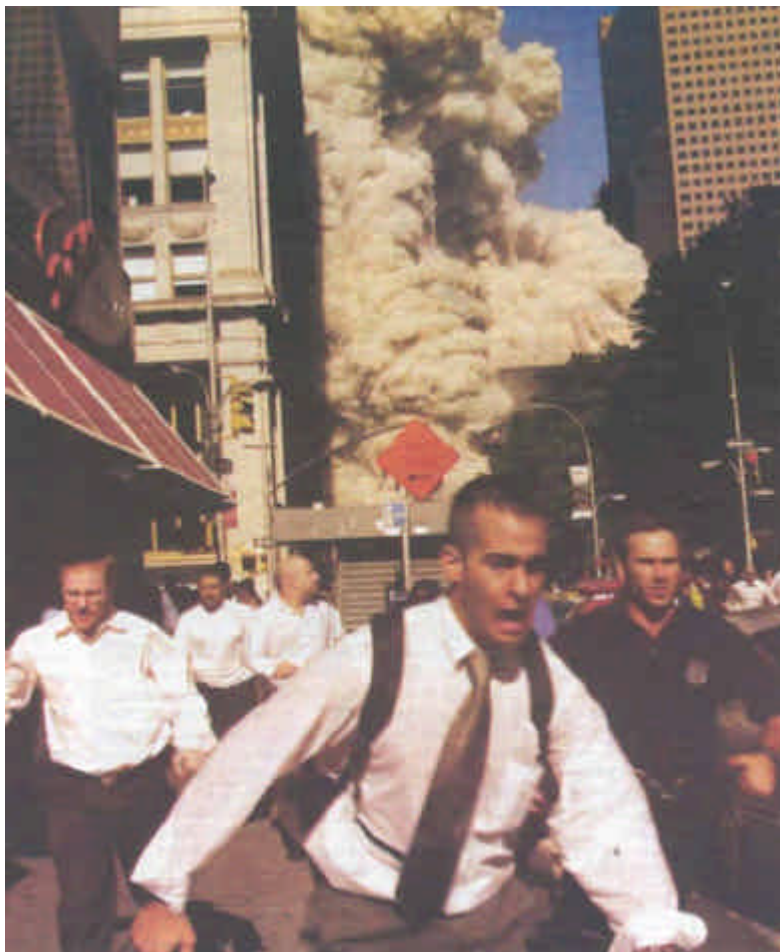


Social and Spiritual Development Strand
Social Science

Unit 2: Politics and Government

Module 2.1 Introducing Politics and Government



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Unit outline

(Based on the National Curriculum Guidelines)

Unit 2 Politics and Government	2.1	Introducing Politics and Government (Core)
	2.2	Government in PNG (Core)
	2.3	Leadership (Optional)
	2.4	Elections, Parties and Pressure Groups (Optional)

Icons



Read or research



Write or summarise



Activity or discussion

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Module 2.1: Introducing Politics and Government

Rationale

The study of politics and government incorporates a number of fields such as political theory and philosophy, comparative government, international relations, national government and politics, public administration, and political behaviour.

The purpose of this module is to provide an overview of key ideologies and examples of the principles and practice of those ideologies including international relationships.

Objectives

By the end of this module students will:

- Identify the main characteristics of different ideologies
- Understand the strengths and weaknesses of each system
- Compare and contrast underlying belief systems of different forms of government
- Examine the impact of different ideologies in relation to development in Papua New Guinea
- Understand the basic concepts of international politics
- Understand the roles and functions of world organizations
- Know about international treaties and conventions
- Develop an awareness and appreciation of the contribution and influences different regional and world bodies/agencies have on PNG and understand that PNG cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world
- Respect and appreciate different viewpoints and belief systems

Section 1: Political Science

Topic 1: Studying politics and government (Political Science)

Political science is the systematic study of political life. Political scientists seek answers to such questions as:

- "What reasons justify the actions of government?"
- "Whose interests are served by governments?"

They study various forms of government as well as political parties, pressure groups, elections, international relations, and public administration. The political scientist studies these processes and the operations of government agencies and departments. Political science deals with such fundamental values as equality, freedom, justice, and power.

Political science may be divided into six main fields:

- Political theory and philosophy
- Comparative government
- International relations
- National government and politics
- Public administration
- Political behaviour

Political theory and philosophy are usually dealt with historically. Most political scientists believe that the history of political thought forms the basis of all political studies. They consider the reading of great books on political theory and philosophy to be essential for a broad education in politics. Using such sources political scientists try establish generalizations based on verified facts. These generalizations deal with such subjects as how power is gained or lost and the problems of representative government.

Comparative government - an understanding of political reality may be achieved by comparing the political institutions and practices of two or more countries.

International relations include diplomacy, international law, and international organization. Since 1945, much emphasis has been placed on the study of the United Nations. During the 1960's and 1970's, specialists in international relations became increasingly interested in China and the developing nations of Africa, Central and South America, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. Vital forces in the modern world, including imperialism and nationalism, are important subjects of international relations. This field of political science also deals with defence policies and a wide range of problems connected with peace and war. In addition, political scientists examine the effects of economic pressures on international relations.

National government and politics is a field to which political scientists generally give special attention. They feel it is necessary to study their own government's development more deeply than that of other governments.

Public administration deals with such tasks of public officials as accounting, budgets, and personnel management. Public officials often work closely with political scientists who are experts in administration. These experts study the many departments of national governments. They analyse how the organization and internal politics of government departments aid or hinder putting political decisions and programmes into effect.

Political behaviour is the field that explores the way people respond to certain political conditions or influences. For example, the political scientist may take note of how many voters favour a candidate who looks good on television. Behavioural studies are the most recent trend in political science. They have been influenced by developments in such behavioural sciences as anthropology, psychology, and sociology. Political scientists have developed ways to study certain key behaviour patterns in politics. Studies have been made in communications, propaganda, voting behaviour, and other activities.

Definitions

Politics is -

- The activity of rule-making and rule-enforcement aimed at reducing conflict and promoting collective action within and between human groups.
- The study of processes by which societies are organised for distribution of power and resources. This is connected with the means by which these processes are legitimised and the values (beliefs, ideologies) which underlie them. Politics is a very important activity which occurs in all human groups. Groups range all the way from the family to the international community.

Government is -

- The result of having political activities that derive from the intended ideologies.
- A system of ruling and it also means the principles of administration.
- The way people organise themselves in groups to:
 1. Choose leaders to make decisions and organise activities
 2. Decide how to use and share their resources
 3. Provide services to improve their lives
 4. Solve conflicts and punish people who break laws

To govern a whole nation is a very difficult task compared to governing a small local community in which everybody knows and can talk to everybody else. The government of a local community has one level. A nation has to be organised at several different levels, from local government upwards. Each person is in the centre of a set of governmental circles. Systems of government throughout the world include: traditional government, colonialism, democracy, dictatorship, communism and republicanism.

Topic 2: Governance

Governance is multi-faceted. It requires institutions of government and society that are engaged in political, economic and social development to:

- Improve economic management and planning
- Promote sustainable private sector development
- Build the capacities of public and private agencies to deliver services
- Promote justice, the rule of law and human rights
- Strengthen systems of transparency, accountability and civil representation

Effective governance requires the state to exercise power in a manner that is accountable, transparent, representative, efficient and equitable.

Many countries need assistance with good governance. Organisations such as the Commonwealth play a role in the promotion of human rights and democratic norms, for example, the Commonwealth has a well-recognised role in observing elections in a range of countries and has sought to ensure that more resources are directed to this type of activity. Other commendable work of the Commonwealth includes developing "best practice" in administrative, judicial, regulatory and other matters; and administrative reform in government and the reassessment of existing structures and systems. The Commonwealth supports such activity as: the establishment of ombudsmen's offices, workshops in such areas as criminal justice, administrative law and combating corruption, and implementation of international human rights conventions.

Governance in PNG

PNG has a proud record of democratic government, a constitution that guarantees social, political and human rights, an independent judiciary and a free press. However there are still problems in important area of governance such as public financial management, service delivery, accountability and law and order. The development process has been hindered by limited capacity in such areas as financial management, planning, implementation, and performance monitoring at the national and provincial levels of government. Various aid projects requested by the government and supported by Australia and other nations are attempting to redress these issues.

Section 2: Ideologies

Topic 3: What is an ideology?

Throughout history, people have invented theories about how a state should be run and what the order of priorities should be when decisions are made on political issues. These theories are called ideologies.

Most ideologies are referred to as either **right-wing** or **left-wing**. These terms were first used in a political sense during the French Revolution. In 1789, King Louis XVI was forced to hold meetings with members of the clergy, nobility and middle classes. At these meetings, the nobility sat on the king's right, and the others sat on his left. After the overthrow of the King, this custom spread to the French Assemblies. Those representing the aristocrats and tradition sat on the right and those believing in more social equality sat on the left. Today, the socialist ideology is said to be left-wing, and the conservative ideology is said to be right-wing. Communism is an example of radical, leftist extremism, and fascism exemplifies the extreme rightist view.

Anarchism

Anarchism is the political belief that government should be abolished and the state replaced by the voluntary cooperation of individuals and groups. Anarchists believe that existing governments tend to defend injustice, and they would do away with the institution of private property. They also believe that government is unnecessary and intrinsically harmful.

