Book Reviews


Although China publicly resolved in 1992 that it would no longer amble from stone to stone to cross the river but strive to craft a "socialist market economy (shehui zhuyi shichang jingji)," this book by Dali Yang is among the first and certainly the most systematic to analyze the political implications of this shift. The confrontation at Tiananmen that first threatened to end reform precipitated a thorough reevaluation of its direction, Yang argues, resulting in a 1993-1994 paradigm shift from "Hayekian experimentalism" to "Polanyian programmatic reform." Moving boldly into theoretically uncharted territory after two decades' turbulent experience, the CCP leadership under Jiang Zemin resolved to rebuild China's system of governance into one no longer focused on planning and industrial entrepreneurship but on market regulation. True, the Party-state continues to dominate society far more than capitalist developmental states (and the post-Tiananmen leadership has attempted to recentralize power), but the bureaucracy was downsized considerably after 1999, and though the state did not forfeit ownership of the industrial "commanding heights," the industrial ministries were essentially eliminated and SOEs enjoined to operate according to market principles. Amid the debate between "developmentalists" who view this shift optimistically and those who believe it results in a "distorted market," a "reform treadmill," or otherwise impedes China's economic outlook, Yang from the outset places himself unambiguously in the former camp: "China has made real progress toward making the Chinese state into a regulatory state suited to a functioning market economy." (p. 18)

His narrative begins with the effort commencing at the 15th Party Congress to restructure the governmental bureaucracy, explaining not only how downsizing proceeded but why the effort was timed so late in the reform era. Chapter three focuses on the reorganization of the fiscal system and financial sector in 1993-1994, placing this in the context of the onset of a competitive buyers' market (which also drastically culled the collective/TVE sector) in the wake of the euphoric over-expansion of productive capacity that followed Deng's 1992 southern voyage (nanxun). Yang then analyzes the divestiture of the military-security apparatus of its sizable stake in the civilian economy, insightfully tracing this to elite annoyance at the PLA's involvement in smuggling, which became particularly acute during the Asian financial crisis because of the discrepancy between growing domestic demand and high protective tariffs. Chapter five is concerned with the effort to reorient the government away from bureaucratic rent-seeking via myriad fees and licenses to a more transparent (zhengwu kongkai), service-oriented role. Chapters six and seven address the challenging problem of corruption, particularly in the construction
industry (rigged tendering and bidding, resulting in shoddy construction), real estate allocation, and stock-listing. Yang provides a comprehensive, critical review of anticorruption efforts; conceding the skepticism of many observers, he argues that even politically inspired anti-corruption efforts can improve the climate, much as partisan competition serves to police multi-party systems. In chapter eight Yang purviews the rise of "horizontal accountability," alleging that the empowerment of the NPC and local people's congresses, as well as the ascendancy of the National Audit Office, provide a useful counterweight (analogous to institutionalized checks and balances in divided governments) to the "leading role" of the CCP.

Though hardly the first to recognize the shift from central planning to market coordination, with this well-organized, richly detailed analysis of the political implications of this shift, Dali Yang has made a path-breaking contribution to our understanding of China's ongoing reform. Placing himself between "Chinese renewal" and "Chinese decay" schools, Yang sees a third possibility: continuing economic growth and commensurate administrative reform without democratization. Economic liberalization can and will continue without political pluralization, and the government will downsize its bureaucracy and limit its managerial role while recentralizing fiscal, security, and information control: corresponding to China's emerging international role of "responsible great power," the domestic vision is one of a more technocratic, managerially efficient "limited government" (youxian zhengfu). Of course, not all will agree. Is China's new direction a coherent package or one marked by continuing, ambivalent oscillation between decentralization and recentralization, between emancipating and regimenting the educated middle class? Can economic reform proceed indefinitely without more thoroughgoing political reform? Has China really turned the corner in its fight against corruption and socialist inequality? In making a persuasive case for the defense, Yang does not analyze the gap between policy-making and law enforcement, nor compare relative success rates in different sectors and investigate lags or discrepancies--that is not really his focus. Yet he has written a real tour de force, which no one interested in China can afford to ignore.

