

Looking for new Friends

Sustainable South-South Cooperation

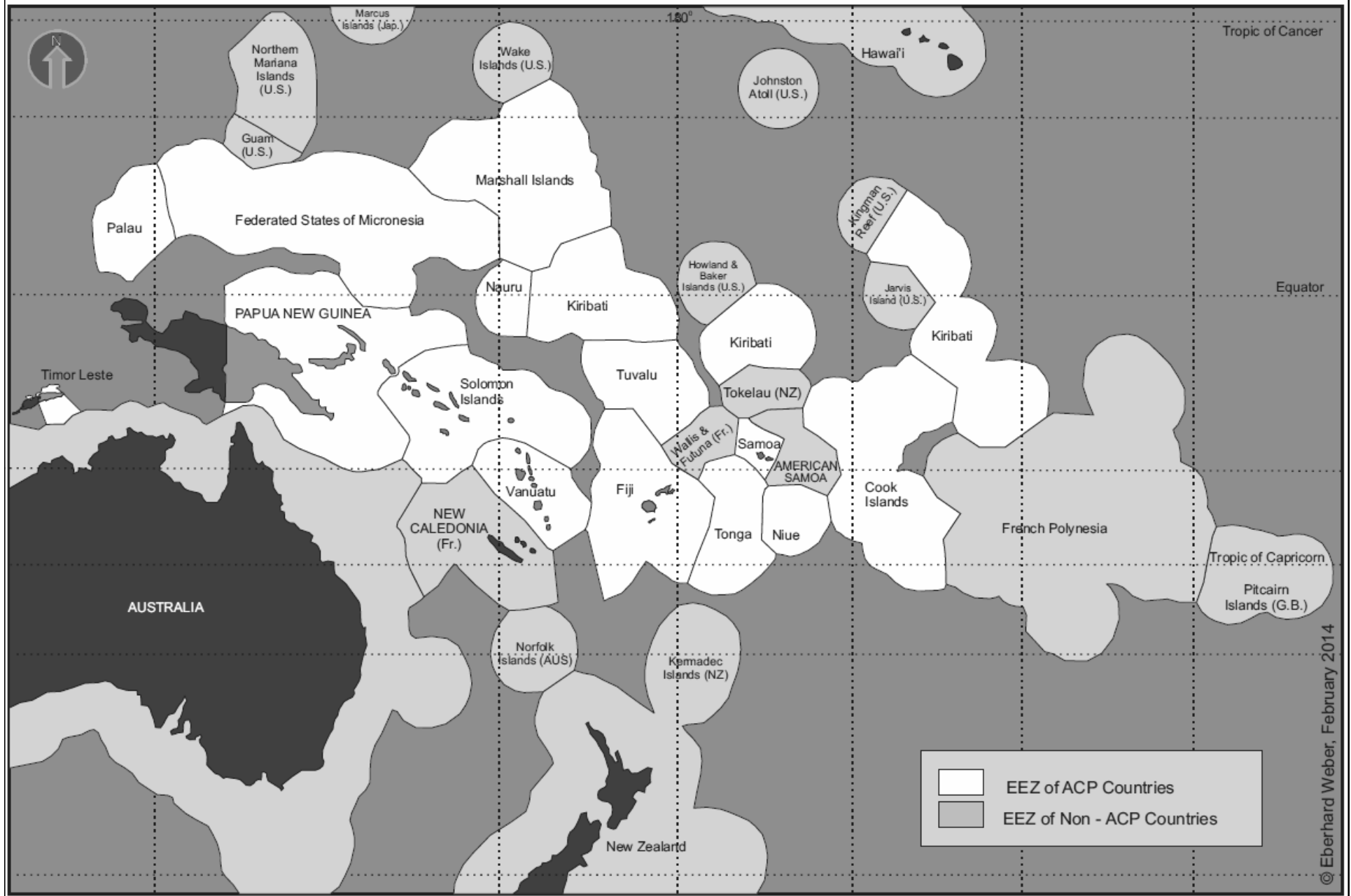
or

**Temporary necessity in Fiji's international relations after
the coup of December 2006**

Eberhard Weber

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Pacific Islands



The Coup of December 2006

THE FIJI TIMES
 Tuesday, December 5, 2006 28 Pages 70c VIP No. 291 Since 1869



Soldiers remove police weapons

SOLDSKES yesterday removed guns and ammunition from the police armoury, set up a military measure.

They also set up a roadblock at Suva's main road, forcing Prime Minister Laisenia Qarua, who was in Viti to open the Parliament Council meeting, to go back to Suva by helicopter with his cabinet.

