<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges to the United States in the South Pacific</th>
<th>Frank C. Langdon</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Road to Becoming a Regional Leader: Japanese Attempts in Southeast Asia, 1975–1980</td>
<td>Sueo Sudo</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Peripheral Communities to Ethnic Nations: Separatism in Southeast Asia</td>
<td>David Brown</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre-Province Relations in Pakistan Under President Zia: The Government's and the Opposition's Approaches</td>
<td>C.G.P. Rakisits</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Institute of Pacific Relations and the Origins of Asian and Pacific Studies</td>
<td>Paul F. Hooper</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews (listed on pp. 4–6)</td>
<td></td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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-reliable 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.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

ETHNIC CONFLICT: International Perspectives. Edited by Jerry Boucher, Dan Landis and Karen Arnold Clark.
PSYCHOLOGY MOVING EAST: The Status of Western Psychology in Asia and Oceania. Edited by Geoffrey H. Blowers and Alison M. Turtle.

China and Inner Asia

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN POST-MAO CHINA. Edited by David M. Lampton.
CHINA’S SATELLITE PARTIES. By James D. Seymour.
THE CHINESE ARMY AFTER MAO. By Ellis Joffe.
NO SENSE OF EVIL. Espionage: The Case of Herbert Norman. By James Barros.
INNOCENCE IS NOT ENOUGH: The Life and Death of Herbert Norman. By Roger Bowen.
ELITE ACTIVISM AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911. By Mary Backus Rankin.
ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE. By Anne F. Thurston.
THE MAKING OF MODERN TIBET. By A. Tom Grunfeld.

Northeast Asia

JAPAN IN TRANSITION: From Tokugawa to Meiji. Edited by Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman.
JAPAN’S RESPONSE TO CRISIS AND CHANGE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY. Edited by Michèle Schmiegelow.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Japanese Competition: Phase 2</td>
<td>Edited by Peter J. Arnesen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan's High Technology Industries: Lessons and Limitations of Industrial Policy</td>
<td>Edited by Hugh Patrick, with the assistance of Larry Meissner.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Japanese Housewives: At Home and in the Community</td>
<td>By Anne E. Imamura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the Dawn</td>
<td>By Shimazaki Tōson, Translated by William E. Naff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudō,</td>
<td>Merchant Academy of Osaka D. Tetsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea in a Regional and Global Context.</td>
<td>Edited by Robert A. Scalapino and Hongkoo Lee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Foreign Relations of North Korea: New Perspectives</td>
<td>Edited by Jae Kyu Park, Byung Chul Koh and Tae-Hwan Kwak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and Ritual in Korean Society</td>
<td>Edited by Laurel Kendall and Griffin Dix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya</td>
<td>Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism. Edited by Walter K. Andersen and Shridhar D. Damle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Thought in Modern India</td>
<td>Edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L. Deutsch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untouchable! Voices of the Dalit Liberation Movement</td>
<td>Edited by Barbara R. Joshi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies of South India: An Anthology of Recent Research and Scholarship</td>
<td>Edited by Robert E. Frykenberg and Pauline Kolenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folktales of India. Edited by Brenda E.F. Beck, Peter J. Claus, Praphulladatta Goswami, and Jawaharlal Handoo.</td>
<td>Stella Sandahl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British India and Tibet, 1766-1910. By Alastair Lamb.</td>
<td>A. Tom Grunfeld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauryan India. By G.M. Bongard-Levin</td>
<td>A.K. Narain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors.</td>
<td>Volumes I and II. By David Snellgrove.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ASEAN Success Story: Social, Economic, and Political Dimensions.</td>
<td>Edited by Linda G. Martin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries.</td>
<td>Edited by David G. Marr and A.C. Milner, with an introduction by Wang Gungwu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## South Asia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya</td>
<td>Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism. Edited by Walter K. Andersen and Shridhar D. Damle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Thought in Modern India</td>
<td>Edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L. Deutsch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untouchable! Voices of the Dalit Liberation Movement</td>
<td>Edited by Barbara R. Joshi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies of South India: An Anthology of Recent Research and Scholarship</td>
<td>Edited by Robert E. Frykenberg and Pauline Kolenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folktales of India. Edited by Brenda E.F. Beck, Peter J. Claus, Praphulladatta Goswami, and Jawaharlal Handoo.</td>
<td>Stella Sandahl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British India and Tibet, 1766-1910. By Alastair Lamb.</td>
<td>A. Tom Grunfeld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauryan India. By G.M. Bongard-Levin</td>
<td>A.K. Narain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors.</td>
<td>Volumes I and II. By David Snellgrove.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Solo in the New Order: Language and Hierarchy in an Indonesian City. By James T. Siegel.  


