



THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

# *State Society and* Governance *in* Melanesia

ANNUAL REPORT 2004

## I INTRODUCTION

Throughout 2004, issues of state-society relations, governance performance, and security and development remained firmly on the South Pacific region's agenda. Both positive and negative trends were evident. The province of Bougainville finally achieved autonomy within the state of Papua New Guinea following a decade of conflict and a successful seven-year peace process. In Solomon Islands a good measure of security and stability returned to that country as a result of the intervention by the 'Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands' that ended five years of conflict and civil strife. In the Pacific Islands Forum a new dynamism was evident as the premier regional organisation embarked on a Pacific Plan aimed at strengthening regional linkages and cooperation.

On the other side of the ledger, however, internal conflict continued unabated in Papua New Guinea's Southern Highlands Province; in Vanuatu political ructions followed the calling of an early election and subsequent post-election competition for influence between China and Taiwan; and in Fiji continuing fall-out from the attempted coup of 2000 generated intra- and inter-ethnic division and uncertainty.

The economies of the Pacific Island Countries (PICs) maintained an aggregate gross domestic product growth rate of 2.6% in 2004 with modest increases forecast for all PICs, except Fiji, in 2005.<sup>1</sup> Employment levels increased slightly, but labour supply continued to outstrip labour demand. Disturbingly, a regional socio-economic survey painted a picture of hardship and poverty much more widespread than previously thought.<sup>2</sup>

Governance indicators pointed to little change, either positively or negatively, in the quality of governance for all PICs, with the exception of Solomon Islands that had nosedived from 1999 to 2003. The World Bank's comparative study of governance for over 200 countries for the years 1996 to 2004 found that most PICs performed reasonably well on 'democracy' indicators, moderately well on 'political stability' indicators, but generally less well on 'government effectiveness'.<sup>3</sup>

The Pacific's major donors responded to these challenges by increasing overall levels of aid and attempting greater 'harmonisation' of development strategies. Australia in particular signalled an increase in aid to the PNG/Pacific region by 9.9% for the 2004–2005 period, and altered its methodology to a 'whole-of-government' and a more robust or 'enhanced' approach to development assistance. The uncertainties over the implementation of an 'enhanced cooperation program' with PNG, however, illustrate the complexities of delivering aid and of the new commitment by Australia to the region.

Research and analysis by SSGM scholars and others throughout the year focussed on major themes and issues including: peace, conflict and development; policing and the security/development nexus; state-building and rebuilding of fragile and post-conflict states; HIV and AIDS in PNG and the Pacific; decentralisation and autonomy in Papua and PNG; Australia's expanding role in the Pacific region; and donor strategies for development. Key generic lessons from this analysis<sup>4</sup> included the need to:

- view political change and development as an 'organic' more than an 'engineered' process;
- comprehend the pervasive (and often forgotten) influence of underlying culture on 'modern' institutions and political behaviour;
- take into account the different (and to the outsider, perplexing) ways in which members of kin-based gift-giving small-scale polities in Melanesia and the Pacific interpret the meaning of 'good governance';
- recognise that internal leadership and ownership is vital to reform;
- revisit both theory and practice of 'capacity-building';
- strengthen community as much as state if institutional reforms are to have traction; and
- adopt long timeframes in measuring aid's success or otherwise.

## II SSGM PROJECT IN 2004: OVERVIEW

The SSGM Project's central objectives are to develop policy-relevant scholarship and publications, to facilitate dialogue and understanding of governance-related issues within policy agencies and regional educational institutions, and to strengthen the network of scholars engaged in inter-disciplinary research on state, society and governance in contemporary Melanesia and the Pacific.

As the Pacific region's political, security and development environment continues to change and along with it the more interventionist aid and political responses by major players, Australia in particular, the more pressing is the need for expert analysis of the issues involved. Throughout 2004 a substantial program of research, conferences, workshops, briefings, policy consultations, consultancies and teaching kept the SSGM Project at the forefront of debate.

### Research

Research highlights included:

- The contribution by SSGM Fellows and Associates to identifying policy options for the rebuilding of state and nation in Solomon Islands;
- Dr Sinclair Dinnen's continuing research on restorative justice, law and justice sector reform, his applied work on strengthening linkages between formal and informal justice processes in Melanesian contexts, and his constructive commentary on donor strategies;
- Anthony Regan's research on comparative peace processes and mediation strategies, and his applied work on rebuilding constitutional government and administration in post-conflict Bougainville;
- Dr Abby McLeod's participatory research on 'Women and the Law' in Melanesia and on constraints to effective policing in PNG;
- Dr Vicki Luker's investigation of appropriate policies and implementation strategies for coping with the HIV/AIDS threat in PNG;
- Dr Ron May's comparative analysis of conflict and peacemaking in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, and research on decentralisation at the local-level in PNG;
- Prof Hank Nelson's historical research on the roots of Australia's policy in PNG and, separately, on the emergence of a politically engaged civil society;
- Dr Bronwen Douglas's anatomy of women's groupings in Melanesia;
- David Hegarty's analysis of the problems of statebuilding in Melanesian political cultures, and of strengthening community-based organisations.

### Research Grants

A prestigious ARC linkage research grant was awarded to Dr Dinnen (with Dr McLeod and Prof Andrew Goldsmith of Flinders University) for three years to examine *Policing the Neighbourhood: Australian Police Peacekeeping, Capacity-building and Development in Timor-Leste, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea*. Mr Regan was awarded a Randolph Jennings Senior Fellowship with the United States Institute of Peace in Washington for 10 months in 2005. SSGM Convenor, David Hegarty, and Project Fellows were successful members of a multi-university bid for an ARC *Asia Pacific Futures Network* grant (RN0460310), an international vehicle for building research capacity in the national research system to enhance understanding of Australia, its region, and the world with a particular focus (for SSGM members) on Governance and Security.