Military commander Commodore Vunagi Ratuasiraka said the removal of weapons from the Police Tactical Response Brigade in Suva was done after discussions with the police. He said the delay in the removal of the guns was because of a misunderstanding with Assistant Police Commissioner Kovalei Dabamatsidra.

"The manner in which the weapons were removed was the result of a misunderstanding between the PCR armoury and the assistant police commissioner Kovalei Dabamatsidra," he said.

He said the military would also disarm bodyguards attached to ministers and the Prime Minister.

Commodore Ratuasiraka said the security of the police personnel because they did not want to present an opportunity for the weapons to be used against the military.

"Having said that, the military is very much aware of the important role of the police in such a volatile time like the current situation in Fiji," he said.

The military and the police will work together to ensure the security and stability of all the people of Fiji."

He warned people who are thinking of conducting criminal activities against the people or military and police during this time not to do so.

Commodore Ratuasiraka said he understood that weapons belonging to bodyguards for ministers and the Prime Minister's security detail had been returned.

He said the security forces would ensure the security of people of the nation.

When questioned who was in charge of country now, Commodore Ratuasiraka said he did not want to make a comment.

Last night, Mr Qarua was engaged in most of his duties until about 11pm. He then returned home after soldiers wanted him to get off at the gate and walk. He refused and returned to his residence. He said he was summoned by the President's office before 5pm to be part of a meeting at Government House.

"I was told by the military officers who had increased in numbers to get off the vehicle and walk to Government House which was quite a hassle. I refused and returned home," he said.

He said he was not sure what the meeting would be about with the President last night but he would have a press conference after his Cabinet meeting today.

On Sunday, Mr Qarua said he would also reveal the over-arching demands of the military that had made it hard for them to reach an understanding.

He said the military always came up with new demands which made it hard for them to come to an understanding and this had prompted the current meeting.

Mr Qarua was flown by helicopter from Suva to Naitasiri and from there he would arrive at the Suva checkpoint.

Former Land Force Commander Colonel James Balidzidzidze was at Naitasiri when Mr Qarua boarded the helicopter.

Mr Qarua's helicopter returned to Suva in his Government vehicle.

Speaking to the Parliament council he said his Government was elected by the people and there was no way they would allow the military commander to dictate to them how to run the Government.

He did not mince his words when he said the Government was expediting hard times. Mr Qarua said his Government clearly was 20 seats and had two independents on that side which took the number to 21 out of the 32 seats.

Mr Qarua complained the importance of having faith in the rule of democracy and an elected Government that is not over above the law.

He said what was clear was that Commodore Ratuasiraka had intense as wanted the Government to address and that was what was making the impasse difficult to resolve.

Mr Qarua said in the Wellington meeting last week between the two leaders he gave in to some of the demands made by Commodore Ratuasiraka.

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BACKBENCHERS VOW TO BACK PM: PAGE 3

FijiSUN

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2006 SUN (FIJI) NEWS LIMITED 70c VIP



Under the gun

By force ... a naval officer mans a roadblock into the capital at Naitasiri last night after the military took control of the police armoury at Naitasiri yesterday. Photo: KADASHI RAO

■ Continued on Page 3



18.09.2013 Tiberias / Golan Heights

The narrative

- As a result of Fiji's international isolation after the coup of December 2006 and the abrogation of the constitution in April 2009 China used opportunities to stronger engage in Fiji.
- This was done through providing development assistance when Fiji's old friends became hesitant to support the military (supported) government.
- As a result the PRC gained stronger influence in the Pacific Island region to the disadvantage of traditional powers and the Pacific Island countries.
- With democratic elections in September 2014 the situation was expected to return „back to normal“

I argue:

The narrative is wrong

- „Looking North“ actually is looking everywhere.
- It is not China who takes advantage of Fiji's international isolation, but it is Fiji's (successful) attempt to „politically diversify“.
- This attempt started before the 2006 coup under the Qarase Government which later was replaced by the coup.

The bigger Context

It is impossible to see Fiji – Chinese relationship independent of

- **Changes in Western political and strategic interests in the Pacific Island region**
- **Changes in Chinese policies and strategies that include Pacific Islands**
- **Policies and interests of Pacific Island governments making use of their agency.**
- **Australia did not isolate Fiji, but in the long term the Fiji Government has isolated Australia in its stand against Fiji.**

A New Era in Chinese-Pacific Engagement?