Richard H. Minear 190  

R.S. Milne 191  

John R.W. Smail 192  

J.A.C. Mackie 193  

Mark R. Woodward 195  

Benedict R. Anderson 196  

Australasia and Southwest Pacific  


On Fiji Islands. By Ronald Wright.  


Robert Tonkinson 198  

James A. Boutilier 200  

John Barker 201  

BRIEFLY NOTED  

Words of War. By Jack Cahill.  


David P. Chandler 202  

Parris H. Chang 203  

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE  

Frank Langdon, Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Senior Research Associate of the Institute of International Relations at the University of British Columbia and Co-director of the project on Security Options of the Western Allies in the Asia Pacific Region at the Institute. Author of The Politics of Canadian-Japanese Economic Relations, 1952-1983 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983).  

Sueo Sudo, Researcher at the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.  

David Brown, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore.  

C.G.P. Rakisits, Legislative Research Specialist, Foreign Affairs Group, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Canberra, Australia.  

Paul F. Hooper, Associate Professor of American Studies at the University of Hawaii-Manoa where he specializes in Hawaiian studies and Pacific Basin international relations. Author of Elusive Destiny: The Internationalist Movement in Modern Hawaii (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980).
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 Lesbirol

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.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

URBANISATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.
Edited by David Drakakis-Smith
C.T. Wu 314

RURAL INDUSTRIALISATION AND EMPLOYMENT
IN ASIA. Edited by Rizwanul Islam.
Geoffrey Brian Hainsworth 316

ISLAM IN ASIA: Religion, Politics, and Society.
Edited by John L. Esposito.
Judith Nagata 317

ETHNIC PREFERENCE AND PUBLIC POLICY IN
DEVELOPING STATES. Edited by Neil
Nevitte and Charles H. Kennedy.
Charles Hirschman 319

THREE FACES OF IMPERIALISM: British and
American Approaches to Asia and
Stephen Endicott 321

SOCIETY AND THE DANCE: The Social Anthropology
of Process and Performance.
Edited by Paul Spencer.
Joan L. Erdman 322

PACIFIC-ASIAN ISSUES: American and
Chinese Views. Edited by Robert A.
Scalapino and Chen Qimao.
Paul M. Evans 324

ASIA IN SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY. Edited
by Ray S. Cline, James Arnold Miller
and Roger E. Kanet.
John J. Stephan 325

THE SOVIET UNION AS AN ASIAN PACIFIC POWER:
Implications of Gorbachev’s
1986 Vladivostok Initiative. Edited by
Ramesh Thakur and Carlyle A. Thayer.
John J. Stephan 326

China and Inner Asia

CHINESE DEMOCRACY. By Andrew J. Nathan.
John Fincher 328

MODERNIZING CHINA: Post-Mao Reform and
Development. Edited by A. Doak
Barnett and Ralph N. Clough.
Andrew Watson 330

THE CHINESE DEBATE ABOUT SOVIET
Arif Dirlik 332

By Jürgen Domes.
Parris H. Chang 333

L’AGE D’OR DE LA BOURGEOISIE CHINOISE,
Diana Lary 335

WARLORD SOLDIERS: Chinese Common
F. Gilbert Chan 336

CHINESE SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
By Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski.
Alexander Woodside 337

THE NORTHERN SCHOOL AND THE FORMATION OF
EARLY CH’AN BUDDHISM. By John R. McRae.
David W. Chappell 339

THE STATUS OF TIBET: History, Rights, and
Prospects in International Law. By
Michael C. van Walt van Praag,
(Foreword by Franz Michael,
Introduction by Rikhi Jaipal).
June Teufel Dreyer 340

THE TIBETAN EMPIRE IN CENTRAL ASIA:
A History of the Struggle for Great
Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and
Chinese during the Early Middle Ages.
By Christopher I. Beckwith.
Edwin G. Pulleyblank 342

Northeast Asia


LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN POSTWAR JAPAN. By Frank K. Upham


MY LIFE BETWEEN JAPAN AND AMERICA. By Edwin O. Reischauer.


