



A United Pacific Region

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Policy 701

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Executive summary

This policy report will address the question: “By adopting specific EU policies into the institutional design of the Pacific Island Forum, how can the New Zealand Government enable a strengthening of the Pacific Region?” Focus areas will on the one hand, be built upon a political stimulation of private sector support concepts such as enhancing infrastructure, job creation, agricultural potential, and on the other hand sketching the possibility for government intervention and hence creating public sector support in the attempt to reduce remittance cost, promote education and to establish common law and practices. In conclusion, key legal frameworks will be scrutinized and put into five distinctive forward looking policy advices.

1. Introduction

There are several factors that can be seen as contributing towards a decrease or a total stop in the enhancement of the process of regionalism in the Pacific Area.

Differences in the speed with which economic growth is taking place can put strains on regional co-operation (Stubbs & Reed 2006:292) This could be described as an “inherent factor” in the Pacific case. The regional giants of Australia, New Zealand and to some degree Papua New Guinea are because of their larger and more profitable economies, dominating the region. That the remaining 13 islands are financially struggling is illustrated by the fact that a quick overview of the yearly reports of the Island’s economy shows a total export/import difference at -39%¹ (Suva 1998, 2-4) The region is furthermore struggling with deep traces of old colonial/post colonial scars. The region

¹ 1533.7 and 940.24 million US\$ respectively.

itself is divided into three sub-regions², which are artificial entities not created by local inhabitants but by western colonizers. As a result of this, a common political template throughout the region is nonexistent (Ratuva 2010, 8).

Adding to the range of challenges is also the rise of bilateral trade agreements between the small island states and actors such as The Arab League, Russia and China, threatening to neglect the regions integrated trade agreements (Ratuva 2010, 13).

2. Background

2.1 Regionalism on its way to the Pacific

Regional integration projects are a growing phenomenon and paradoxically occur in tandem with what is loosely called “globalization” (Hveem 2006:294). Regionalism has the distinct characteristics that countries in a definable geographic area have significant historical experiences in common and find themselves facing the same general problems, which has resulted in the development of socio-cultural, political, and/or economic linkages that distinguish them from the rest of the global community (Stubbs & Reed 2006: 290). If the relations among particular groupings of geographically proximate countries are being nurtured, it can lead to the development of organisations charged with the management of crucial aspects of the region's collective affairs. Located in between the powerful economic hegemonies of NAFTA and the ASEAN, is The Pacific Area, which since 1971 has formed a political coalition of states – the Pacific Island Forum. The PIF is an intergovernmental organisation, which includes the membership of 16 different states in the Pacific. Since its creation in 1971 it has actively followed the role of trying to “*accelerate improvements to development coordination in the region, to maximise the effectiveness and impact of the resources of Pacific island governments*” (Pacific Plan 2010, 146), hence enhancing the cooperation between the independent countries of the Pacific Ocean. This cooperation was further thickened by the establishment of the regional Trade Agreements PICTA and PACER³, which would ensure free trade within the region, further adding to the integration and the interdependence of states within the region.

The increased level of integration and hence the significance of the forum caused in 2003 The Australian Strategic Policy Institute to reveal that the current Australian prime minister was

2 Micronesia, Melanesia & Polynesia

3 Pacific Island Forum “Regional Trade”, <http://forum.forumsec.org/pages.cfm/economic-governance/regional-trade-1/> accessed on the 26th of October

promoting the idea of a "*European Union of the South Pacific*"⁴

2.2 The European Model

A central feature of the European Union is its single market. The forerunner of the EU, the European Coal and Steel Community, was explicitly a project of economic integration, and economic issues have remained at the heart of the EU ever since. The internal market in the EU is perhaps the most highly tariff protected market in the world, which has spurred the tag of “Fortress Europe” (Meunier 2005, 260). A regional barrier of tariff protects the European market from external competition as well as promoting internal trade. The single market, which is intended to ensure that a company in one member state can trade with a company in any other member state without the interference of national borders, is now the world’s largest trading area, with a population of 500 million people and a GDP of over €12 trillion. Being part of the European single market has brought great benefits to the European economy and to anyone who works, shops, or trades in it⁵. As a result, EU can be seen as to be an impressive power in trade. When considered as a single economic unit, the EU has become the biggest trading block in the world, dominating the region based on its capacity to grant or withhold access to its internal markets (Meunier 2005, 265). The underlying reason for European trade policies is through the organisations emphasis on the promotion of general human living conditions. This is illustrated in the legal framework of the organisation, namely the newly adopted Lisbon Treaty of 2009. It is in this treaty that empathizes the Unions founding on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights (Lisbon Treaty 2009,Article 2) In the heart of this project is the free movement of citizens within the region, as well as the continuing goal of promoting scientific and technological advancement (Lisbon Treaty 2009,Article 3& 4).