Paul D'Arcy

Sociology / Historical Perspective

Varieties of Chinese Experience in the Pacific

Bill Willmott

The Chinese Pacifics. A Brief Historical Review
Paul D'Arcy*

The Chinese Pacifics. A Brief Historical Review

The Fourth Wave: Chinese in the Pacific Islands in the Twenty-First Century
Ron Crocombe

Chinese contract labour in the Pacific Islands during the nineteenth century

Bill Willmott

Ginseng, Otter Skins, and Sandalwood: The Conundrum of the China Trade

Paul E. Fontenoy

Chinese in Fiji
BNK Ali - 2002 - books.google.com

USP Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data Ng, Kum Lin Chinese in Fiji / Ng Kum Lin. — Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2002. 225 p. : ill. ; 21 cm. — Chinese — Fiji I. The University of ...
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BNK Ali - The Journal of Pacific Studies, 2005

Political Attitudes of the Overseas Chinese in Fiji
SW Greif - Asian Survey, 1975 - JSTOR

ENVIRONMENTAL CONSEQUENCES OF RISING ENERGY USE IN CHINA

Development / Environmental / Resource Perspective

CHINA IN THE PACIFIC: THE NEW BANKER IN TOWN

FEEDING THE DRAGON
China and Natural Resource Developments in Oceania
Tarcisius Kabutaulaka

THE DRAGON IN THE PACIFIC: MORE OPPORTUNITY THAN THREAT

China's Economic Relations with Pacific Island Countries
By YU Changsen

Chinese Aid in the South Pacific: Linked to Resources?
Philippa Brant^a
^a Lowy Institute for International Policy
Published online: 31 May 2013.

Journal of Contemporary China, 2013
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10717064.2013.1093377>

Trading with the Dragon: Chinese trade, investment and development assistance in the Pacific Islands
KATE HANNAN and STEWART FIRTH^a

Seabed Mineral Resources: A Review of Current Mineral Resources and Future Developments

Sterk, R.¹ & Stein, J.K.²

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The South Pacific: Microcosm of Future US – China Competition?

Joanne Wallis

Sep 19
2012

Dragon in Paradise

China's Rising Star in Oceania

—John Henderson & Benjamin Reilly—

Political Perspective

China and Taiwan in the South Pacific: Diplomatic Chess versus Pacific Political Rugby

Graeme Dobell¹

China no rival in the battle for island influence

17 MAY 2013 | COMMENTARY | BY JENNY HAYWARD-JONES

China in Fiji: displacing traditional players?

Jian Yang
Published online: 19 May 2011

CHINA: STUMBLING THROUGH THE PACIFIC

U.S. Interests and China's Growing Influence

Chinese Assistance in the Pacific: Agency, Effectiveness and the Role of Pacific Island Governments
Matthew Dornan and Philippa Brant*

The Southwest Pacific: Chinese Assistance in the Pacific: Agency, Effectiveness and the Role of Pacific Island Governments

Fiji grabs the limelight as leaders of China and India visit

24 November 2014 3:12PM

SNAPSHOT March 4, 2015

The Geopolitics of Chinese Aid

Mapping Beijing's Funding in the Pacific

By Philippa Brant

A new regional cold war? Through the Pacific prism

Steve Ratuva
University of Auckland

CHINA, TAIWAN AND THE CHANGING STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF OCEANIA

John Henderson¹

Decline of Western Influence

Since the end of the Cold War

- US Pacific Feet reduced by half
- USA closed embassies in Solomon Islands and Samoa
- Closed USAID offices in Fiji and PNG
- Cut back on scholarships

- British High Commission in Vanuatu closed 2005
- British High Commission in Tonga closed 2006
- Cut back on scholarships

Motivation for Chinese Support

- **Until 2008:** competition with Taiwan for political recognition; support from PICs
- Pacific Islands governments enhanced competition between PRC and ROC to maximize their benefit, at times approaching both countries at the same time.



Rivalry

China Taiwan



Cook Islands (1997-)*

Federated States of Micronesia (1989)

Fiji (1975-)

Niue* (2007-)

Papua New Guinea (1976-, 1999 PNG briefly recognized Taiwan; in 2008 Taiwan spent US\$19 m to gain PNG recognition)

Samoa (1975-)

Tonga (1998-)

Vanuatu (1982-; briefly recognized Taiwan in 2004)

Kiribati (2003-)

Marshall Islands (1998-)

Nauru (1980-2002, 2005-)

Palau (1999-)

Solomon Islands (1983-)

Tuvalu (1979-; 2006 concerns that Tuvalu could recognize PRC)

Kiribati (1980 – 2003)

Marshall Islands (1990 – 1998)

Fiji (1971 – 1975)

Samoa (1972 – 1975)

Tonga (1972 – 1998)

*New Zealand has important influence in foreign policy

- After 2008 Chinese aid follows economic / commercial interests „from below“ especially in construction sector.
- Even today Chinese aid is often portrayed as irresponsible and exploitative, allowing Pacific governments to avoid necessary reforms.
- Closely connected to Australia's security discourse concerning Pacific Islands after 9/11 and Bali Bombings (2002; 2005).
- Pacific Island leaders' **agency** cannot be discounted. It creates the impression that China's political influence in the Pacific Islands has increased considerably, but indeed there are many Davids who successfully fight a few Goliaths.

