

A B S T R A C T S

Krzysztof GAWLIKOWSKI

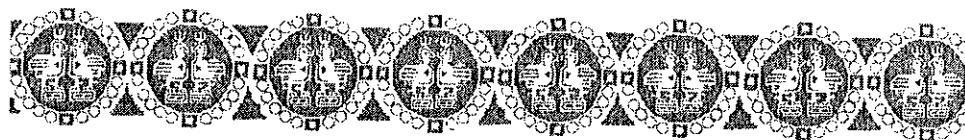
The question of human rights from an Asian perspective

The elaboration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN in 1948 constitutes undoubtedly a turning point in the world history and one of the most significant European contributions to humanity. However, it should be acknowledged that the concept of human rights from the very beginning was involved in political struggle and up to now is manipulated by governments, politicians and various groupings for their purposes. Being deeply rooted in the Christian intellectual tradition its universal implementation faces various difficulties in the countries that belong to other traditions, in particular Confucian and Buddhist.

Among the principal problems in the Asia-Pacific region the author points out a collectivist notion of an individual and different interpretation of "freedom", as well as absence of the legal tradition and the emphasis on obligations rather than on rights. In addition, law is perceived there in a different way than in the West. This results in a widely diffused "obedient approach" and rare manifestations of dissent or opposition. Therefore, in the Asia-Pacific region two elements, crucial to "human rights", are lacking: an autonomous individual as a subject and the recognition of innate rights. Moreover, the Confucian political tradition elaborated a different concept and structure of state. In the Western tradition that originates from absolutistic monarchies, only the state has means and rights to oppress its citizens, so there were conditions for an evolution of "human rights" and of "civil society". On the other hand, in East Asia the everyday "administration" and oppression were usually exercised by various non-government structures (clans, families and local communities), that could even conduct executions. In this context, in addition to the state oppression, one faces there, much more tangible and sometimes painful "social oppression", whereas the state could even be perceived as beneficial, restricting such an oppression. Thus to a certain extent the "proto-civil society" was much more oppressive there than the

very distant state structures. In the 20th century the struggle for sovereignty and modernization strengthened the expectations of an omnipotent state and demands for enlargement of its functions to satisfy collective economic needs. Under such historical tradition and circumstances political aspirations of the people were very low and the movement for human rights could not be born. It was initiated only recently under the Western impact.

The author analyses potential scenarios of the future evolution and indicates that the economic development and social transformations in course will increase autonomy of an individual and strengthen legal order, as well as stimulate further democratisation initiated in the region merely at the end of the 1980's. However, in order to introduce the concept of human rights to social and political practice a profound transformation of East Asian civilization is required. Thus the present difficulties in the practical implementation of human rights are rooted in the cultural rather than political sphere and in the process of such an inculturation they will undergo significant changes that could even influence their universal notion. One should acknowledge that the present notion of human rights is determined almost exclusively by the Western liberal school of thought, whereas the Western conservative thinkers share various objections and opinions with their Asian counterparts. Thus East Asia could eventually have a significant contribution to their further development.



Władysław GÓRALSKI

Foundations and trends in Japan's foreign policy

The author concentrates on economic conditions of Japan's foreign policy. The lack of own raw materials requires efforts for steady sources of supply. Another important problem is marketing outlets. Asymmetry between sources and imports and directions of exports leads to almost permanent frictions with highly developed countries, Japan has surplus with.

Japan's foreign policy is based on its alliance with the US, which is accompanied by developed relations in nearly all domains. Both countries, however, did not manage to avoid tension, due to, especially, a big trade surplus on Japan's side. The parties worked out pretty effective mechanisms of settlement of such disputes. Japan maintains the most extensive relations with the countries of East and South-East Asia. Geographical proximity and economic complementarity are favourable factors. Although conflicts of interests appear also here, they are settled without major problems. History is sometimes an embittering factor. As Tokyo tries to reevaluate the actions of the Japanese army in this area, China and Korea, in particular, react angrily and temporary deterioration in mutual relations takes place. Also territorial disputes around small islands appear, whose national status has been questioned. It concerns Korea, China, Vietnam and even Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Japan's relations with the Western European countries are maintained at a modest, but steady level. Also in this area, methods have been worked out to permit easing once acute controversies over the trade surplus. Central and Eastern Europe still occupies a modest place in Japan's policy, although the latter provides relatively large support for cultural, scientific and technological cooperation. Japan — Russia relations are limited. The main obstacle was and still is a dispute over the Kurile Islands, which were occupied by the Soviet Union in the final stage of the World War Two. The negotiations on this issue have not brought any practical results yet. While declaring their willingness to settle the problem, both sides maintain their positions, which makes it difficult to actuate their political and economic cooperation.

