



MASTERARBEIT | MASTER'S THESIS

Titel | Title

From Phosphate Wealth to the Health Crisis: Tracing the
Socioeconomic and Environmental Transformation of Nauru

verfasst von | submitted by

Elvira Yussupova

angestrebter akademischer Grad | in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master (MA)

Wien | Vienna, 2024

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt | Degree
programme code as it appears on the
student record sheet:

UA 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt | Degree
programme as it appears on the student
record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium Globalgeschichte

Betreut von | Supervisor:

ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Friedrich Edelmayer MAS

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

From Phosphate Wealth to the Health Crisis:
Tracing the Socioeconomic and Environmental
Transformation of Nauru

verfasst von / submitted by

Elvira Yussupova

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master (MA)

Wien, 2024 / Vienna, 2024

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Individuelles Masterstudium Globalgeschichte

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Friedrich Edelmayer, MAS

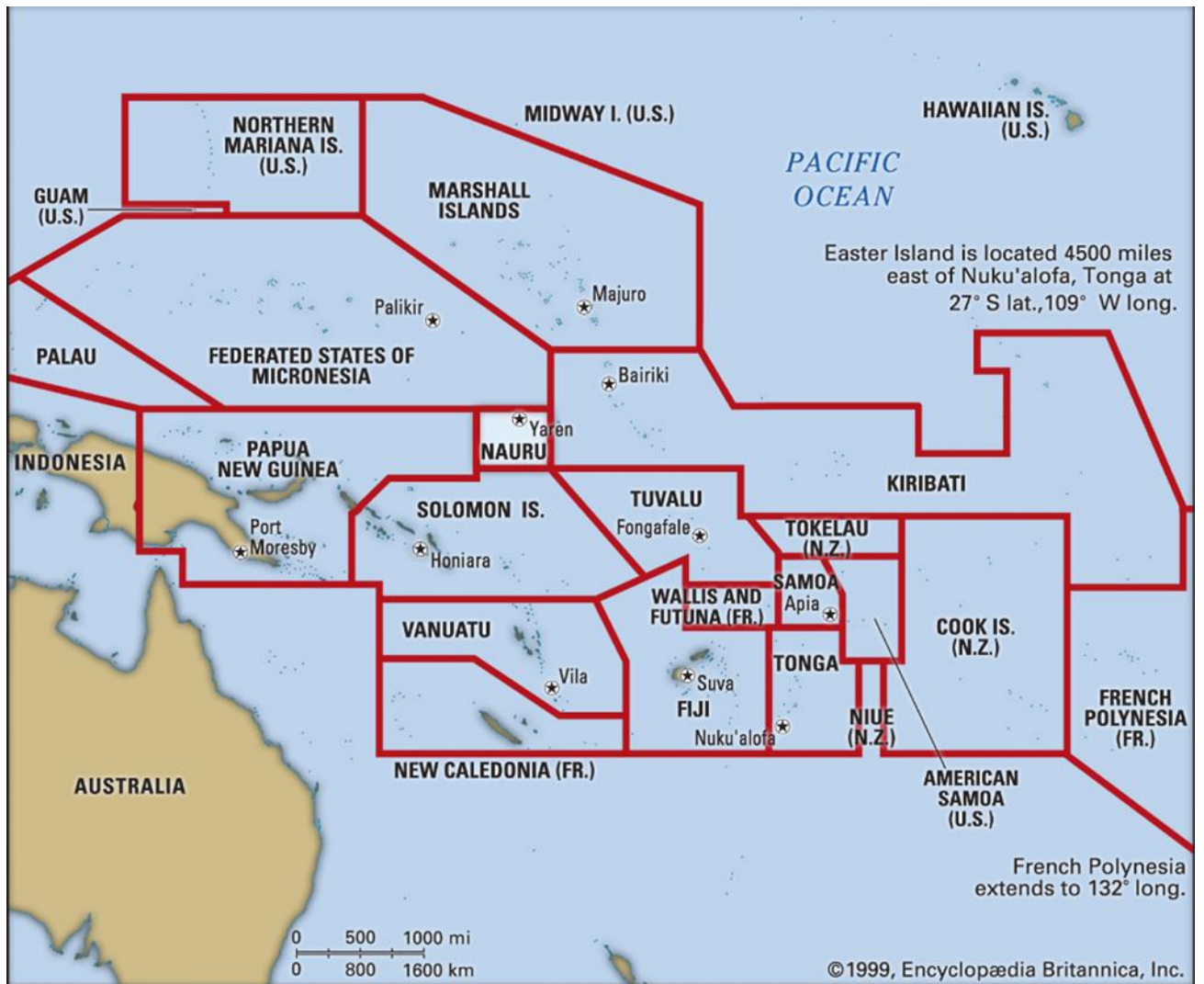


Image credits: (Encyclopædia Britannica)



Satellite view on Nauru

Grey on the map is the mined out of the phosphate land.

Image credits: <https://gisgeography.com/nauru-map/#Satellite-Map> [2024-08-14]

Table of Contents

Abstract	4
Abstract	5
List of abbreviations.....	6
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Pre-phosphate.....	10
2.1. Nauru in the pre-colonial period.....	10
2.2. Entry into the Global Network – Nauru as a colony of the German Empire.....	13
3. Phosphate Boom	17
3.1. Discovery of Phosphate	17
3.2. Phosphate Wealth	27
4. Post-phosphate	31
4.1. Economic Decline.....	31
4.2. Obesity Epidemic and the Role of Insularity.....	35
4.3. The Role of Geography.....	42
4.4. Nauruan-Australian relations.....	44
5. Conclusion	50
References	52

Abstract

This thesis examines the transformation of Nauru from the prosperity of the phosphate era to the critical state in which Nauru finds itself today. Nauru is a microcosm of the global phenomenon of the declining public health and environmental degradation, that reflects and inevitably reinforces socio-economic disparities. The main aim of this study is to trace the history of this change and find reasons behind the degradation of the public health on Nauru by examining the nexus of health, wealth and environment. In order to do that, a combination of primary and secondary sources was used. The study concludes that the Republic of Nauru is currently struggles with the ramifications of the phosphate mining industry, which ruined the soil of the island and impaired the ability of the Nauruans to grow their own food. That in turn intensified the economic and public health crises.

Abstract

In dieser Arbeit wird der Wandel Naurus vom Wohlstand der Phosphat-Ära zu der kritischen Lage untersucht, in der sich Nauru heute befindet. Nauru ist ein Mikrokosmos des globalen Phänomens des Rückgangs der öffentlichen Gesundheit und der Umweltzerstörung, das die sozioökonomischen Ungleichheiten widerspiegelt und unweigerlich verstärkt. Das Hauptziel dieser Studie ist es, die Geschichte dieses Wandels nachzuzeichnen und die Gründe für die Verschlechterung der öffentlichen Gesundheit auf Nauru zu finden, indem die Verknüpfung von Gesundheit, Wohlstand und Umwelt untersucht wird. Zu diesem Zweck wurde eine Kombination aus Primär- und Sekundärquellen verwendet. Die Studie kommt zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass die Republik Nauru derzeit mit den Folgen des Phosphatabbaus zu kämpfen hat, der die Böden der Insel ruiniert und die Fähigkeit der Menschen auf Nauru, ihre eigenen Nahrungsmittel anzubauen, beeinträchtigt hat. Dies wiederum verschärfte die wirtschaftliche und gesundheitliche Krise.

List of abbreviations

AUD – Australian dollar

BCE – Before the Common Era

BMI – Body Mass Index

BPC – The British Phosphate Commissioners

IAEA – The International Atomic Energy Agency

NCD – Non-Communicable Diseases

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

PIC – The Pacific Island Company

POTUS – The President of the United States

PPC – The Pacific Phosphate Company

PRC – The People's Republic of China

PTSD – Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

ROC – The Republic of China

STD – Sexually Transmitted Disease

T2D – Type 2 Diabetes

UN – The United Nations

UNESCO – The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNHCR – The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WHO – The World Health Organization

WWII – World War II

1. Introduction

The Republic of Nauru is an island country in the southwestern Pacific Ocean, that has a population of 11,680 people.¹ Nauru was once a fully self-sustaining island, however, in the recent decades it became a microcosm of the complex issues faced by islands across the world in the era of globalization and climate change. Currently, the country is fully reliant on export and foreign aid to cover its basic needs, mainly from Australia, such as food and drinkable water. According to WHO, 23% of Nauruans have diabetes² and more than 63% are overweight³, these are one of the highest rates in the world, parenthetically other islands of the pacific, such as Tuvalu, Fiji, Palau, and others are not far behind, the same problems are present even in the lands with the opposite climate, such as in Northern Canada.⁴ The rising health crisis has been one of the devastating results of general mismanagement, failure to mitigate the effects of aggressive phosphate extraction and poor investment decisions. Along with those issues, the problem of climate change and geographical peculiarities exacerbates the existing crisis. This research endeavours to trace the complex history of transformation of Nauru. How Nauru transitioned from being the “Pleasant Island” that can fully support its population, to the island plagued by the aforementioned ailments? To answer this question, a variety of methods have been used, mostly qualitative, based on the primary and secondary sources.

Nauru's historical background provides a crucial foundation for understanding its current predicament. The island was a self-sustaining ecosystem, where the Nauruan population thrived in tribal communities through fishing and gathering, subsisting on a traditional diet rich in fresh raw fish, root vegetables, nuts, coconuts, and fruits for millennia, albeit with occasional droughts. The first turning point occurred in 1899 when a valuable mineral – phosphate – was discovered on the island, leading to the island's seizure by foreign governments. At the beginning it was the German Empire and then the consortium of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand under the administration of which

¹ Pacific Community, Nauru. (2022). 2021 NAURU POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD CENSUS: PERSONS TABULATIONS. Nauru Bureau of Statistics, Department of Finance, p. 3.

² Seery, C. (2023, June 7). Countries with highest number of diabetes cases unveiled. Retrieved December 9, 2023, from Diabetes.co.uk: <https://www.diabetes.co.uk/news/2023/jun/countries-with-highest-number-of-diabetes-cases-unveiled.html> [2024-08-14].

³ Global Nutrition Report. (n.d.). Country Nutrition Profiles – Nauru, from Global Nutrition Report: <https://globalnutritionreport.org/resources/nutrition-profiles/oceania/micronesia/nauru/> [2023-11-23].

⁴ Leblanc-Laurendeau, O. (2020, April 1). Food Insecurity in Northern Canada: An Overview. Retrieved from Parliament of Canada | Library of Parliament: https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/202047E#ftn26 [2024-07-26].

extensive phosphate mining continued for almost a century.⁵ The decades of mining resulted in the resource dependency of the Nauruan economy, which only got aggravated with the advent of independence.

Phosphate mining, a key component of Nauru's economy, left the island scarred with environmental devastation. The process involved stripping large layers of earth to extract phosphate, ultimately resulting in barren landscapes of petrified coral, rendering most of the land unsuitable for agriculture, construction, or vegetation of almost any kind. By the end of the 20th century, nearly 90% of Nauru's land had been decimated, leaving the island in a state of ecological ruin.⁶

The revenue generated from phosphate mining briefly catapulted Nauru into the golden age. The nation became one of the wealthiest independent democratic republics in the world, marked by a surge in modern living standards. The Nauruan population enjoyed affluence, which included ranch-style homes, solar-powered infrastructure, and modern amenities.⁷ However, the depletion of phosphate reserves heralded an economic downturn, leading to unemployment, poverty, and the loss of opportunities.⁸

The repercussions of phosphate mining extended beyond economic challenges and environmental devastation. As the island's resources dwindled, Nauru's ability to grow its own food declined. Even traditional fishing was affected, with approximately 40% of marine life lost to pollution.⁹ Nauru transitioned from a self-sustaining community with a diet based on fresh local products to a complete dependence on imported processed foods. This shift, known as the "nutrition transition" introduced canned tuna, spam, white rice, instant noodles, sugar, processed snacks, and a substantial intake of low-quality imported meats like turkey tails and mutton flaps.¹⁰ Parallel to dietary shifts, the Western way of life infiltrated Nauru, leading to a shift from an active, community-based

⁵ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

⁶ Nancy J. Pollock, Nauru Phosphate History and the Resource Curse Narrative, *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 138-139, 2014, pp. 107-120.

⁷ Hanley, C. J. (1985, March 31). Tiny Pacific Isle's Citizens Rich, Fat and Happy--Thanks to the Birds. Retrieved from The Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-03-31-mn-18785-story.html> [2024-03-01].

⁸ Dauvergne, P. (2019, July 22). A Dark History of the World's Smallest Island Nation. Retrieved from The MIT Press Reader: <https://thereader.mitpress.mit.edu/dark-history-nauru/> [2023-12-15].

⁹ Republic of Nauru. (1999). Nauru First National Communication - Republic of Nauru Response Under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. UNFCCC.

¹⁰ Singer, M. (2014). Following the turkey tails: Neoliberal globalization and the political ecology of health. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 21, 436-451. doi:10.2458/v21i1.21145.

lifestyle to sedentary habits. Nauruans began adopting new norms, including car ownership, despite the island's small size – it takes around 1 hour 47 minutes of walking from one side of the island to the other – from the “Zombie Store” in the district Yaren to the “Budapest Hotel” in the district Anabar using the Island Ring Road, which is roughly 7.9 km.¹¹ The Island Ring Road in itself is just a 19 km long highway around the shore of Nauru.¹² That is more than twice smaller than the marathon distance.

The amalgamation of unhealthy dietary habits and a sedentary lifestyle created a perfect storm for the emergence of the obesity and related health issues. Environmental and geographical factors, such as insularity, play an important role in the current situation, since the remoteness of the island makes import challenging and unstable, and diversification of economy – almost impossible.

¹¹ Measured using the Google Maps:

<https://www.google.com/maps/dir/Budapest/CWXF%2BRQQ+Zombies+Store,+Yaren,+Nauru/@-0.5283206,166.9141188,6633m/data=!3m2!1e3!4b1!4m14!4m13!1m5!1m1!1s0x6f7d1b8f4467754d:0x133ad3fb61d1220e!2m2!1d166.9518237!2d-0.5068369!1m5!1m1!1s0x6f7d1db5567fe51f:0xfed260a3b3a5863!2m2!1d166.9244917!2d-0.5503979!3e2?entry=ttu> [2024-08-17].

¹²<https://www.google.com/maps/dir/FX42%2BQ4R+Menen+Hotel,+Ibwenape,+Nauru/FX42%2BV5Q+Reef+Bar,+Menen+Hotel,+Anibare,+Nauru/@-0.5261297,166.9341322,14z/data=!4m29!4m28!1m20!1m1!1s0x6f7d1c4e5ed8d6a5:0x415ebcbf1cbb0241!2m2!1d166.9502451!2d-0.5430061!3m4!1m2!1d166.9420115!2d-0.503554!3s0x6f7d1bf198c168c1:0x1af8760132c7f2a!3m4!1m2!1d166.9151062!2d-0.5461646!3s0x6f7d1e8109fd5a31:0xba279fe22c8614eb!3m4!1m2!1d166.9491937!2d-0.5453479!3s0x6f7d1c4c30112a39:0x8adbddd0caa3ebbb!1m5!1m1!1s0x6f7d1d694b4a7075:0x7d86bc9425568cda!2m2!1d166.9504879!2d-0.5425859!3e2?entry=ttu> [2024-08-17].

2. Pre-phosphate

2.1. Nauru in the pre-colonial period.

Nauru's insularity both protected and isolated the indigenous people since the first millennium BCE, when Micronesians and Polynesians came to the island.¹³ Although occasional stranded ships did find their way to Nauru, no consistent contact between Nauru and the rest of the world was established until comparatively recent times. This resulted in the emergence of a unique, distinctive culture to the point that even linguistically it was assumed that the Nauruan language should be excluded from the Nuclear Micronesian language family, because it was presupposed that it is not based on the Proto-Micronesian – the claim that was based on very limited data available at the time¹⁴ and was later disputed.¹⁵ Nevertheless, after millennia of insular development, Dorerin Naoero/Ekaiairũ Naoero (Nauruan hereafter) is not easily understandable by native speakers of other Micronesian languages. Currently, Nauruan is a “definitely endangered” language according to UNESCO World Atlas of Languages¹⁶, while its Agglomerated Endangerment Scale status is marked as “shifting”¹⁷, as only 5009 citizens of Nauru claimed to be able to both read and write fluently in Nauruan, while 3900 marked “neither of the above” in the recent census.¹⁸ English is widely spoken and is used as the main language of governance, commerce, law, education, and entertainment, which is further supported by the influence of Australia.

Little is known about Nauru in the time preceding the contact with the European seafarers, due to the absence of written records. Only in the 20th century the first attempts at the systematization of the Nauruan language were done by Philip Adam Delaporte, who was born to an American couple in the southwestern part of modern-day Germany. He spent several years comprising the German-Nauruan dictionary and created the first alphabet, on the basis of Latin script for

¹³ The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (n.d.). The People. Retrieved from The Government of the Republic of Nauru: <http://www.nauru.gov.nr/about-nauru/the-people.aspx> [2023-11-27].

¹⁴ Jackson, F. (1986). On determining the external relationships of the Micronesian languages. In P. A. Geraghty, L. Carrington, & S. A. Wurm, *FOCAL II: Papers from the fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (pp. 201-238). Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

¹⁵ Hughes, K. (2020). Nauruan classification. In P. Farrell (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 257-269. New Orleans.

¹⁶ UNESCO. (n.d.). Nauru. Retrieved from UNESCO World Atlas of Languages: <https://en.wal.unesco.org/languages/nauru> [2024-01-01].

¹⁷ Glottolog. (n.d.). Spoken L1 Language: Nauru. Retrieved from Glottolog: <https://glottolog.org/resource/lanuoid/id/naur1243> [2023-12-26].

