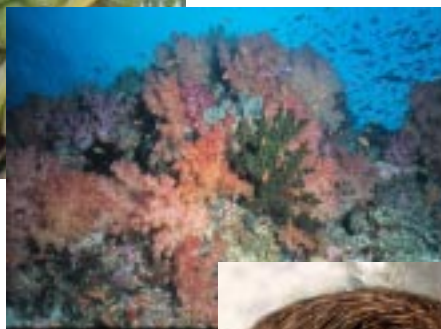


# PACIFIC ISLAND SECURITY MANAGEMENT BY NEW ZEALAND & AUSTRALIA: Towards a New Paradigm

Stephen Hoadley



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# Pacific Island Security Management by New Zealand and Australia: Towards a New Paradigm

## Working Paper 20/05

### Abstract

The hope and promise that accompanied Pacific island states emergence from colonialism have dissipated. Corrosive external influences and domestic mismanagement have combined to produce weak states, faltering economies, and fractured societies. Disputes and violence have followed.

New Zealand and Australia, along with the United States, France, and Japan, have accepted responsibility for the survival of the island states. These metropolitan governments are motivated not only by post-colonial obligation and sentiment but also by self-interest inasmuch as they recognise that regional stability and security are necessary for their own security and wellbeing. In benign times, aid for development, education, and training, and liberal trade and immigration policies, are the preferred instruments. But in times of strife, direct intervention has been necessary, notably in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Intervention was only narrowly avoided in Vanuatu and Fiji. Although lying in Southeast Asia rather than the Pacific island region, the case of peacekeeping deployment to East Timor is also apposite to this discussion.

This paper explores the causes, phases, courses and modes of interventions in the South Pacific Islands and in East Timor by New Zealand and Australia, draws lessons, and makes recommendations on future interventions. The paper concludes that New Zealand and Australia are fashioning a new, less tolerant paradigm of relations with South Pacific Governments, one that may legitimise interventions in the future that were unthinkable in the past. The new paradigm may resonate positively with post-9/11 thinking in many parts of the developed world, but will remain contested in the developing world.

### About the Author

Stephen Hoadley is Associate Professor of Political Studies at the University of Auckland and a Senior Fellow of the Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand. His interest in South Pacific affairs goes back to studies of New Zealand's aid and strategic denial policies in the 1970s. He has also studied Japanese and United States aid and China-Taiwan rivalries in the 1980s, and post-Cold War security issues and New Zealand's responses in the 1990s. He published *The South Pacific Affairs Handbook* in 1992 and *Micronesia's Fiscal Shortfalls and Reforms: Options for Donors* in 1998 and has written shorter articles, chapters, and conference papers on South Pacific security. His book *New Zealand and France* (New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 2005) reviews selected South Pacific disputes between the two countries, notably over New Caledonia and French nuclear testing. His email address is s.hoadley@auckland.ac.nz

### Comment from the Director, CSS:NZ

In recent years, the subject of security in the South Pacific has concerned strategic policymakers and political leaders in New Zealand and Australia. Given the turbulence in other parts of the world it is understandable that this subject does not necessarily attract much attention elsewhere. However the use of force to provide stability and reassurance in various quarters of Melanesia has caused a degree of discomfort, especially in some developing counties but also within parts of the region itself. In this Working Paper, Professor Hoadley provides a point of view and explanations of the motivations of the New Zealand and Australian Governments as they each grapple with difficult and complex circumstances of security. Some may take issue with his approach and his conclusions. Nonetheless it is important to stimulate a broad dialogue on this subject with the intention of improving the security and well-being for all in the region. Professor Hoadley's analysis and ideas are thus timely and welcome.

*Peter Cozens*  
*Director, Centre for Strategic Studies*

## Introduction

The purposes of this Working Paper are five: (1) to review some familiar issues in order to bring newcomers up to date on South Pacific security concerns; (2) to identify four phases of New Zealand and Australian security policies towards the island region, making the point that these policies are still evolving; (3) to outline three case studies of direct intervention, in Bougainville, Solomon Islands, and East Timor, to illuminate their sequences and features; (4) to draw out the lessons that New Zealand and Australia have learned from these interventions; and (5) to sketch a new paradigm of security relations with the Pacific island governments, one less tolerant than in the past, but one consonant with post-9/11 thinking in many parts of the developed world. The paper also touches on the concept of a 'failed state' and compares New Zealand's and Australia's perceptions of and reactions to that concept.

The author hopes to inform and clarify these issues for the general reader and also to suggest lines for future research by security policy scholars. He hopes also to indicate directions that future New Zealand and Australian regional security policy, and policy analysis, may take. Given the concise format prescribed for Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand Working Papers, country specialists may find the analysis cursory, the insights speculative, and the recommendations summary. The author attempts to provide context and depth by grounding his discussion on official, scholarly and journalistic analyses, including publications by the Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand, to reinforce his personal observations and to show where opinions and policy recommendations converge and diverge. These sources are cited in the Endnotes. And the author is indebted to two reviewers, whose useful observations he has incorporated into this revised Working Paper.

## The Pacific Island Region<sup>1</sup>

The Pacific is conventionally divided into Micronesian, Polynesian, and Melanesian sub-regions, reflecting the ethnic character of those islands north, southeast, and southwest of the Equator, respectively. Micronesia, in the north-central Pacific, is comprised of the independent but nearly bankrupt microstate of Nauru kept solvent only by Australian assistance, the freely associated states of Palau, Federated States of Micronesia, and Marshall Islands, and the United States flag territories of Guam and Northern Marianas. Through strategic, bureaucratic, and aid ties the United States government exerts the strongest influence on these entities, but Japan's economic influence, and the impact of migrant workers and investments from Taiwan, Philippines, and other parts of Asia, are growing.

Polynesia lies in a vast southeast Pacific triangle whose corners are defined by New Zealand, Hawaii, and Easter Island. It includes Kiribati, Tuvalu, Samoa (part of which is an American flag territory), Tonga, Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau, which tend to be oriented to New Zealand through treaties, diplomacy, migration, and aid links. Also lying in this sub-region are French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, which are generously subsidised overseas territories of France. All these entities are politically self-governing despite their ties with metropolitan powers.

Melanesia lies in the southwest Pacific. It stretches from giant Papua New Guinea bordering on Indonesia in the west through Solomon Islands and Vanuatu to Fiji in the east. Ethnically the Fijian islands are a mixture of Polynesian and Melanesian people but the government of Fiji has inclined towards Melanesian governments. Fiji is a member of the Spearhead Group. Founded two decades ago to decry residual neo-colonial practises in the island region, particularly by France, the Spearhead Group has moderated to become an economic caucus. In this region Australian influence predominates save in the French overseas territory of New Caledonia. The leaders of the Kanaks, the indigenous people of New Caledonia who seek independence for their island, are regularly invited to meetings of the Spearhead Group.

