Book Reviews

Mao's Children in the New China: Voices from the Red Guard Generation. By Yarong Jiang and David Ashley. [London and New York: Routledge, 2000. xxx + 177 pp. Hard cover \$85.00, £59.37, ISBN 0-415-22330-X; paperback \$24.99, £14.99, ISBN 0-415-22331-8.]

China's turbulent political history has created more than the usual gaps between birth cohorts. Where people were in the life course when the Cultural Revolution hit has had a major effect on their subsequent trajectory. The cohort affected the most was surely the one whose members were born from the late 1940s to early 1950s, particularly urbanites. Upwards of 18 million of them went to settle in the mountains and villages of China's hinterland, as they presumed for the rest of their lives. Then, the dramatic policy shift in the late 1970s permitted most of them to return to the cities. Their formal education had been interrupted, but they had had other experiences during their "sent-down" years.

Sociologists Yarong Jiang and David Ashley have compiled interviews with 27 members of this cohort (20 males and 7 females) living in Shanghai in 1994 and 1996. Jiang, a native of Shanghai, conducted the interviews, which are presented as monologues, or in two chapters as two voices. We are not told the principles of selection for this sample, but there is a good representation of people in the professions, the arts, bureaucracy, enterprises and private business. The only proletarian is an unemployed female whose state-owned factory was closed in the face of competition from township and village enterprises. All have pseudonyms except for Zhu Xueqin, professor of history at Shanghai University, and the writer Wang Xiaoying. The subjects did not know they were being interviewed for a book to be published in the West, which may arouse ethical sensibilities, pseudonyms or not. The book is not about the Cultural Revolution per se, but about how "members of the Red Guard generation perceive and cope" with the reforms (p. 3).

One of the book's interesting revelations is that – at least as recollected - many of the subjects went down to the country willingly, fired with idealism. In a foreword that neglects the rather large foreign scholarly literature on the subject, Stanley Rosen draws several themes from the interviews: that in general people felt free to complain; that many people had the option of remaining at home during the Cultural Revolution; that people could negotiate with the regime to pursue their individual interests; and that the political system is quite arbitrary. The biggest difference between the 1960s and 1990s, in his view, is "the replacement of power by money as the main commodity governing social and political life" (p. xxi). I would add another theme: the inability of people to plan for the future under the pre-reform system, and the near randomness of possessing the technical skills and general awareness to adjust to the vagaries of the present-day market regime. There is resignation and little exuberance in the self-presentation of these people. As the lawyer in Chapter 24 notes, "if we were 'victims' it was our choice" (p. 165). Like Chinese



today, the Red Guards of the 1960s tried to adapt to their interpretation of what the environment demanded of them.

One cannot come to any general conclusions about the effect of the Cultural Revolution on this cohort, or predictions about which qualities have enabled some of its members to thrive under reform. The main value of the book, as of predecessors such as B. Michael Frolic's *Mao's People* (1981) or Sang and Zhang's *Chinese Profiles* (1986), is the humanization and de-exoticization of a handful of Chinese for foreign readers. It would make an excellent supplement to courses on contemporary China in almost any discipline, and would add a comparative angle to courses on the life course more generally.

Tom Gold

Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution. Edited by Harriet Evans and Stephanie Donald. [Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999. 170 pp. Hard cover \$69.00, ISBN 0-847-69510-7; paperback \$24.95, ISBN 0-847-695111-5]

Do not be fooled by the children featured in the cover illustration: these essays analysing the collection of Cultural Revolution posters held by the University of Westminster have ambitious intellectual goals. The Westminster collection was initially assembled by John Gittings and later supplemented with donations from Paul Crook and Anna Merton, but only once, in 1979, has it been shown in exhibition. Now, with the publication of *Picturing Power*, all students of contemporary China have the opportunity to integrate Cultural Revolution visual materials in their analysis of the Mao years.

