

# Sino-Tibetan Dialogue in the Post-Mao Era: Lessons and Prospects

*Tashi Rabgyay and Tseten Wangchuk Sharho*



East-West Center  
Washington

# Sino Tibetan Dialogue In The Post Mao Era Lessons And Prospects Policy Studies

**Timo Kivimäki**

## **Sino Tibetan Dialogue In The Post Mao Era Lessons And Prospects Policy Studies:**

**Sino-Tibetan Dialogue in the Post-Mao Era** Tashi Rabgye,Tseten Wangchuk Sharho,2004 This study examines the dialogue process in the Sino Tibetan dispute from the early years of the post Mao era to the present It considers the latest round of discussions between Beijing and the Dalai Lama in light of the failures of the early initiatives as well as the current conditions for dialogue In its reappraisal of the early failures the study contends that even when Beijing appeared most inclined to enter into talks the gap between the two sides was too wide for meaningful engagement The study then traces the relationship between the PRC and the exiled Tibetan leadership from the PRC and the exiled Tibetan leadership from the early engagement of the 1980s through the protracted stalemate of the 1990s Jiang Zemin s abortive exploratory talks of 1997 98 and on to the breakthrough of 2001 when direct contacts between Beijing and Dharamsala were re established The study contends that conditions for Sino Tibetan talks have improved over time But while factors such as the emergence of domestic critics of China s Tibet policy suggest a momentum toward engagement developments such as the institutional restructuring of Beijing s management of Tibetan affairs signal potential obstacles to serious dialogue The authors argue that while both sides can benefit from the current process of talking about talks they will nonetheless find it difficult to overcome their differences on the substantive issues of autonomy and unification This is the twelfth publication in Policy Studies a peer reviewed East West Center Washington series that presents scholarly analysis of key contemporary domestic and international political economic and strategic issues affecting Asia in a policy relevant manner

## **Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003. Volume 11: Tibetan Modernities** International Association for Tibetan Studies.

Seminar,2008-05-31 This book the first scholarly publication in the West to provide detailed documentation of modern life in contemporary Tibet presents the cutting edge field work carried out by an interdisciplinary group of researchers studying caste pop music media painting education economics childbirth and environment in Tibetan communities today *Cold Peace* Jeff M. Smith,2013-12-16 The twenty first century is likely to witness Asia s two largest civilizations China and India join the United States in an elite club of global superpowers By some economic indicators the two Asian giants are already the second and third largest economies in the world and they are developing world class militaries to complement that economic clout While Beijing and Delhi have spent the past half century free from armed conflict and enjoy cordial diplomatic relations elements of rivalry have shadowed the relationship since the two countries went to war in 1962 over their disputed Himalayan border In the twenty first century that rivalry has evolved in unpredictable ways advancing in some arenas and retreating in the face of growing cooperation in others *Cold Peace China India Rivalry in the Twenty First Century* updates and deepens our understanding of the China India relationship by unraveling the complex layers of the contemporary China India rivalry This book draws from over 100 interviews with subject matter experts government officials and military officers in India China and the United States between November 2011 and July 2013 It also benefits from rare and unique field

research at the disputed China India border in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh at the contested town of Tawang in the Himalayas at Dharamsala the seat of the Tibetan Government in Exile at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and on Hainan Island which administers China's South China Sea territories With 14 chapters dedicated to issue specific studies including Threat Perceptions in China India Relations the border dispute Tawang Tibet the Dalai Lama succession issue maritime security and the role of the United States and Pakistan in Sino Indian relations Cold Peace provides a comprehensive examination of the evolution of China India relations **China and the New International Order** Wang Gungwu,Zheng Yongnian,2008-01-30 This book explores China's place in the new international order from both the international perspective and from the perspective within China It discusses how far the new international order as outlined by George Bush in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberation of Kuwait in the Gulf War with its notions of international order as viewed by the United States and with the United States seeing itself as the single dominant power applies to China The contributors offer the implications both positive and negative of China's growing economic power and the possibility that China will increase its military power They also examine the idea that the Chinese leadership is being carried along itself by events in China which it does not fully control and that other growing forces within China such as nationalism increasing social grievances structural instability and rivalry between the centre and the regions potentially work against China's growing strength in the international arena Considering traditional Chinese notions of international power where the world is seen as sino centric with neighbouring countries subservient to China in varying degrees the book argues that this represents a fundamentally different view of the international order one where the equal sovereignty of every state does not apply where there is an acknowledged hierarchy of power and where domestic and international issues are highly interdependent