South Asia

DOMESTIC CONFLICTS IN SOUTH ASIA. Volume 1: Political Dimensions. Edited by Urmila Phadnis, S.D. Muni and Kalim Bahadur.


THE GOLDEN ORIOLE. By Raleigh Trevelyan.


INTERNAL MIGRATION in SRI LANKA AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES. By Robert N. Kearney and Barbara Diane Miller.

THE THIRD VOW AND OTHER STORIES. By Phanishwar Nath Renu. Translated into English by Kathryn G. Hansen

Southeast Asia

ISLAM AND SOCIETY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Edited by Taufik Abdullah and Sharon Siddique.

ASEAN IN REGIONAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXT. Edited by Karl D. Jackson, Sukhumbhand Paribatra and J. Soedjati Djiwandono.

SPIRITS OF RESISTANCE AND CAPITALIST DISCIPLINE: Factory Women in Malaysia. By Aihwa Ong.


PAPERS FROM A CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES IN HONOR OF WILLIAM J. GEDNEY. Edited by Robert J. Bickner, Thomas J. Hudak and Patcharin Peyasantiwong.


UPS AND DOWNS OF LIFE IN THE INDIES. By P.A. Daum. Translated by Elsje Qualm Sturtevant and Donald W. Sturtevant; edited with an introduction by E.M. Beekman.


PLAYING WITH WATER: Passion and Solitude on a Philippine Island. By James Hamilton-Paterson.


Australasia and Southwest Pacific


FIJI’S ECONOMIC HISTORY, 1874-1939: Studies of Capitalist Colonial Development. By Bruce Knapman.
LEE BOO OF BELAU: A Prince in London.
By Daniel J. Peacock.


BRIEFLY NOTED

THE NEW CHINA: Comparative Economic Development in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. By Alvin Rabushka.

JOHN M. BROOKE’S PACIFIC CRUISE AND JAPANESE ADVENTURE, 1858–1860. Edited by George M. Brooke, Jr.

HOLDING INDIA TO THE EMPIRE. (THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND THE 1935 CONSTITUTION.) By Carl Bridge.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS 1987. Edited by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.


CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

LESZEK BUSZYNSKI, Senior Research Fellow, Australian National University. Author of SEATO: The Failure of an Alliance Strategy (Singapore University Press, 1983) and Soviet Foreign Policy and Southeast Asia (Croom Helm, London, 1986).

NORMAN MACQUEEN, Lecturer in Politics (International Relations) at the University of Papua New Guinea.


S. HAYDEN LESBIREL, concurrently Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts and Research Fellow in the Australia-Japan Research Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. He is currently preparing a book on The Political Economy of Power Plant Delay in Japan.

GARETH PORTER teaches on Southeast Asian politics in the School of International Service, The American University.

JAMES ROBERTS teaches simulation and modeling in the Department of Computer Science and Information Systems, The American University.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Political Nature of Democratic Kampuchea</td>
<td>Kate Frieson</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce Trends and Patterns in China: Past and Present</td>
<td>Erika Platte</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharad Joshi and the Farmers: The Middle Peasant Lives!</td>
<td>Cornelia Lenneberg</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burning Widows, Burning Brides: The Perils of Daughterhood in India</td>
<td>Dorothy Stein</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews (listed on pp. 400-402)</td>
<td></td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Shektari 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.
### BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

#### Asia General

**The Welfare State East and West.** Edited by Richard Rose and Rei Shiratori.  
*Ehud Harari* 486

**The Indian Ocean: Perspectives on a Strategic Arena.**  
Edited by William L. Dowdy and Russell B. Trood.  
*Stephen P. Cohen* 487