The rationale and „conditions“ of support from the PRC

- Between 2004 – 2009 China's global aid budget increased by some 30 percent annually.
- China displays itself as „developing country“ and sees its aid as the fulfilment of its international responsibility „to help recipient countries to strengthen their self-development capacity, enrich and improve their peoples' livelihood, and promote their economic growth and social progress“.

The rationale and „conditions“ of support from the PRC

- China considers aid as an instrument of „South-South Cooperation“ of a country with a shared history of (negative) experience with imperial powers.
- „China stands ready to provide assistance without any political string attached“ (Premier Wen 2006 at China-PIC Forum).
- No political conditionality rather than no conditionality at all.

The rationale and „conditions“ of support from the PRC

Conditionalities:

- Aid and concessional loans only to countries that do not recognize ROC as independent state
- Contractor must be a Chinese Company approved by the Chinese Government
- At least 50 percent of materials must be procured from China.
- Often labourers are brought in from China

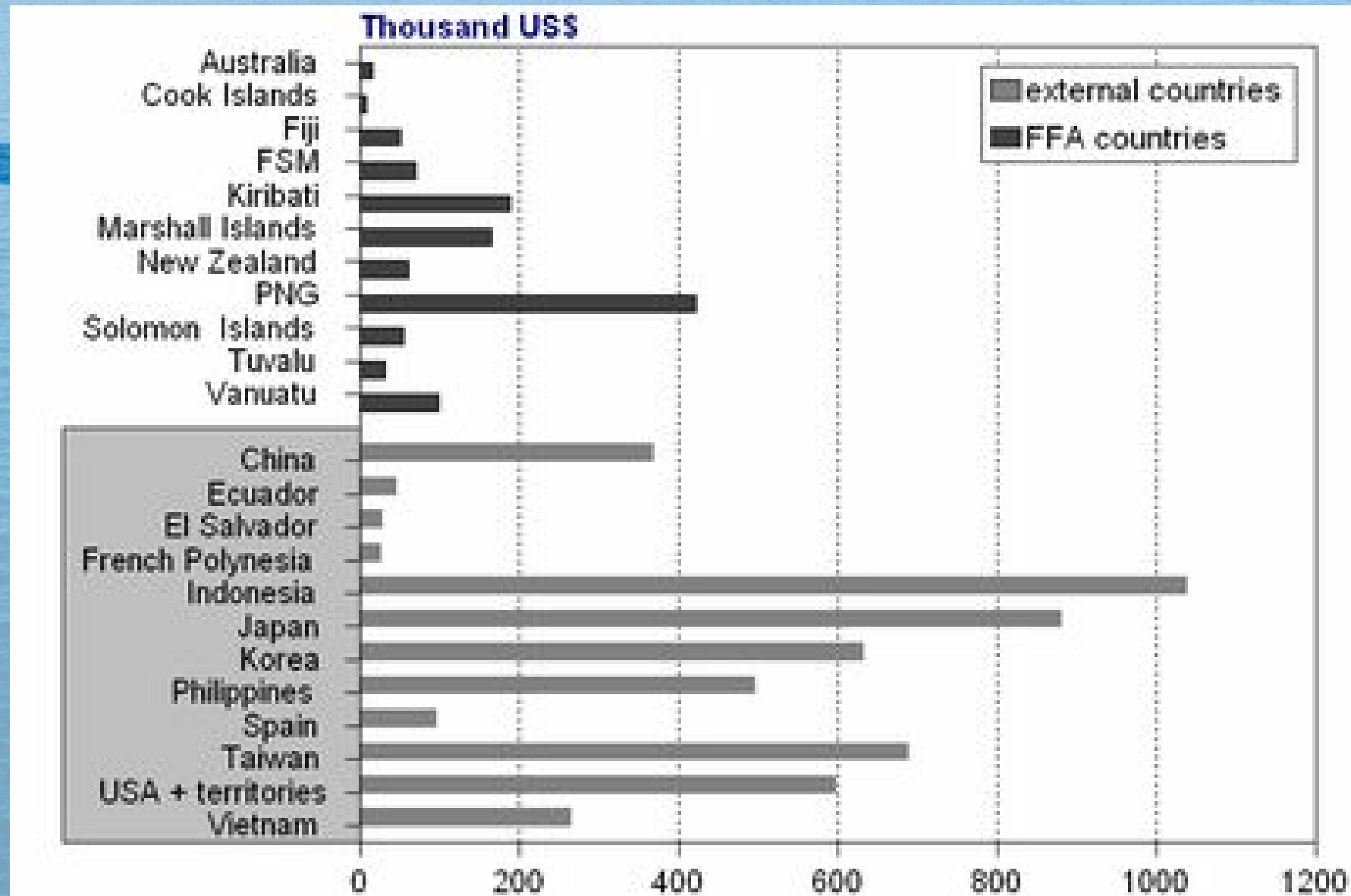
Motives beyond political recognition

Economic Interests

- Tuna Fisheries
- Garments
- (Deep Sea) Mining
- Construction (Housing / Roads)



Tuna catch in the Western and Central Pacific 2013





Low-cost Housing



Bauxite Mining



November 2014: China-Pacific Islands Countries (PIC) Leaders meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Nadi



Against the Narrative

- In May 2009 Fiji was expelled from the Pacific Island Forum (PIF)
- In 2013 Fiji hosted the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF) a challenge to the PIF and established in response to Fiji's exclusion from the Forum.
- In October 2014 Prime Minister Bainimarama announced that Fiji has set conditions for its return to the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) after he had received a letter from PIF leaders that Fiji's suspension had been lifted.

Against the Narrative

- “Fiji is not going back to PIF till some changes and reforms are made in the organisation; for example Australia and New Zealand to move out of PIF,” Australia and New Zealand should become development partners like nations such as Japan, China and Korea.

