

Pacific Affairs

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ABSTRACTS

Challenges to the United States in the South Pacific

Frank C. Langdon

The three most notable challenges to the hegemony of the United States in the Central and South Pacific are the recent impact of anti-nuclear sentiment, the trend toward greater self-reliant defence policies, and the increase of competition among the big external powers for influence in the region.

If the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union, and China compete to develop the island countries and to improve normal political and economic relations in the region, it will be a great blessing. But France needs to moderate its nuclear and colonial policies to restore regional harmony. The trend toward more self-reliant defence forces and policies of the regional states, led by Australia and New Zealand, may make it less necessary to rely so heavily upon the American military presence and might help to avoid the dangerous conventional and nuclear confrontation of the two superpowers in the North Pacific.

The Road to Becoming a Regional Leader: Japanese Attempts in Southeast Asia, 1975-1980

Sueo Sudo

Japanese foreign policy has been characterized as passive and reactive due to immobilism in the policy-making process. Many observers deem that the country has so far failed to develop any coherent concept for its relations with the outside world. At best, it had been perceived that the main goals of Japanese foreign policy were merely to promote its own economic development through obtaining raw materials and gaining access to lucrative markets. This article attempts to present a different perspective by closely examining Japan's policy toward Southeast Asia between 1975 and 1980, centered on the Fukuda Doctrine of August 1977. For the Japanese, especially Foreign Ministry officials, the declaration of the very first "doctrine" was a vigorous experiment in injecting new dimensions into traditional diplomacy. Focusing on the process of policy making, this article describes how Japan, with political determination, has attempted to establish a new regional framework for peaceful and prosperous relations in post-Vietnam War Southeast Asia. The failure of Japan's attempt to mediate between ASEAN and Vietnam in 1980 paradoxically seems to have strengthened Japanese officials' confidence in carrying out their Southeast Asian policy. Subsequently, Japan now appears to have moved one step further in attaining its role of a regional leader in this part of the world.

From Peripheral Communities to Ethnic Nations: Separatism in Southeast Asia

David Brown

Although the ethnic separatist movements amongst the Karen and Shan in Burma, the Pattani Malays in Thailand, and the Moro in the Philippines constitute distinct responses to particular circumstances, common causal factors can be discerned.

While the societies are, in each case, multi-ethnic, the character of the state machinery is mono-ethnic. The expansion of state control thus takes on an assimilationist form. This promotes a dual crisis amongst the peripheral communities: a crisis of communal identity at mass level, and a crisis of authority at elite level. Both crises are resolved when displaced minority elites act as spokesmen for ethnic nationalism and thus translate ethnic minority consciousness into a stance of ethnic autonomy against the state.

**Centre-Province Relations in Pakistan Under President Zia:
The Government's and the Opposition's Approaches**

C.G.P. Rakisits

President Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization programme has not only had a detrimental effect upon the political development of the country, but it has compounded the problem of centre-province relations which Pakistan has been plagued with since independence. In the context of national integration, the government has used the Islamization process to legitimize the smothering of provincial opposition to the government's approach to centre-province relations. Moreover, because the major state institutions are dominated by Punjabis, the smaller provinces have come to perceive this Islamization process as a veiled and crude attempt to "Punjabize" the rest of the country. On the other hand, the extra-parliamentary opposition coalition, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), has adopted a political programme which would grant maximum autonomy to the provinces and which comes closest to the letter and spirit of the 1940 Lahore Resolution, the founding document of Pakistan. While the MRD's programme is undoubtedly meant to attract the electorate away from President's Zia programme of Islamization, it is certain that if a future MRD government were to implement such an alternative approach the problem of centre-province relations will have come a step closer to being satisfactorily resolved.

**The Institute of Pacific Relations and the Origins of
Asian and Pacific Studies**

Paul F. Hooper

As recently as the late 1920s, there were almost no mechanisms for a systematic scholarly study of modern Asia and the Pacific in Western universities and research institutions. There were no graduate programs, no research centers, no professional associations, no regular conferences, no substantial library collections, and very few even elementary course offerings. The Institute of Pacific Relations, an independent international organization which was formed in 1925 and subsequently sponsored an on-going series of conferences and research programs on East-West issues until its demise in the 1950s, is largely responsible for changing these circumstances and, in the process, laying the foundations for contemporary Asian and Pacific studies. This article outlines the principal features of the Institute's research activities during these years—goals, major projects, and key personalities—and summarizes the nature of its immensely important contribution to the modern academic world.

