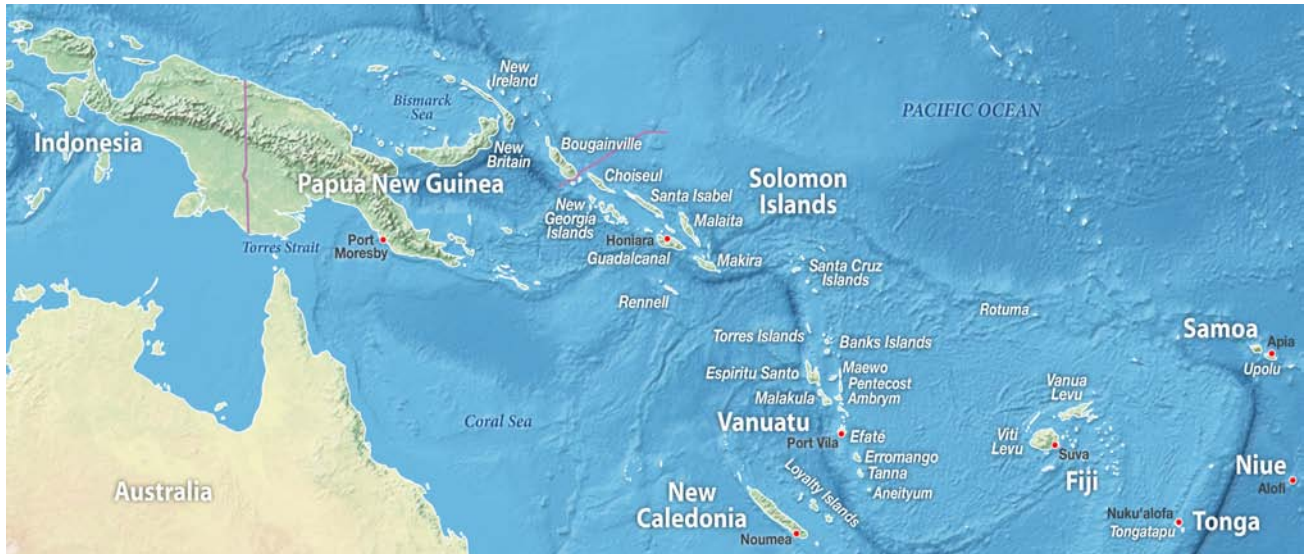




Australian
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The South Pacific: From ‘arc of instability’ to ‘arc of opportunity’? Is it time for Australia to shift its priorities from security to development in the South Pacific?

Abstracts and Biographies

Friday, 8 February 2013

University House, Australian National University

State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program; and the
Strategic and Defence Studies Centre

The School of International, Political and Strategic Studies wishes to thank the Research School of Asia and the Pacific and the Kokoda foundation for their support.

**ANU College of
Asia & the Pacific**

Workshop Program

8.30-9.30am – Welcome and launch of the special volume of *Security Challenges* on ‘Security in the Pacific arc’

Introduction: **Professor Andrew MacIntyre**, Dean of the College of Asia and the Pacific and Director of the Research School of Asia and the Pacific, ANU.

Introduction to the special volume and workshop theme ‘The South Pacific: from “arc of instability” to “arc of opportunity”?’: **Dr Joanne Wallis**, Lecturer and Convener of the Asia-Pacific Security program in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU.

Launch of the special volume: **Professor Peter Leahy**, Director of the National Security Institute, University of Canberra and board member of the Kokoda Foundation.

‘A Pacific perspective of the workshop theme’: **His Excellency Mr Charles Lepani**, Papua New Guinea High Commissioner to Australia.

‘An Australian perspective of the workshop theme’: **Mr James Batley**, Deputy Director-General, Country Programs Group, AusAID.

‘Setting the scene for the workshop’: **Dr Sinclair Dinnen**, Senior Fellow in the State Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, ANU.

9.30-11.00am – Australian perspectives of the South Pacific

Chair: **Dr Andrew Carr**, Associate Lecturer in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU.

‘Australia and the Pacific: a case of questionable assumptions’: **Dr Stewart Firth**, Visiting Fellow in the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, ANU.

‘The importance of the inner arc to Australian defence policy and planning’: **Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb**, former head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU, former Deputy Secretary in the Australian Department of Defence and former Director of the Defence Intelligence Organisation.

‘From “arc of instability” to “arc of responsibility”’: **Mr Graeme Dobell**, Journalist Fellow with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute and Radio Australia’s Associate Editor for the Asia Pacific.

‘Maritime issues facing the region’: **Dr Quentin Hanich**, Fisheries Governance Programme Leader in the Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security.

