

ABSTRACTS – STRESZCZENIA

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CHINA FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The authors analyze China's changing role in the international relations. They indicate that China was not only the state but also the cradle and a center of a civilization which contributed a lot to the human civilization. They also point out the complexity of the term „China” from a political perspective: the presence of the state of People's Republic of China, the two particular post-colonial enclaves (Hong Kong and Macau), Taiwan and of the Chinese communities abroad and the states they created, i.e. Singapore. They present the term „Greater China” in its various meanings.

Another great problem briefly outlined here relates to the modernization of this country. The authors indicate an enormous scale of this process in such a giant country and its historical difficulties.

In this context they present the results of the reforms in the last 25 years. They conclude that the aim indicated by Deng Xiaoping – to quadruple China's GNP – has been achieved. The authors indicate other economic and social achievements, as well as various problems and challenges connected with such a rapid economic development. In their opinion, China's political system and its changes essentially correspond to the so-called „Asian values”. The Chinese leaders openly rejected the Western model of democracy and have chosen the authoritarian models of the „Asian tigers” that already demonstrated their efficiency in granting economic development and modernization. The authors remain as an open question the possibility of successful application of these models to China. It is not certain that the combination of free market economy with an authoritarian political system so efficient in the case of Singapore, South Korea or Taiwan, will bring a similar success to the mainland China.

The authors indicate that Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski was probably right to consider China as a raising regional power. This process is in the course and the unification of the country constitutes its precondition. The unification of the two enclaves, Hong Kong and Macau, was already achieved. Much more complex is the problem of Taiwan (presented in detail). It deserves attention that the proposed „unified China” will maintain to some degree its traditional political pluralism.

According to the authors, China is on her way to the status of a global power and the world must adjust itself to this new situation. However, it is closely related to the unification with Taiwan. A real social and economic integration with this island is progressing, but its younger generations could be less convinced that a political unification is necessary. Its prospects depend on the success of the modernization process on the continent, but nobody could predict its results, considering various difficulties. On the other hand, the unification of China depends on Washington and Tokyo as well, and the „Taiwan card” is an important American asset that provides some control over the developments in the region. The Chinese communities abroad could also facilitate the unification and modernization processes. Thus nobody could predict when China could become a true regional power fully autonomous in her relations with other powers and whether and when she will be a global power, although her influence on the world affairs can be noticed even today.



US-CHINA RELATIONS: PARTNERS OR RIVALS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The end of Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union entirely changed the US-China relations. China's economic growth and the PRC's increasing significance in the world affairs granted to this country a new status: of the main partner of the States. Hence the US-China relations initiated to resemble, to some extent, the relations with the USSR in the past, although China's policy in the world significantly differ from the Soviet one. Beijing to some degree challenges the USA, but promotes cooperation, not confrontation, as most advantageous for China's economic development. The theory of hegemonic stability constitutes a very useful instrument to analyze these relations. It assumes that rivalry between the current hegemonic power and an aspiring one to play this role is the most important factor of changes in international relations. The American scholars and research centers see the People's Republic of China as an emerging power in the US-China relations. There are three periods in US-China relations:

1 – from 19th century to 1972 when US recognized China as a political power;
2 – the years 1972-1989 when institutional and legal foundations of mutual relationship were established; 3 – the after-Cold War period during which a new formula of bilateral relations was looked for, to contain elements of both competition and cooperation.



PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND WTO

The membership in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) will be crucial for China's economy as an incentive to pursue market reforms oriented to deepening links of the Chinese economy with the world economy and getting benefits from the international labour division.

The accession of China to WTO will also bring substantial global benefits. A full integration of China's economy with the world trade system will make it more multifactoral and act as an incentive towards the development of a new global economic order.



HONG KONG: THE THREE YEARS AFTER THE UNIFICATION

■ The fears, propagated by some circles, that the unification of Hong Kong with the PRC will bring there a „Communist revolution”, proved to be groundless. After 1997 the independence of the city and previous civil freedoms were essentially maintained. One can notice, however, some changes.

