# **Pacific Island States Reconsidered**

## **Robert Seward**

**Introduction:** Shortly after the Small Island States Project was initiated, violence and civil unrest broke out in several planned research venues. While the Bougainville Island peace settlement in Papua New Guinea moved falteringly toward resolution in 2000, a coup d'état erupted in Fiji and warlordism ran rampant in the Solomon Islands and the Highlands of Papua New Guinea.

In May 2000, the government of Fiji, composed of indigenous Fijians as well as Indo-Fijians, was overthrown under threat of gunfire. The prime minister, an Indo-Fijian labor leader, and his People's Coalition government were held hostage for nearly two months, and the 1997 constitution was abolished by Interim Military Government Military Decree No. 1. (See Fiji Government OnLine http://www.fiji.gov.fj/core/press/2000 05 30 2.html.)

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan and other world leaders were prompt in demanding an end to the coup on the basis of the Fiji's 1997 constitution. The Japanese government made a similar demand. Constitutional government did not return to Fiji until supervised elections were held in August and September of 2001.

The coup in Fiji occurred before a backdrop of deteriorating conditions throughout the South Pacific that continues: rising unemployment, falling per capita income, diminishing access to health and education. Concomitantly, urban crime, violence against women, corruption, and ethnic conflict have increased. One study of the region concludes:

In Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea, groups bent on rebellion, intimidation, and profit have treated state-owned armories as gun supermarkets, taking weapons when needed. Direct impacts of armed conflict include death and injury, violation of human rights and international humanitarian law and forced displacement. (P. Alpers and C. Twyford, *Small Arms in the Pacific*, Occasional Paper 8, *Small Arms Survey*, 2003/03/21, xvi – xvii.)

As regards corruption, Fiji has been plagued with financial scandal at the National Bank of Fiji and allegations of corruption in the Customs Department, the Companies Office, the Registrar General's Department, the Housing Authority, the Agriculture Department, and the Public Works Department.

If it can be imagined, measures of governance in Fiji are actually somewhat better than in other Pacific island countries. Overall governance measures for the region appear in Appendix I. On a World Bank scale, which ranges from  $\pm 2.5$  to  $\pm 2.5$ , the Pacific as a whole has a mean of  $\pm 1.25$ . The scores of individual countries are an indication of the severity of the problems each labors under. In this difficult economic and political climate, per capita income has either languished or declined.

A primary activity of the Small Island States Project was the production of a compact disc that comprised well over 1,100 html pages, with approximately 9,500 hyperlinks, almost 9,000 of which are internal. The file size is a little over 50,000 kb of material. The project supported student assistants for a small portion of the data gathering (see Appendix II). The CD is divided into three sections: the largest concerns the 2000 coup d'état in Fiji, one looks into the Pacific in general, and one considers the Solomon Islands in particular.

**Background for the CD project "Fiji Coup d'état":** The coup took place on 19 May 2000. Led by George Speight, a failed businessman, a group of ex-army members from the Counter-Revolutionary Warfare Squadron seized control of the government using the threat of gunfire. Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry, an Indo-Fijian, and his cabinet, were held hostage for 56 days. The coup precipitated a constitutional crisis. Fiji's President Kamisese Mara declared a state of emergency, subsequently turning the government over to Commodore Josaia Voreqe (Frank) Bainimarama, commander of the Fiji Military Forces, who proceeded to revoke the country's 1997 constitution on the grounds of national emergency. The CD contains a summary timeline, providing background to the coup and its aftermath. A list of principal actors is supplied.

This section of the CD covers the period from May 2000 through September 2001, when constitutional government was reinstated. The documents collected in the early period of unrest form a daily record.

**News focus:** News of the coup can be followed day-by-day; monthly calendars provide essential links to events during the coup, tracking news reports from both Fiji and around the world. The monthly calendars also provide links to daily news and government documents regarding the hostage crisis and the sorting out of the abrogation of constitutional government.

The news stories may also be followed thematically. Some of the groupings, all interlinked, focus on Fiji military forces, social and economic costs, indigenous rights, the constitution and constitutional issues, military decrees, Fiji land policy, and nationalism and ethnicity. Collected materials end with George Speight's trial for treason and his sentence of death.