11.00-11.30am – Morning tea break

11.30-1.00pm – Updates on the region and challenges and opportunities for future Australian policy and engagement

Chair: **Dr Tess Newton Cain**, Associate of the Development Policy Centre, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU.

‘Papua New Guinea: issues of external and internal security’: **Dr Ron May**, Emeritus Fellow of the ANU and a Senior Associate in the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, ANU.

‘Solomon Islands: RAMSI, transition and future prospects’: **Dr Sinclair Dinnen**.

‘Timor-Leste: an increased Australian spotlight’: **Dr Gordon Peake**, Visiting Fellow in the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, ANU..

‘Fiji: fishing in troubled waters’: **Professor Brij Lal**, Acting Director of the School of Culture, History and Language, ANU.

‘The politics surrounding land and development in Vanuatu’: **Ms Siobhan McDonnell**, PhD student in the School of Culture, History and Language, ANU.

1.00-2.00pm – Lunch break

2.00-3.30pm – Perspectives from the region I: young people in the Pacific

Chair: **Mr Latu Latai**, PhD student in the School of Culture, History and Language, ANU.

‘Peace education and peace-building in the Solomon Islands: disconnected layers’: **Dr Jack Maebuta**, Lecturer in Education at the University of the South Pacific, Solomon Islands Campus and an Honorary Associate in the School of Humanities, University of New England.

‘Developing opportunities for young people in Papua New Guinea’: **Ms Serena Sasingian**, Executive Director of The Voice Inc., an organization that works with youth in the education system to build leadership for social change.

‘ICT and political stability in the South Pacific’: **Ms Sarah Logan**, PhD student in the Department of International Relations, ANU.

‘Young People’s Participation in Fiji - Opportunities for Australian Engagement’: **Dr Patrick Vakaoti**, Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Gender and Social Work, University of Otago.

3.30-4.00pm – Afternoon tea break

4.00-5.30pm – Perspectives from the region II: politics and justice in the Pacific

Chair: **Dr Lia Kent**, Research Fellow in the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, ANU.

‘The unintended consequences of Fiji’s international peacekeeping’: **Mr Jone Baledrokadroka**, a former colonel with 26 years of service in the Fiji military who recently completed PhD studies in the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, ANU.

‘The role of gift giving in Solomon Islands contemporary politics’: **Mr Tony Hiriasia**, a Masters student at the University of the South Pacific.

‘The implementation of Papua New Guinea’s National Goals and Directive Principles and Basic Social Obligations’: **Mr Vergil Narokobi**, legal Counsel at Ombudsman Commission and a PhD student at Victoria University of Wellington.

‘The role that customary practices play in Vanuatu’s modern government system’: **Mr Greg Nimbtik**, a PhD student at RMIT University.

5.30-5.45pm – Plans for future publications and research collaboration

Dr Sinclair Dinnen and **Dr Joanne Wallis**.

5.45-7.00pm – Reception and concluding remarks

Introduction: **Professor Paul Hutchcroft**, Director of the School of International, Political and Strategic Studies, ANU.

Concluding remarks: **His Excellency Mr Charles Lepani**, Papua New Guinea High Commissioner to Australia.

Welcome

Professor Andrew MacIntyre

*Dean, College of Asia & the Pacific,
Australian National University*



Andrew is Professor of Political Science. His current research projects include a multi-author study of Asian regional institutions and an assessment of the trajectory for democracy in Southeast Asia. He is the convenor of the Emerging Asia working group, one of six groups commissioned by the United States Studies Centre, Sydney University, as part of the US-Australia Alliance in the 21st Century project. Recent past projects include an edited book on the political economy of East Asia 10 years after the financial crisis (Cornell University Press 2008); a review of the state of knowledge on the rule of law and development (Annual Review Political Science, 2008); and a policy paper on current developments in Indonesia and their implications for Australia (Australian Strategic Policy Institute 2008). He is a regular contributor of opinion to the ANU's East Asia Forum.

Along serving as Dean of the College, Professor MacIntyre is also Director of the new Research School of Asia & the Pacific. He was previously Director of the Crawford School of Economics and Government. Prior to his joining the ANU he was a professor at the University of California, San Diego.

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The South Pacific: from “arc of instability” to “arc of opportunity”?

This paper discusses the contributions from leading experts and Pacific scholars to the recent special volume of *Security Challenges* on “Security in the Pacific arc”. It identifies the common themes that emerge from the contributions regarding the way in which Australia relates to the South Pacific, and how the South Pacific responds to Australia. It then summarises the contributors’ conclusions regarding the future prospects of the South Pacific. It concludes by arguing that, although Australia has extensive interests in the South Pacific, it has declining influence over the region. The contributions suggest that, in order for the South Pacific to become a source of security, rather than threat, Australia needs to take a more cooperative and long-term developmental approach that engages with the local context, including the resilience of South Pacific societies. Consequently, it may be time for Australian policymakers to see the region not as an “arc of instability”, but instead as an “arc of opportunity”.