**Law and the State in Traditional East Asia: Six Studies on the Sources of East Asian Law.** Edited by Brian E. McKnight.  
*H.J. Jones* 488

**The Sino-Indian Border Dispute: A Legal Study.**  
By Chih H. Lu  
*Hungdah Chiu* 490

*Shi Ming Hu* 490

**The Chinese in Canada.** By Peter S. Li.  
*Graham E. Johnson* 492

#### China and Inner Asia

*David P. Barrett* 493

**China Watch.** By John King Fairbank.  
*David P. Barrett* 493

**Born Red: A Chronicle of the Cultural Revolution.** By Gao Yuan.  
*Clive M. Ansley* 495

**Economic Integration and Planning in Maoist China.** By Thomas P. Lyons.  
*Barbara N. Sands* 497

**China's Changing Population.** By Judith Banister.  
*Tyrene White* 499

*Bruce J. Esposito* 500

**Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945-1948.** By Steven I. Levine.  
*Lucien Bianco* 501

*Wang Gungwu* 503

**China Through the Ages: History of a Civilization.** By Franz Michael.  
*David Gedalecia* 505

**With the Empress Dowager of China.** By Katherine Augusta Carl. Introduction by Kaori O'Connor.  
*Lolaon Wang Grady* 506

**The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China.** Volumes I & II. By Frederic Wakeman, Jr.  
*Pierre-Etienne Will* 507

**The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754.** By George Bryan Souza.  
*W.E. Cheong* 510

**Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790-1810.** By Dian H. Murray.  
*Susan Naquin* 511

*Jennifer W. Jay* 512

**History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community.** By Steven P. Sangren.  
*Emily Martin* 514

*David P. Barrett* 516

**Realism and Allegory in the Early Fiction of Mao Tun.** By Yu-shih Chen.  
*Richard King* 517
Northeast Asia


THE STATE AND LABOR IN MODERN JAPAN. By Sheldon Garon.


JAPANESE FINANCIAL MARKETS: Deficits, Dilemmas, and Deregulation. By Robert Alan Feldman.


EPIDEMICS AND MORTALITY IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN. By Ann Bowman Jannetta.


To LIVE AND WRITE: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913–1938. Edited by Yukiko Tanaka, with introduction and biographical essays by the Editor. Translations by Yukiko Tanaka, Elizabeth Hanson and Kiroko Morita Malatesta

The BRIDGE OF DREAMS: A Poetics of "The Tale of Genji." By Haruo Shirane.

"EVEN MONKEYS FALL FROM TREES" AND OTHER JAPANESE PROVERBS. Compiled and translated by David Galef. Illustrations by Jun Hashimoto. With a Foreword by Edward G. Seidensticker.

South Asia


CONTEMPORARY INDIAN POLITICS. By Madhu Limaye.

STUDIES ON NEHRU. Edited by V.T. Patil.


PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: The Case of West Bengal, India. By Kirsten Westergaard.


THE HIDDEN HIMALayas. Photographs by Thomas L. Kelly. Text by V. Carroll Dunham.

AFGHANISTAN: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation. By J. Bruce Amstutz.


Southeast Asia

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF A TROPICAL DELTA: A Study of the Chao Phraya Delta. By Yoshikazu Takaya. Translated by Peter Hawkes.

The CAMBODIAN AGONY. Edited by David A. Ablin and Marlowe Hood.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF MALAYSIA. Edited by Zakaria Haji Ahmad.
**TOWARD A GLORIOUS INDONESIA: Reminiscences and Observations of Dr. Soetomo.** Edited, annotated and introduced by Paul W. van der Veur. Translated by Suharni Soemarmo and Paul W. van der Veur.  

**INDONESIA FREE: A Political Biography of Mohammad Hatta.** By Mavis Rose.  

**INDONESIAN WOMEN IN FOCUS: Past and Present Notions.** Edited by Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Anke Niehof.  