In their introduction, editors Evans and Donald draw directly from Michel Foucault to write about the centrality of visual text for constructing meaning and practice. But despite their own preferences for Foucauldian assumptions about hegemonic visual discourse, they also provide a more inclusive set of questions about the role of subjectivity. As a result, they create an intellectual framework for an effective dialogue between the six contributors. In the first substantive essay, John Gittings provides a short history of the rise and decline of CCP poster art and does a particularly fine job of illustrating the evolution of the genre from the mid-1960s through the early 1980s. He also has vivid accounts of when he first saw specific posters displayed and effectively presents his current understandings against the backdrop of those first encounters. Next, the art historian Craig Clunas similarly draws on personal encounters with poster art during his student years in both Britain and China to explain why scholarship would be enriched if "the social positioning of the looker ... [were] to be taken in account." A short review of a multi-author volume by necessity precludes a full summary of his insights, but I would note that the way in which Clunas builds on the



distinction between memories and souvenirs in order to argue for the centrality of self-reflection and subjectivity in scholarly analysis merits repeated readings.

In her single-authored contribution, Harriet Evans focuses on questions of gender. By comparing the position and presentation of men and women within the posters, Evans finds repeated illustrations of hierarchical gender relationships, which she concludes serve to reproduce a broader, societal discourse of female marginalization and subordination. With an analytic approach somewhat similar to that of Evans, Stephanie Donald evaluates the representation of children in poster art. Donald emphasizes the pictorial elements that create visual closure, where "closure refers to the way in which elements of the image ... encourage the spectator's understanding of the image" (p. 86). Using posters produced between 1978 and 1980, she finds that children's "bodies are symbolically called into the service of the state ... [and] are in this way ascribed meaning that is firmly linked to political, adult prerogatives" (p. 83). In Chapter Six, Xiaomei Chen, who grew up in Beijing, where her mother was a famous actress and her father a distinguished set designer, describes how posters of the Maoist era constructed and reconstructed who she was and what was socially expected of her. She describes how she bought posters for her classroom to help them gain the honorary title of wuhao ban jiti and which posters her family hung in their home. But she also goes beyond the poster art and describes childhood plays, as well as her (remembered) reactions to the dance and movie heroines of the Cultural Revolution. In some ways, her account confirms what others have written about the power of posters to inculcate state ideology, but Chen's experience also contradicts those who see the posters consistently presenting gender-distinct realms of action or univocal state scripts. For Chen, boundaries between male and female worlds were often quite blurred in her teenage years. Moreover, "no matter how binary the society was supposed to be ... [Chen found that] there was almost always some room ... in which to transgress mainstream codes of behavior as they related to gender and other societal norms" (p. 115).

After 1964, 350 million copies of the *Quotations of Mao* were published and the words of the Chairman were omnipresent in formal and informal discourse. But even more ubiquitous were the visual images disseminated through the publication of 2.2 *billion* Mao posters and the production of an estimated 5 *billion* Mao badges. In the final essay, the political scientist Robert Benewick reviews the impact of this unprecedented output of Mao's image. Benewick traces the evolution of these two genres of Mao portraiture in the context of élite political conflicts and changing relations between the Party and the citizenry. For Benewick, both posters and badges were icons of Mao's power, but he distinguishes between their functions. The posters, which needed to be sited, hung, or formally carried, reinforced both distance and omnipresence and therefore served as icons of the totalizing of Mao's power. By contrast, the badges, which were enthusiastically collected and traded, became individualizing.



Several of the contributors to *Picturing Power* write unselfconsciously within the vocabularies of Foucauldian analysis and subaltern studies. However, readers who work within other intellectual traditions should not discount this collection. There is a wealth of historical detail on the production and subject matter of CCP poster art not found elsewhere, and each essay offers a careful argument grounded in a rich set of illustrations. Most importantly, attention to the more than fifty reproductions will evoke in most readers a greater range of emotional and intellectual reactions than conventional text-only material. As a result, *Picturing Power* not only imparts new information but also elicits – just as the editors hoped – previously unexplored associations that complicate, and therefore deepen, our understanding of the Mao years.

DEBORAH DAVIS

The Modern Chinese State. Edited by DAVID SHAMBAUGH. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xxiii + 244 pp. Hard cover \$59.95, £41.87, ISBN 0-521-772341-6; paperback \$19.95, £13.93, ISBN 0-521-77603-1.]