¹⁸ Pacific Community, Nauru. (2022). 2021 NAURU POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD CENSUS: PERSONS TABULATIONS. Nauru Bureau of Statistics, Department of Finance.

the language, as well as he translated the Bible. Delaporte was a part of the Liebenzeller Mission, that operated Protestant schools on several pacific islands, including Nauru at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁹ In the following years, the Catholic mission arrived, most notably Alois Kayser, who in his 40 year long stay on the island wrote the second dictionary and created another alphabet for the language.²⁰

It is believed that the division on the 12 tribes predates 18th century and 12-point star on the modern Nauruan flag correspond to those original tribes.²¹ Today 2 tribes – Irutsi and Iwi – are extinct, 10 other – Eamwidara, Emangum, Eamwit and Eamwitmwit, Emea, Eaoru, Ranibok, Eano, Iruwa and Deiboe – have living descendants still on the island. The tribes are matrilineal, but not matriarchal, and each has its own unique clothing style, it is worth noting that each tribe's name also has a meaning, translation of which can be found on the official website of the Government of the Republic of Nauru, e.g. “Eamwit - snake/eel, sly, slippery, good at lying and copier of styles”.²²

The traditional diet was made up of fish, coconut and pandanus fruit. C. Wedgwood, who described life on Nauru in 1936 reports, that although the variety of the food sources is scarce, Nauruans developed a great number of recipes, each part of the coconut tree was put to use and one of the main traditional dishes was and still is the coconut fish.²³

Alois Kayser observed the different ways in which various Pandanus tree types were prepared and consumed.²⁴ Today, nine out of the 17 types of the pandanus trees are extinct, due to severely damaged ecology of Nauru.²⁵ Some of the trees were used primarily as a food source, while others were cherished for their leaves.²⁶ Interestingly, the island only had female pandanus trees, that produce

¹⁹ Spennemann, D. H., O'Neill, J., & O'Neill, J. (2003). A Rapid Assessment of the Library of the Joachim deBrum House, Likiep Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands. Albury: NSW: Charles Sturt University, The Johnstone Centre, p. 21.

²⁰ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

²¹ The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (n.d.). The Nauruan Flag. Retrieved from The Government of the Republic of Nauru: <http://www.nauru.gov.nr/about-nauru/nauruans'-stories/the-nauruan-flag.aspx> [2024-07-26].

²² The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (n.d.). Tribes of Nauru. Retrieved from The Government of the Republic of Nauru: <http://www.nauru.gov.nr/about-nauru/nauruans'-stories/tribes-of-nauru.aspx> [2024-01-02].

²³ Wedgwood, C. H. (1936). Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific (Continued). 7(1), 1-33, p. 7.

²⁴ Kayser, A. (1934). Der Pandanus auf Nauru. *Anthropos*, 29(5./6.), 775-791, pp. 786-787.

²⁵ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 55.

²⁶ Wedgwood, C. H. (1936). Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific (Continued). 7(1), 1-33, p. 7.

fruits, and because natural pollination in this case is not an option, pandanus trees were usually planted by the indigenous population by hand.²⁷ However, after being planted, they are left unattended until they would start producing coconuts and fruits.²⁸ These two trees – Coconut tree and Pandanus had a highly important place in the lives of Nauruans, providing food, construction materials, tools and essential oils for body and hair; they also played a crucial role in the mythology of the islanders, according to one of which, there are no humans where coconut trees do not grow.²⁹ Wedgwood points out, that the occasional planting of *ini* and *epo*³⁰ is the only cultivation that had ever occurred on the island at that point.³¹ By the year 1936, it became more common to use earth ovens, hot stones and ember in the cooking process³², as well as to consume produce, that was not native to the island. But before the processing of the food was quite limited, as the majority of the food was consumed raw, even if the thermal treatment occurred, which was rare, the fish, for example, will be slightly burned on the outside, but remain to be mostly raw on the inside.³³

²⁷ Kayser, A. (1934). Der Pandanus auf Nauru. *Anthropos*, 29(5./6.), 775-791, p. 787.

²⁸ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 579.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

³⁰ In bold are the names of the trees in Nauruan (McLennan, A. K., 2016, p. 130).

³¹ Wedgwood, C. H. (1936). Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific (Continued). 7(1), 1-33, p. 7.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 581.

2.2. Entry into the Global Network – Nauru as a colony of the German Empire

One of the first contacts with European explorers happened in 1798, when Captain Fearn encountered the island on his way from newly re-discovered “*Nieuw Zeelandto*”³⁴ to China and called it “Pleasant Island” in his records³⁵, and because the island at the time did not seem to have any major value for the European seafarers, it was not established as a colony. That was until 1830s, when the hunt for whales forced them further east to Micronesia.³⁶ Around that time, two fugitives, John Jones and Patrick Burke, came to the island, being sustained during their long journey from Norfolk Island some 3100 km away to Nauru by cannibalizing their fellow shipmen. After arrival Jones established his own little dictatorship, that lasted until his banishment from the island in early 1840s.³⁷ Short and sporadic contact with Europeans resulted in exchange of some food and emergency stop permissions for alcohol and weaponry. The latter ended an era of quiet on the island and rushed the 12 native Nauruan tribes into a decade long civil war that started in 1878, by the end of it, the island’s population dropped from approximately 1400 to 900³⁸, alternatively it decreased from 1200 to 1000-900³⁹, but due to the lack of official census data, it is hard to estimate the number of casualties exactly. Robert Rasch came to the island in the midst of the conflict and after forging a bond with one of the tribal chiefs, he was offered a choice between native women, among which he chose the youngest – 15-years old Ebagon, he then proceeded to write a message to the German Imperial Commissioners to come and stop the violence⁴⁰ and as the era of neocolonialism had begun, Nauru was not left behind on it. The German and British Empires signed two documents carving up their spheres of influence

³⁴ The Dutch seafarer Abel Tasman landed on the island in 1642, but the next time the European came only in the second half of the 18th century (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment. New Zealand Government. (n.d.))

³⁵ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 30.

³⁶ Foster, S., & Kiste, R. C. (2023, November 26). Nauru. Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nauru> [2023-11.27];

Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 561.

³⁷ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 31.

³⁸ U.S. Department of State. Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. (2012, March 13). Background Note: Nauru. Retrieved from U.S. Department of State. *Diplomacy in Action*: <https://web.archive.org/web/20121017054843/http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/16447.htm> [2024-08-15]

³⁹ Fabricius, W. (1992). Nauru 1888-1900. (D. Clark, & S. Firth, Eds.) Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, p. 217.

⁴⁰ Pacific islands monthly. (1931). Robert Rosch, of Nauru How The Island Became German. *Pacific islands monthly: PIM*, Vol. IX (No. 1 (Aug. 15, 1938)), pp. 36-37, p. 37.

in the Western Pacific, namely “The Declaration between the Governments of Great Britain and the German Empire relating to the Demarcation of the British and German Spheres of Influence in the Western Pacific” and “The Declaration between the Governments of Great Britain and the German Empire relating to the Reciprocal Freedom of Trade and Commerce in the British and German Possessions and Protectorates in the Western Pacific” both within a few days from each other in April 1886.⁴¹ In two years, the flag of the German Reich was put on the Pleasant Island, which the Germans renamed back to “Nauru”⁴², as it was known to the native population, from that moment onwards the name given to the island by Captain Fearn ceased to be used in the official documentation and Nauru came under the protectorate of the German Empire. However, as it will be noted later, it was not administered within Deutsch-Neuguinea, but rather was given to the German Hamburg based company, that provided financial support to the German administration in exchange for exclusive rights to the resources on the island, most notably copra, which was a popular export from the pacific island territories, as well as molluscs fisheries rich in pearls.⁴³

In October of 1888, the Germans marched through the island capturing all the tribal leaders of Nauru and forcing them to give up all their weaponry, they also captured residing European traders there.⁴⁴ That occasion is also supported and documented by R.D. Rhone, who while highlighting that although Nauruans were not cannibals, reported that they were “savage warriors” and fought each other with rifles bought from occasional traders.⁴⁵ The same month, 87 German settlers came to the island, including 24 Christian missionaries. They set up settlements and build homes and gardens, and named them after the cities they came from, e.g. “Berlin”, “Köln” etc.⁴⁶ Nauruans were open to new ideas and some of them agreed to baptism, however, the missionaries were exiled later, after one of them began an affair with a wife of a chief.⁴⁷ With the arrival of aforementioned Philip Delaporte, more and more Nauruans began to convert to Christianity; today over 95% of the population belongs to various Christian

⁴¹ Fabricius, W. (1992). Nauru 1888-1900. (D. Clark, & S. Firth, Eds.) Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, p. 167.

⁴² Ibid., p. 161.

⁴³ Firth, S. (1978). German Labour Policy in Nauru and Angaur, 1906-1914. *The Journal of Pacific History*, XIII (1), 36-52, p. 38.

⁴⁴ Pacific islands monthly. (1931). Robert Rosch, of Nauru How The Island Became German. *Pacific islands monthly: PIM*, Vol. IX (No. 1 (Aug. 15, 1938)), pp. 36-37, p. 37.

⁴⁵ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 563.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 568.

⁴⁷ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 39.

denominations, including Protestant Church, Catholic, Independent Assembly of God and others.⁴⁸

That was the first step in the introduction of Western lifestyle to Nauru, which slowly changed the island. The religion dictated different values and ideas, than those that were prominent in the island before. For instance, traditional clothing started to be replaced with fabric-based ones, according to the series of letters from The Imperial Commissioner Sonnenschein to Bismark, dated 1-3 of October 1888, he described that indigenous people – both men and women – wore only skirts made out of leaves, which Sonnenschein himself clearly disapproved of, while expressing the hope, that it is only “yet” not replaced.⁴⁹ It had been eventually replaced by a more modest wear, that was compatible with Christian beliefs. Another change came in the form of altering of the social structure, namely polygamy. According to Sonnenschein, it was punishable even before the arrival of missionaries, but was practiced by the Chiefs of tribes, many of whom after conversion became monogamous.⁵⁰

As was the case with many other islands, their insularity protected the native populations from various diseases of the Old World, such as STDs, dysentery, tuberculosis etc., but after the establishment of the consistent connection between Nauru with the rest of the world, these diseases began to spread.⁵¹ And so did the companies interested in the economic opportunities provided by the natural resources, that could be found on the island. At the turn of the 19th century, these European companies gained profit by spreading coconut tree plantations to get “copra”, particularly in Samoa, where a German company “J.C. Godeffroy & Sohn” was operating.⁵²

On Nauru it was pioneered by the “Jaluit Gesellschaft” based in Hamburg, that gained right to the Nauruan resources by funding the various initiatives of the German Empire in the Pacific. It is worth noting, that the phosphate had not been discovered yet, but copra brought enough of profit to warrant a generator

⁴⁸ Office of International Religious Freedom, U.S. Department of State. (2022). 2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Nauru. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/nauru/> [2024-01-02]

⁴⁹ Fabricius, W. (1992). Nauru 1888-1900. (D. Clark, & S. Firth, Eds.) Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 218-219.

⁵¹ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 39.

⁵² German Colonies in the Pacific (2008 (revised 2019)). Retrieved from National Library of Australia: <https://www.nla.gov.au/collections/guide-selected-collections/german-colonies-pacific> [2024-07-26].

of electricity and a hospital⁵³ to be established on the island. The Germans are also credited with the construction of the road network on the island, on which Nauruans were obliged to work for 3 days a week, Chiefs of clans were to observe adherence to this law, and gather three types of taxes – heads (a tax on every person in a clan), dog, and bicycle taxes. The Jaluit Gesellschaft also opened the first store on the island, through which they introduced on Nauru previously unknown products, such as canned salmon, beer and biscuits, rice and sugar.⁵⁴ Tobacco was also popularised during this particular decade, despite the fact that the first batch came almost a century earlier.⁵⁵

One of the biggest problems, however, was the climate on Nauru. As it is fully surrounded by the Pacific Ocean and only 53 kilometres away from the equator. It means that unlike in other places, the weather is not a stable succession of dry and wet seasons, but rather remains highly humid and hot throughout the year. That weather was conducting to bountiful harvest of copra, but once every couple of years it was followed by devastating droughts, that resulted in famines, and it was generally challenging to predict which particular year was going to bring profits and which year would bring losses.⁵⁶ The interest of the Jaluit Gesellschaft dwindled during those drought years, as the palm trees began to wither, and it could take several more years for them to grow back to the point where the copra could be subtracted in sufficient quantities, but their salvation soon came via a new discovery.

⁵³ Firth, S. (1978). German Labour Policy in Nauru and Angaur, 1906-1914. *The Journal of Pacific History*, XIII (1), 36-52, p. 37.

⁵⁴ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 565.

⁵⁵ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

⁵⁶ Fabricius, W. (1992). *Nauru 1888-1900*. (D. Clark, & S. Firth, Eds.) Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, p. 217.

3. Phosphate Boom

3.1. Discovery of Phosphate

In 1899, when Albert Ellis, son of one of the directors of the Pacific Island Company discovered that Nauru is full of phosphate of high quality⁵⁷, the PIC decided to venture more and make an enquiry if they could find phosphate on other islands, since Nauru, at that time, was under the German mandate within their sphere of influence granted and protected by the 1886 agreements. Moreover, the interests of another private profit-oriented company were at stake, which would have complicated the negotiations.

Eventually, they did find another source. On the closest to Nauru island – Ocean Island, where they obtained the rights to extraction directly from the natives.⁵⁸ Later it became part of the British Empire, within its Protectorate of Ellice and Gilbert Islands.⁵⁹ Since the phosphate was so incredibly valuable, the Pacific Island Company, after that deal, abandoned all other projects and ventures and renamed itself Pacific Phosphate Company (PPC).⁶⁰ Later, the PPC began negotiations with the Jaluit Gesellschaft's administration on Nauru – Landeshauptmannschaft Jaluit⁶¹, the governmental representatives of the German and British Empires were also present and in 1906, they reached an agreement, under which the PPC would gain the rights to phosphate extraction.⁶² Before agreeing to give up their exclusive rights, the Jaluit Gesellschaft insisted on including a clause, according to which the native population of Nauru would receive about 1300 pounds sterling.⁶³ That contrasted widely with the contemporary practices of imperialism, but became one of the stepping stones to the transformations on the island, inasmuch as it gave Nauruans cash to participate in the trade of goods, even though at that period they were still adhering to the traditional fishing and gathering around the island, from this point onwards they were directly linked to the global

⁵⁷ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 40.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Firth, S. (1978). German Labour Policy in Nauru and Angaur, 1906-1914. *The Journal of Pacific History*, XIII (1), 36-52, p. 36.

⁶⁰ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 41.

⁶¹ Spennemann, D. H. (1999-2000). Administrators in the Marshall Islands. Retrieved February 10, 2024, from Marshalls - digital micronesia.: <https://marshall.csu.edu.au/Marshalls/html/german2/admin.html#Brandeis> [2024-02-10].

⁶² McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

⁶³ Wardhani, B. (2023, May 1). The Legacy of Colonialism and Ecological Genocide on Indigenous People of Nauru. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*, XII (1), pp. 10-20, p. 10.

economy. As the mining began, the Pacific Phosphate Company started hiring workers from outside, for example from Caroline Islands, which were also part of Deutsch-Neuguinea, because the native population on the island decided to not accept gruelling work in the mines⁶⁴, one of the possible reasons for which was the fact that the Jaluit Gesellschaft decided to pay royalties to the indigenous population as part of their deal with the Pacific Phosphate Company⁶⁵, which removed the financial incentive for Nauruans.

The people that were employed instead came also from China, specifically from the Shantung province⁶⁶ and islands of Ellice and Gilbert, that are now respectively Tuvalu and Kiribati.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the pay to Nauruans albeit “meagre”⁶⁸ might have satisfied them for the period, since at the that time, they still were able to sustain themselves, as they traditionally did, and the money was an addition of no significant consequence.⁶⁹ Some islanders signed up for the work initially, but since they had no real reason or motivation to continue, in addition to the fact that the work was strenuous, the workers from abroad were the only option left to the company. Nauruans themselves did not participate in the phosphate industry directly, even in 1930s, only 10% of the adult native population worked a waged job.⁷⁰

After the Jaluit Gesellschaft struck the deal with the PPC, Nauru did not become part of the British Empire formally. It was still a German colony and as such was incorporated into the Deutsch-Neuguinea since the deal in 1906 up until 1914, when the assignation of the Austro-Hungarian *Erzherzog* Franz Ferdinand over 14000⁷¹ kilometres away meant new management for Nauru.

The island, known for its rich phosphate deposits, became a valuable strategic asset. It is evident that Australia opportunistically saw a way of getting the hold

⁶⁴ Nations Encyclopedia. (n.d.). History - Nauru - tax, issues, area, future, power, policy. Retrieved from Nations Encyclopedia: <https://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Asia-and-Oceania/Nauru-HISTORY.html> [2024-01-06].

⁶⁵ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 41.

⁶⁶ Firth, S. (1978). German Labour Policy in Nauru and Angaur, 1906-1914. *The Journal of Pacific History*, XIII (1), 36-52, p. 37.

⁶⁷ Hughes, K. (2020). Nauruan classification. In P. Farrell (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 257-269. New Orleans, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Firth, S. (1978). German Labour Policy in Nauru and Angaur, 1906-1914. *The Journal of Pacific History*, XIII (1), 36-52, p. 36.

⁶⁹ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 43.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

⁷¹ Measured using DistanceFromTo: distance between cities & places: <https://www.distancefromto.net/> [2024-08-17].

on the profitable island permanently, since it was the only part of German New Guinea, where all the Germans, many of whom resided on the island for decades, were forcibly deported.⁷² It is important to mention that some of them had wives and children, but because they were Nauruans (and half-Nauruans) they were left on the island during the deportation period.⁷³ Australia, that just got its independence in 1901, but remained dominion of the British Empire, quickly recognized the importance of securing Nauru due to its economic significance. Britain, on the other hand, just needed the elimination of the German radio network and it upon the arrival, the German wireless station was destroyed on the island.⁷⁴

When in August 1914, a joint expedition with New Zealand was launched, leading to the capture of the island, the German garrison gave up after 8 days on 17th of September. The capture ensured that control over Nauru's phosphate resources fell into Allied hands⁷⁵ for the duration of the war and well after it.

