

# Research on Pacific Island Countries

陈德正 主 编 // 王作成 执行主编 //

## 太平洋岛国研究

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(第二辑)

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社会科学文献出版社  
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

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# 《太平洋岛国研究》编委会

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## 卷首语

2017 年创刊以来,《太平洋岛国研究》集刊得到了社会各界的关注和支持,我们备受鼓舞,顺势于 2018 年推出《太平洋岛国研究》第二辑。我们欣喜地看到,本刊稿源正日益丰富,除了国内相关学术机构的论文外,还收到了来自新西兰和汤加王国的稿件。

本期重点推出的特稿为汤加王国前驻华大使西亚梅利耶·拉图先生的《汤加王国的非传统安全威胁:民主和民主化》一文。拉图先生以一个汤加人的视角,深刻反思了汤加的民主化进程中出现的诸多问题,展示了在传统社会结构及文化依然稳固的太平洋岛国实现政治现代化的复杂与艰难,也警醒我们在岛国研究中切忌以非此即彼的单向思维去看问题。与之相呼应,官士刚等人则从历史的角度追溯了斐济政治现代化的肇始,认为早在萨空鲍时期,斐济就进行了政治现代化的第一次尝试。太平洋岛国虽为陆地小国,但堪称海洋大国。曲升的论文诠释了太平洋岛国“蓝色太平洋”区域主义新概念的内涵,指出了其区域海洋治理的最新动向。

2013 年 10 月,习近平主席在访问印度尼西亚时发表演讲,提出“海上丝绸之路”的构想,而太平洋岛国也是“21 世纪海上丝绸之路”南线的有机组成部分。今年正值习主席“21 世纪海上丝绸之路”构想提出 5 周年,本期推出了相关的系列论文以飨读者。吕桂霞的论文探讨了在“21 世纪海上丝绸之路”构想下,致力于建设“海洋强省”的山东如何利用自身优势,扬长避短,与太平洋岛国展开广泛合作。徐可分析了新西兰在“一带一路”多边经贸合作中的杠杆作用。刘建峰等人从旅游外交视角切入,对中太旅游合作的现实基础、目标定位及路径选择进行了分析。张剑锋则就如何深化中国对太平洋岛国援助提出了一些有益建议。石莹丽立足于实地调研,就如何更好地塑造华人华侨在太平洋岛国的公共形象提出了自己的见解。

随着太平洋岛国战略重要性的日益凸显,世界各大国在此区域的博弈也

日趋复杂与激烈。李德芳从美国与帕劳的《自由联系条约》入手，梳理了美国对帕劳的外交政策演变历程。林娜与王云翠从不同角度对日本在这一地区所实施的外交策略进行了解读。张娟从女性视角出发对澳大利亚的太平洋岛国援助政策进行了分析和评判。近年来，法国加强了对南太平洋事务的关注，叶圣萱的论文对法国介入该区域的动因、路径和影响进行了条分缕析的探讨。

围绕太平洋岛国展开的研究日趋多元化。徐美莉开拓性地对基里巴斯文学进行了介绍和研究，深化了我们对基里巴斯文化的认识。奥克兰是世界上波利尼西亚人最多的城市，苗婷婷的论文从尺度重组的视角对奥克兰如何完善都市区发展与建设规划进行了深入研究。近年来，太平洋岛国与印度尼西亚因西巴布亚问题时而产生争执，张敦伟着眼于巴布亚地区的多维安全困境，对这一动荡地区的历史、现状与未来进行了梳理和研究。

另外，本期还刊载了两篇书评，分别推介了梁甲瑞的《中美南太平洋地区合作：基于维护海上战略通道安全的视角》和刘建峰、王桂玉的《太平洋岛国旅游》（全三卷）。两书的出版表明国内太平洋岛国研究无论在深度还是广度上均得以拓展。

尽管同西方发达国家相比，我国学术界对太平洋岛国的研究还比较薄弱，无论是学术资源投入还是实地调研都需要进一步加强，但“嚶其鸣矣，求其友声”，希望通过我们的不懈努力，与国内外学术同行一道将《太平洋岛国研究》打造为一流的学术交流与成果展示的平台，不断推出高水平的研究成果，为创建富有中国特色的“太平洋岛国学”贡献我们的力量。

