

# Pacific Affairs

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## ABSTRACTS

### **The United States and the Reemergence of Independent Japan**

TWO ISSUES DOMINATED American policy toward Japan in the years immediately following the signing of the peace treaty of 1951: defense and trade. To American leaders, defense and trade were two aspects of the vital question of how to keep Japan aligned with the United States after the end of the American occupation. Recently released documents from the presidential offices of Truman and Eisenhower, from the State Department, and from the CIA indicate that American officials, while pressing Japan to rearm in the face of a seeming Chinese and Soviet threat, came fairly quickly to a realistic understanding of the limits of diplomatic coercion. On the subject of trade, however, American estimates were fundamentally misguided, premised on the assumption that the Japanese economy would revive only slowly, if at all.

### **The Patterns of Japanese Relations with China, 1952-1982**

POSTWAR RELATIONS between Japan and the People's Republic of China are studied primarily from a Japanese point of view. Three broad periods are identified: (1) the period of Japanese public support of Western policy toward China but private contrition toward China because of Japan's wartime actions there, 1949-71; (2) the period of euphoria, of so-called "China fever," from Nixon's overture to China to China's unilateral cancellation of major Japanese industrial projects, 1971-81; and (3) the school textbook controversy of 1982 concerning Japan's treatment of its own history of imperialism in East Asia. Two major conclusions emerge: (1) between the mid-1950s and the late-1970s, the P.R.C. was able to manipulate Japanese public opinion emotionally and to take political advantage of Japan in their bilateral relations; but (2) despite this manipulation, Japan's postwar China policy has been subtle, sophisticated, and largely successful.

### **Crisis in Nepal's Partyless Panchayat System: The Case for More Democracy**

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN the panchayat system, introduced in 1962, and supporters of a multi-party system in Nepal eventually led the king to announce a national referendum in 1979. This referendum was to decide whether to retain the panchayat system together with some constitutional reforms, or switch back to a multi-party system. The referendum result supported the former choice, and so helped to legitimize the panchayat system, but it failed to resolve the deadlock over the future type of government. The opposition forces became tougher and the government more repressive, which involved the country in violent terrorism in mid-1985. The fundamental issue is the question of sharing power between the king and the people. Such a development would not only be in the interests of the country, but also in the long-term interests of the monarchy.

### **The South Pacific Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone**

THE WORLD'S second treaty to project military denuclearization of an inhabited area, the Rarotonga Treaty emulates, but also departs from, Latin America's Tlatelolco Treaty. Prohibitions safeguarding obligations and protocols for nuclear-weapon states (NWS) are similar. Rarotonga is stricter on nuclear exports and nuclear waste. Regional conditions differ. Unlike Latin America, the South Pacific has no nuclear threshold states, and thus no potential boycotters; but it does face nuclear testing by a metropolitan power (France), a major obstacle to Rarotonga fulfillment. The other NWS are apt to move soon to provide "negative guarantees." The New Zealand port-controversy and wariness about anti-nuclear feelings may delay the United States from doing so. Rarotonga, which essentially confirms the status quo, although rich in symbols is not necessarily a precursor to a spread of free-zones.

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### **Masters of Tradition**

*Consequences of Customary Land Tenure  
in Longana, Vanuatu*

**Margaret C. Rodman**

Land, copra and custom—dominant themes in the colonial history of the New Hebrides—remain crucial concerns in Vanuatu, the name adopted in 1980, as the republic's peasant society changes from small copra producers to participants in world market economies. Rodman details how the "chain of copra" works—from the commodity markets of Europe to the native producers and back again. She challenges theories about the dependency of small producers in world markets, demonstrating that the islanders do in fact retain a measure of control over their economic activities in production and marketing—much of this indigenous power arising through, not in defiance of, traditional avenues to wealth and prestige. At the same time, new forms of social inequality, stemming from the response of customary land-holding to the exigencies of cash-cropping, are masked by tradition.

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Relative State Autonomy and Development Strategy in Bangladesh, 1975–1981**

During the Zia regime (1975–81), the civil and military bureaucrats were dominant in the state apparatus of Bangladesh, which led to the formation of an “administrative state.” During this period the state followed a pro-growth strategy; in so doing, it was motivated mainly by its “distinctive interests” rather than as the instrument of the dominant class(es). Since there was no strong indigenous or metropolitan bourgeoisie in Bangladesh, the state played a “relatively autonomous” role in its development strategy. The “pure growth” strategy was beneficial to the state bureaucracy, because it worked as a source of legitimacy for the regime and also made possible increased defence and administrative expenditures as well as higher salaries and other fringe benefits for civil and military bureaucrats alike.

### **Behind a Partially-Open Door: Chinese Intellectuals and the Post-Mao Reform Process**

The last decade has marked a profound change in Chinese intellectual life: whereas self-reliance and anti-intellectualism were the main tenets of the late-Mao era, the Deng Xiaoping regime has been pressing for more economic openness to the West and for a reappraisal of highly-trained intellectuals. The new, official policy of *kaimen* (open-door policy) is here contrasted with increasing pressures for *kaifang* (relaxation of ideological controls) from below. This latter term is used to designate the goals of various generations of Chinese intellectuals prominent in public life today. On the basis of their distinctive historical experiences, these generations are constantly testing, challenging and stretching the parameters of intellectual reform. Intra-generational tensions and inter-generational collaboration are seen as the key to the vitality of the current reforms. That vitality, in the end, will depend on the resolution of a long-standing tension between “Chineseness” (native cultural identity reinforced by state orthodoxy) and critical ideas appropriated from the West.

### **Leadership and Authority in the Chinese Communist Party: Perspectives from the 1950s**

This work uses recently published party history materials in China and the press from the 1950s, to examine elite conflicts over the role of the leader in Chinese Communist Party decision-making. Whereas Chinese historiography and much Western scholarship believes that Mao’s assertion of personal power did not become an issue until the 1959 Lushan Plenum, this most fundamental conflict over political authority and policy-making procedure in the CCP’s top councils began much earlier in the post-1949 period. This early conflict, which was played out in the press and major party debates and decisions, is then interpreted in terms of the current post-Mao leadership’s effort to establish institutional controls on the single leader’s authority to prevent yet another degeneration into a Mao-like despotism.

### **Defusion and Accommodation: The Contending Strategies of the Congress Party and the Akali Dal in Punjab**

In many ways the Congress Party and the Akali Dal in Punjab are polar opposites. Both subscribe to mutually exclusive strategies of conflict management. While the Congress Party is defusionist in its inter-party behaviour and accommodationist on the intra-party plane, the Akali Dal is accommodationist in inter-party relations and defusionist in intra-Akali matters. These strategies are forced on them by the social context of Punjab, where the Hindus and the Sikhs are nearly evenly balanced. The social composition of the two parties—as well as their support structure—is such that they have to follow these contradictory strategies. Consequently factionalism in the Akali Dal often culminates in a split, whereas in the Congress Party it does not.

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