Dr Joanne Wallis

Lecturer and Convener of the Asia-Pacific Security Program, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University



Joanne is a lecturer in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University, where she also convenes the Bachelor of Asia-Pacific Security program. She has lectured and tutored at the Australian Command and Staff College, the University of Cambridge, University of Melbourne and Swinburne University. Joanne has conducted research consultancies for Australian and international NGOs, and writes analyses for a leading global political risk advisory service.

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Launch of the special volume of Security Challenges on Australia's Pacific arc

Professor Peter Leahy

Director of the National Security Institute, University of Canberra and board member of the Kokoda Foundation



Peter is the former Chief of Army. His career focus is on issues of national security and providing government with a broad range of domestic, expeditionary and development options. Key achievements include: expanding the combat role of women; restructuring Army Reserve; and expanding, training and sustaining the army during a period of increasing global combat operations.

Peter's areas of expertise include army, Department of Defence, changing nature of conflict, Asia-Pacific security, AusAID, balance between defence & security, defence, defence budgets, AFP, DFAT, international relations, military & the media, military capabilities and operations, national security, national security community, national security statement, new threats & challenges, parliamentary approval for war, UN, war and conflict.

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An Australian perspective of the workshop theme

Mr James Batley

Deputy Director-General, Country Programs Group, Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)



James joined AusAID as Deputy Director General of the Asia, Pacific and Program Enabling Group and the agency's Executive Committee in February 2011. Before joining AusAID, James headed the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade's Consular, Public Diplomacy and Parliamentary Affairs Division.

James joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1984 and early in his career served in Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, and Indonesia. From 1997 to 1999 he was Australian High Commissioner to Solomon Islands, concurrently serving terms in 1997 as Deputy Leader of the regional Truce Monitoring Group in Bougainville and in 1998 as Chief Negotiator of the Group's successor, the Peace Monitoring Group.

From 1999 to 2002 James served as Australia's senior diplomatic representative in Dili, East Timor, and was appointed Australia's first Ambassador to East Timor at independence in May 2002. In 2004 James was appointed Special Coordinator of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands, a position he held until 2006. From early 2007 to late 2009 he served as Australia's High Commissioner to Fiji, with concurrent accreditation to Tuvalu and Nauru, and as Permanent Representative to the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. James also held a range of senior positions with the department in Canberra. He was awarded the Public Service Medal in 2002.

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A Pacific perspective of the workshop theme

His Excellency Mr Charles Lepani

*Papua New Guinea High
Commissioner to Australia*



Charles is Papua New Guinea's High Commissioner to Australia with responsibilities in developing and recommending policies and procedures for enhancing PNG's bilateral ties with Australia at the official level. He also works to improve people to people contact - in particular with organisations such as Kokoda Track Foundation and Buk Bilong Pikinini.

Charles has been working to improve PNG-Australia bilateral relations, to mature the relationship from aid dependence to trade and investment flows with Australia. He has been very personally involved with the current round of Economic Cooperation Treaty negotiations- overseeing its progress to completion. Charles has been invited guest speaker at some of Australia's respected think-tanks, universities and industry organisations on a broad range of topics including PNG's economic and social development policies, mining and petroleum policies and investment policies, and he is often called upon to explain and defend PNG's perceived political issues in Australia's media. Some of his papers and speeches have been published in academic and other publications.

Australian perspectives of the Pacific inner arc

Chair: Dr Andrew Carr, Associate Lecturer in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University

Australia and the Pacific: a case of questionable assumptions

Political instability in the Pacific Islands since the 1990s has triggered external interventions by Australia, New Zealand and Pacific Island countries designed to restore law and order, keep the peace, improve governance and build states, and it has given rise to the phenomenon of 'cooperative intervention'. The aid relationship between donors and recipients has been extended to encompass military intervention and state-building in fragile and post-conflict situations, and the Pacific Islands has been among the first regions in the developing world to adopt aid-security cooperation between development agencies, military forces and police.

Australian policy towards the region has rested on questionable assumptions. The first is that 'good governance' will contribute decisively to development, whereas in fact 'good governance' appears to be only weakly associated with economic growth in developing countries including Pacific ones. The second assumption, related to the first, is that Australia's aid and interventions can quickly enhance state capacity in societies with communal traditions, while simultaneously excluding most Pacific Islanders from the Australian labour market.

Dr Stewart Firth

Senior Fellow with the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, Australian National University



Stewart has been interested in the Pacific Islands since teaching at the University of Papua New Guinea in its early years. He also taught at the University of Hawaii, and from 1998 to 2004 was Professor of Politics at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. In between came a couple of decades teaching politics and international relations at Macquarie University. Firth was a visitor at the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project in 2005, and helped to organise a conference on globalisation and governance in the Pacific Islands.