The phosphate from Nauru played a crucial role in the war effort, as it was a vital component in the production of fertilizers and munitions. The Allies continued the utilization of the phosphate industry on the island, contributing significantly to the agricultural and industrial needs of the war. After an Australian garrison secured the island, they transferred administration to the British, who overtook German governmental buildings, wireless station equipment and a dog, who helped them find said equipment.⁷⁶ Throughout this ordeal, the rights to the phosphate mining were still under the authority of the Pacific Phosphate Company, until in 1920 the British Empire, became cognizant of the importance of it, as well as, realizing that they did not need the approval from Germany anymore, which lost all of its overseas colonies in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, offered a deal that PPC could not refuse. Consequently, the resource came into the British Phosphate Commissions' proprietorship, nonetheless it was neither officially a British colony nor Australian, even though Australia lobbied for it in Versailles. The American President, Woodrow Wilson, strictly guarded the policy he himself proposed for the League of

⁷² Hiery, H. (1995). *The Neglected War: the German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 387.

⁷³ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 569.

⁷⁴ Viviani, N. (1967). *A History of Nauru*. Australian National University, p. 48.

⁷⁵ Hiery, H. (1995). *The Neglected War: the German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 387.

⁷⁶ They named it radio (Rhone, 1921).

Nations, that refuted all annexation attempts.⁷⁷ They did, however, make a concession in a form of the Nauru Island Agreement, that officially established the transition of Nauru from the German colony to a British mandate. The Prime Minister of Australia in that time, Billy Hughes, was in confrontation with Woodrow Wilson, the 28th President of the United States, as was recorded by their contemporaries during the Paris Conference, going as far as to mock his ideal and allude to the fact that the American POTUS saw himself through “the roseate cloud of dreams”.⁷⁸ At the end, Hughes managed to get hold on the phosphate deposits. A subsequent agreement was signed in July 1919 and was between UK, Australia, and New Zealand, which divided Nauruan resources between themselves with preponderance share of future phosphate to be extracted and sent to Australia, despite the initial agreements of taking 42%, Australia in practice took lion’s share of the phosphates at a 66% rate.⁷⁹

The League of Nations had strict rules over the way the mandates to be held, especially in regards to the extraction of the natural resources. However, that did not apply to the mandates of the C-class, to which Nauru was classified after a short diplomatic battle during the Peace Conference in Versailles.⁸⁰ As a result, the British Phosphate Commissioners became the sole extractor on the island, cementing the British-Australian dominance over the island.⁸¹ Nominally, the island was under the mandate of Great Britain, while Australia got the rest of the German New Guinea, as well as German Solomon Islands.⁸² The impact of that agreement can still be observed, the island to this day uses Australian currency and the routes of export and import to Australia are well established. The import of food skyrocketed in the post-World War I era and Native Nauruans were becoming more and more reliant on rice, sugar, wheat and other, to the point where white rice currently is considered a part of the traditional Nauruan cuisine.⁸³

⁷⁷ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 43-44.

⁷⁸ Munro Ferguson, R. C.-1. (1912-1935). *Papers of Ronald Craufurd Munro Ferguson (Lord Novar)*. (MS 696). Canberra: National Library of Australia, p. 2763.

⁷⁹ Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI (3), 737-746, p. 742.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 559.

⁸³ McLennan, A. K. (2016). Local food, imported food, and the failures of community gardening initiatives in Nauru. In M. Wilson, *Postcolonialism, Indigeneity and Struggles for Food Sovereignty* (pp. 145-163). Routledge, p. 130.

In 1921, Rosamund D. Rhone travelled to the island, writing one of the most important ethnographic works on Nauru. In her “Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas” she described diet, customs, and contemporary state of affairs on the island.⁸⁴ In 1930s Nauru became well known around the world and many anthropologists came to the island, including C. Wedgwood, who described social life and customs of Nauruans.⁸⁵ According to their studies, the vast majority of indigenous population was still living in a parallel community to Europeans more than with them.⁸⁶ The Europeans largely stayed on the shore and build their settlements in styles of their home countries, as much as it was possible, while utilizing the native technique of lifting it off the ground a bit, as it was necessary in the terrain of that type.⁸⁷ Some of the natives, that lived closer to Europeans and converted to Christianity wore cloths, while the rest preferred traditional pandanus tree leaves.⁸⁸ That proved to be extremely dangerous. Rhone reports, that clothing greatly damaged islanders, because it was customary for them to put oil on their skin – a practice that stopped being performed once they started to wear cloths – the oil and hydrophobic leaves protected them from cold and wetness, they were also not taught “how” to wear fabrics and they treated them as pandanus tree leaves – left them on after fishing or rain, that in turn made them sick and even more vulnerable to other imported diseases, such as tuberculises, Spanish influenza (the epidemic of 1918 was especially devastating for natives of Pacific Islands), measles and other.⁸⁹ This state of more or less peaceful coexistence lasted all the way through 1920s and 1930s.

When the Second World War started, Nauru remained unscathed for the first years of war, although the production of phosphate went slightly up to satisfy the needs of the war. In December of 1941, shortly after the bombardment of Pearl Harbor, Japan began its offensives against Pacific islands.⁹⁰

The Occupation of Nauru was a part of the Pacific front of the World War II and it was quite unique inasmuch as Nauru survived attacks from both Germany

⁸⁴ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, pp. 559-589.

⁸⁵ Wedgwood, C. H. (1936). Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific (Continued). 7(1), 1-33.

⁸⁶ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 583.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Pollock, N. J. (1991). Nauruans during World War II. *Remembering the Pacific War* (pp. 91-107). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, p. 91.

and Japan. Prior to that, Germany had conducted two successful attacks on the island's phosphate mines in December 1940. The battle began on August 26, 1942, when the Japanese landed on the island as part of Operation PARADISE. The island and surrounding areas were occupied by October 1942, and an airfield was built on the island from which it was possible to bomb nearby islands. The Allies tried to recapture the island from 1943 to 1944, but without success. The Japanese held the island until the surrender of Japanese troops on the island to the Allies on September 13, 1945.⁹¹ The primary reason for the attack on Nauru from two out of the three Axis powers was the same reason why Australia rushed to secure the island for themselves – rich phosphate deposits and to a lesser extent the strategic location between Hawaii and Australia.⁹²

In the period of 1941 to 1945, Nauru sustained several drastic demographic fluctuations. N. Pollock, using the testimony of the survivors, found out that initially, Japanese evacuated all citizens of Australia and UK, along with a part of the Chinese diaspora – descendants of the labourers who came to the island to work on phosphate mines, because the Imperial Japanese army decided to bring their own people to extract phosphate and together with the additional reinforcement for the army, their number reached 4000 people. The next step of the Japanese was to relocate natives of the Banaba Island (almost a thousand people) out of their home island, they were briefly stationed on Nauru before being sent off further, but many of them stayed on the island until the very end of the occupation. As for Nauruans themselves more than 1,200 out of 1800 of them were sent as slaves to Chuuk (also known as Truk) Island. The Japanese army established a reign of terror on the island, sentencing people to death even for small offences, while the remainers of the Chinese diaspora were treated even worse in comparison to the indigenous prisoners.⁹³ Out of 1200 Nauruans who were sent to the Chuuk Island, every third died, before getting a chance to return home.⁹⁴

The spread of the diseases was poorly understood in 1930s-1940s among regular soldiers and without modern medicine chances of full recovery were

⁹¹ Viviani, N. (1970). *Nauru: phosphate and political progress*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

⁹² Pollock, N. J. (1991). *Nauruans during World War II. Remembering the Pacific War* (pp. 91-107). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁹⁴ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 44.

slim, so naturally the choice of those who stayed and those who were relocated was vastly impacted by the leprosy. Bray describes that in 1911, leprosy was registered on the island for the first time, there are multiple theories as to how the disease was transmitted to Nauruans: via one of the Chinese workers, an islander from Coraline or from a Gilbertese woman? The last two were in close contact with the young Nauruan girl Demau, who is the first Nauruan native, who was diagnosed with leprosy. The disease spread rapidly but was of the relatively mild kind, the administration created enclosed spaces where patients were attended by nurses, that were diagnosed as well. Nauruans by that time had already integrated foreign foods and some of the customs into their day-to-day lives, but for people affected by the leprosy the traditional Nauruan diet was encouraged, but with addition of sugar, bread, and tinned milk, etc. that were provided by the Australian Government.⁹⁵ It is worth noting that the dangerous effects of the overconsumption of these products were not yet known even to the medical professionals and there were no clear immediately seen ramifications since not many people were financially able to afford to consume them at the rate equal to the modern one. Nevertheless, that period normalised consumption of these products and eased transition to the Western diet, which transformed Nauruan health landscape later on.

The spread of leprosy reached its peak in 1924, when $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Nauruans were segregated due to leprosy.⁹⁶ Although by the beginning of the Japanese attack on the island, the leprosy was under control, the soldiers still feared to contact the disease, that is known to be very infectious and therefore, each person who had a family member sick with leprosy was sent out of Nauru⁹⁷, while every single person who happened to be diagnosed with the disease was driven out of the island to a sufficient distance and purposefully drowned by the Japanese army.⁹⁸ It is clear that these tragedies – both the disease and the exile – accelerated the abandonment of the traditional way of life on Nauru, some of the customs have been lost and the use of the Dorerin Naoero – Nauruan language – declined, while the presence of the non-Nauruan residents rose.

⁹⁵ Bray, G. W. (1930). The Story of Leprosy at Nauru. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine.*, 23(9), 1370-1374, pp. 1370-1371, 1373.

⁹⁶ Viviani, N. (1970). *Nauru: phosphate and political progress*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, p. 65.

⁹⁷ Pollock, N. J. (1991). Nauruans during World War II. *Raemembering the Pacific War* (pp. 91-107). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, p. 94.

⁹⁸ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 135.

Nauruans more and more started to rely on the imported food, such as sugar and rice, while more land had been stripped out of phosphate.

In the mid-1920s the demographic situation was exacerbated by the increase of the infantile mortality caused by the severe Vitamin B deficiency – a brand new problem, because previously, Nauruan mothers drank enough of the juice from the coconut tree, after realizing that this deficiency was one of the leading causes of the high mortality among infants, greater consumption was encouraged.⁹⁹ But it was not easy, since large portions of the Nauruan society were at this point heavily reliant on the imported food, that seemed healthier¹⁰⁰ and indicated status. This heavy dependency became a great weakness for both Nauruans and the Japanese occupational forces, who were not supplied with food by the either side of the conflict and therefore, had to rely on pumpkins, that were brought by the army itself.¹⁰¹ The bombing, demographical tragedy, aggressive mining and overtaxing of the arable land with foreign vegetables had already pushed many food sources into the oblivion. This case can be viewed as the first main undeniable symptom of the fundamental change in the diet of Nauruans. It took decades for the natives to incorporate foreign food into their day-to-day ration, but at that point in the early 20th century, it became crystal clear that the traditional way of life was fundamentally and irrevocably altered. That vitamin B1 deficiency can, therefore, be perceived as the harbinger of the obesity epidemic and rapid spread of the non-communicable diseases, that Nauru face in the 21st century.

Although Nauru was a valuable island for Australia and Japan, it took USA over 3 years to liberate it from the Japanese Occupation, because they considered it “useless” and therefore not an immediate priority.¹⁰² Moreover, the geographical specifications of the island proved to be both hard to attack and easy to defend from within, because Nauru does not have a harbour, however it does have perfect caves from the phosphate extraction that can be used for defence.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Viviani, N. (1970). Nauru: phosphate and political progress. Canberra: Australian National University Press, p. 67.

¹⁰⁰ Colonial government encouraged the diversification of food sources, which on the one hand included a wider variety of fruits, introduction of vegetables, but on the other included canned meat, sugar, white wheat and rice. (McLennan, 2016).

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁰² Patel, A. (2022, November 24). The rise and fall of Nauru. Retrieved from Historical Association: <https://www.history.org.uk/publications/resource/10550/the-rise-and-fall-of-nauru> [2024-03-02].

¹⁰³ Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI (3), 737-746, p. 743.

After the defeat of the Axis Powers and the creation of the United Nations, Nauru did not gain independence, and instead it once again came under control of the British Phosphate Commissioners¹⁰⁴ after the governments of UK, Australia and New Zealand lobbied to keep Nauru under the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement on November 1st 1947 – resolution A/RES/140 (II).¹⁰⁵

The immediate consequences of the war impeded the normalization of the phosphate extraction, but because during the Japanese occupation Australia's and New Zealand's farmlands, that were depended on the Nauruan phosphate, declined significantly, they both urged the British Phosphate Commissionaires to rebuild the infrastructure as soon as possible.¹⁰⁶ Due to the continuous bombings in the war period, the island was damaged to the point, where the native Nauruan population could no longer live off the land in the traditional way. 1948 became the year, where Nauruans lost their previous privilege to avoid jobs and were forced to seek salaried jobs to buy imported food, which resulted in over 88% of the Nauruan men finding employment¹⁰⁷, mostly at the BPC, which at that same year made a bank, while Nauruans still received only around 14900 or just 2% of that in royalties. Their share increased with the pressure from the tribal chiefs and the UN, until in 1966 they received 22%. Since the production and value of the phosphate rose, those 22% amounted to roughly 1,000,000 AUD.¹⁰⁸ From that point onwards, with the support of the United Nations, as well as newly independent nations of the Global South, Nauruans gained rights for self-governance. Meanwhile the public health concerns began to slowly ease and the rate of the infant deaths in 1965 was only 22/1000, which still seems a lot, but is a great improvement in comparison to the war and the immediate post-war periods. In 1960s, the two main infectious diseases were put under complete control as the number of patients with tuberculosis and leprosy in 1965-1966 were only 2 and 43 people respectively.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵ UN Trusteeship Council. (n.d.). *Trust Territories - UN Trusteeship Council Documentation*. Retrieved from Research guides at United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Library: <https://research.un.org/en/docs/tc/territories> [2024-03-04].

¹⁰⁶ Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI (3), 737-746, p. 744.

¹⁰⁷ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 136.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Viviani, N. (1970). *Nauru: phosphate and political progress*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, p. 185.

After the dust of war began to settle and the other issues started to surface in the 1950s the problem of the uninhabitability of Nauru started to become more urgent, Australia responded by trying to argue for the resettlement of Nauruans throughout the Pacific for the reasons of culture, as they claimed, rather than admitting to the crimes against ecology committed throughout the first half of the century.¹¹⁰

In the post-war period, after enormous losses suffered, the majority of Nauruans were pushing for environmental rehabilitation, but due to the pressure of time and the enormously high cost, which neither Nauru nor Australia were able to afford, that option was not considered seriously by Australia or even the leader of the Nauruan tribes Hammer DeRoburt. The resettlement was seen as a more viable option and DeRoburt argued against breaking apart an already deeply damaged by the war Nauruan society, meaning that in case of relocation, he wanted a resettlement done for all members of the community at the same time and to the same place, as opposed to a gradual one throughout the Pacific, out of fear of assimilation into the dominant cultures. Therefore, the Australian plan of a gradual resettlement was rejected.¹¹¹ Another reason for rejecting the proposal was allegedly, that the Nauruan leaders opted for independence, because the Australian government clearly communicated that Nauruans would not have any sovereignty over the land to which they would have been resettled.¹¹² In a way, it was already a noticeable commitment from Australia, that still was actively utilizing the discriminatory policy of stifling the immigration from the “non-white” countries.¹¹³ Albeit, the policy becoming more liberalized, the official end came only a decade after the Nauruan independence, but the general treatment of the non-whites remained cold, which the Nauruan delegation clearly noted during visits to the potential relocation sites and it solidified their resolve to create the Republic of Nauru.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ McAdam, J. (2017). The High Price of Resettlement: the proposed environmental relocation of Nauru to Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 48(1), 7-16, p. 9.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Tabucanon, G., & Opeskin, B. (2011). The Resettlement of Nauruans in Australia. *Journal of Pacific History*, 46(3), 337-356, p. 338.

¹¹³ Jordan, M. (2018). ‘Not on Your Life’: Cabinet and Liberalisation of the White Australia Policy, 1964–67. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 46(1), 169-201, p. 169.

¹¹⁴ Hughes, H. (2004, August 18). From Riches to Rags: What Are Nauru’s Options and How Can Australia Help?, p. 3.

3.2. Phosphate Wealth

In 1968, after 80 years of foreign rule, Nauruans got to become citizens of their own sovereign republic of Nauru, which became the smallest republic of the world¹¹⁵ under its first president Hammer DeRoburt, who coordinated the opposition of the Nauruan chiefs.¹¹⁶ However, by that time, approximately 30% of Nauru was already severely damaged by the decades of phosphate extraction¹¹⁷ and island was populated by over six thousand people, only a small portion of which belonged to one of the native tribes.¹¹⁸ That increase of the population may seem quite insignificant at the first glance, but it is important to note that the population on the island was more or less constant before and most likely did not reach 2000 even in the better years, if we take the pre-intertribal war number as a base.¹¹⁹ Going back to the environmental toll, those 29.6% of land¹²⁰ were turned into nothing more than a porous limestone rock, that is both inarable and unsuitable for constructions of buildings; many species of plants that were essential for the ecosystem of the island went extinct¹²¹, which can truly be considered a tragedy, because Nauru was full of endemic vegetation, just like other isolated pieces of land. Nevertheless, the extraction not only did not cease after the establishment of the independence, but it actually grew exponentially.¹²²

The independence brought greater monetary prosperity to Nauruans in the 1970s, who now owned their phosphate industry and the phosphate exploitation

¹¹⁵ 3rd smallest country, after Vatican and Monaco, both of which are not republics (common knowledge).

¹¹⁶ Patel, A. (2022, November 24). The rise and fall of Nauru. Retrieved from Historical Association: <https://www.history.org.uk/publications/resource/10550/the-rise-and-fall-of-nauru> [2024-03-02].

McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 46.

Foster, S., & Kiste, R. C. (2023, November 26). Nauru. Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nauru> [2023-11-27].

¹¹⁷ Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI(3), 737-746, p. 745.

¹¹⁸ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 138.

