as postcolonial response 126, 147, 148, 165

*see also* nuclear issues, nuclear testing

Anzac Pact 62, 67, 69, 70, 96

ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) 171, 173, 178, 180, 181, 182

and Cold War regional order 130, 168, 173–4

crisis 167, 169, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183

Apia 112, 135, 255, 261, 264, 300

Aqorau, Dr Transform 289

‘arc of crisis’ 253, 254

‘archipelagic principle’ 208–9

Ardern, Jacinda 268, 322

Ariki, Makea Nui Teremoana 83

Ariki, Rongomatane 83

Asia 25, 36, 37, 40, 59, 63, 98, 137, 221, 295

Asia-Pacific 41, 288, 295, 318

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 25

Asian 26, 28, 85, 288

Asian Development Bank (ADB) 130, 233

Asian Financial Crisis 233

Asiatic communism 96, 97, 98

Association of Southeast Asian Nations 25

Atlantic Charter 65, 67

ATOM, *see Against Testing on Mururoa*

AusAID 41

Australasia 50, 54, 59–60, 62, 69, 71–2, 129, 251

‘Australasian Monroe doctrine’ 36, 45, 49–52, 72, 75, 312

Australia 51, 78, 79, 86, 98, 169

antinuclear civil society 147, 149, 152

antinuclear policy 152, 153, 154, 169, 180, 181, 183–4, 187

Anzac Pact 62, 67, 69, 70, 96

‘Australasian Monroe doctrine’ 45, 50, 51, 72

calls for ‘British Pacific’ 49, 50–1, 59

climate change policy 271–2, 273, 278, 281–5, 296–7, 301, 302, 313, 320, 322, 323, 325


colonisation by 48, 53, 56, 57, 58, 137


conflict with global powers 178, 183–4, 188

and creation of South Pacific Commission 68, 75

criticism of 121–2, 155, 158, 186, 237, 246, 257, 265, 269, 279, 282, 283, 284
decolonisation 127–8, 129

and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 117, 118, 121, 135, 309
dominance of South Pacific Commission 62, 121

and governance breakdown in Pacific 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258–60, 262


Indigenous 165

intercolonial convention 36, 312

intercolonial cooperation 63, 69

and islander control of organisations 276, 287–8, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298, 310, 320, 322, 323

and islander political agency 19, 48, 75, 163–4, 166
keeping United Nations at bay 72, 94
labour mobility 245
and 'native welfare' 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75
and neoliberalism 189, 217–47, 281, 319
nuclear policy 20, 181, 182, 315
at Pacific Islands Forum 234–6, 237, 246, 278, 280, 282, 291, 294, 297–8, 302
Pacific Security College 272
as part of Pacific 12, 13, 99, 325
policy on China 21, 265, 266–70, 272, 273, 274, 314, 319, 323, 324, 325
policy on waste dumping 154, 155
postwar framing 60, 61–2, 63, 71–2, 82
push for regional cooperation 70–1, 72
push for regional norms 14, 20
and regional crime 249, 250–2, 257, 261
and regional development 70, 173–5, 222, 233, 267–8
regional security cooperation 252, 253, 257, 272
regional security framing 20, 21, 69–70, 137, 166, 249, 252, 261
regional transport 200, 201, 203
and reinscription of New Caledonia 159, 183, 188
relations with Nauru 84, 101, 103, 115, 263, 282
relations with Papua New Guinea 88, 89–90, 91, 93, 125, 127, 207, 262, 263, 269, 272, 273, 292
resistance to decolonisation 94, 101, 157
at South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation 136
at South Pacific Commission 85, 92, 136
at South Pacific Forum 125, 131, 136, 137, 175, 226, 229, 233, 277–8, 321
and Soviet engagement 171, 172, 173, 174–6, 177, 180, 183, 188, 250
'strategic denial' policy 176–8, 180, 187–9, 250, 265, 267, 268, 270, 272, 273, 313–14, 319
support for self-determination 65, 67, 68, 94, 101, 104, 156, 166
thinking about Pacific islanders 85, 93
trade with Pacific 194, 199, 207–8, 215, 222, 231, 241, 242–3, 244, 245–6, 279, 289, 318
as US ally 36, 173, 182, 184, 213, 268
see also Anzac Pact, ANZUS, Canberra Agreement
Australian Climate Change Authority 283
Australian Climate Commission 284
Australian Federal Police 250, 261
Australian Seasonal Worker Program 245
Ayoob, Mohammed 27, 126n.2, 131, 138
Bainimarama, Frank 261, 262, 285, 286, 291, 292, 324
Baker, Nicola 255, 259
Ball, M. Margaret 114
Banks, Joseph 46
Batley, James 266, 270
Bavadra, Timoci 189
Belade, Michael 84
Belgium 206
Biketawa Declaration 253–57, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 273, 313
Biketawa Plus 250, 260, 264, 270, 272, 274
Bikini Atoll 155, 169, 170
Bilney, Gordon 226, 227, 228
Bishop, Julie 265, 267, 268, 291
Bismarck, Otto von 36, 50n.19, 75, 312
‘Blue Pacific’ ideology xi, 298, 300, 301, 302, 310, 325
Boe Declaration 271, 272, 273, 302, 314, 319, 323
Bouanaoue, Raphael 85
Bougainville 137, 198, 252, 262
see also annexation, of Pacific—by Britain, Australia—calls for ‘British Pacific’ 49, 50–1, 59
British Colonial Service 94
British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) 200 ‘British Pacific’ 56, 59, 60, 87n.35
British Settlements Act (1887) 56
British Solomon Islands Protectorate 56, 77n.2, 84, 87n.35, 105, 200
see also Solomon Islands
Brussels 206, 242, 243
Bugotu, Francis 198
Buksh, Mirza Salim 83
Bull, Hedley 27, 126n.2, 131
Burton, Reverend Dr John Wear 65, 79, 85, 92, 94, 95
Bury, Leslie 114
Bush, George H.W. 155

Cairns Compact on Strengthening Development Co-ordination in the Pacific 239, 240
Cairo Conference 71
Cakobau, Ratu Edward 83, 85, 87n.35
Cakobau, Ratu Seru Epenisa 54
Campaign against Foreign Military Activities in New Zealand 147
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament New Zealand 147
Canada 25, 130, 284
Canberra Agreement 62, 63n.10, 64, 74, 108, 111, 117, 118, 120, 121
Carew-Reid, Jeremy 10
Caribbean 7, 68, 116, 193, 206, 221, 243, 289
see also African, Caribbean and Pacific group
Caroline Islands 16, 53
Central Medical School 14, 44, 56, 63, 84, 87n.35, 100
Centre d’expérimentation du Pacifique 169
Chamoro 170
Chan, Sir Julius 235
chiefly power 164
chiefs
American Samoa 83
Cook Islands 83, 115
Fiji Council of 53
Fijian 54, 87n.35, 115
Melanesian 226
Nauru 115
Polynesian 18
Tongan 53, 87n.35, 115
treaties with 54
Western Samoa 115
Chile 13
China 98, 129, 130, 271
Australian policy on 21, 265, 266–70, 272, 273, 274, 314, 319, 323, 324, 325
competition with Soviet Union/Russia 129, 175
diplomatic links 128, 172
economic assistance to Pacific 128, 265, 266, 268–9, 274
engagement with Fiji 129, 273, 287, 288
engagement with Papua New Guinea 269, 272, 273
engagement with Samoa 129, 265, 269, 273
engagement with Tonga 269
engagement with Vanuatu 266–7, 268, 269, 272, 274
influence of 265, 267, 274, 312
interest in Pacific 40, 126, 178
military presence in Pacific 265, 266, 267, 268–9, 274
New Zealand policy on 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 274, 319
as Pacific actor 71, 129
Pacific Islands Forum policy on 270, 314
Pacific islands support for 269, 273, 287, 288, 319, 324
rise of 315, 321, 323
as security threat 21, 172, 250, 265, 266, 268, 270
US policy on 266, 268, 270
Chirac, Jacques 159, 183
Christianity 33, 79n.9, 84, 86, 141, 145, 146
antinuclear movement 146, 147, 148
attitudes to ‘natives’ 47, 48, 75
in civil society 126, 141, 145, 148, 154, 187
conversion 53
evangelism 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48
interchurch organisations 145–6
Pacific embrace of 53, 126, 141
and regional development 187, 224
and regionalism 1, 144, 146
Christmas Island (Kiritimati) 155, 169, 170
Clark, Helen 235, 255, 256, 259, 260
Claxton, Karl 251
climate change 264, 271, 274, 279, 324
Australian policy on 271–2, 273, 278, 281–5, 296–7, 301, 302, 313, 320, 322, 323, 325
and Nauru 282
New Zealand policy on 282–3, 296–7, 320, 322
Pacific framing of 21, 250, 281–2, 284, 286, 287, 302, 308
Pacific Islands Forum policy on 270, 279, 280–2, 284, 301, 320
Framing The Islands

