

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 72, No. 1

Spring 1999

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Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X
GST No. R108161779



ABSTRACTS

The Tibet Issue in Post-Summit Sino-American Relations

Barry Sautman

Driven by Americans' cultural and religious interest in Tibet, the dispute between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama's "government in exile" in India has recently become one of the most important in U.S.-China relations. Its ethnic, sovereignty and religious dimensions make the Tibet Question particularly intractable. Internal political pressures have made the Dalai Lama unwilling to abandon the goal of independence and the PRC leaders unwilling to grant concessions to the Tibetan exiles. An effective Tibet Lobby has produced a skewed view of the Tibet Question among U.S. leaders. There are recent indications, however, that the PRC practice of rejecting foreign participation in the effort to bring about negotiations on Tibet may be moderating. At the same time, the U.S. administration has begun to move toward a more balanced approach that may allow it to play a useful role in resolving the Tibet dispute.

**Can China be a Clean Tiger?:
Growth Strategies and Environmental Realities**

Weijiong Zhang, Ilan Vertinsky, Terry Ursacki and Peter Nemetz

Inefficient resource use, population pressure and economic growth have put China's environment under severe stress. Inadequate resources for upgrading technology and for enforcing regulations and inadequate incentives for improving environmental performance have resulted in environmental degradation despite progress in establishing environmental policies and administrative structures. Economic restructuring may improve resource allocation and reduce waste, but also poses risks if the need to employ laid-off workers results in continued lax enforcement of environmental regulations. Investment by foreign companies more vulnerable to consumer demands to meet environmental standards and improved access to capital by small enterprises for technological upgrading may help offset these tendencies.

**Relations between Taiwan and China after the Missile Crisis:
Toward Reconciliation?**

Tai-fa Yu

Both Taiwan and China have reassessed relations with each other after the missile crisis in the Strait of Taiwan. Taiwan anticipates greater friction with China and has taken steps including constitutional reform and the reorganization of armed forces to enhance its systemic resilience. Taiwan's further drift away from "national unification" has heightened China's anxiety. China has been eager to make a breakthrough in unification with Taiwan through "political" negotiation, accelerated efforts to complete Taiwan's diplomatic isolation, and an increase in Taiwan's economic dependency. Although both sides express interest in negotiation, no breakthrough is likely to ensue, due to political conditions on both sides that rule out any compromise over the "sacrosanct" issue of national sovereignty. In the foreseeable future, only a rational calculation of the benefit and cost of a military showdown will prevent a radical change in the status quo in the Strait of Taiwan.

Lines in the Snow: Imagining the Russo-Japanese Frontier

Tessa Morris-Suzuki

One of the most significant pieces of unfinished business left over from the Second World War is the signing of a peace treaty between Japan and Russia and a resolution of the continuing dispute over Japan's northern border with Russia. Against a background of continuing negotiations over the border issue, this article looks at the historical processes behind the definition of the frontier between Russia and Japan. A particular concern is to examine changing concepts of the frontier, and changing images of the frontier region, from both Russian and Japanese perspectives. The article traces the transformation of the region from an area of complex contact between many indigenous groups to a hazily defined buffer zone between emerging rival powers, and later to an area bisected by a sharply defined and heavily guarded boundary line. Although the traditions and ideologies of the two nation states on either side of the border differed greatly, the images of the region generated in Russia and Japan contained important parallels as well as contrasts. Understanding these images can provide insights into the possible future of the region as it enters a new phase of cross-border interaction.

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Summer 1999

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Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
PRINTED IN CANADA

ISSN 0030-851X
GST No. R108161779



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ABSTRACTS

Joining the Major Powers for the Status Quo: China's Views and Policy on Korean Reunification

Fei-Ling Wang

Based on document survey and field research, this paper outlines China's views and policy on Korean reunification. Exhibiting a convergence of interest with the other major powers (the United States, Japan and Russia) in the region, Beijing now seeks political stability in Northeast Asia through maintaining the status quo rather than a reunification of the Korean Peninsula. China perceives the reunification of Korea with a clear ambivalence, for while, officially, Beijing supports an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea in principle, in practice, it prefers and works for the existing balance of power in the region. China is also strongly interested in seeing the peninsula free of external military presence, especially if the peninsula is to be unified. While China currently is a status quo power working with the United States on the Korean issue, Beijing's cooperative policy is not guaranteed. The key factors that may change Beijing's views and policy seem to be the overall Sino-American relations, the status of China's own reunification with Taiwan, Sino-Japanese relations, and the prospect of the military ties between a unified Korea and the United States.

Whither Japan's Environmental Movement? An Assessment of Problems and Prospects at the National Level

Robert J. Mason

Although several thousand local recycling groups, food cooperatives, and other small groups are active in Japan, there is not a strong national environmental movement. This is explained not so much by Japan's emphasis on *wa* (harmony) as it is by systematic state policies that make citizen participation in government affairs costly and difficult. Most environmental NGOs (non-governmental organizations) are not legally incorporated and do not have tax-exempt status. Recent social and political developments, including enactment of legislation that makes it easier for NGOs to become incorporated, hold promise for the development of a more vigorous civic environmental culture. Nonetheless, increasing opportunities for citizen participation are likely to be accompanied by greater government cooptation of the environmental movement.

The Russian Far East's Economic Integration with Northeast Asia: Problems and Prospects

Peggy Falkenheim Meyer

The end of the cold war and the normalization of relations between Russia and China were perceived as opening up new opportunities for the Russian Far East's integration into the Northeast Asian region. Some analysts anticipated that a revival of economic, touristic and other links between the Russian Far East and three of its neighbours, Japan, China and South Korea, would mitigate tensions in their relations and help establish a solid foundation for bilateral and multilateral regional interaction. It was hoped that growing foreign economic ties would have positive security effects

on the Russian Far East, raising its level of economic development and reducing its dependence on the military and defence industry. Russian analysts anticipated that their country's increasing economic ties with Northeast Asia would maintain its presence and influence at a time of decline in its military power.

Despite high hopes and significant external as well as domestic political support for an expansion of the Russian Far East's economic integration with East Asia, the results have been disappointing. Trade, investment and other links between the Russian Far East and its neighbours have grown, but not as much as originally anticipated. Russia's incomplete reform and failure to create an attractive trade and investment climate have presented a significant barrier to the Russian Far East's economic integration with the Northeast Asian region.

Despite this disappointing background, there are two areas — energy development and trans-shipment through Russian territory — which may attract large-scale foreign investment, but only if Russia creates a more attractive environment.

Party Politics in Papua New Guinea: A Deviant Case?

Ben Reilly

Strong, broadly based political parties are often cited by political scientists as one of the most important factors in promoting democratization. This is particularly the case in fledgling democracies, where well-institutionalized political parties are seen as being essential prerequisites for elaborating political interests and forming effective governments. This article raises what appears to be a significant deviant case for these arguments by examining the party system in Papua New Guinea (PNG), which appears to represent an unusual example of a developing country in which both a highly competitive democratic political system coexists with weak, fragmented and declining political parties. This paper sets out the history of competitive multi-party democracy in PNG, presenting both qualitative and quantitative analyses of party support and performance. It then examines the apparent decline in the salience of political parties in PNG, and the reasons for that decline. It concludes by addressing the question of the relationship between party strength and democratization.

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