In recent years his research has focussed on regional security issues in the Pacific, as well as the impact of globalisation, especially the impact of free trade arrangements on Fiji. Firth's most recent book is a textbook on Australian foreign policy.

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The importance of the inner arc to Australian defence policy and planning

The paper examines the strategic importance of the inner arc to the evolution of Australia's defence policy and how it has been perceived both as threat and opportunity. It analyses the classified strategic guidance from the 1950s to the mid-1970s and the subsequent public statements in Defence White Papers until the most recent one in 2009. The paper focuses on both the conceptual framework of high-level defence policy and its implementation, but not on the details of military operations or the Australian Defence Force's activities in the region. It concludes by discussing the future strategic significance of the 'arc' to Australian defence planning out to 2030.

Emeritus Professor Paul Dibb

Former Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University

Former Deputy Secretary in the Australian Department of Defence

Former Director of the Defence Intelligence Organisation

Paul was Head of the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University from 1991 to 2003. Previously, he was Deputy Secretary in the Australian Department of Defence (1988 to 1991) and Director of the Defence Intelligence Organisation (1986 to 1988). He was the primary author of the 1987 Defence White Paper.

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From “arc of instability” to “arc of responsibility”

Rather than viewing Melanesia as an “arc of instability”, Australia should see it as an “arc of responsibility”. The idea of responsibility makes explicit the central role that Australia seeks in the region, and the idea of the arc reflects Australian perspectives. By its actions, Australia has extended its formal security guarantee to Papua New Guinea to the rest of Melanesia and Timor-Leste. The nature of the guarantee has expanded beyond protecting external security to a range of commitments to maintain the internal stability of these states. In an ad hoc manner, Australia has expanded its role as security guarantor to match its position as the region’s largest aid donor. Yet Australia still has far to go before its understanding of its economic role in the arc matches its security guarantees. And Australia’s leadership ambition does not always get much regional “followship”.

Mr Graeme Dobell

Journalist Fellow with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute



Graeme is Journalist Fellow with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute and Radio Australia’s Associate Editor for the Asia Pacific. From 2008 to 2012, he was Journalist Fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. In 2011, he was made a Fellow of the Australian Institute of International Affairs “for his distinguished contribution to journalism through his reporting on politics and international affairs.” He is the author of *Australia Finds Home—the Choices and Chances of an Asia Pacific Journey*, published in 2000.

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Maritime issues facing the region

The Western and Central Pacific Ocean (WCPO) encompasses 14 Pacific island states and 8 territories that include some of the world's largest maritime countries, governed by some of the world's smallest governments. The combined exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of the Pacific island states cover roughly 30,569,000 km² of the WCPO and includes some of its most productive waters. Due in part to the paucity of land and few agricultural or mineral opportunities, the region is heavily dependent upon oceanic and coastal fisheries for food security, livelihoods, revenue and development. Fortunately, the WCPO is home to the world's richest and largest tuna fishery with an estimated value of approximately AUD\$4.3 billion. These tuna fisheries are the only significant renewable resource for the majority of the Pacific island states and have long been viewed as the primary development opportunity.

This presents a tremendous opportunity and challenge. While Australia and its larger allies focus their attentions on geo-strategic security and traditional trans-national crime concerns, many Pacific island States are primarily concerned with protecting their maritime resources and enforcing their sovereign rights. This presents a number of regional and national challenges. This paper identifies the key risks and discusses potential regional and national responses.

Dr Quentin Hanich

Fisheries Governance Program in the Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security



Quentin is a Senior Research Fellow at the Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security (ANCORS) in the University of Wollongong. He leads the Fisheries Governance Research Programme, and is retained as a Technical Fisheries Advisor to the Australian government development agency, AusAID. He has a strong research and consulting background, and extensive project management experience in fisheries governance, marine conservation, and fisheries management and development. He has worked widely throughout the Asia Pacific region and is recognized as a Pacific regional expert on international fisheries governance and development, and more broadly on various aspects of oceans governance.

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Updates on the region and challenges and opportunities for future Australian policy and engagement

Chair: Dr Tess Newton-Cain, Associate of the Development Policy Centre, Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU

Papua New Guinea: issues of external and internal security

Since independence in 1975 Papua New Guinea has enjoyed a generally benign external security environment, in which the principal challenges have come from the management of the borders with Indonesia to the west and the Solomon Islands to the east, and illegal fishing. Security threats from illegal migration and international crime have been of relatively minor concern. More significant for Papua New Guinea have been issues of internal security, including “tribal fighting”, raskolism, threats to resource projects, violence against women, and election-related conflicts.