## Conferences

Through its wide-ranging conference program, SSGM attracts the expertise of leading analysts, decision-makers and commentators and helps sharpen comprehension of the region's complex and changing dynamics. A central element of SSGM's mandate is to build collaborative links with Australian and regional institutions. In 2004 the Project:

- conducted five international conferences (three of which were in partnership with PNG universities and research institutes);
- co-organised and participated in five other conferences in conjunction with the Pacific Islands Forum, the University of the South Pacific, the Pacific Islands Political Studies Association, and the ANU's Centre for Conflict and Post-Conflict Studies Asia-Pacific; and
- participated in conferences hosted by the Universities of Queensland, Canterbury, New Caledonia, Cape Town, Hamburg, Taiwan – and at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Kuala Lumpur) and the International Peace Academy (New York).

The themes of these conferences included: governance and development challenges for the region; foreign policy for small states; HIV and AIDS in PNG; Pacific electoral systems; conflict and peacemaking in Asia and the Pacific; models of community development, entrepreneurship and governance in PNG; and national security issues for PICs. (See **Section IV: SSGM conferences and workshops in 2004**)

## Seminars

The SSGM Seminar Series at The Australian National University produced sixteen seminars on governance, state and society topics including: RAMSI and intervention in Solomon Islands; domestic politics in Solomons; women and village courts; women and peacemaking; guns and insecurity in PNG; HIV/AIDS and health management in PNG; Vanuatu's elections; electoral systems and changing political cultures in the region; and Australia's policy in the PNG/Pacific region.

The Seminar Series provides opportunities for experts and commentators (including MPs) from regional institutions as well as scholars from other Australian universities to debate and discuss conceptual and policy issues of contemporary significance, and to engage with policy-makers. Attendances at SSGM Seminars has testified to their success in engaging scholars and officials from government and NGOs. (See **Section V: SSGM seminars in 2004**)

## Consultancies

The consultancy work undertaken by the Fellows throughout 2004 was particularly noteworthy. It informs scholarship and adds value to strategies for reform and development.

- Sinclair Dinnen was senior advisor to AusAID's law and justice sector program and participated in five briefings to personnel deploying to PNG under the Enhanced Cooperation Program (ECP). The AFP engaged him on a number of briefings on PNG.
- Anthony Regan's long-term engagement by AusAID as principal constitutional and administrative advisor to the rebuilding of the Bougainville government concluded with the signing of the Bougainville Agreement in late 2004.
- Abby McLeod continued the third phase of her consultancy for AusAID as gender adviser to the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary Development Project. She also undertook a consultancy for UNIFEM as technical adviser to the Women, Peace and Security Program in Vanuatu.
- David Hegarty was appointed strategy and research advisor (and coordinator of SSGM's and ANU's inputs) to a major AusAID-funded Community Sector Program in Solomon Islands. The Program aims to empower local communities, strengthen local-provincial linkages and identify livelihood opportunities in rural Solomon Islands.

## SSGM Publications

The Project produced two major books and two special issues of academic journals in 2004:

- *State and Society in Papua New Guinea: The First Twenty-Five Years* (new edition), R J May, ANU E-Press, Canberra.
- *Governance Challenges for PNG and the Pacific Islands*, edited by Nancy Sullivan, DWU Press, Madang PNG.

- *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia*, edited by Bronwen Douglas. Special double issue, *Oceania*, 74:1–2 (2003) [published 2004].
- *Effective Development in Papua New Guinea*, edited by David Hegarty and Pamela Thomas. *Development Bulletin* No. 67 (published April 2005)

Eight SSGM Discussion Papers were produced during the year bringing the total to over 50 Discussion Papers in the past eight years. They covered such topics as: PNG's recent electoral processes; PNG Highlands politics; the village court system; local level governance, state and nation building in the Solomon Islands after RAMSI; and, gender violence and guns in PNG.

The Project's Discussion Paper Series is widely distributed to schools and educational institutions throughout the Pacific and is a major vehicle for the analysis and discussion of contemporary governance issues. (See Section VI: SSGM publications)

SSGM Fellows and Associates produced 40 publications and presented over 30 conference papers during the year. All SSGM members regularly provide briefings to print and broadcast media in Australia and internationally as well as to government agencies on contemporary Pacific issues. (See Section VII: SSGM Fellows – short reports)

#### Collaboration and Networking

SSGM continues to place collaboration with Australian and regional institutions and the development of linkages with international governance-related agencies and organisations at the centre of its mandate. (See Section VIII: Collaborating Institutions and Organisations)

In addition to joint conferencing with regional universities, SSGM has an active visitors scheme aimed at providing scholars, political figures, policy-makers and others with the opportunity to write, develop and test their ideas in a congenial Canberra environment. SSGM hosted over 30 such visitors during 2004. Without the visitors program, RSPAS would lose much of its cross-cultural vitality and its immediate contact with Pacific islands scholars and officials. (See Section IX: SSGM Project Visitors)

In January/ February 2004, The Australian National University launched the Asia-Pacific Week program. Regional scholars and students gathered at the University to present research papers and engage in dialogue. Together with the Centre for the Contemporary Pacific, the Project organised a Pacific Islands workshop, identified Pacific Island scholar participants, made presentations and were actively involved as mentors to younger scholars from the region.

### III SSGM FELLOWS AND MANAGEMENT

The SSGM is a small academic unit within the ANU's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. In 2004, it comprised three Fellows — Dr Dinnen, Mr Regan and Dr Douglas (Dr Douglas transferred to the Division of Pacific and Asian History in late 2004); a Post-Doctoral Fellow, Dr Abby McLeod; a short-term Fellow, Dr Jaap Timmer (whose contract expires in early 2005); a Senior Associate Fellow, Dr Ron May; and a Visiting Fellow, Dr Vicki Luker. Mr Jerry Singirok (former Commander of the PNG Defence Force) was a Project Visitor in mid-2004; and Professor Stephanie Lawson from the University of East Anglia visited in late 2004.

