

ANU & U-Tokyo International Workshop under ANU/UTokyo
Strategic Partnership

*Aspects of Transpacific Intellectual Entanglements:
Between Western modernity and decolonization*

Co-hosted by

The University of Tokyo, The Australian National University, Ritsumeikan University

Date and Time: Wednesday 7 February 2024, 10:15-17:30 (AEDT)

Venue: Room 1.53. Crawford Acton Theatre
The Crawford School of Public Policy, JG Crawford Building, 132 Lennox
Crossing, Canberra ACT 2600

Event Website <https://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/research/iyhss/events/article.html?id=138>

About the workshop

How can intellectual historians navigate and chart the seas and oceans? Exemplified by the rise of the Indo-Pacific vision, oceanic spaces have recently gained political prominence. Simultaneously, maritime and oceanic historiography has come into the limelight, as seen in David Armitage et al eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge UP, 2018), and Paul D’Arcy et al eds., *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean in Two Volumes* (Cambridge UP, 2023). Intellectual history, however, largely lags behind this contemporary wave. How can it be updated, expanded or transformed if we consider the oceanic dimension seriously? The research project “A Global Intellectual History of the Pacific,” based at the Institute for Advanced Global Studies, the University of Tokyo, has explored these questions with a particular focus on the Pacific Ocean.

The world’s largest ocean with countless small islands, the Pacific is a geo-cultural entity that has drawn an assembly of distinctive visions, interpretations, projects and representations. Historically marked by the overlappings of empires, it has been a sited globality of layered political imaginaries, stemming from the rim, the antipodal and the local. At one pole, the Pacific has been subjected to hierarchic cartographies, such as ‘Japanese lake’ and ‘Anglo-Francophone lake.’ At the other pole, counter-hegemonic visions from various Pacific islands have challenged the existing views and have

reconstructed the Pacific. In short, the Pacific Ocean can be seen as a global crucible of variegated visions, interpretations and projects derived from different corners of the planet. Construals of this ocean have been constantly reassessed and contested, but also blended and hybridized in ways leading to new meanings of it.

In this workshop, organized under the auspices of the ANU-UTokyo Strategic Partnership and with the support of the Institute of Humanities, Human and Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University, some members of the above research project present their ongoing papers that shed light on aspects of such intellectual entanglements about the Pacific.

Program

10.15 – 10.30 **Opening Remarks**

Tomohito Baji (University of Tokyo)

10.30 – 12.00 **Session 1**

Translating the Japanese Economy across the Pacific: Masahiko Aoki between Kyoto and Stanford in the 1980s

Presenter: **Shaun Yajima** (University of Tokyo)

Discussant: **Andrew Levidis** (Australian National University)

12.00 – 13.45 **Lunch break**

13.45 – 15.15 **Session 2**

A Profoundly French New Caledonia? Multidirectional Memory of the Ralliement, 1940-2020

Presenter: **Naoki Nishida** (University of Tokyo)

Discussant: **Ann-Sophie Levidis** (Australian National University)

15.15 – 15.45 **Coffee Break**

15.45 – 17:15 **Session 3**

'Illiberal' Pacific?: Epeli Hau'ofa's Negotiation with Global Liberalism

Presenter: **Tomohito Baji** (University of Tokyo)

Discussant: **Paul D'Arcy** (Australian National University)

17:15 – 17:30 **Concluding Remarks**

Andrew Levidis (Australian National University)

Workshop chair: **Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi** (Ritsumeikan University)

Synopsis

Session 1

Translating the Japanese Economy across the Pacific: Masahiko Aoki between Kyoto and Stanford in the 1980s

Shaun Yajima

This research centers on Masahiko Aoki, one of the most eminent economists in post-war Japan, and traces the development of his theory concerning the Japanese economy in the 1980s. While Aoki started his intellectual career as a Marxist ideologue leading a new left student association, he subsequently shifted his focus to “modern economics” (*Kindai Keizaigaku*) and earned his economics Ph. D in the United States in the 1960s, laying the groundwork for his later success as a professor of economics at Kyoto and Stanford. One of Aoki’s primary achievements across his career was the theory of the Japanese economy he developed in the 1980s. Drawing on the game theory that was revolutionizing economics during this time, Aoki built a sophisticated model of the Japanese economy and unveiled economic rationality operating behind the Japanese economic system, which had long been perceived as culturally unique and unintelligible from the Western perspective.