Dr Ron May

Emeritus Fellow of the Australian National University

Senior Associate of the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, Australian National University



Ron is an Emeritus Fellow of the Australian National University. He was formerly a Senior Fellow in the Department of Political and Social Change, RSPAS and at various stages Head of the Department of Political and Social Change, Convenor of the Division of Politics and International Relations, Associate Director of RSPAS and Convenor of the Centre for Conflict and Post-conflict Studies, Asia Pacific. Prior to that he was Senior Economist with the Reserve Bank of Australia, Field Director of the ANU's New Guinea Research Unit and foundation Director of what is now the National Research Institute (NRI) in Papua New Guinea. On retiring in 2005, he served as Research Adviser to the NRI (under AusAID's Advisory Support Facility) until 2008 and continues work on and in Papua New Guinea. He has published extensively on Melanesia and on Southeast Asia (particularly the Philippines and West Papua).

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Solomon Islands: RAMSI, transition and future prospects

The Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) was deployed to the Solomon Islands almost ten years ago following a short but debilitating internal conflict. Developments on the ground and in RAMSI's understanding of the small Pacific island nation have led to significant changes in the mission's orientation and manner of engagement. Appreciation of the deeper structural challenges facing the Solomon Islands, most of which predated the conflict, indicates that substantial international support will be needed for many years to come. The external security lens through which the Solomon Islands was primarily viewed at the outset of the mission is being progressively replaced by a more context-specific development perspective.

Dr Sinclair Dinnen

Senior Fellow with the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, Australian National University



Sinclair is a Senior Fellow with the State Society and Governance in Melanesia Program at the Australian National University. He has undertaken extensive research and policy work in the Southwest Pacific with a particular focus on justice, policing, legal pluralism, conflict, and state-building.

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Timor-Leste: an increased Australian spotlight

With the departure of United Nations peacekeepers, Australia becomes the largest international presence in Timor-Leste. It does so at not necessarily an easy time: despite the stark development challenges that remain, the government in Dili is tired of outside advice. Australia's past actions over oil and gas in the Timor Sea still cast a shadow over the present. Although Australian aid in Timor-Leste is wide and varied, drawing broad conclusions about its effectiveness and impact is difficult owing to the relative absence of independent evaluations of these programs. Decisions made by each country's leaders can impact detectably upon the bilateral relationship and complicate the work of Australian government personnel in Dili.

Dr Gordon Peake

Visiting Fellow with the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, Australian National University



Gordon is a Visiting Fellow at the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, Australian National University. He lived and worked in Dili from 2007-11, and his book about the country entitled *Beloved Land: Stories of Timor-Leste* will be published in 2013.

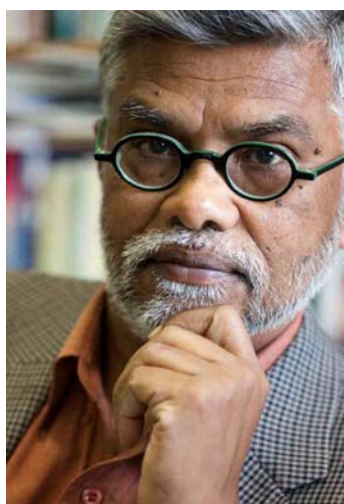
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Fiji: fishing in troubled waters

Fiji's military coup in 2006 was the fourth since 1987 and has spelled predictable disaster for the island nation. While Commodore Frank Bainimarama was able to assert a semblance of his authority on the country through media censorship, physical harassment of dissidents and a plethora of draconian decrees restricting, he found it rather more difficult to convince the international community of his noble intentions for the country. The Fiji regime then sought to fragment regional solidarity and cultivate diplomatic relations with far-flung counties such as Brazil, South Africa, Iran and North Korea in a vain effort to create an impression of gathering diplomatic support for itself. There was much movement but little change.

Professor Brij V. Lal

Acting Director of the School of Culture, History and Language



Brij is Professor and Acting Director of the School of Culture, History and Language at the Australian National University and an acknowledged senior scholar of Fijian history and politics.

Brij is currently working on a large scale project about Australia's engagement with the South Pacific from the 1940s to the 1980s, focusing on the Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu. His research on Fiji continues with a historical dictionary and a general interpretative volume for the University of Hawaii currently in preparation, along with a series of essays on the politics and culture of the Indian indentured diaspora. On the side, Brij continues to wrestle with the problems of writing about societies with unwritten pasts.

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Searching for the lost arc: why state based approaches will never address land problems in Vanuatu

Viewed through a security lens, countries within Melanesia have been grouped as a supposed 'arc of instability' in which states were in varying degrees of 'failure'. Vanuatu has always appeared as somewhat of a misnomer within this arc, entitled to membership through regional geography rather than from any perceived, or real, threat to Australia's security.