Pacific leadership on 275, 276, 295, 296, 297, 311, 315, 319–20, 323
policy 21, 283, 290, 295, 296, 297, 302, 308, 309, 313, 315–20
as security threat 270, 271, 301, 319
US policy on 301
see also Boe declaration,
Copenhagen climate summit,
Kyoto climate conference,
Paris climate summit,
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
Clodumar, Kinza 282
Cold War 19, 39, 101, 323
Australian policy 98, 126, 130, 167, 171, 174, 177, 180, 184, 273, 313, 321
framing of Pacific 130, 150
New Zealand policy 126, 130, 167, 171, 180, 273, 321
rivalry 129, 167, 217
role in regionalism 7, 31, 315, 321
‘second’ 164, 278
thinking 99, 130, 170, 176–9
US policy 126, 130, 180, 184
see also post–Cold War era
colonial
administration 40, 44, 52
boundaries 99, 102
diplomacy 316–17
dominance of organisations 65, 72–3, 101, 115, 116, 122, 137, 166
economies 192, 193, 200, 203, 206, 224
expansion 40
imagine of Pacific 1, 9, 17
institutions 14
intrusion 11, 102, 138
policies 18, 33, 53, 67, 180, 183
press 18
region-building 2, 18, 26, 39, 61–76, 192, 277, 305, 307, 309, 312
regional framing 33
sovereignty 51, 170
structures, control of 19
see also anticolonialism,
neocolonial, postcolonial,
precolonial
colonial powers 6–7, 40, 103, 126
approaches of 52
challenge to 14, 18, 74, 102, 106–7, 118, 137, 138, 156, 157, 165, 166, 321
cooperation between 58, 59, 60, 61–3
divestment 94, 97, 99, 125, 127, 128, 129
colonialism 6–7, 91, 149, 314, 315
aims of 39
centrality in regionalism 7
criticism of 95
‘culture’ of 39, 44, 138
engagement with Pacific 8, 316
‘fatal impact’ of 38, 39
indigenous participation in 68
interruption of indigenous regionalism 15, 16, 138, 140
and maintenance of control 18, 40, 81, 101, 104, 322
and ‘native welfare’ 65, 97, 192
and nuclear testing 147–8, 187
and Orientalism 32
Pacific as locus of power of 7, 39
perpetual 99
region-building 31, 82
restrictions on mobility 99, 100
see also neocolonial
colonisation 158
by Australia 48, 53, 56, 57, 58, 137
of Australia 49, 50–1, 59
by Britain 49, 50n.19, 101, 137
European 49, 87, 91
French approach to 52, 72, 180, 187
of Melanesia 11
of Micronesia 52, 55, 103
of Nauru 55
of New Caledonia 52, 54, 55, 183–4
of New Hebrides 51, 55
by New Zealand 48, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 71n.45, 101
of New Zealand 49, 50–1
of Pacific 11, 45, 48, 50–1, 141
of Papua New Guinea 51, 53, 55
of Samoa 51n.27, 53, 55–6
and United Nations 65–6, 68
by United States 17, 52, 53, 55, 68, 101, 104
see also annexation—of Pacific, decolonisation
Committee of Representatives of Participating Governments (CRPG) 119, 120, 121, 122
Committee on Small Island States
137
Commonwealth 113, 128, 143, 185, 206, 214, 267
‘Commonwealth club’ 133, 137
Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting 196
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands 12
Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conference 113, 114, 115
Commonwealth Secretariat 195
Commonwealth Secretary-General 196
Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament of Australia 147
Convention for the Prohibition of Fishing with Long Driftnets in the South Pacific (Wellington Convention) 137, 214
Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources and Environment of the South Pacific Region 137, 154
Convention on the Law of the Sea 126, 128, 130, 208–9, 210, 213, 318, 321
conventions European with Pacific 194, 207, 243
intercolonial 36, 50, 312
on nuclear issues 2
regional 2, 117, 201, 210, 211, 213
see also Lomé Convention, London Dumping Convention, United Nations Convention Against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Yaoundé Convention
Cook Islands 55, 57, 69, 134, 192, 269, 286
associated statehood 12, 104, 123, 131
and Pacific Islands Producers’ Association 110
politics 115, 228
self-determination 163
self-government 103
at South Pacific Conference 77n.2, 82, 83, 91, 102, 118
at South Pacific Forum 114, 232
Cook Islands Producers’ Association 83
Cook, Captain James 15, 43, 45, 46, 48
Copenhagen climate summit 282, 283
Cotton, Robert 172, 235
Council of Regional Organisations in the Pacific (CROP) 233, 290
coups 40
‘Bayonet’ (Hawai‘i) 17
Fiji (1987) 137, 186, 252, 255, 257
Fiji (2000) 262
Fiji (2006) 261, 262
‘President’s’ (Vanuatu) 252
Solomon Islands 254, 255
Crocombe, Ron 10, 144, 198
Customs Heads of Administration Regional Meeting 252
Dagabwinare, Jacob 84
Darwinism 31, 40, 44, 48, 315, 321
Davis, Dr Tom 83, 163
de Balboa, Vasco Núñez 62n.1
de Bougainville, Louis Antoine 15, 43, 45, 46
de Brum, Tony 283
decolonisation 67n.30, 103
Australian 127, 129
British 128
British policy on 103, 127
and Christianity 141, 145, 146
and civil society 149, 166
experience of 18, 104, 138, 141
indigenous agency over 279, 287, 290, 302, 307–8, 318
New Zealand 128, 129
and nuclear testing 148
pace of 127, 160
of Pacific 110, 126, 133, 137, 143, 171
Pacific Islands Forum position on 12
of Pacific knowledge 11
of Pacific studies 41
and political change 19
regional networks 100
regional norms 19, 31, 130
and self-determination 103, 123, 138
of South Pacific Commission 18, 110, 115, 117–22
and South Pacific Forum 136, 137, 279
support for 14, 146, 156, 157–8, 165, 166
and University of the South Pacific 143
see also anticolonialism, colonisation, postcolonial, United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization
Deo, Pandit Vishnu 83
DeRoburt, Hammer 113, 114, 115, 143
Deutsch, Karl 24
Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) 224
distant water fishing nation (DWFN) 128, 162, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 315
‘doomsday scenario’ 41, 221, 227, 228
Dornan, Matthew 246, 266–7, 294
driftnet fishing 130, 137, 213–15, 310, 315, 318
Dutch 46, 59, 63, 67n.30, 84, 88n.37
see also Netherlands
East Asia 25, 141
Easter Island 13
Eastern Europe 7, 153
Elkin, Adolphus Peter ‘A.P.’ 65
Ellice Islands 53, 77n.2, 83, 88n.37
see also Gilbert and Ellice Islands
Emberson-Bain, Atu 224, 225
Eminent Persons’ Group (EPG) 235, 236, 237, 238, 262
Enewetak Atoll 155, 169, 170
‘Engaging with the Pacific’ 263, 285
Engaging with the Pacific Leaders (EWTP) 286, 287, 293
Episcopal Conference of the Pacific 145
Europe 6, 7, 24, 25, 35, 45, 47, 52, 87
antinuclear movement 178, 179
conventions with Pacific 194, 207, 243
as development model 24, 26, 28
‘idea of’ 13, 26, 29, 46
and Orientalism 32
European
colonial imperative 47, 48
colonisation 49, 87, 91
conceptions of Pacific 1, 9, 15, 17, 43–8
economic partnerships with Pacific 222, 289, 321
history 46
imagination 43, 44, 75, 80
imperialism 15, 16, 17, 52
integration 25, 133, 193, 202, 305, 306–7, 322
model of power 21, 38
normative frames 17, 18, 40, 45, 47–8, 52, 61, 314
power 15, 47, 99
racial hierarchy 45, 47, 48, 49, 56, 86, 93
regional governance 26, 307, 308
regionalism 6, 14, 21, 24, 26, 28, 44, 86, 99, 305, 306–8, 322
relations with Pacific 8
society 9
thinking 1, 9, 17, 38, 46, 47, 93, 192
trade with Pacific 194, 207, 231, 241, 242–6, 247, 318
European Economic Community (EEC) 126, 136, 206
European Union (EU) 40, 217, 222, 231, 233, 241–6, 267, 312, 318, 321
evangelism, see Christianity—
evangelism
Evans, Gareth 188, 313
Evatt, Dr Herbert 63, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 94, 96
Fairclough, A.J. 107
Falk, Richard 36, 37
Fangataufa Atoll 104, 126, 129, 155
Far East 32
‘fatal impact’, see colonialism—‘fatal impact’ of
Federated States of Micronesia 12, 133, 148, 211
see also Micronesia
Fiame Mata’a Faumuina Mulinu’u II 143
Fierravanti-Wells, Concetta 265
Fiji 12, 19, 53, 54, 77, 88, 90
annexation of 53
‘archipelagic principle’ 209
breakdown of governance 252, 253–4, 261
British settlers in 57
centrism 128, 149, 200, 201, 202, 285, 324
civil society 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 224
in Committee of Representatives of Participating Governments 120
conflict with Pacific Islands
Forum 256, 257, 262
coup (2000) 254, 262
coup (2006) 261, 262
coups (1987) 127, 186, 189, 252, 254, 255, 257, 262
and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 102, 105, 106, 107, 110, 309
and ‘doomsday approach’ 228
economy 192, 199, 206, 319
engagement with China 129, 273, 287
engagement with India 287, 288
engagement with Soviet Union/Russia 128, 129, 171, 287
fishing 209, 210, 211, 215
in G-77 287–8
Government 110, 132, 187, 200, 210, 257, 272, 285
independence 103, 104, 115, 125, 127, 132, 143
Indians in 57, 78, 83, 85, 94, 95, 127
indigenous politics 82
intermarriage in Pacific 16
media 78
medical school 56–7
in Melanesian Spearhead Group 288, 293, 324
nuclear testing policy 113, 147, 152–3
offer of cession 54
and Pacific Islands Development Forum 286, 287, 291, 293, 298, 324
at Pacific Islands Forum 276, 277, 279, 281, 288, 291, 292, 293
and Pacific Islands Producers’ Association 110
and ‘Pacific way’ ideology 139, 164
in PACP 289
policy on French decolonisation 157, 159
and Polynesian federation 16, 51
and PSIDS 287, 288
racial conceptions of 88n.37, 89
regional association 113, 165, 205
regional confederation 57, 63
regional criticism of 200, 201, 202, 292
regional institutions 142–3, 200–4, 261, 263, 272
regional relations 87n.35, 114, 139
regional security 69
relations with Australia 121–2, 276, 279, 291
religion 141, 145, 146
royalty 16, 87n.35
at South Pacific Commission 77n.2, 78, 83, 101, 108, 163
at South Pacific Forum 112, 114, 136, 161–2, 211, 215
and South Pacific Games 74
and Strategic Framework for Change 285
suspension from Pacific Islands Forum 256, 261, 263, 264, 277, 285, 287
tensions with Pacific 19, 114, 137, 161, 169, 294–5, 296, 324
trade 192, 199, 207, 244, 245, 289
and United Nations 132, 139, 153, 157, 162, 211, 288
waste dumping policy 154
Fiji Airways 200
Fiji Council of Chiefs 53
Fiji Council of Churches 147
‘Fiji Declaration’ 147
Fiji Legislative Council 57, 83, 85
Fiji Trades Union Congress 152
Filipo, Vaovasamanaia 157
Firth, Stewart 170, 256
fishing 2, 128–9, 243
exploitation 166, 210
illegal 185, 272
by Japan 209, 213, 310
management 10, 212
Melanesian agency over 162, 211
and Pacific Islands Forum 289
regional cooperation 10, 272
by South Korea 209, 213
and South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation 136
and South Pacific Commission work program 74, 80
and South Pacific Forum 210, 307
Soviet deals 180
Soviet–Kiribati deal 176, 187, 212
Soviet–Tonga deal 171–2
Soviet–Vanuatu deal 176, 187
by Taiwan 209, 213
by United States 186, 209, 213, 310, 318
see also distant water fishing
driftnet fishing, Forum Fisheries Agency
Forsyth, William D. 10, 85, 92, 94, 106, 113, 114
Forum Economic Ministers Meeting (FEMM) 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 241, 313
Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) 135, 136, 162, 211–12, 213, 215, 290, 312
Forum Foreign Ministers Meeting (FFMM) 255, 259, 264, 313
Forum Island Countries (FICs) 239, 252, 289, 301
Forum Regional Security Committee (FRSC) 137, 249, 251, 252, 255, 259, 273
France 51, 85, 153, 169, 178, 183, 206
annexation by 48, 53, 54, 55
approach to colonisation 52, 72, 180, 187
and ‘Australasian Monroe doctrine’ 50
bombing of Rainbow Warrior 153
Cold War framing 167, 168, 169, 170, 178, 180, 187, 188, 315, 321
colonial imperative 101, 104, 129
constraint on self-determination 103, 156, 157, 170
contest over political agency 75, 160–1, 163, 167, 168
contribution to South Pacific Commission 62, 109
cooperation with metropolitan powers 55, 58, 59, 61, 63, 69
decolonisation 128, 137, 156, 157, 158, 159, 183–4
dialogue with South Pacific Forum 130
exclusion from South Pacific Commission 116
exertion of influence 167, 168, 312
framing of Pacific 61, 75
Government 152, 153, 159, 160, 183, 184
nuclear testing 111, 113, 126, 129, 130, 133, 146, 152–3, 155, 168–9, 170, 180, 182, 184, 187, 315
and Orientalism 32, 45
Pacific criticism of 118, 158
Pacific territories 12, 55, 127, 128, 160, 165, 170
regional security 178, 182, 187
relations with Australia 178, 180, 183–4, 187
and South Pacific Commission 61, 62, 67, 75, 82, 117, 120, 135, 136, 163
waste dumping 154
see also French Oceania, French Polynesia
Fraser, Malcolm 174, 176
Fraser, Peter 65, 69
Frater, Reverend M. 65
Freeston, Sir Brian 77, 79, 92
French Oceania 61, 77, 82, 88n.37
French Polynesia 12, 52, 55, 123, 149, 157, 166, 183, 303, 319
nuclear testing in 12, 104, 129, 152, 153, 169, 170
Front de Libération Nationale Kanak et Socialiste (Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front) (FLNKS) 159, 160, 177