Jarosław GRZYWACZ

The presidential elections in the Republic of China on Taiwan in 1996

The electoral campaign is analysed in the context of the crucial political problems of Taiwan: liberalisation of its political system since 1987, tension between the "mainlanders" and the native Chinese inhabitants, and the changing role of Kuomintang as a ruling party. The controversy concerning Taiwan's future is also outlined: "one China" concept versus independence. The author describes the origins and political options of the main opposition forces, the Democratic Progress Party and the New Party. The struggle of various fractions and groupings inside Kuomintang and the opposition is presented in detail, as well as the tension between the President and the Parliament.

Against this background the author outlines both complex political games that preceded elections and changing political culture: its transformation from the traditional authoritarian patterns to more democratic ones.

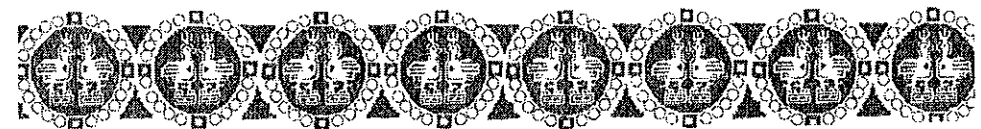
Notwithstanding short history of Taiwan's democracy and some symptoms of its immaturity, its fundamental rules are accepted by all political and social forces. Now the power holders must compete for sympathy of the voters and consider opinions of the population. Kuomintang maintained its leading position owing to its skilful adoption of democratic 'rules of game' and to the traditional obedience towards ruling forces, whereas those of opposition are still treated with certain distrust. Dissident past creates a burden, not an advantage.

The elections of 1996 demonstrated that a new 'Taiwanese *raison d'état*' was consolidated and the leading political figures in general respected its requirements at the expense of their personal preferences. Political elites and the electorate manifested a high sense of responsibility. This suggests that political interests of Taiwan, not emotions, will determine the future negotiations with the Peking authorities. Kuomintang's political role will most likely further diminish, whereas the President's power will increase. The necessary reforms of the political system require from both, the President and KMT, the collaboration with DPP.

Krzysztof JASIECKI

The structural reforms in Japan on the verge of the 21st century

The author describes changes in the socioeconomic model of Japan's growth in the 1990's, with a particular emphasis on economic recession, erosion of labour relationships and demographic structure transformations, changes in culture and customs, crisis of political leadership and main directions of structural changes, such as reforms of political and administrative systems, liberalisation of the economy and strengthening of market mechanisms as well as increasing labour market flexibility. Having reached the current level of development, Japan is unlikely to continue to generate such high growth indicators, as it did over some previous decades. Described phenomena and tendencies demonstrate that the Japanese society one day will face problems similar to those which appear in the West, in relation to economic productivity and political controllability. Economic slowdown in Japan was one of the reasons for the current difficulties in the region of East Asia.

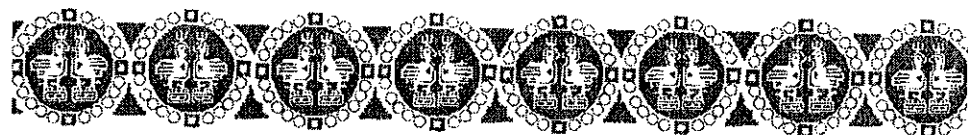


Adam JELONEK

Victims of the Khmer Rouge revolution in Cambodia. An attempt at an unbiased evaluation

The question if a revolution is successful or not may be evaluated from many standpoints: successful takeover of political superstructure, changes in the existing social and economic relations, effective interference in cultural and symbolical values of the nation or implementation of declared ideology. The Khmer Rouge revolution — one of the bloodiest in history — brought boundless sufferings in Cambodia. The Democratic Kampuchea was almost universally condemned on the international scene, but on the other hand, it gained a gloomy and sensational glory, because of colossal human casualties, resulted from implementation of its concept of development. Statistically, it is very difficult to count the number of victims, especially that emotions are involved. The article contains an analysis of different calculations of the human casualties of the Cambodian tragedy.