An increasingly pressing feature of the geo-political landscape of the Melanesian region are large-scale land transformations. These transformations have profound implications for local people and livelihoods, serious environmental implications, and are occurring in areas that are (or were) largely managed under customary tenure arrangements. Consideration of these transformations is also essential precursor to discussions of natural resource management, food security, climate change, conservation and cultural and heritage management.

The focus on states and their 'failure' within the Pacific region continues to limit Australian government attempts to aid in addressing the large-scale land transformations that are occurring in the Pacific. This paper will discuss the recent history of land transformations in Vanuatu, and the way the Australian Government's current program- Mama Graon- is failing to adequately address the conflicts raised by these transformations because it is hampered by a strategy of state based engagement. Donor engagement that shows an uncritical focus on states without asking who states act in the interests of, is unlikely to be of meaningful long-term benefit to custom landowners in Melanesia.

Ms Siobhan McDonnell

PhD student, School of Culture, History and Language, Australian National University



Siobhan is a legal anthropologist who spent ten years working as an academic and advisor on land and governance issues in Indigenous Australia before beginning a PhD on land issues in Vanuatu five years ago. In the two years she lived in Vanuatu, she worked as an advisor to the Attorney General on land issues, as well as for the Minister of Lands and the Minister of Justice. Siobhan McDonnell also has an ongoing position as the Legal Advisor in the Vanuatu Cultural Centre. She has provided legal advice on land and environmental issues, carbon trading and World Heritage issues in Melanesia to the World Bank and other NGOs. She is an occasional lecturer at the Australian National University and the University of the South Pacific.

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Perspectives from the region I: young people in the Pacific

Chair: Mr Latu Laite, PhD Student, School of Culture, History and Language, Australian National University

Peace education and peace-building in the Solomon Islands

The notion of conflict, peace, education and development that characterise discussions about the Solomon Islands immediate past, present and future prospects are complex and interrelated. These terms are interrelated as conflict, peace and education affect development. Likewise, poor development can be one of the causes of conflict. Development as a multidimensional reality consists of interrelated issues such as the economy, health, education, social relations and governance. To this end, a macro-perspective of the relationship between conflict, peace, education and development is important, particularly in post-conflict reconstruction. In the Solomon Islands, conflict has not occurred in a vacuum. It has been strongly influenced by the turbulent socio-cultural variables of the country. Long-term peace-building efforts in the Solomon Islands ultimately depend on effectively reconnecting thinking and practice to conflict, peace, education and development.

Dr Jack Maebuta

Lecturer in Education at the University of the South Pacific, Solomon Islands Campus and an Honorary Associate in the School of Humanities, University of New England



Jack is currently a Lecturer in Education at the University of the South Pacific (USP), Solomon Islands Campus and an Honorary Associate in the School of Humanities, University of New England, NSW, Australia. He was a Pacific Islands Research Fellow with SSGM, ANU. He has a PhD in Peace Studies from the University of New England. His PhD thesis investigates The Role of Education in Peace-building in the Solomon Islands. He was a recipient of the Australian Leadership Award Scholarship and the Australian Prime Minister's Pacific-Australia Award. Jack has published a number of peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters.

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Developing opportunities for young people in Papua New Guinea

My paper will focus on youth in PNG and how to develop opportunities for them. I will discuss the different environments young people grow up in (social, economic and political) that can hinder their ability to embrace opportunities presented to them. I will examine the first National Goal and Directive Principle as enshrined in the Constitution of PNG calling for the integral human development of every Papua New Guinean and compare that to the reality we are living in. I will also speak briefly on the notion of development as Freedoms and how our young people must have the freedom to express their individuality and I will also touch on the significant role culture plays in terms of how opportunities are embraced.

Ms Serena Sasingan

*Executive Director of The Voice Inc.,
an organization that works with
youth in the education system to
build leadership*



Serena practiced as a lawyer with Gadens Lawyers in the area of Commercial Litigation before she resigned to work full time as Executive Director for The Voice Inc. She has been recognised for her dynamic work in the area of youth and leadership and recently was the recipient of the International Leaders Visitors program by the US State Government. Serena was also recently invited to join the Asia Pacific Policy society at ANU.

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The role that mobile phones and new media play in political mobilisation in Papua New Guinea

Access to mobile phones has increased exponentially across the Pacific, along with significant increases in internet use, including social media. This paper outlines current research on the impact of Information and Communications Technologies - specifically new technology such as mobile phones - on political stability. The paper applies this research to current concerns regarding the arc of instability, especially the importance of political stability and good governance. The paper argues that ICT has the capacity to effect positive change in governance and stability in the region, particularly regarding transparency, economic growth and political engagement. However, the technology can also facilitate collective violence and fracturing of political identities. Ultimately, the paper concludes, more research is needed before the impact of ICT on political stability in the Pacific can be ascertained with any certainty, although the potential of its impact on the region is undoubted.