Capitalism

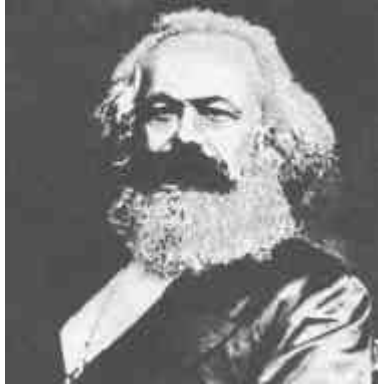
Capitalism is a political, economic and social system based on a high degree of private ownership. In theory, pure capitalism means production, distribution and exchange are completely under private ownership and control. In practice, even in countries such as the United States, that are recognised as thoroughly capitalist, there is a mixture of government and private ownership and some government legislation.

Supporters of capitalism claim that it maximises production and provides goods and services at minimum prices. Critics claim that it has little concern for the welfare of workers and the underprivileged.

Communism

The term communism was originally used of communities whose members enjoyed common ownership of all property and material provision for all according to need.

Communism is a political doctrine that developed from the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their Communist Manifesto in 1848. Communism was developed along a number of different lines during the course of the 20th century by various communist states and parties throughout the world. All communist parties share the general belief that a state-run economy is superior to private-enterprise and that land should be organized for communal cultivation.



Karl Marx

Communism differs from socialism in its adherence to the doctrine of revolution. The Russian Revolution (1917), led by Lenin, was the world's first successful communist revolution and Russia became the centre of world communism.

On Lenin's death (1924) a schism broke out in the form of a power struggle between Stalin, whose priority was to strengthen socialism within Russia, and the internationalist Trotsky. It was the first great rift in the world communist movement. Stalin's repressive policies produced further rifts, such as that between Yugoslavia and the USSR (1948), throughout the European communist bloc as well as among communist parties in non-communist countries.

By the 1970s, there were communist movements in most countries throughout the world. Attempts to build broad-based parties in West had mixed results. Widespread and outspoken hostility to the regime in Poland, beginning in 1980, called attention to the failures of a communist economic doctrine. At the time, Soviet inability to put down resistance to the communist puppet regime in Afghanistan underscored the limits to Soviet military power.

Conservatism

Conservatism is a general state of mind that is adverse to rapid change and innovation and strives for balance and order, while avoiding extremes. Originally, conservatism as an organized political creed arose as a reaction against the Age of Enlightenment. Conservatives advocated:

- Belief in faith over reason
- Tradition over free inquiry
- Hierarchy over equality
- Collective values over individualism
- Divine or natural law over secular law

Conservatism emphasizes the merits of the status quo (existing situation) and endorses the prevailing distribution of power, wealth, and social standing. Political conservative thought is linked with constitutional democracy and individual rights as well as with orderly social and economic change. A conservative society is held together by customs and traditions; gradual changes can be made, but only when they have gained wide acceptance.

Democracy

Democracy is a system of government which recognises the right of all members of society to influence political decisions, either directly or indirectly. Direct democracy, in which political decisions are made by the whole citizen body meeting together, is only possible where the population is small. The American and French revolutions, and the growth of the classes following the Industrial Revolution, were important influences in the formation of modern democracies.

In many countries today, decisions are made on the votes of only a few hundred people who are elected (chosen) by the voters. They make decisions on behalf of all the electorate and are known as representatives. They often belong to a political party. All citizens have the right to vote and put themselves forward as possible representatives, called candidates. This is known as representative democracy.

Representative democracy began to evolve during the 18th and 19th centuries, in Britain, Europe and the US. Its central institution is the representative parliament, in which decisions are effected by majority vote. Representative democracy is characterised by:

- Regular elections with a free choice of candidates
- Universal adult suffrage
- Freedom to organize rival political parties
- Freedom to oppose the government of the day
- Independence of the judiciary
- Freedom of speech and the press
- The preservation of civil liberties and minority rights

How democratic are modern democracies?

Some people believe that Western democracies are not democratic enough because:

- Most political decisions have different effects on the rich and poor
- People in Western democracies vote for what is best for them
- Once elected, representatives use their own judgement when making decisions. This may not always coincide with public opinion
- Important decisions should be decided by referendums and not left entirely to the government
- People can be influenced by the media (newspapers, television and radio). Often the media reflects the views of powerful groups or a popular political party or cause

Fascism

Fascism is an authoritarian and anti-democratic political philosophy placing the corporate society, as embodied in the party and the state, above the individual, and stressing absolute obedience to a glorified leader. Fascism prevents any independent political and economic activity. Nationalism and militarism are its logical products and thus it has close ties with Nazism. "Fascist" has become a term of abuse for many because of the ugly aspects of fascism, and is often used of anyone whose views are very right wing.

Mussolini, the founder of the Italian Fascist Party, began his political career as a Marxist. In 1912, he opposed both capitalism and militarism. By 1914, however, he had changed his attitude, calling on Italy to enter World War I and moving towards the political right. Mussolini's Action Squads, first set up in 1919 and called "Blackshirts" gave the movement effective muscle and set a fashion for fascist paramilitary style. In 1922, Mussolini seized control of the Italian government, threatening a coup d'etat if his demands were refused. At first governing constitutionally at the head of a cross-party coalition, he soon shook off remaining curbs on his authority and established a dictatorship. All political parties except the Fascist Party were banned, and Mussolini became Il Duce – the leader of the party. Labour unions were abolished, strikes were forbidden, and political opponents were silenced.

Fascist movements spread to most western countries between WWI and WWII following in the wake of the economic crisis. Dollfuss and Schuschnigg headed a fascist government in Austria from 1933 until its incorporation into Germany in 1938, Horthy led one in Hungary, Pilsudski in Poland, Metaxas in Greece and Peron in Argentina. The longest surviving fascist regimes were in Portugal under Salazar and in Spain under Franco and the Falange.

Liberalism

Liberalism is a political ideology emphasising social reform, tolerance and freedom of the individual. The philosopher and economist John Stuart Mill was an important influence on liberal thought in the mid 19th century. Early liberals were committed to the idea of progress and the abolition of aristocratic privileges. Socialism was a reaction against liberalism's emphasis on individual achievements and private rights at the expense of collective welfare.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a movement in which the nation-state is regarded as paramount for the realization of social, economic, and cultural aspirations of a people. Nationalism is characterized principally by a feeling of community among a people, based on common descent, language, and religion. Before the 18th century, when nationalism emerged as a distinctive movement, states usually were based on religious or dynastic ties; citizens owed loyalty to their Church or ruling family. Concerned with clan, tribe, village, or province, people rarely extended their interests nationwide.

Improvement in communications gradually extended the knowledge of people beyond their village or province. Through education, people learned of their common background and tradition and began to identify themselves with the nation. The introduction of national constitutions and the struggle for political rights gave peoples the sense of helping to determine their fate as a nation and of sharing responsibility for the future well-being of that nation. At the same time, the growth of trade and industry laid the basis for economic units larger than the traditional cities or provinces.

Most modern nations have developed gradually based on common ties of descent, religion, and language. Several exceptions exist - Switzerland, Israel, and India.

- Switzerland is a nation in which no common religion or language was ever established. The Swiss include many adherents to both the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions; they have no linguistic unity, for German, French, and Italian are spoken in distinct regions of the country. Swiss nationalism was fostered primarily by isolation in a mountain region and the determination to maintain political independence.
- Israel was formed almost entirely from the immigration of diverse national groups of Jews who shared a common ideal based on religious nationalism. After World War II, more than a million refugees from many different countries immigrated to Palestine. They learned Hebrew, created national language, and established a new state with Judaism as the state religion.
- India is a nation in which Hinduism served as the cohesive traditional element in uniting peoples of various races, religions, and languages. India achieved national unity through the influence of Western ideas, notably those of British origin, and in struggle against British rule.



Abraham Lincoln

The rise of nationalism coincided generally with the spread of the Industrial Revolution, which promoted national economic development, the growth of a middle class, and popular demand for representative government. National literatures arose to express common traditions and the common spirit of each people. New emphasis was given to nationalist symbols of all kinds; for example, new holidays were introduced to commemorate various events in national history.

Nationalism can be a good thing or a bad thing.

- Nationalism can give people a pride in and a sense of belonging to a nation. This can make them take a constructive interest in the affairs of their country and respect its institutions and laws.
- It can make a group more independent. Nationalism demands played a large part in persuading Britain, France, Holland and Portugal to grant independence to their colonies.
- It can cause a state to become aggressive. For example, Hitler demanded that all German-speaking people (such as those in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland) should join the German Reich or German State. These foreign policies led to the Second World War.

- It can lead to instability where people in one country identify with more than one nation. For example, the Protestant "loyalist" majority in Northern Ireland identifies with Britain and wishes to remain within the United Kingdom.

Socialism

Socialism is an economic philosophy and political movement which aims to achieve a just, classless society through public ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution of goods. As the movement developed, the concept itself acquired different meanings in different times and places.

Early socialists objected to capitalism on ethical and practical grounds. Capitalism, they claimed, was unjust: it exploited workers, degraded them, transformed them into beasts or machines, and enabled the rich to get richer while the workers faced misery. The transformation of socialism from a doctrine held by a relatively small number of intellectuals and activists into the ideology of mass working-class parties coincided with the industrialization of Europe and the formation of a large proletariat (working class).