Regarding security of the three sub-regions, Polynesia is the least problematic. The islands are isolated, the population numbers small, the economies adequate, the churches popular, the social structures coherent, and the political systems more or less democratic and benign. Micronesia differs inasmuch as the population numbers are greater and consequently crowding, competition, and economic inequality have generated political turbulence. Demands for more autonomy and more aid from the United States are frequently raised. Smuggling of goods and people, petty crime, and corruption and fraud are growing problems. But the United States exercises its right of strategic denial vigorously and when necessary provides law enforcement services, so Micronesian security has not yet become a major worry.

By contrast, Melanesia is an area of current and growing concern. The bulk of the Pacific island population is found in Melanesia, particularly in Papua New Guinea. But Melanesian societies, to a much greater extent than Micronesian and Polynesian societies, are fractured not only between islands and districts but also between numerous ethnic and linguistic groups, original people and migrants, modern urban dwellers and subsistence rural inhabitants, and government employees and the unemployed. The resources of Melanesia are substantial, including minerals, timber, and offshore fisheries, but are exploited – and often

over-exploited and despoiled – by foreign corporations in collusion with complacent or corrupt local leaders. Land is scarce and unequally distributed. Although the former colonial powers left democratic governments in place, civil society is weak and strong-man dominance prevails. Melanesia lies nearer to Southeast Asia and Australia than does Micronesia or Polynesia, which facilitates the entry of troublemakers as well as beneficiaries.

## **Pacific Island Political and Economic Problems<sup>2</sup>**

This section summarises the political problems facing the Pacific islands, particularly those of Melanesia, and the following section summarises the economic problems. These passages are neither comprehensive accounts of the history and institutions of the region nor descriptions of any particular country. They focus on problems and leadership failures, ignoring many substantial successes. The aim of the points made below is briefly to show the reader why security has become a concern in the island region and clarify why New Zealand and Australia have adjusted their policies accordingly.

The end of colonialism brought forth a generation of local island leaders characterised by nationalism, elitism, and ambition but little practical experience and few institutional constraints. Colonial generosity and post-colonial aid then fostered bloated government sectors and expensive public projects such as buildings for administration, education, and health, sports stadiums, and ports and airports. As governments became lucrative employers amidst traditional ethnic and family systems, nepotism flourished. Mismanagement, corruption and theft escalated. Heavy demands by metropolitan governments and international agencies were imposed on relatively inexperienced island leaders and administrators to achieve the ideal of 'good governance', but these clashed with traditional order. The erosion of family values was not balanced by a growth of civil society and public ethics, resulting in an inexorable rise of personal greed, petty authoritarianism, and dysfunctional bureaucratism. These in turn eroded respect for government and law, precipitated frustration amongst the disempowered, and led to occasional violence.

Turning to economic problems, the rhetoric of independence fostered inflated expectations which were not able to be fulfilled. Most new island governments adopted free market policies and welcomed investment. Plantations and foreign or local well-connected elite entrepreneurs displaced small holders and artisans, exacerbating the problem of unemployment. Growing tourism favoured foreign enterprises and in some cases alienated local people from their own lands and waters and trivialised their culture. Preventive medicine produced rapid population growth but the distribution of land, assets, and jobs did not keep up. These trends produced land shortage, a widening rich-poor gap, growing poverty and a divide between the urban centres and the outlying villages and islands. In the modern sector, globalisation was a mixed blessing. Over time demand and prices fell for primary commodities exported by island economies. Manufacturing never developed. Island governments were caught between rising costs and shrinking tax bases and other sources of revenue, and laid off officials to remain solvent. This and general joblessness led to the emigration of energetic and skilled youth to New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. The result was the dependency of island economies on aid, loans, and remittances. Desperate leaders occasionally resorted to quasi-legal or bizarre revenue-raising schemes such as setting up dodgy banks and ship registries, selling passports and satellite slots, and offering atolls for toxic rubbish from Asia. And they often fell victim to investment scams by metropolitan conmen, often in cahoots with naïve or unscrupulous local leaders.

## **Security Concerns of Western Governments<sup>3</sup>**

If these political and economic problems remained local and minor, they could be dealt with by benign neglect, selective aid, generous migration access, and episodic law enforcement, as was practiced by the United States in Micronesia for several decades. But during the 1970s and 1980s the Soviet Union offered aid and other economic benefits to island governments in return for port access and diplomatic ties, and the Western governments were obliged to make economic counter-offers and pay more attention to local political demands in order to maintain their collective influence in the Pacific region.<sup>4</sup> Upon the end of cold-war rivalry some analysts predicted a lapsing of interest in the region by the West, and to some extent that occurred, as shown by the almost complete withdrawal in the early 1990s of British diplomats and the ending of United States aid for all but US dependencies.

But new rivalries stimulated new interest and to some degree, new aid and other assistance.<sup>5</sup> These included the rivalry between China and Taiwan, who vied for diplomatic recognition by island micro-states and were willing to pay for it. Japan as well took a renewed interest in the islands as part of its drive to become a 'normal nation' and play a larger role on the international stage...and to avoid taking second place to China by default. Malaysia and Singapore became modest aid donors. These new opportunities attracted the attention of those island leaders, particularly in Fiji, hoping to modulate New Zealand or Australian influence. France under Socialist Party governments proved amenable to negotiation of liberalising reforms with island nationalists and to extending aid to non-French neighbours of its Pacific territories such as Cook Islands and Fiji. The United States government renewed its compacts of free association with the Federated

States of Micronesia and Marshall Islands, and later Palau, made political concessions in its three flag territories, and hosted Pacific leaders at summit conferences to pledge renewed aid, albeit focused on private sector entrepreneurial development. New Zealand and Australian aid to the region grew steadily.

Despite these new sources of aid and diplomatic support, specialists on island affairs became aware that the political and economic problems listed above were not diminishing but rather were growing and generating insecurity in the islands. Furthermore, these rising security threats had the potential to impact on the metropolitan countries, principally New Zealand, Australia, the United States and France. These security threats stemmed from the incapacity of island governments to manage their assets and generally to keep financial, social and physical order. When this incapacity grew to alarming proportions, Western analysis characterised it as political and administrative failure.

The failure of governance was thought to have unleashed a swarm of other problems jeopardising the security of society, individuals, and even neighbouring countries. These included:

- waste, fraud and theft of public property and misuse of overseas aid and investments;
- spread of human, plant, and animal diseases;
- poaching and overexploitation of mineral, timber and land resources and off-shore fisheries;
- tax evasion, fraud, and money laundering;
- smuggling of drugs, arms and people;
- violence arising out of criminal activity and inter-ethnic tensions; and
- impending humanitarian and ecological disaster.