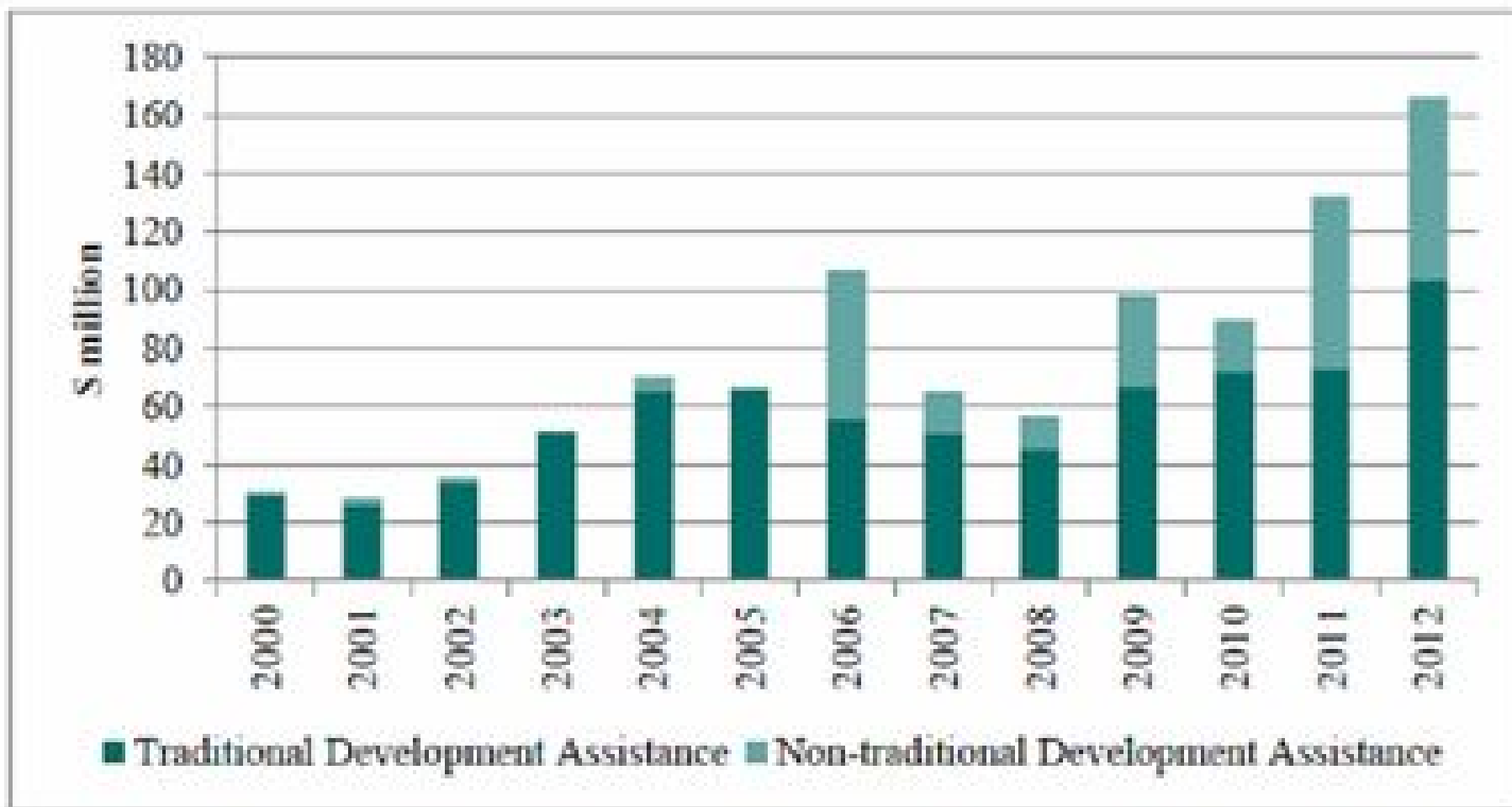
Thank you very much



Official Development Assistance (ODA)

HD rank 2014	Country	Population 2013	ODA total 2010-2013 annual avg US\$ Mill.	ODA per capita 2010-2013 annual avg US\$
187	Niger	17,831,270	764	43
186	Congo (DR)	67,513,677	3587	53
185	Central African Republic	4,616,417	235	51
184	Chad	12,825,314	454	35
183	Sierra Leone	6,092,075	447	73
182	Eritrea	6,333,135	127	20
181	Burkina Faso	16,934,839	1058	62
180	Burundi	10,162,532	567	56
179	Guinea	11,745,189	316	27
178	Mozambique	25,833,752	2107	82
n.a.	Cook Island	20,629	20	970
88	Fiji	881,065	91	103
133	Kiribati	102,351	56	547
n.a.	Marshall Islands	52,634	88	1,672
124	Micronesia, Fed. States	103,549	132	1,275
n.a.	Nauru	10,051	34	3,383
n.a.	Niue	1,344	19	14,137
80	Palau	20,918	28	1,339
157	Papua New Guinea	7,321,262	634	87
106	Samoa	190,372	125	657
158	Solomon Islands	561,231	332	592
n.a.	Tokelau	1,195	20	16,736
100	Tonga	105,323	83	788
n.a.	Turvalu	9,876	27	2,734
131	Vanuatu	252,763	103	407
n.a.	Wallis and Futuna	13,272	118	8,891
	http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/world-population-countries			
	http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/aid-at-a-glance.htm			
	Information on Chinese Aid: Lowy Institute for International Policy			
	Information on HD ranking: Human Development Report 2014			

Figure 2: Traditional and non-traditional development assistance, Fiji, 2000-2012



Source: Ministry of Finance, Fiji (2011); OECD (2014);
<http://www.foreignaffairs.gov.fj/trade-policy/international-cooperation/oda-trend>;
www.theglobalfund.org/en/; <http://foundationcenter.org>.