G-77, see Group of 77
Gadabu, Raymond 84
Gamble, Andrew 29, 30, 35
Ganilau, Ratu Sir Penaia 201
Gavera, Miria 84
Gavera, Willie 84
George, Dr Nicole 29, 281n.9
Germany 35, 36, 48, 50–1, 52, 53, 54–5, 56, 155–6
Gilbert and Ellice Islands 56, 57, 83, 105, 110, 118, 127, 169, 200
see also Ellice Islands
Gilbert Islands 53, 77n.2, 84, 88, 206
see also Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Kiribati
Gina, Reverend Belshazzar 84
Goff, Phil 255
Greenpeace 34, 40, 41, 153, 214
Grenada crisis 167, 179, 185
Grey, George 51n.26
Gribble, Reverend C.F. 86
Group of 77 (G-77) 280, 287–8, 295, 325
Grynberg, Roman 239, 279
Gu’u, Aisa 84
Guadalcanal 254
Guam 12, 55, 123, 129, 157, 166, 169, 170, 214
Gunther, Dr John 89, 93
Gusmão, Xanana 286
Haas, Ernst 24
Hau’ofa, Epeli 3, 10, 11, 15, 16, 33, 144, 300, 309
Havea, Sione 145
Hawai`i 13, 16–17, 46, 123, 135, 142, 148, 149, 155, 157, 165, 169
Hawke, Bob 155, 182
Hawkesworth, John 45, 46, 48
Hayden, Bill 177, 188
Henry, Albert 83, 110, 114, 115, 232
Henry, Sir Geoffrey 228
Herr, Richard 10, 57
Higher Education Mission to the South Pacific 142
Holyoake, Sir Keith 113, 116
Honiara Declaration on Law Enforcement Cooperation 252, 257, 258
Howard, John 201, 234–5, 255, 256, 258–9
Howe, Kerry 9, 10, 39, 46, 47
Huffer, Elise 237, 238
Hughes, Tony 278
Ielemia, Apisai 283
Inder, Stuart 108, 112, 114
Indian Ocean 13, 221
Indo-Fijian 57, 78, 83, 85, 94, 95, 127
Indonesia 13, 40, 63, 64, 67n.30, 76, 84n.23, 98, 111, 157
Institute of Pacific Studies 143
International Court of Justice 153
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 130, 218, 224, 233
Irian Jaya 253
Kalsakau, John 84, 87n.35
Kanak 159, 177
Kanak and Socialist National
   Liberation Front, see Front de
   Libération Nationale Kanak et
   Socialiste
Kasiepo, Markus 84
Kassi, George 84
Katzenstein, Peter 5, 28, 35, 36
Kavaliiku, Dr Langi 235
Keating, Paul 201, 226
Keesing, Felix 85
Kelesi, Mariano 105
Kenilorea, Peter 175
Key, John 292
Kiki, Albert Maori 118, 133–4
King George Tupou I 17
King George Tupou II 83
King Kalākaua 17
King Kamehameha III 17
King Kamehameha IV 17
King Pomare V 17
King Taufa'ahau Tupou I 53
Kiribati 12, 207, 235, 256, 275,
   248, 324
   decolonisation 125, 127, 133
   fishing 176, 178, 211–12, 213
   governance 128
   at South Pacific Forum 133
   Soviet engagement 176, 178, 187,
   212
   trade 206
   and University of the South
   Pacific 204
   waste dumping 154
   see also Gilbert Islands
Kirimitati, see Christmas Island
Koya, Faiyaz 245
Kubuabola, Ratu Inoke 264
Kuranari Doctrine 184
Kwajalein Atoll 169, 170
Kyoto climate conference 281, 282
La Pérouse, Jean-François de 46
'Lae rebellion' 14, 105–9, 110
Lakatani, Sani 257
Lal, Brij 39
Lambert, Dr S. 56
Lameko, Iosefa 83
Langdon, Robert 106
Lange, David 177, 182
Latin America 24, 26, 193
Law of the Sea, see Convention on the
   Law of the Sea
Legge, J.D. 66
Levi, Noel 230–1
Leymang, Father Gerard 158
Libya 176, 177, 186, 188
Lilo, Gordon 289
Lini, Father Walter 158, 177, 187
Lomé Convention 194, 199, 206,
   207, 243, 318
London Dumping Convention 154
London Missionary Society 145
Lotu Pasifika 146
Louisiade Archipelago 53
Loyalty Islands 85
Maastricht Treaty 25
MacIntyre, Duncan 113
Macmillan, Harold 103
McNicoll, David 81, 88, 92, 93
Maiava Iulai Toma 134
Makogai Leper Colony 44, 63n.11
Malaita 254
Malaitan Eagle Force 254
Malekula 44
Malietoa Laupepa 17
Malietoa Tanumafili II 83
Maou Djoel 84
Mara, Ratu Sir Kamisese 113, 115,
   202, 207
   call for ‘Pacific voice’ 132
   and decolonisation of South Pacific
   Commission 105, 106, 107,
   108, 109, 115, 117, 119, 120
   and Pacific Group Secretariat 206
and Pacific Islands Producers’ Association 110, 115
‘Pacific way’ 10, 138, 139
reflections on South Pacific Commission 101–2, 138
and regional identity 14, 16
and regional institutions 201, 202, 204
relations with Papua New Guinea 139, 161
at South Pacific Forum 112, 113, 114, 116, 207, 279
at United Nations 132, 138
Maraj, Dr James 143, 204
Marianas Trench 140, 152
Marquesas 54
Marshall Islands 12, 53, 133, 169, 170, 211, 232, 283
Matignon Accords 160
Matsutaro, Xavier 284
Maude, Harry 73, 74, 86, 94, 97
Melanesia 12, 46, 100, 139, 157
colonisation 11
decolonisation 133, 157, 159
‘doomsday scenario’ 227
as European construct 8, 49, 51
fishing 162–3
land tenure 226
‘Nauru Group’ 212
nuclear testing 169, 315
political development 84, 88, 166
racial conceptions of 88, 89, 91, 93
regionalism 18, 74, 78
socialism 175
at South Pacific Forum 133, 139, 159
trade 288
Melanesian
identity 166, 183
–Polynesian divide 81, 87n.35, 88, 89–90, 162, 169
Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) 160, 183, 263, 288, 290, 293m 295, 324
Methodist Overseas Mission 65, 79n.9, 86
Meti, Laufo 109
Micronesia 8, 12, 52, 55, 129, 267
colonisation 52, 55, 103
cultural division of 49, 88, 89
decolonisation 133, 149, 166
as European construct 8, 49, 89
governance of 55, 103, 131, 245
‘Nauru Group’ 211
regional recognition 131
regional relations 74, 78, 295
regionalism 74, 78, 88, 295
at South Pacific Forum 133
United States in 103, 129, 245
see also Federated States of Micronesia
Micronesian Chief Executives’ Summit 290
Micronesian Presidents’ Summit 290
Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 233, 234, 239, 240, 241, 247
Misimosa, Afioga 109
Mitterrand, François 153
Modi, Narendra 288
Momis, Father John 163, 198
Morauta, Sir Mekere 227
Morauta Review 240–1, 280, 295, 298, 299
Morgan, Wesley 244, 246
Morrison, Scott 322
Moruroa Atoll 104, 126, 129, 133, 152–3, 155, 169, 184
MSG, see Melanesian Spearhead Group
Muller, Phillip 215
Munro, Doug 57, 100n.76
Naidu, Vijay 147
Nakasone, Yasuhiro 154
Nandan, S.N. 209
Nasilivata, Livai 121–2
Nasinu conference (1950) 18, 77–100
Nasinu Teachers’ Training College 18, 63n.11, 77
Nasonini Declaration on Regional Security 257
Nauru 12, 119, 143, 263, 270, 272, 273, 301
climate change 282
colonisation 55
declaration 210
decolonisation 103, 104, 127 and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 102
fishing 210, 211–12
labelling of 88n.37
phosphate mining 101, 103, 192
recognition of Taiwan 129
regional associations 113, 114, 115