Beijing's authorities control the city's legal system, on the request of its Legislature, not the British ones. Mass media are free but under new political circumstances restrict by themselves their criticism towards the PRC. Numerous Hong Kong Chinese that previously emigrated return. Political and social stability has been restored and the PRC's support facilitated overcoming of the financial crisis. The anti-Beijing political forces still operate, but enjoy much less social support and suffer factional struggle. The protests in Hong Kong moved from political field to the social one.

The Hong Kong economy overcame the consequences of the Asian financial crisis by 2000. Revenues of the banking sector are on the rise and the number of banking institutions amounts to 1580. Daily currency trade amounted to USD 91 billion. In the last 3 years the state-of-the-art operational financial methods were introduced.

Hong Kong has survived as a powerful international center of investment capital: A rising financial potential resulted in inviting Hong Kong as the only non-G-7 member to the Financial Stability Forum. In 2000 regional offices of the World Bank, IMF and the Bank for International Settlements were opened in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong continues to be primarily the international brokerage center. This function will be strengthened in the 21st century which is connected with China WTO membership.



ASIAN GIANTS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

■ A century ago the Asian countries constituted a „backward periphery” of the world and „Asia” was identified in the West with poverty and backwardness, although the demographic potential inspired some fears and concepts of the „yellow threat”. Japan was first to challenge the Western domination, and China was the second.

In the last decades the balance of power in the world initiated to change and one can notice not only the fascinating economic growth of Asian countries but also a revival of Asian civilizations. The new three powers of the 21st century emerged: China, Japan and India. Each of them, though in different periods of the second half of the 20th century, entered the path of dynamic and all-round development as well as introduced radical transformations of their internal structures. It resulted in changes in economic forces both in Asia and all over the world.

For over 20 years China has had a unique economic growth rate in the world that changed this country and its role in the world.

Formation of strong state organisms with a great potential of external influence had an enormous global impact. Firstly, it introduced, or rather started restoring new elements of the global significance into the geopolitical structure of the world, although on different level and with different interrelations than before. Secondly, it reduced if not even ended the Western domination over China which lasted 200 years, enabling the Asian civilizations to be again active beyond previous fields of their activity. Thirdly, the international community realized the necessity to incorporate a cultural and civilization heritage of Asia into the world heritage.

An increasing economic globalization resulting in a new global interdependence will change a place and role of different Asian states in the global structure of economic forces. This issue is treated in the final parts of the article.



THE NORMALIZATION OF VIETNAM-CHINA RELATIONS: THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY NOTE

Vietnam's overthrowing the Beijing-backed Pol Pot regime in Cambodia in January 1979 brought it into a direct confrontation with China throughout the 1980s. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in 1989 resulted in the normalization of Vietnam-China relations in November 1991, although other complex issues remained unsettled.

In the political sphere, China has undoubtedly become Vietnam's important partner in the past decade. Good ties with Beijing would benefit Hanoi in terms of security, economic and diplomatic interests. They would also make it possible for Hanoi to gain a promising environment for broadening relations with other countries, breaking the state of isolation and having a better opportunity to carry out its new open foreign policy.

The economic ties have significantly improved. If the total trade turnover between the two countries in 1991 valued only US\$ 290.84 million, the figure of 2000 was US\$ 2,957 million. Now China is Vietnam's third trading partner. Up to the end of 1999 China had 42 investment projects with a total registered assets of over US\$ 102.2 million in Vietnam. However, if to consider the investment of the „Greater China”, which includes Taiwan and Hong Kong, China's total investment will increase sharply, perhaps accounting for 22.8% of Vietnam's total FDI in the period 1988–1997.

The two countries signed major border treaties in 1999 and 2000, laying a foundation for stable relations in the future. There remain, nevertheless, some unresolved problems concerning the dispute over the territorial shelf in the South China Sea, which could disturb their security. Notwithstanding this, Vietnam seems to have been well prepared for living in peace with its giant neighbor, though whether it can do it depends heavily on China's will as well.



LOVE IN CHINESE POETRY: THE CLASSICAL *SHI* TO THE VERNACULAR *BAIHUA* POETRY OF THE YEARS 1917-1942

The authoress outlines the main themes of the classical *shi* poetry and its social role. Since it usually reflected the Confucian morality and thought, love rarely appeared there. Such feelings, if presented, most often have been described from the point of view of an abandoned woman (usually a loyal wife). These poems were commonly interpreted as a political satire and metaphor of honest officials and scholars, betrayed by selfish politicians or the court. Such an interpretation was facilitated by a certain obscurity. Li Shangyin's poem is given as an example.