Ms Sarah Logan

PhD student, Department of International Relations, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University



Sarah started her PhD in mid-2009. She is interested in what counter-radicalisation policies in liberal democratic states reveal about liberalism's responses to challenges posed by increased migration and transnational terrorism. She will be investigating the nature and implementation of counter-radicalisation policies in the context of the practice of secularism, tolerance and integration in the EU, UK and the US post-9/11.

Sarah has a Master of Arts (International Relations) from the ANU, and an honours degree in linguistics, also from the ANU.

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Young people's participation in Fiji: opportunities for Australian engagement

Young people in Fiji are on a cusp of a new era. Contemporary socio-economic and technological changes offer them many possibilities and challenges. Politically, many young people - especially those born in the mid-1980s - will for the first time experience the opportunity to vote in the proposed 2014 general elections. These prospects excite young people about the Fiji they want and possibly have the power to shape it. Young people are enthusiastic and eager to participate. However, their participation will only be realized if processes that allow for young people's involvement are created in spaces that impact on their lives and the issues they face. Currently this is most feasible at the community level, where young people are most active. It is in this space that Australian engagement with development partners in Fiji is most visible. This juxtaposition offer opportunities for engagement between Australia and Fiji's young people. Fiji has much to gain from this proposition and Australia has the chance to move beyond its geo-political concerns, enhancing its community-based engagement specifically with Fiji's future leaders.

Dr Patrick Vakaoti

Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Gender and Social Work, University of Otago



Patrick is a lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Gender and Social Work at the University of Otago in New Zealand. He was formerly employed at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and recently as a Pacific Islands Research Fellow at State Society and Governance in Melanesia Program at the ANU. He has worked on numerous consultancies for organisations like UNICEF, Knowing Children, Pacific Leadership Programme (AusAID) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community on child protection, youth leadership and youth development issues in Fiji and the Pacific Region. In early 2011, he completed work as part of a team reviewing the Pacific Youth Strategy and contributing to the latest State of Pacific Youth Report. He involves himself in community-based projects for young people in Fiji, as part of his social service contribution. His current research focuses on young people's participation in Fiji.

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Perspectives from the region II: politics and justice in the Pacific

Chair: Ms Lia Kent, Postdoctoral Fellow in the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Program, School of International, Political and Strategic Studies

The unintended consequences of Fiji's international peacekeeping

The consequences of international peacekeeping operations on the domestic politics of a contributing country are an under-explored phenomenon. For Fiji, the intended outcome was that the fledgling state would play a positive role in international affairs. The unintended outcome was the development of a patron-client nexus between the ruling elite and the largely ethnic Fijian military. In the last twenty-five years the military has intervened in domestic affairs, which has made Fiji a coup-prone state. This article considers why this has occurred.

Jone Baledrokadroka

*Former colonel in the Fiji military
Recent PhD graduate from the State,
Society and Governance in Melanesia
Program, Australian National
University*



Jone is a former colonel with twenty-six years of service in the Fiji military, having served on several peacekeeping missions. He has graduated from the Malaysian Command and Staff College and holds a Post Graduate Diploma in Strategy and Defence and a Masters of Arts in Strategic Studies from Deakin University, Australia. He is a fellow of the Asia Pacific Center for Strategic Studies Hawaii, the Australian Land Warfare Studies Centre Canberra and the US Naval Post Graduate School Monterey, CA, USA. Jone has recently completed PhD studies at the State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Department, Australian National University, researching the role of the military in Fiji politics.

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The role of gift giving in Solomon Islands contemporary politics

This paper discusses the role of 'gifting' in contemporary politics and its influence on political organization in AreAre and on Malaita. While gifting may generally refer to the use of gifts to gain political support from recipients, its use in the AreAre and Malaitan politics also accommodates obligatory contribution (*waiarahara* in AreAre) from kin members toward social events. The paper discusses concept of gifting and *wantokism* in relation to clientelism and BigMan politics in Solomon Islands. I will then make a distinction between gifting in the traditional and contemporary politics relevant to AreAre and Malaitan politics. Lastly, I will draw on research data to discuss political alliance in contemporary politics and how this is reflected in voting patterns obvious in past elections results.

Mr Tony Hirasia

Masters student at the University of the South Pacific



Tony is from the island of Malaita in Solomon Islands. He is currently doing his Master of Arts (majoring in Politics) at the University of the South Pacific. His research centres mostly on gift giving and how it is practiced in Solomon Islands contemporary politics. Tony is particularly interested in the way the practice has emerged in Solomon Islands politics as incentive to maintain political alliances and secure votes during elections. He is also investigating the role of gifting in Malaitan traditional politics to see if the practice of today has diverged from the traditional concept.