Some of their goals included:

- Universal suffrage
- Equal rights for women,
- A social protection system of national insurance and pensions
- A universal medical service
- The regulation of the labour market aimed at introducing the eight-hour working day
- Full legalization and recognition of trade unions

Socialists assumed that all their demands could be achieved peacefully in democratic countries. Many advocated the use of the mass general strike as a revolutionary weapon to be deployed when required. In Great Britain the powerful trade unions at first tried to influence the Liberals rather than forming a separate working-class party. Not until 1900 was a Labour party created. It adopted a socialist program aimed at common ownership only in 1918. Elsewhere, socialists accepted all the basic rules of liberal democracy: free elections, civil rights, political pluralism, and the sovereignty of parliament.

Terrorism



*World Trade Centre on fire after terrorists crashed two aircraft into the buildings. Source: "Terror hits US" (2001, 12 September) **The National**, Special Edition.*

Terrorism is actual or threatened use of violence for political goals, directed not only against the victims themselves but also against larger, related groups, of a scope often transcending national boundaries. The term usually implies action by non-governmental groups, or by irregular or secret units, operating outside the usual parameters of warfare and sometimes aiming to cause revolution. State terror, by a state against its own subjects or conquered communities, is sometimes regarded as a type of terrorism. Extreme terrorism often aims simply at the destabilization of a state by causing maximum chaos, to enable a radical transformation of the existing order. In the most exceptional cases the very distant and vague goals of the terrorists may create an effective instance of violence for no purpose at all: the terrorists simply practise violence for the sake of violence. New forms of terrorism include the:

- March 1995 nerve-gas attack on Tokyo's underground system by the fringe religious sect Aum Shinri Kyo.
- Bombing of a government building in Oklahoma City in the United States by radical libertarian extremists in April 1995.
- September 2001 hijacking of four aircraft and the subsequent destruction of the World Trade Centre in New York and part of the Pentagon building in Washington DC.

Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is a system government in which the state exercises wide-ranging control over individuals within its jurisdiction. Usually, the totalitarian state has but one political party, led by a dictator, and an official ideology that is disseminated through the mass media and educational system, with suppression of dissent. Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were examples of totalitarian states.

2.1 Activity 1

Discuss the following questions - How representative are the MPs in PNG? Whose views do they represent?

Write a short essay (1 page) outlining the obstacles to national development in PNG.

What are some of the signs of nationalism?

The French national anthem begins “Allons enfants de la patrie (March on, children of the fatherland)”. Compare the opening words of several national anthems. How do they promote nationalism?

Choose one of the states/regions listed below and research the cause of conflict within that state/region - Balkans, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Northern Ireland, Palestine

Examine the situations in the table below. Rearrange them to reflect right-wing views in one column and left-wing views in the other.

National defence	Enormous sums of money spent on national defence would be better spent on services such as health care or education.	A country should make sure it is armed to such an extent that no other country would dare attack it.
Unemployment	It is each person's responsibility to find and compete for jobs.	It is the state's responsibility to provide enough jobs for everyone.
Taxation	High taxation reduces people's urge to work hard and earn more.	Businesses and people earning high incomes should pay heavy taxes in order to support those with less money.
Social Services	Providing excellent social services discourages people from working hard and looking after themselves.	It is the state's responsibility to care for the poor and underprivileged by providing excellent social services such as hospitals and good housing for everyone.

Frequent reference is made to the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. Write half a page on each highlighting the main achievements of both. What was the difference between them?

Select one ideology and identify a country in which that ideology is the basis of political practice. Briefly describe the main characteristics of government in your selected country.

Describe recent examples of terrorism in the USA. List chronologically what happen and explain some of the possible reasons behind the actions of the terrorists.

Topic 4: Ideologies in practice

Socialism after WW I

Between the wars socialists were able to form governments, usually in coalition with or supported by other parties. They were in power in the 1920s in Great Britain and Germany, and in the 1930s in Belgium, France, and Spain. In Sweden, where social democrats have been more successful than elsewhere, they governed without interruption from 1932 to 1976. After 1945 in most of Western Europe socialist parties became the main alternative to conservative and Christian democratic parties. Socialist parties, now frequently in government, concentrated on social and economic reforms under capitalism. Though these varied from country to country, socialist reforms included:

- The introduction of a comprehensive welfare system
- The attainment of full employment using techniques of macroeconomic management
- Rescuing weak or inefficient capitalist enterprises
- Protecting employment
- Improving working conditions
- Controlling public utilities

Socialist ideas greatly influenced independence movements, notably the Indian National Congress in India, the African National Congress in South Africa, and post-colonial regimes such as those of Zambia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. The collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union and in eastern and central Europe led to the transformation of many of the former Communist parties into socialist parties.

During the 1970s, it was generally assumed that in order to restore growth, employers and governments would have to reach some understanding with the trade unions. This gave a distinct advantage to socialist parties. They obtained power in Portugal, Spain, Greece, and France, where they had never or rarely held it before. Rising unemployment, however, weakened the trade unions and, by increasing poverty and the problems associated with it, made social protection via the welfare state far more costly than it had been in the days of full employment.

The collapse of Communism

With the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet Communism entered a period of long-overdue reforms. The planned economy had been successful in lifting the USSR from industrial backwardness. It had failed utterly to develop a consumer society. The country had remained secretive and repressive. Gorbachev assumed that Communism could be saved by introducing more openness (*glasnost*) and economic restructuring (*perestroika*).

As these reforms failed to halt economic decline, the country began to implode with the rise of separatist tendencies, particularly in the Baltic republics which had been annexed in 1939. The Soviet bloc too was breaking apart. In Poland, where a military coup had halted the growth of the independent trade union movement Solidarity, relatively free elections in 1989 had returned an anti-Communist majority. Gorbachev's manifest intention to refrain from intervening in

Eastern Europe led in 1989-1990 to the pulling down of the Berlin Wall, the unification of Germany, and the collapse of Communist rule in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania. The Yugoslav Federal Republic splintered into five separate states, three of which sank into a prolonged armed conflict.

In Moscow in August 1991, a failed takeover by nostalgic Communists paved the way for the replacement of the increasingly unpopular Gorbachev by Boris Yeltsin. By the end of 1991 the Communist party of the Soviet Union was banned, the USSR abolished, and the former Soviet Republics independent states. The Communist experiment which made such an impact on the history of the 20th century was over.

Post-war Fascism

The defeat of Germany and Italy in World War II essentially discredited fascism in Europe in the post-war period. The only remotely fascist government to take power in the post-war period, that of Juan Domingo Perón, who was elected president of Argentina in 1946, had a broadly popular working-class base and little in common with pre-war European fascism. Countries like Spain and Portugal whose fascist governments remained in power after the war went from totalitarianism to authoritarianism, their fascist traits diffusing.

The 1980s and 1990s brought an unexpected revival of fascism in some Western democracies, usually dubbed neo-fascism. This had various forms and fortunes in different countries, but exhibited a general racist antipathy towards immigrants from the Third World, and a general disillusionment with established political parties. In Western Europe there has been an increase in support for strongly nationalist and sometimes overtly racist groups, whether or not labelled specifically as fascist or neo-Nazi, across the world. It appears that, despite its bloody and disastrous record, fascism is by no means dead as a political force and is indeed taking new forms and adapting to new conditions.

British and American Conservatism

The most notable phenomenon of the 1980s was the conservative movement in the United States and Great Britain. After World War II, an entire generation lived under a liberal consensus, based on expanding government controls and welfare measures that were taken for granted. The conservatives successfully urged more limited growth of domestic spending, a strong defence movement, and a more explicitly anti-Communist foreign policy

In the 20th century, the British Conservative party accepted and even initiated economic controls by the state and broadened the social responsibility of the state in matters of health, education, and economic security. After World War II the Conservatives went so far as to accept the nationalization of key industries that had been instituted by the Labour (Socialist) Party and to endorse fully the tenets of the welfare state.

In America individual freedoms and property rights were identified with moral, religious, political, and civil rights. It was assumed that growth, change, and progress derived mainly from individual effort and competition. Wealth was considered proof of a person's natural superiority; poverty connoted moral inadequacy and lack of resourcefulness. Competition for goods, services, wealth, and power was considered natural and therefore necessary.

Topic 5: Political instability

As a result of World War I, the rule of family dynasties in Turkey, Russia, Austria, and Germany was ended, and in Central and Eastern Europe a number of new nation-states arose, notably Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), and Hungary. However, many of the new nation-states contained national minorities who demanded independence or changes in frontiers.

Another far-reaching effect of World War I was the rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa under the impact of Western ideas and industrialism. Asian nationalism was also inspired by the example of Japan, the first Far Eastern country to assume on its own initiative the form of a modern nation and to win, in 1905, a war against a Western power, the Russo-Japanese War. After World War I, the leader of the Indian National Congress, Mohandas Gandhi, deeply stirred the aspirations of the Indian masses for national independence. In China the leader of the Guomintang, or Kuomintang (Nationalist People's party), Sun Yat-sen, inspired a successful national revolution.