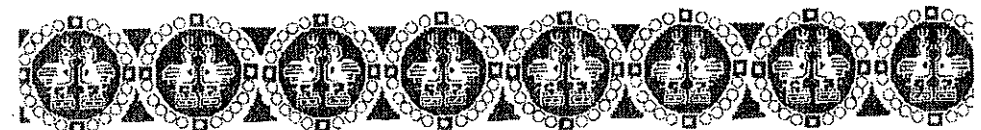
The author concludes that the most probable total number of victims can be estimated at 740,000. The number of two million indicated by several politicians and repeated by journalists seems to be exaggerated.



Krzysztof KAROLCZAK

Japanese democracy — *tatemae* or *honne*?

Some elements of the political system of the country are analysed as a contradiction between an official appearance and social reality. Assuming that the democratic system works as a political facade the author puts it on the side of the appearance i.e. *tatemae*. The contradiction results from different cultural patterns between the East and West, while political democracy standard belongs to the latter. It was introduced in a non-democratic way and is so implemented to a certain extent due to the domination of a vertical system of social dependencies, existing in all aspects of life. It is treated not as a direction how to run and organize the society, but rather as an instrument for settlement of disputes which, by the very nature of the Japanese society, should not exist. It results from the network of group interdependencies, based on clientelism and from the network "an iron triangle" emerges: the ruling party, bureaucracy and financial elites. The lack of full democracy is also demonstrated by the existence of big discriminated groups of population as *burakumins*, Koreans and women. The inequality hurts also the others, though it does not result from imperfect law but rather from social practice, determined by the cultural values.



Bohdan KIKOLSKI

Plans of the economic development of China

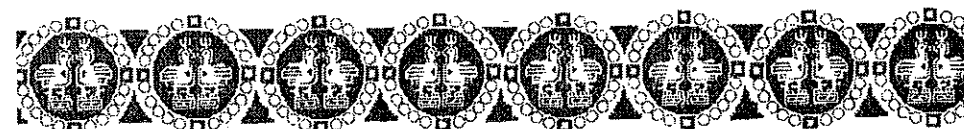
The author presents economic foundations for the current five and next 15-20 years, during which the authorities want to increase the country's position in the global power rank by increasing, among other things, GNP by 47% over 5 years. China is assumed to be in a position to win chances which result from development of inter-Asian trade, increasing the attractiveness of its own market for the foreign investments, whose volume may put China in the second place worldwide after USA and having become the most important market for Taiwan. The economic potential of China is also characterised by a volume of foreign reserves, which combined with Hong Kong exceeded USD 200 billion and continues to rise. One of the main long-term goals is to accelerate transformation and overall development of the Western regions of the country, in order to overcome internal disproportion. Structural changes are being planned, the essence of which is to preserve the total state ownership only in 512 key enterprises or their groups, thus increasing the private sector beyond the agriculture. The strategic economic projects show that the mechanisms, introduced in the recent years of reforms, will continue to be implemented.



NGUYEN Thanh Giang

Vietnamese agricultural reform in 1980-1995

The paper presents the situation of the agricultural sector in the Vietnamese economy during the period of system transformation from orthodox socialism to bureaucratic capitalism. The initial impulse to reform the country's economy came from agriculture. It required changes in collective farms, then followed a rethinking in other areas of economy and in running legal ideas. The transition of the system is clearly reflected in agricultural reforms. Therefore, in the first place, the relationship between agricultural issue and conduct of the Vietnamese leaders is analysed, including the process of collectivization over the 1950s to 1970s. Here, the nature of this process is outlined, as well as its role in designing a socialist system of agriculture and its consequences. It provides the starting point of the reform that begun in the 1980s and brought about decollectivization and liberalisation of the economy. Agricultural reforms are presented in relation to other institutional changes and new factors like liberalisation of prices, foreign investment etc. The country is open up to the world, so not only politics but also economy must fit the worldwide standard in many fields. Agriculture seems to be left behind in comparison with other sectors. Almost ten years after the beginning of the reform, one of the problems left is land ownership in rural areas, disregarded by the Land Law 1993.

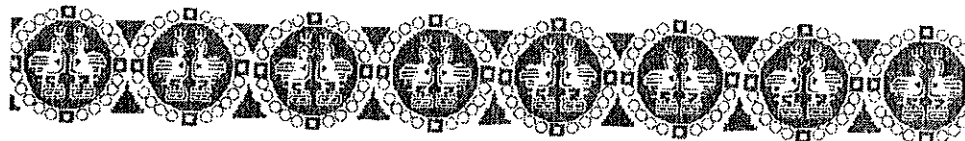


Kazimierz STARZYK

The foreign economic policy of the People's Republic of China and its implications for Poland

The article is focused on fundamental factors of PRC's foreign economic policy, against the background of long-term growth tendencies of its economy. In particular, quantitative and qualitative changes have been shown to take place in trade, with a particular emphasis on the role of the foreign direct investments and importance of the first half of the 80s, as a key period for establishment of the foundations of PCR's economy transformations. In the article, the sources of these tendencies have been shown, which result both from internal conditions of the economic development and external ones, particularly following changing realities of the world economy. An evolutionary approach to the foreign economic policy has been stressed as a primary feature of PRC's international economic relations.