Other governments suffering from this syndrome, mainly in Africa, became known as 'failed states'.<sup>6</sup> This term was soon appropriated by Australian analysts to describe situations of turmoil in their neighbourhood to the north. The rise of terrorism in the Middle East and internationally in the 1990s, much of it originating in Afghanistan and the Palestinian territories where government was lax, heightened fears that failed states anywhere could become havens for terrorist cells, often financed by criminal enterprises, that could proliferate globally. While no terrorists were known to operate in the Pacific islands, petty criminals and drug networks were. And the islands were adjacent to the Philippines and Indonesia where terrorists were active, so migration of terrorists was a possibility. Even in the absence of terrorists, the questionable banking and immigration policies of island governments could facilitate movement of funds or persons associated with terrorist networks. While analysts were aware of all these security threats by the end of the 1990s, it was of course the attacks in the early 2000s in New York, Bali, Jakarta, and Madrid that precipitated new counter-terror initiatives by Western governments. These were echoed, although with less intensity, by governments in the South Pacific region such as New Zealand and Australia and to a degree by the island governments themselves.<sup>7</sup>

## **Evolution of New Zealand and Australian Policies in the South Pacific<sup>8</sup>**

New Zealand and Australian policies towards the islands have evolved markedly from the colonial period to the present. At the risk of over-generalising, it is possible to identify four policy phases, starting with the policies of the immediate post-colonial period. These were put in place in the later 1960s and early 1970s, a decade when a number of island countries became independent or self-governing in free association. These are sketched below.

### **Phase 1 – Optimism and Generosity**

The policies of the immediate post-colonial period were driven by idealism and optimism. They tended to be generous by the standards of the prior, colonial period. The powers bestowed on the new island governments major infrastructural works and seconded staff to administer them. Island development was encouraged by aid programmes which in some cases included direct budgetary subsidies. By generous immigration policies the metropolitan states granted easy access to their job markets, which enabled migrant workers to remit to island economies a portion of their earnings. The metropolitan states also set in place the institutions of parliamentary democracy, market economies, and Western civil liberties, and they tutored and promoted westernised island elites to operate them. The prevailing liberal view held that power should be transferred and local leaders left to wield it; paternalism, criticism, and interference were deemed inappropriate, not progressive. In regional affairs the powers supported the island leaders' assertion of 'the Pacific Way', a concept stressing tolerance and non-intervention in the affairs of neighbours. Regional cooperation was to be voluntary and equal. New Zealand and Australia would participate in such groupings of regional leaders as the South Pacific Forum with no greater formal prerogatives than Niue, a micro-state with a population of less than 2000. Their main function, which they accepted willingly, was to support the Forum, and Forum Secretariat, and other regional bodies for shipping, fisheries protection, and the environment, by means of aid and secondments of experts. In return, however, they expected acknowledgement of and sympathy for their legitimate interests in the island region.

## **Phase 2 – Doubt and Adjustments**

This phase began as a result of the souring of patron government perceptions of the performance of recipient governments in the Pacific. This took place gradually and intermittently during the 1970s and 1980s. In New Zealand and Australia, as in Western countries generally, popular and political antipathy emerged against immigration, aid waste, fraudulent get-rich-quick schemes, undemocratic policy, and opportunistic dealing with the USSR, Libya, China and other suspect outsiders. A pair of military coups in Fiji that set aside a democratic government and suppressed the Indian population, violence and fatalities in New Caledonia, and turbulence in Vanuatu shattered New Zealand and Australian illusions about South Seas paradises in their neighbourhood. Private and public criticism of South Pacific governments grew, led by media exposés of misappropriation and misbehaviour. Aid reductions and a growth of financial control mechanisms and conditionality of aid soon followed, or were threatened to induce better behaviour. Aid was redirected from infrastructure and scholarships to poverty reduction and human rights protection. In parallel, metropolitan governments tightened immigration controls to reduce manipulation of marriages and family reunions, overstaying of temporary visas, and use of fraudulent documents.

## **Phase 3 – Reassessment**

The 1990s produced a series of humanitarian disasters in Southern Europe, particularly in Bosnia and Kosovo, and in the Third World, for example Somalia, Rwanda, and Afghanistan. Many of these appeared in retrospect to have been consequences of inaction by the international community, suggesting a flaw in the laissez faire policies of the West. The concept of the failed state emerged. The UN Secretary-General issued his *Agenda for Peace* (1992, revised in 1995) which prescribed a more activist role for the United Nations and its members and put the issue of humanitarian intervention on the global agenda. The Brahimi Report (2000) and the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001) amplified and elaborated the need, requirements and guidelines for military action to prevent Third World governments from brutalising their populations. Worry about terrorism grew, and the Security Council passed a number of counter-terrorism resolutions even prior to its burst of activity following the September 2001 attacks.

Regarding the South Pacific, analysts in New Zealand and Australia recorded and analysed an apparently growing frequency and severity of poverty, corruption, crime, ethnic and secessionist violence, and military coups. Many of these trends were most visible in Melanesia, and more specifically in Papua New Guinea, a country which Australia had colonised and which was a particular worry to Canberra. For example, in the mid-1990s the government of Papua New Guinea considered hiring mercenaries to quell secessionism in Bougainville. Australian objections and an incipient military mutiny in Port Moresby killed the scheme, but the image of erratic policies by eccentric island governments was deepened. In response, the governments of New Zealand and Australia increasingly took the responsibility of managing South Pacific affairs in order to bolster government stability, keep public order, and protect human rights. They legitimised their policy shift by arguing that they were acting on humane motives for the good of island inhabitants but also out of self-interest inasmuch as they were contributing to regional stability and in a wider sense to Western security. The failed state concept, implicit in the stress on 'good governance', was increasingly applied to shaky South Pacific polities, and underpinned increasingly activist policies towards delinquent governments.

## **Phase 4 – Recent Initiatives**

The current phase is one of increasing New Zealand and Australian activism in the island region. While all their initiatives are deliberately conducted in consultation with the Pacific Island Forum leaders, and at the invitation of island governments, it is clear that New Zealand and to a greater degree Australia are driving the process. This new approach became manifest in the mid-1990s when New Zealand intervened diplomatically to facilitate a truce among warring leaders in Bougainville, a secessionist province of Papua New Guinea. In 1997 New Zealand and Australia led a military Truce Monitoring Group to that territory. This is reviewed in more detail below as Case Study 1. In 1999 the two governments joined with a dozen others to deploy troops to East Timor to reinforce the process of independence from Indonesia. This is reviewed in more detail below, in Case Study 3. Motivated by the growing problems of the South Pacific, New Zealand and Australia in 2000 led the Pacific Island Forum to pass the Biketawa Declaration. This document proclaimed that strife in any member country was now a regional responsibility. The Biketawa Declaration strongly qualified 'the Pacific Way' doctrine of non-interference, and for the first time enabled island crises to be put on the agenda of regional meetings. New Zealand and Australia also placed renewed stress on 'good governance' aid. In what became known as the Pacific Fund, set up at the Auckland Forum meeting of 2004, they provided fresh funding for law enforcement, the administration of justice, and financial accounting and asset management.

