Stephen J. (1990). *Climatic Change and Its Possible Effects on Tourism Activities in the South West Pacific*. Lawes, Qld. Centre for Hospitality and Tourism Management, U. Queensland.
7. Carpenter, Richard A. (et al.) (1989). *How to Assess Environmental Impacts on Tropical Islands and Coastal Areas: South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) Training Manual*. Honolulu: East-West Center.
8. Climate Change and Food Security in Pacific Island Countries, Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, Rome 2008, <http://www.fao.org/climatechange/1700302529d2a5afee62cce0e70d2d38e1e273.pdf>
9. Cole, Rodney; Tambunlertchai, Somsak, (1993). *The Future of Asian-Pacific Economies: Pacific Islands at the Crossroads?* Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, ANU
10. Colonel Peter Brown, OBE, British Army, Australian Influence in the South Pacific, Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies at the Australian Defence College in 2012, Oct, 2012, Vice Chief of the Defence Force, [http://www.defence.gov.au/adc/docs/Publications2012/07\\_Brown%20SAP%20Final%20PDF.pdf](http://www.defence.gov.au/adc/docs/Publications2012/07_Brown%20SAP%20Final%20PDF.pdf)
11. Docker, John (1992) "Dilemmas of Identity: The desire for the other in colonial and post-colonial cultural history" *Working paper in Australian Studies*, Working paper no 74, Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London
12. Enhancing Cooperation in Trade and Investment between Pacific Island Countries and economies of East and Southeast Asia/ Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, New York, United Nations, 1997
13. Food Security in South Pacific Island Countries, Proceedings of a Workshop held in Sydney, Australia, December 12-13, 2000, CGPRT Centre, <http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/32711/1/mo010059.pdf>
14. Food Security and Climate Change in the Pacific: Rethinking the Options, Pacific Studies Series, Asian Development Bank, 2011, [http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Full\\_Report\\_2296.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Full_Report_2296.pdf)
15. Jayasuriya, Laksiri, (2006) "The Australian-Asian Connection: From Alfred Deakin

to John Howard”, *ASARC, Working Paper*, 1-32

16. Political Governance and Security Programme Strategic Plan, 2009-11, (Revised in 2010), Pacific Island Forum Secretariat: Excelling together for the People of Pacific, [http://www.forumsec.org/resources/uploads/attachments/documents/2009-2011\\_PSP\\_PGS.pdf](http://www.forumsec.org/resources/uploads/attachments/documents/2009-2011_PSP_PGS.pdf)
17. Security in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific: Challenges of the 1990s: International Conference on Peace and Security in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific: Meeting the Challenges in the 1990s, Held in Bangkok, Thailand, December 1-3, 1987, International Peace Academy, MartinusNijhoffPublisers published in 1989

18.