# Contents

**Abbreviations**  
**Note on Pronunciation**  
**Prologue**  

## I. OCEANIA OVERVIEW

1. ‘Imperialism, as such, is a Newly Coined Word’:  
   Empire and Oceania  
   7

2. ‘The Task of “Empire-Unbuilding” is a Difficult One’:  
   Decolonization  
   21

3. ‘Britain’s Withdrawal East of Suez is also a Withdrawal West of Panama’. The End in the Pacific: When, Why, and How?  
   34

## II. HOLDING ON

4. ‘A Dramatic and Liberal Gesture’: Attlee’s Secret Smaller Territories Enquiry, 1949–51  
   49

5. ‘Limbo’, ‘Mezzanine Status’, and ‘Independence Minus’:  
   Self-Government within the Commonwealth  
   62

6. ‘Something of a Profit and Loss Account’: Macmillan’s Audit of Empire and Aftermath, 1957–60  
   68

## III. LETTING GO

7. ‘The Cold War Front is Advancing Upon Oceania’:  
   Pressures from the United Nations, 1960–61  
   85

8. ‘To Complete the Process of Decolonization as soon as Possible’:  
   Whitehall’s Response to the UN Declaration, 1962–64  
   99

9. ‘Coming to the Most Difficult Period of Decolonization’: The Lady Margaret Hall Conference, 1965  
   114

10. ‘A Line Would have to be Drawn Somewhere’: Oceania and the Paradox of the Expanding United Nations, 1965–68  
   132
Contents

IV. WINDING UP

11. 'The British Empire is Past History'. Retreat from 'Never' Land Begins: Tonga and Fiji, 1970 147

12. 'Independence and Self-Government have the Same Value': Self-Determination for Niue, 1970–74 158

13. 'It is More Blessed to Go than be Pushed': The 1973 Programme Analysis and Review 164

14. 'To Encourage Australia and New Zealand to Take a Larger Share': The Anzac Role in Decolonization 175

15. 'Liquidating Colonial Arrangements with as much Speed as could be Decently Mustered'. Accelerated Decolonization: Solomon Islands 180

16. 'We Cannot Now Apply the Brakes'. Accelerated Decolonization: The Gilbert and Ellice Islands, 1975–78 197

17. 'The Most Difficult Pre-Independence Conference We have had for a Pacific Territory'. Accelerated Decolonization: Kiribati and Banaba, 1968–79 216

18. 'The Dying Art of Decolonization is Difficult to Pursue in a Condominium'. Accelerated Decolonization: New Hebrides 238

Epilogue 257

Bibliography 261

Index 269