¹¹⁹ U.S. Department of State. Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. (2012, March 13). Background Note: Nauru. Retrieved from U.S. Department of State. *Diplomacy in Action*: <https://web.archive.org/web/20121017054843/http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/16447.htm> [2024-08-18].

Fabricius, W. (1992). *Nauru 1888-1900*. (D. Clark, & S. Firth, Eds.) Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

¹²⁰ Gale, S. (2016, August 14). The mined-out phosphate lands of Nauru, equatorial western Pacific. *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences*, 63(3), 333-347, p. 336.

¹²¹ Wardhani, B. (2023, May 1). The Legacy of Colonialism and Ecological Genocide on Indigenous People of Nauru. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*, XII(1), pp. 10-20, p. 13.

¹²² Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI(3), 737-746, p. 744.

reached its peak¹²³, and because during the 1960s-1970s newly developed technologies started to flow to Nauru, residents of which now could afford luxuries accessible only to a small portion of humanity, such as modern cars, TV sets, washing machines, motorboats, etc. The refrigerators, which allowed for the first time to conserve and transport fresh products to Nauru and store them there, became widely available.¹²⁴

By that time, Nauruan traditional cuisine was greatly altered. The traditional coconut fish dish – tuna (mostly tuna, but other fish can also be prepared in certain occasions) that was being soaked in coconut juice for a prolonged period of time – is now prepared with a necessary addition of the salt and lemon, that were never cultivated on the island¹²⁵; Chinese food became a staple with the arrival of the phosphate mines' labourers at the beginning of the century; European products are delivered directly from Australia and New Zealand, with occasional addition from the United Kingdom and the USA¹²⁶, none of which are the picture of a healthy diet.

Following the Second World War, the process of decolonization swept throughout the world and many nations gained a long-awaited independence, but due to its peculiarity – tiniest of the sovereign republics, richest nation per capita in the world, multimillion dollar investments abroad and rising health crisis¹²⁷ – Nauru received a lot of coverage in the media during the 1970s - 1980s. Nauru provided a stark contrast with the rest of the newly established states.

In 1976, National Geographic visited the island once again. This time, as Mike Holmes reports, fishing went from an integral part of survival to a fun hobby of some, but not all, motorbikes and cars were commonplace and Nauru was an unrivalled welfare state with free education, housing, medicine, and no taxes, most of the heavy labour was done by the foreign workers, who resided on the island in housing provided by the Nauru Phosphate Corporation, and they

¹²³ Gale, S. (2016, August 14). The mined-out phosphate lands of Nauru, equatorial western Pacific. *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences*, 63(3), 333-347, p. 336.

¹²⁴ McLennan, A. K. (2016). Local food, imported food, and the failures of community gardening initiatives in Nauru. In M. Wilson, *Postcolonialism, Indigeneity and Struggles for Food Sovereignty* (pp. 145-163). Routledge, p. 131.

¹²⁵ Viviani, N. (1970). *Nauru: phosphate and political progress*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, p. 157.

¹²⁶ McLennan, A. K. (2016). Local food, imported food, and the failures of community gardening initiatives in Nauru. In M. Wilson, *Postcolonialism, Indigeneity and Struggles for Food Sovereignty* (pp. 145-163). Routledge.

¹²⁷ Holmes, M. (1976, September). This is the World's Richest Nation--All of It! *National Geographic Magazine*, 150(3), pp. 344-352.

reached over two and a half thousand people.¹²⁸ Only around two hundred native Nauruans worked in the corporation and almost exclusively at the managerial positions. The tiny island also had over 2000 personal cars, which were just parked most of the time in front of houses topped by the solar power plates. For the first time, Nauruans faced a series of car accidents that prompted the government to put a speed limit of 40 k/h.¹²⁹ Nauruans travelled the world, did weekend trips to Australia on board of Air Nauru, and also smoked and drank a lot of alcohol, that although was imported from New Zealand and Australia, was cheaper in Nauru, thanks to the absence of import taxes.¹³⁰

That same “golden” decade Nauru attracted attention from the health professionals and researchers as well. In 1977 a group of medical researchers investigated the rising health crisis among affluent Nauruans. They confirmed previous assumptions that islanders are indeed more predisposed to diabetes – have a particular genotype even, this was evidenced by the comparison with other previously isolated groups, that after experiencing intense “westernisation” did not sustain significantly higher rates of non-communicable diseases, such as diabetes mellitus (type 2 diabetes). Nevertheless, they highlighted the crucial role of the environment – high levels of urbanization, relinquishing of the traditional active lifestyle to a leisurely pace of modernity, and, of course, rise of a diet rich in carbohydrates.¹³¹ New Nauruan cuisine is heavily based on rice, refined sugar, and industrial trans fats, none of which existed on the island just eighty years before and has to be constantly supplied from other countries. Another study that researched sleep apnoea among Maori and Pacific Islanders, including Nauruans, and compared them to the people of European descent, found out that the former suffer more severely from the sleep apnoea, a condition closely associated with the higher Body Mass Index and all of the accompanying health problems.¹³²

¹²⁸ Holmes, M. (1976, September). This is the World's Richest Nation--All of It! National Geographic Magazine, 150(3), pp. 344-352.

¹²⁹ Squires, N. (2008, March 15). Nauru seeks to regain lost fortunes. Retrieved from BBC News: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/7296832.stm [2024-03-02].

¹³⁰ Hanley, C. J. (1985, March 31). Tiny Pacific Isle's Citizens Rich, Fat and Happy--Thanks to the Birds. Retrieved from The Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-03-31-mn-18785-story.html> [2024-03-01].

¹³¹ Zimmet, P., Taft, P., Guinea, A., Guthrie, W., & Thoma, K. (1977, April). The High Prevalence of Diabetes Mellitus on a Central Pacific Island. *Diabetologia*, 13, 111-115, p. 114.

¹³² Baldwin, D. R. (1998). Comparative clinical and physiological features of Maori, Pacific Islanders and Europeans with sleep related breathing disorders. *Respirology*, 3(4), 253-260, p. 256.

In the old times, before the WWII, fat was a symbol of prosperity reserved only for chiefs and their close circle¹³³, but with the arrival of the highly processed junk food, fruits conserved in high fructose solutions and canned meats, this symbol became available to the whole population, which of course defeated its purpose. The role of the fattening customs in the rise of obesity also should not be underestimated. The custom existed long before the European contact and was abandoned in 1920s, the ritual was performed by separating young girls, once they show signs of the first menstrual period, in a secluded hut and begin the “fattening” process, by feeding them bigger portions and not allowing to perform any sort of physical activity. That was done to prepare them for marriage and childbearing, as well as an indication of the status of her clan and a beauty standard, that may have created a predisposition to higher body mass.¹³⁴

Although Nauruans indeed have a different built in comparison to Europeans, moreover the desirability for extra kilograms could be justified by its benefits in the drought years¹³⁵, the over-fatness achieved by non-active lifestyle and detrimental diet led Nauruans to devastating health outcomes.

¹³³ Marks, K. (2010, December 26). Fat of the land: Nauru tops obesity league. Retrieved from Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/health-news/fat-of-the-land-nauru-tops-obesity-league-2169418.html> [2024-02-26].

¹³⁴ Pollock, N. J. (1995). Cultural elaborations of obesity - fattening practices in Pacific societies. *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 4(4), 357-360, p. 358.

¹³⁵ Gill, T., Hughes, R., Tunidau-Schultz, J., Galea, G., & Cavalli-Sforza, T. (2002). Obesity in the Pacific: too big to ignore. Noumea, New Caledonia: Secretariat of the Pacific Community by Graphoprint. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20140911002147/http://raspberryyketonesfresh.com/obesityinthepacific.pdf>, p. 8, [2024-03-09].

4. Post-phosphate

4.1. Economic Decline

In 1980s, as the “obesity epidemic” was accelerating¹³⁶, the revenue from the phosphate began to plummet. The islanders enjoyed exorbitant affluence by getting just about 5% of the total profit from mining, while over 60% went to various investment schemes, information about these, however, was not readily available to the public and was strictly controlled by Hammer DeRoburt, who held the presidency, more than a half of all ministerial offices, while also being a head of the Nauru Phosphate Corporation and Nauruan Phosphate Royalties Trust.¹³⁷ These organizations had been there to ensure prosperity of the citizens once the phosphate would inevitably run out. Nauru followed the destiny of many lottery winners: sudden avalanche of money brought more problems, e.g. obesity epidemic, car accidents, and attracted scammers, who lent their helping hand in investment decisions. The vast majority of the investments were not successful, some were scams, others just did not yield expected returns. The general mismanagement and thinning supply of the phosphate led Nauru to almost full bankruptcy.¹³⁸ In the second half of the decade, the Nauruan government made a last-ditch attempt to secure its financial standing by taking Australia to the International Court of Justice, main objective was to gain reparations for irreversible environmental damage.¹³⁹

Nauru argued that Australia, which was the major administrator on the island since the early 1900s was at fault for damaging the soil and therefore had to be responsible for an expensive restoration. Australia defended itself by pointing out that much of the damage was done already after 1968 and hence they are not solely responsible for the soil degradation.¹⁴⁰ The legal battle ensued and was

¹³⁶ Pollock, N. J. (2014). Nauru Phosphate History and the Resource Curse Narrative. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 107-120, p. 117.

¹³⁷ Pollock, N. (2020). DeRoburt, Hammer (1922–1992). (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University) Retrieved from Australian Dictionary of Biography: <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/deroburt-hammer-29936> [2024-04-26].

¹³⁸ Squires, N. (2008, March 15). Nauru seeks to regain lost fortunes. Retrieved from BBC News: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/7296832.stm [2024-03-02].

Shenon, P. (1995, December 10). A Pacific Island Nation Is Stripped of Everything. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/10/world/a-pacific-island-nation-is-stripped-of-everything.html> [2024-03-05].

Hanley, C. J. (1985, March 31). Tiny Pacific Isle's Citizens Rich, Fat and Happy--Thanks to the Birds. Retrieved from The Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-03-31-mn-18785-story.htm> [2024-03-01].

¹³⁹ Anghie, A. (1993). Certain Phosphate Lands in Nauru (Nauru v. Austl.). *American Journal of International Law*, 87(2), 282-288, p. 282.

¹⁴⁰ Can Nauru's Scars of Wealth Be Healed? (1993, July). *National Geographic Magazine*, 184(1), p. 134.

eventually resolved out-of-court. Over two hundred million Australian dollars¹⁴¹ were put into the Nauru Rehabilitation Corporation a few years later.¹⁴² By the end of the 1990s phosphate deposits were depleted almost entirely, especially at the Top-Side plateau. 61% of the land became completely inarable¹⁴³, although it is worth pointing out that the agriculture was never practised on the island either way¹⁴⁴, since natives relied on fishing and gathering, as was explained above. The only gardening that was more or less subsisted traditionally was the planting of the coconut and pandanus, as well as the breadfruit tree.¹⁴⁵ The phosphate-based economy of Nauru began to collapse, crushing the food system.

Therefore, when in 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed and previously state-owned enterprises were rashly privatized by individuals and those people sought after offshore havens to escape taxation and scrutiny, Nauru readily offered its banks¹⁴⁶ and established strict non-disclosure policies to protect the secrecy that was so desperately sought after.¹⁴⁷ To this day, there is no need to obtain visas for the Russian citizens¹⁴⁸ travelling to Nauru and for the Nauruan citizens visting Russia for a period of a fortnight.¹⁴⁹ Interestingly enough, among the three ex-administering states – the UK, Australia and New Zealand – only with the UK does Nauru has a visa-free regime, for the other two there are simplified visa application procedures.¹⁵⁰ In 1998 it was disclosed that approximately

¹⁴¹ Pollock, N. J. (2014). Nauru Phosphate History and the Resource Curse Narrative. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 107-120, p. 118.

¹⁴² Shenon, P. (1995, December 10). A Pacific Island Nation Is Stripped of Everything. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/10/world/a-pacific-island-nation-is-stripped-of-everything.html> [2024-03-05].

¹⁴³ Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI (3), 737-746, p. 744.

¹⁴⁴ Gale, S. (2016, August 14). The mined-out phosphate lands of Nauru, equatorial western Pacific. *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences*, 63(3), 333-347, p. 333.

¹⁴⁵ Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589, p. 579.

¹⁴⁶ Patel, A. (2022, November 24). The rise and fall of Nauru. Retrieved from Historical Association: <https://www.history.org.uk/publications/resource/10550/the-rise-and-fall-of-nauru>, p. 43 [2024-03-02].

¹⁴⁷ Hilzenrath, D. S. (1999, October 27). Russians Use Tiny Island to Hide Billions. Retrieved from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/10/28/russians-use-tiny-island-to-hide-billions/b05c2b53-52f9-4621-aa8a-be4ee204d96d/> [2024-05-10].

¹⁴⁸ There are no similar privileges for the citizens of other post-Soviet countries.

¹⁴⁹ Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации (the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation). (2015, May 12). О вступлении в силу российско-науруанского Соглашения о взаимной отмене визовых требований 910-12-05-2015 (On the entry into force of the Russian-Nauruan Agreement on the mutual abolition of Visa requirements). Retrieved from https://archive.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/ckNonkJE02Bw/content/id/1269858 [2024-05-10].

¹⁵⁰ The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (2014, January 30). Immigration Act 2014 - Immigration Regulations 2014. Retrieved from Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute: http://www.pacilii.org/cgi-bin/sinodisp/nr/legis/sub_leg/ia2014ir2014385/ia2014ir2014385.html?stem=&synonyms=&query=REPUBLIC%20OF%20NAURU%20GOVERNMENT%20GAZETTE%20PUBLISHED%20BY%20AUTHORITY%20EXTRAORDINARY, pp. 82-83 [2024-05-10].

seventy billion dollars had been transferred to over 400 different banks¹⁵¹ registered in the Republic of Nauru by the estimates of the Central Bank of Russia.¹⁵² International pressure forced Nauru to review its policies and stop that money-laundering scheme under the threats of sanctions.¹⁵³

Nauru also supported the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by recognizing their legitimacy during the visit to Russia by the minister of foreign relations of Nauru back in 2009. It was reported that Russia would be providing Nauru with the \$50 mil in the humanitarian aid, which as stated by the Nauruan minister of foreign affairs, has nothing to do with the recognition. Within a year, the first tranche of 1/5 of the total sum was paid, but since then there had been no more tranches made.¹⁵⁴

Another attempt to salvage the economy was to put the passports on sale. However, that activity was also halted after a major scandal, when it came to the light that several members of the terrorist organization al-Qaeda had been arrested and the Nauruan passports had been found in their possession.¹⁵⁵

In the early 2000s, as the phosphate industry was in complete ruins, over 1600 people of foreign origin, who worked in the mines were sent back home to the neighbouring countries of Tuvalu and Kiribati.¹⁵⁶ Consequently, even though having traditionally a lot of children¹⁵⁷ and abortion being completely outlawed

¹⁵¹ The Age. (2004, April 18). Pacific nation Nauru on brink of collapse. Retrieved from The Age: <https://www.theage.com.au/world/pacific-nation-nauru-on-brink-of-collapse-20040418-gdpx7p.html> [2024-05-10].

¹⁵² Hilzenrath, D. S. (1999, October 27). Russians Use Tiny Island to Hide Billions. Retrieved from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/10/28/russians-use-tiny-island-to-hide-billions/b05c2b53-52f9-4621-aa8a-be4ee204d96d/> [2024-05-10].

¹⁵³ France-Presse, A. (2001, December 6). Tiny Pacific Island Is Facing Money-Laundering Sanctions. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/06/world/tiny-pacific-island-is-facing-money-laundering-sanctions.html> [2024-05-10].

¹⁵⁴ Рачева, Е. (2023, April 6). Науру. Островок любви к России. Retrieved from Новая Газета: <https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2023/04/06/nauru-ostrovok-liubvi-k-rossii> [2024-05-10].

¹⁵⁵ ABC News. (2003, April 16). Nauru to probe terrorist passport claims. Retrieved from ABC News: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2003-04-16/nauru-to-probe-terrorist-passport-claims/1837596?utm_campaign=abc_news_web&utm_content=link&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_source=abc_news_web [2024-05-10].

van Fossen, A. (2017, December 21). Passports of convenience from the Pacific islands. Retrieved from The Interpreter (The Lowy Institute): <https://www.loyyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/passports-convenience-pacific-islands> [2024-05-10].

¹⁵⁶ The Republic of Nauru. (2012). Republic of Nauru National Report on Population and Housing: Census 2011. Retrieved from Pacific Community Statistics for Development Division: https://sdd.spc.int/digital_library/republic-nauru-national-report-population-and-housing-census-2011, p. 50 [2024-05-10].

¹⁵⁷ Рачева, Е. (2023, April 6). Науру. Островок любви к России. Retrieved from Новая Газета: <https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2023/04/06/nauru-ostrovok-liubvi-k-rossii> [2024-05-10].

as it is considered to be a sin in Christianity, that is the major religion there¹⁵⁸, the population increased only slightly, while the net rate of migration was negative, with more people leaving than coming.¹⁵⁹

The new millennium came with the new technologies and enabled Nauruans to excavate secondary phosphate in 2007, all while rehabilitation, although being a talking point since 1954, did not get off the ground.¹⁶⁰

By the end of the century Nauru was plagued by cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, sleep apnoea and other ailments of associated with obesity; alcoholism and nicotine dependency, that only reinforce each other¹⁶¹, were rampant.¹⁶² The situation was exacerbated by the unique body built of the Pacific Islanders, that made some of the conditions worse, than they otherwise would have been.

¹⁵⁸ United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2014). Abortion Policies and Reproductive Health around the World. United Nations publication. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/AbortionPoliciesReproductiveHealth.pdf [2024-05-10].

¹⁵⁹ The Republic of Nauru. (2012). Republic of Nauru National Report on Population and Housing: Census 2011. Retrieved from Pacific Community Statistics for Development Division: https://sdd.spc.int/digital_library/republic-nauru-national-report-population-and-housing-census-2011 [2024-05-10].