**LAND USE AND ENVIRONMENT IN INDONESIA.** By Wolf Donner. Photography by Erika Donner.  

**JAVANESE SHADOW PLAYS, JAVANESE SELVES.** By Ward Keeler.  

**GOVERNING SINGAPORE.** By Raj K. Vasil.  

**THE SINGAPORE ECONOMY RECONSIDERED.** By Lawrence B. Krause, Koh Ai Tee and Lee (Tsao) Yuan.  

**A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA, 1800–1911.** By Yen Ching-hwang.  

**Australasia and Southwest Pacific**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DECENTRALISATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC: Local, Provincial and State Government in Twenty Countries.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Peter Larmour and Ropate Qalo.</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMING TO TERMS: The Politics of Australia's Trade with Japan 1945–57.</strong></td>
<td>By Alan Rix.</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEDERALISM AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: The Australian Case.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by Peter Drysdale and Hirofumi Shibata.</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE NEW ZEALAND WARS AND THE VICTORIAN INTERPRETATION OF RACIAL CONFLICT.</strong></td>
<td>By James Belich.</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA.</strong></td>
<td>Edited by O.P. Dwivedi and Nelson E. Paulias.</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BRIEFLY NOTED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BITTER MELON: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America.</strong></td>
<td>By Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow, with introduction by Sucheng Chan.</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MIND LANDSCAPES: The Paintings of C.C. Wang.</strong></td>
<td>By Jerome Silbergeld.</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRAVELS OF A PHOTOGRAPHER IN CHINA, 1933–1946.</strong></td>
<td>By Hedda Morrison.</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PACIFIC ISLAND STUDIES: A Survey of the Literature.</strong></td>
<td>Editor-in-chief, Miles M. Jackson. Michael P. Hamnett, Michael C. Howard, Robert C. Kiste, David Kittelson, and Terence Wesley-Smith, contribution editors.</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

**Kate Frieson**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Politics, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia.

**Erika Platte**, Freelance researcher in Chinese economics and demography.

**Cornelia Lenneberg** recently completed a Masters Degree at La Trobe University, Bundoora.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prime Ministerial Leadership in Japan: Recent Changes in Personal Style and Administrative Organization</td>
<td>Robert C. Angel 583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tamil Militants—Before the Accord and After</td>
<td>Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam 603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinhala Cultural and Buddhist Patriotic Organizations in Contemporary Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Bruce Matthews 620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Dialogue of the Deaf: Attitudes and Issues in New Caledonian Politics</td>
<td>Stephen Henningham 633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 578-580)</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index to Vol. 61 (1988)</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 

292 pages approx., 63 b/w and 3 colour photographs, August 
ISBN 0-7748-0300-2, cloth, $36.95
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND HUMAN FACTORS.
By Charles T. Stewart, Jr. and Yasumitsu Nihei.
Amiya Kumar Bagchi 653

URBANIZATION AND URBAN POLICIES IN PACIFIC ASIA. Edited by Roland J. Fuchs, Gavin W. Jones and Ernesto M. Pernia. With the assistance of Sandra E. Ward.
David Drakakis-Smith 654

Nancy Waxler-Morrison 656

Steven I. Levine 657

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.
By Leszek Buszynski.

REDEMPTIVE ENCOUNTERS: Three Modern Styles in the Hindu Tradition. By Lawrence A. Babb.
Harjot Oberoi 659

Vera Schwarcz 661

China and Inner Asia

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. By Arnold Xiangze Jiang.
John F. Melby 668

Harlan W. Jencks 664

Robert E. Bedeski 665

FOUNDATIONS AND LIMITS OF STATE POWER IN CHINA. Edited by Stuart R. Schram.
Harold Z. Schiffrin 667


ENERGY IN CHINA'S MODERNIZATION: Advances and Limitations. By Vaclav Smil.
Samuel P.S. Ho 668

CHINA'S ESTABLISHMENT INTELLECTUALS. Edited by Carol Lee Hamrin and Timothy Cheek.
Ralph Croizier 671

CHINA'S INTELLECTUALS AND THE STATE: In Search of a New Relationship. Edited by Merle Goldman, with Timothy Cheek and Carol Lee Hamrin.
Ralph Croizier 671

THE ODYSSEY OF SHEN CONGWEN. By Jeffrey C. Kinkley.
T.D. Huters 673

David Zweig 675

CHINESE WORKING-CLASS LIVES: Getting by in Taiwan.
By Hill Gates.