Besides the 1997 and 1999 interventions, the most recent and dramatic manifestation of the new approach was Australia's decision early in 2003 to drop its 'hands off' policy and become pro-active in South Pacific crises.<sup>9</sup> Australia manifested its new approach by leading a regional peacekeeping deployment to Solomon Islands in July 2003. This initiative is considered in greater detail below, in Case Study 2. The following year Australia dispatched over 200 policemen and other law enforcement and administrative specialists to Papua New Guinea. Each of these initiatives had the permission of the host government. But each required considerable persuasion to overcome the traditional posture of respect for sovereignty and 'the Pacific Way'. Prime Minister John Howard and Foreign Minister Alexander Downer began using terms such as cooperative intervention to describe Australia's response to threatening situations in the Pacific, and by extension Southeast Asia, and did not rule out preventive and pre-emptive deployments. While highly qualified, the new rhetoric was a departure from the more diplomatic and defence-oriented rhetoric of the past, and was backed up by vigorous policies. New Zealand's rhetoric was more circumspect but did not contradict the thrust of Australian activism.

### **Three Case Studies**

The following section reviews the three most dramatic cases of intervention in island affairs by New Zealand and Australia since the end of the colonial period. These are not intended to be comprehensive analyses but sketches to provide the reader with basic information about each case. These serve as background orientations and illustrations of the more general theme of this Working Paper: that New Zealand and Australia have become, and should remain, more active in the region, particularly in preventing the occurrence of failed states, and mitigating the consequences when they occur. This activism may be termed interventionism and condemned in liberal and third world circles, but it is a fact manifest in current policy. This paper suggests that the ability and willingness to intervene (within strict legal, moral and prudential limits) is a necessary element in the security policy spectrum of responsible governments.

#### **Case Study 1: Secession in Bougainville<sup>10</sup>**

##### **Background Chronology**

The historical context of the Bougainville secession and subsequent intervention may be summed up as follows. In 1899 the colonial powers Britain and Germany separated Bougainville from Solomon Islands, thus arbitrarily dividing ethnically similar peoples into two jurisdictions. Bougainville later became a province of German New Guinea, and then after World War One it became a province of Papua New Guinea (PNG) administered by Australia. In 1978 the Bougainville people voted for independence but this was ignored by the governments of PNG and Australia. In the 1980s a dispute erupted between local leaders and the PNG government over royalties from the Panguna Mine and compensation for environmental despoliation downstream. Frustrated by failure to gain compensation, disgruntled local men formed a militia called the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). The BRA clashed with PNG forces in 1988, initiating a period of intermittent armed conflict. The PNG government imposed a blockade of the island that caused hardship. In 1990 the BRA joined another rebel group, the Bougainville Interim Government, to declare the island's independence. Leaders of the Bougainville Transitional Government, based in the north, remained loyal to PNG. A three-way conflict ensued. By the mid-1990s, an estimated 10,000 people had died in armed skirmishes, 'payback' vendettas, disease, hunger, and exposure.

##### **New Zealand's and Australia's Responses**

Australia at first supported the actions of the government of PNG to suppress the rebellion. In 1990 a New Zealand Navy ship, *HMNZS Endeavour*, hosted peace talks between leaders of the BRA and PNG, resulting in a truce. That truce later failed and sporadic fighting resumed. In 1994 New Zealand and Australia sponsored talks but key leaders did not attend and those talks also failed. But in 1997 the PNG government surreptitiously contracted with Sandline for mercenaries to fight in Bougainville. The PNG army objected and threatened to mutiny. Australia also objected, and withdrew its support from the PNG government, which fell. This realignment induced Australia to converge with New Zealand on a joint peace initiative. In 1997 New Zealand's Foreign Minister Don McKinnon hosted two sets of talks among Bougainville and PNG leaders at Burnham Military Camp. The talks led to the Burnham Truce, and an uneasy pause in the fighting between the factions was achieved.

##### **From Truce to Peace**

In 1997 New Zealand formed and led the Truce Monitoring Group, with Australian back-up, to Bougainville to keep the fragile peace. Fighting stopped, women and children returned from hiding to their communities, and basic infrastructure repair began, assisted by New Zealand and Australian aid. The following year,



1998, New Zealand's Foreign Minister Don McKinnon convened a summit in Christchurch and oversaw the negotiation of the Lincoln Agreement between the warring parties. This led to the signing of the Bougainville Peace Accord at Arawa, which converted the truce to a peace treaty. The United Nations then set up a mission in Bougainville, and with New Zealand and Pacific island government support Australia took leadership of a new Peace Monitoring Group to encourage long-term nation-building. In 2000 a new Bougainville Interim Provincial Government was sworn in and the following year a UN-supervised Weapons Containment Plan began; it was completed in 2003 with the successful collection and destruction of thousands of guns, machetes, and knives. In 2002 a Bougainville Constitutional Commission of locally chosen leaders was established to write a constitution for provincial self-government. With local leadership in place and order restored, all troops of the PNG Defence Force and the Peace Monitoring Group departed in 2003. Bougainville became an autonomous, self-governing province. In 2005 the UN Observer Mission, various aid agencies, and an Australian police contingent remained. An independence referendum is foreshadowed for 2017.

### **Factors in Success**

Because Australia was too closely identified with the PNG leaders and not trusted by the Bougainville leaders, New Zealand's Foreign Minister Don McKinnon and his officials such as John Hayes and later Dr Andrew Ladley and Brigadier Roger Mortlock were able to take diplomatic initiatives, and did so with imagination and energy. McKinnon established a neutral and secure venue for talks, Burnham Camp, and the RNZAF was enlisted to fly local leaders there from Bougainville. The New Zealand team let the Bougainville and PNG leaders talk at length in order to reach accord among themselves. New Zealand officials insisted on fairness in any agreement reached but did not impose a solution or a time limit. A Solomon Islands minister insisted on attending the Burnham Talks despite New Zealand doubts. But he was welcomed by the warring parties and proved to be constructive. But New Zealand officials excluded the media and several volunteers, reasoning that the negotiators would achieve more if there was no opportunity for public posturing, and they proved right. At a crucial point in the Burnham talks, Mortlock facilitated the participation of the Bougainville women, whose determination to end the fighting proved persuasive in gaining a settlement among the male militia leaders. During this period, New Zealand, Australia, and other island governments provided transport, supplies, aid, troops, police, security, and encouragement to the negotiators, without which the talks could not have been held at all. And the United Nations lent international legitimacy to the New Zealand-Australia-Pacific island initiative and provided aid, staff, and advice. All of these factors contributed to the successful outcome.