¹⁶⁰ Gale, S. (2016, August 14). The mined-out phosphate lands of Nauru, equatorial western Pacific. *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences*, 63(3), 333-347. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/08120099.2016.1206621>, p. 342.

¹⁶¹ Ait-Daoud, N., Lynch, W. J., Penberthy, J. K., Breland, A. B., Marzani-Nissen, G. R., & Johnson, B. A. (2006). Treating smoking dependence in depressed alcoholics. 29(3), pp. 213-220.

¹⁶² McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 49.

4.2. Obesity Epidemic and the Role of Insularity

Obesity, which is characterised by the dangerous levels of fat stored, was declared as one of the biggest public hazards of the coming millennium in 1997.¹⁶³ Obesity, as was discussed above, was linked to the higher susceptibility to various diseases, including several different types of cancer, type 2 diabetes (T2D), cardiovascular problems, infertility, etc. The World Health Organization reports that in 2022 every eighth person on the planet was obese, while over two and a half billion people were overweight.¹⁶⁴ According to their estimation, Nauru became a country with the highest rate of obesity and overweightness in the world with the rate reaching 94.5%, all previously noted associated ailments are present as well with T2D being diagnosed in 40% of the population, that is the highest level of diabetes in the world.¹⁶⁵

The failing health of the entire population due to non-communicable diseases led Nauru to be named as the country with the second highest age-standardized rate of mortality in the world, the first being Afghanistan.¹⁶⁶ The level of obesity and diseases caused by it closely correlates and is a result of the dietary and lifestyle practices in Nauru. For example, only 6.3% of the population report having access to at least 5 serving of fruit and/or vegetables a day. Alcohol and tobacco are consumed by the 46% and 52% of the Nauruans between the ages of 15 to 64 respectively. Interestingly, there is a noticeable gender difference between the two: alcohol consumption is twice as common in men (almost 61%) as in women (32%), while the situation with nicotine consumption is in reverse: women – 56%, men – 49%.¹⁶⁷ It can be the result of the decades long practice of barring women from buying and consuming alcohol in public without official permission from the government.¹⁶⁸ In combination, the non-communicable

¹⁶³ Haththotuwa, R. N., Wijeyaratne, C. N., & Senarath, U. (2020). Worldwide epidemic of obesity. In T. A. Mahmood, S. Arulkumaran, & F. A. Chervenak, *Obesity and Obstetrics* (2nd ed., pp. 3-8). Elsevier, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ World Health Organization. (2024, March 1). Obesity and overweight. Retrieved from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/obesity-and-overweight> [2024-03-01].

¹⁶⁵ Kageyama, B. (2021, April 1). How Nauru Became the World's Fattest Country. Retrieved from Medium: <https://medium.com/lessons-from-history/how-nauru-became-the-worlds-fattest-country-911ee1c9b8c9> [2024-03-01].

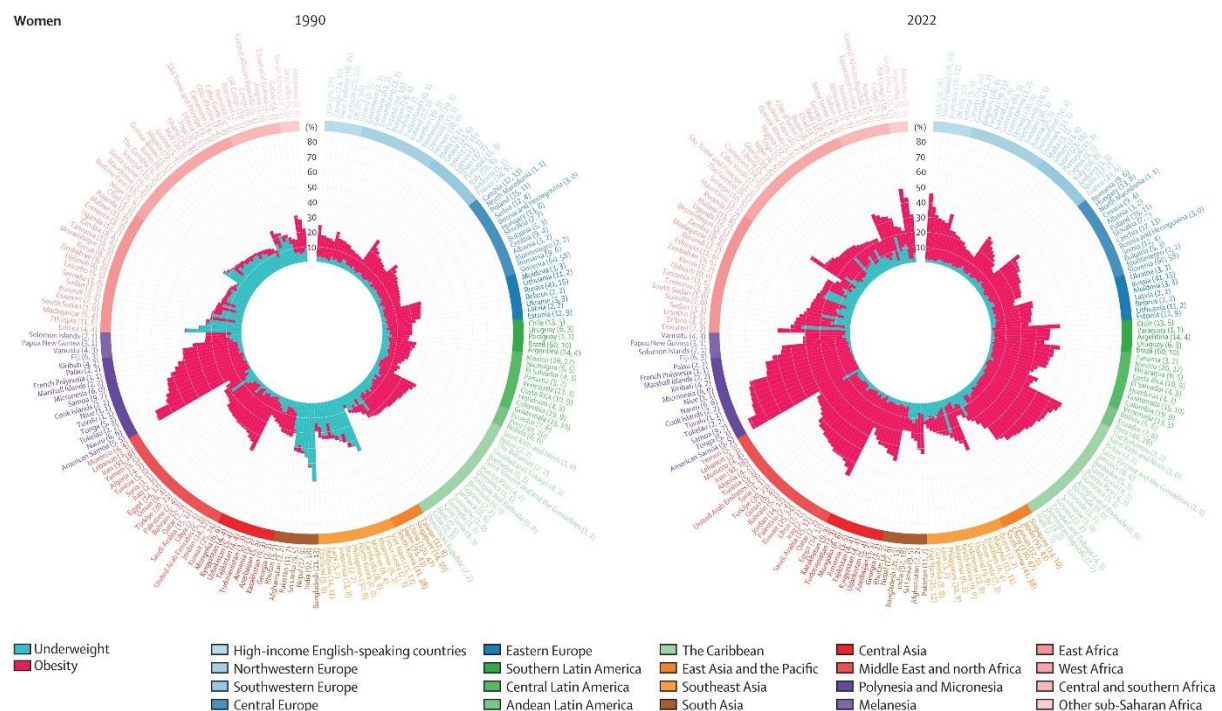
¹⁶⁶ Government of Nauru: Ministry of Health. (2014, June). Nauru Non-Communicable Disease Strategic Action Plan 2015–2020. Retrieved from World Health Organization: Global database on the Implementation of Nutrition Action (GINA): <https://extranet.who.int/nutrition/gina/en/node/25893> [2024-03-05].

¹⁶⁷ Nauru NCD Risk Factors: STEPS report. (2007). Retrieved from 30 SPREP PROE: Virtual Library: <https://library.sprep.org/content/nauru-ncd-risk-factors-steps-report>, p. 8 [2024-03-10].

¹⁶⁸ Viviani, N. (1970). *Nauru: phosphate and political progress*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, p. 167.

diseases, that are commonly associated with higher-than-normal body mass. account for almost 80% of the deaths on Nauru.¹⁶⁹

These grave statistical data indicate a perilous situation, that unfortunately is all too common in the Pacific. The first 9 places in the global obesity ranking are all taken by the islands.¹⁷⁰ The comparison with other parts of the world can be clearly seen in the following chart from the NCD Risk Factor Collaboration (NCD-RisC) report¹⁷¹:



172

The prosperity of the phosphate era gave rise to the so-called “diseases of affluence” like diabetes, heart diseases and other, that were known to spread among societies with the rise of income at that time.¹⁷³ However, in the recent decades, the “diseases of affluence” became evidently more prevalent in the

¹⁶⁹ Government of Nauru: Ministry of Health. (2014, June). Nauru Non-Communicable Disease Strategic Action Plan 2015–2020. Retrieved from World Health Organization: Global database on the Implementation of Nutrition Action (GINA): <https://extranet.who.int/nutrition/gina/en/node/25893> [2024-03-05].

¹⁷⁰ Global Obesity Observatory. (2022). Ranking (% obesity by country). Retrieved from World Obesity Federation: Global Obesity Observatory: <https://data.worldobesity.org/rankings/?age=a&sex=m> [2024-03-07].

¹⁷¹ NCD Risk Factor Collaboration. (2024). Worldwide trends in underweight and obesity from 1990 to 2022: a pooled analysis of 3663 population-representative studies with 222 million children, adolescents, and adults. Elsevier Ltd. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(23\)02750-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(23)02750-2) [2024-08-18].

¹⁷² NCD Risk Factor Collaboration. (2024). Worldwide trends in underweight and obesity from 1990 to 2022: a pooled analysis of 3663 population-representative studies with 222 million children, adolescents, and adults. Elsevier Ltd. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(23\)02750-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(23)02750-2) [2024-08-18].

¹⁷³ Ezzati, M., Vander Hoorn, S., Lawes, C., Leach, R., James, W., & al., e. (2005, May 03). Rethinking the “Diseases of Affluence” Paradigm: Global Patterns of Nutritional Risks in Relation to Economic Development. PLOS Medicine, 2(5), 404-412. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0020133>, p. 405.

lower and middle-income developing countries.¹⁷⁴ One of the reasons for that can be that the access to larger amount of food and opportunity to avoid strenuous physical activity in the past centuries was reserved for people of the higher income. But the current situation, especially for the pacific islanders is flipped inasmuch as quality fresh food has to be imported, while high fat, high sugar ultra processed food of low quality is more affordable. Globalization and industrialization made previously unavailable and inaccessible calorically overloaded food commonplace, e.g. trans fat, sugar, and refined wheat, among others.¹⁷⁵

Nauru, therefore, can be viewed as an exemplification of this switch. Diabetes, for instance, was prevalent in Nauruans during 1970s-1980s in their “golden” years, when T2D was still considered to be a disease of the developed world. However, in the past four decades situation had changed, now this illness is more prevalent in the group of countries with lower GDP per capita, to which Nauru currently belongs and just as in the 1980s, Nauru is plagued by it.

Nauruans do not have access to fresh quality food, with the exception of limited number of coconuts, pandanus tree fruits and fish, which can still be scarcely found on the shore. 90% of all food is being imported¹⁷⁶, mostly from Australia, and that food is comprised of canned meat, spam, turkey tails and other low quality, calorically dense products.¹⁷⁷ That combined with biological predisposition, environmental degradation, physically inactive lifestyle and changed societal norms resulted in the world’s lowest levels of public health in Nauru.

The Healthcare infrastructure on the island is very limited, which is due to the relatively small number of skilled workers per person needing medical attention. There is only one hospital in the district of Yaren and the government of Nauru

¹⁷⁴ World Health Organization. (2023, April 5). Diabetes. Retrieved from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/diabetes#:~:text=Diabetes%20prevalence%20has%20been%20rising,were%20directly%20caused%20by%20diabetes> [2024-03-10].

¹⁷⁵ Hu, F. B. (2011). Globalization of diabetes: the role of diet, lifestyle, and genes. *Diabetes care*, 34(6), 1249-1257. <https://doi.org/10.2337/dc11-0442>, p. 1250 [2024-08-18].

¹⁷⁶ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (2015). Nauru and FAO: Partnering to improve food security and income-earning opportunities. Apia, Samoa: FAO Subregional Office for the Pacific Islands.

¹⁷⁷ Wardhani, B. (2023, May 1). The Legacy of Colonialism and Ecological Genocide on Indigenous People of Nauru. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*, XII (1), pp. 10-20. <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.12.1.10-20.2023>, p. 15.

provides full complete coverage of all medical bills for its citizens¹⁷⁸ – yet another remnant of the former prosperity of the phosphate era, that includes also medically necessary trips to Australia in case of need for more specialized healthcare procedures and if the financing is available.¹⁷⁹ The situation worsened in the recent years, as Australia began its detention centre policy in Nauru, more people ended up on the island, which inevitably led to the overtaxing of the existing system, that situation got exacerbated by the boycott from the medical professionals over human rights abuses¹⁸⁰ and hostile legislation from Nauruan government itself, preventing access to mental health facilities for the refugees in the detention centre.¹⁸¹

The true scope of the obesity epidemic problem cannot be accessed by just a surface level observation of obesity rankings. Many communities can be disproportionately affected within states, for instance, the First Nations in Canada. Canada has a high level of obesity in general, just like comparable countries, such the USA, Australia, UK and others, however, the percentage of the people reported as obese and overweight, as well as people diagnosed with Type 2 diabetes, vary greatly from province to province.¹⁸² The group of people who suffer the most from the Type 2 diabetes in Canada are indigenous communities, where the rate of incidence of the disease is almost 4 times higher than in the general Canadian population.¹⁸³ The Inuit, one of the First Nations, subsisted on a specific diet for centuries, but due to industrial fishing, climate change and legal limitations on hunting several protected species, their food security had been compromised¹⁸⁴, the transition to the supermarket diet is not

¹⁷⁸ The WHO Representative Office in the South Pacific. (2017, January 1). WHO Country Cooperation Strategy 2018-2022: Nauru. Retrieved from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/nauru/publications-detail/WPR-2017-DPM-014> [2024-07-25].

¹⁷⁹ Szmedra, P., & Sharma, K. L. (2007). SMALL ISLAND STATES IN CRISIS: THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF LIFESTYLE DISEASES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 24(2), 45-61. Retrieved July 25, 2024, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45198861>, p. 51 [2024-08-18].

¹⁸⁰ Isaacs, D. (2015). Doctors Should Boycott Working in Australia's Immigration Centres and Must Continue to Speak out on Mistreatment of Detainees—despite the Law. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 350. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26522108> [2024-07-07].

¹⁸¹ Henriques-Gomes, L. (2018, October 6). Nauru orders MSF to stop mental health work on island. Retrieved from *The Guardian*: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/06/nauru-orders-msf-to-stop-mental-health-work-on-island> [2024-07-25].

¹⁸² Statistical Information Service Canada. (2024, March 4). An overview of weight and height measurements on World Obesity Day. Retrieved from Statistics Canada: <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/o1/en/plus/5742-overview-weight-and-height-measurements-world-obesity-day> [2024-07-24].

¹⁸³ Dyck, R., Osgood, N., Lin, T. H., Gao, A., & Stang, M. R. (2010, February 23). Epidemiology of diabetes mellitus among First Nations and non-First Nations adults. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 182(3), 249-256. <https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.090846> [2024-08-18].

¹⁸⁴ Wright, T. (2019, November 6). 10 year study finds 'extremely high' rates of First Nations food insecurity. Retrieved from *Global News | Canada*: <https://globalnews.ca/news/6136161/first-nations-food-insecurity-study/> [2024-07-24].

seamless, due to the same exact reason as in low-income Pacific Island countries, like Nauru – remoteness. The high cost of delivery of fresh produce coupled with generally low economic opportunity results in unaffordable food prices in those insulated communities.¹⁸⁵ That, in turn, prompts the same exact public health concerns, such as obesity, malnutrition, diabetes and other NCDs. It is quite peculiar, that two places with the diametrically opposed climates – Arctics (in this case, only Northern provinces of Canada) and Equatorial Pacific (Nauru) – have faced geographically-based disadvantages, that resulted in the public health crises.

But how the public health and obesity in particular is measured is also important to consider. The most commonly used metric for what is considered to be obesity, overweight, underweight and so-called “normal” is based on the Body Mass Index. This standardized count was developed by a mathematician from the Belgian city of Ghent - Adolphe Quetelet – in the 19th century.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, the main criticisms of this method are the following: a) it is outdated by about two centuries; b) it was based on the calculations of a mathematician, not a medical specialist; c) it does not correspond to the amount of fat specifically and by that, many body builders are flagged as “obese”, and so do the heavy lifters, which Nauru is quite famous for; d) Quetelet wanted to measure the average body mass of a Caucasian¹⁸⁷ man, hence it does not account for the diversity of the body structures within other groups of populations, e.g. Pacific islanders. These and many other reasons were given to reject the notion of the use of the BMI. However, due to its simplicity in usage, standardization and reasonable correlation with the amount of body fat one might have at a certain height and weight, it is still widely applied. The BMI provides a clear-cut definition of what is to be considered “obesity” – it is having a BMI of 30 and up.¹⁸⁸ Despite criticisms, the BMI has been proven to correlate with various diseases, e.g. persons with higher body mass had an increased risk of getting aortic valve stenosis.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Del Bello, L. (n.d.). Globalization and Global Warming Threaten Inuit Food Security. Retrieved from Arctic Focus: <https://www.arcticfocus.org/stories/globalization-and-global-warming-threaten-inuit-food-security/> [2024-07-24].

¹⁸⁶ Brewis, A. A. (2011). *Obesity: Cultural and Biocultural Perspectives*. Rutgers University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5hj0mn>, p. 12 [2024-04-16].

¹⁸⁷ “Caucasian” in this context is “ethnically Belgian” or native north-west European, not a person from Caucasus.

¹⁸⁸ https://www.nhlbi.nih.gov/health/educational/lose_wt/BMI/bmi-m.htm [2024-08-18].

¹⁸⁹ Larsson, S. C., Bäck, M., Rees, J. M., Mason, A. M., & Burgess, S. (2020, January). Body mass index and body composition in relation to 14 cardiovascular conditions in UK Biobank: a Mendelian randomization study. *European heart journal*, 41(2), 221-226. doi:10.1093/eurheartj/ehz388, p. 221.

There is, however, another more accurate method, which looks at the human body as consisting of two parts: fat mass and fat-free mass. The fat-free mass is calculated and the difference between the overall body weight and that fat-free mass is the fat mass of a body.¹⁹⁰ The two-compartment model proved to be useful in biomedical research, and so was the usage of the stable isotopes. The model helps to avoid one of the major pitfalls of the BMI, namely, it measures not the overall weight per se, but rather the fat and fat only, which is the contributor to the various diseases described above.

The technique used to calculate the fat free mass is called deuterium dilution. This method is precise, while also being quite mobile. However, the deuterium itself is quite costly, as the process of obtaining high purity deuterium is complex, to the point that even gold is around three times cheaper to buy.¹⁹¹ One of the main advantages of the deuterium dilution method is that it can clearly show the progress, which BMI does not always provide. For instance, if a person is on the active weight loss journey, the fat mass can significantly subside and the muscle mass can increase at the same time, but the weight on the scale, in this case, may remain relatively stagnant. The deuterium oxide, which is already naturally present in the human body – 0.015% of the total body water¹⁹² – is completely harmless and can even be administered to a breastfeeding woman to measure the baby's fat by transferring $^2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ¹⁹³ via breastmilk. The simplified explanation of the process is following: 1) a person drinks a certain amount of “heavy water”; 2) 3-4 hours is a standard period of time during which the deuterium oxide is mixed with the body water, during this time it is not recommended to do any strenuous exercise or eat; 3)

¹⁹⁰ International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). (2010). Introduction to body composition assessment using the deuterium dilution technique with analysis of saliva samples by Fourier transform infrared spectrometry. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency. Retrieved from https://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/Publications/PDF/Pub1450_web.pdf, p. 2 [2024-08-18].