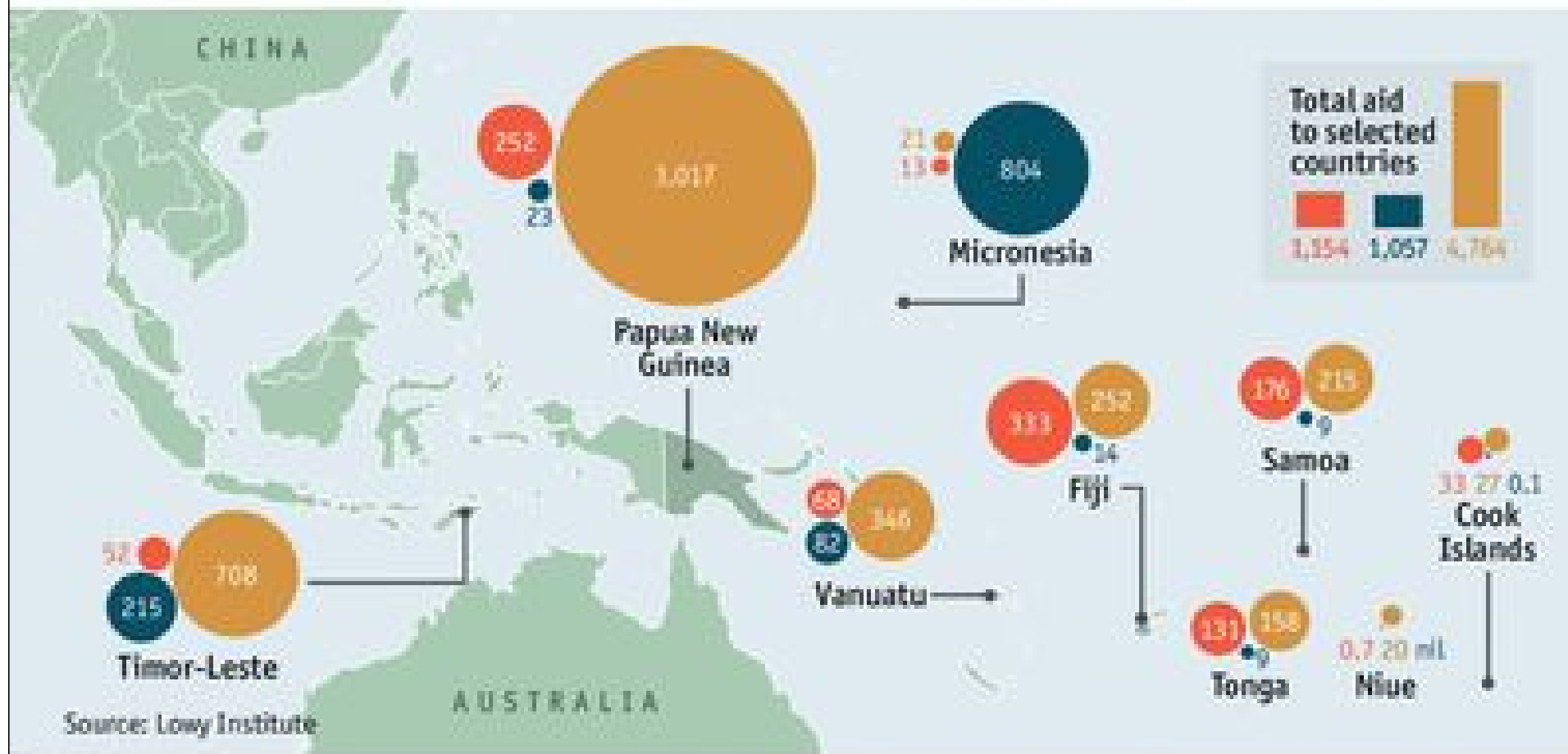
www.pmooffice.gov.fj;
aiddata.org

Australia, USA and China „ODA“

Bilateral foreign aid to selected Pacific countries

2006-13 total, \$m

Aid from: ● China ● US ● Australia



Source: Lowy Institute

Milestones of Pacific Island – PRC relationship

Since 1988 Intensification with South Pacific Forum (later Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat)

2003: China joins the South Pacific Tourism Organization (SPTO). Donates \$100,000 to SPTO and thus becomes single largest paying member. China gives Approved Destination Status (ADS) to Cook Islands, Fiji, Tonga and Vanuatu.

April 2006: 1st China-Pacific Islands Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum **US\$ 516.5m**

November 2013: 2nd China-Pacific Islands Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum **US\$ 1 b soft loans**

November 2014: China-Pacific Islands Countries (PIC) Leaders meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Nadi

Milestones of Pacific Island – PRC relationship

November 2013: 2nd China-Pacific Islands Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum US\$ 1 b soft loans

In addition

Zero-tariff treatment for 95% of exports from least developed countries

2,000 scholarships for Pacific students over four years.

Commitment to negotiate bilateral civil aviation agreements and encourage direct flights.

Provision of medical facilities, including medical teams, equipment and medicine. China will share malaria-prevention experience and technology with Pacific countries.




Promotion of bilateral agricultural trade and investment through agricultural demonstration farms.

China will provide low-carbon products to the Pacific including solar lamp bulbs, energy-efficient home appliances, and hydropower and biogas facilities. It will also develop extreme-weather early warning and ocean environment monitoring systems.