LOWELL DITTMER
University of California at Berkeley


Beijing University is viewed today, in China and abroad, as a major center of learning, and also as the focus of many major political drama in modern China: it is therefore inevitable that the author of this book would focus on this institution to
illustrate his main contention that the widely held perception that the May Fourth Movement represents the birth of modern China tends to obscure continuity with the previous period. The author argues that many of the leading intellectuals of that movement in Beijing University, who are celebrated today as heroic and bold reformers, upheld through their actions some rather traditional views about the role of scholars in society, as custodian of national values and as servants of the State. This claim rests on the premise that from the beginning, intellectuals who were engaged in the promotion of a “New Culture,” were primarily preoccupied with trying to keep their elite status, as the Confucian political order around them was collapsing. The argument is supported by an abundance of empirical evidence, drawn from the literature in Chinese produced at the time.

The book starts with a description, in the first three chapters, of the transition from the Jingshi daxuetang (Imperial University) to Beida (Beijing University), in which are exposed the dilemmas intellectuals had faced when they wanted to retain influence in society, as the Qing order in which they have been formed, was collapsing. The following two chapters describe the tension unfolding on the eve of the May Fourth movement, when the view of the university as being a center of academic research and self-cultivation was competing with the notion that it has to serve as a loci of political and cultural activism. (p.147). During these momentous times, Weston documents, intellectuals were becoming increasingly removed from their traditional status as the people’s moral conscience and state’s servants, but they had yet to form a group of professional experts. The author describes the efforts of Beijing University chancellor Cai Yuanpei to reconcile the university’s dual goals of striving for academic excellence and caring for the fate of society, but asserts that in the end it proved to be a too difficult endeavour. In his sixth chapter, Weston advance his main argument that when the May Fourth Movement had tipped the balance in favour of radical political participation, students and their professors at Beijing University, in their embrace of the “New”, were in fact displaying attitudes reminiscent of ancient values about the duty of remonstrance. In other words, the call to change society represented a solution of continuity with the past rather than a major break. This continuity is illustrated, among others, in the description of the treatment of women at the University: although Cai had sought to open higher education to them, traditional mores continued to hold sway. (p. 201) In the following chapter, Weston notes that if the political instability following the May Fourth Movement gave the upper hand to intellectuals who believed that academics had a duty to get involved in politics and save the nation, this attitude became a liability to Beijing University when the city’s warlord showed an increasing propensity to use violence to pursue their ambition. As a growing number of intellectuals sought to avoid this climate and escape to the relative security of Shanghai and its better living conditions, Beijing lost its status as a prominent center of intellectual activity in China during the late 1920s and became eclipsed by cities to the South, in Guangzhou, Wuchang and Nanjing. When Beijing University reopened
in 1929, it fell behind Qinghua and Yanjing universities, which were freer of government control than other Chinese universities because of their international connections. Yet, contrary to the other national universities, Beijing University remained perceived as a center of critical thinking because it put less emphasis than others on “practical knowledge.”(p.249)

This otherwise excellent study is marred somewhat by the conclusion that students claiming to uphold “the spirit of Beida” are more likely to inspire “strident nationalism” than “independent-minded intellectual inquiry.” (p.253) Nothing in the book prepares the reader for that assessment. If anything, the history of student activism in the 1980s suggests a quite different possibility. Despite this small reservation, however, this is a well-written and carefully researched text that will be of great interest to historians of modern China, as well as political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists interested by the analysis of epistemic communities.

ANDRE LALIBERTE
Université du Québec à Montréal


Zhao Suisheng’s volume conducts an empirical study of Chinese nationalism by tracing its origins and the major forces that shaped its content, and by investigating its impact on China’s foreign policy behavior. The author adopts a historical approach to the study of Chinese nationalism, which adjusts primordialism with a measure of instrumentalism.