¹⁹¹ Ramirez Cuesta, A. J. (2017, March 8). Neutrons help reveal a new filter for heavy hydrogen. Retrieved from Oak Ridge National Laboratory: <https://www.ornl.gov/news/neutrons-help-reveal-new-filter-heavy-hydrogen#:~:text=The%20whole%20process%20is%20so,and%20Earth's%20crust%20than%20gold> [2024-04-25].

¹⁹² International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). (2010). Introduction to body composition assessment using the deuterium dilution technique with analysis of saliva samples by Fourier transform infrared spectrometry. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency. Retrieved from https://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/Publications/PDF/Pub1450_web.pdf, p. 54 [2024-08-18].

¹⁹³ Deuterium oxide is also known as “heavy water” as it has a heavier hydrogen with mass of 2: 1 proton (hydrogen in normal water has only one proton, hence H_2O) and 1 neutron, therefore $^2\text{H}_2\text{O}$, which can also be written as D_2O . (International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 2010, p. 53)

collection of the saliva samples; 4) the samples are then analysed by an expert.¹⁹⁴

This technique has been used in several countries with the help of International Atomic Energy Agency. The scope of usage of the Deuterium Dilution method includes research on the level of the breastmilk consumption and the creation of database on the obesity problem¹⁹⁵, which helped to prepare better strategies to combat this growing problem.

The biggest issue at this moment in applying this method in Nauru is that the Republic of Nauru is not a member of the IAEA.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the International Atomic Energy Agency is currently launching a project in Fiji to better understand the Obesity Epidemic in the Pacific.¹⁹⁷ The future findings would undoubtedly be useful for Nauru as well.

¹⁹⁴ International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). (2010). Introduction to body composition assessment using the deuterium dilution technique with analysis of saliva samples by Fourier transform infrared spectrometry. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency. Retrieved from https://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/Publications/PDF/Pub1450_web.pdf, p. 53 [2024-08-18].

¹⁹⁵ Midgley, E. (2024, March 1). Obesity Crisis: New IAEA Database to Help Countries Tackle Nutrition Challenges. Retrieved from International Atomic Energy Agency: <https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/news/obesity-crisis-new-iaea-database-to-help-countries-tackle-nutrition-challenges> [2024-04-25].

¹⁹⁶ International Atomic Energy Agency. (n.d.). Country List: Office of Legal Affairs: IAEA. Retrieved from Office of Legal Affairs: IAEA: <https://ola.iaea.org/Applications/FactSheets/Country/Detail?code=NR> [2024-04-26].

¹⁹⁷ Midgley, E. (2024, March 1). Obesity Crisis: New IAEA Database to Help Countries Tackle Nutrition Challenges. Retrieved from The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA): <https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/news/obesity-crisis-new-iaea-database-to-help-countries-tackle-nutrition-challenges> [2024-04-25].

4.3. The Role of Geography

The insularity of Nauru is responsible for both wealth and the decline of the island. The remoteness of the island made it an important pitstop for the birds, whose guano accumulated on Nauru for millions of years on top of the fossilised marine life, enriching the soil with the phosphate of the highest quality. The phosphate ensured prosperity of first colonial powers who utilized the island via the British Phosphate Commission and subsequently the Republic of Nauru. However, the wealth invited a plethora of complications, from imported diseases of the colonial era and brutal occupation by Imperial Japan in the 20th century to an alarming increase of the noncommunicable diseases in the 21st century.

Nauru's insularity can be determined as one of the key factors of the epidemic.¹⁹⁸ Nauru is located quite far away from the bigger landmasses and does not have a harbour, which is essential for large ships to dock. Both of these factors make import of food quite costly, but nevertheless, crucial for sustenance of the people, who cannot produce enough food, due to devastating effects of the phosphate mining. Therefore, the country has to rely on the frozen and/or highly processed food with high calorie count and low nutritional value, that can be stored for a prolonged period of time. The lime rock of barren land renders almost 90% of land no longer utilizable.¹⁹⁹ In recent years, attempts have been made to convert Nauru into a regional transportation hub, although the situation with no available harbour complicates this aspect as well. As the phosphate runout, Nauruan insularity stands as an obstacle to the diversification of economy and exacerbates the decline of health.

Climate change is a long-securitized issue, that worsens the situation on Nauru year after year. Nauru is among the most vulnerable to global warming countries in the world, and the rate of the rise of the sea level is more than double as that of the global average.²⁰⁰ This hazard has been recognized and securitized by the former Nauruan President M. Stephen²⁰¹ and continues to be

¹⁹⁸ Maclellan, N. (2020). Nauru. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 32(1), 213-225, p. 214.

¹⁹⁹ McAdam, J. (2016, August 15). How the entire nation of Nauru almost moved to Queensland. Retrieved from UNSW: Sydney: <https://www.unsw.edu.au/newsroom/news/2016/08/how-the-entire-nation-of-nauru-almost-moved-to-queensland> [2024-03-03].

²⁰⁰ Hussein, M. A., Singh, A., & Aung, T. (2010). Rise and fall of sea level in Nauru area over a nodal cycle. *The South Pacific Journal of Natural and Applied Sciences*, 28, 63-68. doi:10.1071/SP10007 [2024-08-18].

²⁰¹ Stephen, M. (2011, November 14). A sinking feeling: why is the president of the tiny Pacific island nation of Nauru so concerned about climate change? *New York Times Upfront*, 144(5-6). Retrieved from <https://link-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/apps/doc/A273079165/AONE?u=43wien&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=b5459d45> [2024-07-29].

at the forefront of the Nauruan domestic and foreign policy. The fresh water sources are also naturally extremely scarce on the island, and on top of that it is being polluted by the mining industry and other problematic matters, for example contamination from decomposing lifeless bodies, which sometimes are being laid to rest outside of the cemetery.²⁰² Therefore, they have to rely heavily on import and on rainfall, which is expected to rise in its extremity.²⁰³ At the first glance that might seem as an improvement, but any advantages of that can be quite quickly negated by the fact that the heavy rain will most likely be another problem for infrastructure, moreover, the droughts are also prognosed to increase in its severity, prolongment and frequency.²⁰⁴ It can be argued that, climate change contributes to itself in the case of Nauru, as the delivery of fresh water obviously requires transportation to Nauru, which emits greenhouse gas emissions, which contributes to the global warming, consequences of which force Nauru to import more, thus creating a vicious cycle.

Santos Netto, M. d. (2011). Lessons From Nauru: A Securitizing Move On Climate Change. *Meridiano* 47, 12(127). Retrieved from <https://uaccess.univie.ac.at/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/lessons-nauru-securitizing-move-on-climate-change/docview/1324401948/se-2> [2024-07-29].

²⁰² Kanngieser, A. (2020). Weaponizing Ecocide: Nauru, Offshore Incarceration, and Environmental Crisis. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 32(2), 492-502, p. 497.

²⁰³ Brown, JN., Brown, JR., Langlais, C., Colman, R., et al. (2013, December 9). Exploring qualitative regional climate projections: a case study for Nauru. *Clim Res (Climate Research)*, 58, 165-182. doi:10.3354/cr01190, p. 166, 179.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.180.

Cawdrey, K. (2023, March 13). Warming Makes Droughts, Extreme Wet Events More Frequent, Intense. Retrieved from NASA: <https://www.nasa.gov/centers-and-facilities/goddard/warming-makes-droughts-extreme-wet-events-more-frequent-intense/> [2024-07-19].

4.4. Nauruan-Australian relations

The relations between Nauru and Australia span over a century, way before either of them acquired the status of a sovereign state. Today, Australia plays a major role in every aspect of life on Nauru.

At the time when Nauru was still under the control of the Jaluit Gesellschaft, the economies of the British Empire's southern dominions – Australia²⁰⁵ and New Zealand²⁰⁶ – were at risk due to overtaxing of the soil and large swaths of land that needed an additional push to produce enough to sustain their largely agricultural economies.²⁰⁷ The need for more crops was further exacerbated after the outbreak of the war in Europe and Australia's enthusiasm in joining the conflict as soon and as fully as possible²⁰⁸, which was very much consistent with the general romanticisation of bloody conflicts that was prevalent before the First World War.²⁰⁹ The miraculous push came in the form of the accidental discovery²¹⁰ of the highest-grade phosphate on a relatively closely located islands of Nauru and Banaba. This discovery gave rise to the permanent ties between Nauru, Australia and New Zealand. From 1907 to the very last days before the Nauruan independence, Australia fought to keep the island and its phosphate to the benefit of their own economy²¹¹ and the detriment of the island's soil. Even when the full extent of the imminent ecological disaster in making was recognized, Australia continued its fight for Nauruan phosphate. The resettlement proposals were informed partially by the need of using up whatever phosphate was still there by Australia²¹², while the native Nauruans, driven by their desire to deter assimilation, were insisting on the rehabilitation or at least full independence.²¹³

²⁰⁵ Mukerji, K. P. (1955). Dominion Status. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 16(4), 295-301, p. 298.

²⁰⁶ Ministry for Culture and Heritage of New Zealand. (2014, June 10). What changed? - Dominion Status. Retrieved from NZ History | New Zealand History Online: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/dominion-day/what-changed> [2024-05-21].

²⁰⁷ Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI(3), 737-746, p. 737.

²⁰⁸ Grey, J. (2008). The Great War, 1914–1918. In *A Military History of Australia* (3rd ed., pp. 84-122). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 84.

²⁰⁹ This statement can be evidenced by the quick voluntary enlistments (Grey, 2008, p. 85), by the war glorifying poetry, that was popular at the time (Isma'eel & Abdulmajeed, 2019) and other factors.

²¹⁰ McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 39-40.

²¹¹ McAdam, J. (2017). The High Price of Resettlement: the proposed environmental relocation of Nauru to Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 48(1), 7-16, p. 7.

²¹² Tabucanon, G., & Opeskin, B. (2011). The Resettlement of Nauruans in Australia. *Journal of Pacific History*, 46(3), 337-356. Retrieved July 1, 2024, p. 342.

²¹³ McAdam, J. (2017). The High Price of Resettlement: the proposed environmental relocation of Nauru to Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 48(1), 7-16.

After the golden years of the ultra-high income from phosphate, the years of economic decline that followed, the International Court of Justice cases seeking the reimbursement from the Australian government for the environmental damage²¹⁴, Nauru and Australia became even closer intertwined in the early 2000s, when Australia launched its brand-new policy known as the Pacific Solution. The policy did not appear out of nowhere. In the immediate aftermath of the Vietnam War, Australia saw influx of a relatively small amount of people from there, who, thanks to their genuine desire to escape a post-war Communist regime, were warmly greeted in Australia.²¹⁵ That greenlighted other refugees to come to Australia that lasted for decades until the culminating in the Tampa Affair of 2001, which prompted the Australian government²¹⁶ to implement the Pacific Solution to the growing problem the country had faced. However, it is worth noting that some researchers, such as Katrina Stats, believe that the overall importance of the Tampa affair is grossly overestimated, considering that Australia began tightening its Asylum policies since 1996, which was demonstrated by the way in which refugees from former Yugoslavia were greeted.²¹⁷

Nevertheless, after 2001 a series of laws and agreements were passed that established the Pacific solution. The idea was that some pacific states, including Nauru would host a processing site for asylum seekers in exchange for the Australian help with the infrastructure updates, more educational scholarships and other benefits²¹⁸, while the processing itself would be on the local terms, i.e. under the Nauruan law in Nauru and Papua New Guinea Law on the island of Manus.²¹⁹ That allowed the governmental officials to detain asylum seekers

²¹⁴ Anghie, A. (1993). Certain Phosphate Lands in Nauru (Nauru v. Austl.). American Journal of International Law, 87(2), 282-288.

²¹⁵ Alunaza, H., Maulana, I., & Sudagung, A. D. (2018). The Pacific Solution as Australia Policy towards Asylum Seeker and Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMAs) in John Howard Era. Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional, 14(1), 61-75.

²¹⁶ The policy had support even from the opposition (Phillips, 2017)

²¹⁷ Stats, K. (2015). We Will Decide: Refugee and Asylum Policy During the Howard Era Before Tampa. Australian Studies, VII, 1-25.

²¹⁸ Parliament of Australia. (n.d.). Chapter 10 - Pacific Solution: Negotiations and Agreements. Retrieved from Parliament of Australia: https://www.aph.gov.au/parliamentary_business/committees/senate/former_committees/maritimeincident/report/c10 [2024-07-06].

Alunaza, H., Maulana, I., & Sudagung, A. D. (2018). The Pacific Solution as Australia Policy towards Asylum Seeker and Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMAs) in John Howard Era. Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional, 14(1), 61-75.

²¹⁹ European Parliamentary Research Service. (2015, October). Asylum policy in Australia: Between resettlement and deterrence. Retrieved from Briefing European Parliamentary Research Service: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/569023/EPRS_ATA\(2015\)569023_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/569023/EPRS_ATA(2015)569023_EN.pdf) [2024-07-07].

without formally pressing charges against them, while also retaining the right to keep them in the camps for potentially as long as they please²²⁰, it also highlighted the fact, that Australia still exerts disproportional influence on Nauruan legislation, as the refugee policies were adapted under Australia's pressure.²²¹ Although being criticized, the policy was in place until 2008²²², which can be connected to the general concerns Australians and the world had after the September 11th tragedy. Nevertheless, the policy was still largely criticised and was eventually abandoned until its renewal a few years later. Nauru's detention centre was reported to be a place of gross violations of the human rights and was criticized by the human rights activists, international organizations and NGOs²²³, and even professionals, i.e. doctors.²²⁴ Especially concerning is the situation with children in those camps, as they suffer from detainment acutely. The UNHCR reports show, that children as young as 9 start demonstrating suicidal inclinations, critical levels of anxiety and plagued by depression and PTSD.²²⁵

Despite the backlash, Nauru's critical financial state and full dependency on the Australian dollar²²⁶ prevents this small island nation to cave to the international criticism and take a stance against the refugee camps on the island. As of 2023, 11 new people have been sent to the processing centre in Nauru.²²⁷ The information about in which conditions people are held is scarce by design. Both Australia and Nauru developed structures that obstruct media access and investigation. Nauru denies journalism visas left and right, while setting the fee 40 times higher than before – from initial 200 AUD to 8000 AUD.²²⁸

²²⁰ Rajaram, P. K. (2003). "Making Place": The "Pacific Solution" and Australian Emplacement in the Pacific and on Refugee Bodies. *Journal of Tropical Geography*, 24(3), 290-306, p. 290.

²²¹ Maclellan, N. (2020). Nauru. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 32(1), 213-225, p. 215.

²²² UNHCR. (2008, February 8). UNHCR welcomes close of Australia's Pacific Solution. Retrieved from UNHCR | The UN Refugee Agency: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing-notes/unhcr-welcomes-close-australias-pacific-solution> [2024-07-07].

²²³ Amnesty International. (2016, August 2). Australia: Appalling abuse, neglect of refugees on Nauru. Retrieved from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2016/08/australia-abuse-neglect-of-refugees-on-nauru/> [2024-07-07].

²²⁴ Isaacs, D. (2015). Doctors Should Boycott Working in Australia's Immigration Centres and Must Continue to Speak out on Mistreatment of Detainees—despite the Law. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 350.

²²⁵ Bochenek, M. G. (2017). NO WAY TO TREAT CHILDREN FLEEING DANGER. *Harvard International Review*, 38(3), 18-23.

²²⁶ AUD is also the official currency there.

²²⁷ Farrell, P., & Connaughton, M. (2023, October 26). A teenager is among the first boat arrivals sent to Nauru in nine years. Retrieved from ABC News: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-10-27/nauru-new-group-detained-processing-centre/103014910> [2024-07-08].

²²⁸ ABC News. (2014, January 9). Nauru media visa fee hike to 'cover up harsh conditions at Australian taxpayer funded detention centre'. Retrieved from ABC News: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-01-09/nauru-visa-fee-increase->

Although the amount of people held in the Nauruan processing centre greatly diminished, Australia keeps pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into it²²⁹, given the fact that Nauru depends on this stream of income and Australia counts on this dependency to counter another big player in the region – China. The PRC would be quick to extend a helping hand, in case Australia steps down as a donor.²³⁰

Nauru is a place of continuous battles of influence. At first between the chiefs of the twelve native tribes, then between the native Nauruans and the Germans, after that between the German and the British Empires (spearheaded by Australia in this particular case), then between Australia and the native Nauruans pushing for independence and now between Australia, that tries to maintain its almost exclusive influence over the island, and China, that tries to rise into more prominence in the South Pacific under its Belt and Road initiative.²³¹ However, it is important to mention yet another rivalry on Nauru – the diplomatic race of recognition between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China. Nauru, as an independent sovereign nation that is also a full member of the United Nation, has a right of vote on the international matters and power to recognize a nation. This power has been utilized by various actors, including both PRC and ROC²³² to the benefit of Nauru. Both China and Taiwan used a wide variety of methods, including official visits, financial aid and other, to sway the favour in their direction. That way Nauru initially recognized Taiwan, but when faced with China’s veto on their membership in the UN, they switched to PRC²³³ and were given a substantial amount of foreign aid in addition to the lifting of the veto. Just three years later, they switched their recognition once again and subsequently 19 years later in

ensorship/5191108?utm_campaign=abc_news_web&utm_content=link&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_source=abc_news_web [2024-07-08].

²²⁹ Australia made a deal with the USA-based private company, that provides prison services, to Australia this project costs over \$400 million. (Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, 2023).

²³⁰ Wyeth, G. (2023, January 31). Australia’s Nauru Conundrum. Retrieved from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2023/01/australias-nauru-conundrum/> [2024-07-09].