### **New Zealand's Unique Contributions**

During the Burnham Talks, Maori welcomes were performed, Maori soldiers were encouraged to mix with the Bougainvilleans, and a 'study tour' was conducted on a *marae* (Maori meeting house and grounds). All of these displays of cultural sensitivity enhanced the Bougainville leaders' trust of the sincerity of the New Zealand mediation effort. To further enhance trust, the Navy ship *HMNZS Waikato* sent a Maori Culture Group ashore with the first landing party. The New Zealand contingent also included a female Army officer to liaise with the influential Bougainville women's committees, and she proved popular. In a move viewed with scepticism by Australia, the New Zealand Cabinet had decided that all uniformed personnel of the Truce Monitoring Group would be unarmed, and this proved to be effective. And the New Zealand helicopters were painted orange to distinguish them from the PNG helicopters that had strafed Bougainvilleans in prior years. After deploying to monitor the peace, the Truce Monitoring Group did clean-up, reconstruction and health work, conducted sporting events and song sessions, and interacted socially with local leaders. On at least two occasions the New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs Don McKinnon and his officials made a point of travelling to outlying areas with Bougainville leaders, and at times were at risk from recalcitrant BRA snipers. This personal bravery impressed the local leaders with New Zealand's sincerity and dedication to the peace project.

## **Case Study 2: Disorder in Solomon Islands<sup>11</sup>**

### **Background Chronology**

Since independence, economic development assistance and government-related construction had been centred on Guadalcanal, mainly Honiara. The rural areas and the outer islands were neglected. Migrants from the island of Malaita were attracted to jobs and government services, and became predominant in the ranks of the Solomon Islands Police. With regular income, the Malaitans were able to buy land. The Guadalcanal peoples (Guali) felt dispossessed from jobs and land, and in the 1990s armed Guali gangs coalesced and attacked, driving 20,000 Malaitans from their homes. The Malaitan men, some organised in a militia called the Malaitan Eagle Force, and using misappropriated police small arms, retaliated. In 2000

Malaitan militia threats forced the resignation of the elected prime minister and his government. A compromise was then reached and a new government formed. But it was unable to keep order. Tourists and enterprises fled; public and private revenue dropped; employees could not be paid, public services were curtailed, health and education conditions deteriorated, and lawlessness proliferated.

## **Regional Responses**

In the 1990s New Zealand and Australia had donated conventional aid but adopted a political posture of non-involvement. Persuaded by New Zealand and Australia, the Pacific Islands Forum in 2000 adopted the Biketawa Declaration, which authorised regional attention to intra-state problems. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, now Don McKinnon, sent a Special Envoy to Solomon Islands to mediate, and Fiji and Vanuatu sent unarmed police officers. Australia brokered the Townsville Peace Agreement in 2000, increased aid, and contributed to the International Peace Monitoring Team that deployed to Solomon Islands for the next year and a half. But the Team, unarmed, was unable to restore law and order, which continued to deteriorate. In mid-2003 the Solomon Islands Prime Minister with the approval of his Parliament requested more robust assistance from Australia to restore order, negotiated an invitation of a Pacific peace restoration mission, and granted immunity to foreign mission members. The Pacific Islands Forum summit in Auckland in 2003 legitimised intervention in Solomon Islands by a regional force. The UN Secretary-General and the Commonwealth Secretary-General both endorsed the regional action being discussed by Solomon Islands and sympathetic regional governments.

## **The Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI)**

The intervention by RAMSI began officially on 24 July 2003. The action was codenamed Operation Helpem Fren (pidgin English for Helping Friend). It was organised by Australia who pledged 1500 troops, 155 police, 90 support personnel plus navy ships and air force transports, and civilian experts from six departments. New Zealand sent 250 troops, police and civilians and four helicopters. Fiji, Tonga, and PNG sent troops and police and Samoa, Vanuatu, Cook Islands, Nauru, Tuvalu, Kiribati sent police officers. The cost of Operation Helpem Fren was estimated at US\$200 million in the first year, most of it met by Australia but with contributions also from New Zealand, the European Union, the UN, the World Bank, the IMF, and the ADB.

### **Operation Helpem Fren (RAMSI) Phase 1: Restore Order**

The most visible initiatives were the initiation of street patrols by the RAMSI police officers, walking the streets and paths with their Solomon Islands counterparts, and the setting up of collection points to sequester and publicly destroy surrendered weapons. They also provide transport to isolated trouble spots and helped negotiate the surrender of rebel Harold Keke. RAMSI personnel also conducted police and justice training courses, and encouraged the sacking or discipline of corrupt police. They also investigated crimes and assisted the Solomon Islands officials to issue indictments, for example against Harold Keke for murder. RAMSI leaders consulted continuously with Solomon Island leaders to set up a long-term reform strategy and provided professional and governmental advice.

### **Operation Helpem Fren (RAMSI) Phase 2: State-building**

Phase 1 was successful and order was restored by mid-2004. Phase 2 entailed a multi-year commitment by New Zealand and Australia of aid and personnel. The aim of Phase 2, which is on-going, is the strengthening of institutions for:

- Law-making and enforcement
- Administration of justice
- Economic policy-formulation
- Financial accounting and auditing
- Tax collection
- Public services, education, and health

## **Case Study 3: East Timor Peacekeeping<sup>12</sup>**

### **Historical Chronology**

In 1975 Indonesia invaded the Portuguese colony of East Timor and took control. Indonesia incorporated East Timor as a new province the following year. But despite efforts to develop and Islamise the province, twenty-five years of armed guerrilla resistance and international diplomatic condemnation of Indonesia followed. Unexpectedly, in 1999 the new Indonesian President, B.J. Habibie, decided to conduct a referendum

in East Timor. He expected the population to approve continued Indonesian rule. However, the 1999 referendum, under UN supervision, produced a resounding vote for independence. But local militia gangs sponsored by the Indonesian army rampaged, burned public buildings and private dwellings, and assaulted and killed independence leaders.

## **New Zealand, Australia, and United Nations Responses**

New Zealand in 1975 initially condemned the annexation but later muted its criticism and accepted it *de facto*. Parliament sent an observer mission including Phil Goff, who later became Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Australia accepted the annexation *de jure* and negotiated with Indonesia a treaty on seabed resources lying between Australia and East Timor. Due to resistance by Indonesia's ASEAN neighbours (except Singapore), the UN General Assembly dropped the East Timor issue from its agenda by the early 1980s and East Timor slipped off the international radar except when massacres by Indonesia's forces occurred, as in 1991.

New Zealand and Australia sent observers to the 1999 referendum. In September 1999, as the militia rampage began, APEC leaders meeting in Auckland agreed that intervention was necessary, and took the issue to the UN Security Council. United States and United Nations Security Council pressure obliged the Government of Indonesia to agree to a UN-sponsored peacekeeping mission. The mission was authorised by UN Security Council Resolution 1264.