After the Literary Revolution that started in 1917, the Chinese writers initiated to use a new vernacular language: *baihua* instead of classical *wenyan*. The new literature changed not only the language but the ideological orientation as well. It often condemned Confucian morality and the traditional social norms. Chinese intellectuals searched for new ideals in the West. Thus a significance of an individual and of love was discovered and introduced to China.

Although Chinese writers opposed traditions and advocated many Western ideas in their works, the great majority of them maintained a traditional approach to the literature claiming that literature determines (nor reflects) social life and mores. In this case they believed that the „new literature” will serve as a means for the creation of a „new society”. That is why they described love in a completely new light: as an intimate, individual feelings that facilitate liberation from the traditional Confucian hypocrisy.



Tytus Sierakowski

THE WEST IN THE EYES OF YOUNG CHINESE A SURVER OF STUDENTS' OPINIONS AT NANJING

The author, a Polish student of sociology (from the Warsaw University), who studies Chinese in Nanjing, conducted there a survey of the students' opinions. 30 persons of various local universities were interviewed in 2001. His Chinese colleagues made the interviews, so the opinions were not restricted by the norms of politeness. The questions concerned their knowledge of Western culture and attitudes (do they know and like Western food, movies, music, literature). The most significant and interesting were the questions: would they accept marrying a Westerner; would they be ready to make business with such a person, do they see difficulties in communication with a Westerner, what they dislike in the West and what the West could learn from the Chinese.

There was no a distinct anti-Western group and all of the students manifested psychological openness towards the West and its culture, although the girls were slightly more conservative than the boys. Critical opinions on the West concern first of all the negligence of family life and immoral behavior in the sexual sphere, that is its „decadence” in various aspects. However, a hegemonic approach, imposition of own standards and racism were indicated as well. In their opinion the West could learn from China the Confucian social and moral norms. They acknowledge the West's superiority in the sphere of technology, science and in some mental capacities (as creativity), but appear not much attracted by Western freedoms and ideas of human rights. In general a favorable approach towards the West prevails, although some old stereotypes are still popular and there is a certain feeling of alienation from the West.



W POPEŁNIENIACH NUMERACH

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| K. Karolczak | – Japońska demokracja – <i>tatamae</i> czy <i>honnoe</i> ? |
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| E. Potocka | – 80 lat stosunków polsko-japońskich |
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| E. Potocka | – Spór terytorialny – główną przeszkodą w normalizacji stosunków rosyjsko-japońskich |
| M. Burdelski | – 50 lat stosunków Polski z ChRL |

- Mahathir bin Mohamad – Rozważania o wartościach azjatyckich
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Rocznik nr 3, m.in.:

- K. Gawlikowski – Chronologia ważniejszych wydarzeń z dziejów Korei
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- T. Goban-Klas – Rozwój prasy i innych mediów w Republice Korei
 A. Diniejko – Znaczenie nowej poezji w utrwalaniu tożsamości narodowej Koreańczyków
- Hye-On Kim, Siegfried Hoppe-Graff – Stosunki między rodzicami a dziećmi w Korei w nowym ujęciu – rola kobiety
- Siegfried Hoppe-Graff, Hye-On Kim – Poglądy młodzieży koreańskiej na prawa i obowiązki
 W. J. Dziak – Kim Ir Sen – początki działalności politycznej
 R. Zalski – Działalność agencji ONZ oraz organizacji pozarządowych w Koreańskiej Republice Ludowo-Demokratycznej w latach 1995-2000
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- P. Gruk – Kontakty Sejmu RP ze Zgromadzeniem Narodowym Republiki Korei
- Jae Hyo Kim – KOTRA jako katalizator polskiego i koreańskiego środowiska biznesowego
- K. Gawlikowski – Wybory prezydenckie na Tajwanie w 2000 r. Problem jedności Chin i azjatyckiej drogi dochodzenia do demokracji
- A. Jagiełło – Specjalne strefy ekonomiczne w ChRL
 J. Młodawska – Makroekonomiczne czynniki rozwoju powojennej Japonii
- A. Jelonek – Przemiany w strukturach społecznych wsi kambodżańskiej
- Ta Minh Tuan – Polityka nuklearna Indii po próbach w Pohran
 E. Oziewicz – Gospodarki krajów Azji Południowo-Wschodniej w latach 90.
- E. Potocka – Negocjowanie z Azjatami