**The Sino-Tibetan Impasse** Jampa Choephell,2008 **Meeting the China Challenge** Evelyn Goh,2005 In East Asia the United States is often acknowledged as a key determinant of stability given its military presence and role as a security guarantor In the post Cold War period regional uncertainties about the potential dangers attending a rising China have led some analysts to conclude that almost all Southeast Asian states now see the United States as the critical balancing force In contrast based on case studies of Thailand Singapore and Vietnam this study argues that key states in the region do not perceive themselves as having the stark choices of either balancing against or bandwagoning with China Instead they pursue hedging strategies that comprise three elements indirect balancing which mainly involves persuading the United States to act as counterweight to Chinese regional influence complex engagement of China at the political economic and strategic levels with the hope that Chinese leaders may be socialized into conduct that abides by international norms and a more general policy of enmeshing a number of regional great powers in order to give them a stake in a stable regional order The study also investigates each state's perceptions of the American role in regional security and discusses how they operationalize their hedging policies against a potential U S drawdown in the region as well as the different

degrees to which they use their relationships with the United States as a hedge against potential Chinese domination Finally it discusses these states expectations of what the United States should do to help in their hedging strategies toward China suggesting a range of policies that span the military as well as political diplomatic and economic realms This is the sixteenth publication in Policy Studies a peer reviewed East West Center Washington series that presents scholarly analysis of key contemporary domestic and international political economic and strategic issues affecting Asia in a policy relevant manner

The Politics of Military Reform in Post-Suharto Indonesia Marcus Mietzner,2006 This study discusses the process of military reform in Indonesia after the fall of Suharto s New Order regime in 1998 The extent of Indonesia s progress in this area has been the subject of heated debate both in Indonesia and in Western capitals Human rights organizations and critical academics on the one hand have argued that the reforms implemented so far have been largely superficial and that Indonesia s armed forces remain a highly problematic institution Foreign proponents of military assistance to Indonesia on the other hand have asserted that the military has undergone radical change as evidenced by its complete extraction from political institutions This study evaluates the state of military reform eight years after the end of authoritarian rule pointing to both significant achievements and serious shortcomings Although the armed forces in the new democratic polity no longer function as the backbone of a powerful centralist regime and have lost many of their previous privileges the military has been able to protect its core institutional interests by successfully fending off demands to reform the territorial command structure As the military s primary source of political influence and off budget revenue the persistence of the territorial system has ensured that the Indonesian armed forces have not been fully subordinated to democratic civilian control This ambiguous transition outcome so far poses difficult challenges to domestic and foreign policymakers who have to find ways of effectively engaging with the military to drive the reform process forward This is the twenty third publication in Policy Studies a peer reviewed East West Center Washington series that presents scholarly analysis of key contemporary domestic and international political economic and strategic issues affecting Asia in a policy relevant manner

*Muslim Perspectives on the Sri Lankan Conflict* Dennis B. McGilvray,Mirak Raheem,2007 **Political Authority in Burma's Ethnic Minority States** Mary Patricia Callahan,2007 This study examines the enormous variation and complexity that characterize relationships between the national state and locally based often non state actors who negotiate and compete for political authority in Burma s ethnic minority dominated states along the borders Three patterns of relationships are explored such as devolution by the national state to warlord like local authorities occupation by the Burmese military and coexistence with varying degrees of cooperation and understanding among actors from the national state and local stakeholders Throughout these border states leaders of the Burmese governments armed forces and of past and currently active armed opposition forces operate within a context that is neither war nor peace but instead a kind of post civil war not quite peace environment To understand the complex political arrangements that have arisen in this environment this monograph employs the concept