Japanese news sources are included, as are statements by the Japanese government, listed chronologically. The CD's collection of Japanese newspaper reports are for the first few months of the coup, after which the event largely dropped from sight in Japan. Government documents include statements of the Foreign Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs press officer. For example, on 26 May, then Foreign Minister Kono Yohei issued the following statement: "I was extremely shocked at the news of the takeover of the Fijian Parliament by a group of armed men, and looting and rioting in the city of Suva, and I have been concerned about the situation. Japan considers as regrettable any attempt to overthrow by force a democratically elected government."

**Economic and diplomatic materials:** Japan's economic relations with Fiji and other Pacific island countries supplement the news of the coup. A list of major Pacific island exports to Japan is included. Japan's diplomatic



maneuvers in the region are also catalogued.

Australia, New Zealand, United States, and the European Union withheld aid to the Interim Military Government during abrogation of the constitution. Contrary to the urging of these governments, Japan continued its aid presence with small but highly visible donations and other activities:

#### COMMUNITY TV GETS JAPAN HELP

The Japanese Government has approved a grant of F\$82,209 to help with the renovation and refurbishment of a new studio for the Nadi-based Community Television (CTV).

A statement from the Japan Official Development Assistance said the contracts formalising the grant were signed between CTV director John Yates and Akira Goto the Japanese Embassy's Charge d' Affaires, on Wednesday. (FijiLive.net from Fiji's *Daily Post*, 2001/01/18.)

Support for community TV was only one of the myriad dollops of aid given by the Japanese government; others included a public convenience facility and litter bins from a grant to Fiji of F\$66,689 in September 2000.

During the period between the coup and the restoration of democracy, Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) continued to arrive in Fiji, and their presence was quickly exploited by the appointed Interim Military Government:

#### JAPAN OVERSEAS VOLUNTEERS ARRIVE IN THE COUNTRY

Four Japanese Overseas volunteers are due to arrive in the country tomorrow (October 17th). Whilst in Fiji, the two female volunteers, Yuko Suda, who is specialised in the Care of Physically and Mentally Handicapped individuals, will be attached to the School for Special Education in Labasa and Hisae Hagiwara; a Public Health Nurse will join the Nabouwalu Health Centre in Bua.

A third female volunteer, Ms Chikako Yamashita, a Home Arts teacher will be dispatched to the Tonga National Council of Churches in Tongatapu on the Kingdom of Tonga.

In addition, the remaining two male workers, Hiroyuki Horikawa, a speech therapist, will work with the Early Intervention Centre for Developmentally Delayed Children in Suva and Toshiteru Aoki, a vegetable growing specialist, will spend his volunteering service with the Nawaicoba Vocational Centre, under the Ministry of Education in Nadi.

The volunteers will be attached to the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in Fiji, whilst completing their volunteering service. (Fiji Government Website, News Press Release, "Japan Overseas Volunteers Arrive in the Country," 2000/http://www.fiji.gov.fj/core/press/2000 16 10 5.html, 2000/10/16.)

In contrast, the government of New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark was unequivocal in its condemnation of the coup. Clark, in a major foreign policy speech in May 2000, stated: "Let me make the government's position on Fiji very clear. We cannot find acceptable an outcome in Fiji which sees that country abandon its constitution by unconstitutional means... Nor can we accept the imposition in Fiji of a constitution which denies the Indian people basic rights of citizenship." The New Zealand government fully supported

Commonwealth Principles, specifically the Harare Commonwealth Declaration, which iterates: "We believe in the liberty of the individual under the law, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of gender, race, colour, creed or political belief, and in the individual's inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which he or she lives."

Australia and India likewise appealed to the Fiji authorities to abide by the process of law.

In the end, law prevailed: Constitutional government was restored, and George Speight, the coup leader, and others were found guilty of treason.

**Other countries surveyed:** Indo-Fijians comprise about 44 percent of the population of Fiji, which is a former British colony. Because of this, the CD documentation has included news reports and commentary from the Indian press as well. Through the British Commonwealth and other venues, the Indian government, in cooperation with Australia and New Zealand, put pressure on Fiji authorities for the restoration of law and order.

Links are provided to news stories, government statements, and other documents on the foreign policy of Australia, the Commonwealth, India, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States.