2.3 New Zealand as the forerunner?

As stated in the introduction, the underlying motive for this policy work is to enhance the possibilities of the New Zealand government in a tightening of the PIF, utilizing already beneficial proven institutional building blocks from the EU.

As the second largest economy in the region, New Zealand is showing signs of preparing to take an

4 UPI.com “Australia proposes South Pacific union “http://www.upi.com/Top_News/2003/07/22/Australia-proposes-South-Pacific-union/UPI-22191058905125/” accessed on the 26th of October

5 The effect of EU membership can be seen in the trade statistics. Since 1973 trade with the other member states has grown at an annual rate of 3.3 per cent (after adjusting for inflation). Its trade with countries outside the EU has, by contrast, grown at an annual rate of only 1.3 per cent. (European movement 2009, 1)

active role in leading the region. New Zealand has just finished its role as host of the 42nd PIF in 2011 in Auckland⁶. Prime Minister John Key stated in the extension of the press release following the meeting that “*The Pacific Islands Forum is the key regional body for leaders to discuss the political, economic and developmental issues facing the region*”⁷ Involvement in the PIF is not new to New Zealand. The government has before sought to improve the living standards of its neighbouring islands states. For instance, the establishment of an Ombudsman function in Niue (Pacific Plan 2010, 62) and with the diplomatic intervention to facilitate a truce among warring leaders in Bougainville, a secessionist province of Papua New Guinea in the mid 90's (Hoadley 2005, 7). Furthermore, New Zealand was in line with the adoption of European like policies in the PIF when it strongly supported its 2009 suspension of Fiji as a result of its failure to conduct public elections⁸.

The overall message following the Pacific Island Forum 42nd assembly in Auckland New Zealand was, according to John Key, that the forum is sure to have economic focus. Furthermore New Zealand is to chair the Forum for the coming year⁹, which means that an increased part of the resources in the public administration will be put into Pacific development policies. This notion as well as the fact that the New Zealand Government is depending on the support from the Island States in the region to vote for its countries candidature for a seating in the UNSC for the term 2015-2016¹⁰, is displaying a strong Kiwi incentive to make the regional cooperation a top priority during the coming year.

As a result of this, a “window of opportunity” for Pacific region policies will be imminent throughout the coming year

3. Analytical Framework

6 New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade “Pacific Islands Forum 2011” <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Foreign-Relations/Pacific/PIF-2011/0-pif-2011-index.php> accessed on the 26th of October

7 New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade “New Zealand to host 2011 Pacific Islands Forum” <http://www.nzembassy.com/australia/news/new-zealand-to-host-2011-pacific-islands-forum> accessed on the 26th of October

8 BBC News “Fiji suspended from Pacific Forum” <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8030266.stm> accessed on the 26th of October

9 National “Incoming Chair's Opening Statement” <http://www.national.org.nz/Article.aspx?ArticleID=37007> accessed on the 26th of October

10 Scoop World “Pacific Islands Forum Communique - 42nd PIF” <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO1109/S00193/pacific-islands-forum-communique-42nd-pif.htm> accessed on the 26th of October

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a justification for the general methodological considerations of the project. First an explanation for the use of the comparative analysis approach will be provided. Subsequently, the generalization of the two institutional cases of comparison will be discussed along with an explanation of the projects ontological standpoint. Finally, a critical view of the projects limitations will be provided.