²³¹ Herlevi, et al. (2022). China’s Activities in the Pacific Island Countries: Laying the Foundation for Future Access in Oceania? In R. Cliff, & R. D. Kamphausen (Ed.), *Enabling a More Externally Focused and Operational PLA — 2020 PLA Conference Papers*. (pp. 111-132). Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. Retrieved July 12, 2024, p. 128.

²³² Biddick, T. V. (1989). Diplomatic Rivalry in the South Pacific: The PRC and Taiwan. *Asian Survey*, 800-815.

²³³ Shie, T. R. (2007). Rising Chinese Influence in the South Pacific: Beijing’s ‘Island Fever.’. *Asian Survey*, 47(2), 307-326, p. 318.

2024 they gave their recognition to the People's Republic of China once again.²³⁴

The depleting phosphate resources forced Nauru to use its vote as one of the income streams for a long time. It can be speculated, although not proven in its entirety²³⁵, that China and Taiwan are not the only ones, who utilized Nauruan financial position for their own gain. Russia, as was mentioned above, also got Nauruan recognition for South Ossetia and Abkhazia.²³⁶ In a similar fashion, Nauru is one of the few countries that voted against immediate ceasefire²³⁷ and recognizes Jerusalem being Israeli capital city.²³⁸ Nauru also receives aid from the state, including very much needed medical training.²³⁹

Nevertheless, Australia is still the main donor, biggest trade partner and security provider of Nauru. English is the main language, as stated in the first section and official currency is the Australian dollar.²⁴⁰ Just in the period from 2022 to 2024/2025 Australia would have spent approximately 175 million dollars within only its development program to Nauru.²⁴¹ In the period of 15 years (2009-2024), Australia also financed the infrastructure development programs on Nauru, none of which received a score higher than 4 on the scale of 6, where 6 is "very good", even though over 76 million dollars had been invested.²⁴²

²³⁴ Ng, K. (2024, January 15). Nauru cuts diplomatic ties with Taiwan in favour of China. Retrieved from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-67978185> [2024-07-12].

²³⁵ There is no official statement from the Nauruan government stating this as a fact, although the clear chain of events (Nauru recognizes/ unrecognizes a country, then they are given some sort of an aid from the country, that benefited from the recognition) can be observed in all cases of similar situations and is a consensus among researchers and journalists alike.

²³⁶ Hill, B. (2018, May 12). What's the deal with Nauru backing the disputed territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia? Retrieved from ABC News: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-05-13/why-is-nauru-backing-south-ossetia-and-abkhazia/9751660> [2024-07-12].

²³⁷ @UN_News_Centre [x.com]. (2023). BREAKING: UN General Assembly ADOPTS resolution demanding immediate humanitarian ceasefire in Gaza, as well as immediate and unconditional release of all hostages. Retrieved from x.com:

https://x.com/UN_News_Centre/status/1734686801699491975?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1734686801699491975%7Ctwgr%5Ef51a4b8900a453b4d2ff56c78f78407b4f80e190%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fnews.un.org%2Fen%2Fstory%2F2023%2F12%2F1 [2024-07-12].

²³⁸ Al Jazeera. (2019, August 29). Palestinians condemn Honduras, Nauru moves on Jerusalem status. Retrieved from Al Jazeera News: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/8/29/palestinians-condemn-honduras-nauru-moves-on-jerusalem-status> [2024-07-12].

²³⁹ Arutz Sheva Staff. (2017, June 12). Netanyahu: Nauru has been a wonderful friend to Israel. Retrieved from Israel National News Arutz Sheva: <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/230909> [2024-07-12].

²⁴⁰ Foster, S., & Kiste, R. C. (2023, November 26). Nauru. Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nauru> [2023-11-27].

²⁴¹ Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). Australia's development program to Nauru. Retrieved from Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: <https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/nauru/development-assistance/development-assistance-in-nauru> [2024-07-16].

²⁴² Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2023). 2022-23 Nauru Development Program Progress Report. Retrieved from Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: <https://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/development/2022-23-nauru-development-program-progress-report> [2024-07-16].

Australia has undoubtedly played a huge role in the transformation of Nauru and as it seems, it will continue to do so in the foreseeable future.

5. Conclusion

This master's thesis was an attempt to investigate the process and driving factors of change in Nauru. The transformation of the island and its people from being one of the wealthiest states in the world to the environmental degradation and the public health decline currently plaguing the society was studied through the lens of the Nauru's historical context. Due to the enormous importance of the phosphate, the history of Nauru can be divided into three major periods: pre-phosphate era, phosphate wealth and post-phosphate decline.

The starting point – the traditional way of life and nutrition before the discovery of phosphate – was examined in the first chapter of this thesis. This research was largely based on the letters and descriptions provided by non-indigenous residents and visitors of the island written in the first half of the 20th century, as well as some later secondary literature. The lack of sources from Nauruans themselves, as well as descriptions of the practices before the contact with the Europeans can only be based on few archaeological findings, because they had no written records, due to that limitation, not much is known about Nauru's undoubtedly rich history and culture before the 19th century. At that period, Nauruans were fully self-reliant and subsisted on the products that can be easily accessed on and around the island. That began to change as the island came under the control of a Hamburg-based company. A more stable contact with the people from outside the island, as it often happens, resulted in the introduction of the various diseases and changes in the diet of Nauruans. However, the truly major transformation began just a few decades later, once the phosphate was discovered on Nauru.

The second chapter was dedicated to the period of the intensive phosphate extraction that followed the discovery of the deposits. The increased economic opportunity attracted larger amounts of people to the island, from Australia, New Zealand, and UK, then the labour force was recruited from neighbouring islands and China. Each group came with their own cuisine and produce they considered a staple. In this chapter, the entanglement of the environment, development of the global networks and changes in the nutritional patterns were examined. A multitude of factors speedrun Nauru's "nutrition transition" and the public health was considerably undermined. The extraction of the phosphate damaged water sources, forced many species of vegetation into extinction and coupled with the World War II bombings resulted in Nauru being unable to support its population on its own. The revenue from the phosphate was under the control of mainly Australia and partially UK and New Zealand, until Nauru gained independence. After that point, not only did the income per capita increased exponentially, but also incidence of obesity, diabetes, and other

associated illnesses. Nauru fully transitioned to a highly processed food, overexploited the land to keep up the phosphate revenue, which became the only industry the country could rely on. Most of the island became inarable as a result of it.

The consequences of these unsustainable measures were explored in the third chapter. The rise of the obesity and the noncommunicable diseases associated with it, as well as Nauru's dependency on the foreign capital and Australia specifically. Moreover, a deeper look into that problem unveiled quite a few unexpected shortcomings of the globalization as a whole and policies of some states in particular that exploit vulnerabilities in the system. Nevertheless, due to the shortage of the newer data about and from Nauru, it was harder to properly assess the situation. In recent decades, Nauru transformed the most and as phosphate runs out, they were forced to be in the state of constant flux trying to find new streams of income to support the import of food they can no longer produce themselves.

The history of the transformation of socioeconomic and environmental state of Nauru throughout the years, that led to the current state of the extreme health crisis is all too relevant in today's world, as more and more countries began to face this problem. This work ventured to investigate the roots of this gradual change through interdisciplinary study and further research is needed to find a definitive and cost-effective solution.

References

(n.d.). Retrieved from <https://gisgeography.com/nauru-map/#Satellite-Map>

@UN_News_Centre [x.com]. (2023, December 12). *BREAKING: UN General Assembly ADOPTS resolution demanding immediate humanitarian ceasefire in Gaza, as well as immediate and unconditional release of all hostages*. Retrieved July 12, 2024, from x.com:

https://x.com/UN_News_Centre/status/1734686801699491975?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1734686801699491975%7Ctwgr%5Ef51a4b8900a453b4d2ff56c78f78407b4f80e190%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fnews.un.org%2Fen%2Fstory%2F2023%2F12%2F1

ABC News. (2003, April 16). *Nauru to probe terrorist passport claims*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from ABC News: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2003-04-16/nauru-to-probe-terrorist-passport-claims/1837596?utm_campaign=abc_news_web&utm_content=link&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_source=abc_news_web

ABC News. (2014, January 9). *Nauru media visa fee hike to 'cover up harsh conditions at Australian tax-payer funded detention centre'*. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from ABC News: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-01-09/nauru-visa-fee-increase-censorship/5191108?utm_campaign=abc_news_web&utm_content=link&utm_medium=content_shared&utm_source=abc_news_web

Ait-Daoud, N., Lynch, W. J., Penberthy, J. K., Breland, A. B., Marzani-Nissen, G. R., & Johnson, B. A. (2006). Treating smoking dependence in depressed alcoholics. 29(3), pp. 213-220.

Al Jazeera. (2019, August 29). *Palestinians condemn Honduras, Nauru moves on Jerusalem status*. Retrieved July 12, 2024, from Al Jazeera News: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/8/29/palestinians-condemn-honduras-nauru-moves-on-jerusalem-status>

Alunaza, H., Maulana, I., & Sudagung, A. D. (2018). The Pacific Solution as Australia Policy towards Asylum Seeker and Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMAs) in John Howard Era. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, 14(1), 61-75. Retrieved July 6, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v14i1.2789.61-75>

- Amnesty International. (2016, August 2). *Australia: Appalling abuse, neglect of refugees on Nauru*. Retrieved July 7, 2024, from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2016/08/australia-abuse-neglect-of-refugees-on-nauru/>
- Anghie, A. (1993). Certain Phosphate Lands in Nauru (Nauru v. Austl.). *American Journal of International Law*, 87(2), 282-288. doi:10.2307/2203821
- Arutz Sheva Staff. (2017, June 12). *Netanyahu: Nauru has been a wonderful friend to Israel*. Retrieved July 12, 2024, from Israel National News Arutz Sheva: <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/230909>
- Asylum Seeker Resource Centre. (2023, January 27). *Albanese Government working with US prison company until 2025 to hold refugees in Nauru*. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from Asylum Seeker Resource Centre: <https://asrc.org.au/2023/01/27/mtc-nauru-2025/>
- Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.). *Australia's development program to Nauru*. Retrieved July 16, 2024, from Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: <https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/nauru/development-assistance/development-assistance-in-nauru>
- Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2023). *2022-23 Nauru Development Program Progress Report*. Retrieved July 16, 2024, from Australian Government | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: <https://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/development/2022-23-nauru-development-program-progress-report>
- Baldwin, D. R. (1998). Comparative clinical and physiological features of Maori, Pacific Islanders and Europeans with sleep related breathing disorders. *Respirology*, 3(4), 253-260. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-1843.1998.tb00131.x>
- BBC News. (2023, October 27). *Nauru country profile*. Retrieved July 26, 2024, from BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15433616>
- Biddick, T. V. (1989). Diplomatic Rivalry in the South Pacific: The PRC and Taiwan. *Asian Survey*, 800-815. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2644627>

- Bochenek, M. G. (2017). NO WAY TO TREAT CHILDREN FLEEING DANGER. *Harvard International Review*, 38(3), 18-23. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26528677>
- Bray, G. W. (1930). The Story of Leprosy at Nauru. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine.*, 23(9), 1370-1374. doi:10.1177/003591573002300930
- Brewis, A. A. (2011). *Obesity: Cultural and Biocultural Perspectives*. Rutgers University Press. Retrieved April 16, 2024, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5hj0mn>
- Brown, J., Brown, J., Langlais, C., Colman, R., Ribsey, J., Murphy, B., . . . Wheeler, M. (2013, December 9). Exploring qualitative regional climate projections: a case study for Nauru. *Clim Res (Climate Research)*, 58, 165-182. doi:10.3354/cr01190
- Can Nauru's Scars of Wealth Be Healed? (1993, July). *National Geographic Magazine*, 184(1), p. 134. Retrieved April 26, 2024, from link-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/apps/doc/LYZIAB211629308/NGMA?u=43wien&sid=bookmark-NGMA&xid=f5df1758
- Cawdrey, K. (2023, March 13). *Warming Makes Droughts, Extreme Wet Events More Frequent, Intense*. Retrieved July 19, 2024, from NASA: <https://www.nasa.gov/centers-and-facilities/goddard/warming-makes-droughts-extreme-wet-events-more-frequent-intense/>
- Dauvergne, P. (2019, July 22). *A Dark History of the World's Smallest Island Nation*. Retrieved December 15, 2023, from The MIT Press Reader: <https://thereader.mitpress.mit.edu/dark-history-nauru/>
- Del Bello, L. (n.d.). *Globalization and Global Warming Threaten Inuit Food Security*. Retrieved July 24, 2024, from Arctic Focus: <https://www.arcticfocus.org/stories/globalization-and-global-warming-threaten-inuit-food-security/>
- Dyck, R., Osgood, N., Lin, T. H., Gao, A., & Stang, M. R. (2010, February 23). Epidemiology of diabetes mellitus among First Nations and non-First Nations adults. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 182(3), 249-256. <https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.090846>

- Encyclopædia Britannica. (n.d.). *Nauru*. Retrieved March 5, 2024, from Encyclopædia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nauru#/media/1/406671/209307>
- European Parliamentary Research Service. (2015, October). *Asylum policy in Australia: Between resettlement and deterrence*. Retrieved July 7, 2024, from Briefing European Parliamentary Research Service: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/569023/EPRS_ATA\(2015\)569023_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/569023/EPRS_ATA(2015)569023_EN.pdf)
- Ezzati, M., Vander Hoorn, S., Lawes, C., Leach, R., James, W., & al., e. (2005, May 03). Rethinking the “Diseases of Affluence” Paradigm: Global Patterns of Nutritional Risks in Relation to Economic Development. *PLOS Medicine*, 2(5), 404-412. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0020133>
- Fabricius, W. (1992). *Nauru 1888-1900*. (D. Clark, & S. Firth, Eds.) Canberra: Division of Pacific and Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Farrell, P., & Connaughton, M. (2023, October 26). *A teenager is among the first boat arrivals sent to Nauru in nine years*. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from ABC News: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-10-27/nauru-new-group-detained-processing-centre/103014910>
- Firth, S. (1978). German Labour Policy in Nauru and Angaur, 1906-1914. *The Journal of Pacific History*, XIII(1), 36-52. Retrieved 02 10, 2024, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25168311>
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (2015). *Nauru and FAO: Partnering to improve food security and income-earning opportunities*. Apia, Samoa: FAO Subregional Office for the Pacific Islands .
- Foster, S., & Kiste, R. C. (2023, November 26). *Nauru*. Retrieved November 27, 2023, from Encyclopedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Nauru>
- France-Presse, A. (2001, December 6). *Tiny Pacific Island Is Facing Money-Laundering Sanctions*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/12/06/world/tiny-pacific-island-is-facing-money-laundering-sanctions.html>

- Gale, S. (2016, August 14). The mined-out phosphate lands of Nauru, equatorial western Pacific. *Australian Journal of Earth Sciences*, 63(3), 333-347. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/08120099.2016.1206621>
- Gale, S. (2019, July). Lies and misdemeanours: Nauru, phosphate and global geopolitics. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, VI(3), 737-746. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2019.03.003>
- Gill, T., Hughes, R., Tunidau-Schultz, J., Galea, G., & Cavalli-Sforza, T. (2002). *Obesity in the Pacific: too big to ignore*. Noumea, New Caledonia: Secretariat of the Pacific Community by Graphoprint. Retrieved March 9, 2024, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20140911002147/http://raspberryyketonesfresh.com/obesityinthepacific.pdf>
- Global Nutrition Report. (n.d.). *Country Nutrition Profiles - Nauru*. Retrieved November 23, 2023, from Global Nutrition Report: <https://globalnutritionreport.org/resources/nutrition-profiles/oceania/micronesia/nauru/>
- Global Obesity Observatory. (2022). *Ranking (% obesity by country)*. Retrieved March 7, 2024, from World Obesity Federation: Global Obesity Observatory: <https://data.worldobesity.org/rankings/?age=a&sex=m>
- Glottolog. (n.d.). *Spoken L1 Language: Nauru*. Retrieved December 26, 2023, from Glottolog: <https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/naur1243>
- Government of Nauru: Ministry of Health. (2014, June). *Nauru Non Communicable Disease Strategic Action Plan 2015–2020*. Retrieved March 5, 2024, from World Health Organization: Global database on the Implementation of Nutrition Action (GINA): <https://extranet.who.int/nutrition/gina/en/node/25893>
- Grey, J. (2008). The Great War, 1914–1918. In *A Military History of Australia* (3rd ed., pp. 84-122). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1017/CBO9780511481345>
- Hanley, C. J. (1985, March 31). *Tiny Pacific Isle's Citizens Rich, Fat and Happy--Thanks to the Birds*. Retrieved March 1, 2024, from The Los Angeles Times: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-03-31-mn-18785-story.html>

- Haththotuwa, R. N., Wijeyaratne, C. N., & Senarath, U. (2020). Worldwide epidemic of obesity. In T. A. Mahmood, S. Arulkumaran, & F. A. Chervenak, *Obesity and Obstetrics* (2nd ed., pp. 3-8). Elsevier.
- Henriques-Gomes, L. (2018, October 6). *Nauru orders MSF to stop mental health work on island*. Retrieved July 25, 2024, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/06/nauru-orders-msf-to-stop-mental-health-work-on-island>
- Herlevi, A., Cairns, C., Béraud-Sudreau, L., Brewster, D., Ellis, R. E., Lee, R., . . . Wuthnow, J. (2022). China's Activities in the Pacific Island Countries: Laying the Foundation for Future Access in Oceania? In R. Cliff, & R. D. Kamphausen (Ed.), *Enabling a More Externally Focused and Operational PLA — 2020 PLA Conference Papers*. (pp. 111-132). Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. Retrieved July 12, 2024, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep42811.11>.
- Hiery, H. (1995). *The Neglected War: the German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hill, B. (2018, May 12). *What's the deal with Nauru backing the disputed territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia?* Retrieved July 12, 2024, from ABC News: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-05-13/why-is-nauru-backing-south-ossetia-and-abkhazia/9751660>
- Hilzenrath, D. S. (1999, October 27). *Russians Use Tiny Island to Hide Billions*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/10/28/russians-use-tiny-island-to-hide-billions/b05c2b53-52f9-4621-aa8a-be4ee204d96d/>
- Holmes, M. (1976, September). This is the World's Richest Nation--All of It! *National Geographic Magazine*, 150(3), pp. 344-352. Retrieved March 8, 2024, from <https://go-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ps/i.do?p=NGMA&u=43wien&id=GALE|RCPWMD106554955&v=2.1&it=r&sid=primo>
- Hu, F. B. (2011). Globalization of diabetes: the role of diet, lifestyle, and genes. *Diabetes care*, 34(6), 1249-1257. <https://doi.org/10.2337/dc11-0442>