**Media and freedom of the press:** Media and media reportage were an issue in the aftermath of the coup. The offices of the television station Fiji One were trashed by coup supporters, and while the Chaudhry government was held captive, a journalist was wounded in a shooting outside the Parliament complex. The Interim government attempted to muzzle the press through the Anti-Sabotage Decree and other means, although Information Minister Ratu Inoke Kubuabola denied that that was the case. Accordingly, the CD documentation includes materials and reports about media and problems of Third World reportage. The assembled archive provides the opportunity for comparisons of outside reports—from New Zealand, Australia, and various news wire services—with coverage by local Fiji media and Fiji government press releases.

A United Nations mission was sent to Fiji to assess the role of media in the general elections held in August 2001. The mission discussed possible problems of reporting on elections and explained the function of election observers. Unlike some Pacific island states, Fiji has a fairly vigorous and varied media, including print and broadcast.

**Supplementary information:** Supplementary information on the CD includes maps of Fiji and the Pacific; country-specific data; a photo archive; statistical data, including population figures, with links to various national statistical agencies; currency information; the history of Japanese official development assistance (ODA) ; and other such material. The image index provides visuals for some of the events, personalities, and locales. A glossary provides definitions to unfamiliar terms and Fijian words, many with links to more detailed information.

Information on human rights practices in Fiji is highlighted and linked to material concerning ethnicity and nationalism. There is commentary representing various viewpoints, including that of Brij V. Lal, a noted constitutional scholar of Indo-Fijian ancestry.

Political party statements are assembled along with key election results.

A list of elites and essential figures during the coup, leading up to the restoration of constitutional democracy, is provided; if images are available, they are appended.

The Fiji Constitution and other primary resources, such as rules of engagement issued to military forces, have been collected.

The CD is designed for teaching and research purposes. In spring 2003, the CD was distributed to students in Pacific Island Studies. Students focused their attention on ethnicity and nationalism, looking at the issue through primary sources such as Interim Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase's "Blueprint for the Protection of Fijian and Rotuman Rights and Interests, and the Advancement of Their Development," a document which excluded Indo-Fijians from many benefits afforded other citizens of Fiji.

Originally, the focus of the CD project was not on Fiji alone, but due to the events of 2000 the concentration on Fiji was deemed appropriate. Issues concerning other small island states were investigated; papers will be forthcoming.

Table 1, "Basic Indicators: Pacific Island Countries and Territories," shows population and economic figures for the region. (Information on Australia and New Zealand is provided for purposes of comparison.) Data gathering in the region is weak, and the figures are sometimes suspect. Nevertheless, as the figures illustrate, generalizations are rather difficult to make due to vast regionwide disparities. There are countries with some of the highest population growth rates in the world, while others are suffering a net decline. In terms of purchasing power parity (PPP), Kiribati is lowest with US\$950, while French Polynesia enjoys a PPP of US\$23,340, which is higher than that of New Zealand. Yet the region considers itself a "bloc" with common problems and concerns.

## Table 1

### BASIC INDICATORS:

## Pacific Island Countries and Territories

	Land Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Population (2000) in 000s	Population (mid-2003) estimate in 000s	Population Density (persons/km <sup>2</sup> )	Annual Population Growth Rate (1970–2000) Percent	Annual Growth (1970–2000) Real GNP Per Capita	GNP Per Capita (2000) US\$ Purchasing Power Parity
Tokelau	10	1	1.5	150.0	NA	NA	NA
Niue	259	2	1.7	6.4	-3.1	NA	NA
Tuvalu	26	11	10.2	392.3	0.9	1.41	1,100
Nauru	21	12	12.1	576.2	1.8	NA	5,000
Wallis & Futuna	274	20	14.8	54.0	0.7	NA	2,000
Cook Is.	240	21	17.8	74.2	-0.5	NA	5,000
Palau	458	20	20.3	44.3	2.2	NA	9,000
Marshall Islands	181	50	54.0	298.3	2.0	NA	1,600
Northern Mariana Islands	477	70	75.4	158.1	5.5	NA	12,857
Kiribati	690	91	88.1	127.7	2.5	1.2	950
Tonga	699	100	101.7	145.5	0.6	2.6	1,660
Federated States of Micronesia	702	118	1112.6	160.4	1.9	NA	2,000
Samoa	2,935	170	178.8	60.9	0.6	0.8	5,050
Vanuatu	1,880	197	204.1	17.2	3.0	0.3	2,960
New Caledonia	18,103	213	235.2	12.3	1.8	NA	21,820
French Polynesia	3,265	234	245.4	75.2	1.6	NA	23,340
Solomon Islands	28,530	447	250.0	8.8	3.4	0.4	1,710
Fiji	18,272	812	831.6	45.5	1.6	2.7	4480
Papua New Guinea	463,000	5,200	5,617.0	12	2.3	0.3	2,180
Australia	7,688,965	20,615	20,615	2.7	1.0		27,000
New Zealand	267,844		4,207	15.7	1.0		19,500