The penetration of nationalism into colonial countries was hastened by World War II. The British, French, and Dutch empires in eastern Asia were overrun by the Japanese, who widely disseminated the nationalistic slogan "Asia for the Asians". The colonial powers were weakened further by the military and economic consequences of the war and by the expansion of Soviet power. Great Britain willingly granted independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Burma (now Myanmar), Malaya (now part of Malaysia), and the Gold Coast (now Ghana). Similarly, the United States granted independence to the Philippines. The Netherlands relinquished control of the Netherlands Indies, which became the Republic of Indonesia. France lost possession of its colonial empire in Indo-China. By 1957, nationalism had asserted itself throughout Asia, and the colonial empires there, with the exception of that of the Soviet Union, ceased to exist.

As the 1990s began, nationalism remained a potent force in world affairs. Competing Jewish, Arab, and Palestinian nationalist aspirations continued to generate political instability in the Middle East. In Eastern Europe, where nationalist passions had largely been held in check since World War II, the decline of Communist rule unleashed separatist forces that contributed to the sometimes violent dissolution of the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia and threatened the integrity of other countries.

Political instability caused by difficult economic situations is widespread in the Third World. Democracy in the Western meaning of the term is frequently absent. The countries concerned have commonly preferred to create their own institutions based on indigenous traditions, needs, and aspirations. The Third World displays little homogeneity; it is divided by race, religion, culture, and geography, as well as frequently opposite interests. It generally sees world politics in terms of a global struggle between rich and poor countries.

2.1 Activity 2

With what ideology would you associate the leaders pictured below? What happened to each of them?



Hitler

The Dictator of Germany, Adolf Hitler (1889~1945), was born in Austria. He went to live in Germany in 1912. He fought in World War I. After Germany's defeat in the war, Hitler became the head of a new party, the National Socialists (or Nazis). In 1933 the Nazis came to power and Hitler became Fuhrer (Leader). The Nazis hated Communists and Socialists. They also hated Jews, Slavs, gypsies, and others who were not, they said, of 'pure' German blood. As a result, millions of innocent people were killed, or died in concentration camps. Hitler took possession of Austria and Czechoslovakia. In 1939 he invaded Poland. As a result of this invasion, Britain and France declared war on Germany. In 1941 Hitler rashly invaded the USSR. Germany was defeated in 1945.



Kennedy

The youngest man, and the first Roman Catholic, to be elected President of the US was John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963). Kennedy served in the Navy in World War II. After the war, Kennedy went into politics. He was elected President in 1960. He helped to show the American people how to meet the problems of a scientific age. He fought against racial discrimination - the idea that black Americans should not have the same rights as whites.



Lenin

Lenin's real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (1870-1924). He studied law and the writings of Karl Marx. He organized trade unions for the workers but unions were forbidden in Russia. Lenin was imprisoned and then exiled (in 1897) to Siberia, in the far east of Russia. In 1900 Lenin was released, and went to Western Europe. He became a leader of a revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks - whom we now call the Communists - overthrew the government in the November Revolution (1917), and Lenin became the country's leader. As head of government, he carried out many changes.



Mao Tse-tung

Mao Tse-tung, who led China from 1949 to 1976, was born in 1893, the son of a farmer. He studied the writings of Karl Marx at university. He helped to form the Chinese Communist Party, and later gained control of it. Mao won the support of China's peasants (small farmers) and organized an army. After Japan's defeat by the Allies in World War II, Mao's army defeated China's ruler, General Chiang Kai-Shek. The Communists then came to power. In 1949 Mao was elected Chairman (Chief of State) of the new Communist People's Republic of China. Under Mao China became a leading country in international politics.



Mussolini

Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) came to power as leader of the Fascist Party in October 1922. Later he became Dictator of Italy and the ally of Adolf Hitler in World War II. The Fascists were nationalist and very anti-communist, and they bullied their way to power. As Il Duce (the Leader), Mussolini was ruthless both at home and abroad. In 1937 he invaded and conquered Ethiopia - then called Abyssinia - while other countries refused to interfere.



Stalin

Stalin (1879-1953) was a leader of the 1917 Revolution in Russia. This led to the birth of the new Russia, the USSR. After Lenin's death, Stalin became head of the government. He aimed to build up Russia's industry and transform agriculture by a series of five-year plans. He also carried out 'purges'. Thousands of people who opposed his rule were purged (imprisoned or executed). In World War II, Stalin defended the USSR against the invasion of Nazi Germany in 1941. After the war, he ruled harshly until his death. He was a ruthless man, but, by the time he died, the USSR had become a major world power.

Look up each ideology and identify one person closely associated with the ideology. Write a brief paragraph on each individual. Do not re-do the individuals in the table above.

Section 3: Types of Government

Traditional government

Different types of traditional government developed because people in the world knew very little about each other and each community advanced and developed in its own way.

Traditionally in PNG, each culture or community had its own customs, laws, ways of choosing leaders and organising activities. People joined together to garden, hunt, fish, build houses, trade and protect each other. Rules for the good of the community were made by leaders and enforced by the 'big men' or chiefs for each clan. Problems between groups were solved by talking, tribal fighting, payback and compensation.

Today communities still follow some of their traditional laws. While they are generally referred to as customs or traditions, they really have the force of law in most places. If the laws do not interfere with provincial or national laws they are allowed to remain. These laws tend to deal with such things as land, sacred places, food, ceremonies and marriage.

Colonialism

Colonialism (imperialism) is a system of government control by one country over people in another country. This is done by establishing colonies or controlling the trade of the other country. By the 1900s, many European countries, including Britain, France, Germany and Holland, had imperial possessions (empires). Britain and Germany were earlier colonial governments in PNG. Later, Australia governed as a representative of Britain. Although most countries in the world are politically independent, some remain economically dependent on the developed countries. PNG is politically independent and governs itself, but it is still economically dependent on foreign aid from developed countries.

Democracy

'Democracy is government of the people, by the people, for the people,' said Abraham Lincoln, who was the 16th President of the USA. Democracy is government by the people, or by elected representatives of the people. PNG has a democratic form of government. The people who decide whether or not a law or a new project or an investment will be suitable for PNG are elected by the whole adult population.

Dictatorship

A dictatorship is a system of government in which one person has the absolute authority. There are usually no elections in a dictatorship. A dictator has complete power over a country. There is usually no government group to help rule the country. Often the dictator's power is obtained and kept by force, such as using the defence forces.

A dictator can be called 'benevolent' if s/he uses her/his powers for the good of the people, not simply for her/his own. Although many dictators have promised to defend the rights of the people, most of them have failed to do so. Many dictators have taken over the government in times of crisis, but they have ruled in a cruel and violent way. They order punishment and death for anyone who opposes them.

Communism

Communists believe that everyone should have the same living standards, money and belongings. There is no individual freedom in communism. In present communist countries, the communist party in power controls the government, the defence force, the public service, banks, land, shops, education, television, radio and newspapers. The people only learn, hear, know and have what the communist party wants them to.

Republicanism

A President is head of state in a Republic. Some presidents are executive presidents who organise and direct the government, such as in the USA; others are ceremonial and a prime minister organises the government, such as in Vanuatu. Republics can be full democracies in which they elect their presidents and have opposition parties, such as in the Philippines. Other republics have only limited elections and oppositions, such as in Indonesia. Republics can begin after a revolution in which the people overthrow the ruling government. Fiji became a republic after the army took over the country in October 1987. Other republics in the Pacific area are Nauru, Kiribati, Vanuatu, Palau, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Fiji and Northern Marianas.

2.1 Activity 3

Research one example of each type of government which is current today. Select from the Pacific region first.

Section 4: International Relations

Today no state and no economy can exist on its own for long without contact or international relations. Contact (involving trade, know-how, capital) with the outside world and its groupings and exchanges go on between states and between non-state actors such as international organisations. The foreign policy of a state is conditioned by this international environment.

Depending on what and how much a state contributes to the rest of the world and its international relations, the state and its society will be accorded a certain position in international affairs. The state in the international system has power if it can exploit its control over resources, other states/organisations and/or events.

Power in the international system is defined as the power that every state has earned for itself. Different states will hold different degrees of power. There is an unequal distribution of power in international politics. The power a state has depends on a number of factors. These include:

- The location of a state (geography)
- Its natural resources
- Its stage of industrialisation
- Its military preparedness
- The size of its population
- Whether the national culture encourages or blocks development
- The degree of contentedness of the population
- The skill of its diplomats

In international law and in international diplomacy, all nation-states, including the new states, are treated as equal to each other. At the General Assembly of the United Nations, for instance, each state has only one vote; all are recognised as equals. Generally, the reality is quite different. The older nation-states have great economic and political power over the new states. For example in the United States of America, the per capita income may be US \$20,000 per year, compared with Myanmar or Bangladesh, where it may be less than US \$200.

Decolonisation

The changed political and economic conditions in the world after the end of World War II in 1945 led to a period of struggle which resulted in for independence the great majority of colonial territories. In general the late 1940s and 1950s constitute the period of decolonisation in Asia. In the 1960s, Africa underwent rapid decolonisation; the 1970s formed the decade of independence for the Pacific.

The means by which independence was won varied greatly.

- In some territories, the process was peacefully negotiated and relatively amicable. This was certainly the experience of Papua New Guinea. Such diverse countries as Malaysia, Nigeria and Fiji also had a relatively smooth transition to statehood.

- In other territories, independence was only won after bitter and violent struggle. Such was the experience of Vietnam, Algeria and the Portuguese colonies in Africa (Angola and Mozambique).