R.F. Price 677

Brantly Womack 678

SHANGHAI: Crucible of Modern China.
By Betty Peh-T'i Wei.
David D. Buck 679

THE RECORDS OF MING SCHOLARS. By Huang Tsung-hsi.
Tom Fisher 681

HONG KONG UNDER IMPERIAL RULE, 1912–1941.
By Norman Miners.
F. Gilbert Chan 682
Northeast Asia

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF JAPAN, Volume 1:
The Domestic Transformation. Edited by Kozo Yamamura and Yasukichi Yasuba.

THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE THROUGH TIME. By Samuel E. Martin.

SONS OF HEAVEN: A Portrait of the Japanese Monarchy.
By Jerrold M. Packard.

ON UNDERSTANDING JAPANESE RELIGION. By Joseph M. Kitagawa.

A JAPANESE NEW RELIGION: Rissho Kosei-Kai in a Mountain Hamlet. By Stewart Guthrie.

THE MYTH OF JAPANESE UNIQUENESS. By Peter N. Dale.

EMBATTLED KOREA: The Rivalry for International Support.
By Ralph N. Clough.

THE KOREANS: Contemporary Politics and Society.
By Donald Stone Macdonald.

KOREAN WOMEN IN TRANSITION: At Home and Abroad.
Edited by Eui-Young Yu and Earl H. Phillips.

By Clay Blair.

South Asia

THE INDIAN OCEAN: Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics. Edited by Satish Chandra.

MERCHANTS, COMPANIES AND COMMERCE ON THE COROMANDEL COAST, 1650-1740. By Sinnappah Arasaratnam.

THE EXPERIENCE OF HINDUISM. Essays on Religion in Maharashtra. Edited by Eleanor Zelliot and Maxine Berntsen.


LAUGHING MATTERS: Comic Traditions in India.
By Lee Siegel.

CRIME, JUSTICE AND SOCIETY IN COLONIAL SRI LANKA. By John D. Rogers.

Southeast Asia

THE STATE IN BURMA. By Robert H. Taylor.


THAI RADICAL DISCOURSE: The Real Face of Thai Feudalism Today. By Craig J. Reynolds.

FROM CLASS TO CULTURE: Social Conscience in Malay Novels since Independence. By David J. Banks.


579
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Philippines Under Aquino: Papers presented at</td>
<td>Belinda A. Aquino</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a conference held in Sydney, November 1986 and organised by the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Studies Colloquium, Sydney and the Australian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Studies Network</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Marcos and the Philippine Culture.</td>
<td>Belinda A. Aquino</td>
<td>714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Lewis E. Gleck, Jr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aquino Alternative. Edited by M. Rajaretuam.</td>
<td>Benjamin N. Muego</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australasia and Southwest Pacific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na To Hoa Aroha—From Your Dear Friend:</td>
<td>H.B. Hawthorn</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Correspondence Between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau.</td>
<td>Leonard Mason</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Alternatives and a Feminist Anthropology:</td>
<td>William H. McKellin</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Analysis of Culturally Constructed Gender Interests in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea. By Frederick Errington and Deborah Gewertz.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility and Family Planning in the Third World.</td>
<td>William H. McKellin</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By William K.A. Agyei.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRIEFLY NOTED</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gandhi in India: In His Own Words. Edited by Martin Green.</td>
<td>Dennis Dalton</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palauan Cosmology: Dominance in a Traditional Micronesian Society.</td>
<td>Mary McCutcheon</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Celio Ferreira.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ROBERT C. ANGEL, Assistant Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina.

DAGMAR HELLMANN-RAJANAYAGAM, Research Fellow at the German Historical Institute, London.

BRUCE MATTHEWS, C.B. Lumsden Professor of Comparative Religion at Acadia University, Nova Scotia.

STEPHEN HENNINGHAM, Research Fellow, Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University. Served in Noumea as deputy-Consul General in the Australian Consulate General from 1982 to 1985. Previous publications include Peasant Movements in Colonial India: North Bihar, 1917 to 1942 (Canberra: Australian National University South Asia Monograph Series, 1982).