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／ 特 稿

Research on  
Pacific Island  
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# A Non Traditional Security Threat in the Kingdom of Tonga: Democracy and Democratisation

Siamelie Latu\*

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to examine and analyse how democracy and democratisation have become a non traditional security threat (NTST) in the Kingdom of Tonga. This paper argues that the process of democratisation the pro democratic movement (PDM) is trying to implement is not suitable for Tonga. For the purpose of this paper the current political system in Tonga is identified as a hybrid democracy and is a legacy of the merger of the Westminster model, brought by the Wesleyan missionaries and the Tongan traditional political system. It is embedded in the provisions of the 1875 Constitution. In practice, the Rights and Freedoms as outlined in the 1875 Constitution have not been fully utilized by the people of Tonga. This is due to the inappropriateness of Western democratic values to the lives of a people who have been socialized into their own cultural values. These values include *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *'ofa* (love), *mamahi'ime'a* (loyalty), *lototo* (humility) and *fetokoni'aki* (sharing). These cultural values underpin the socialization process of all Tongans and are embodied in the concept of *Mo 'ui fakatonga* (Tongan way of life).

---

\* 西亚梅利耶·拉图，上校军衔，曾任汤加国防军副司令，汤加国防军陆军司令，汤加王国驻华大使，汤加外交部副部长，2018年当选宗教部部长。

The cultural values enshrined within *Mo'ui fakatonga* are presented as essential to understanding how *Mo'ui fakatonga* has bound the unity of the classes and has led to the stability of the constitutional monarch for over two centuries. In the context of this paper, the cultural values enshrined in *Mo'ui fakatonga* are also used as a yardstick whereby the traditional Tongan social and political systems are measured against Western democratic systems.

Little has been written on the topic of democracy or democratisation as a NTST in the Kingdom of Tonga. This paper has attempted to bring together different perspectives from Tongans and non Tongans, historians, academics, and political analysts regarding the development of democratic ideals and democratic reforms in Tonga which have taken place contemporaneously with the political reforms in the Pacific region.

The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that the current hybrid democracy is ideal for Tonga. The most pressing need for Tonga is change in the structure of the political system rather than the form of democracy it is practising and/or the values enshrined in *Mo'ui fakatonga*.

**Keywords:** Tonga; non traditional; security threat; democracy; democratisation; tradition

*"The road to comprehensive and common security for the South Pacific is going to be long and hard, and will require above all a good dose of unconventional wisdom"*<sup>①</sup>.

*"...the death and destruction caused during the riots is a regrettable part of the process of democratic change that is now sweeping the country"*<sup>②</sup>.

\* Akilisi Pohiva

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① Peter King, *Redefining South Pacific Security in The South Pacific Problems, Issues, and Prospects*, Ramesh Thakur (ed.), Macmillan, UK, 1991, p. 63

② Pacific Island Resort, *Tonga's Democracy Movement Slams outside Intervention*, Pacific Islands Development Program/East-West Centre, With Support from Centre for Pacific Islands Studies/University of Hawaii. \* Akilisi Pohiva is an extremist and leader of the pro-democracy movement and No. 1 People's Representative to the Legislative Assembly.

## INTRODUCTION

### A Personal Perspective

As I was reflecting on this topic and the events which have taken place on the Island Kingdom of Tonga, I realised that I needed to write a section on my personal perspective which has been my frame of reference in writing this paper.

Although born and raised in Tonga the awareness of the importance of my own culture and tradition has been more recent. Like most Tongans, I found the events of the 16<sup>th</sup> November 2006 shocking. This has led me to focus and reflect on the happy days of my childhood life and to appreciate the values which have been transmitted to me by my grandfather.