3.2 The focused comparative approach

According to Mintrom, “governments constantly borrow policy ideas elsewhere when seeking to address problems in their own jurisdictions” (Mintrom 2011:209). This provides as inspiration for policy makers and causes a diffusion of policy innovations (ibid). Comparative institutional analysis is predicated on the view that effective policy responses to current problems are most likely to be struck on when policy design is closely informed by knowledge of actual working policy settings found elsewhere (Mintrom 2011:210) This project revolves around the benefits of a potential build up of institutional design that will strengthen the Pacific cooperation and nowhere in the world can a such a strong institutional design be found as in the EU (Heywood 2007:155). As a result of this, the focused comparative study analyses the major political similarities and differences between the two intragovernmental organisations The European Union and the Pacific Island Forum. The empirical data provided by these two case studies revolves around seeking variables responsible for the tightening of institutional behaviour. It should be emphasized in this case that the EU and the PIF not only differs in institutional design, but also in the geographical region in which it functions. As a result of this, the political, social and cultural landscapes are different. This means that the two regions are difficult to compare. Hence, an acute awareness is needed when comparing such cases. Attention should furthermore be paid to the fact that the PIF-region differs from the European, while the economies of Australia and New Zealand are proportionally bigger than its regional partner states than compared to any European context. The argument as to why a comparative analysis of the two mentioned institutional design is to be preferred is to be found in history. Consideration should here be paid to the post WWII war-torn European landscape of the time of the birth of the European Coal and Steel Cooperation. France and UK were at the time by far the strongest economies which were able to pool its resources for the sake of a common European reconstruction and hence for a common good. Since then, even though UK and France are still vital European economies, the economica playing field has levelled. Considering this fact, a look

towards the European process could reveal interesting variables to apply to the Pacific region in order to strengthen the economies of the Pacific island states. Why the levelling of economic capabilities is important in a region will be described in the coming chapter.

3.3 The adopted ontological stance

This project's overall viewpoint can be characterized as the belief that international institutions help promote cooperation between states, and thereby help alleviate the lack of trust between states and their fear of each other, which are considered to be the traditional problems associated with international anarchy. International institutions provide a flow of information and opportunities to negotiate whereby they enhance the ability of governments to monitor others' compliance and to implement their own commitments – hence their ability on making credible commitments in the first place (Keohane 1989:9). This means that organisations such as the PIF, has the potential to strengthen prevailing expectations about the solidifying of international agreements (Jackson & Sørensen 2010:106). Another derivation to be used in this project is Mintrom's concept of market failure. Contemporary societies rely greatly on markets for the efficient allocation of resources. Whenever the decentralised nature of markets fails to live up to its full potential, government involvement in the allocation of resources should be considered (Mintrom 2011:146). This is based on the awareness that markets need to be efficient in order to develop a sense of efficiency to create and to flourish (ibid). This is connected to the fact that a market does not function without the strive for complete information (Mintrom 2011, 154). The comparative analysis will as a result of this be divided into two parts: policy advice that targets the private sector and the need for a development of the public administrative sector.

3.4 Limitations

One thing should first and foremost be empathized; the EU is different than the PIF. The difference between the EU and the PIF is the unique cooperation, as seen with the supranational coordination. "The supranational coordination is an extraordinary collaboration between the member states, which allows the adoption of rules in the form of regulations or directives, and which directly apply to EU citizens. As an effect of this, the EU will have a major impact on the members which forms a part of European Union (Høilund & Buhmann 2008:257). This project is furthermore limited to primarily examine what the PIF-region can possibly extract from the European institutional building. The project does not focus on other organisations such as the ASEAN or NAFTA. As a

result, the project only compares the institutional framework of two institutions instead of a multitude of cases. This is to achieve a degree of immersion rather than to treat many cases superficially.

4. Analysis and findings

4.1 Introduction

In general, two analytical building blocks will be applied in this chapter. In other to provide empirical reasoning and sound scientific facts supporting the idea that an increased regional economic cooperation will be beneficial, the project will rely on an institutional comparison between key mechanisms of the EU and the Pacific Island Forum. First, a quick overview over the two organisations regional monetary policy will be illustrated. Second, because of the reports focus on increased public regulation as well as new ways to create space for market driving governance structures, the comparison will be classified after this methodology. The result of this analysis will be used in the coming discussion chapter.

4.2 Monetary Regional Institutional Difference¹¹

Custom Union: An existing free trade agreement has been installed by the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) between the 14 island states. The level of cooperation should though not be mistaken for customs union, where the members agree to free trade amongst them but also have a common external tariff, ie. they apply a common tariff against imports from the outside world.