The book attempts to answer the following important questions: What are the sources of Chinese nationalism? Is the content of Chinese nationalism eternal and objective or contextual and situational? Is Chinese nationalism an emotional and irrational sentiment that transcends considerations of self-respect or a rational choice of political forces based on calculations of their self-interest? What have been the different roles of major political forces, namely, the authoritarian state, liberal intellectuals, and ethnic groups, acting out of self-interest, in the construction of Chinese nationalism? Is Chinese nationalism an “inward-directed sentiment” which holds the nation together or an “outward-directed emotion” which will become a destructive force?

Zhao argues that the pragmatic nationalism promoted by China’s practical leaders is more reactive than proactive in international affairs, as they realize that nationalism is a double-edged sword. Nationalism can certainly enhance the legitimacy of the Communist regime, reinforce Chinese national confidence, and turn past humiliation and current weakness into a force that propels modernization.
Nationalism, however, can cause a serious backlash. Liberal nationalists severely criticized Chinese leaders for being too close to the U.S. and Japan in the 1990s. Chinese leaders have to consider the ethnic implications of promoting nationalism too.

The author considers that modern Chinese history was marked by a struggle between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) for gaining and strengthening state authority in the name of national reunification and liberation. The elite nationalism promoted by the Kuomintang proved to be inadequate when the pressures of the imperialist powers required a mass movement to counter them. The struggle for national independence in a semi-colonial country like China generated a form of non-universal liberalism. The resultant liberal nationalism perceived national interest like Rousseau’s general will of the nation, revealed by universal suffrage.

The rise of Chinese nationalism was linked with the ethnic consciousness of the Han people ruled by the Manchu minority. The CCP’s attitude towards ethnic nationalism was largely instrumental; once in power, it rapidly withdrew its promise of self-determination.

Zhao’s major contribution is his detailed analysis of China’s state-led campaign to launch pragmatic nationalism in the 1990s. The content of the associated patriotic education campaign was insightfully dissected in terms of defining China’s unique national condition, linking the Communist state with China’s non-Communist past, and presenting the Communist state as the defender of China’s national interests. National unity was exploited to limit ethnic nationalism too.

According to the author, after the Tiananmen Incident, the neo-authoritarianism of the 1980s evolved into a nationalistic response to the dramatic global changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s and became a neo-conservatism dominating the intellectual and political circles for an extended period. This neo-conservatism in fact converged with the instrumental position of state-led nationalism.

Zhao goes on to analyze the different international orientations linked to different nationalist perspectives: nativism, anti-traditionalism and pragmatism. The Chinese leadership has embraced pragmatic nationalism because of its effectiveness in replacing a fading ideology, as a reason to continue one-party rule, and as a means to achieve the goal of modernization. Since an internal legitimacy crisis has become a grave concern of the Communist regime, it has to appeal to performance legitimacy by focusing on domestic economic development and political stability while adopting a defensive policy in coping with pressures from major Western powers. Hence Chinese nationalism will tend to emphasize “inward-directed sentiments” that hold the nation together as it adapts to the modern world. The important question remains: what if the Chinese leadership fails to secure performance legitimacy?
In sum, Zhao’s treatise is rich in historical and contemporary data, and its coverage is comprehensive. As such, it is essential reading for those interested in this important subject of Chinese nationalism.

JOSEPH CHENG
City University of Hong Kong


Professor Wong Yiu-chung (Department of Politics and Sociology, Lingnan University, Hong Kong) is to be commended for bringing together an impressive group of Hong Kong scholars and for keeping them all focused on the theme of how the “one country, two systems” policy first enunciated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s and enshrined in the Sino-British Joint Declaration of 1984 has played out in the years since the 1997 handover of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

The essays in this book all hew closely to that common theme, which deals with various aspects of how the one country, two systems policy has affected life in Hong Kong after the handover, including politics and democratization, law and the legal system, the “right of abode” and immigration, Catholic Church relations with the Hong Kong government, education policy and administration, and foreign relations and trade issues involving the EU, the United States, and Taiwan. The issue coverage is at once broad and concise and the essays are mostly highly readable, with only a little uneven English in a couple of essays. In general, the editor and his colleagues should be commended for pointing out the many difficult issues that have arisen in Hong Kong’s transition from a British Crown Colony to a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC.