This volume honours the memory and the intellectual legacies of Franz Michael, admired still for his path-breaking three-volume history of the Taiping Rebellion, and remembered also as "one of the first Asian scholars to apply the totalitarian paradigm ... to the study of Chinese communism" (p. xxi). The seven colleagues and former students of Professor Michael who have contributed to this collection have crafted their essays to reflect his deep concern with both the nature of state power in the Chinese past and the dilemmas of statist rule in the Chinese present. Thus the work is basically organized chronologically, beginning with a thoughtful essay by H. Lyman Miller on our changing understanding of the late imperial Chinese state. Next comes a detailed essay by Ramon Myers outlining the organization of the state during the Republican era and chronicling its breakdown. Then, a lengthy chapter by Frederick Teiwes on the state during the Maoist era, reviewing both its major institutions and their evolving relations over time. Then, a shorter essay by David Shambaugh on the post-Mao era, surveying important changes that have taken place in structural, normative, and what he refers to as "spatial" dimensions. Finally, a still shorter piece by Harvey Nelsen, who hazards some well-informed guesses about the probable future, and offers "seven reasons why" he thinks "the CCP will endure." These contributions, each focused on particular periods, are supplemented by two others: one a somewhat breathless, very negatively-charged overview of the relation of state to economy from 1949 to 1997 by Jan Prybyla; the other a deft summary by Bruce Dickson of the evolution of the Guomindang party-state on Taiwan, its developmental role as the "engine of growth," and the dual processes of Taiwanization and democratization that led up to the old party's recent electoral defeat.



Most of these essays are at their best in sketching the structure of the state at each period, and Shambaugh has performed a service by bringing together these several organizational sketches in one book. All the essays, however, of necessity are but brief synopses of their very large subjects and several adopt a rather magisterial tone. Reference materials cited are sometimes surprisingly selective and often not fully up to date. The volume's usefulness for postgraduate students might have been enhanced by including with each chapter a list of suggested further readings.

The totalitarian paradigm for understanding state power and politics in China is quite faithfully redeployed by several of this volume's authors, and that paradigm's now well-known strengths and weaknesses as an analytical approach are prominently on display here. Superbly detailed accounts of élite-level competitions and analyses that take the paramount leader as political "prime mover" are featured, for example. But only the thinnest of treatments is given to state–society relations or to the complex matter of state legitimation, and the changing nature of the local state is hardly mentioned at all. Thus, for many students of the state in China, it will be Lyman Miller's deliberately less derivative and slightly out-ofstep essay that qualifies as the special gem of this collection. Miller isolates for discussion four areas in which Franz Michael made his most noted contributions to the historiography of late imperial China. He then summarizes some of the newer evidence bearing on these four topics that has emerged from research by a younger generation of historians, finding some interesting reinforcements as well as some significant modifications and overturnings of Michael's original theses. The new historiography highlights not the continuities but certain "discontinuities between the late imperial state and the communist one" (pp. 40-41). It "presents the possibility of a change in the fundamental framework through which the roots of the modern Chinese state are understood" (p. 39), and so Miller rather pointedly urges his political science colleagues to take note of this new learning. He is surely right to do so. We honour our intellectual mentors best not by resolutely recycling their favourite frameworks, but by showing instead how the richness of their thought served to provoke newer generations of experts to think beyond the frame.

VIVIENNE SHUE

Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future. By MICHAEL D. SWAINE and ASHLEY J. TELLIS. [Santa Monica: RAND, 2000. xx + 283 pp. Hard cover \$35.00, ISBN 0-8330-2815-4; paperback \$20.00, ISBN 0-8330-2767-0.]

This is an impressive work. It sets out China's grand strategy as manifest in the entire sweep of history, from the Han Dynasty to fifty years of the People's Republic. The authors do not provide an exegesis of classical writings and Mao Zedong's military doctrine. Instead, they examine the frequency and context of coercive and non-coercive strategies in pursuit

of three goals: "the preservation of domestic order and well-being in the face of different forms of social strife, the defense against persistent external threats to national sovereignty and territory, and the attainment and maintenance of geopolitical influence as a major, and perhaps primary state" (p. x). On the face of it, this would not seem distinguishable from the basic determinants of domestic and foreign policy of any country, much less deserving the term "grand strategy." However, China's unique longevity as a state–society and its leaders' preoccupation with its history – "remember the past as a guide to the future" – justifies focus on concerns about security issues at home and abroad and how concerns may interact in crisis.