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The implementation of Papua New Guinea's national goals and directive principles and basic social obligations

Developing post-colonial states and developed states alike have implemented economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR) protected under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) through various methods under their national constitutions. This paper discusses Papua New Guinea's (PNG) experience of implementing ESCR through the constitutional requirement to implement the National Goals and Directive Principles (NGDP). Non-implementation of the NGDP has been an on-going issue. Many social issues confront PNG, and the extent to which the NGDP are realised addresses many of these concerns. The paper asserts that the constitutional duty to implement the NGDP has been misunderstood as being entirely non-justiciable. A plain reading of s 25(1) of the Constitution indicate three types of duties to implement, non-justifiability applies to s 25(2) only; but not to s 25(3) and s 25(4). This paper proposes how each of these three aspects can be enhanced. In this connection, the international debate on the enforcement of ESCR under national constitutions will be discussed for comparison.

Mr Vergil Narokobi

Legal Counsel at Ombudsman Commission and PhD student at Victoria University, Wellington



Vergil is a Papua New Guinean from Wewak, East Sepik Province. He completed his LLB at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1997 and his LLM at the University of Cambridge in 1999. He received his Practising Certificate from the Legal Training Institute in 2000 and was admitted in 2000 as Barrister and Solicitor by the National and Supreme Court of Papua New Guinea. From 2000-2003 Vergil worked with PricewaterhouseCoopers as a tax and business consultant, concurrently he was a part-time lecturer at the Institute of Business Studies. From 2003 - 2008 Vergil was the senior lawyer at Melanesian Lawyers and Narokobi Lawyers and in 2008 joined the Ombudsman Commission of Papua New Guinea as Legal Counsel. In 2012 Vergil started his PhD at Victoria University of Wellington with an NZAID Pacific PhD Scholarship 2012 – 2015. His PhD Topic is the Implementation of Papua New Guinea's National Goals and Directive Principles and Basic Social Obligations. Vergil's interests include reading, writing and walking.

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The role that customary practices play in Vanuatu's modern government system

This research project explores how customary practices, in particular social reciprocity and the role of *Kastom* impact on the modern government system and how *Kastom* can be harnessed to enhance the legitimacy of modern governance in Vanuatu. In this paper, I will define the term *Kastom* and Tradition and how it applies in the context of Vanuatu followed with a summary outline of a brief literature on the tensions and dichotomy between traditional norms, values, and principles with those of modern democratic statehood and the notion of good governance. I will also contextualize how the practice of reciprocal support system impact on the leadership operation of modern democratic statehood and the notion of good governance in Vanuatu followed with the research significance and the research questions. The last part of the paper deals with the proposed methodology for this research study and then concludes with a brief description of the limitations of this study and possibilities for future research in this area.

Mr Greg Nimbtik

Masters student at Massey University



Greg is from Vanuatu. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts, majoring in Management and Tourism studies, at the University of the South Pacific in 1997. In 2002 he was awarded an Australian Development Scholarship to do a Master of Development Administration at The Australian National University, which he completed in July 2004. Greg started his career as an education officer at the Ministry of Education, Vanuatu Government, from 1998-1999. In 2000 he was appointed as the Assistant Director for the public sector reform management at the Office of Prime Minister. Greg held this position until 2005. In 2006 he was appointed as a Director of the Strategic Policy, Planning, and Aid Coordination at the Ministry of Prime Minister. He occupied this position until March 2012. Greg is now doing his PhD studies at the RMIT University focusing on the impact of customary practices on modern government system in the context of Vanuatu. The aims of his thesis are to assess the disconnection and conflict between traditional practices and the modern state; explore the strengths and contemporary relevance of traditional practices with the view to enhancing the legitimacy of government institutions and; recommending strategies to bridge the gulf between traditional practices and modern state institutions.

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Plans for future publications and research collaboration

Dr Sinclair Dinnen, and Dr Joanne Wallis

5.45 – 7.00pm Reception and concluding remarks

Professor Paul Hutchcroft and His Excellency Charles Lepani

Professor Paul Hutchcroft

*Director, School of International,
Political and Strategic Studies*



Paul's interests in Southeast Asian politics can be traced to 1980-81, when he first lived in the Philippines and witnessed mounting opposition to the rule of Ferdinand Marcos. This eventually led him into Southeast Asian studies at Yale University, where he completed an M.A. in International Relations and a Ph.D. in Political Science. He finished his dissertation while at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, and proceeded to fifteen years of service on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He joined the ANU in August 2008.

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