Source: South Pacific Community, "Oceania Population, Midyear 2003 Population Estimates,"

http://www.spc.org.nc/demog/Demogen/English01-02/RecentStats/2003, 2003/07/01; and Satish Chand, "Economic Trends in the Pacific Island Countries," *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 18:1 (2003).



As part of the CD project, data were assembled on the history of Japanese ODA to Pacific island countries, which the Small Island States Project continues to investigate. The figures include grants-grants-inaid and technical cooperation—as well as loans from 1977 through 2000. A glossary covers specialist vocabulary pertinent to ODA in the Pacific, providing links to various Japanese ministries, Japanese trade associations and interest groups, and so on. Finally, there is the somewhat ominous 1987 stipulation from the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF), now known as the Japan Bank for International Cooperation:

When the Japanese government selects the countries to which it provides fisheries grants, criteria include that the recipient country must have a fisheries agreement with Japan and it must take a supportive position to Japan in various international organizations. (OECF, Message to Pacific island states, 1987.)

Preliminary results seem to indicate an aid pattern that is manifestly self-interested, even where altruism is espoused.

In recent years, Japan's reported motivation for development assistance has included humanitarian aid — especially in the aftermath of devastating typhoons—but more clearly focuses on fishing and commercial interests. Securing safe passage of plutonium MOX-carrying vessels, which must transit Pacific islands' exclusive economic zones to reach Japan, is also of concern. (In summer 2002, considerable regional opposition was expressed about the transit of the armed British nuclear transport ship, the *Pacific Pintail*, from Britain to Takahama, Japan. At the time, security experts articulated alarm that the shipment was vulnerable to armed attack and terrorist takeover.)

In addition, the votes that these small island states possess collectively in the United Nations cannot be ignored, particularly as Japan seeks a permanent seat on the Security Council.

It comes as no surprise that foreign assistance is motivated by economic, strategic, and political considerations. Japan is certainly no different than other global powers. Currently, Japan is the third or fourth largest aid donor to Pacific island states. Other major donors include France, Australia, United States, New Zealand, and the European Union. Japan's ODA represents approximately US\$145 million.

## Table 2

#### TOTAL AND PER CAPITA AID FLOWS:

## Pacific Island Countries Since 1970

	Total Aid Flows Since 1970 (US\$1 million)	Average Annual Aid Flow Per Capita (US\$)		
Papua New Guinea	15,592	104		
Fiji	1,576	65		
Solomon Islands	1,477	110		
French Polynesia	8,533	1,210		
New Caledonia	8,708	1,363		
Vanuatu	1,285	217		
Samoa	1,086	213		
Tonga	698	233		
Kiribati	593	217		
Northern Marianas	-2	NA		
Marshall Islands	362	232		
Cook Islands	407	646		
Palau	532	933		
Wallis & Futuna	274	457		
FSM	630	178		
Nauru	18	51		
Tuvalu	214	647		
Niue	182	3,558		
Tokelau	91	3,026		
(former) Pacific Islands Trust Territories	5,193	NA		
Oceania (unallocated)	1,449	NA		
	Total \$48,898	Average \$748		

Source: Data 1970–2000 derived from Satish Chand, "Economic Trends in the Pacific Island Countries," *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 18:1 (2003), p. 15; and South Pacific Community, "Oceania Population, Midyear 2003 Population Estimates," http://www.spc.org.nc/demog/Demogen/English01-02/RecentStats/2003, 2003/07/01.