Integration of economies: How should weaker economies be integrated? Should particular vulnerable sectors be protected? 42% of the total EU budget goes into targeted subsidies, thus shielding specific sectors from competition (Bayne & Woolcock 2003:200). The Pacer agreement has clear intentions of the diffusion of capabilities and knowledge between the island states, but no clear policy tools to promote this is provided.

Free trade with 3rd part country: The Pacer agreement has been construed so as not to undermine

¹¹ See appendix 1

or impede the ability of any government to effectively and independently negotiate a free trade arrangement with a third country. The ability to be a part of any FTA is as a result of this the prerogative of any sovereign island state. This is in sharp contrast with general EU policies, where any potential FTA with a 3rd party country is negotiated by the EU Commission on behalf of the member states (Heywood 2007:154).

Covers the whole region: Even though individual EU member states do have opt-outs, the EU policies in general, always apply to the entire region. The Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA) only applies to the island states, not to the Australian and New Zealand state. This functions as a significant distortion to the integration of the pacific economies as a whole

4.3 Institutional Comparison¹²

Common Climate Strategy: The Cook Islands Government's renewable Energy Chart, supported by New Zealand, sets ambitious renewable energy targets: 50 percent by 2015 and 100 percent by 2020. Furthermore New Zealand is also working with the Government of Tuvalu to support a Renewable Energy Efficiency Unit within the Tuvalu Electricity Corporation in order to implement new options for a generation of total renewable energy consumption. Even though these strategies are some of the most aspiring strategies to be found on a global scale, they are not regionally based. This creates the possibility for Pacific island states to avoid adopting any neighbouring policies, hence not promoting the diffusion of policies which is vital to build a regional community.

Common Visa-policy: The current RSA policy is ensuring that workers from island states can obtain working visas. It is based on support from individual businesses, hence relying on economic fluctuations. Furthermore, the policy is targeting hard manual labour thus excluding female workers. By inserting a principle of a non-discriminatory free movement of people in the region, a securing of a diffusion of knowledge as well as a sense of “we-ness” is stimulated throughout the region.

¹² See appendix 2

Common protected and subsidised agriculture policy: Producer organisations do address some of the challenges small-scale farmers meet when confronted by an increasing influence of market-oriented farming. A common supranational agriculture policy will be to develop the industry to a much greater extent before releasing it to global market. The allocation of resources will allow global industries to better develop skills and know how developing a unique pacific brand is more likely to have success on the global market. Better products to sell on a global market will undoubtedly lead to the possibility of a growth in the islands currently weak exports.

Common Currency or fixated currency: By an Australian and New Zealand initiative, the online www.sendmoneypacific.org portal functions as a transparent way for Pacific island citizens to gain an overview of the cost of financial transactions in the region. Pacific Island remittances total costs range from 15-26% for Banks and larger MTOs whereas global costs have fallen to 9 percent worldwide and approximately 5 percent in some corridors. Remittances inflows to the Pacific were greater than USD \$470 million in 2010. This means that a yearly value of between \$47-98.7 million USD flows from the population and into individual banking revenue. By inserting either a common currency or a fixated currency (as in the case of the Danish Krone in EU), much of the cost of transaction will be removed because the price of converting the currency will not apply. Thus meaning that workers would have a higher disposable amount when it comes to their own economy.

Regional recognition of professional and educational qualifications:

Prime Minister John Key announced at the 2010 PIF meeting in Vanuatu that New Zealand will increase the number of scholarships available to students from the Pacific to 200 undergraduate and postgraduate places at tertiary institutions across New Zealand. Though generous by nature, it does not hide the fact that the quality of the universities is not evenly recognised throughout the region. In the EU, all universities are officially recognised by the common European treaty and of a high level of quality. This secures an efficient diffusion of skills, as well as securing a more equal distribution of knowledge in a modern knowledge based economy.

Common law on fisheries: Controlling the enormous sea in the Pacific is not an easy task. Many Pacific Island countries have small land mass but comparatively large marine resources in their archipelagic waters, territorial seas and exclusive economic zones (EEZ) – the sea area they have

rights over¹³. This means that the Pacific Ocean is a somewhat poorly monitored area, which according to the PIF means a loss of 400 million per year in revenue. This is taking place even though the New Zealand Aid Programme provides \$3.3 million per year into this purpose. A collective effort, as seen in Europe as a result of the European common law on fisheries, will make patrolling the Pacific more effective. This would mean a greater keeping of the income on fisheries, thus contributing to the living standard of the island populations.

