

Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

New Zealand's Foreign Policy under National and Labour Governments: Variations on the "Small State" Theme?

David J. McCraw

The foreign policies of small states are alleged to have a set of distinctive characteristics. If New Zealand's foreign policy has indeed generally displayed these characteristics, different New Zealand governments have differed in the degree to which their foreign policies have displayed them. Recent National and Labour governments have differed in the scope of their foreign policies; in the importance that they have given to cooperation with allies; in the degree to which they have espoused moral causes in foreign policy, and in the extent to which economic interests have taken priority in their foreign policies. The two types of government have not differed a great deal, however, in the degree of their participation in world affairs, or in their propensity to alienate larger powers.

Institutional Obstacles to Conservation: Fergusson Island, Papua New Guinea

Gordon Brent Ingram

Even with increasing interest in rainforest conservation around the Pacific, it is highly unlikely that deforestation trends will be reversed without deep, structural changes in land management institutions. Fergusson Island, Papua New Guinea, is one of the most pristine islands on earth with primary rainforest and coral reefs. A number of institutional legacies have impeded conservation efforts and allowed for the expansion of poorly planned logging and mining extractive operations. The discussion ends at 1989 though problems from logging in Papua New Guinea have spawned numerous controversies and inquiries in subsequent years. A methodical framework for identification of obstacles derived from these legacies called conservation institution capability analysis, *cica*, is employed. The discussion ends with a rhetorical question of whether any amount of financial and administrative support can improve conservation effectiveness until basic institutional obstacles are removed through fundamental political change and improvements in living standards.

The Indian Armed Forces' Sikh and Non-Sikh Officers' Opinions of Operation Blue Star

Apurba Kundu

On 5 June 1984, the Indian Army stormed Sikhism's holiest Golden Temple in Amritsar, killing the militant Sikh leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and 500 of his followers. Reports of the damage inflicted by Operation Blue Star caused the unprecedented mutiny of 2000 Sikh military personnel.

Despite accounting for less than three percent of the national population, Sikhs make up 10-15 percent of all ranks in the Indian Army and a fifth of its officers. A sample of almost one hundred senior retired Indian military officers reveals Sikh and Non-Sikh officers to have strongly opposing views as to the responsibility and necessity of Operation Blue Star, and of the subsequent mutinies' effect on ethnic relations within the armed forces. Would the post-Operation Blue Star mutinies end the army's disproportionate recruitment of Sikh personnel?

No; the loyalty of the vast majority of Sikh soldiers and all Sikh officers before, during, and after Operation Blue Star has allowed the Indian Army to continue enlisting Sikh personnel, albeit while making efforts to better intra-military ethnic relations.

**Becoming Canadian: Understanding How Hong Kong Immigrants
Change Their Consumption**

*Wei-Na Lee
David K. Tse*

By examining Hong Kong immigrants in Canada this study investigates how people change their consumption as they move across cultural boundaries. Anglo-Canadians, new Hong Kong immigrants (less than seven years), long-time Hong Kong immigrants and Hong Kong residents were surveyed about their product ownership and participation in a set of value-related activities. It was found that new immigrants downwardly adjust their consumption habits by prioritizing and acquiring products essential for their life in Canada. After living in Canada for more than seven years, the long-time immigrants matched the Anglo-Canadians in their family income and owned a comparable set of products. For the value-related activities, the findings suggested that value-free activities were immediately adopted, while those that may generate value conflicts were the least adopted even for long-time immigrants. The study confirmed the importance of environmental influences and cultural relevancy in how immigrants acculturate to Canada.

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ABSTRACTS

Public-Private Sector Interest Coordination in Japan's ODA

David Arase

The policy-making structures that govern Japan's official development assistance (ODA) incorporate the Japanese private sector to a greater degree than is commonly supposed. Apart from explaining the limitations that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs faces in setting substantive policy in ODA, this article indicates how mechanisms of private sector inclusion facilitate public-private sector collaboration, and how these mechanisms are integrated into a system of policy formulation and implementation. The system is rooted in the mid-1950s to early 1960s when expanding Japanese private sector activity in the developing world was a key state objective. Under bureaucratic guidance Japan still operates a system of intimate collaboration between the state and private sector in ODA. The dilemma of the private sector today, however, is that while it now wants to reduce the autonomous power of the bureaucracy, it does not want to lose the benefits of privileged access to ODA resources that the status quo system provides.

Assessing Japan's Environmental Aid Policy

David M. Potter

This paper examines Japan's recent attempts to introduce an environmental component into its aid program. The paper argues that Japan's environmental aid policy is largely a reaction to the opening of an international policy window in the 1980s. It contends that while the volume of Japan's aid for environmental protection has increased, its ability to adjust to this new policy area has been limited by institutional factors in its own aid bureaucracy and the continuing ambivalence developing nations demonstrate toward environmental protection.