regional transport 200, 203, 204 at South Pacific Commission 77n.2, 84, 88
at South Pacific Forum 133, 211, 282
and United Nations 131
waste dumping 154
World War II 84
see also Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA)
‘Nauru Group’ 211–12, 289
Neemia, Uentabo 10
Nena, Jacob 232
neoclassicism 44, 46, 221, 222
neocolonial 32, 138, 145, 197, 198
see also colonialism
neofunctionalism 24, 202
neoliberal economics
ascendancy of 216, 217–47
failure of 232–3, 242, 245, 247
and framing of Pacific 40, 189, 218, 220, 231, 234, 247, 255, 315, 321
free-trade negotiations 194, 245
globalisation of 26, 31, 35, 37
imposition of 11, 20, 189, 249, 313
promotion of 278, 281, 319
regionalism as response to 6, 31, 37
resistance to 226, 232–3, 240, 243, 247, 316, 319
neoliberalism 193, 219, 220
Netherlands, the 53, 61, 62, 63, 69, 72, 75, 82, 84, 101
see also Dutch
Netherlands East Indies 67n.30
Netherlands New Guinea 61, 63, 64, 77, 84, 93, 97, 111
Nettre, M. 111
Neumann, Iver 28, 29
New Britain 53, 55, 69
New Caledonia 12, 58, 129, 146
Australian support for decolonisation of 159, 166, 180, 183
colonisation 52, 54, 55, 183–4
decolonisation 12, 123, 149, 157, 159–60, 166, 183
Government 95, 183
links with Libya 177
at Pacific Islands Forum 303
regional framing 63, 69
reinscription of 159–60, 183, 188
at South Pacific Commission 77n.2, 84–5
at South Pacific Forum 159, 177
New Hebrides 57, 84, 87n.35
colonisation 51, 55
decolonisation 149, 156, 158
regional associations 69, 77n.2, 84
see also Vanuatu
New Ireland 53
New Zealand 12, 49, 50, 78, 84, 90, 96, 99, 110, 115
Aitutaki Declaration 250–3
Anzac Pact 62, 69, 96
ANZUS 130, 167, 168, 169, 171, 173, 177–8, 179–80, 181, 182, 183
‘Australasian Monroe doctrine’ 45, 49–52, 72, 129–30, 186
Biketawa Declaration 253–7, 259, 262, 263, 273
Canberra Agreement 62, 74
civil society 149, 164
climate change policy 282–3, 296–7, 320, 322
Cold War framing 126, 130, 164, 167, 187, 278, 315, 321
colonisation by 48, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 71n.45, 101
connection with Pacific 116
decolonisation 66, 67, 78, 96, 103, 127, 128, 129
engagement with China 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 274, 319
exclusion from Pacific organisations 290, 293, 310, 320
fishing 213, 214–15
Government 66, 152, 153, 181, 182, 255
indigenous population 142, 148–9, 165
intercolonial organisation 61–2, 63, 68
labour mobility 245
and ‘native welfare’ 67, 68, 72
and neoliberalism 217, 218, 231, 233, 234, 237, 241, 245, 247, 319
nuclear-free movement 147–9, 152, 153, 154, 168–9, 178, 179–80, 181, 182, 187, 315
and Pacific economic development 197, 217, 222, 229, 233, 236, 295
and Pacific Islands Development Forum 287, 291, 296
and Pacific Plan 236, 237, 238, 239, 260, 280
and Pacific political agency 19, 75, 113, 166, 271, 317, 322–3
regional associations 58, 59, 65, 68, 70, 71, 82, 83, 112, 113, 290
regional framing 13, 20, 45, 51, 60, 61–2, 142, 164, 187, 218, 306, 309, 312
regional hegemony 306, 309, 312–14, 317, 318, 320, 325
regional security framing 20–1, 70, 71, 137, 171, 180, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 249, 255, 273, 274, 319
regional transport 200, 203
at South Pacific Commission 62, 67, 72, 74, 75, 135, 136
at South Pacific Forum 114, 116, 125, 131, 136, 137, 160, 165, 186, 277, 278, 279
‘s strategic denial’ policy 174–6, 177, 180, 187, 189, 250, 270, 319
support for self-determination 101, 104, 156, 157–8, 159, 166, 170, 183, 187, 309
territories 12, 63n.11, 101, 103, 123, 127, 131
trade with Pacific 194, 199, 206, 207, 208, 222, 231, 241–7, 279, 289
waste dumping 154
New Zealand Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme 245
Newton Cain, Tess 294
Niue 12, 137, 161, 162n.22, 203, 210, 211
decolonisation 103, 104, 123, 127, 133
and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 102, 110
at Pacific Islands Forum 257, 261, 286
at South Pacific Commission 77n.2, 83
at South Pacific Forum 131, 133
trade 110
Non-Aligned Movement 159, 174, 287
Norman, Albert 87, 300
North America 25, 251
see also Canada, United States
North American Free Trade Agreement 25
Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific movement 13, 148, 164, 165, 166, 182, 187
nuclear-free movement
in New Zealand 147–9, 152, 153, 154, 168–9, 178, 179–80, 181, 182, 187, 315
Nuclear-Free Pacific Conference 146, 147, 148, 165
nuclear-free zone 153, 169, 178, 188, 315
Australian support for 153, 166, 180, 181
New Zealand support for 153, 166, 180
push for treaty on 147, 149
see also antinuclear movement, South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga)
nuclear issues
Australian position on 20, 181, 182, 315
conventions on 2
and imperialism 170, 321
Polynesian stance on 169, 315
and regional security 20, 169, 171, 178, 185, 188
Samoa stance on 113
South Pacific Forum stance on 136, 152, 153, 155, 181, 182, 229
and US bases 129, 169
Vanuatu stance on 158, 182, 187
see also antinuclear movement
‘nuclear playground’ 41, 169–71, 321
nuclear testing 152, 155, 169, 281
Australian opposition to 152, 153, 154, 169, 180, 181, 183–4, 187
by Britain 101, 155, 168, 169, 170, 182, 184, 315
and changing global power 39–40, 170
collective Pacific response to 10, 12, 102, 104, 113, 133, 140, 152, 166, 182, 315
and colonialism 147–8, 187
Fijian response to 113, 147, 152–3
by France 111, 113, 126, 129, 130, 133, 146, 152–3, 155, 168–9, 170, 180, 182, 184, 187, 315
in French Polynesia 12, 104, 129, 152, 153, 169, 170
Melanesian stance on 169, 315
and Pacific agency 104, 182
political contest over 168–9
and South Pacific Commission 111, 133
by United States 101, 129, 146, 155, 168, 169–70, 178, 181–3, 315
nuclear waste dumping 130, 140, 152, 154, 158, 165, 185
O’Neill, Peter 245, 289, 292, 293, 324
Oceania 23, 49, 50, 55, 59, 87, 129, 189
French Oceania 61, 75, 77, 82, 88n.37
as regional frame 1, 13, 15, 16, 31, 40–1, 43, 326
Oceanic grouping 17, 208, 209
identity xi, 16, 300, 302, 309
societies 40
Oceanic Centre for Arts and Culture 15
Office of the Chief Trade Adviser (OCTA) 279, 289, 290
Ogasawara Islands 154
Ogashiwa, Yoko 10
Olewale, Ebia 120, 121, 157, 158
Orient, the 4, 32, 33
Orientalism 32, 33