The Project's Executive Officer is Ms Sue Rider who joined the Project in 2003 from the Australian Academy of Social Sciences. The Convenor of the Project, David Hegarty, is on long-term secondment from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

In late 2004, the Director of RSPAS amended the management structure of SSGM from a Steering Committee arrangement to an SSGM Council which consists of the Fellows, Convenor and senior academics appointed by the Director. Emeritus Professor, Hank Nelson, is the chairman of the SSGM Council.

Since its inception in 1996 when the ANU and Australian government recognised the need to bolster research on Melanesia, the SSGM Project has enjoyed a sound relationships with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the international development agency, AusAID, and more recently with other policy agencies including the Australian Federal Police. Through an ANU-AusAID contract, the latter provides funding support each year for a number of mutually agreed activities (conferences, workshops, publications, research papers, briefings, etc). Funding for the Executive Officer position and for administrative support is shared by the two organisations. Funding for SSGM's activities by the PNG, Pacific and other branches of AusAID amounted to \$400,000 in 2004. The current contract for the SSGM project expires in December 2005.

#### IV SSGM CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS IN 2004

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- 22–23 March *Foreign Policy, Governance and Development: Challenges for Papua New Guinea and the Pacific Islands*, SSGM in collaboration with Divine Word University, Madang, PNG.
- 26 March *Studies on Decentralisation in Papua New Guinea*, SSGM in collaboration with UPNG, Port Moresby, PNG.
- 30 March–1 April *National Security in Vanuatu*, SSGM in collaboration with the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat and the Republic of Vanuatu, Port Vila, Vanuatu.
- 20 April *National Security in Papua New Guinea and Pacific Regional Security*, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat and Government of PNG, Port Moresby, PNG. (SSGM participation)
- 5–7 July *Civil-Military Cooperation and the War on Terror*, Fulbright Symposium, University of Queensland. (SSGM participation)
- 11–12 July *Political Culture, Representation and Electoral Systems in the Pacific*, University of the South Pacific, Port Vila, Vanuatu. (SSGM participation)
- 31 Aug–1 Sept *HIV/AIDS in PNG: Priorities for Policy and Social Research*, SSGM Conference, University House, ANU.
- 15–17 October *Securing a Peaceful Pacific: Preventing and Resolving Conflict in the Pacific*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. (SSGM participation)
- 21–22 October *Conflict and Peace-Making in Asia Pacific: Lessons Learned*, SSGM in collaboration with the ANU Centre for Conflict and Post-Conflict Studies Asia Pacific (CCPCSAP), and the University of the South Pacific, University House, ANU.
- 25–27 October *Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Asia and the Pacific*, SSGM in collaboration with CCPCSAP and the University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.
- 24–26 November *Good News: Examining successful models of community development, entrepreneurship and governance in Papua New Guinea*, SSGM in collaboration with Divine Word University, Madang, PNG.
- 3–5 December *Governance and Stability in the Pacific*, Pacific Islands Political Studies Association (PIPSA) Conference, Noumea, New Caledonia. (SSGM collaboration and participation)

#### V SSGM SEMINAR SERIES IN 2004

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- 5 February Anthony Regan, SSGM Fellow  
*The Politics of Implementing the Bougainville Peace Agreement*
- 9 March Sarah Garap, SSGM Visitor  
*Kup Women for Peace Case Study*
- 18 March Sinclair Dinnen, SSGM Fellow  
*Lending a Fist? Australia's new interventionism in the southwest Pacific*
- 22 April Michael Goddard, University of Newcastle and SSGM Visitor  
*Women in Papua New Guinea's village courts*
- 6 May Michael Goddard, University of Newcastle, Australia  
*Expressions of interest: Informal Usury in Port Moresby Settlements*
- 21 May Vicki Luker, Visiting Fellow, SSGM / Pacific and Asian History  
*Civil society, social capital and the churches: HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea*
- 28 May Charles Lepani, Member Review Team, Australia's Aid to PNG 2004  
*Review of Aid in the Pacific*

- 8 July Iris Wienders, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, The University of Sydney  
*RAMSI: The 'cooperative intervention' model and its implications*
- 15 July Honourable Bartholomew Ulufa'alu, MP Solomon Islands  
*Current Issues of Politics and Development in Solomon Islands*
- 5 August Professor Howard Van Trease, History Department, University of Hawai'i (Hilo)  
*Vanuatu's National Election 2004 – Continuity and Change*
- 19 August Major General Jerry Singirok, MBE (Retired), Former Commander of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF), SSGM Visitor  
*Illegal use of guns and security implications in Papua New Guinea*
- 24 August Nicholas Coppel and Warren Hauck, Economic Analytical Unit, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, DFAT  
*Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy*
- 27 August Dr Lawrence Hammar, Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research, Goroka, Eastern Highlands, PNG and Visitor to SSGM  
*The Double Whammy and the Original Sin: Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Lae, Morobe Province, PNG*
- 13 October Melanesian Brothers (Chaplain Rev Richard Carter)  
*Conflict, Trauma and Reconciliation in Solomon Islands*  
(with Centre for the Contemporary Pacific)
- 11 November Deborah Van Heekeren, University of Newcastle  
*Cracks in the road: raising moral questions on the Magi Highway*
- 14 December Professor Allan Patience, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Political Science Program, University of Papua New Guinea  
*Enhanced or Enforced Co-operation? PNG Perspectives on the ECP*

## VI SSGM PUBLICATIONS IN 2004

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### Books and Special Issues

- State and Society in Papua New Guinea: The First Twenty-Five Years* [New edition], Ron May, ANU E-Press, Canberra, 458pp.
- Governance Challenges for PNG and the Pacific Islands*, edited by Nancy Sullivan, DWU Press, Madang PNG, 186pp.
- Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia*, edited by Bronwyn Douglas. Special double issue, *Oceania*, 74:1–2 (2003) (published June 2004), 147pp.