This paper traces how Aoki constructed his distinctive theory of the Japanese economy in the 1980s by traveling across the Pacific between Kyoto University and Stanford University. By immersing himself in the academic cultures of the two institutions, Aoki combined the rich empirical research on the Japanese economy piling up in Kyoto with novel theoretical approaches emerging at Stanford. In so doing, Aoki articulated not only a fresh interpretation of the Japanese economy but also a vision of the Pacific that sought to bridge the differences in economic systems between Japan and the United States and, more broadly, between the East and the West with a unified theoretical language of Western

economics. Tracing how Aoki constructed such an understating helps us unearth a pattern of Pacific thought after the 1980s that highlights the commensurability of the rising East Asia economies with those of the United States and Western Europe.

Session 2

A Profoundly French New Caledonia? Multidirectional Memory of the Ralliement, 1940-2020

Naoki Nishida

On May 5, 2018, French President Emmanuel Macron, in a speech delivered in Nouméa, New Caledonia, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, spoke of France's "ambition collective" for "l'axe indopacifique" from Paris, New Delhi, and Canberra to Papeete and Nouméa, over the current geopolitical neutrality of the Indo-Pacific region.

This is not the first time that New Caledonia, with its rich resources and its strategic location in the Pacific, has come to be considered one of the most important regions in the world. The Pacific War (1941-1945) transformed the French colonies in the Pacific, previously forgotten and even referred to as the "Governor's Cemetery," into a contact zone between the Empire of Japan, the United States, and Free France. This paper focuses on those who united local patriotism and identity to defend French interests in New Caledonia during this period, from the Vichy regime to Free France and the Union française: the French settlers and their descendants. I will then show how they came to identify themselves as "les Français du Pacifique" in relation to the politics of memory.

The French colonies in the Pacific did not abandon the fight after the Franco-German Armistice of 1940 and joined Free France. In New Caledonia, the *Ralliement* of September 19, 1940, by the French population seized power under Free France. With war looming in the South Pacific, New Caledonia found itself on the front lines of the war against the Empire of Japan. In *Crusade in Europe* (1948), General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Allied Commander Europe, described the route to Australia via Hawaii, Fiji, New Zealand, and New Caledonia as a "Life Line". New Caledonia's abundant mineral resources (nickel, chromium, and iron) once supported the Empire of Japan and later the munitions factories of the United States. As America's long-term intentions and ambitions for New Caledonia's bases and resources became clearer, General de Gaulle, Free French leaders, and the local French population began to feel uneasy about the American presence.

In this context, the memory-formation process of the *Ralliement* served to reinforce, for the French population, their pride in New Caledonia and in the role it played in the Allied victory, and their

confidence in New Caledonia's ability to acquire and maintain an important position within the colonial empire (Union française). Moreover, this memory persisted in conjunction with the myth of "Salut par l'Empire" created by France, which aimed to maintain the unity of the colonial empire after the war's end, creating difficulties and contradictions in the subsequent political situation surrounding New Caledonia's independence.

Session 3

'Illiberal' Pacific? Epeli Hau'ofa's Negotiation with Global Liberalism

Tomohito Baji

Epeli Hau'ofa (1939-2009) was arguably the most prominent and influential Pacific Island thinker to envisage a sovereign Oceania. An indigenous-cosmopolitan visionary, he has been a luminary in the field of Pacific studies. While acknowledging this, I seek to situate Hau'ofa's work in a wider global intellectual context, analysing it as part of the late twentieth-century postcolonial aspirations for a just and equitable international order, a counterhegemonic current that resonated across the Global South. I show how his argument about the postnational (or pre-national) 'sea of islands' emerged from his persistent and fraught negotiation with strands of liberalism that exerted a global influence.