Poland's position on PCR's market depends on our ability of satisfying market requirements in the field of quality and modernity, as well as scale and punctuality of supplies. It will be also determined by our participation in different forms of industrial cooperation, especially in the form of foreign direct investments.



Karin TOMALA

China and human rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in San Francisco stressed that human rights are indivisible and inalienable and that human dignity is inviolable. However, it continues to be a controversy over how human dignity can be best manifested. In the Chinese history of ideas no evidence can be found to support the thesis that inalienable human rights stem from human nature. Since the 1970s human rights have been a subject of discussion in China. Previously, the human rights notion was characterised as an imperialist institution. While the western countries see in personal dignity consistency with the development of democracy and pluralism, China maintains that it is providing the conditions for existence that creates the universal dignity of human beings. Priority is given to the people's rights to existence, development and well-being, which means that the most important thing is to provide the population with food, clothing and shelter. Human rights in China is one of the most explosive political themes in debates between the West and China. The more China opens up, the more political, economic and cultural contacts will be created, improving the prospects for democratisation and human rights situation in China.





TOWARZYSTWO AZJI I PACYFIKU

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

Towarzystwo organizuje comiesięczne seminaria i spotkania naukowe, współorganizuje konferencje naukowe i wydaje publikacje swoich członków, przeznaczone dla specjalistów oraz szerszej publiczności. Ich zakres tematyczny obejmuje zagadnienia społeczne, polityczne i gospodarcze, dotyczące przede wszystkim współczesności Azji Wschodniej i najbliższych obszarów. Wśród wydawnictw, przygotowanych wspólnie z ISP PAN, znajdują się następujące:

Krzysztof Gawlikowski: *Dwie cywilizacje i ich wizje człowieka — Zachód i Azja Wschodnia*

Bohdan Kikolski: *Niektóre założenia planów gospodarczych Chin*

Powrót Hongkongu do macierzy (zbiór studiów)

Rocznik Azja-Pacyfik

W skład Zarządu Towarzystwa wchodzi siedem osób: doc. dr hab. Krzysztof Gawlikowski (prezes, jego zainteresowania obejmują Chiny i Azję Południowo-wschodnią), dr Marcei Burdelski (wiceprezes, problematyka Korei), dr Elżbieta Potocka (sekretarz generalny, problematyka Japonii), dr Janusz Kowalski (skarbnik, problematyka Chin), dr Waldemar Dziak (problematyka Chin i Korei), mgr Maria Stefańska-Matuszyn (redaktor naukowy, sinolog), prof. dr hab. Sławoj Szynekiewicz (redaktor rocznika, problematyka Mongolii i mniejszości narodowych Azji Wschodniej).

Siedzibą Zarządu Towarzystwa jest Instytut Nauk Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, adres: 00-625 Warszawa, ul. Polna 18/20.



POLSKA RADA AZJI-PACYFIKU

■ Polska Rada Azji-Pacyfiku utworzona została w lutym 1997 r. z inicjatywy Towarzystwa Azji i Pacyfiku. W jej skład wchodzi badacze Azji oraz stosunków międzynarodowych, politycy różnych orientacji, publicyści, działacze gospodarczy oraz funkcjonariusze administracji państwowej (ci ostatni jako osoby prywatne).

■ Dostrzegając rosnące znaczenie Azji rejonu Pacyfiku w międzynarodowych stosunkach gospodarczych i politycznych, Rada zamierza promować rozwój współpracy Polski z tym regionem świata jako komplementarnej do integracji naszego kraju ze strukturami atlantyckimi. Rozwój takiej współpracy, tak by osiągnęła ona poziom zbliżony do tego, jaki mają już nasi partnerzy z Unii Europejskiej, wymagać będzie wielkich wysiłków ze strony Polski, do czego niezbędne jest wsparcie wszystkich sił politycznych. Rada, jako ciało społeczne o pluralistycznym składzie, zamierza występować z odpowiednimi inicjatywami oraz sugestiami wobec władz państwowych, instytucji naukowych, organizacji gospodarczych i społecznych, jak również samorządów lokalnych.