Indeed, one of the strengths of the book is its detailed recapitulation of China's past, replete with maps and the chronological tabulation of wars to secure the periphery. From this record, the authors infer a "calculative" strategy that follows classic realist assumptions in strategy and minimax in tactics. While these are familiar themes to historians of China, they are notably absent or summarily truncated in most texts on Chinese foreign policy, which normally do not go beyond recapitulating the "century of shame and humiliation." Compression of this material into a hundred pages requires dense writing, but the result deserves close reading and is worth putting together with the more conventional study of contemporary matters, which receives only half the length. For example, reference to the Korean and Vietnam wars assumes reader familiarity not necessarily applicable to current students. Finally, "The Far Term" and conclusion offer alternative scenarios for an assertive, co-operative, or chaotic China. Curiously, however, the authors do not utilize the possibly predictive aspects of China's history to carry forward their projections of Chinese behaviour.

The authors' concern is an assertive China that will seek to recall its traditional status as hegemon – perceived or real – in East Asia even though threats to security no longer exist. Their treatment of China's military modernization downgrades its capability in the near future but anticipates a challenge to the rest of East Asia and to U.S. domination there, beginning about 2015–20. Their informed analysis of recently acquired advanced weaponry is conservative. They spell out the economic and political conditions that must proceed without interruption if the eventual challenge is to be realized, but assume this can happen. Forecasting is always difficult, and the authors realize this is especially so in relation to China, where demographic, energy, environmental and minority problems combine with the uncertainty of regime continuity to obscure the next decade, and even more so the two following it. Nevertheless, they offer a cautiously optimistic outlook for China's domestic progress and a pessimistic outlook for Chinese behaviour in East Asia.

The book was written for the U.S. Air Force. As such, a presumed constraint in length may have curtailed consideration of alternative scenarios with a more complex mix of the three chosen. Length may also explain why footnotes are substantively rich beyond the usual source citations and deserve reading. More care over the Sino-Indian map would



have located a second area of dispute above Assam in addition to one at the western border through Ladakh. But these are minor shortcomings in a book that treats recent and prospective use of force in the context of China's recurring problems with domestic unity and peripheral threat. Nevertheless, in this regard there is little sense of the interactive dynamic of participation in multilateral institutions focused on political, military, economic and environmental issues. Between now and 2015-20 lie years of involvement in the World Trade Organization (WTO), dialogue with neighbours in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and accelerated exchanges in specialized areas through Track II seminars. Implicitly, the authors dismiss these phenomena as changing Chinese perceptions and goals through "learning," instead implying that "adaptation" will provide a surface gloss without substantive change in "calculative strategy." Finally, by minimizing ideological factors, whether Confucian or Marxist-Leninist–Maoist, little attention is given to the prospects of regime collapse or radical transformation because of growing domestic dissidence.

Nonetheless, this is an excellent introduction to China's past as precedent to present and prospective foreign policies. It is especially useful for an upper-level undergraduate and graduate text if supplemented by readings more broadly focused and less densely written, such as *In The Eyes of The Dragon* (1999), edited by Yong Deng and Fei-ling Wang.

ALLEN S. WHITING

The Security Environment in the Asia-Pacific. Edited by Hung-Mao Tien and Tun-Jen Cheng. [London: M.E. Sharpe, 2000. 368 pp. Hard cover \$72.95, ISBN 0-7656-0539-2; paperback \$24.95, ISBN 0-7656-0540-6.]

This volume grew out of a September 1997 conference in Taipei organized by the Asia-Pacific Security Forum, a consortium established to involve Taiwan scholars in "track two" regional security dialogues. Although the authors have made some effort to update their chapters, one is struck by how much has happened since 1997. The Asian financial crisis, Japan's continuing recession, Suharto's ouster from Indonesia, the rise and fall of the U.S.—China constructive strategic partnership, the revitalization of the U.S.—Japan security alliance, the North Korean Taepo-dong missile launch and the Korean summit are among the major developments since the chapters were drafted. However, despite the time elapsed, the book still makes a contribution to understanding the Asia-Pacific security environment

The book is organized in three sections: the first analysing major regional actors and bilateral security relationships, the second focusing on multi-lateral institutions, and the third examining regional flashpoints and confidence-building measures (CBMs). Contributors employ a variety of theoretical approaches, including realist, liberal, institutionalist and mildly constructivist views. This diversity makes the book useful for the



classroom, although an introduction that more fully laid out the theoretical issues would be helpful. Another strength is the range of contributors, who are drawn from ten countries and present a variety of regional views. Unfortunately, while several Taiwan scholars are included, there are no contributions from the PRC, an omission that gives the book a slightly unbalanced feel.