5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

As accounted for in the previous chapter, a tightening regional cooperation in the Pacific implies substantial beneficial possibilities. This chapter will start off with putting recent discoveries into perspective. This will be followed by clear policy recommendations which will be further expanded in the final conclusion of the project.

5.2 The Pacific possibilities

The Pacific region is at present finding itself on the stepping stone towards a potentially prosperous future. Large quantities of minerals such as copper, gold, silver and lead, have recently been found throughout the entire Pacific region sea bed¹⁴. This has caused the PIF to initiate the process of jurisdictionally determining the national marine zones and boundaries within the region (Pacific Plan 2010, 15). As a consequence of this, The International Seabed Authority in collaboration with the Government of Fiji and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) SOPAC Division is organising an International Workshop on Environmental Management Needs for Exploration and Exploitation of Deep Sea Minerals, to be held in Nadi, Fiji from 29 November to 2 December 2011. This initiative reflects the increasing interest and associated concerns on the potential impact of deep sea minerals exploration and mining, and how responsible authorities (i.e. governments and the ISA) will regulate this emerging economic development opportunity in a sustainable manner both within national jurisdiction and in the area¹⁵.

According to the United Nations convention on the Law of the Sea, a country is entitled to extract

13 A good example is the Cook Islands, with 240 km sq land, and fisheries waters of 1.8 million km sq.

14 Businessweek "China, Russia cleared to explore Pacific seabed for minerals" <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2011-07-21/china-russia-cleared-to-explore-pacific-seabed-for-minerals.html> accessed on the 26th of October

15 International Seabed Authority "ISA to hold November 2011 Workshop in Fiji" <http://www.isa.org.jm/en/node/672> accessed on the 26th of October

any resource within a 200 nautical mile (370km; 230 mi) around their coasts. (LOS 1982, Article 57). Furthermore, upon ratification of the LOS a country has the sovereign rights to within a 10 year period to make claims to extend its 200 nautical mile zone. Due to this legal fact, the Tuvalu and Kiribati island states still have 1 and 2 years respectively to extend their claims of potential seabed findings (LOS Briefing Book 2004:9).

The potential future of Pacific seabed mining therefore functions as another persuasive argument for a collective regional law practise, as well as a build up of custom unions in order to keep trade profits shared within the region. Japan and China is currently researching the possibility of extracting the minerals found in the pacific island region. In a political world where Australia and New Zealand has the biggest diplomatic muscles in the region, another persuasive argument of the build up of a stronger regional institution is the ability for minor island states to have a greater voice in international forums when it comes to their own rightful exploitation of seabed minerals.

5.3 Policy Recommendations

Taking the recently discovered analytical findings into consideration, how can the New Zealand Government secure a stronger Pacific cooperation?

In light of the newly discovered seabed minerals and the analysis put forward, the overall policy advice to be extracted is as follows:

- A common legal framework for the Pacific region should be developed and applied to all states within the PIF
- More focus should be put on how to strategically make use of government investment to level out national differences throughout the Pacific region
- More efforts should be put into the diffusion of knowledge in the education system as well as in the working force of the region
- A more goal-oriented governmental investment strategy should target a closer cooperation with companies specializing in sustainable energy development and agricultural niche products.
- Putting seabed mining on top of the regional economic agenda could be a stepping stone towards successful regional economic interdependency as coal and steel were in the build up of the EU.