All that being said, the volume does suffer somewhat from the opposite problem of significant overlap between the essays, especially the first four essays on political-legal issues, which go over the same events repeatedly, if within different themes. A certain repetition of information is of course useful in driving home key points, such as the importance of the proposed Article 23 of the Basic Law and the delay in the implementation of its potentially draconian security measures, but the volume could perhaps have been improved with more references of the authors to each others’ essays.

Also, though the tone set by the editor at the outset seems to promise an empirical study of the effects and implementation of the “one country, two systems policy,” in fact the authors nearly all have normative underpinnings that leave them clearly skeptical about the PRC’s ability to leave Hong Kong’s autonomy unmolested
(with the significant exceptions of some of the authors on foreign relations, who demonstrate the PRC’s relative pragmatism up to the represent in allowing Hong Kong to deal with outside powers, including Taiwan, in ways that protect its economic interests). While this reviewer is very sympathetic to the book’s point of view and considers that the authors have all demonstrated very clearly the strong grounds for their skepticism, mostly through an analysis of Hong Kong and PRC press, some poll results, and economic data, nevertheless, either a clearer statement of that common skepticism from the outset or perhaps an inclusion of one or more contrary views might have been helpful.

These relatively small criticisms aside, this volume can be recommended to scholars and a general audience for its inclusiveness, depth and breadth of coverage, and updating of events in Hong Kong up to early 2004, including the mass demonstrations beginning in July 2003 that eventually forced the PRC and the Hong Kong Executive Council to delay the introduction and implementation of Article 23. Events since the book’s publication, including the (seemingly forced) resignations of certain critical journalists and broadcast personalities, the relative failure of the democrats in the 2004 Legislative Council (LegCo) elections, and most especially the PRC’s decision to delay indefinitely direct elections for the Chief Executive and for more of the seats in LegCo, all seem to have borne out the predictions of some of the book’s authors about the likely continuing erosion of democratic rights in Hong Kong and the slowly increasing limits to its autonomy in practice.

One other theme that many of the authors presciently noted was how the fear of many in Hong Kong that China would interfere in Hong Kong’s economic autonomy changed after China’s accession to the WTO to the fear that other Chinese cities, including Shanghai, might eventually become even greater threats to Hong Kong’s prosperity. This theme promises only to increase in importance in the future and thus is yet one more reason to recommend this book to scholars and general readers alike interested in the future of Hong Kong and its role in the political and economic development of China and East Asia.

JOHN A. RAPP
Beloit College


This is an important book that presents a comparative study of two of the largest third world countries that have recently undergone tremendous transformations. Dr. He Li, who teaches political science at Merrimack College,
offers sophisticated analysis of the revolutionary origins of the two regimes and their subsequent reforms in the 1980s to 1990s period.

The book’s introduction chapter provides a clear and convincing justification of comparing a large Latin American country with a large East Asian country. According to Li, Mexico and China represent two typical examples of modern regimes that attempted to modernize their traditional societies and polities first by means of revolution in the first half of the twentieth century and then state initiated reforms in the recent decades. Both countries saw important revolutions that established single party dominated regimes that later implemented far-reaching reforms to adapt to the global trend toward market economy.