## **The Intervention**

The intervention, in reality a peacekeeping mission by a coalition of the willing, was called the International Force in East Timor or INTERFET. Australia offered to organise and lead it. New Zealand and thirty other countries contributed forces. INTERFET forces landed in Dili on 20 Sept 1999, deployed across the country, and quickly restored order. Isolated skirmishes continued and a New Zealand soldier was killed in one of them. New Zealand forces commanded the Suai district and their commander Brigadier Martyn Dunn was made deputy to the Australian INTERFET commander, General Peter Cosgrove. As agreed, Indonesian troops withdrew without fighting, but they removed or burned their facilities as they went, and made no move to curb the militias. Faced with INTERFET armed forces, the pro-Indonesian militia retreated across the border to West Timor, taking many refugees with them.

## **Post-Intervention Reconstruction**

As peace was restored, New Zealand and Australia pledged official aid and NGOs donated private aid generously to East Timor. New Zealand and Australia also accepted refugees from East Timor and supported the work of United Nations agencies in the nascent state. In 2000, the United Nations established a Transitional Authority (UNTAET), and New Zealand and Australia set up diplomatic liaison offices in the capital Dili. In 2001 the United Nations transferred full authority to a government of East Timorese. New Zealand focussed its aid on training for justice and prison administration reform and other aspects of good governance. In 2002 the new East Timorese armed forces took over security duties from New Zealand, Australia, and other foreign forces and the foreign military missions departed. Subsequently small foreign contingents remained to provide training aid for East Timorese troops and police. East Timorese courts in 2003 began trying offenders for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Indonesian courts did the same but failed to convict several egregious thugs, and this remains an issue between Indonesian military leaders on the one hand and liberals in East Timor, New Zealand and Australia backed by the UN Commissioner for Human Rights on the other.

## **How the New Zealand Government Addressed the East Timor Crisis**

Upon the eruption of the violence in 1999, the government of New Zealand used the presence of Asian and Pacific leaders at the APEC summit, which it was hosting, to convene a crisis meeting on East Timor. New Zealand also consulted with the United Nations on how to address the crises. But New Zealand relied ultimately on bilateral diplomacy with traditional partners such as Australia and the Southeast Asian states. New Zealand attempted to pursue a principled policy but avoided gratuitous confrontations with Indonesia, reasoning it was better to keep the door open for post-crisis cooperation. New Zealand legitimised its peacekeeping intervention domestically as well as internationally, by involving Parliament, the NGOs and the media as well as international consultative forums, notably APEC and ARF. During the intervention, New Zealand officials worked patiently with United Nations agencies in the field and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in New York to cope with the bureaucratised UN system and the uneven quality of UN staff. Despite the liberal inclination of the governing Labour Party and its coalition partner, it gave

priority to restoration of security in East Timor as a prerequisite to political, economic and social development, and thus applied armed force promptly as required by the crisis. New Zealand forces were amongst the first ones on the ground and were backed by Navy warships in the biggest deployment the country had known since the Vietnam War. But thinking of longer term stability, legitimacy and good governance, New Zealand officials made a point of cultivating, supporting and assisting East Timorese leaders, with training and secondments, for example. And New Zealand tailored its aid to address justice and human rights issues to encourage longer-term reconciliation and social stability.

## **South Pacific Trouble Spots in Prospect**

Interventions in Bougainville, Solomon Islands, and East Timor have stopped three disastrous conflicts from becoming worse, and are making possible longer-term stability by means of strengthened governmental institutions. But the security challenges in the island region facing New Zealand, Australia, and other concerned governments are not over. A number of other Pacific islands situations are festering, and any one could erupt in violence, or the island governments could weaken to the point of failure to underpin viable economies and harmonious societies. For example, one may expect continued ethnic strife and local and international crime in Papua New Guinea. The deployment of police assistance by Australia in 2004 was an ameliorative step short of a forceful intervention, but the Australian leaders appear not to rule out more direct intervention as a last resort, for example if Australian citizens were at risk. The decision by the government of Papua New Guinea in 2005 to reject the Australian police secondment is a worrying development. Other situations are not as immediately alarming, but could constitute security threats if they deteriorate. These include Nauru's near-bankruptcy, Vanuatu's police and outer island discontent, Fiji's discrimination against Indians and tension between traditional and modern Fijians, the Tongan monarchy's suppression of the press and democracy movement and the 2005 public servants strike, the New Caledonia Kanaks' unrequited independence aspirations and tensions with French settlers, and the deepening polarisation of pro-French and pro-independence leaders in French Polynesia.

## **Towards A New Paradigm?**

Given the experiences of the Bougainville, Solomon Island, and East Timor interventions, and in light of security challenges from other island countries, should Western governments, particularly New Zealand and Australia, rethink the traditional doctrine of non-intervention in sovereign states? The government of Australia appears to have done so in mid-2003. Some leaders and analysts in New Zealand are doubtless following these developments and reconsidering policies but are likely to be less outspoken than their trans-Tasman counterparts. Neither government will abandon the Westphalian presumption of respect for all sovereign governments, but each may find pragmatic reasons for qualifying that presumption on a case-by-case basis when urgent threats arise.

On the basis of the case studies in this Working Paper and observations of other security situations in the island Pacific, the author offers the following recommendations to leaders and analysts engaged with these issues. They are cursory and contestable. But they may spark discussion and stimulate elaboration, and thus may be of value in the ongoing security policy debate:

- The burden of proof should continue to lie on the case for intervention, but the case for intervention should always be considered on its merits, not rejected out of hand in deference to international law, convention, courtesy, dogma or political correctness.
- In deciding whether to intervene, governments must offset costs and risks of benign intervention against the costs and risks of crime, terrorism, disease, human rights abuse, lost development and trade, and other consequences of state failure in their neighbourhood. While intervention is potentially costly, dangerous, and injurious, non-intervention can be costly, dangerous and injurious, and this should be part of the calculation of the right course of action.
- The costs of prevention will be far less than costs of cures. For example, the Copenhagen Consensus Project in 2004 estimated that twelve interventions similar to the one that restored order in Sierra Leone in 2003 might cost US\$4.8 billion but over ten years those interventions could prevent costs and produce benefits totalling US\$400 billion.<sup>13</sup>
- Governments should view security collectively and regionally and contribute individually how and where they best are able. In this regard New Zealand's contributions can be politically and morally significant however modest they may be militarily or financially.
- United Nations initiatives can be effective, but New Zealand and Australia should keep open the option of regional coalitions of the willing led by a government with political will and legitimacy that can deploy sufficient economic and military resources. In practice this means either Australia

or the United States, but it need not exclude New Zealand from leadership in limited crises such as the one in Bougainville. In any case, United Nations endorsement of the local initiative should be sought.