### Discussion Papers

- 2004/1: Philip Gibbs, Nicole Haley and Abby McLeod, *Politicking and Voting in the Highlands: The 2002 Papua New Guinea National Elections*
- 2004/2: David Hegarty, Ron May, Anthony Regan, Sinclair Dinnen, Hank Nelson and Ron Duncan, *Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission*
- 2004/3: Michael Goddard, *Women in Papua New Guinea's Village Courts*
- 2004/4: Sarah Garap, *Kup Women for Peace: Women Taking Action to Build Peace and Influence Community Decision-Making*
- 2004/5: Sinclair Dinnen, *Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Southwest Pacific*
- 2004/6: Colin Filer, *Horses for Courses: Special Purpose Authorities and Local-Level Governance in Papua New Guinea*
- 2004/7: Sinclair Dinnen and Edwina Thompson Gender, *Violence and Guns in Papua New Guinea*
- 2004/8: Robert Muggah, *Diagnosing Demand: Assessing the Motivations and Means for Firearms Acquisition in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea*

**Working Papers (SSGM Website)**

- 2004/1: Vicki Luker, *Civil society, social capital and the churches: HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea*  
 2004/2: Philip Gibbs, *Politics, Religion, and the Churches: The 2002 Election in Papua New Guinea*  
 2004/3: David Hegarty, *Intervention, Regionalism, Engagement: New Forms of Security Management in the South Pacific?*

**VII SSGM FELLOWS — SHORT REPORTS****DR SINCLAIR DINNEN – SSGM FELLOW****Publications**

'Aid effectiveness and Australia's new interventionism in the Southwest Pacific', *Development Bulletin*, No.65, August 2004, 76–80.

'Lending a Fist? Australia's New Interventionism in the Southwest Pacific', *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/5:10 pp.* Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

'Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission' (with D. Hegarty, R. May, A. Regan, H. Nelson and R. Duncan), *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/2:17pp.* Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

'Papua New Guinea and Australia's Enhanced Cooperation Program – A New Regional Model?', *What's Next?* Perth: Future Directions International, 9 July 2004.

'Papua New Guinea', in Maureen P Duffy and Scott Edward Gillig (eds), *Teen Gangs – A Global View.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004, 149–166.

'The Trouble with Melanesia', Ch. 4 in Ivan Molloy (ed.), *The Eye of the Cyclone – Issues in Pacific Security.* PIPSA and University of the Sunshine Coast Press, 2004, 67–75.

'Australia Lends a Fist', *Foreign Policy*, March/April 2004, 90–91.

**National /International Conferences/Workshops**

'Gender, Violence and Guns in Papua New Guinea' (with Edwina Thompson), *Gender Perspectives on Small Arms and Light Weapons Conference*, UNIFEM and United Nations University, Cape Town, South Africa, February 2004.

'Australia's New Interventionism in the Pacific Islands', *Foreign Policy, Governance and Development Conference*, Divine Word University, Madang, Papua New Guinea, March 2004.

'External Interventions versus Indigenous Solutions', *Conflict and Peacemaking in Asia Pacific: Lessons Learned*, SSGM in collaboration with the ANU Centre for Conflict and Post-Conflict Studies Asia Pacific (CCPCSAP), and the University of the South Pacific, University House, ANU, 21–22 October.

'External Interventions in the Pacific', *Symposium on Nation-Making in Melanesia: Solomon Islands Perspectives*, East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawai'i, November 2004.

'Australia's Pacific policy: part of the global 'war against terror'?', *Australia's New Foreign Policy in the Pacific Region*, German Pacific Network. Asia-Africa Institute, University of Hamburg, November 2004.

'Strengthening Linkages between Formal and Informal Justice Processes', conference on *How to Make Justice Work for the Poor*, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. Bangkok, Thailand, December 2004.

**Teaching/Supervision**

Co-designer (with Dr Abby McLeod) and lecturer on new elective 'Law, Order and Conflict in the Pacific' on MA in Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development, ANU. Taught for first time in October 2004.

**Consultancy/Advisory Work**

*Working Paper on Restorative Justice and Community-Oriented Approaches to Crime Prevention and Dispute Resolution.* Prepared for Justice Advisory Group, Papua New Guinea, July 2004.

*Information Paper on Comparative Models of Restorative Justice and Community-Based Justice Approaches.* Prepared for Justice Advisory Group, Papua New Guinea, July 2004.

**Key Research Directions**

Australian development and security policy in the Southwest Pacific; formal and non-formal justice processes; restorative justice theory and practice; comparative policing; conflict and peacekeeping; state building.

**ARC Proposals**

2004 ARC Linkage Grant. 'Policing the Neighbourhood: Australian Police Peacekeeping, Capacity-building and Development in Timor-Leste, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea'. With Professor Andrew Goldsmith (Flinders University) and Dr Abby McLeod (ANU).

**DR BRONWEN DOUGLAS – SSGM SENIOR FELLOW****Publications**

Edited collection, *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia*, Special double issue, *Oceania*, 74:1–2 (2003) (published June 2004)

'Prologue', in *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia*, ed. Bronwen Douglas, Special issue, *Oceania* 74:1–2 (2003):1–5 (published June 2004)

'Christianity, Tradition, and Everyday Modernity: Towards an Anatomy of Women's Groupings in Melanesia', in *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia*, ed. Bronwen Douglas, Special issue, *Oceania* 74:1–2 (2003):6–23 (published June 2004)

**Dr Douglas was on sick leave until May 2004. She transferred to the Division of Pacific and Asian History, RSPAS in November 2004.**

**DR ABBY MCLEOD – SSGM POSTDOCTORAL FELLOW****Publications**

'White Horse 27: The Electoral Campaign of Bari Palma', *SSGM Discussion Paper* 2004/1. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.

'Competing Perspectives: External and Internal Perceptions of Current Issues in Papua New Guinea', in Ivan Molloy (ed.) *Eye of the Cyclone: Issues in Pacific Security*. PIPSA and The University of the Sunshine Coast, Queensland. 2004, 55–60.

**National /International Conferences/Workshops**

'Police Reform in Papua New Guinea: Prospects and Challenges', Fulbright Symposium on *Civil-Military Cooperation and the War on Terror*, 5–7 July 2004, Brisbane, Australia.