The first section focuses mainly on the United States—China—Japan triangle. Harvey Feldman rejects the engagement/containment dichotomy that characterizes much of the American debate about China policy and grapples for principles that might underpin a tougher U.S. policy towards China. Ralph Cossa provides an overview of U.S. security strategy in Asia that notes enduring U.S. interests in the region and the importance of the U.S.—Japan alliance in fostering regional stability. Koji Murata and Akio Watanabe give Japanese perspectives on, respectively, the U.S.—Japan security alliance and Sino-Japanese relations. Other chapters examine the security implications of China's rising economic and military power, the implications of Hong Kong's transition to PRC rule and ASEAN responses to China's rise. The latter, by the Philippine scholar Carolina Hernandez, presents a particularly interesting analysis of the concerns ASEAN countries have about China's expansion into the South China Sea and their efforts to fashion individual and collective responses.

The second section explores the role and effectiveness of regional security organizations. Desmond Ball and Paul Evans separately evaluate the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). Despite similar assessments of accomplishments, Ball is sceptical that these organizations can move beyond institutionalization of dialogue to develop preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution capabilities adequate for future security challenges, while Evans is more optimistic that dialogue may foster other forms of regional security co-operation. Chapters on APEC, ASEAN military co-operation and Asia-European security co-operation are less successful, largely owing to the intervening impact of the Asian financial crisis. The final section assesses regional flashpoints and confidence-building measures. The Korea chapter is outdated, while Michael Kau's account of the origins and impact of the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait crisis is one-sided and misleading. Chien Chung gives a detailed overview of sovereignty issues and CBM efforts in the South China Sea, while Richard Grant surveys China's attitude toward CBMs, concluding that China will continue to prefer a gradual, general and bilateral approach that avoids initiatives that violate sovereignty. Cheng-yi Lin notes that despite significant CBMs in place across the Taiwan Strait, the crucial question is whether economic and administrative measures will spill over into the more difficult political and security arenas.

The book would be useful for graduate seminars on Asia-Pacific security, although it would need to be supplemented with additional readings that cover PRC views and address recent developments in the region.



PHILLIP C. SAUNDERS

China's Economic Growth – The Impact on Regions, Migration and the Environment. Edited by TERRY CANNON. [Basingstoke: Macmillan; and New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. xx + 315 pp. £55.00. ISBN 0-333-71659-0.]

Economic growth and change in China have had many manifestations and consequences, especially since the introduction of the far-reaching policy reforms and restructuring of the late 1970s. This book, comprising essays originally presented at the 1996 annual meeting of the Institute of British Geographers with some subsequent updating, examines a number of key topics. These include spatial issues, such as urban growth and regionalization; migration, and social and demographic processes associated with temporary migrants; and economic growth and related environmental problems, including a section on soil erosion. Several essays report and analyse results from fieldwork in China; others review changing conditions and policies. The contributors are scholars and research scientists in Britain, China, Norway and the United States.

The editor introduces the volume with a general essay on economic reform and demographic pressure in China, moving on to review a series of issues associated with China's recent rapid economic growth. This serves as a useful contextual framework for the three sections that follow: demographic processes and the economic reforms (Part One); economic growth and environmental problems (Part Two); and erosion problems and policies (Part Three).

The first part, on demographic processes and the economic reforms, focuses on changes in human mobility in China, especially in relation to movement from rural to urban areas, and offers thoughtful critiques of policies and the practice of household registration. A schematic model of the relationship between migration (and its surrogate, the supply of labour) and capital accumulation is set up, with labour supply posited as the independent variable. The findings and interpretations are based on both official data and data drawn from field surveys of the early 1990s. While there are no startling revelations, Caroline Hoy's assertion, based on her 1994 field surveys, that migration may be a stronger force for fertility decline than family planning policies is both prescient and provocative.

Part Two, on economic growth and environmental problems, focuses on several case studies and explores such issues as sustainable agriculture and energy conservation. The case studies examine pollution abatement in Wuhan, the evolution of and prospects for the Sanxia (Three Gorges) Dam project and the future of the bicycle as a factor in urban transport. Such environmental issues are important in China, as rapid economic growth drives increased consumption and demand for goods and services, resulting in such obvious challenges as pollution, interruptions in water or electricity services, remarkable changes in land use and intense crowding in many urban areas. Most of the information for these essays is drawn from Chinese official and secondary sources, including those at the local level, or from interviews with officials. In one instance



this includes discussion of the role of the World Bank and UN Development Program. The essays cover some of the most significant, sometimes contentious, issues related to China's economic development and the environment, and while probing, offer fair and objective perspectives.