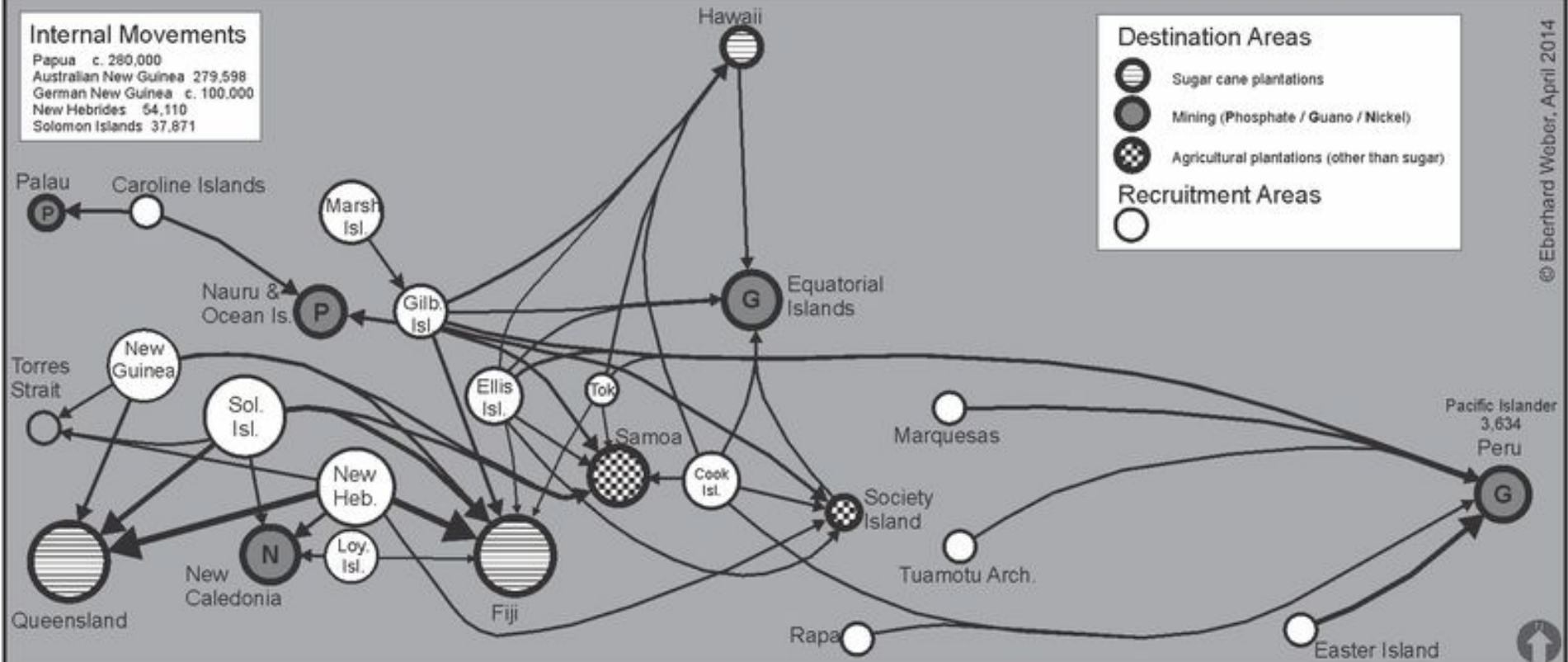
Internal Movements

Papua c. 280,000
 Australian New Guinea 279,598
 German New Guinea c. 100,000
 New Hebrides 54,110
 Solomon Islands 37,871

Destination Areas

-  Sugar cane plantations
-  Mining (Phosphate / Guano / Nickel)
-  Agricultural plantations (other than sugar)

Recruitment Areas



To Queensland

Intra Pacific Island Labour Flows in the 19th and early 20th century (incl. Queensland and Hawai'i)

New Hebrides 39,931
 Solomon Islands 18,217
 New Guinea (Ger, Aus) 2,809
 Loyalty Islands 1,123
 other Pacific Islands c. 400

To Fiji

New Hebrides 14,198
 Solomon Islands 8,228
 Gilbert Islands 2,398
 New Guinea 1,618
 other Pacific Islands 585

To Samoa

New Guinea } c. 10,000
 Solomon Islands }
 Micronesians c. 2,500
 Gilbert Islands 210

To Nauru & Ocean Island

Gilbert Islands c.1,000
 Caroline Islands c. a few hundreds(1)
 Ellis Islands c.300

To New Caledonia

New Hebrides c. 10 - 13,000
 Solomon Islands c. 1,000

To Hawai'i

Pacific Islanders 2,444

Labour Flows to the Pacific Islands from outside in the 19th and early 20th century (incl. Queensland and Hawai'i)

India 60,965
 Japan 305

China 6,984

China c. 1,200

French convicts c. 22,000
 Indonesia c. 33,000
 India 376
 other Asian c. 14,000

Japan 186,343
 Philippines 102,069
 China 61,794
 Portugal 16,318
 other European 13,553
 other Asian 8,283
 Puerto Rico 5,203

sources: data from: Moore et al. (1990) unless indicated otherwise; (1) Firth (1978).