Recent relevant scholarship, such as Adom Getachew's *Worldmaking after Empire* (2019), illuminates how postcolonial intellectuals from the Global South sought to reshape the existing international order established by Western imperial powers. Their transformative projects arose largely from their antiliberal perspectives, which challenged the prevalent liberal internationalism. Hau'ofa's decolonization quest for a sovereign Oceania can be understood as the product of a similar interaction between liberalism and antiliberalism. However, scholarship on postcolonial internationalism has focused on Africa, Latin America and Asia, while leaving South Pacific decolonization thought, including Hau'ofa's, understudied. I argue that analysing Hau'ofa's oceanic international thought in terms of liberal-antiliberal negotiation can lead to a fruitful reconstruction of his advocacy for Pacific environmental conservation. Key here is his account of the nature and role of historiography, which underpinned his views on the past-future nexus at the heart of this negotiation and his argument for maritime stewardship.

Participants Short Bio

Tomohito Baji is an Associate Professor in the History of Political and Social Thought at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo, Japan. He was granted his Ph.D. (Politics and International Studies) from the University of Cambridge in 2016. His research stands at the intersection between intellectual history and International Relations, focusing mainly on the conceptions of empire and international order in early twentieth-century Britain, the United States and Japan. He is the author of *The International Thought of Alfred Zimmern: Classicism, Zionism and the Shadow of Commonwealth* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021). His English articles have appeared in *Modern Intellectual History*, *History of European Ideas* and *International Affairs*. At the University of Tokyo, he leads the joint international research project "A Global Intellectual History of the Pacific," in which he examines the postcolonial/decolonial thought in the Pacific Islands since the late twentieth century. His personal website: <https://tomohitobaji.com/>

Paul D'Arcy is Professor of Pacific History at the Australian National University. He teaches and researches on the environmental history of the Asia Pacific Region, with particular reference to environmental conflict resolution, the region's diverse approaches to sustainable development, and humans and the sea. He is the *General Editor of The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean in Two*

Volumes (2023). His next two books are *An Environmental History of the Pacific Ocean and The Pacific in World History*.

Shaun Yajima is a third-year Ph.D. student in economic history at the University of Tokyo. His dissertation project, tentatively titled “Control through Publicity: Economic Power and the Public Sphere in Germany, 1890-1914,” examines the role of mass media and the public sphere in shaping the politics of energy monopoly in Germany between 1890 and 1914. His interest also lies in the history of economics and social science in late twentieth-century Japan, particularly the lasting impact of the New Left Movement of the 1960s on modern economics.

Andrew Levidis is a Lecturer in Modern Japanese History at the Australian National University with broad interests in intellectual and political history, international history, and twentieth century East Asia.

Naoki Nishida is a Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo. He holds a Master's degree from the Graduate Department of Advanced Social and International Studies of the University of Tokyo and a Master's degree in History from the Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University. His dissertation focuses on the historical development of French emigrant workers' social rights in the Franco-German border region during the interwar period. He also participates in the UTokyo Institute for

Advanced Global Studies research group "A Global Intellectual History of the Pacific", where he studies the politics of memory in New Caledonia between the French Empire and the independence movement.

Visit https://researchmap.jp/iko_anadihsin?lang=en to see his recent work.

Ann-Sophie Levidis is a lecturer in French Studies and a historian of International Law, Decolonization, and Migration at the Australian National University.

Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi is Associate Professor at the College of Global Liberal Arts, Ritsumeikan University, Japan, and an Honorary Associate Professor at the Australian National University. Her main research interest is transnational migration and mobility in the Asia and Pacific region, and social histories. She recently published a co-edited book on histories of the Pacific, titled *Transpacific Visions: Connected Histories of the Pacific Across North and South* (2021, Lexington Books).