There are several notable chapters in the book that analyze some important issues in the study of Mexico and China’s political and economic trajectories. For example, Chapter 2 of the book examines the historical origins and significance of the Mexican and Chinese revolutions of the 20th century and how these historical events shaped the course of the two countries’ economic and political developments. Chapter 4 studies the Chinese and Mexican development experiences and explores the strategies and outcomes of economic reforms in the two countries. The chapter addresses the important question of why the Chinese reform is more successful in generating faster growth. Chapter 6 examines the important relationship between economic reform and political reform. In particular, the chapter explores the issue of sequencing economic and political reforms. The chapter asks if China can duplicate the Mexican experience of democratic transition. The author claims that China’s political change is not likely to follow the Mexican path. Finally, Chapter 7 examines the role of technocrats in the policymaking and reform process of Mexico and China, particularly whether a new generation of technocratic elite can facilitate democratic reform in the two countries.

This is the first major comparative study of Mexico and China from revolution to reform. Its consistent focus on the political and economic changes in these two important countries will shed light on our understanding of the dynamics of reform. Since the 1980s, a significant body of literature has emerged on the subject of political and economic reforms. This comparative study of a major East Asian case with a major Latin American case will certainly interest scholars who study the political economy of reform. I have no doubt that many experts in the field will find the book historically informative, analytically sophisticated and rich in detail. Thus this book should be highly recommended for both classroom use and libraries.

BAOHUI ZHANG
Daemen College

This groundbreaking book on China’s political support explores the extent, the social-political sources, and behavioral consequences of popular political support in urban China. The rich empirical data is drawn from surveys of about 700 Beijing residents of selected households. The three carefully planned surveys were conducted in 1995, 1997 and 1999 respectively. Overall, this book is an excellent empirical study with its analytical framework draw on such distinguished political theorists such as David Easton. It challenges the widely held views that the regime in Beijing has lost its ideological and moral appeal and that the demand for political change is looming.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one lays out the book’s theoretical framework and major hypotheses. Though initially developed by Easton, the definition of the key variable political support is still lack of clarity, and may need some explanation. Two concepts used, the diffused support and specific support, represents the two dimensions of the issue of political legitimacy, that is, the moral justification and utilitarian or *eudemonic* justification. Diffuse support is in fact an operational concept used to measure the strength of the moral justification, and diffuse support is used to measure the utilitarian justification. This was precisely what the author was set out to do during his extensive field work in China, namely, to determine how much public support the Chinese government enjoyed.

In light of the difficulties in conducting opinion surveys in China, the author has done a marvelous job in getting the necessary logistical support and drawing the sample population. The three cross-sectional trend studies yield valuable longitudinal data on which most of the analyses and generalizations of this study are based upon. In chapter two and three, Chen argued that the diffuse support for the current political system remained strong among Beijing residents, although it steadily declined during this period. On the other hand, the specific support for current political authorities was much weaker, with many citizens evaluating the authorities’ performance as mediocre.

To explicate the level of the political support the government received, the author went further by examining three additional variables, namely socio-demographic attributes, high-politics orientations (a set of citizens’ attitudes and values), and low-politics orientations (personal-life satisfaction and views of local policies). It is not surprise that the individual support is linked with an individual’s group attribute such as age, education, jobs, ideology etc. For example, the author concludes that political support tends to be strong among those who are older, less-educated, and having high (self-assessed) economic status, in addition to variables such as being a Party member and government official. As for the impact of the political support on citizens’ political behavior, Chen identifies two behavior patterns...
based on individual’s beliefs and attitudes to the regime. Those who demonstrate stronger support to the regime tend to convey their support through participation in local elections, while those who are dissatisfied with current policy performance are more likely to find expression for their frustration by contacting government officials.

One area that may be vulnerable to critics for a public opinion research like this is that one should not take these expressed opinions as truly independent opinions of the respondents since the official ideology, propaganda, and opinion leaders may have great influence on how people perceive their government. This factor may have nothing to do with the truthfulness of the responses. Additionally, there are some limits on the scope of the study. As the author himself has acknowledged the descriptive results of the study cannot be applied to the entire country. Readers must be aware of the fact that Beijing is a political center of the nation and the attitudes of its residents may or may not be shared by residents in other urban areas.