The Independent Press and Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of the *Dagong bao* in Republican China

L. Sophia Wang

This paper examines the history, personnel and content of the *Dagong bao* from 1924 to 1941 and argues that its quality news and commentaries came from several sources, such as high salaries to encourage professionalism, extensive personal contacts with various factions and the unique style of independent journalism practiced by its editor-in-chief, Zhang Jiluan. Zhang's independence was not only different from that in the West, it was also rare among the Chinese. He did not support many important liberal and democratic ideas. The patron-client ties between Zhang and Chiang K'ai-shek also made him a suspected collaborator of Chiang's. However, Zhang was able to criticize Chiang on many occasions and to maintain the trust of the public despite his ties with Chiang.

This paper then explores Zhang's life history and finds that at least part of Zhang's ability to transcend his particularistic ties with Chiang came from treating the nation as a family. To Zhang the nation, like a family, was a hierarchical organization clustered around an absolute authority to which he himself was both a loyal protégé and a critic. Hence he was able to transcend particularistic ties, to empathize with all the Chinese people and to maintain their trust.

Tonga's Pro-Democracy Movement

Kerry E. James

The recent political unrest in Tonga led by supporters of what has been termed "the pro-democracy movement" has had a long social genesis that began last century with the dismantling of the former system of chieftainship and the establishment of a landed nobility. Since then, the nobles' links with the people and chiefly tradition have attenuated, and their powers of patronage have diminished because of their decreased control of land. The Tongan government is a constitutional monarchy but one that is ruled by the king assisted by his personally appointed cabinet ministers and the nobles' representatives in parliament. Commoners have become increasingly prominent through educational and business prowess, but they have minority representation in government. The last three general elections in Tonga, in 1987, 1990, and 1993, show support for political reform but resistance to the sudden imposition of full democracy in Tonga. Leaders of the noble "establishment" say that commoners already participate in government and to give them greater power could set the stage for a Communist or totalitarian regime. Most commoners do not understand democracy and fear that it could detract from the dignity of the monarchy. The pro-democracy group continues to educate the commoners regarding their constitutional rights, fight against corruption among government members, and seeks to curb the increasing power of the king and secure greater commoner representation in government.

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ABSTRACTS

China's Urban Migrants — The Public Policy Challenge

Linda Wong

Since the mid-1980s, urban migrants have emerged as a new status group in Chinese society. This study examines the complexity of urban migration from the angle of public policy with the aim of presenting an overview of the current situation regarding urban migrants. The focus of the paper is on the challenges that migrants pose to the state and civil society and the policy responses adopted during the period from the late 1980s to 1993. The paper first analyzes the problems and contributions brought by urban migrants. Second, using Guangdong as an example, the paper examines the measures taken by state agencies and their effectiveness. The final section discusses the problems and prospects related to urban migration. The paper concludes that current policy is plainly inadequate and that urban migrants are still relegated to the margins of Chinese society. It is argued that unless their claims are recognized, urban migrants are likely to remain a thorn in governance and a threat to social stability.

Sino-Vietnamese Normalization in the Light of the Crisis of the Late 1970s

Ramses Amer

This study seeks to analyze the process of normalization of relations between China and Vietnam in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the light of the deterioration of relations that took place during the late 1970s. The evolution of the bilateral relationship from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s is outlined and discussed. In analysing the deterioration of relations as well as the normalization process the following issues are discussed and assessed; different perceptions of the Soviet Union, relations to and influence in Cambodia, the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, territorial disputes, ideology, and internal change in the two countries. The analysis shows that the deterioration of relations was primarily caused by the different perceptions of the Soviet Union, the dispute concerning Cambodia, and the conflict over the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. Full normalization followed upon the improved relations between China and the Soviet Union and the settlement of the Cambodian conflict.

Long-Term Changes in Korea's International Trade and Investment

Terry Ursacki and Ilan Vertinsky

This paper assesses the potential long term changes in Korea's international trade and investment patterns based on an analysis of shifts in comparative advantage, market access, government policies and internal and external contingencies. It suggests that in future the Korean government's economic management will be constrained by demands for greater equity, the growing sophistication of the economy and new international commitments and will use more indirect levers such as technology policy and infrastructure spending. Much-needed financial liberalization will be slowed by a perceived need to prevent the *chaebol* from gaining control of the banking system and by the weakness of existing institutions. Externally Korea will face increasing competition from Mexico and several developing countries, in particular, China. Its desire to participate in a regional trade agreement may be frustrated by Japanese satisfaction with the status quo and the heterogeneity of the membership of potential vehicles such as APEC. The transformation of the former Communist economies will result in expanded trade and investment ties, particularly with China. How and when reunification occurs will have, however, an overriding

influence on Korea's economic liberalization and could cause a reversal if a sudden North Korean collapse occurs. In summary, the analysis suggests that the prospects for agriculture, labour-intensive and raw-material processing industries are likely to be much gloomier than official predictions, while the economy will be led by such sectors as electronics and construction services.