TOWARZYSTWO AZJI I PACYFIKU

■ Towarzystwo zostało utworzone w 1996 r. W jego skład wchodzi polscy badacze Azji rejonu Pacyfiku, jak też osoby związane z nią swoją działalnością zawodową. Głównym celem Towarzystwa jest promowanie rozwoju współpracy Polski z tym regionem świata w różnych dziedzinach, a szczególnie wspomaganie badań naukowych dotyczących Azji Wschodniej oraz Południowo-Wschodniej i upowszechnianie wiedzy o tym regionie w Polsce, a także pogłębianie znajomości naszego kraju w Azji rejonu Pacyfiku. Działa ono na rzecz wzajemnego poznania i zrozumienia.

■ Skład Zarządu Towarzystwa jest następujący: doc. dr hab. Krzysztof Gawlikowski (Prezes, badania Chin i Azji Południowo-Wschodniej), dr Marcei Burelski (Wiceprezes, badania Korei), dr Elżbieta Potocka (Sekretarz Generalny, badania Japonii), profesor Sławoj Szynkiewicz (badania Mongolii i mniejszości narodowych), dr hab. Waldemar Dziak (badania Chin i Korei), doc. Bohdan Kikolski (badania gospodarki Chin), mgr Ryszard Zalski (skarbnik).

■ Towarzystwo, razem z Centrum Badań Azji Wschodniej i ISP PAN, co roku organizuje szereg seminariów i dyskusji naukowych, których efektem jest rocznik *Azja-Pacyfik*.

■ Siedzibą Zarządu Towarzystwa jest Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie, przy ul. Polnej 18/20.



POLSKA RADA AZJI-PACYFIKU

- Rada została utworzona w 1997 r. z inicjatywy Towarzystwa Azji i Pacyfiku. W jej skład wchodzi znane postacie z różnych partii oraz ugrupowań politycznych, znani badacze Azji rejonu Pacyfiku, intelektualiści, dziennikarze oraz biznesmeni. Są wśród nich także prezesi innych towarzystw oraz szefowie instytucji zajmujących się tym regionem świata.
- Rada na swym zebraniu założycielskim jednomyślnie stwierdziła, że biorąc pod uwagę rosnące znaczenie Azji rejonu Pacyfiku Polska powinna rozwijać gospodarczą i polityczną współpracę z nią. Zostało to uznane za element uzupełniający proces integracji Polski ze strukturami atlantyckimi.
- Rada przywiązuje szczególne znaczenie do rozwoju współpracy gospodarczej, szkolenia specjalistów, rozwoju badań naukowych, jak też postępów w dialogu między kulturami Zachodu i Wschodu oraz upowszechnienia wiedzy o tym regionie w Polsce.
- Prezesem Rady jest profesor Krzysztof Gawlikowski (badacz Chin), a wiceprezesami są Andrzej Majkowski (podsekretarz stanu w Kancelarii Prezydenta), Janusz Onyszkiewicz (Unia Wolności, b. Minister Obrony), Jan Parys (ROP, były Minister Obrony). Sekretarzem Generalnym jest dr Małgorzata Pawlisz (doradca Prezesa Banku Handlowego). Sekretariat Rady mieści się w Instytucie Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk.



FUNDACJA FENIKS

- Powołana została w 1997 r. dla wspierania współpracy gospodarczej oraz kulturalnej, jak również dialogu między Polską a krajami Azji rejonu Pacyfiku. Fundacja utworzyła **Akademii Azji i Pacyfiku** dla organizacji szkoleń, kursów oraz seminariów o tematyce gospodarczej, politycznej oraz kulturalnej. Organizuje też wyspecjalizowaną Bibliotekę Azji i Pacyfiku, w której znajdują się publikacje dotyczące kultury, historii, stosunków politycznych, gospodarczych oraz życia społecznego krajów tego regionu.
- Prezesem Zarządu Fundacji jest dr Marcei Burdelski.
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