‘Pacific 2010’ 220, 226, 227
Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) 244
Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations Plus (PACER Plus) 244, 245, 246, 289, 292, 313, 319, 321
Pacific Churches Research Centre 146
Pacific Community 12, 13, 109, 290, 309
Pacific Concerns Resources Center 148
Pacific Conference of Churches 145, 146, 148, 154, 187
Pacific Council of Churches 147
Pacific Forum Line 135, 137, 203, 204
Pacific Fusion Centre 272
Pacific Group Secretariat 206
Pacific Islands Association of Non-Government Organisations 12
Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF) 263, 276, 286, 287, 290, 291, 293, 295, 296, 298, 303, 324
Pacific Islands Development Program 135, 136
Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) 251
2000 communiqué 257
2000 meeting 255
2001 meeting 279
2002 meeting 257
2003 meeting 233, 235
2004 special meeting 235, 236, 261
2005 meeting 236
2005 review 278, 310
2007 meeting 262
2008 meeting 262
2009 meeting 282
2015 meeting 284, 296, 320
2017 communiqué 241
2017 meeting 264, 300
2018 meeting 264, 270, 272, 301
agenda 290, 297–301
Australia’s role in 13, 234, 237, 278, 279, 291–2, 294, 302, 317
‘Blue Pacific’ concept 298, 300, 301, 302, 303
Cairns compact 239
challenge to primacy of 288, 296
and China 270, 314
and climate change 270, 279, 280–2, 284, 301, 320
criticism of 237, 239, 246
EPG review of 235–6, 295
Fiji Joint Working Group 262
Fiji’s return to 291
fisheries 289
Forum Regional Security Committee 249, 251
frustration with 277, 280, 281, 285–7, 289, 293
and globalisation 246
hierarchy within 274, 279
and human development 233, 239, 241, 247
and human security 270
independent states as members 12, 303
and Millennium Development Goals 233, 234, 241
New Zealand’s role in 13, 234, 237, 278, 279, 291–2, 294, 302, 317
nomenclature 13, 135
Pacific agency within 277–80, 281, 300–3, 320, 322
and Pacific Islands Development Forum 276, 286, 293, 303
‘Pacific Plan’ 3n.1, 235, 236, 237, 239, 280, 310
and PACP 289
primacy of 290, 293–4, 298, 302
and PSIDS 287, 288, 295, 296, 302, 310, 322
push to exclude Australia and New Zealand 276, 280, 292, 291–2, 296
RAMSI review 260
region-building 234–5
regional norms 249, 280, 299
and state breakdown 255–7, 259–60, 261–4
suspension of Fiji 261, 256–7, 261–2, 263, 264, 277, 285, 287, 289
and Sustainable Development Goals 241
and transnational crime 261
see also South Pacific Forum (SPF)
Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) 2, 229, 239, 243, 260, 279, 289, 290, 295, 297, 310
Pacific Islands Law Officers Meeting 252
*Pacific Islands Monthly* 57, 58, 80n.17, 86, 97, 106
Pacific Islands Producers’ Association (PIPA) 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 197, 203
Pacific members of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group (PACP) 289, 290
Pacific Network on Globalisation (PANG) 246
Pacific Ocean 12, 15, 16, 43, 53, 62n.1, 64, 128, 158, 210, 321
‘Pacific paradox’ 41, 219, 227
Pacific Peoples’ Action Front 148
Pacific Plan 3n.1, 225, 234–41, 242, 260, 280, 294, 295, 298, 310
Pacific Regional Seminary 145
Pacific Rim 13
Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS) 263, 286–8, 290, 295, 296, 297, 302, 310–19, 320, 322, 324
Pacific Theological College 145, 147
Pacific Trade Union Forum 187
Pacific Transnational Crime Coordination Centre (PTCCC) 261
‘Pacific way’ 10, 19, 126, 138, 139, 140, 144–5, 163, 164, 192, 197–9, 215, 225, 279, 286, 309, 319
Pacific Women’s Association 149, 187
Pacific Women’s Conference 148, 164
Paeniu, Bikenibeu 118, 282
Palau 12, 133, 157, 212, 284, 286, 291, 294
Pan Pacific Education and Communication Experiments by Satellite 143
Papua New Guinea (PNG) 12, 14, 66, 76, 105, 143, 177, 235, 298
in ‘arc of crisis’ 253–4, 258
Australian economic assistance 267, 272, 273
and Bougainville 252, 262
colonisation 51, 53, 55
conflict over South Pacific Forum 161–2, 211
decolonisation 95, 104, 125, 127, 133, 139
and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 118, 120, 163
and ‘doomsday scenario’ 227, 228
economy 192, 245, 319
engagement with China 269, 272, 273
governance breakdown 258, 263
in Melanesian Spearhead Group 288, 294–5
in ‘Nauru Group’ 212
and nuclear-free zone 153
at Pacific Islands Forum 288, 292, 293–4
in PACP 289
racial conceptions of 88, 89, 91, 93
regional aviation 201
regional framing 12, 53, 69
regional networks 16, 140
regionalism 91, 133–4, 139, 161, 289, 324
at South Pacific Commission 77n.2, 84, 88, 89–91, 93, 95, 164
at South Pacific Forum 133–4, 157, 163
support for French decolonisation 157, 183
support for ‘Pacific way’ 139, 140
trade 206, 207, 244, 245, 319
and transnational crime 261
World War II 69
see also Bougainville, Netherlands New Guinea, West New Guinea