■ Rada zamierza analizować procesy zachodzące w Azji rejonu Pacyfiku (zależnie od pozyskanych środków finansowych) i przedstawiać wynikające z nich zadania, sygnalizując nowe problemy oraz wyzwania. Szczególną uwagę przywiązuje ona do rozwoju współpracy gospodarczej, kształcenia kadr fachowych, rozwoju badań naukowych, dialogu między kulturami Wschodu i Zachodu, jak również do upowszechniania wiedzy o Azji rejonu Pacyfiku w Polsce.

■ Rada zorganizowała w maju 1997 r. pierwsze sympozjum poświęcone omówieniu polityki Polski wobec Azji Wschodniej w porównaniu z taką polityką Unii Europejskiej. Na rok 1998 planowane są następne. Z jej inspiracji jesienią 1997 r. została powołana Fundacja Feniks dla upo-

wszechniania wiedzy o Azji rejonu Pacyfiku. Nawiązano współpracę z MSZ, a członkowie Rady, przy różnych nadarzających się okazjach, przedstawiali problemy Azji publicznie, w tym w środkach masowego przekazu.

■ Członkami Rady są: Andrzej Ananicz (sekretarz stanu, MSZ), Piotr Andrzejewski (AWS), Stanisław Ciosek (doradca Prezydenta R.P.), Tadeusz Iwiński (SLD), Lech Kaczyński, Maciej Kozłowski (podsekretarz stanu, MSZ), Krzysztof Król (KPN), Andrzej Majkowski (podsekretarz stanu, Kancelaria Prezydenta R.P., prezes Stowarzyszenia Polska — Republika Korei), Robert Mroziewicz (podsekretarz stanu, MON), Tomasz Nałęcz (UP), Andrzej Olechowski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz (minister obrony), Jan Parys (ROP), Longin Pastusiak (SLD), Janusz Piechociński (PSL), Radek Sikorski (podsekretarz stanu, MSZ), Andrzej Wielowieyski (UW), Andrzej Zakrzewski (Instytut Lecha Wałęsy).

■ Ponadto weszli do niej Andrzej Arendarski (prezes Krajowej Izby Gospodarczej), Tadeusz Lisek (Ministerstwo Gospodarki), Andrzej Sudoł (MEN), dziennikarze: Stefan Bratkowski, Wojciech Giełżyński i Maciej Łukasiewicz, naukowcy: Adam Bromke, Marcei Burdelski (UG), Krzysztof M. Byrski (Instytut Orientalistyczny UW), Zbigniew Chrupek (UW), Waldemar Dziak (ISP PAN), Krzysztof Gawlikowski (ISP PAN, prezes Towarzystwa Azji i Pacyfiku), Władysław Góralski, Jarosław Guzy (Polski Klub Atlantycki), Edward Haliżak (Instytut Stosunków Międzynarodowych UW), Robert Jakimowicz (AE Kraków), Antoni Kamiński (ISP PAN), Stanisław Kałużyński (prezes Polskiego Towarzystwa Orientalistycznego), Bohdan Kikolski (BGK), Mieczysław J. Künstler (Katedra Sinologii UW, prezes Polskiego Stowarzyszenia Studiów Sinologicznych), Wojciech Roszkowski (ISP PAN), Bogusław Rychłowski (WSP Kielce), Zygmunt Skórzyński (prezes Fundacji „Polska w Europie”), Kazimierz Starzyk (SGH), Sławoj Szynkiewicz (IAE PAN), Kazimierz Tkaczyk (UW), Karin Tomala (Zakład Krajów Pozaeuropejskich PAN), Andrzej Wawrzyniak (dyrektor Muzeum Azji i Pacyfiku), Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński (ISP PAN). Wszedł do niej także Andrzej Wajda (inicjator Centrum Kultury Japońskiej w Krakowie) i Andrzej Karnabal (dyrektor Chińsko-Polskiego Towarzystwa Okrętowego S.A.). Spodziewane jest poszerzenie składu Rady.

■ Prezesem Rady jest Krzysztof Gawlikowski, wiceprezesami są Andrzej Majkowski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz i Jan Parys. Sekretarzem generalnym jest Małgorzata Pawlisz (dyrektor Biura ds Funduszy Emerytalnych Banku Handlowego).

■ Adres pocztowy Rady: 00-625 Warszawa, ul. Polna 18/20.