Small Island States Project members are examining flows of aid over time to the region, an area with some of the highest ratios in the developing world of aid to gross domestic product (GDP), with a focus on Japan. Estimates of aid totals are provided in Table 2, "Total and Per Capita Aid Flows: Pacific Island Countries Since 1970."

For various reasons, it is difficult to determine total aid historically. For example, determining what is and is not a territory can alone be problematic. France considers French Polynesia and New Caledonia integral parts of the country—and bestows these two units with a major proportion of aid to the area. (Along with Wallis



and Futuna, this Pacific grouping constitutes the overseas territory of France.) Depending on the study, these two territories may be included or excluded. Many studies also exclude American Samoa and Guam from regional statistics, but include the Northern Mariana Islands. (The fourteen Northern Mariana Islands, which include Saipan, Rota, and Tinian, are a commonwealth in political union with the United States.)

Further complicating the picture is historic aid flows to the Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, and Palau. Because they were once part of the UN's Pacific Islands Trust Territory administered by the United States, it is difficult to separate out the trust territory budget for these three nations. Guam and American Samoa are likewise excluded from many statistical studies because of their association with the United States.

With all of these caveats in mind, Table 3 provides a tantalizing but inadequate glimpse of the history of aid flows since 1977. The table shows the ranks of the average annual aid flows per capita and the latest population estimates, revealing little relationship between the two. Papua New Guinea has by far the largest population of the region; yet in terms of average annual aid it ranks near the bottom. Indeed, if anything, the table indicates an inverse relationship between the two variables. Population, of course, is not a clear measure of need or of donor interest.

Kiribati, for example, has an exclusive economic zone (EEZ) of 3.5 million square kilometers and a population of around 88,100. Pacific waters are of importance for commercial fishing powers such as China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and the United States, with Europeans also moving into the area. In spring 2003, the European Union signed an agreement with Kiribati that will allow Spanish, French, and Portuguese purse seine and long-line fishing boats to catch tuna in Kiribati's fishing zone. The central and western Pacific fishery zone—an area with low population density—is now the source of half the world's supply of tuna.

Among the aid donor community there is much talk about focusing on the poorer population segments of developing nations, on institution building, on poverty alleviation, and so on. Aid delivery in the Pacific gives lip service to these changes in development thinking, focusing, for example, on education, health, environmental sustainability, capacity building, project participation, and the like. As Tables 2 and 3 indicate, the reality is that economic and strategic motivations are quietly and often not so subtly at work.

China, to take one example, has provided budget support to Fiji while expressing interest in harvesting the mahogany forests that have come to maturity. (The Fiji section of the CD includes background to this issue. The mahogany forests played a part in the coup as well when a financial group represented by George Speight was denied a bid by the Chaudhry government to harvest the hardwood forests.) In 2002, the Chinese "unconditional" subvention to Fiji was US\$3.5 million. Chinese presence in the Pacific is relatively new, but it is growing.

The Howard government of Australia offered Nauru A\$14 million to house 600 asylum seekers who arrived unwelcomed in Australia's territorial waters.

Taiwan extends aid clearly linked to diplomatic recognition of their government.

The United States has been active, particularly where military and strategic concerns are involved.

Increased spending on bases has been observed.

Japan's motivations have been described above.

In recent years, the Republic of Korea, primarily because of fishing interests, has also been a minor player in the region.

Australia and New Zealand are the major regional powers, with sizable populations of Pacific islanders in their midst. According to the New Zealand Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, Pacific islanders comprise over 6 percent the total population of New Zealand; the grouping is projected to increase by 40 percent by 2010. (Of the main Pacific island ethnic groups, 50 percent is Samoan, 22.5 percent is Cook Island Maoris, 16 percent is of Tongan origin, 8.5 percent is Niuean, and there are small percentages of Fijians and Tokelauans.)