I was adopted by my father's parents, Siosaia Latu and Salote Puipui Ki He Toa Latu. Siosaia was a school teacher and later became a Minister of Religion of the Free Church of Tonga. As a legacy adopted by King Taufa'ahau Tupou I from the Wesleyan missionaries, education (*ako*) and religion (*lotu*) became the treasures for all Tongans who made sure that these were passed on from generation to generation since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The rationale was that King Taufa'ahau Tupou I strongly believed that if his people were well educated and believed in the new religion brought by the Wesleyan missionaries it would provide Tonga with better citizens to help build a modern Tonga. I remember my grandfather saying to me, "*Siamelie, manatu'i ko ho'o ako ke ke 'aonga kia Tupou mo hou' eiki, 'o 'ikai ko au pe ko koe.*" (*Siamelie, remember, the purpose of your education is not to help me or yourself, but to be an asset for his Majesty's country and its Chiefs*). My grandfather had emphasised the values of *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *'ofa fonua* (patriotism, love the country), *mateaki'i fonua* (loyalty to one's king and country), and *lototo* (humility). I have come to realise that these are the values that have kept Tonga socially and politically intact and stable for two centuries. This is despite the fact that Tonga adopted the Westminster model and merged it with its own traditional political hierarchical system. In addition, working in the military has helped to strengthen these values in my life.

As a result of the 16<sup>th</sup> November 2006 incident, I have asked myself the following questions. Firstly, why does the Pro-Democracy Movement (PDM) want to change the current political system if it has been able to keep Tonga stable for two centuries? Are their motives *siokita* (to reap personal interest) or ‘*ofa fonua* (love the country)? Is the current hybrid democracy good or bad? Secondly, in what way are the strategies used by the PDM detrimental or beneficial to the country or to the democratisation process of the structure of the government? Thirdly, How has the movement’s philosophies contributed to the riots?

Reflecting on these questions gave me the idea that the PDM is a NTST to Tonga. It has led me as a senior officer of the Tonga Defence Services to undertake this study in order to identify where the challenges to security lie. It is important that analyses are made of the PDM in Tonga based on the views and perceptions of Tongans as viewed through their own cultural awareness.

In order to identify these challenges, this paper therefore, will examine and analyse how democracy and democratisation as NTSTs have contributed to the major political riots and instability in Tonga. “Western democracy and democratisation” are two different concepts. Both terms will be examined because they have implications for peace and security in Tonga. An analysis of Western democracy and the current Tongan traditional political system and their associated values will be conducted. The concept of “*Mo’ui fakatonga*” is presented to justify the appropriateness of the hybrid democracy in the Tongan context. *Mo’ui fakatonga* is the yardstick by which the Tongan traditional social and political systems will be measured against Western democratic systems and values. Finally the legacies of the 16<sup>th</sup> November 2006 crisis will be examined for their implications on national security.

## AN OVERVIEW

### Geographical Location

The only remaining Kingdom in the entire Pacific is the Kingdom of Tonga. It is the smallest Kingdom in the world. It is divided into three main island groups: Tongatapu the largest to the south, Vava’u the second largest to the north and the

Ha'apai group in the centre. There are 160 islands, of which 36 are inhabited. Geographically, Tonga is situated southeast of Fiji and southwest of the Samoan islands. The population is about 100000 people<sup>①</sup>.

### Historical Development: Pre Contact

Prior to the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries in 1826 Tongan society was divided into political factions based on the rule of chiefs<sup>②</sup>. Each *kainga* (people who live in the same community or village and not necessarily related by blood) had a paramount chief who was their political leader. There was no unified or central government to administer the whole of Tonga including the islands. The politics of Tonga at this time were based on civil war, dominated by paramount chiefs fighting each other in their struggle for power. This was the scenario found by the Wesleyan missionaries. According to Latukefu, the successor to the office of the *Hau*<sup>③</sup> (temporal ruler) was elected by the Electoral College<sup>④</sup>. The criteria for the successor included a person who was a warrior, a chief and a person with vision.

The whole life process (*Mo'ui fakatonga*) of Tongans including their values, education, religion and politics at this time was based on the pyramid of the socio-political hierarchical system. This system was divided into different groups. The top consists of the Royal Family. The Royal Family consists of the three lines of Kings-Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Each of these lines had their various duties and responsibilities. The highest and most respected was the Tu'i Tonga who was the representative of the God of Harvest. He was both the secular and temporal leader<sup>⑤</sup>. The celebration of the harvest season known as

① I. C. Campbell, "Rock of Ages: Tension underlying Stability in Tonga" in *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security*, Dennis Rumley, Vivian Louis Forbes and Christopher Griffin (eds) Springer, 2006, p. 274.

② Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1974, p. 28.

③ Ibid., p. 2. The term *hau* means high chief or king and is similar to the Fijian terms *sau*.

④ Ibid., p. 85.