Nevertheless, the results of this study are very useful to help us understand the dynamics of Chinese politics, especially on the changing dimension of political legitimacy of the communist regime. Despite the limits in the scope of the study, this book is still an important addition to the scholarly literature on Chinese political development and democracy studies, and should be a highly recommended reading for both undergraduate and graduate level courses dealing with Chinese politics.

BAOGANG GUO
Dalton State College


In How Far across the River, contributing authors assess the progress China has achieved so far in its economic reform, identify the most pressing areas where additional reforms are needed, and offer a set of policy suggestions for the future. As China’s reform enters the millennium, this volume provides a timely appraisal of China’s reform program and outlines a complicated policy agenda confronting Chinese policymakers as they take on the unfinished tasks of market transition.

The first part of the book examines the role of economic reform in shaping market-supporting institutions. Specifically, the authors analyze how reforms have affected the evolution of China’s financial, enterprise, and legal systems. The second part of the book looks at China’s involvement with markets both internally and externally, focusing in particular on such issues as trade, foreign direct investment, and the integration of China’s internal markets. The last two sections of the book
investigate the distributional consequences of economic reforms and discuss the challenge of achieving sustainable development in China. Specifically, the authors address the challenges involved in enhancing the effectiveness of China’s poverty reduction programs, reforming social welfare and housing, preserving the physical environment, promoting agricultural productivity growth, and reducing the widening rural-urban disparities. The book concludes by deriving a set of policy recommendations from its research findings.

This volume is most impressive in the wide range of issues it tackles. In each of the issue areas under consideration, contributing authors all do a good job of identifying and describing the key challenges confronted by policymakers. Written primarily by a group of economists, the book is also notable for marshalling in a wealth of empirical data and employing innovative, including quantitative, methods to support its argument. The book will be beneficial not only to those lacking prior background on China’s economic reforms, but also to academics and policymakers interested in advancing the process of market transition in China.

My only quibble with the book is that it could have emphasized more the interactive nature of political and economic reforms. For example, the chapter on the development of China’s trade policy examines the impact of China’s entry into the WTO on China’s trade regime and its trading patterns without considering the changes that WTO membership may elicit at the societal level. Nevertheless, as reductions in agricultural tariffs necessitated by China’s WTO membership are likely to result in the transferring of labor out of the rural economy, how Chinese policymakers may best respond to such transformation would be important to China’s economic performance in the years to come. More generally, it can be argued that whether Chinese policymakers can successfully “cross the river” will hinge crucially on the extent to which China’s political institutions can facilitate the remaining task of market transition. While some authors touched upon this issue in their individual chapters, the discussions, viewed as a whole, are far from coherent, and the book would have benefited from a more systematic and in-depth exploration of this important issue.

My quibble aside, How Far across the River stands as an important contribution to the study of economic reform in China. The richness of the empirical evidence it offers and the sophistication of the policy implications it generates ought to make this book essential reading for anyone interested in the yet uncharted course of China’s market transition.

KA ZENG
University of Arkansas
Rather than edited volumes, the books under review are mere collections under the vague theme of “Asian economic and political issues.” There is no Introduction of the series, but only a few sentences as Preface: “It is predicted by some observers that the 21st century will be remembered as the ’Asian century.’ Many of the countries in the region seem to be able to take the economic and trade baton when one of the others experiences problems. The region, in general, continues to grow economically, politically and militarily.” “The articles presented in this book examine the current political and economic situations in nations across Asia, particularly focusing on economic developments.”