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ABSTRACTS

International Linkages and Regional Interests in Gorbachev's Asia-Pacific Policy

Leszek Buszynski

The article examines the international linkages in Gorbachev's Asian Pacific policy in terms of a Soviet response to a number of significant international developments. The first development is the adoption of the maritime strategy by the Reagan Administration as a means of compensating for Soviet conventional military advantages in Europe. The second development includes the emergence of regional actors such as Japan and China which will play major roles in American military strategy in the event of a conflict with the Soviet Union. In this sense Gorbachev's "Vladivostok" initiative should be seen in the context of an effort to reduce the prospects of military encirclement by political means, and to promote a Soviet political presence in the Asia-Pacific region.

Beyond Tok Win: The Papua New Guinea Intervention in Vanuatu, 1980

Norman MacQueen

Papua New Guinea's intervention in Vanuatu at the request of that country's government following independence in 1980 was a uniquely effective exercise in regional security cooperation in the third world. Despite the operational success of the undertaking, however, opposition was aroused—both in the region as a whole and in Papua New Guinea itself—on the grounds that the intervention was not multinational and that it was undertaken without a clear mandate from the South Pacific Forum, the main regional organization. Although the South Pacific is in many ways ideally placed to develop regional security mechanisms, the Vanuatu experience has not been built upon. This lack of further cooperation, in common with the misgivings which accompanied the intervention in Vanuatu, in part reflects a conflict of attitude towards the role and extent of international organization in the region between the "maximalist" Melanesian states to the west and the "minimalist" Polynesian islands and Fiji in the east.

Shanghai as a Mediator of the Educational Open Door

Ruth Hayhoe

The other side of China's open door policy to the outside world is the open door between the coast and the hinterland. This essay explores the linkages in higher education between Shanghai and its near and far peripheries in the post 1978 era. It begins with a historical analysis of the ways in which Shanghai's higher education was used to develop the hinterland through the planning and mobilization mechanisms of the fifties. Then Shanghai's new economic role and its implications for higher education in present modernization efforts are considered. While mobilization tactics have been largely discredited, central planning remains an important force for the distribution of intellectual resources. The main body of this essay analyses the ways in which three forces—the plan, the market and the family—are operating first at the level of the Shanghai Bureau of Higher Education, as it coordinates Shanghai's educational relations with other regions, then at the level of ten different higher institutions. Statistics on entrants and job assignments by region give some quantitative indication of the actual flow of highly educated people between Shanghai and its peripheries.

**The Political Economy of Substitution Policy:
Japan's Response to Lower Oil Prices**

S. Hayden Lesbirel

Short-term market instabilities can create major problems for governments in implementing longer term national objectives. This essay analyzes the factors that determined the Japanese energy policy response to the recent decline in international oil prices. It argues that since 1973 MITI played a market-conforming role in the institutionalization of alternative energy policy and that this has injected resistances such as: expectations about prices, supply system rigidities, the structure of vested interests and national security concerns, which constrained market and policy adjustments to shorter term oil market fluctuations. It concludes that Japan's current energy policy, which aims to minimize disruptions to longer term planning processes in the alternative energy industry, may indeed be very appropriate from a broader policy management perspective.

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ABSTRACTS

The Political Nature of Democratic Kampuchea

Kate Frieson

Rarely have the policies of a regime been so devastating to a nation's existence as those carried out by the short-lived Democratic Kampuchean regime (1975-1978). The response to Democratic Kampuchea in the academic community, as elsewhere, has been one of extreme shock and also confusion as to how the catastrophic events can be explained.

A central and related problem has been determining the political nature of Democratic Kampuchea. Was the regime Marxist-Leninist, Maoist, Peasantist, Fascist? How did the regime classify itself? To what extent were its policies influenced and informed by those carried out in other revolutionary states?

This article attempts to explain the political character of the Pol Pot-led regime of Democratic Kampuchea by sorting through various ideological identities the regime has attracted over the past decade, discussing the merits and drawbacks of each, and the ways in which the regime resists strict typological analysis. Due to the very limited access to DK government and party documents, the conclusions offered are tentative.

Divorce Trends and Patterns in China: Past and Present

Erika Platte

China's new marriage laws, far-reaching economic reforms and political turmoil are the major variables responsible for the waves of divorce that swept the country in the early 1950s and thirty years later. With the legal divorce procedures geared towards reconciliation rather than dissolution of a marriage the leadership has been able to check upward trends. As in many other Asian societies, the persistence of deeply-rooted traditions in the area of family behaviour has played an important role as well. As a result, China's divorce rate is still very low by world standards. Current divorce patterns, including causes of divorce, age at divorce, duration of marriage until divorce, sex of petitioner of divorce, and remarriage reflect a mix of continuity and change. Traditional ideas are slow to recede, especially in the countryside where some 80 percent of the population lives. Indications are that the incidence of divorce in China will remain at a relatively low level in the time to come.

Sharad Joshi and the Farmers: The Middle Peasant Lives!