6. Conclusion

This project has shown that the effects of globalization provide vital impetus for a strong regional institutional design in the Pacific region. Because of its unique geographical position, the island society is threatened by rising sea levels caused by global warming, as well as the risk of being overseen in the global trade. By borrowing from concepts of the EU model, this project has shown how the New Zealand Government can provide tangible and forward looking policy models to the benefit of the whole region as well as a way to strengthen its own influence and position in the region. By leading the way, the New Zealand Government can build strong regime ties throughout the region, which will provide greater support when it comes to the support of the Kiwi Government into the international community as a whole. The Pacific region holds endless possibilities. The Pacific population are only now starting to realise the potential that lies ahead. With the possibilities of seabed mining, the population could be on its way to a prosperous future. An awareness of a growing interconnectedness and identity is also starting to take shape. By giving the 2011 Rugby World Cup such a Pacific flavour, John Key showed that New Zealand can lead the way as a uniting factor in the region. The presidency of the next years PIF will function as a great window of opportunity for the New Zealand Government to advance in this role. By being inspired by some of the key concepts that contributed to the success of the EU and tailoring it to a Pacific context, New Zealand could perhaps once and for all remove the old wounds of post-colonialism which until now has hampered the region. This requires the implementation of a common legal framework as well as an strong effort to diffuse knowledge and skill throughout the region. By supporting this diffusion of capabilities while also making sure that goal oriented growth policies are placed on top the forums political agenda, every citizen in the region could one day be equipped with equal possibilities. A united regional response revolving around the flourishing of the Pacific people becomes possible. Only when putting indefatigable political effort and diligence into solving the challenges of the region will the Pacific one day perhaps be able to enjoy the full fruits of its enormous potential. If we can envision it, it can be done.

Mā te rongo, ka mōhio; Mā te mōhio, ka mārama; Mā te mārama, ka mātau; Mā te mātau, ka ora.

Through resonance comes cognisance; through cognisance comes understanding; through understanding comes knowledge; through knowledge comes life and well-being

7. Appendix

7.1 Appendix 1

Monetary Regional Institutional Difference

This figure is to illustrate the overall difference in the nature of the regional cooperation.

	Custom Union	Integration of economies	Free trade with 3rd part country	Covers the whole region
EU	✓	✓ (Targeted subsidies)	÷	✓
PIF	÷ (Pacer §7a)	÷ (Pacer §2)	✓ (Pacer §6,11)	÷ (Picta §26,1)

7.2 Appendix 2

Institutional Comparison

This figure shows to illustrate key differences between the EU and the PIF within the sectors as stated in the introduction. An exposition of the two institutions policy tools in the mentioned areas is adopted. The field far to the right serves to illustrate the potential effects of a completion of a common policy in this area within the Pacific region.

	Policy	EU	PIF	Effect in the Pacific if adopted
Private Sector				
Sustainable Energy Infrastructure	Common Climate Strategy	2020 Goals ¹⁶ , DG CLIMA ¹⁷ , ENEF ¹⁸ ,	Only national but ambitious strategies (Eg. Cook Islands, Tonga) (NZC 2011,11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Job Creation ➤ Reduction of carbon emission ➤ Combating climate change ➤ Removal of threat of changes in fuel prices
Job creation	Common Visa-policy	Free movement of people (Chapter V, Lisbon Treaty)	RSE (NZC 2011,28)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Diffusion of knowledge and skills ➤ Does not exclude women
Agriculture	Common protected and subsidised agriculture policy	CAP (Article 39.1 EUF)	Different incoherent bottom-up NGO's and Producer Organisations (NZC 2011,23)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Self Sufficiency ➤ Reduction on expensive imports ➤ Possibility of Developing of unique niche markets
Public Sector				
Reducing remittance cost	Common Currency or fixated currency	Article 2B & Article 111a Lissabon Treaty	Government portal www.sendmoneypacific.org	> \$47-98,7 million USD pr. year (PIFS 2011,4)
Education	Regional recognition of professional and educational qualifications	Directive 2005/36/EC	200 scholarships (NZC 2011, 41)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Diffusion of knowledge ➤ Promotes equality
Common law practices and cooperation	Common law on fisheries	Article 47a Lissabon Treaty	Aid based FFA ¹⁹ (NZC 2011,6)	Unreported fishing means loss of 400 million \$ pr. year in revenue (NZC 2011, 6)

16 greenhouse gas emissions 20% (or even 30%, if the conditions are right) lower than 1990, 20% of energy from renewable, 20% increase in energy efficiency (Europe 2020, 2010: 25)

17 European Commission Climate Action “What we do” http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/clima/mission/index_en.htm accessed on the 26th of October

18 European Commission Energy, “European Nuclear Energy Forum” http://ec.europa.eu/energy/nuclear/forum/forum_en.htm accessed on the 26th of October

19 Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency “FFA Fisheries and Trade News” <http://www.ffa.int/> accessed on the 26th of October

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