Finally, it should be noted that interventions take many forms, ranging from diplomacy through aid to military action. The three case studies in this Working Paper should be characterised as peacekeeping operations rather than military interventions inasmuch as the host governments Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Indonesia invited (or grudgingly acquiesced in) the deployment of military forces in their territory, and each secured United Nations approval. The intervening powers did not have to force their way in, as has frequently been necessary in African and Balkan civil conflicts.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the concept of the 'failed state' needs to be subjected to stringent reality checks to prevent it becoming a substitute for serious analysis and diplomacy, or worse, an excuse for paternalism and interference.<sup>15</sup> It has been argued for example that the Solomon Islands government while weak was far from 'failed' in 2004, and that what appears as 'failure' may be manifestations of traditional island ways of governance, unorthodox to Western eyes but authentic in their own context.<sup>16</sup> New Zealand spokespeople have been more restrained in their use of the term than their Australian counterparts, preferring to focus on specific problems in specific countries, and this pragmatism is prudent. Nevertheless, New Zealand and counterpart liberal governments should be prepared to consider intervention by force in extreme cases, if the cause is just, the security need is compelling and immediate, and the prospect of success is high.<sup>17</sup>

## Summary

The above case studies and discussion may be summarised as follows. The reader is urged to consult the works listed in the Endnotes for amplification and qualification, keeping in mind the speculative nature rather than the comprehensiveness of a brief Working Paper.

- Governing capacity in many non-western post-colonial countries is deteriorating, giving rise to the concept of 'failed states'.
- Western governments have a legitimate interest in encouraging law, order, and wellbeing in non-Western countries, and have a right to take action to secure those interests when other states fail to do so.
- Western governments should be respectful of sovereignty and dignity but their range of possible actions should include intervention by armed force.
- With regard to the South Pacific, New Zealand and Australia at first grounded their policies on the assumption that local leaders and societies could, with a little aid and encouragement, manage security and development, but later reconsidered this assumption in light of practical experience. Their policies have moved from optimism and generosity to doubt, adjustment, and reassessment and finally to activism and occasional intervention.
- Nevertheless, New Zealand and Australia still acknowledge that local leaders have the primary responsibility to restore order and conduct reforms in their own countries, and that reform actions by New Zealand and Australia should be preceded by regional consultations, primarily in the Pacific Islands Forum, to generate not only international approbation and material support but also local legitimacy.
- Military force to restore order has proved effective at first, but longer-term improvements require police, administrators of justice, infrastructural improvements, and economic growth. Outside aid and political and economic support are essential for a long period, even if this prolongs dependency.
- The cost of a comprehensive and long-term intervention is high but must be borne. For example, the overall cost of intervention in Solomon Islands has been estimated at US\$400 per capita per year, more than the per capita GDP. But the costs and risks of the alternative, a failed or failing state, could be much higher. Methods of calculating the costs of intervention against the costs of failure should be devised and incorporated in governments' decision calculus.
- If the above is accepted, it follows that New Zealand and Australian security officials must develop appropriate doctrine and maintain sufficient capacity to support armed interventions, and their political leaders must be prepared to use these instruments not only to promote national interests but also to secure regional stability, justice and wellbeing.

## Conclusion

This Working Paper has sketched emerging Pacific island security issues but does not claim to have described them comprehensively. It encourages further study by analysts and thinking by policymakers of how New Zealand's unique strengths and virtues can best be developed and used to manage security in the Pacific island region. The example of the Truce Monitoring Group in Bougainville is perhaps the clearest illustration of how New Zealand can employ sensitive diplomacy, aided at key points by Maori and women participants, to win trust and help local leaders achieve an agreement. This and counterpart examples are worthy of further attention.

On the other hand, despite the alleged absence of these subtle attributes from Australian diplomacy, it should not be forgotten that Australia does the 'heavy lifting' in the Pacific region. For example, Australia took over the costly and longer-term burden from New Zealand in Bougainville when the Truce Monitoring Group morphed into the Peace Monitoring Group, and led and provided the bulk of resources in the East Timor and Solomon Islands missions. Therefore the task of policy analysts is not to show that New Zealand is better than Australia or vice versa but how the virtues and capacities of the two can be developed, assembled and deployed in a complementary fashion, to enhance security in the Pacific island region with the least cost and risk.

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## End Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Introductions to the characteristics of the Pacific islands include Ron Crocombe, *The South Pacific* (Suva: University of the South Pacific, expanded edition 2001); Stephen Hoadley, *The South Pacific Foreign Affairs Handbook* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin 1992), Te'o I. J. Fairbairn et al, *The Pacific Islands: Politics, Economics and International Relations* (Honolulu: East West Center, 1991); Ramesh Thakur, ed., *The South Pacific* (London: Macmillan, 1991). Also see the periodicals *The Contemporary Pacific* and *Pacific Islands Report*. The latter's website, <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/text.shtml>, includes hyperlinks to a variety of information sources.

<sup>2</sup> Island problems are discussed in Peter Cozens, ed., *Engaging Oceania with Pacific Asia* (Wellington: Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand, 2004) and Gerald McGhie and Bruce Brown, eds., *New Zealand and the Pacific: Diplomacy, Defence and Development* (Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 2002); *Pacific Island States' Perspectives on Security* (Honolulu: Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, 1999), Gerard A. Finin and Terrence A. Wesley-Smith, 'Coups, Conflicts, and Crises: The New Pacific Way?', East-West Center Working Paper No. 13, June 2000, and in the books by Crocombe, Hoadley, Fairbairn, ed. and Thakur, ed., cited above. An extensive diagnosis by the Australian Senate, *A Pacific engaged: Australia's relations with Papua New Guinea and the island states of the southwest Pacific* (12 August 2003) may be found at [http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/FADT\\_CTTE/completed\\_inquiries/2002-04/png/report/index.htm](http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/FADT_CTTE/completed_inquiries/2002-04/png/report/index.htm)

<sup>3</sup> Eric Shibuya, ed., *Security in Oceania in the 21st Century* (Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2003); Eric Shibuya. 'Oceania's Post-9/11 Security Concerns', *Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies* (November 2003) <http://www.apcss.org> accessed 15 April 2004; Bruce Vaughn, ed., *The Unravelling of Island Asia: Governmental, Communal and Regional Instability* (Westport: Praeger, 2002); F. A. Mediansky, ed., *Strategic Cooperation and Competition in the Pacific Islands* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Centre for South Pacific Studies, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> In the 1970s the Soviet Union offered airport lights to the King of Tonga in return for a shore facility. This was countered by a better offer from Australia and New Zealand and the Soviets were rebuffed. In the 1980s Soviet approaches were made to Kiribati, Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea resulting in a fishing agreement with Port Vila and establishment of an embassy in Port Moresby, but no detrimental effects followed. Aid and diplomatic initiatives by China excited little anxiety in metropolitan capitals. Richard A. Herr, 'The Soviet Union and China', in F. A. Mediansky, ed., cited above.