'Cultural impediments to police reform in Papua New Guinea', PIPSA Conference on *Governance and Stability in the Pacific*, Noumea, 1–3 December 2004.

**Teaching**

Co-designer (with Dr Sinclair Dinnen) and lecturer on new elective 'Law, Order and Conflict in the Pacific' on MA in Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development, ANU. Taught for first time in October 2004.

**Consultancy/Advisory Work**

Consultancy for AusAID as gender adviser to the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary Development Project, Phase III. Gender review of the RPNGC, Manual on gender and domestic

violence, community awareness materials on gender and domestic violence, survey and report on community perceptions of the police.

Consultancy for UNIFEM as technical adviser to the Women, Peace and Security Program in Vanuatu. Report on 'Women, Peace and Security in Vanuatu'.

Consultancy for the Papua New Guinea Consultative and Implementation Monitoring Committee (CIMC). Review of and recommendations for future action for the 'Family and sexual violence action committee's long-term strategy'.

Consultancy for AusAID Law and Justice Sector Program PNG – produced gender review for law and justice sector.

Provided pre-deployment briefings to AusAID and AFP Enhanced Cooperation Program personnel proceeding to Papua New Guinea.

### **Key Research Directions**

During 2005, Abby McLeod will continue to focus upon women's legal issues in Papua New Guinea. She will also undertake research into Australian Federal Police deployments in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and East Timor.

### **ARC Proposals**

2004 ARC Linkage Grant. 'Policing the Neighbourhood: Australian Police Peacekeeping, Capacity-building and Development in Timor-Leste, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea'. With Professor Andrew Goldsmith (Flinders University) and Dr Sinclair Dinnen (ANU).

## **ANTHONY REGAN – SSGM FELLOW**

### **Publications**

'Papua New Guinea', in Szajkowski, B (ed.) *Revolutionary and Dissident Movements of the World*. London: John Harper Publishing, 2004, 397–399.

'Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission' (with D Hegarty, R May, S Dinnen, H Nelson and R Duncan), *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/2:17pp*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

### **National /International Conferences/Workshops**

'Peace-building in Bougainville', *Regional Security in the South Pacific*, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, April 2004.

'Perspectives on Weakness and Strength, Success and Failure', and 'The Bougainville Peace Process', *Good News – Successful Models of Community Development, Entrepreneurships and Governance in Papua New Guinea*, SSGM and Divine World University, Madang, Papua New Guinea, 24–26 November 2004.

### **Key Research Directions**

Conflict analysis; peacebuilding; comparative peace processes and mediation strategies in PNG, India, Sri Lanka, and Northern Ireland; role of constitutional development in building state and nation in fragile states.

### **Research and Consultancies**

Anthony Regan has continued working on a consultancy with AusAID on the implementation of the constitutional arrangements under the Bougainville Peace Agreement of August 2001. He was constitutional adviser to the Bougainville Interim Provincial Government and to the broader Bougainville leadership on the implementation of the Peace Agreement. He played a major role in development of the Constitution for the Autonomous Bougainville Government adopted in November 2004 and endorsed by the PNG Cabinet in December 2004. He was the main contributor and editor of the final 'Report of the Bougainville Constitutional Commission'.

### **Mr Regan was on leave without pay: June – October 2004.**

He was awarded a 10 month Randolph Jennings Senior Fellowship with the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, to commence in early 2005.

**DR VICKI LUKER – SSGM VISITING FELLOW****Publications and Reviews**

'AIDS and the burden of care: mainstreaming gender or 'main-themeing' women?', *Development Bulletin*, No. 64, 2004, 78–81.

'Civil society, social capital and the churches: HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea'. *SSGM Working Paper* 2004/1.

Review of *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific* by Michael Sturma (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), *The International History Review* 2004, 26(1) 138–139.

Review of *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races* by Patrick Brantlinger (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), *Journal of Pacific History* 2004, 39 (2), 274.

Review of *The Health of Pacific Societies: Ian Priors' life and work* by Philippa Howden-Chapman and Alistair Woodward (Steele Robert Ltd, Wellington 2001), *Journal of Pacific History* 2004, 39 (3), 394–395.

**National /International Conferences/Workshops**

Co-organiser of Conference HIV/AIDS in *Papua New Guinea: Priorities for Policy and Social Research*, SSGM, University House, ANU, 31 August–1 September 2004.

'HIV/AIDS in the Pacific and Papua New Guinea', *HIV/AIDS in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Lowy Institute, Sydney, 29 September 2004.

**Teaching and research collaboration**

Supervised and examined Honours theses at ANU. Tutored in Sociology at the University of Canberra. Participated in the development and future directions of the LIEF HIV/AIDS policy database project. Collaborated with the Australasian Society of HIV Medicine in bringing out participants from PNG and the region to the ASHM annual conference and SSGM's HIV/AIDS workshop.

**Editorial work**

Editorial Board Member of the *Journal of Pacific History*

Book Review Editor of the *Journal of Pacific History*

**Research Directions**

Dr Luker's research continues to focus on HIV/AIDS in Melanesia. With Sinclair Dinnen (SSGM, ANU) and Alan Patience (Politics, UPNG), she is co-editing a volume *Law, Order and HIV/AIDS in PNG*; and with Richard Eves (Gender Relations Centre, ANU) and Lawrence Hammar (PNG Institute of Medical Research) she is co-editing a second volume *Talking AIDS, Talking Place: Challenges for PNG's response to HIV/AIDS*.

**DR JAAP TIMMER – SSGM FELLOW****Publications and Book Reviews**

'Government, Church, and Millenarian Critique in the Imyan Tradition of the Religious (Papua/Irian Jaya, Indonesia)', in Holger Jebens (ed.), *Cargo, Cult and the Critique of Culture*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004, pp.117–136.

'Melanesia in Review: Issues and Events, 2003 – West Papua', *The Contemporary Pacific* 2004 16(2): 409–419.

Review of *Cultures of Secrecy: Reinventing Race in Bush Kaliai Cargo Cults* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press) by Andrew Lattas, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 2004 160(2/3): 411–413.