⑤ Stephanie Lawson, *Tradition Versus Democracy in the South Pacific, Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa*, Cambridge University Press, Hong Kong, 1996. pp. 83 – 84.

the ‘*inasi* ceremony was conducted in the court of the Tu’i Tonga<sup>①</sup>. The next group consists of the *hou’eiki* (Chiefs) who were the paramount chiefs of their own respective *kainga*. The next group consists of the *tu’a* (Commoners) who would be the *kainga* of the paramount chiefs and who spent most of their time doing chores and serving in the chief’s court. The bottom group consists of the *kau popula* (slaves). They had no possessions whatsoever. The chiefs owned these people. When a chief died, one, two or three of his slaves would be buried alive with him in order to accompany him to the next world<sup>②</sup>.

### Post Contact and Political Change

When the missionaries arrived, they became very influential in Tongan politics. During the 1830’s civil war there was a young Chief by the name of Taufa’ahau. He was not only a great warrior, but had very strong blood connections to all the three lines of kings. He was also the sole heir to the Tu’i Kanokupolu line. In addition, Taufa’ahau was seen by the Wesleyan missionaries as an intelligent young man and a person of vision for Tonga. Taufa’ahau saw the new *lotu* (religion) brought by the Wesleyan missionaries as the gateway to lead his people into a more civilised and stable life<sup>③</sup>. The vacancy of the office of *Hau* in 1845 was taken by the Wesleyan missionaries as their opportunity to influence the Electoral College to install Taufa’ahau as the Tu’i Kanokupolu. Taufa’ahau was then known as King George Tupou I<sup>④</sup>. It is important to acknowledge King George Tupou I because he was responsible for the socio-political changes that took place towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1862, King George Tupou I granted the *tau’ataina* (freedom) or emancipation which gave freedom to the *tu’a* and the *kau popula* from their chiefs. Most of the chiefs however did not want any reform. With these reforms the *tu’a* and the *kau popula* had the right to own their own

① Sione Latukefu, op cit. , p. 4.

② Ibid. , pp. 9 – 10.

③ Also found in the Tonga Legislative Assembly website, Brief history of the Kingdom of Tonga. Http: //parliament. gov. to/new\_ page\_ 3. htm ( Accessed 12 July 2007 ).

④ Sione Latukefu, op cit. , p. 85.



labour and were entitled to work their own land<sup>①</sup>. As a result, there were only three main groups now in the social pyramid, namely the Royal Family, the Chiefs and the Commoners. The promulgation of the Constitution in 1875 was another turning point in the socio-political changes initiated by King George Tupou I.

## Form of Government

The form of Government practised in Tonga is a Constitutional Monarchy and is divided into three main parts; firstly, the King, Privy Council and Cabinet, secondly, the Legislative Assembly and thirdly, the Judiciary. The Privy Council is appointed by the King and consists of the Cabinet Ministers, Governors and the Chief Justice. The Cabinet consists of the Prime Minister, and Ministers of the Crown who are all appointed by the King. The Legislative Assembly consists of three main groups: the Ministers, the Nobles and the Representatives of the People. The Ministers are appointed by the King. The number of Ministers has increased from 12 to 13 including two governors of the Vava'u and Ha'apai Groups<sup>②</sup>. There are nine Nobles elected to the Legislative Assembly by the 33 holders of the Noble titles of the realm. They enter the House as representatives of their *kainga*. The King appoints the speaker of the House from the nine elected Nobles. There are also nine Representatives of the people elected by the people<sup>③</sup>.

The Constitution consists of three main parts: the Declaration of rights, Form of government and the Lands. The Declaration of rights sets out the Rights of Freedom as commonly found in a Western democracy. Examples of these are embodied in provision 4 and 7 of Part 1 Declaration of Rights, Constitution of Tonga<sup>④</sup>.

① Ibid. , p. 173. The Emancipation Edict of 1862 ended serfdom in Tonga by declaring that common people no longer had to surrender their labour or possessions upon demand to people of chiefly rank.

② The information can be found in the Tonga Parliament website, which was the latest information about the political structure of the government. <http://parliament.gov.to/ministers1.htm> (Accessed 12 July 2007).

③ Steve Hoadley, *The South Pacific Foreign Affairs Handbook*, Allen & Unwin, in association with the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, NSW, Australia. 1992, p. 190.

④ Ibid. , p. 253.