Papua New Guinea Act (1949) 66
Papua New Guinea–Australia Trade and Commercial Regional Agreement 207

Paris Agreement 271, 301
Paris climate summit 283, 284, 287, 295, 296–7, 319, 320
Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963) 169
Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA) 289, 290
Pato, Rimbink 269
Payne, Anthony 26, 29, 30, 35, 220
People’s Charter for a Nuclear-Free Pacific 148, 164
Peters, Winston 268
Philippines 12, 64
Phillips, Nicola 220
Phoenix Island 53
Piddington, Ken 197, 277
Pierre, Tamarii 134
PIPA, see Pacific Islands Producers’ Association
Pitcairn Islands 12, 157
Pōhiva, ‘Akilisi 292
Polynesia 110–11, 116, 159, 212
as category 8, 12, 48–9, 88
contacts with Melanesia 87n.35, 99–100
decolonisation 133, 166
nuclear stance 169, 315
and ‘Pacific way’ 139, 164
regional associations 74, 78, 133, 161, 162
regionalism 18, 163, 295
Polynesian confederation 16–17, 51
–Melanesian divide 81, 87n.35, 88–90, 162–3, 166, 169, 315
Polynesian Airlines 200
Polynesian Leaders’ Group 17, 290
Polynesian Leaders’ Meeting 296
Port Moresby Declaration 210, 240, 261, 289, 296, 320
Portugal 46, 69
post–Cold War era 6, 20, 31, 39, 217, 220, 249–74
see also Cold War
postcolonial 7, 36, 116, 152, 160, 171, 174, 191
authority 9
economic integration 25, 193, 220
economies 192
global discourse 39, 125, 150, 161
imagining of Pacific 1, 6–7, 10, 33, 80
politics 27, 123, 125–50, 167
region-building 2, 27, 41, 61
regional framing 33, 116
regional governance 3, 19, 34, 128, 138, 151, 165
regionalism 7, 16, 19, 80, 122–3, 277
self-determination 160, 161, 162, 164, 168
see also decolonisation
precolonial 8, 16
Prince Tui ipelehake 82, 83, 110, 111, 115
PSIDS, see Pacific Small Island Developing States
Puna, Henry 269