In many ex-colonial states, political crises followed independence as different ethnic groups and political factions, united in opposition to colonial domination, came into conflict after the imperialist 'common enemy' has been removed. Some times people's expectations are raised to an unreasonable level when independence is achieved. When their material hopes are not realised it is often blamed on the post-colonial political system.

The UN played an important role in the process of decolonisation. Since its establishment, more than 75 formerly dependent territories have joined the UN as sovereign independent states. The decolonisation machinery of the UN gave international endorsement to Australia's program of decolonisation of Papua and New Guinea, and to the wish of the residents of Cocos and Keeling Islands to become an integral part of the Australian Commonwealth. It oversaw the move to orderly independence by several of the island states in the South Pacific.

New nation-states

The number of independent states has grown tremendously. Whereas there were 56 states in 1939, by the 1990s there were 172. The most recent former colony to be recognised as a new state is Namibia (independence in 1990).

Some of these new nation-states were old nations which re-emerged as independent states, but, in the majority of cases, they represented entirely new nations. These were nations 'in-the-making', since the new country was composed of many nationalities. Often the only thing they had in common was the fact that they had all been ruled by the same colonial power and had together opposed colonialism. Their attempts to bring about national unity and a national identity is referred to as nation-building.

There are inequalities in the resources that these unequally matched states can spend on making foreign policy and conducting diplomacy. Many new states find it a financial burden to participate and contribute to international organisations such as the United Nations. Whilst the big industrial powers can afford to send their diplomatic representatives to most countries of the world, the new states can only afford to send theirs to a select few.

2.1 Activity 4

Name some of the places where PNG has diplomatic missions. Why has PNG closed missions in several countries?

Many new states fared poorly during the economic downturn of the 1970s. Countries in Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia, have been unable to spend revenue on extra development since a large percentage of revenue earned from export earnings has to go

toward the repayment of debt and/or interest on the debt. The budgets of states have been cut in the restructuring programmes of the IMF.

The state of Papua New Guinea

The mainland of Papua New Guinea together with its six hundred other islands (463 000 square kilometres) has a population of approximately 4.1 million. Most of the people are Melanesian, but some are Micronesian or Polynesian. There are over seven hundred language groups, reflecting the diverse origins of the people in ancient times and their separation from one another in a mountainous and difficult terrain. English, Tok Pisin (Pidgin), and Motu (the lingua franca of the Papuan region) are the official languages.

The spectrum of Papua New Guinean society now ranges from traditional village-based life dependent on subsistence and small cash-crop agriculture, to modern urban life in the main cities of Port Moresby (capital), Lae, Madang, Wewak, Goroka, Mt Hagen, and Rabaul. Some 85 per cent of the population directly derive their livelihood from farming, and 15 per cent of the population live in urban areas. It is estimated that the population is growing at a rate of approximately 2.5 per cent per annum. Approximately 50,000 people leave school each year to join the workforce, but no more than 15 per cent can find formal sector employment.

The Head of State is Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, represented in Papua New Guinea by the Governor-General. The National Parliament is a single chamber legislature elected for five-year terms by universal suffrage in single constituency open or provincial electorates. The National Executive Council (the cabinet) comprises the Prime Minister (who is appointed and dismissed by the Head of State, represented by the Governor-General, on the proposal of Parliament) and ministers (who are appointed and dismissed by the Head of State on the proposal of the Prime Minister). An independent judicial system comprises the Supreme Court and National Court, and local and village courts. The system of government is one of responsible parliamentary democracy.

Topic 6: Foreign policy

Diplomatic relations

'Diplomatic relations' is the term used to describe the official connection between two countries. People employed by their country to be that country's representative in another country are called 'diplomats'. Members of the diplomatic service look after the interests of their country and its citizens who live in the country in which the diplomats are employed.

Ambassador or high commissioner

An ambassador or a high commissioner is the senior diplomat in a foreign land. An ambassador explains what the government is doing or thinking about trade and defence. The ambassador has a staff of advisors, secretaries and clerks who all work in the diplomatic service. An ambassador and his/her diplomatic service work in an embassy, which is usually a large official building in the capital of the other country. Usually, this embassy is regarded as a piece of the ambassador's own country and does not come under the laws of the country in which it is built.

When a foreign ambassador arrives in PNG, he/she hands a letter from his/her country's leader to the PNG Governor-General, asking the PNG government to trust him/her. The foreign ambassador speaks regularly to members of the PNG government.

A Commonwealth country's ambassador in another Commonwealth country is called the 'High Commissioner' and the official residence is the High Commission. The duties of a high commissioner and his/her staff are similar to that of an ambassador. PNG has a Papua New Guinean ambassador or high commissioner responsible for each of the countries with which PNG has diplomatic relations

Consuls

If there is not an embassy in PNG, a business person may act as a consul for a country. These consuls do not make decisions for the country but they represent or speak officially on its behalf. They help the people from that country that visit or live in PNG. Consuls can give you information about the countries they represent. Consuls are semi-official and are not permitted to be paid.

Passports, visas and work permits

People travelling in foreign countries carry a passport. This small, official book shows the owner's photo and contains a personal description. Only your government can give you a passport and you are unable to travel legally without one.

Since 1 January 1976, foreign people coming to PNG have had to have a passport and a visa. This visa is stamped in the passport by a government official. The visa states the reason for the visit and the length of time the person will be staying in PNG.

Since 1972, only Papua New Guineans have been allowed to work in certain jobs. Non-citizens (expatriates) who want to work in PNG must have a work permit and be willing to train Papua New Guineans to replace them. Money must be paid to the government by the non-citizen or his/her employer to get a work permit.

Foreign policy

In order to defend its interests, a state takes a stand towards the outside. It must know what position to take toward external state and non-state actors who come into contact with it. Every nation-state has a policy toward the international environment based on how it thinks the interests of its people can best be met. This is the national interest.

When a state applies a policy towards the outside world (composed of state and non-state actors) in order to advance its national interest, we call that policy its foreign policy. Each nation-state has a national interest and a foreign policy based on how it expects to relate to the rest of the world.

- The first and most important aim is to have other states recognise its status of independence.
- The second aim is to ensure that the international environment is supportive and that it is well-disposed toward the country in its efforts to promote the economic and social well-being of its people. This support enables the people's social, educational, economic and cultural levels of development to keep pace with development elsewhere.

- The third aim is to defend the state's independence, its sovereignty against military and security threats from outside.

In order to meet these aims, a state will engage in two types of relations.

- Bilateral relations are relations between two states, for example when the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Australia holds talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Papua New Guinea, the two countries are engaged in bilateral relations.
- Multilateral relations are relations where the one state relates to many states at the same time. Example: Papua New Guinea's membership of the South Pacific Forum is an exercise in multilateral relations since the state is relating to many states at the same time.

In pursuing its foreign policy, a country such as Papua New Guinea will attempt to advance its national interest. This may mean that at times Papua New Guinea will attempt to gain influence over those state and non-state actors which affect its position in international relations. This is often a very difficult undertaking. Developing states are often unable to formulate or defend their own national interests adequately. They find that their national interests take second place to the national interests of the dominant Western powers and the organisational priorities of international institutions and multinational corporations.

PNG's foreign policies

With Independence in 1975 came responsibility in the international arena. The first Foreign Minister, Sir Albert Maori Kiki, announced that "Papua New Guinea wishes to establish friendly relations with as many countries as possible and to be hostile to none." This stance was called 'universalism'.

The first white paper on Foreign Affairs was seen through parliament in 1981 by then Foreign Minister Noel Levi. He summed up the new approach as "active and selective engagement." This enabled PNG to continue with universalism while pursuing specific interests.

It is significant that Papua New Guinea did not have to win independence from Australia. Relations with Australia were amicable, often based on personal ties. Australian political institutions and administrative structures were left in place. Unlike other colonial powers, Australia is a close neighbour. PNG and Australia are affected by the same strategic and regional issues.

2.1 Activity 5

Scan recent newspapers to discover which countries PNG has interacted with during that period. Were the interactions political, economic or social?

Since Independence in 1975, successive PNG governments have issued general statements on foreign policy. These differ in emphasis but are broadly consistent. They reflect a view that Papua New Guinea, the most resource-rich and populous of the island countries of the South Pacific, should play an important role in that region while also looking to develop substantial relationships with the countries of East and South East Asia.

Prime Minister Pias Wingti, whose governments held office in 1985-88 and 1992-94, enunciated a "look north" approach that underlined the potential of relations with Asia. The Chan government that followed in 1994 re-stated the importance of maintaining a global view while affirming the importance of "working the Pacific", although subsequent policy statements spoke of the importance of ensuring the maintenance of "core relationships". The Skate government did not depart from these general principles, but paid attention in particular to strengthening individual bilateral relations with neighbouring countries, including with Solomon Islands and Indonesia.

Sir Mekere Morauta has emphasised the importance of PNG's relations with Australia. His government's foreign policy was set out by then Foreign Minister Sir Michael Somare in August 1999. Objectives included:

- Gaining the support of APEC economies to assist PNG to stabilise its economy
- Seeking a more permanent form of association with ASEAN
- Developing the PNG-Queensland gas pipeline
- Strengthening links with China (while developing bilateral cooperation with Taiwan)
- Requesting extension of the mandate for the UN Observer mission on Bougainville; facilitating co-operation in the Torres Strait
- Seeking additional resources to monitor and intercept illegal approaches into PNG

Membership of South Pacific regional organisations and participation in the wide range of island country arrangements, have been an important aspect of PNG's foreign relations since before Independence. Papua New Guinea is a member of the South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Commission, and regional sub-groupings such as the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP). Papua New Guinea has also been a major player in the Melanesian Spearhead Group, a political/economic grouping established in 1988 and comprising also Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, FLNKS (New Caledonia) and Fiji.