Review of *Mono Koame 'wij denken ook'* (Nijmegen: Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies, Nijmegen University) by Jan H.M.C. Boelaars and Arnold A.C. Blom, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 2004 113(1): 93–96.

**National /International Conferences/Workshops**

'Chaos as a Political Device in Papua', workshop on *Decolonising Post-New Order Scholarship on the Provinces*, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden, 28–30 July 2004.

'Special Autonomy, Decentralisation and Conflict in Indonesian Papua', *Conflict and Peace-making in Asia Pacific: Lessons Learned*, SSGM in collaboration with the ANU Centre for Conflict and Post-Conflict Studies Asia Pacific (CCPCSAP), and the University of the South Pacific, University House, ANU, 21–22 October 2004.

### Teaching/Supervision

Advisor to three doctoral candidates in the Department of Anthropology at The Australian National University. Advisor to one doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the Radboud University, Nijmegen. Advisor to one doctoral candidate in the Research School of Asian, African, and American Studies at Leiden University.

### Consultancy/Advisory Work

Team leader (March–April) on a Conflict Development Analysis project in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku of the United Nations Development Program Indonesia.

### Key Research Directions

Dr Timmer will continue his research into governance, decentralisation, ethnic conflict, peace-building, resource management, and development in the Southwest Pacific (Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea) and in Eastern Indonesia (Papua, Maluku).

## DR RON MAY – SENIOR ASSOCIATE FELLOW

### Publications

*State and Society in Papua New Guinea: The First Twenty-Five Years* [New edition], ANU E-Press, Canberra, 2004, 458pp.

'The challenge to democracy in Melanesia', in N N Vohra (ed.), *India and Australasia: History, Culture and Society*. Shipra Publications in association with India International Centre, New Delhi, 2004, 241–69.

'Malaysia-Philippines (Sabah)', in P Calvert (ed.), *Border and Territorial Disputes of the World*. 4th edition, John Harper Publishing, London, 2004, 232–34.

'Papua New Guinea', in C. Morrison (ed.), *Asia Pacific Security Outlook 2004*. Japan Center for International Exchange, Tokyo, 2004, 147–52.

'Why is the Pacific not peaceful? Examining internal conflicts in Melanesia', in D F Anwar, H Bouvier, G Smith and R Tol (eds), *Violent Internal Conflicts in Asia Pacific: Histories, Political Economies and Policies*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 2004, 120–33.

'Weak states, collapsed states, broken-backed states and kleptocracies: general concepts and Pacific realities', *The New Pacific Review/La Nouvelle Revue du Pacifique* 2(1) December [published in 2004].

The Illusion of Progress. The Political Economy of Reform in Burma/Myanmar (ed with D S Mathieson). Crawford House Publishing Australia, Adelaide, 2004, 307pp.

'Introduction: the illusion of progress in Burma/Myanmar', in D S Mathieson and R. J. May (eds), *The Illusion of Progress. The Political Economy of Reform in Burma/Myanmar*. Crawford House Publishing Australia, Adelaide, 2004, 1–16.

'Philippines' (with C. Collier) in B.Szajkowski (ed.), *Revolutionary and Dissident Movements of the World*. 4th edition, John Harper Publishing, London, 2004, 405–408.

'Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission' (with D Hegarty, A Regan, S Dinnen, H Nelson and R Duncan), *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/2:17pp*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

### National /International Conferences/Workshops

'Reflections on the Strengths and Weaknesses of PNG's Integral Development', *Foreign Policy, Governance and Development Conference*, Divine Word University, Madang, Papua New Guinea, March 2004.

Organised *Studies on Decentralisation in Papua New Guinea* workshop in collaboration with SSGM and the University of Papua New Guinea, 26 March 2004.

(With David Hegarty), 'Is there an "Arc of Instability" in the Pacific Islands Region?', conference paper presented at the National University of Taiwan, Teipeh, March 2004.

'A Brief Overview of Pacific Security Issues' *National Security in Vanuatu*, SSGM in collaboration with the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat and the Republic of Vanuatu, Port Vila, Vanuatu, 30 March – 1 April 2004.

'Analysing Election Results in the East Sepik Electorates of PNG', Conference on Electoral Systems, USP's Pacific Institute for Advanced Studies, Port Vila, Vanuatu, July.

Co-organised international conference *Conflict and peace-making in Asia Pacific: Lessons learned* for SSGM and ANU CCACAP, with the Pacific Institute of Advance Studies in Development and Governance, University of the South Pacific, 22–24 October 2004, Canberra.

Co-organised international conference *Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Asia and the Pacific*, SSGM in collaboration with CCPCSAP and the University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, 25–27 October.

Co-organised the *Myanmar/Burma Update 2004* held at RSPAS, ANU in November.

#### **Consultancy/Advisory Work**

Collaboration with Pacific Island Forum in regional security briefing in Vanuatu and Port Moresby. Briefings to Australian personnel going to Papua New Guinea with ECP, Australian and foreign diplomatic personnel, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and New Zealand Aid personnel. Consultancy services to Oxford Analytica.

#### **Key Research Directions**

Political parties and elections in Papua New Guinea. Decentralisation in Papua New Guinea. Conflict and peace-making in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Regime change and regime maintenance. Ethnicity and nationalism. Comparative public policy.

### **EMERITUS PROFESSOR HANK NELSON – CHAIRMAN SSGM STEERING COMMITTEE**

#### **Publications**

'Rabaul', in Brij V Lal (ed.), *Pacific Places, Pacific Histories*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2004, 153–76.

'Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission' (with D Hegarty, R May, A Regan, S Dinnen and R Duncan), *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/2*:17pp. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

Study Guide, 'Betelnut Bisnis – a story from Papua New Guinea', a film by Chris Owen, Ronin Films, Australian Teachers of Media Inc. Screen Education, Issue 36, 2004, 7pp.

#### **National / International Conferences / Workshops**

'Building the Nation State According to Fukayama', *Governance and Stability in the Pacific*, PIPSA, Noumea, 1–3 December 2004.