<sup>5</sup> John Henderson and Benjamin Reilly, 'Dragon in Paradise: China's Rising Star in Oceania', *The National Interest* (Summer 2003); Zhou Xingbao, 'China's Policy Towards the South Pacific' in Cozens, cited above; Stephen Hoadley, 'Japan's Policies in the South Pacific', *New Zealand International Review* (May/June 1991); Ron Crocombe, *The Pacific Islands and the USA* (Rarotonga [Cook Islands] : Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific ; Honolulu [Hawaii] : Pacific Islands Development Program, East-West Center, 1995). The books edited by Shibuya, Vaughn and Mediansky cited above present chapters on the interests and activities of the principal outside powers.

<sup>6</sup> Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror* (Cambridge: World Peace Foundation and Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2003); Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Jennifer Milliken, ed., *State Failure, Collapse, and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Jim Rolfe, *Oceania and Terrorism: Some Linkages with the Wider Region and the Necessary Responses* (Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand Working Paper 19/04, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Jim Rolfe, 'Australia and the Security of the South Pacific', in Shibuya, ed., cited above; Stephen Hoadley, 'New Zealand Pacific Island Security Policies' in Shibuya, ed., cited above. Official statements of current policy may be found at [www.mfat.govt.nz](http://www.mfat.govt.nz), for example New Zealand's 'Pacific Policy' statement of September 2001 and [http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/spacific/regional\\_orgs/index.html](http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/spacific/regional_orgs/index.html) on South Pacific Regional Organisations with useful hyperlinks including a speech by the Prime Minister in 2004. A particularly cogent presentation is Allan Hawke (former Secretary of Defence), 'Regional Co-operation in the Pacific: An Australian ('s) Perspective' (26 June 2004), found at <http://www.australia.org.nz/>

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<sup>9</sup> Prime Minister of Australia. 'Transcript of the Prime Minister the Hon John Howard MP 22 July 2003' <http://www.pm.gov.au> accessed 23 April 2004; Rowan Callick, 'Australia and the Pacific: Hands On', *Far Eastern Economic Review* (October 30, 2003, p. 26; Angela Shanahan, 'Solomon Islands: The New Way', *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 7, 2003), p. 19. Also see Graham Dobell, 'Australia – Oceania and Pacific Asia' and Jim Rolfe, 'Oceania Today: The Region, Regional Powers and Regional Cooperation' both in Cozens, ed., cited above.

<sup>10</sup> Rebecca Adams, ed. *Peace on Bougainville: Truce Monitoring Group* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001); Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Bougainville Peace Process' <http://www.dfat.gov.au> accessed 23 April 2004; Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Bougainville: Chronology of Major Events' <http://www.dfat.gov.au> accessed 23 April 2004; Bede Cory, 'The Bougainville Peace Process: The Pacific Settlement of Disputes', in Vaughn, ed., cited above; Geoff Harris, et al eds. *Building Peace in Bougainville* (Armidale: University of New England Centre for Peace Studies, 1999); Pat Howley, *Breaking Spears and Mending Hearts: Peacemakers and Restorative Justice in Bougainville* (London: Zed Books, 2002); New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'The Bougainville Peace Process' (6 August 2003) <http://www.mfat.govt.nz> accessed 9 December 2003; Jim Rolfe, 'Peacekeeping the Pacific Way in Bougainville', *International Peacekeeping* (Winter 2001); Monica Wehner and Donald Denoon, eds., *Without a Gun: Australians' Experiences Monitoring Peace in Bougainville, 1997-2001* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2001). For detail on the unique New Zealand approach based on observation and interviews with participants see Louisa Desiree Gault, *The New Zealand Intervention in the Bougainville Crisis: An Integrative Cultural and Legal Rational Approach to Peace-Making in Bougainville* (Auckland: unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Australian Department of Defence. 'Operation Anode: Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands' <http://www.defence.gov.au> accessed 23 April 2004; Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Solomon Islands: Operation Helpem Fren' [with hyperlinks to recent policy statements.] <http://www.dfat.gov.au>, accessed 23 April 2004); Australian Federal Police, 'Solomon Islands Mission: AFP and APS Commitment' <http://www.afp.gov.au> accessed 23 April 2004; Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, "'Failed States" and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands', *Asia Pacific Issues No. 72*, East-West Center (March 2004); Binoy Kampmark, 'The Solomons Islands: The Limits of Intervention', *New Zealand International Review* (November/December 2003); Alistair McHaffie, 'Operation Rata: Helping out in the Solomon Islands' *Navy Today* (December 2003); Elsin Wainwright. 'Our Failing Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Solomon Islands', *Australian Strategic Policy Institute Policy Report*, June 2003 <http://www.aspri.org.au> accessed 24 April 2004; Elsin Wainwright, 'Responding to state failure – the case of Australia and Solomon Islands', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (November 2003); 'Operation Helpem Fren: Rebuilding the Nation of Solomon Islands' *Pacific Island Report*, East-West Center, <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org> accessed 27 May 2004; Angela Shanahan, 'Solomon Islands: The New Way', *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 7, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> Glyn Harper, *Mission to East Timor* (Auckland: Reed, 2002); Stephen Hoadley, 'Lessons from New Zealand's Engagement with East Timor 1999-2003', *New Zealand International Review* (May/June 2003); Stephen Hoadley, 'Diplomacy, Peacekeeping, and Nation-Building:

New Zealand and East Timor' in Anthony Smith, ed., *New Zealand and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005); Michael G. Smith, *Peacekeeping in East Timor* (Boulder: Westview, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> Reported in *The Economist* (April 24, 2004), p. 80).

<sup>14</sup> Prime Minister David Lange initially contemplated a forced intervention after the Fiji coup of 1987 but desisted when advised of its impracticality. Thus far, the island Pacific has not experienced a forced military intervention since World War Two ended.

<sup>15</sup> Sceptics about Australia's application of the failed state concept to justify management of the South Pacific include Kabutaulaka, cited above, Kampmark, cited above, Dobell, cited above, and Vijay Naidu, 'A white shark among minnows? Australia's changing role in the Pacific' *Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) Forum: Shifting Tides in Pacific Policy*, Canberra, September, 2003, found at <http://www.dev-zone.org/kcdocs/6518acfoanaidu.html>.



<sup>16</sup> I am indebted to two reviewers, each knowledgeable in island affairs, for pointing this out.

<sup>17</sup> This is hardly the last word. Analyses and prescriptions of humanitarian intervention have proliferated in the past decade. A recent Google search produced over 872,000 hits. A useful brief summary of the issue is 'Humanitarian Intervention: Definitions and Criteria' *CSS:NZ Strategic Briefing Paper*, Vol. 3, Part 1 (June 2000), found at [http://www.vuw.ac.nz/css/docs/briefing\\_papers/HI.pdf](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/css/docs/briefing_papers/HI.pdf).

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