Relations with the countries of East and South East Asia have been emphasised by Papua New Guinea, with ministers of successive governments visiting the region regularly. Indonesia, with which Papua New Guinea shares a land border, has been of key importance, with relations underpinned by a Treaty of Mutual Respect, Friendship and Co-operation.

Japan is also significant in Papua New Guinea's foreign relations, particularly as it is a major aid donor. A memorandum of understanding on regular high-level consultations was agreed with China in 1992. Relations with Malaysia and the Philippines are long-standing, and those with Singapore have been developing in recent times. As elsewhere in the South Pacific, companies based in East and South-East Asia have interests in some of Papua New Guinea's major resource industries, including logging and fisheries.

Papua New Guinea is an Associate Member of ASEAN, and signed a Treaty of Amity and Cooperation with that organisation in 1989. Papua New Guinea is keen to upgrade that relationship, if not to membership, then to what has been described by one PNG foreign

minister as "a more permanent relationship". It is a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

Papua New Guinea's membership of APEC and the WTO has brought it into closer association with the major economies of the region and has provided a formal framework for movement towards recasting its domestic economic policies.

Papua New Guinea maintains official overseas representation in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Republic of Korea, China, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium (Mission to the European Union), France, and the United States, and to the United Nations in New York.

 **2.1 Activity 6**

Case study – Select a country (other than Australia or Indonesia) with whom PNG has diplomatic ties. Describe the nature of the relationship between the two countries.

Using sources such as Waiko – "A Short History of PNG" and Dorney – "Papua New Guinea: People, Politics and History since 1975", and recent news stories, research PNG's relationship with Indonesia

To what extent is PNG similar to parts of Indonesia?

Pacific Democracy Still Fragile

The Pacific islands people were among the latest to form independent countries. Different colonial powers settled and colonised the islands at different times and established governments and administrative systems based on their own government and administrative structures back home.

We, of the Pacific islands are divided into three racial groups Melanesians, Polynesians and Micronesians. Constitutionally, there are 24 legal units, of which some have independent status while others have free association or part of a country.

American Samoa, the Federated States of Micronesia, Guam, Marshall Islands and Palau with different degrees of self-government are associated with the US,

New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna and French Polynesia remain part of France while Irian Jaya (now West Papua) remains an integral part of Indonesia,

The Cook Islands and Tokelau, with limited self-government, are associated with New Zealand.

Of the fully independent island states, Western Samoa was the first to gain independence in 1962 under a written constitution. Others include Nauru – 1968, Fiji – 1970, PNG -1975, Solomon Island, and Tuvalu - 1978, Kiribati – 1979. Melanesian islanders of New Caledonia and West Papua are still seeking independence from France and Indonesia respectively. All independent states in the Pacific islands have written constitutions. The written constitution establishes basic principles of statehood, of the government structures, laws, territories etc.

These written constitutions establish fair elections. Only in a few island states, traditional authorities are recognised and powers given to them of varying degrees. For example as Tonga is a kingdom, the king is recognised as the head of government, while in Fiji, the Council of Chiefs was recognised in the most recent Constitution.

The problems in Melanesia recently appear to have demonstrated one point, and that is that constitutional democracy has not taken root in the Pacific islands. Constitutional government and democracy are still fragile and we all in the Pacific must be wary of this, if we are to succeed as functional nations in the community of nations in the world

The written constitutions of Fiji have been thrown out twice now. The first constitution, that was drawn up after negotiations with Britain in 1965 and adopted on independence in 1970, was thrown out by Sitiveni Rabuka following the October 1987 coup. George Speight has thrown out the constitution that was adopted in 1990 replacing the 1970 one. Even though the constitutional problems in Fiji are still ongoing, it is clear that the constitution has been discarded, since the Prime Minister is held captive, the president has been forced to resign, the Council of Chiefs has been ignored somewhat and the army has declared martial law Whether it is George Speight who is in charge or it is the military, the constitution no longer rules.

Solomon Islands is facing a similar problem. It is not clear whether the recent reported detention of the Solomon Islands Prime Minister is a coup or is a way of forcing him to resign What is clear is that the actions taken by the Malaita Eagle Force are clearly outside the constitution. Solomon Islands has a

written constitution, similar to PNG as they adopted most principles from PNG.

The problems in Fiji are race related between Melanesian Fijians and Indian Fijians. The problems are related to what Melanesian Fijians perceive as first economic and now political disenfranchisement of indigenous Fijians. Or, put simply, the Indians first took over economic power and recently look political control with the election of an Indian Fijian as Prime Minister.

The problems in Solomon Islands bear more resemblance to some of the issues that face PNG daily. Islanders from Guadalcanal resent Malaitans who are more aggressive and who take over business and government jobs in Honiara. But Malaitans and Guadalcanals are not the only people that make up Solomon Islands. There are other cultural groups as well. There are four other big islands - New Georgia, Makira, Isobel and Chiseul - with sizeable populations. Some of these islands have people who are not Melanesians. Britain settled people from Gilbert Islands (now Kiribati) in Solomon Islands. They are Solomon Islands citizens. The people of Western province of Solomon Islands are like the people of North Solomons, distinct from the Malaitans and the Guadalcanals. The problems in Solomon Islands are between Malaitans and Guadalcanals only. There are no major political or other issues that have given rise to the problems. They started as law and order problems. Because these apparently were not dealt with decisively, later politicians took sides and now it is a problem that is affecting sovereignty and constitutional democracy in Solomon Islands.

There are many lessons to be learnt from these events in Fiji and Solomon Islands. In Papua New Guinea, we have people from many provinces and regions. Often, it has been said that PNG will not have similar coups like those that have become a common feature of Fijian political process. But constitutional problems leading to undermining of constitutional and democratic process do not necessarily arise because of coups only. The problems in Solomon Islands demonstrate that clearly. PNG has already started down the route. The Bougainville problem was the beginning of it.

Adapted from *Post-Courier*, June 2001

2.1 Activity 7

If PNG is to remain a strong, vibrant democracy, what lessons are to be learnt from these problems in the Pacific region?

Topic 7: Treaties and conventions

What are treaties?

Treaties are international agreements which are binding under international law. These agreements may take a variety of forms and titles, for example, "convention", "agreement", "protocol", "executive agreement", "exchange of notes" or "exchange of letters". They can be bilateral (between two parties) or multilateral (among more than two parties).

Treaties may be concluded by sovereign (independent) States and by international organizations. Some countries which are not fully independent can also conclude treaties on some subjects.

A party is obliged to observe the provisions of a treaty once it has consented to be bound by it, or from a specified time after that consent. There are several ways of consenting to be bound by a treaty:

- Signature alone (definitive signature)
- Signature confirmed later by the exchange of third person notes
- The exchange of notes or letters which together constitute a treaty
- Signature confirmed by a later step such as ratification or approval
- Accession (also sometimes called acceptance or adhesion)

Once a treaty has entered into force, the parties' obligations are those set out in the text of the treaty. A signatory to a treaty which has not yet entered into force is obliged to refrain from acts which would defeat the object and purpose of the treaty. Most of the law relating to treaties is set out in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1969.

Treaties may be concluded on any subject on which international co-operation or action is appropriate. The majority deal with practical aspects of international dealings, such as postal services, telecommunications, shipping, trade, health and welfare, taxation, investment protection and scientific and technological co-operation. Other subjects dealt with include defence, co-operation in criminal justice matters, human rights and environmental protection.

Following are examples of treaties or conventions to which PNG is a signatory.

Treaty	Date	Notes
Treaty concerning Sovereignty and Maritime Boundaries in the Area between the Two Countries, including the Area known as the Torres Strait, and Related Matters [Torres Strait Treaty]	15 February 1985	The Treaty entered into force when instruments of ratification were exchanged at Port Moresby 15 February 1985 pursuant to Article 32.
Treaty on Development Co-operation	31 July 2000	The Treaty entered into force on the date nominated in an exchange of Notes of 12-28 July and 26 September 2000 pursuant to Article 11.1. Replaced Treaty of 24 May 1989, as amended (above). ATS 2000 No. 30.
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	1979	Article 1 of the Convention defines discrimination against women as follows: "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field". As at 15 January 01, 161 States have accepted the Convention.

Law of Sea Convention	1982	Utula U. Samana (PNG), speaking on behalf of the members of the South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency, said the signing of the Agreement on straddling and highly migratory fish stocks would foster genuine partnership and cooperation in the management and conservation of the world's fisheries resources.
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2.1 Activity 8

See if you can find information on these treaties / conventions.

- *Kyoto Protocol (1997)*
 - *Convention on Biodiversity (1992)*
 - *Framework Convention on Climatic Change (1992)*
 - *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)*
-

Topic 8: Foreign aid

Foreign aid is given to poorer countries by the countries which are more developed and richer.