'Fighting for Her Gates and Waterways: Changing Perceptions of New Guinea in Australian Defence', *Pacific History Association Conference*, Noumea, 5–10 December 2004.

#### **Consultancy / Advisory Work**

Briefing presentations for AusAID on Papua New Guinea to Australian personnel deploying to Papua New Guinea with the ECP.

Assessor and Editor of work submitted for publication to the SSGM Project.

## SUE RIDER – SSGM EXECUTIVE OFFICER

### Key responsibilities

Major organising role in SSGM's international conferences and workshops including:

- 'Foreign Policy, Governance and Development: Challenges for Papua New Guinea and Pacific Islands', 22–23 March 2004 in Madang, PNG.
- 'HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea: Priorities for Policy and Social Research', 31st August–1st September 2004, ANU.
- 'GoodNews Workshop: Examining successful models of community development, entrepreneurship and governance', 24–26 November 2004, Divine Word University, Madang, PNG.
- 'Conflict and Conflict resolution in the Asia Pacific', 21–22 October, in collaboration with the Centre for Conflict and Post Conflict Studies Asia Pacific, ANU.
- 'Studies on Decentralisation in PNG', 26 March, in collaboration with UPNG, Pt Moresby.

Major organiser of the SSGM Seminar Series (of which there were 16 in 2004), and organiser of Briefings by SSGM members for Australian officials on posting to PNG (ECP) and Solomon Islands (RAMSI).

Responsible for administering the SSGM Visitors Program; overseeing the production of the Discussion Paper series; contractual and financial management of the SSGM Project; recruitment of casual staff; and for liaison with RSPAS administration.

## DAVID HEGARTY – SSGM CONVENOR

### Publications

'Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission' (with R May, A Regan, S Dinnen, H Nelson and R Duncan), *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/2*:17pp. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.

"Through and Beyond the 'Arc of Instability'", in Ivan Molloy (ed), *The Eye of the Cyclone – Issues in Pacific Security*. PIPSA and the University of the Sunshine Coast, Queensland., 2004, pp.50–55.

(with Adrian Muckle and Darrell Tryon) 'Introduction', *L'Etat des Etats – Pacific Island States Today: The New Pacific Review*, 2:1 (December 2003). [Published 2004]

### National/International Conferences/Workshops

(with R May), 'Is there an "Arc of Instability" in the Pacific Islands Region?' (conference paper presented by R May), National University of Taiwan, Teipeh, March 2004.

'Intervention, Regionalism, Engagement: New Forms of Security Management in the South Pacific', *18th Asia Pacific Roundtable*, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia, 30 May – 2 June 2004.

'Disarmament: the IPMT Experience in Solomon Islands', *Securing a Peaceful Pacific: a conference on preventing and resolving Conflict in the Pacific*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, 15–17 October 2004.

'Regional Intervention in Conflict Situations — the Solomon Islands: Lessons Learned', *Conflict and Peace-Making in Asia Pacific: Lessons Learned*, SSGM in collaboration with CCPCSAP and the University of the South Pacific, University House, ANU, 21–22 October 2004.

'Recent thinking on security for the South Pacific' *Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Asia and the Pacific*, SSGM in collaboration with CCPCSAP and the University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, 25–27 October 2004.

Discussant, 'Vanuatu's Politics and Institutions', *Fiji and Vanuatu Update*, Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government, ANU, 16 November 2004.

'Francis Fukuyama in the South Pacific?' *Governance and Stability in the Pacific*, PIPSA, Noumea, 1–3 December 2004.

'New Thinking on Security Management in the South Pacific?' *Governance and Stability in the Pacific*, PIPSA, Noumea, 1–3 December 2004.

**Teaching/Supervision**

Lectured in Masters Degree programs at ANU in Applied Anthropology, Strategic and Defence Studies, and the Asia Pacific School of Diplomacy. Organised MA course on 'The Contemporary Pacific: Society Politics and Security' to be taught in 2005 in the Faculty of Asian Studies, ANU.

**Consultancy/Advisory Work**

Research and Strategy advisor to the Solomon Islands Community Sector Program; peer reviewer for AusAID's country strategies for Fiji and Solomon Islands; panellist for the DAC review of AusAID; member Editorial Board of Pacific Economic Bulletin.

**Key Research Directions**

State building in the Pacific Islands region — theory and practice. Fragile states. Community level governance and development initiatives in Melanesia. Political governance reform, including the influence of political culture and the emergence of hybrid and unorthodox models. The development of civil society in Melanesia.

**Mr Hegarty was on sick leave February to May 2004.**

## VIII COLLABORATING INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

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Indicative list of institutions and organisations with which SSGM has collaborated and engaged on Pacific and Melanesian issues.

Centre for the Contemporary Pacific, ANU  
 Resource Management Asia-Pacific Project, ANU  
 Land Management Group, ANU  
 Papua Web Project, ANU  
 Centre for Conflict and Post Conflict Studies Asia Pacific, ANU  
 Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government, Pacific Policy Project, ANU  
 Graduate Studies in International Relations Program, ANU  
 Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU  
 University of Papua New Guinea, PNG  
 Divine Word University, PNG  
 University of Goroka, PNG  
 University of Technology, PNG  
 National Research Institute, PNG  
 Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE), SI  
 University of the South Pacific, Laucala Campus, Fiji  
 University of the South Pacific, Emalus Campus, Vanuatu  
 Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, NZ  
 University of Auckland, NZ  
 University of Hawaii, Pacific Islands Studies Program, USA  
 National University of Samoa, Samoa  
 University of Queensland, Australia  
 University of Canberra, Australia  
 University of New South Wales, Centre for South Pacific Studies, Australia  
 University of the Sunshine Coast, Australia  
 Australian Defence Force Academy, Australia

Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Fiji  
 Australian Strategic Policy Institute  
 Research Institute Asia Pacific, Australia  
 United States Institute for Peace, USA  
 University of Nijmegen, Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies (CPAS)  
 Graduate Institute of International Studies, Small Arms Survey, Geneva, Switzerland  
 UNDP Regional Office, Fiji