**The Changing Political Economy of Japan's Economic Relations with Russia:
The Rise and Fall of *Seikei Fukabun***

Lonny E. Carlile

Recent work on Japanese-Russian relations has stressed the way in which the territorial dispute over the Southern Kurile Islands has served as an intractable obstacle to improved economic relations between the two countries. The article makes the case that the prospects for a significant deepening of bilateral economic relations are considerably more favorable than is generally understood irrespective of what happens with regard to the so-called Northern Territories issue. It contends, first of all, that Japan's recent *seikei fukabun* ("non-separation of politics and economics") policy represents a rather exceptional episode, both from the standpoint of Japan's overall foreign policy approach and Japanese-Russian/Soviet relations in particular. The emergence of *seikei fukabun*, it argues, was the product of a distinctive conjuncture of political and economic circumstances during the 1980s. It maintains that these conditions are rapidly eroding and both the current Russian economic crisis and the economic reform process are leading to structural changes in the political economy of bilateral relations that will make a revival of *seikei fukabun* unlikely in the foreseeable future.

The New Zealand Journal of History

Editors: Judith Binney and M.P.K. Sorrenson

Vol.27, No.2, October 1993 is a special issue marking the centennial of women's franchise in New Zealand and is edited by Raewyn Dalziel. It contains:

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ABSTRACTS

Russia's Post-Cold War Security Policy In Northeast Asia

Peggy Falkenheim Meyer

In the aftermath of the cold war, all states have found it difficult to adapt to a rapidly changing, uncertain security situation in East Asia. This is particularly true for Russia, which is being forced to make this transition at a time when its own power is shrinking and when there is a lack of consensus about the overall direction of its domestic and foreign policy.

The recent decline in Russia's military power in East Asia so far has not been offset by a commensurate increase in its political and economic influence. Russia may be less influential than before, but it is now perceived as a potential source of instability, proliferation and pollution which other states cannot ignore. This gives Moscow what one might call a leverage of the weak. There is greater support in Northeast Asia for the negotiation of confidence-building measures and military exchanges with Moscow and for Russia's inclusion in an Asia-Pacific regional security dialogue. Policy makers in Seoul, Beijing and Tokyo are concerned about the current political instability in Moscow and the possible effects of future leadership change.

The Greater Vladivostok Project: Transnational Linkages In Regional Economic Planning

Gaye Christoffersen

This article examines Moscow's bargaining with the Maritime province in the framework of a two-level bargaining game in Northeast Asia. Differences between Beijing and Tokyo over the nature of Northeast Asian subregional economic development cooperation schemes found allies in Russian domestic politics with Moscow aligning with Beijing and Vladivostok aligning with Tokyo. These system-level differences fed into disagreements between Moscow and Vladivostok as they bargained domestically over budgetary allocation and tax remittances. These domestic-level differences obstructed Moscow's bargaining with Beijing and Tokyo over bilateral issues. Moscow needed Primorye's compliance in these system-level issues, and to get that compliance, Moscow promised large side payments to Primorye, giving the province enhanced leverage with the center. It is simultaneous bargaining at two levels that produced this outcome. This study suggests that Russian center-local bargaining parallels Chinese center-local bargaining in the enhanced leverage the locality derives from its transnational linkages.

A Step toward Understanding Popular Violence In China's Cultural Revolution

Lu Xiuyuan

Through examinations of different approaches and theoretical orientations in both Chinese and Western literature on origins of the Cultural Revolution, which have intensively explored the elite level and emphasized the dimension of interests in recent local approaches, this article seeks to develop the inadequately addressed dimension of value in the local approach. By highlighting the popular violence of the Cultural Revolution and emphasizing the role of Chinese people as active agents in understanding the fundamental causes of the Cultural Revolution, this article argues that the double strategies of punishment and discipline in government control created the complexity and ambiguity of the mentalities of most urban Chinese by the Cultural Revolution and resulted in the popular violence during the Cultural Revolution.

**The Political Economy Of Crisis Management In The Third World:
A Comparative Study of South Korea And Taiwan (1970s)**

Jeí Guk Jeon

During a political and/or economic crisis the Third World's nondemocratic leaders are often compelled to make a strategic choice between emergency rule and progressive democratization. In the light of East Asian experiences, the latter proves more effective than the former. Faced with politico-economic crises in the 1970s, South Korea drastically instituted the emergency regime and aggressively launched heavy-chemical industrialization, whereas Taiwan progressively opened the political door and flexibly managed the economy. South Korea's regressive politico-economic action entailed an irrevocable crisis in the long run, but Taiwan's progressive move led to sustained political stability and economic progress. In this sense, the imposition of emergency rule in a crisis situation is not a cure-all but rather deepens the root cause of ills. Given sufficient powers at the hands of state authorities, it is important to maximize the flexible adaptability of the system via "political-softening" as done in Taiwan rather than to make it rigid by "political-hardening" as in Korea.

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