Cornelia Lenneberg

The Shetkari Sanghatana, a militant "farmers' movement" in Maharashtra, arose in the late seventies at the same time as a number of similar movements in other parts of India, all of which demanded remunerative prices for agricultural products. The paper argues that these movements cannot, as is commonly done, be dismissed as kulak or rich peasant movements. Rather they reflect the political consequences of rural development in its widest sense on the middle peasantry in particular. The Shetkari Sanghatana provided the focus to voice the grievances of the middle peasantry whose economic position grew more precarious while their ability to attain their new aspirations diminished.

Burning Widows, Burning Brides: The Perils of Daughterhood in India

Dorothy Stein

Indian women are subjected to intense economic and social discrimination, and continue to suffer death rates that are well in excess of male rates, despite forty years of independence in a secular democracy with universal suffrage. Certain practices, such as *sati* and dowry have spread from high status Hindu groups across social boundaries. This paper traces the evolution of these practices and argues that the peculiarity of Indian civilization that enables the general devaluation of the female sex to be taken to such extremes lies in the inferior social power of the families of girls and women, and the consequent insistence on universal female marriage.

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ABSTRACTS

Prime Ministerial Leadership in Japan: Recent Changes in Personal Style and Administrative Organization

Robert C. Angel

Japan's Constitution assigns crucial coordination and leadership functions to the office of prime minister. Yet incumbents during most of the postwar period have been passive "consensus articulators" rather than goal articulating and goal promoting activists. A number of factors have combined during the last several years to change the nature of Japan's prime ministerial leadership with important implications for the national policy processes. This paper reviews the traditional role of the postwar prime minister and those factors that have encouraged more aggressive prime ministerial involvement in national policy formulation and implementation. It focuses upon Yasuhiro Nakasone's recent five-year performance, with special attention to the longer-term implications of changes in structure of the Cabinet Secretariat made in 1986. The paper concludes that domestic and international factors will continue to press Japan's prime ministers into a more active role on the national political scene.

The Tamil Militants—Before the Accord and After

Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam

The article discusses the ideology and programme of some of the major militant Tamil groups before and after the intervention of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in Northern Sri Lanka. Besides the LTTE, the so-called "Tristar"—EPRLF, PLOT, AND TELO—and EROS who try to steer a middle course between LTTE and IPKF, are discussed. While LTTE always had doubts about an active Indian intervention in Sri Lanka and pursued primarily nationalist objectives, the other groups welcomed the Indian intervention to a greater or lesser degree and are now willing and ready to cooperate with the IPKF. After a short "honeymoon," the LTTE have now turned completely against the IPKF and are actively resisting it. The article concludes that what the LTTE want is total political control of a combined Northern and Eastern Province in order to consolidate their power base.

Sinhala Cultural and Buddhist Patriotic Organizations in Contemporary Sri Lanka

Bruce Matthews

A recent increase in the number of Sinhala "patriotic organizations" is directly related to communal tensions in Sri Lanka. Many of these invoke Buddhism in one way or another to define their purpose, reflecting the religio-cultural dimension of the current conflict. This paper examines this phenomenon from two perspectives. First it investigates the origins of these organizations, and traces out their ideologies. The question of their leadership is also raised. By way of example, two prominent leaders (one a monk, one a lay person) are isolated for review. A second issue addressed is the importance of these organizations in the politics of Sri Lanka today. It is argued that the thirty-odd relatively significant Sinhala groups have no centralized leadership, are ideologically fickle, and so far have insufficient roots at the village level. Nonetheless, participation in them (or empathy for their aims) reflects a wide range of classes and castes. The organizations are visible reminders of the distress and strain the Sinhalese community endures. As such, they are the merest manifestation of a profound depth of anxiety, discontent and uncertainty.

**A Dialogue of the Deaf:
Attitudes and Issues in New Caledonian Politics**

Stephen Henningham

The new French government is engaged in the hard task of reconciling the pro-independence (indigenous Melanesian) Kanaks of New Caledonia with their "loyalist," pro-France settler opponents. The territory is only small, but the conflict has implications for the security and stability of the Southwest Pacific. To help explain the conflict, and how it might be resolved, the paper reviews the reformist populism of the Union Calédonienne party in the 1950s and 1960s, and examines the differences in attitudes which emerged between, but also within, the rival nationalist and loyalist blocs in the 1970s and 1980s. A revival of the tolerance of the Union Calédonienne in its early years would improve prospects for a lasting compromise. The government apparently hopes to establish federal independence with close links with France, but partition is possible should conciliation fail.

**WRITTEN
AND UNWRITTEN
A New History of the
Buddhist Caves at Yungang**

JAMES O. CASWELL

This book offers a new and challenging interpretation of the Yungang cave-temples, the earliest surviving major monument of Buddhist art in China. Caswell points at the temporal and conceptual distinctions between the first five imperial and all the other caves and argues—unlike most art historians—that the imperial caves were political statements while the others were expressions mainly of religious piety.

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