- Aid is provided for the following reasons:
- Humanitarian, to improve people's lives by providing healthy living conditions in peaceful surroundings
- Development, by increasing the industries
- Political, by improving its relationship with the receiving country
- Defence, to have friends in a region where there might also be unfriendly countries

Aid in PNG

Twenty per cent of PNG's total annual development expenditure comes from aid agencies and other countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Germany, China and Korea.

Sources of development assistance in PNG include the:

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC), which gives technical assistance and scholarships for overseas study
- European Investment Bank, which loans money to the PNG government for projects such as oil palm growing and to invest in Ok Tedi Mining
- World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, which give technical assistance and loans for education, roads, communications, electricity and agricultural projects

- Volunteers, who have their living expenses paid by their home countries, who teach or give technical assistance in PNG
- Papua New Guinea-Australia Development Cooperation Program (funded by AusAID)

Most countries offer 'tied aid' for special projects. This aid takes the form of technical assistance, materials and products, not money, which can be spent in the government budget. Often, personnel experts and equipment from the donating country must be used for tied aid projects.

Australia gives the most foreign aid to PNG. It takes the form of money, technical and personnel assistance. In 1993, the Australian government decided that most of the aid to PNG would be tied aid. Until then most of their aid had been untied cash grants which the PNG government could use in any way it wanted. None of the assistance from other countries was on the same favourable terms as the untied cash grants from Australia.

 **2.1 Activity 9**

Discuss this statement: "It was wrong of Australia stop giving cash grants to PNG."

Papua New Guinea - Australia bilateral relations

The major bilateral meeting for Australia and Papua New Guinea is the Australia-PNG Ministerial Forum. Key aspects of the relationship between Australia and Papua New Guinea are encompassed in a number of formal bilateral arrangements. The umbrella agreement is the Joint Declaration of Principles of 1987, revised in 1992. Specific arrangements include the:

- Papua New Guinea-Australia Trade and Commercial Relations Agreement (PATCRA II)
- Agreement for the Promotion and Protection of Investment (APPI)
- Double Taxation Agreement
- Treaty on Development Cooperation; the Agreed Statement on Security Cooperation
- Torres Strait Treaty
- Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the PNG-Queensland Gas Pipeline

Trade and investment

In 2000, Australian merchandise imports from Papua New Guinea totalled \$1.431 billion (an increase of 26.8% from the previous year). Papua New Guinea is Australia's 18th largest import market in goods. Papua New Guinea is Australia's 11th largest investment destination. Australian investment in Papua New Guinea was estimated at \$2.7 billion at end June 1999

(mining and petroleum dominate, followed by services). Papua New Guinea investment in Australia totalled \$228 million in June 1999).

Development cooperation

Reflecting the strong ties between Australia and Papua New Guinea, the development cooperation program between the two countries is by far the largest of any of Australia's bilateral aid programs. Australia currently provides about \$300 million in aid to Papua New Guinea each year. Both Governments have agreed that Australia's aid program can best support the goal of relieving poverty and achieving sustainable development by focusing on the four key objectives of:

- Strengthening governance
- Improving social indicators
- Building prospects for sustainable economic growth
- Consolidating the peace process in Bougainville

The PNG Government has identified education, health, governance and infrastructure as the highest priority sectors. It has placed an emphasis on upgrading the delivery of basic services to rural areas, especially to women and children. HIV/AIDS poses one of the biggest challenges to the social and economic development of PNG. In response, Australia is funding a large multi sector initiative aimed at supporting the PNG Government to implement its national prevention and care program. An incentive fund which is open to private and public sector organizations and non-government agencies allows organizations with a good track record to participate in development activities.

64% of all goods and services purchased in the aid program are purchased in PNG. So not only does PNG benefit directly from the projects and programs themselves, but there is a multiplier effect through PNG businesses too. About the same percentage of employment in the Australian aid program is PNG employment.

Defence relations

Expenditure on defence cooperation has declined from a peak of \$52 million in 1990-91 (coinciding with major infrastructure projects) to approximately \$9.7 million (1999-00 estimate). Nevertheless, this allocation of defence cooperation funds is the largest allocated to any single country, signifying the importance of Australia's defence relationship with Papua New Guinea. Australian assistance is focused increasingly on personnel and training assistance. The partnership is focused on developing human capital in the areas of strategic planning, defence management and core military skills (including leadership and discipline).

2.1 Activity 10

*Summarise the key elements of PNG's current relationship with Australia
Identify lasting influences from Australia's involvement in PNG.*

*Survey two groups of people (differing in age by 15-20 years) to find out
their views on the relationship between PNG and Australia.*

Topic 9: International organisations

International organizations play a variety of roles in the international system. First, international organizations are used by states, individually or collectively, as instruments of foreign policy. Second, they act, by their very presence in the system, to modify states' behaviour. Third, they sometimes achieve a degree of autonomy and influence as political actors in their own right.

United Nations

The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat form the core of the UN system. All are headquartered in New York, apart from the ICJ, which is located in The Hague. The General Assembly consists of all members of the UN, and, as such, is the focal point for much of the UN's activity.

The Security Council is the principal organ of the UN charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, and stands apart from the remainder of the UN organs as its decisions are binding legally on member states. The five permanent members of the Council are China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. The ten non-permanent members are elected for two-year terms on the following basis: five members from African and Asian states, one from Eastern Europe, two from the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean and two from Western European and Other states. The Council can be convened at any time, and meet in virtually continuous sessions if required.

2.1 Activity 11

Divide into small groups or pairs and find out what role each of these organizations plays within the United Nations.

- *The International Court of Justice (ICJ)*
- *The Secretariat*
- *The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).*
- *The International Labour Organisation (ILO)*
- *The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO)*
- *The World Health Organisation (WHO)*
- *The International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO)*
- *The International Maritime Organisation (IMO)*
- *United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)*
- *United Nations Development Program (UNDP)*

- *The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)*

What is PNG's status in the United Nations?

What United Nations agencies/organisations have been involved in the development of PNG? Provide specific examples.

Design a wall chart on the United Nations suitable for use in a lower primary classroom.

Papua New Guinea at the crossroads for development

PNG is at the policy crossroads in planning for growth. This was the message from the United Nations Development Program Resident Representative Peter Witham at the opening seminar on Economic Growth and Human development in Port Moresby.

This came as figures were released showing that PNG ranked well down the international list for Human Development Index, a barometer of progress for people in national growth. Papua New Guinea ranked 164 out of 174 countries on the Human Development Index, yet is considered a middle income country. Some of the Social Indicators such as infant mortality are a disaster on their own.

The report also addresses an issue of which is compelling and current importance in PNG. This is the issue of decentralising Government services. The report said that countries with diverse populations, such as Malaysia and Switzerland, were those which had implemented truly decentralised and political governance. Governments have to support people who "do" development out in the provinces where the problems and opportunities of human development lay.

Nelle Setepano *Post-Courier*, 31 January 1997

The Commonwealth of Nations

Besides those connected with the United Nations, there are many other groups in the world with which Papua New Guinea is associated. The Commonwealth of Nations is one of these. The Commonwealth is a voluntary association of countries that have lived under British law but are now independent. When Papua New Guinea became independent, in 1975, it became a member of the Commonwealth. Papua New Guinea states in its constitution that the Queen or her successors shall be Head of State. Since 1947, over 40 British colonies have become independent and nearly all have joined the Commonwealth. Today member countries regard Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom as the symbol of their free association and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

Leaders of Commonwealth countries get together to talk about common goals and problems, but no nation has to obey the conclusions that these leaders reach unless it wants to. There is a

Commonwealth Secretariat that helps bring together commonwealth activities in economic and foreign affairs, London, England, the headquarters for the Commonwealth.

- To the extent that the Commonwealth has a formal charter, it is contained in two documents - the Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles enunciated by Commonwealth heads of government in 1971, and the Harare Commonwealth Declaration of 1991 which pledged the Commonwealth and its member states to 'work with renewed vigour' to:
- Protect and promote the Commonwealth's fundamental political values which include democracy, democratic processes and institutions which reflect national circumstances, the rule of law, just and honest government and fundamental human rights, including equal rights and opportunities for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief
- Ensure equality for women
- Provide universal access to education
- Continue action to bring about the end of apartheid and establish a democratic, non-racial and prosperous South Africa
- Promote sustainable development and the alleviation of poverty
- Extend the benefits of development within a framework of respect for human rights
- Protect the environment
- Combat drug trafficking and abuse and communicable diseases
- Help small states in tackling their particular economic and security problems
- Support the UN and other international institutions in pursuing peace, disarmament and effective arms control, and in the promotion of international consensus on major global political, economic and social issues

Populations of member countries range in size from a few thousand people to several hundred million. These come to a total population of around 1.6 billion people - over a quarter of the world's population and around a third of its nation states make up the Commonwealth.

2.1 Activity 12

Using information provided by your lecturer, complete one of the following tasks:

Draw a map of Africa or the South Pacific region and mark in all countries which are Commonwealth members

List the 10 newest members in the order they joined beginning with the most recent.

Choose two countries from the 10 newest members and find out how and when those countries achieved independence.

South Pacific Commission

The South Pacific Commission, often referred to as SPC, was started in 1947 by the governments that were responsible for the administration of island territories in the Pacific. At that time, those were Australia, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, France and the United States. The Netherlands withdrew after West Irian became a part of Indonesia. Today the nations which have become independent since 1947 also belong. These are: Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Fiji, Nauru, Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu. Leaders of territories not yet independent may take part in conferences.