Part Three focuses on the longstanding problem of soil erosion in China. These studies are based on collaboration between geo- and other scientists in China and Britain. Focusing on field sites and examples in southern and south-western China, these pieces provide a survey of the nature and extent of erosion in China and its threat to conservation of land resources. Despite an enormous practical and scientific effort to provide solutions to continuing soil erosion on agricultural and forest land, soil loss and the resulting sediment shift into streams and rivers continue apace.

What emerges is a picture of growing human populations placing stress on the large but nonetheless limited land and water resources of China. Huge efforts will no doubt continue to combat the far-reaching challenge of soil erosion and sediment transport, but the problem is likely to grow as China's population increases and the economy demands ever more from the natural environment.

A number of topics are addressed in this volume, and the coverage strays away from a narrow interpretation of economic growth. On balance, however, the subjects addressed are relevant to economic growth and development in China and serve the editor's purpose in putting together the collection. While there is some unevenness between the contributions, perhaps to be expected in an edited collection, all offer constructive interpretations, and some significant findings. The book will be most useful to those with an interest in economic development, geography, demographic and migration studies, or earth and environmental sciences. Those keen to learn about the recent trajectory of China's development would also profit from this work.

CLIFTON W. PANNELL

China's Regions, Polity, & Economy: A Study of Spatial Transformation in the Post-Reform Era. Edited by SI-MING LI and WING-SHING TANG. [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000. ix + 413 pp. \$25.00. ISBN 962-201-854-8.]

This timely book focuses on the spatial economy of China and how it has been shaped by post-Mao reforms. The editors, Si-ming Li and Wingshing Tang, are both geographers, but the volume is decidedly inter-disciplinary, with contributions from geography, sociology, anthropology, economics, planning, political science and area studies professions. The majority of contributors are affiliated with Hong Kong and Taiwan



institutions. As such, this publication is one of the many recent products of the scholarly cross-fertilization between Hong Kong and Taiwan researchers and their associates.

"Space matters" is perhaps an apt summary of the main theme of the book. The preface and the first chapter state, quite correctly, that sinology has tended to overlook issues of spatiality, space and place. Emphasizing the spatial question, contributors to the volume examine not only morphology, land use and spatial patterns, but also, and more importantly, political-economic relations and structure-agency interactions that are facilitated or constrained by space and have spatial outcomes.

Section I (one chapter) reviews the Western literature on space and critiques the China studies literature. Section II (four chapters) focuses on foreign investment and regional development. Section III (three chapters) deals with government policies, central-local dynamics and regional disparities. Section IV (three chapters) examines the roles of transportation, urban-rural interactions and rural industrialization in local economic development. The final section (three chapters) focuses on farmland, women migrant workers and fertility decline.

Despite the variety of issues examined in the volume, most contributions reflect an interest in theoretical debate in China studies. Indeed, one of the editors' objectives is to produce a theoretically informed book on China's spatial question. Focusing on the question of institutions and regional development, a number of contributors evaluate the roles of central and local government. Most challenge the popular view of weakening state control by illustrating the critical role of institutional and administrative practices, such as the city-leading-county regulation and the "scissors gap" transfer of value across regions. At the same time, they demonstrate how local government works, and even abuses its power, for example over land-use rights, to promote its interests. This research adds convincing theoretical and empirical materials to the ongoing debate on central-local dynamics in China.

Attention is also given to other theoretical questions regarding China's spatial economy. One chapter, on overseas Chinese investment, questions the dominance of global capitalism and argues eloquently for an analytical framework that emphasizes local guanxi capitalism. Another challenges the notion of *desakota*, by highlighting governance and by showing that an exploitative rather than integrative relationship exists between urban and rural areas. Taking issue with "local corporatism," one contribution demonstrates that the reality of rural industrialization is marked by corruption, collusion, cadre tyranny and stratification between powerful clans and deprived villagers. The book also addresses the question of whether transport development leads to economic development or vice versa, and that of whether development or family planning is a more powerful explanation of fertility decline. As a whole, these contributions constitute a mosaic of inquiries that effectively challenge dominant theoretical constructs, raise questions about assumptions and portray a complex picture of regional development in China.