	Average Annual Aid Flow Per Capita by Rank	Population by Rank	Percent of Population
Niue	1	15	0.02%
Tokelau	2	16	0.02%
New Caledonia	3	6	2.84%
(Former) Pacific Islands Trust Territories *	4	3	5.74%
French Polynesia	5	5	2.96%
Tuvalu	6	14	0.12%
Cook Islands	7	11	0.21%
Wallis & Futuna	8	12	0.18%
Tonga	9	9	1.23%
Vanuatu	10	7	2.46%
Kiribati	11	10	1.06%
Samoa	12	8	2.16%
Solomon Islands	13	4	3.02%
Papua New Guinea	14	1	67.79%
Fiji	15	2	10.04%
Nauru	16	13	0.15%
			100.0%

#### Table 3

#### COUNTRIES RANKED BY AVERAGE ANNUAL AID FLOW PER CAPITA AND POPULATION, 1977 - present

Source: South Pacific Community, "Oceania Population, Midyear 2003 Population Estimates,"

http://www.spc.org.nc/demog/Demogen/English01-02/RecentStats/2003, 2003/07/01; and Satish Chand, "Economic Trends in the Pacific Island Countries," *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 18:1 (2003).

\* Includes Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, and Palau, but excludes Northern Mariana Islands.



An assessment of the effectiveness of ODA to Pacific island states, difficult at best, remains to be completed. Preliminary indications are that the flow of aid to these developing Pacific island states has not been effective. Economic growth has been sluggish—around one percent—while living standards have fallen. Unheard of earlier, there is now hunger in the Pacific. As recent international scholarly studies show, aid appears to be inversely related to growth; there is ample evidence of this in the Pacific as well.

**Summary:** Primary and secondary documents on the Pacific Islands have been collected focusing primarily on the inter- and intra-ethnic conflict in Fiji. Additional material was gathered on other Pacific nations and institutions. Currently, materials are being gathered on the deteriorating situation in the Solomon Islands, where Australia and New Zealand have sent troops to undertake an armed "cooperative intervention" at the request of the island government. The three-year insurgency by rebel police and armed militants has spiraled out of control. Two thousand troops were deployed.

The coup d'état in Fiji shows how fragile democracy can be. The data gathered demonstrate that with only fourteen pistols, twenty Uzis, eight M203s, six Colts, four machine guns, six MP5s, coils of rope, sniper camouflage wear, abseiling gloves, walkie-talkies, scores of rifle magazines, binoculars, grenades, and launchers, the constitution of the Republic of Fiji could be extinguished—at least for a time. George Speight, now in prison, and a band of indigenous Fijian supporters were judged by their peers and held responsible for their actions: It was determined that neither the freedom nor the safety of the rebels had been at risk, that democratic remedies had not been exhausted, that their action was disproportionate to their grievance against the overwhelming majority who had elected the coalition government. These findings, however, came primarily as a result of outside international pressure. Time will tell if the message is clearly understood.

## Appendix I

## GOVERNANCE MEASURES 2002 - PACIFIC ISLAND STATES

Country	Voice and Accountability	Political Stability	Government Effectiveness	Regulatory Quality	Rule of Law	Control of Corruption	Sum all scores
Fiji	-0.06	0.18	0.06	-0.1	-0.39	0.12	-0.19
Kiribati	1.09	N/A	0.06	-1.12	-0.32	-0.44	-0.73
Marshall Islands	1.23	N/A	-0.41	-0.56	-0.32	-0.02	-0.08
Micronesia (FSM)	0.93	N/A	-0.29	-0.7	-0.64	-0.44	-1.14
Nauru	0.85	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Vanuatu	0.89	N/A	-0.64	-0.84	-0.32	-0.44	-1.35
Papua New Guinea	-0.15	-0.76	-0.78	-0.44	-0.82	-0.9	-3.85
Samoa	0.67	0.81	0.23	-0.07	0.94	-0.06	2.52
Solomon Islands	0.37	N/A	-1.34	-1.26	-0.64	-0.86	-3.73
Tonga	-0.12	N/A	-0.64	-0.84	-0.64	-0.44	-2.68
						mean	-1.25

Source: Figures derived from World Bank, http://info.worldbank.org/governance/kkz2002/year\_report.asp, 2002. Note: governance measures range from +2.5 to -2.5.

#### Appendix II

## PROJECT RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

- Amano Misuzu, Japanese ODA
- Asano Sachiko, Japanese media and foreign policy issues
- Fukui Toshiyasu, Commonwealth and Indian foreign policy issues
- Ide Yusuke, Pacific island exchange rates and currency regimes
- Ishigouoka Yutaka, computing services and web design
- Kotani Kaori, sugar and agricultural commodities
- Yamada Yasuo, women and development, garment industry