Rainbow Warrior 153
Ramsden, Eric 88
RAMSI, see Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
Ranmuthugala, Douglas 250
Rarotonga 83, 137, 201, 204, 282
see also South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga)
Ratieta, Buren 105
Ravai, Joeli 83
Reagan, Ronald 25, 179, 217
Reganvanu, Ralph 266
Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) 259, 260, 264, 266, 270
Regional Security Committee, see Forum Regional Security Committee (FRSC)
Regional Trade Committee 137
religion, see Christianity
Remengesau, Thomas 105
Remengesau, Tommy, jr 291
Rex, Robert 83
Robertson, Max 208
Robinson, Charles 173
Robson, Nancy 79, 80n.17, 89
Robson, Robert W. 57, 58, 59, 60, 86, 89, 91, 97–8
Rocard, Michel 159
Roko Tui Tailevu 83
Rotuma 53
Rudd, Kevin 240, 283
Russia 40, 287
see also Soviet Union
Ryan, Yasmine 283
Said, Edward 3, 4, 11, 32, 33, 46
St Julian, Charles 17
Salato, Dr Macu 14, 107
Salin, Aisolf 84
Salwai, Charlot 267
Samoa 12, 57, 63, 69, 115, 131, 143, 145, 204, 261, 268, 324
antinuclear issues 113
colonisation 51n.27, 53, 55–6
decolonisation 66, 94, 95, 103, 104, 127
and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 102, 109, 112, 134
economy 110, 192
engagement with China 129, 265, 269, 273
European framing of 69, 88, 89
and Forum Fisheries Agency 162, 211
and Pacific Islands Development Forum 286, 292, 293
at Pacific Islands Forum 286, 300
regional intervention in 234–5, 256, 258–9, 260, 261, 263
regional transport 200, 204
at South Pacific Commission 77n.2, 84, 105
at South Pacific Forum 133, 211
Soviet engagement 175, 176
trade 206
World War II 69, 87n.35
see also British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI)
Somare, Sir Michael 134, 139–40, 161, 295
Sopoaga, Enele 284, 324
South Asia 103
South Korea 40, 98, 209, 213
South Pacific
‘new’ 19, 123, 126, 127, 171, 191
see also South Seas
South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission 135, 137
South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation (SPEC) 25, 111
South Pacific Chiefs of Police Conference 252
South Pacific Colloquium on the Special Needs of Small States 185
South Pacific Commission (SPC) 87, 94, 106, 115, 172
boundaries of xv, 63, 102, 123, 125, 136, 140, 149, 160
as colonial project 75, 122
decolonisation 115–16, 117–22, 163
decolonisation project 75, 122
disintegration 115–16, 117–22, 163
development 115–16, 117–22, 163
decolonisation 75, 122
disintegration 115–16, 117–22, 163
disintegration project 75, 122
decolonisation project 75, 122
end of 121, 122
functions of 64, 68, 72, 74, 97, 110, 118–19, 120, 137, 192–3
governance breakdown 253–4, 255
Government 183
and ‘Nauru Group’ 212
and PACP 289
political agency in 157, 198, 324
‘RAMSI Plus’ 264
Somare, Sir Michael 134, 139–40, 161, 295
Sopoaga, Enele 284, 324
South Asia 103
South Korea 40, 98, 209, 213
South Pacific
‘new’ 19, 123, 126, 127, 171, 191
see also South Seas
South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission 135, 137
South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation (SPEC) 25, 111
South Pacific Chiefs of Police Conference 252
South Pacific Colloquium on the Special Needs of Small States 185
South Pacific Commission (SPC) 87, 94, 106, 115, 172
boundaries of xv, 63, 102, 123, 125, 136, 140, 149, 160
as colonial project 75, 122
decolonisation 115–16, 117–22, 163
development 115–16, 117–22, 163
decolonisation project 75, 122
end of 121, 122
functions of 64, 68, 72, 74, 97, 110, 118–19, 120, 137, 192–3
governance breakdown 253–4, 255
Government 183
and ‘Nauru Group’ 212
and PACP 289
political agency in 157, 198, 324
‘RAMSI Plus’ 264

and Polynesian confederation 16–17, 51, 57
regional relations 16, 114, 286, 292
regional transport 200, 201, 203–4
and reinscription of New Caledonia 157
at South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation 136, 206
at South Pacific Commission 63, 77n.2, 78, 82–3, 91, 120
at South Pacific Forum 114, 161
Soviet engagement 128, 129, 171
Samoan Council of State 83
Santa Cruz Island 53
Scott, Henry 57
Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) 136–7
Seddon, Richard 51n.26
Selyaninov, Oleg 172
Senituli, Lopeti 238
Shaw, Timothy 29
Shibuya, Eric 282
Shultz, George 182
Sikivou, S.K. 132, 139
Slatter, Claire 238, 240
Smith, Adam 193
Smith, Bernard 9, 45, 46, 47, 48
Smith, T.R. 10, 67, 73
Söderbaum, Fredrik 28, 29
Solomon Islands 12, 53, 57, 69, 89, 183, 266, 267, 272
British administration 53, 55, 56
decolonisation 125, 127, 133
governance breakdown 253–4, 255
Government 183
and ‘Nauru Group’ 212
and PACP 289
political agency in 157, 198, 324
‘RAMSI Plus’ 264
and human development 223, 233, 234
indigenous agency 72, 74, 101–7, 164, 166
indigenous involvement 65, 87, 97
limitations of 111–13
membership 62, 85, 120–1, 161
‘no politics’ rule 64, 111, 116, 133, 136, 152, 214
regionalism 14, 173, 307
renaming of 12, 290, 309
review of 109, 120
and South Pacific Forum 135, 136, 163, 165–6

see also Pacific Community

South Pacific Conference 97, 98, 137
of 1950 77–81
of 1959 74
of 1962 105
of 1965 14
of 1966 107
of 1967 112
of 1968 108, 112
of 1969 107, 109, 112
of 1971 109
of 1972 112, 117, 118
of 1974 118, 134
of 1975 119
of 1976 120
of 1978 121, 157, 163, 196
of 1979 158
of 1980 164
of 1989 214
of 1994 226
of 1997 309
and decolonisation 14
and economic development 134, 196, 226
indigenous agency 74, 164, 309
indigenous involvement 65, 119
metropolitan dominance of 122, 307
‘no politics’ rule 64, 111, 116, 133, 136, 152, 214
regional identity 18, 85
as regional project 68, 93
review of 109, 120
structure of 64, 118–19
South Pacific Forum (SPF) 114
1971 communiqué 152
1971 meeting 115, 116, 125, 131, 133, 194, 209
1974 meeting 201, 204
1975 meeting 153
1976 meeting 172, 210
1977 meeting 210
1978 meeting 161, 162, 207, 210–11
1979 meeting 157, 158, 211
1981 meeting 175
1983 meeting 153, 181
1986 meeting 159
1990 meeting 155
1992 meeting 252
1994 meeting 222, 223, 224, 226–27, 228–9, 232
1996 meeting 230
1997 meeting 232, 253, 282
1998 meeting 232
aims for 132, 197
ANZUS support for 173
Australian support for 166, 172
campaign to strengthen 163, 166
as ‘Commonwealth club’ 137
and decolonisation 126, 136, 161, 165
and economic engagement 205–7, 208, 319
exclusion of Papua New Guinea 161, 162
Fiji at 161, 162
fishing 162, 208–11, 213–15
formation of 19, 102, 111, 112, 114, 141, 275, 276, 278, 302, 307
inclusion of Australia and New Zealand 116, 160, 165, 279, 312
and law enforcement 252
membership of 131, 133, 136, 140, 143, 161–2
metropolitan dialogue with 130
and neoliberalism 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 231, 233
and New Caledonia 157, 158, 159–60, 183
New Zealand support for 114, 166
and nuclear issues 136, 152, 153, 155, 181, 182
and Pacific agency 19, 102, 139, 197, 275, 277–9, 282, 317, 321–2
and ‘Pacific way’ 139, 197, 205, 225, 309, 319
regional framing 140
regional norms 130, 218
regional policy 135, 141, 186, 199–204, 225, 229
response to ‘no politics’ rule 112, 136, 152, 322
rituals of 137
security cooperation 253
and self-determination 115–16, 125, 158, 160, 162
and Soviet engagement 172, 175, 177, 250
and SPARTECA 208
and ‘strategic denial’ policy 175, 250
and sustainable development 222, 223, 224–5, 227, 229, 232
Tarawa Declaration 213
Wellington Convention 214
women 164, 224
see also Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)
South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency, see Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA)
South Pacific Games 74
South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga) 137, 154, 182, 313
South Pacific Organisations
Coordinating Committee 135, 163
South Pacific Regional Environment Program 135, 163, 229
South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement (SPARTECA) 194, 199, 207–8, 243, 318
South Pacific Social Sciences Association 144
South Seas 1, 9, 13, 43–60, 69, 75, 78
regional commission 62, 69, 71, 85, 96
South Seas Conference 61, 68, 77, 82, 96
South-East Asia 7, 13, 28, 29, 49, 61, 64, 75, 76, 98, 103, 116, 133, 251, 253
Soviet Union 174, 179
aid to Pacific 129, 175–6, 217
competition with China 129, 175
countering influence of 20, 170, 171, 173, 180, 183
generation with Pacific 128–9, 171–3, 186, 188
and fishing access 128, 171, 176, 187, 209, 212
‘strategic denial’ of 174, 175, 176–7, 178, 187–8, 269, 273
as threat 176, 180, 184n.29, 184n.32, 250
see also Russia
Spain 46, 52, 53
SPARTECA, see South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement
Spate, Oskar 9, 15, 48, 99
SPREP, see Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
Stead, Henry 57
Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 241, 295, 319
Sutherland, William 208, 229, 230, 232
Suva Declaration on Sustainable Human Development in the Pacific 222, 223, 232, 233, 296, 319