Australian Council for International Development (formerly ACFOA), Australia  
 Conciliation Resources, UK  
 Australian Council of Churches  
 Australian Volunteers International  
 Ecumenical Centre for Research, Education and Advocacy (ECREA), Fiji

## IX SSGM PROJECT VISITORS

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Hon Bartholomew Ulufa'alu, former Prime Minister of Solomon Islands  
 Warwick Chuck, Media Liaison Officer, DFAT, Sydney  
 Nicholas Coppel, Economic Analytical Unit, DFAT  
 Lawrence J Daveona, Parliamentary Committees, PNG National Parliament  
 Sarah Garap, Meri I Kirap Sapotim, Goroka, PNG  
 Benny Giay, STT Walter Post Theological College, Jayapura, Indonesia  
 Michael Goddard, University of Newcastle  
 Rapti Goonesekere, World Bank  
 Lawrence Hammer, Institute of Medical Research, Goroka, PNG  
 Warren Hauck, Economic Analytical Unit, DFAT  
 Anita Jowitt, USP, Law Faculty  
 Joseph Kabui, Bougainville  
 Frank Keurhorst, Indonesia and Pacific Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands  
 Hon Bire Kimisopa, MP, Minister for Internal Security, PNG  
 Ludmilla Kwitko, International Development Consultant  
 Jared Kyle, independent consultant  
 Stephanie Lawson, Director, European and International Studies, University of East Anglia, England  
 Charles Lepani, Member, Review Teams on Aid to PNG  
 Jerry Manele, Deputy Secretary to the Prime Minister, Solomon Islands  
 Gerald McGhie, Pacific Cooperation Foundation, New Zealand  
 Fr Eliseo Mercado, OMI, Rome  
 Nicole Mitchell, VSO, PNG  
 Peter Mollema, Political Section, Netherlands Embassy, Jakarta  
 Robert Muggah, SSRC Fellow, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva  
 Victor Ngele, National Peace Council, Solomon Islands  
 Allan Patience, Political Science Program, UPNG  
 Jehan Perera, National Peace Council, Sri Lanka  
 Steven Ratuva, USP, Fiji  
 David Shires, Capacity International  
 Jerry Singirok, former Commander of PNG Defence Forces  
 Lucy Slack, Commonwealth Local Level Government Forum  
 Hon Malcolm Smith, MP, Governor, Eastern Highlands PNG  
 Hon Arthur Somare, MP, East Sepik Province, PNG  
 Hon Ian Ling-Stuckey, Governor, New Ireland Province, PNG  
 Mark Thomson, independent consultant  
 Deborah Van Heekeren, University of Newcastle  
 Howard Van Trease, History Department, University of Hawaii  
 Iris Wielders, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, The University of Sydney  
 Carl Wright, Commonwealth Local Level Government Forum

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> ADB — Asian Development Bank, 'Pacific Economy to Follow Global Economic Trend', *News Release 052/05*, 6 April 2005.
- <sup>2</sup> Abbott, David and Steve Pollard, 'Hardship and Poverty in the Pacific', *ADB Pacific Studies Series*, 2004.
- <sup>3</sup> Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay and Massimo Mastruzzi, *Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996–2004 (and Appendices)*. The World Bank, May 2005.
- <sup>4</sup> Dinnen, Sinclair, 'Lending a fist? Australia's new interventionism in the Southwest Pacific', *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia (SSGM) Project Discussion Paper 2004/5*.  
Fraenkel, Jon, *The Manipulation of Custom – from Uprising to Intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Victoria University Wellington Press and Pandanus Books, ANU, 2004.  
Gyngell, Allan, "Australia's Emerging Global Role", *Current History*, March 2005.  
Hegarty, David, May, Ron, Regan, Anthony, Dinnen, Sinclair, Nelson, Hank and Duncan, Ron, 'Rebuilding State and Nation in Solomon Islands: Policy Options for the Regional Assistance Mission', *SSGM Discussion Paper 2004/2*.  
Huffer, Elise and Ropate Qalo, 'Have We Been Thinking Upside Down? The Contemporary Emergence of Pacific Theoretical Thought'. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16:87–116, 2004.  
Kabutaulaka, Tarcisius, "Failed State" and the War on Terror: Intervention in Solomon Islands', *Asia Pacific Issues*, Analysis from the East West Center No. 72, March 2004.  
Larmour, Peter, 'The Foreignness of the State in the South Pacific', *The New Pacific Review*, vol. 2, No. 1, December 2003.  
May, R. J, 'Weak States, Collapsed States, Broken-backed States and Kleptocracies: general concepts and Pacific Realities', *The New Pacific Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 December 2003.  
Mellor, Thuy and Jak Jabes, *Governance in the Pacific: Focus for Action 2005–2009*, ADB 2004.  
Okole, Henry, 'Papua New Guinea's Brand of Westminster: Democratic Traditions Overlaying Melanesian Cultures', in Patapan, H, Wanna, J, and Weller, P (eds). *Westminster Legacies: Democracy and Responsible Government in Asia and the Pacific*. UNSW Press, 2005.  
Patience, Allan, 'The ECP and Australia's Middle Power Ambitions', *SSGM Discussion Paper 2005/4*.  
Regan, Anthony J, 'Clever people solving difficult problems: Perspectives on weakness of the state and the nation in Papua New Guinea', *SSGM Working Paper 2005/2*, <<http://rspas.anu.edu.au/melanesia>>  
Saldanha, Cedric, 'Strategies for Good Governance in the Pacific', *Asia Pacific Economic Literature*, 18:2 (2004).  
Thomas, Pamela and David Hegarty (eds), 'Effective Development in Papua New Guinea', *Development Bulletin*, No. 67, April 2005.  
Von Strokirch, Karin, 'The Region in Review: International Issues and Events, 2004' *The Contemporary Pacific*, 17:2 (forthcoming).

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