The editors, similarly succeed in another objective, that of producing fine and micro-scale analyses of growth mechanisms at work. Notably, the book emphasizes local government officials' strategies for gaining foreign investment and fostering economic development. Another example is the examination of how women migrant workers construct the modern by reproducing regional membership, gender ranking and class status, which gives rise to an articulate analysis of how structure interacts with agency. Thus scale is treated not merely in simple geographical terms – from the nation to the region to the local – but also in relation to position, ideology, experience and praxis.

Empirically, the volume is one of the most up-to-date publications on China's regional development. Most chapters are richly supplemented with tables, charts and graphs, and detailed case and field studies of industrial enterprises, companies and villages offer revealing pictures. One limitation of the book is the overrepresentation of Guangdong and the Zhujiang Delta, on which most field studies are based. Nonetheless, the book has much material at the national level and on other provinces, and as such is an important source of empirical information. Despite their use of varied methodologies, ranging from sophisticated statistical analyses to participant observation, contributors all have an interest in theoretical spatial questions and effective writing styles. The result is an informative volume of convincing essays.

Though not explicitly stated, the volume examines the marriage of capitalism and socialism, as well as the cultural, social and geographical contexts and outcomes of that union. Whereas capitalism encourages profit, autonomy and competition, socialist legacies of institutions, labour control, and cadre élitism continue to prevail. In this regard, the book is not only about spatial economy but is also an important contribution to understanding China's transition. It is highly recommended for those interested in transition and regional development in relation to China, and should be on the reading list of advanced undergraduate classes and graduate classes in these areas.

C. CINDY FAN

What If China Doesn't Democratize? Implications for War and Peace. Edited by EDWARD FRIEDMAN and BARRETT L. McCormick. [Armonk, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2000. xi + 363 pp. Hard cover \$69.95. ISBN 983-56-0019-8.]

As suggested by the title and subtitle, this volume grapples with big and important issues – and does so admirably. The editors and contributors have done a superb job of tackling controversial topics head-on, offering a rich and sophisticated discussion of the link between China's future domestic evolution and its external posture.



The volume systematically examines the applicability of the controversial "democratic peace" thesis to China's future trajectory. First advanced by Immanuel Kant, and more recently by a bevy of American political scientists, this theory argues that liberal democracies share so many essential characteristics that they do not go to war with one another. While post-Westfalian history is full of counter-examples, the modern era does none the less suggest essential validity of the thesis.

In 1997 the editors convened a conference of leading China specialists to assess whether, in fact, China was on the road to democracy and, if not, what the consequences were for China's external orientation. The title of the volume is slightly misleading, as it evinces an implicit assumption that China will not democratize (at least not anytime soon) and therefore that scholarly analysis — as well as American policy towards the PRC — should not be based on the naîve assumption that China will inexorably move in a more liberal, democratic and peaceful direction. In fact, several contributors argue that nascent democratization has already occurred in China (most forcefully Minxin Pei), while the co-editor claims that "all [contributors] believe that democracy is possible in China" (p. 339).

Much of the book, however, deals with the external effects of non-democratization in China. Not surprisingly, there is considerable disagreement between the authors about the consequences. Barrett Mc-Cormick has done a service by synthesizing and contrasting the contributors' complex points of contention and consensus in the thoughtful and tightly-written Introduction and Conclusion (Andrew Nathan's preface is also helpful in this regard).

The majority of contributors argue persuasively that a democratized China would probably be no more co-operative with its neighbours and the United States. Driven by nationalism and irredentism, China would continue to have a series of territorial conflicts with its neighbours; would continue to assert its claim to Taiwan; would continue to have strained relations with Japan; would prove a difficult partner in the trade and arms control arenas; would continue to build a modern military; would have tense relations with its minorities; would continue to contribute to a wide range of problems in the areas of the environment, public health, crime, narcotics and illegal immigration; and would prove a frequent non-compliant actor in international power structures and organizations. Thus a consensus seems to emerge from the individual chapters that democracy, if it were ever to come to China, would not necessarily be a panacea for Asia, the United States or the world community. China would remain a truculent interlocutor.