The main purpose of the Commission is to advise the governments which belong about ways of improving the welfare of the Pacific Islands. Commission experts give advice about improving tropical agriculture through the use of better seeds, better methods of cultivation, and by controlling plant diseases and pests. They try to improve water supplies and sanitation. More than that, they are concerned with prevention and control of diseases that especially found in tropical areas, such as malaria, dengue fever and typhoid.

The Pacific Islands Forum

The Pacific Islands Forum (known until 27 October 2000 as the South Pacific Forum), which is the key political organisation in the Pacific, is an annual meeting of the 16 Heads of Government of the independent and self-governing states in the Pacific.

The Pacific Islands Forum began with a meeting in 1971 in Wellington, New Zealand, when its seven founding members - Australia, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Nauru, New Zealand, Tonga and Western Samoa - met for the first time. The meeting stemmed from a desire by leaders to address common issues from a regional perspective and to give their collective views greater weight in the international community. The founding member countries have since been joined by (in order of joining) Niue, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and most recently (September 1995) Palau.

The political mandate of the Forum has been apparent since the communiqué of the first Forum meeting in 1971, which highlighted inter alia the participants "deep regret" over continued French nuclear testing in French Polynesia. From the start, Forum meetings have focused heavily on regional trade and economic development issues and, in recent years, have paid increasing attention to the environment. Regional law enforcement cooperation and security have also been part of the Forum's expanding agenda.

Following its 1994 meeting, the Forum took the significant step of successfully applying for observer status at the United Nations. It is also an observer at APEC meetings. The growing recognition of the Forum's role as an important channel by which the Pacific island countries express their collective views on international issues and maintain contact with countries and organisations outside the region is reflected in the development of an annual Post-Forum Dialogue with selected non-regional parties.

 **2.1 Activity 13**

Research PNG's role in the following organizations

- *ASEAN*
 - *Melanesian Spearhead Group*
-
-

World Bank

After World War II, many nations needed help in rebuilding what had been destroyed and developing new industries. A world bank was created for this purpose. Founded in 1944, the World Bank Group consists of five closely associated institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); International Development Association (IDA), International Finance Corporation (IFC); Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGDA); and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Since that time loans from the bank have helped promote trade and industry in both developed and underdeveloped nations. Loans are made to member countries or to private business enterprises. The bank also offers technical assistance to member countries. The World Bank has its headquarters in Washington DC, capital of the United States. The World Bank Group's responsibilities are principally to help countries reduce poverty, particularly by focusing on the institutional, structural and social dimensions of development.

Asian Development Bank (ADB)

Asian Development Bank was started in 1966 to help developing countries of Asia by lending them money. It has its headquarters in Manila, Philippines. Only countries which are members may borrow money. Any country which belongs to the United Nations or one of its special agencies may join. If non-Asian countries join, however, they must be economically developed countries. Each country that joins pledges an amount of money to the bank. Money is loaned to nations for such things as highways, irrigation projects or setting up industries.

The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have been second in importance, behind Australia, in helping PNG financially. They give technical assistance and loans for education, road, telecommunications, electricity, agricultural and rural development projects.

International Monetary Fund

The IMF was founded in 1944 to promote international monetary cooperation; facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade; promote exchange stability; make its resources temporarily available to its members experiencing balance of payments difficulties under adequate safeguards; and shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the international balances of payments of members. The IMF's core mandate includes the promotion of international financial stability and the macroeconomic stability and growth of member countries.

IMF loans K310 million, says Prime Minister

The International Monetary Fund has approved a K310 million loan for PNG. A happy Prime Minister, Sir Mekere Morauta, speaking after question time in Parliament, said that PNG has received K32 million of the amount dated 30th March 2000. The funds will go to the Bank of PNG for balance of payments support. The news is expected to boost the kina's recovery against all major currencies.

According to PNG's Executive Director on the IMF board, Greg Taylor, the board approved PNG's request for a 14 month stand-by arrangement. The next payment will be made in August and November this year and February and May next year. He said the market would welcome the news and he expected it would respond positively.

Sir Mekere said, since taking office in July last year the government through the supplementary budget and further consolidated under the 2000 Budget, had taken a series of actions to restore stability and confidence in our economic management. He said the important part of the strategy was the re-establishment of PNG's relations with the IMF and the World Bank, which were important institutions.

Post-Courier, 2001

European Economic Community (EEC)

European Economic Community (EEC) is a group of 12 Western European nations which have united in their trade activities. PNG is among 66 former colonies of the EEC nations that deal with them through a group known as African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP). They negotiate 5-year aid and trade agreements, which are called Lome Conventions. The EEC also gives the exports of ACP countries preferential treatment. In 1987, the EEC granted PNG K46000000 in interest-free loans (called Stabex Fund loans) to support and strengthen the copra, oil palm, and coffee industries during a period of low prices. In 1984, Rabbie Namaliu, then PNG's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, served as President of the ACP Council of Ministers.



2.1 Activity 14

Collect newspaper clippings which refer to World Bank, ADB or IMF activities.

Assess the impact these organisations have had on development in PNG.

Interview three people from different backgrounds eg politician, business person, villager to find out their opinions on PNG's dependence on such organisations.

APEC is mentioned in the following newspaper articles.

What is APEC? What is PNG's role in APEC? What does PNG receive from APEC?

Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC)

The Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) had a long way to go to convince the private sector it was useful, its key business advocate said yesterday. APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC) chairman Timothy Ong said many business leaders still believed APEC was an irrelevant talkfest.

This year there will be 120 APEC meetings. Mr Ong said, despite scepticism, APEC was the only realistic way trade barriers would be lowered throughout Asia. But he said business leaders were used to decisiveness and fast-paced change rather than the low compromise that was necessary between governments. APEC works on the basis of consensus. Tariffs are enforced by governments, unless we have governments getting together and discussing these things we will not have progress.

Post-Courier, 16 August 2000

APEC office to develop business database

The Port Moresby-based APEC Pacific regional centre will develop a business and economic database with regional and international networks. National Research Institute director Dr Beno Bocha said this when welcoming Cabinet's decision to establish, fund and annex the APEC regional centre to the institute. Dr. Bolica said that the decision to approve and fund the centre will now enable NRI to implement its plans to appoint key personnel to the new division and begin PNG's research commitment to the APEC process in the Pacific region. Cabinet announced an initial funding of K760,000 with expected additional funds from UNDP for the APEC regional centre which is now situated at the Waigani campus of the NRI. The Research activities will take into account APEC and World Trade Organisation initiatives to take advantage of the opportunities emerging from APEC for trade and investment promotion, economic and technical cooperation, and human resources and enterprise development.

PNG, as the only Pacific Islands country member of the APEC needs to assume the role of a 'coordinating bridge' between other Pacific countries and the organisation. Through this economic concerns of smaller Pacific islands countries can be channelled by PNG to the APEC forum. The NRI and APEC staff will formulate cross-border policies that address trade and investment development, energy cooperation, marine resources exploitation, telecommunication, transportation and tourism.

Post-Courier, 6 May 1997

APEC invitation for PNG

PAPUA New Guinea was officially invited to attend the 9th Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) informal leaders meeting which China will host in October this year.

Visiting Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation of the People's Republic of China Sun Zhenyu, who is in the country for bilateral talks with the Papua New Guinean Government, gave the invitation during his official meeting with Prime Minister Sir Mekere Morauta yesterday. Also present at the meeting were Trade and Industry Minister John Tekwie, Planning and Implementation Minister Moi Avei and Foreign Affairs Minister Bart Philemon.

Both countries will sign an agreement for economic and technical cooperation as part of a new round of assistance by China when Sir Mekere visits China in two months time.

Meanwhile, Chinese Ambassador to PNG Zhao Zhenyu told the Post-Courier the Vice Minister had suggested that both countries should work together to sign a fishing access agreement so that they both can expand cooperation in fishing.

Mr Zhenyu said: "The meeting with Sir Mekere and other ministers was very successful yesterday because both parties further reviewed the bilateral relations between PNG and China over the past 25 years."

Post-Courier, 30 March 2001

Multinational corporations

The multinational corporation, because of its great power to plan economic activity, represents an important step forward over previous methods of organizing international exchange. It demonstrates the social nature of production on a global scale. Through its ability to settle everywhere, and establish connections everywhere, the multinational corporation inhibits the development of national seclusion and self-sufficiency and creates a universal interdependence. It creates hierarchy rather than equality, and it spreads its benefits unequally.



2.1 Activity 15

In at least 4 groups, provide a profile of different multinational corporations operating in PNG.

Identify the benefits and problems such groups have brought to PNG.

Glossary

i It is probably more effective if students use module content, dictionaries and other reference material to compile their own glossary. The glossary can be used as an additional resource for the primary classroom if students can create vernacular definitions. Ask the students to select 5 of the terms and provide a 'tok ples' or 'tok pisin' definition.

Term	English definition	Vernacular definition
Ambassador		
Bilateral		
Consul		
Colony		
Convention		
Development		
Donor		
Foreign policy		
Forum		
Governance		
Multinational		
State		
Tied aid		
Treaty		

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- www.dfat.gov.au
- www.thecommonwealth.org
- www.un.org
- www.worldbank.org