Tahiti 12, 16, 17, 18, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 77, 97, 158
Taiwan 40, 126, 129, 130, 172, 209, 213, 214
Talagi, Toke 261
Tanna 44, 84
Tarawa Declaration 213–14
Tarte, Sandra 10, 310
Taureka, Reuben 161
Taylor, Dame Meg 297, 298–9, 301, 302
Tekanene, Tutu 84
Teo, Penitata 83
Thomas, Nicholas 39, 44
Timor 63, 69, 253
Timor-Leste 286, 287
Tinian 170
Tito, Teburoro 235, 256
Tokelau 12, 77n.2, 157
Tonga, Anote 275, 284, 324
Tonga 12, 53, 57, 63n.11, 131, 204, 268
and decolonisation of South Pacific Commission 102, 108, 115
economy 192
engagement with China 269
independence 104, 125, 127
and neocolonialism 198
and nuclear issues 113, 182, 315
at Pacific Islands Forum 211, 235, 292
as part of Polynesia 88, 89
Polynesian confederation 16, 51
recognition of Taiwan 129
regional relations 16–17, 87, 88, 114
regional trade 110, 113
regional transport 200–1, 203, 204

religion 145
royalty 16, 17, 53, 82, 83, 87, 115, 143
and South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation 136, 206
at South Pacific Conference 77n.2, 78, 82, 83, 91
Soviet engagement 128, 171–3
and transnational crime 261
Tongan Community Development Trust 238
Townsville Peace Agreement 259
Treaty of Rarotonga, see South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty
Trump, Donald 285
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 55, 105, 169
Tuamotu Archipelago 152
Tufele 83
Tuiasosopo, Mariota 78, 83
Tuilaepa Sailele 265, 269, 292, 293, 300
Tuilovoni, Setareki 145
Tuiatele 83
Tungi, Crown Prince 78, 82, 83, 87n.35
Tupouniua, Sione 145, 198
Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV 112, 113, 114, 115
Tupua Tamasese Mea`ole 78, 83, 110
Tupuola Efi 134, 161
Turnbull, Malcolm 267, 322
Tuvalu 12, 83n.21, 121, 125, 127, 129, 133, 206, 282, 283, 284, 324
Underhill-Sem, Yvonne 238
United Kingdom, see Britain
United Nations (UN) 6, 7, 62, 284, 311
Asian group at 288, 295
charter 65
colonisation 65–6, 68
CROP working group 233
decolonisation 68, 95, 102, 103, 103
framing of Pacific 2, 34, 41
General Assembly 132, 138, 153, 157, 158, 159, 162, 195, 196, 211, 214, 318–19
and Law of the Sea 126, 128, 130, 208–9, 210, 213, 318, 321
Millennium Declaration 232
and nuclear-free zone 153
Pacific members of 131–2, 139, 214
regionalism 20, 35, 75, 214
reinscription of New Caledonia 157, 159, 183
resistance to 72, 81, 94
resolutions 214
Seabed Committee 209
Secretary-General 252
Security Council 258
special recognition of island states 195–6, 263, 286, 287–8, 295, 324
trusteeships 65, 66, 68, 103
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 195–6
United Nations Convention Against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances 250
United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples 103
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 41, 130, 196, 222–3, 233, 234, 237, 247
United Nations Environment Programme 130
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 282, 297, 318, 319, 320, 324
United Nations Global Conference on Sustainable Development of Small Island States (1994) 229
United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization (Committee of 24) 159, 183, 188, 319
United States (US)
anti-Soviet stance 173, 175, 178, 180, 183, 184n.32
Australia and New Zealand as agents of 36, 175, 178, 184, 312–13
challenge to 130, 187, 318, 321, 323
and climate change 301
Cold War framing 126, 129, 167, 178, 180–1, 187–8, 315
colonisation by 17, 52, 53, 55, 68, 101, 104
collective conflict with Australian policy 154, 169, 178, 181, 182, 183–4, 188
collective conflict with New Zealand 154, 180, 181–3, 188
criticism of 117, 155, 186
decolonisation 67, 157, 166
economic engagement with China 266, 268, 270
exclusion from South Pacific Commission 116
fishing 162, 186, 209, 211–14, 310, 318, 323
framing of Pacific 20, 75
Government 36, 68
House of Representatives 214
imperial norms 52
imperium 25–6, 36
influence in Pacific 72, 173, 175, 312
and neoliberalism 6, 35, 217, 242
nuclear testing 101, 129, 146, 155, 168, 169–70, 178, 181–3, 315
and Orientalism 32
regional cooperation 58, 59, 63, 69
regional security 129, 180, 188, 268, 313
regionalism 35, 36, 71
and self-determination 94, 101, 103, 160–1, 170
and South Pacific Commission 61, 62, 63, 64, 75, 76, 85, 94, 135, 136
and South Pacific Forum 130, 137, 163
and South Seas Conference 68, 82
territories 12, 55, 82, 128, 157, 160–1, 165, 245
waste dumping 152, 154, 155–6
see also ANZUS, North America
University of South Pacific (USP) of 2, 15, 126, 135, 137, 142, 143–5, 147, 198, 200, 202, 203, 204, 246, 290, 301
Vanuatu 12, 44, 133, 155, 183, 204, 268, 295
antinuclear movement 158, 182, 187
Australian assistance to 267, 272
as Australian security concern 175, 267
decolonisation 127, 133, 156, 157, 158, 166
engagement with China 266–7, 268, 269, 272, 274
engagement with Libya 177, 188
nonaligned posture 175, 187
‘President’s coup’ 252
Soviet engagement 175, 176, 187
support for New Caledonia 157, 159
see also New Hebrides
Vietnam 175, 179
Voelcker, Colonel F.W. 90, 96
Vogel, Julius 51n.26
Vunibobo, Berenado 162, 211, 309
Wallis and Futuna Islands 12, 55, 157
Walo, Kamono 84
Ward, Eddie 66
Ward, R.G. 117
Washington Consensus 217, 233
Wellington Convention, see Convention for the Prohibition of Fishing with Long Driftnets in the South Pacific (Wellington Convention)
West New Guinea 63, 67n.30, 76
West Papua 13, 18, 123, 142, 149, 157, 165
Western Europe 24
Western Pacific High Commission 14, 44, 53–4, 56, 63n.11, 77, 200
Western Samoa, see Samoa
Williams, Joe 118
World Bank 7, 41, 130, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 227, 233, 237, 255, 298
World Trade Organization (WTO) 231, 243, 244
Wroe, David 266
Yaoundé Convention 206
Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) 147, 149