There is no note about the editor either. I searched the editor’s name at www.barnesandnoble.com and found that he is also editor of many widely diverse books or series such as “Advances in Psychology Research,” “America in the 21st Century: Political and Economic Issues,” “Central and Eastern Europe in Transition,” “European Economic and Political Issues,” “Japan in Focus: Political and Economic Issues,” “Kosovo - Serbia: A Just War?” “Politics and Economics of Africa,” “Russia Upside Down, Inside Out,” “Who Lost Russia? (Or Was it Lost?)” “National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” “New Paths to Urbanization in China: Seeking More Balanced Patterns.” He is also author of books titled “Arthritis Research: Treatment and Management,” “Focus on Arthritis Research,” “Treatment and Management of Multiple Sclerosis,” “Focus on Multiple Sclerosis Research,” “Developments in Quantum Physics,” “Frontiers in Quantum Physics Research.” People have to wonder how one person could mass-produce so many professional publications so rapidly.

It is clear that the editor did not edit the two volumes under review. There is no clue why and how these papers are published together. There is one article in Volume 9 “Social(ist) Capital: Does it Pay? The Institutional Impact on Conditions and Consequences of Access to Social Capital: The Case of the Former GDR.” Apparently, it was mistakenly put into this volume by the editor from his other series of “Central and Eastern Europe in Transition” or “European Economic and Political Issues”. There is a chapter “Korea: U.S.-South Korean Relations,” but it mainly explains America’s North Korea policy. Tables in a chapter of “The Role of Foreign Investment in Guangdong’s Economic Development” do not line up items. There is a sudden waning “Error! Bookmark not defined” inserted to a regular sentence (Volume 9, p.34). In Volume 8, the page numbers in Contents and chapters do not match.

The quality, style, length and English language skill of different chapters vary dramatically. For example, there is a chapter “Agriculture in Afghanistan and Neighboring Asian Countries” merely listing 2002 data from CIA or Work Bank. What is the use of it to be published here? One article “China’s Telecommunications
Reform: From Monopoly Towards Competition” has part 1 of 53 pages and part 2 of 118 pages. It is actually a book, as it frequently refers itself so. The two parts are a complete article even though the article states that it has five parts in the beginning. One article “Carbon Emission Control, Trade Liberalization and Electricity Market Imperfection: Coordinated Approaches to Taiwan’s Trade and Tax Policy” has 7 of 21 pages to list equations of the model in the appendix. However, when I read the simulation results (Table 6) with such high accurate figures such as 161.3750, 0.001017 or 0.001119 from computation machines, it is clear that the author does not have enough mathematical training. This also applies to another article titled “NegativeExternality, Tacit Bargaining and Cigarette Demand: the Case of Environmental Tobacco Smoke in Japan.” The authors amazed themselves by such accurate figures as 0.969112 or 1.97457 (p.147), as if their “scientific” research is as accurate as Quantum Physics. The fact is that only the first one or two non-zero digital numbers have some meaning in social/economic data. One article “China’s Opening to the Outside World with Facing Economic Globalization” with 8 pages of rough English repeats well-known PRC governmental policy only.

Let me explore more about the book’s methodological shortcoming with a chapter “Natural Disasters and Long-run Economic Growth in Asia and Around the World.” The authors conclude “Our findings suggest that Asian economic growth would have still been exceptionally high, but that in the absence of disasters economic growth would have been 13% lower.” “While the analysis presented in this chapter shows that economic growth in Asia is affected by disasters, disasters do not fully explain the ‘Asian Miracle’.” (Volume 9, p.247). These spurious claims are against basic logic: the correlation between disasters and growth is from the policy to pursue high growth rate while neglecting safety (such as in China), not because disasters raised growth rate.

It is suspicious that the editor has basic academic knowledge about Asia. For example, he does not know Deng Xiaoping’s family name, so readers have to find the name in Index under letter X.

That said, there are good articles in the two volumes. The lengthy article of China’s telecommunications reform is perhaps the most comprehensive review of this subject in English, with many interesting details on how the Chinese governmental agencies interacted to make the policy transformation under the WTO accession pressure. I only want to suggest that the author could refer to Japan’s “administrative guidance” (suggestions or unwritten orders given by Japanese bureaucrats to firms in order to implement official policies) than Canadian regulation experience. Another article about the “haze” crisis and ASEAN’s regional institutional failure, by an Australian scholar, provides insightful accounts of the issue. An article on the Philippines urban planning and poverty is also interesting. Still, readers will ask: how can we compare these articles in this series with other books or magazines which specifically deal with the same subjects?
From the hard cover design and the price range (about $100 at www.barnesandnoble.com), this series is for advanced researchers. If the series will continue to publish future volumes, the publisher should find qualified editors for each volume under each specific theme so readers can make adequate judgment to purchase and read them.