of emerging political complex a set of adaptive networks that link state and other political authorities to domestic and foreign business concerns some legal others illegal traditional indigenous leaders religious authorities overseas refugee and diaspora communities political party leaders and nongovernmental organizations All of these players make rules extract resources provide protection and try to order a moral universe but none of them are able or even inclined to trump the others for monolithic national supremacy Conflict resolution strategies have to recognize that these emerging political complexes are not simply unfortunate bumps in the road to peace but instead constitute intricate and evolving social systems that may continue to be adapted and sustained

**Initiating a Peace Process in Papua** Timo Kivimäki,2006

Sinhalese Buddhist

Nationalist Ideology Neil DeVotta,2007 This study argues that political Buddhism and Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism have contributed to a nationalist ideology that has been used to expand and perpetuate Sinhalese Buddhist supremacy within a unitary Sri Lankan state create laws rules and structures that institutionalize such supremacy and attack those who disagree with this agenda as enemies of the state The nationalist ideology is influenced by Sinhalese Buddhist mytho history that was deployed by monks and politics in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to assert that Sri Lanka is the designated sanctuary for Theravada Buddhism belongs to Sinhalese Buddhists and Tamils and others live there only due to Sinhalese Buddhist sufferance This ideology has enabled majority superordination minority subordination and a separatist war waged by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam LTTE The study suggests both LTTE terrorism and the ethnocentric nature of the Sri Lankan state which resorts to its own forms of terrorism when fighting the civil war need to be overcome if the island is to become a liberal democracy The present government of President Mahinda Rajapakse is the first to fully embrace the Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist ideology suggesting that a political solution to Sri Lanka s ethnic conflict is unlikely Meaningful devolution of power whereby Tamils could coalesce with their ethnic counterparts amidst equality and self respect is not in the offing A solution along federal lines is especially unlikely Instead continued war and even attacks on Christians and Muslims seem to be in store for Sri Lanka as the Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist ideology is further consolidated The study recommends that the international community adopt a more proactive stance in promoting a plural state and society in Sri Lanka In addition to countering the terrorist methods employed by the LTTE the international community should initiate and support measures to protect fundamental civil liberties and human rights of Sri Lanka s ethnic and religious minority communities

**Conflict and Peace in India's Northeast** Samir Kumar Das,2007

**Muslim**

**Resistance in Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines** Joseph Chinyong Liow,2005-12-31 This study analyzes the ongoing conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines between indigenous Muslim minorities and their respective central governments In particular it investigates and interrogates the ideological context and content of conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines insofar as they pertain to Islam and radicalism in order to assess the extent to which these conflicts have taken on a greater religious character and the implications this might have on our understanding of them In

the main the monograph argues that while conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines have taken on religious hues as a consequence of both local and external factors on present evidence they share little with broader radical global Islamist and Jihadist ideologies and movements and their contents and contexts remain primarily political reflected in the key objective of some measure of self determination and local in terms of the territorial and ideational boundaries of activism and agitation Furthermore though both conflicts appear on the surface to be driven by similar dynamics and mirror each other they are different in several fundamental ways

**The Helsinki Agreement** Edward Aspinall,2005 This study examines the latest attempt to bring an end to one of Asia s longest running separatist conflicts In August 2005 in Finland representatives of the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement signed an agreement which sets down the outline of a comprehensive settlement to the Aceh conflict Until recently this conflict had appeared close to intractable Earlier attempts to reach a negotiated settlement between 2000 and 2003 broke down in acrimony and the Indonesian government launched a military offensive vowing to wipe out the rebels once and for all Why did the two parties agree to resume talks so soon after the earlier failures And what are the chances that the peace agreement will hold this time Written by a leading expert on the Aceh conflict this study examines the factors that prompted the belligerents to return to the negotiating table surveys the course of the negotiations analyses the deal itself and identifies potential spoilers It concludes that the Helsinki agreement represents Aceh s best chance for peace since the separatist insurgency began almost thirty years ago The deal is more comprehensive than earlier agreements and its monitoring provisions are more robust There is also more good will on both sides based partly on greater awareness that previous violent strategies had failed Even so there are powerful forces opposed to the deal and backsliding or equivocation on either side could easily prompt a return to violence if implementation is not managed skillfully This is the twentieth publication in Policy Studies a peer reviewed East West Center Washington series that presents scholarly analysis of key contemporary domestic and international political economic and strategic issues affecting Asia in a policy relevant manner

*Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka* Jayadeva Uyangoda,2007 *Assessing Burma's Ceasefire Accords* Zaw Oo,Win Min,2007 The Burmese military government and numerous ethnic minority armed groups have entered a series of ceasefires since 1989 in spite of the fact that most previous talks between 1949 and 1983 failed Why did the parties enter into ceasefire accords What is the nature of the accords What have been the consequences What are the future scenarios Written by two Burmese researchers this study investigates the underlying factors behind the ceasefires explores the nature of the secretive agreements and identifies the consequences affecting stakeholders in the larger context of peacebuilding political settlement democratization and the state building process The study concludes that recent ceasefires present a significant first step in solving the sixty year old civil war However after more than 17 years they have not brought about peace or political settlement The government initiated ceasefires carry a heavy military focus primarily seeking to reduce military threats and gain better control over the borderlands while placing greater emphasis on state

building than on peacebuilding Nevertheless the accords have allowed many ceasefire groups to maintain or increase their strength develop their areas and more importantly ceasefires have resulted in the local ethnic population having relatively better lives Many ethnic armed groups will continue to pursue their goals through political means but if at least some of their objectives are not met a resumption of violence cannot be ruled out *Taiwan's Rising Rationalism* Shelley Rigger,2006

**Forging Sustainable Peace in Mindanao** Steven Rood,2005 This study investigates the role of civil society in forging sustainable peace in Mindanao Civil society s involvement in peace efforts can improve the chances of a lasting settlement both in terms of addressing underlying causes and in terms of building a constituency for the concessions needed for a peace agreement There are limitations to the effectiveness of civil society however due both to certain characteristics of these organizations such as their ideological divisions or their lack of representativeness of the whole Filipino community and to the inherent nature of civil society its inability to aggregate interests in order to achieve a wider settlement In the end civil society can have an impact in making it politically possible for policy elites to adopt positions other than that of victory which seems to be the preferred policy stance of the general Christian Philippine citizenry Through articulation of issues and networking through activities parallel to the formal peace process and through their efforts to bridge communal divides civil society organizations keep alive the prospect for peace in Mindanao that sometimes seems forever elusive This is the seventeenth publication in Policy Studies a peer reviewed East West Center Washington series that presents scholarly analysis of key contemporary domestic and international political economic and strategic issues affecting Asia in a policy relevant manner

**Creating a "new Nepal"** Susan Hangen,2007 **State of Strife** Martin Smith,2007 Since independence in 1948 Burma has been the scene of some of the most sustained and diverse ethnic insurgencies in the contemporary world This study examines the dynamics of conflict that have caused internal wars to become so uniquely entrenched in one of Asia s most troubled lands Against a backdrop of conflict different nationality movements have been able to adapt and survive utilizing the changing political economic and international conditions in the country In the process armed opposition became a way of life in the borderlands while the central state became increasingly militarized Burma s conflicts however have not been static This study identifies five major cycles of conflict that have seen the national government transform from a parliamentary democracy at independence through Gen Ne Win s Burmese Way to Socialism to the current military State Peace and Development Council As the political impasse continues ethnic ceasefires and open door economic policies are changing the structures of conflict In an overview of humanitarian and international dilemmas the study concludes that conflict resolution with integrated support from the international community remains a primary need if Burma and its peoples are to achieve peace democracy and a stable nation state

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