- Hughes, H. (2004, August 18). *From Riches to Rags: What Are Nauru's Options and How Can Australia Help?* Retrieved 02 10, 2024, from The Centre for Independent Studies: <https://www.cis.org.au/publication/from-riches-to-rags-what-are-naurus-options-and-how-can-australia-help/>
- Hughes, K. (2020). Nauruan classification. In P. Farrell (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 257-269. New Orleans.
- Hussein, M. A., Singh, A., & Aung, T. (2010). Rise and fall of sea level in Nauru area over a nodal cycle. *The South Pacific Journal of Natural and Applied Sciences*, 28, 63-68. doi:10.1071/SP10007
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). (2010). *Introduction to body composition assessment using the deuterium dilution technique with analysis of saliva samples by Fourier transform infrared spectrometry*. Vienna: International Atomic Energy Agency. Retrieved from https://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/Publications/PDF/Pub1450_web.pdf
- International Atomic Energy Agency. (n.d.). *Country List: Office of Legal Affairs : IAEA*. Retrieved April 26, 2024, from Office of Legal Affairs : IAEA: <https://ola.iaea.org/Applications/FactSheets/Country/Detail?code=NR>
- Isaacs, D. (2015). Doctors Should Boycott Working in Australia's Immigration Centres and Must Continue to Speak out on Mistreatment of Detainees—despite the Law. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 350. Retrieved July 7, 2024, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26522108>
- Isma'eel, J. K., & Abdulmajeed, R. K. (2019). The Pragmatics of Romance in the First World War' Poetry. *Arab World English Journal for Translation & Literary Studies*, 3(4), 61-85. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awejtls/vol3no4.6>
- Jackson, F. (1986). On determining the external relationships of the Micronesian languages. In P. A. Geraghty, L. Carrington, & S. A. Wurm, *FOCAL II: Papers from the fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (pp. 201-238). Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

- Jordan, M. (2018). 'Not on Your Life': Cabinet and Liberalisation of the White Australia Policy, 1964–67. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 46(1), 169-201. doi:10.1080/03086534.2017.1391485
- Kageyama, B. (2021, April 1). *How Nauru Became the World's Fattest Country*. Retrieved March 1, 2024, from Medium: <https://medium.com/lessons-from-history/how-nauru-became-the-worlds-fattest-country-911ee1c9b8c9>
- Kanngieser, A. (2020). Weaponizing Ecocide: Nauru, Offshore Incarceration, and Environmental Crisis. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 32(2), 492-502. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2020.0042>
- Kayser. (1934). Der Pandanus auf Nauru. *Anthropos*, 29(5./6.), 775-791. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40446989>
- Larsson, S. C., Bäck, M., Rees, J. M., Mason, A. M., & Burgess, S. (2020, January). Body mass index and body composition in relation to 14 cardiovascular conditions in UK Biobank: a Mendelian randomization study. *European heart journal*, 41(2), 221-226. doi:10.1093/eurheartj/ehz388
- Leblanc-Laurendeau, O. (2020, April 1). *Food Insecurity in Northern Canada: An Overview*. Retrieved July 26, 2024, from Parliament of Canada | Library of Parliament: https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/202047E#ftn26
- Maclellan, N. (2020). Nauru. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 32(1), 213-225. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2020.0013>
- Marks, K. (2010, December 26). *Fat of the land: Nauru tops obesity league*. Retrieved February 26, 2024, from Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/health-news/fat-of-the-land-nauru-tops-obesity-league-2169418.html>
- McAdam, J. (2016, August 15). *How the entire nation of Nauru almost moved to Queensland*. Retrieved March 3, 2024, from UNSW: Sydney: <https://www.unsw.edu.au/newsroom/news/2016/08/how-the-entire-nation-of-nauru-almost-moved-to-queensland>

- McAdam, J. (2017). The High Price of Resettlement: the proposed environmental relocation of Nauru to Australia. *Australian Geographer*, 48(1), 7-16. doi:10.1080/00049182.2016.1202376
- McDaniel, C. N., & Gowdy, J. M. (2000). *Paradise for Sale: A Parable of Nature*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- McLennan, A. K. (2016). Local food, imported food, and the failures of community gardening initiatives in Nauru. In M. Wilson, *Postcolonialism, Indigeneity and Struggles for Food Sovereignty* (pp. 145-163). Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315686769-15
- Midgley, E. (2024, March 1). *Obesity Crisis: New IAEA Database to Help Countries Tackle Nutrition Challenges*. Retrieved April 25, 2024, from International Atomic Energy Agency: <https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/news/obesity-crisis-new-iaea-database-to-help-countries-tackle-nutrition-challenges>
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage of New Zealand. (2014, June 10). *What changed? - Dominion Status*. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from NZ History | New Zealand History Online: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/dominion-day/what-changed>
- Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment. New Zealand Government. (n.d.). *A brief history*. Retrieved November 27, 2023, from Live and Work New Zealand: <https://www.live-work.immigration.govt.nz/live-in-new-zealand/history-government/a-brief-history#back-to-top-anchor>
- Mukerji, K. P. (1955). Dominion Status. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 16(4), 295-301. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42742835>.
- Munro Ferguson, R. C.-1. (1912-1935). Papers of Ronald Craufurd Munro Ferguson (Lord Noar). (MS 696). Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- National Library of Australia. (2008 (revised 2019)). *German Colonies in the Pacific*. Retrieved July 26, 2024, from National Library of Australia: <https://www.nla.gov.au/collections/guide-selected-collections/german-colonies-pacific>

- Nations Encyclopedia. (n.d.). *History - Nauru - tax, issues, area, future, power, policy*. Retrieved January 6, 2024, from Nations Encyclopedia: <https://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Asia-and-Oceania/Nauru-HISTORY.html>
- Nauru NCD Risk Factors : STEPS report*. (2007). Retrieved March 10, 2024, from 30 SPREP PROE: Virtual Library: <https://library.sprep.org/content/nauru-ncd-risk-factors-steps-report>
- NCD Risk Factor Collaboration. (2024). *Worldwide trends in underweight and obesity from 1990 to 2022: a pooled analysis of 3663 population-representative studies with 222 million children, adolescents, and adults*. Elsevier Ltd. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(23\)02750-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(23)02750-2)
- Ng, K. (2024, January 15). *Nauru cuts diplomatic ties with Taiwan in favour of China*. Retrieved July 12, 2024, from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-67978185>
- Office of International Religious Freedom, U.S. Department of State. (2022). *2021 Report on International Religious Freedom: Nauru*. Retrieved January 1, 2024, from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/nauru/>
- Pacific Community, Nauru. (2022). *2021 NAURU POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD CENSUS: PERSONS TABULATIONS*. Nauru Bureau of Statistics, Department of Finance.
- Pacific islands monthly. (1931). Robert Rosch, of Nauru How The Island Became German. *Pacific islands monthly : PIM, Vol. IX*(No. 1 (Aug. 15, 1938)), pp. 36-37. Retrieved November 29, 2023, from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-314505213>
- Parlament of Australia. (n.d.). *Chapter 10 - Pacific Solution: Negotiations and Agreements*. Retrieved July 6, 2024, from Parlament of Australia: https://www.aph.gov.au/parliamentary_business/committees/senate/former_committees/maritimeincident/report/c10
- Patel, A. (2022, November 24). *The rise and fall of Nauru*. Retrieved March 2, 2024, from Historical Association: <https://www.history.org.uk/publications/resource/10550/the-rise-and-fall-of-nauru>
- Phillips, J. (2017, February 2). *A comparison of Coalition and Labor government asylum policies in Australia since 2001*. Retrieved July 7, 2024, from Parliamentary Library |

Department of Parliamentary Services | Parliament of Australia:
https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/AsylumPolicies

Pollock, N. (2020). *DeRoburt, Hammer (1922–1992)*. (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University) Retrieved April 26, 2024, from Australian Dictionary of Biography: <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/deroburt-hammer-29936>

Pollock, N. J. (1991). Nauruans during World War II. *Remembering the Pacific War* (pp. 91-107). Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Pollock, N. J. (1995). Cultural elaborations of obesity - fattening practices in Pacific societies. *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 4(4), 357-360. Retrieved from apjcn.nhri.org.tw/server/APJCN/4/4/357.pdf.

Pollock, N. J. (2014). Nauru Phosphate History and the Resource Curse Narrative. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 107-120. doi:10.4000/jso.7055

Rajaram, P. K. (2003). "Making Place": The "Pacific Solution" and Australian Emplacement in the Pacific and on Refugee Bodies. *Journal of Tropical Geography*, 24(3), 290-306.

Ramirez Cuesta, A. J. (2017, March 8). *Neutrons help reveal a new filter for heavy hydrogen*. Retrieved April 25, 2024, from Oak Ridge National Laboratory: <https://www.ornl.gov/news/neutrons-help-reveal-new-filter-heavy-hydrogen#:~:text=The%20whole%20process%20is%20so,and%20Earth's%20crust%20than%20gold>.

Republic of Nauru. (1999). *Nauru First National Communication - Republic of Nauru Response Under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. UNFCCC.

Rhone, R. D. (1921). Nauru, the Richest Island in the South Seas. *The National geographic magazine*, XL, 559-589.

Santos Netto, M. d. (2011). Lessons From Nauru: A Securitizing Move On Climate Change. *Meridiano* 47, 12(127). Retrieved July 29, 2024, from <https://uaccess.univie.ac.at/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly->

journals/lessons-nauru-securitizing-move-on-climate-
change/docview/1324401948/se-2

Seery, C. (2023, June 7). *Countries with highest number of diabetes cases unveiled*. Retrieved December 9, 2023, from Diabetes.co.uk:
<https://www.diabetes.co.uk/news/2023/jun/countries-with-highest-number-of-diabetes-cases-unveiled.html>

Shenon, P. (1995, December 10). *A Pacific Island Nation Is Stripped of Everything*. Retrieved March 5, 2024, from The New York Times:
<https://www.nytimes.com/1995/12/10/world/a-pacific-island-nation-is-stripped-of-everything.html>

Shie, T. R. (2007). Rising Chinese Influence in the South Pacific: Beijing's 'Island Fever.'. *Asian Survey*, 47(2), 307-326. Retrieved July 12, 2024, from
<https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2007.47.2.307>

Singer, M. (2014). Following the turkey tails: Neoliberal globalization and the political ecology of health. *Journal of Political Ecology*., 21, 436-451.
doi:10.2458/v21i1.21145

Spennemann, D. H. (1999-2000). *Administrators in the Marshall Islands*. Retrieved February 10, 2024, from Marshalls - digital micronesia.:
<https://marshall.csu.edu.au/Marshalls/html/german2/admin.html#Brandeis>

Spennemann, D. H., O'Neill, J., & O'Neill, J. (2003). *A Rapid Assessment of the Library of the Joachim deBrum House, Likiep Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands*. Albury: NSW: Charles Sturt University, The Johnstone Centre. Retrieved February 10, 2024, from
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/267938315_A_Rapid_Assessment_of_the_Library_of_the_Joachim_deBrum_House_Likiep_Atoll_Republic_of_the_Marshall_Islands

Squires, N. (2008, March 15). *Nauru seeks to regain lost fortunes*. Retrieved March 2, 2024, from BBC News:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/7296832.stm

- Statistical Information Service Canada. (2024, March 4). *An overview of weight and height measurements on World Obesity Day*. Retrieved July 24, 2024, from Statistics Canada: <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/o1/en/plus/5742-overview-weight-and-height-measurements-world-obesity-day>
- Stats, K. (2015). We Will Decide: Refugee and Asylum Policy During the Howard Era Before Tampa. *Australian Studies*, VII, 1-25. Retrieved July 7, 2024
- Stephen, M. (2011, November 14). A sinking feeling: why is the president of the tiny Pacific island nation of Nauru so concerned about climate change? *New York Times Upfront*, 144(5-6). Retrieved July 29, 2024, from <https://link-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/apps/doc/A273079165/AONE?u=43wien&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=b5459d45>
- Szmedra, P., & Sharma, K. L. (2007). SMALL ISLAND STATES IN CRISIS: THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF LIFESTYLE DISEASES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 24(2), 45-61. Retrieved July 25, 2024, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45198861>
- Tabucanon, G., & Opeskin, B. (2011). The Resettlement of Nauruans in Australia. *Journal of Pacific History*, 46(3), 337-356. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://web-p-ebscohost-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=f7f039a9-c14a-46bc-b4fa-bda97f1f8fc4%40redis>
- The Age. (2004, April 18). *Pacific nation Nauru on brink of collapse*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from The Age: <https://www.theage.com.au/world/pacific-nation-nauru-on-brink-of-collapse-20040418-gdpx7p.html>
- The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (2014, January 30). *Immigration Act 2014 - Immigration Regulations 2014*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute: http://www.pacilii.org/cgi-bin/sinodisp/nr/legis/sub_leg/ia2014ir2014385/ia2014ir2014385.html?stem=&synonyms=&query=REPUBLIC%20OF%20NAURU%20GOVERNMENT%20GAZETTE%20PUBLISHED%20BY%20AUTHORITY%20EXTRAORDINARY
- The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (n.d.). *The Nauruan Flag*. Retrieved July 26, 2024, from The Government of the Republic of Nauru: <http://www.nauru.gov.nr/about-nauru/nauruans'-stories/the-nauruan-flag.aspx>

- The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (n.d.). *The People*. Retrieved November 27, 2023, from The Government of the Republic of Nauru: <http://www.nauru.gov.nr/about-nauru/the-people.aspx>
- The Government of the Republic of Nauru. (n.d.). *Tribes of Nauru*. Retrieved January 1, 2024, from The Government of the Republic of Nauru: <http://www.nauru.gov.nr/about-nauru/nauruans'-stories/tribes-of-nauru.aspx>
- The Republic of Nauru. (2012). *Republic of Nauru National Report on Population and Housing: Census 2021*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from Pacific Community Statistics for Development Division: https://sdd.spc.int/digital_library/republic-nauru-national-report-population-and-housing-census-2011
- The WHO Representative Office in the South Pacific. (2017, January 1). *WHO Country Cooperation Strategy 2018-2022: Nauru*. Retrieved July 25, 2024, from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/nauru/publications-detail/WPR-2017-DPM-014>
- U.S. Department of State. Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. (2012, March 13). *Background Note: Nauru*. Retrieved from U.S. Department of State. Diplomacy in Action: <https://web.archive.org/web/20121017054843/http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/16447.htm>
- UN Trusteeship Council. (n.d.). *Trust Territories - UN Trusteeship Council Documentation*. Retrieved March 04, 2024, from Research guides at United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Library: <https://research.un.org/en/docs/tc/territories>
- UNESCO. (n.d.). *Nauru*. Retrieved January 1, 2024, from UNESCO World Atlas of Languages: <https://en.wal.unesco.org/languages/nauru>
- UNHCR. (2008, February 8). *UNHCR welcomes close of Australia's Pacific Solution*. Retrieved July 7, 2024, from UNHCR | The UN Refugee Agency: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing-notes/unhcr-welcomes-close-australias-pacific-solution>
- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2014). *Abortion Policies and Reproductive Health around the World*. United Nations

- publication. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/AbortionPoliciesReproductiveHealth.pdf
- van Fossen, A. (2017, December 21). *Passports of convenience from the Pacific islands*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from The Interpreter (The Lowy Institute): <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/passports-convenience-pacific-islands>
- Viviani, N. (1967). *A History of Nauru*. Australian National University. doi:10.25911/5d74e6c67cc81
- Viviani, N. (1970). *Nauru : phosphate and political progress*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Wardhani, B. (2023, May 1). The Legacy of Colonialism and Ecological Genocide on Indigenous People of Nauru. *Andalas Journal of International Studies*, XII(1), pp. 10-20. <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.12.1.10-20.2023>
- Wedgwood, C. H. (1936). Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific (Continued). 7(1), 1-33. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40327587>
- World Health Organization. (2023, April 5). *Diabetes*. Retrieved March 10, 2024, from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/diabetes#:~:text=Diabetes%20prevalence%20has%20been%20rising,wer,e%20directly%20caused%20by%20diabetes.>
- World Health Organization. (2024, March 1). *Obesity and overweight*. Retrieved March 1, 2024, from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/obesity-and-overweight>
- Wright, T. (2019, November 6). *10 year study finds 'extremely high' rates of First Nations food insecurity*. Retrieved July 24, 2024, from Global News | Canada: <https://globalnews.ca/news/6136161/first-nations-food-insecurity-study/>
- Wyeth, G. (2023, January 31). *Australia's Nauru Conundrum*. Retrieved July 9, 2024, from The Diplomat: <https://thediplomat.com/2023/01/australias-nauru-conundrum/>
- Zimmet, P., Taft, P., Guinea, A., Guthrie, W., & Thoma, K. (1977, April). The High Prevalence of Diabetes Mellitus on a Central Pacific Island. *Diabetologia*, 13, 111-115. <https://doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1007/BF00745137>

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации (the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation). (2015, May 12). *О вступлении в силу российско-науруанского Соглашения о взаимной отмене визовых требований 910-12-05-2015 (On the entry into force of the Russian-Nauruan Agreement on the mutual abolition of Visa requirements)*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from https://archive.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/1269858

Рачева, Е. (2023, April 6). *Науру. Островок любви к России*. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from Новая Газета: <https://novayagazeta.ru/articles/2023/04/06/nauru-ostrovok-liubvi-k-rossii>