JING ZHAO

US-Japan-China Comparative Policy Research Institute


Deng’s reforms since the late 1970s have brought two fundamental changes in China: a high economic growth rate and a high level of social and political contradictions. The latter is best exemplified by the nationwide pro-democracy demonstrations in the Spring of 1989. It was due to this pro-democracy movement that Jiang Zemin took the position of General Secretary of the CCP. It was believed then by many that Jiang would not be able to control the situation because of both his lack of Zhongnanhai experiences and the then widespread, deep “crisis of belief” in the CCP among the populace. After the Soviet Union collapsed, China was believed to follow the suit soon. However, time has proven these predictions to be wrong. During his reign, Jiang had consolidated his power, transformed the CCP and steered the country to a new stage of development where the CCP has continued as the dominant political party. How did Jiang accomplish this success? Why did the CCP remain relevant facing these fundamental economic and sociopolitical changes? In other words, what strategies and measures has Jiang taken to control and repair the damages done to the CCP by the reforms, and to legitimize the CCP under the new circumstances? These questions are of great academic and practical significance. Fortunately, answers to these questions can be found in this timely and well researched book, edited by two of the best known China scholars.

This book has four well-organized sections. In Introduction, the editors provide a general overview of the changes occurring within the CCP under Jiang’s leadership and summarize the major arguments of other contributors. In the second section, Gore focuses on the ideological aspect to compare the fall of Soviet communism and the survival of the Chinese communism, arguing that ideology plays a critical role in the existence and demise of communism. Gore finds that both the Soviet and Chinese communist parties had experienced ideological decay. Other authors provide specific examples of this decay in terms of the rise of Falun Gong, the rampant corruption among public officials, the central-local relations, rural
grassroots party organizations, and the impact of kinship on rural governance, respectively.

Meanwhile, the CCP under Jiang also made great efforts to control the damage caused by the decay. This is the focus of the third section. Authors examine some of the most important factors of these efforts: the age limit in leadership transition and power succession, changes in the party-army relations under Jiang, admission of private entrepreneurs into the party, and changes in cadre management system and judicial system reforms.

The fourth section suggests that Jiang has not only survived the dramatic social and political changes but also transformed the CCP. Authors in this section discuss some specific aspects of this transformation. For example, Chen characterizes the politics of the CCP under Jiang as “politics of adaptation” to the new conditions in post-Deng China, since Jiang’s “three stresses,” the combination of “rule by law” with “rule by virtue” and, especially, “three represents” have departed from the traditional CCP ideology. Xiao discusses the “China Democratic Party” Event and argues that the CCP has displayed considerable openness and tolerance in its history towards an opposition party. Zheng and Lai examine how Jiang appeals to the Chinese traditional factors to revive the party. In this respect, Jiang’s efforts are reflected in his theory of “rule by virtue”. Wong and Zheng discusses Jiang’s move to admit capitalists into the party and argues that Jiang will leave a legacy in both strengthening the party and facilitating its transformation – a win-win situation for him and the loser is the CCP itself in the long run.

Truly, the period from 1989 to the 16th Party Congress was an important developmental stage for the CCP. Thus, it demands comprehensive research. This book is a successful attempt. Authors provide well researched evidences for their various arguments. However, changes during Jiang’s period are not confined to these areas covered in this book. In fact, issues such as land use, migrant rural workers, and environment were equally, if not more, important challenges for the CCP under Jiang. Therefore, these issues should be examined in the future research.

XIUSHAN LI
Old Dominion University