The contributors also agree that, even if China does not democratize, contention and conflict with the United States is not inevitable and can be avoided through adroit statecraft and sensitivity to each other's national interests. This is a sensible conclusion, with which many observers (including this one) agree.

The contributors to this volume are all accomplished China experts (Suisheng Zhao, Jianwei Wang, Minxin Pei, Samuel Kim, June Dreyer,



David Bachman, Harvey Nelsen, Su Shaozhi, Michael Sullivan and the editors), and some chapters are gems (there is not a weak chapter in the volume). Most refreshing is the intellectual coherence of the book. This reflects the significant effort of the editors in conceptualizing the topic prior to the original conference and driving the dialogue during the meeting (which I had the pleasure of attending). They also had an editorial overview during the process of revising chapters. The resulting product is satisfying proof of their efforts and a model for how other conference volumes should be structured.

DAVID SHAMBAUGH

Chinas ländliche Gesellschaft im Umbruch. Urbanisierung und sozioökonomischer Wandel auf dem Lande. By Thomas Heberer and Wolfgang Taubmann [Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998. 494 pp. DM98. ISBN 3-531-13260-1.]

This book presents a solid and comprehensive study of the swift changes that have taken place in rural China in the post-1978 period. Drawing on seven case studies in six Chinese provinces, as well as their decades of dedicated research on China, Heberer and Taubmann write authoritatively and engagingly on such issues as China's rural enterprises, urbanization, and grassroots social and institutional changes. However, the real strength of the book lies the authors' success in putting together a balanced and credible picture of the recent transformations in rural Chinese society. It is a book of discovery with a focus on description, rather than prescription.

The book's bottom-line proposition is that a sudden collapse of the Communist system, as witnessed in Eastern Europe, must not happen in China. This is a bold argument. While much scholarly work has been done on the post-reform Chinese economy, there is a dearth of well-researched publications on what has happened in China's social and political arenas after 1978. China's political future is a sensitive and complex issue. To say anything credible in this area requires not only scholarship but also a thorough understanding of Chinese society. This may explain why commentators in this area rarely go beyond conceptual discussions.

Heberer and Taubmann's approach is different. They do not simply join either the admirers or the critics of China's partial reform policies. Instead, they make their points by letting facts speak for themselves. To this end, the authors use the Chinese *zhen* (town) as their platform for a comprehensive investigation of the ongoing changes in the Chinese countryside. Focusing on the economic, social and institutional changes associated with urbanization at the *zhen* level helps bring the project to a manageable level of complexity, yielding credible conclusions.



The book comprises eight substantive chapters. Its internal architecture seems built on a cause and effect model of urbanization in the Chinese context. Chapter 1 opens by presenting a nicely articulated, three-layered conceptual model of the key drivers of China's rural transformation, which serves as the organizing framework for the rest of the book. Chapter 2 discusses the growth of the *zhen* and the patterns and processes of rural migration in the study areas. It also contains an excellent analysis of the Chinese rural market systems. The vivid description of how periodic markets work in the Chinese countryside is interesting and useful. Aspects covered in chapters 3 and 4 include the growth and structure of rural enterprises, local government—business relationships, rural labour markets, and local tax and finance systems. The authors' experience in this field is reflected in the thoroughness of these chapters in discussing China's rural development, in a comprehensive yet concise manner.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 focus on the social and institutional changes observed in the study areas. In these chapters, the authors not only provide an excellent account of various forms and processes of social and political change, but also do a fine job establishing links between the key processes. They argue that the robust growth of rural enterprises has significantly changed the ownership structure of the Chinese rural sector. Continued expansion of non-state sectors created new élites and changed local power structures. This triggered profound social and institutional restructuring of rural communities. Growing regionalism and localism, they argue, implies that the central government is losing influence. The book closes with a succinct summary and discussion of its main findings.

Several strengths characterize this book. The first is the authors' skilful blending of perspectives from political science, geography, economics, sociology, etc. This interdisciplinary approach serves the authors well in enhancing the depth of their analysis. The second strength is the accuracy and thoroughness of the discussion of Chinese social and economic phenomena. A good example is the authors' careful treatment of the often apparently confusing terminology and information used in China studies. Their meticulous cross checking and discussion of Chinese terms and data sources is likely to be useful to those less knowledgeable. The reader is reminded that in the Chinese context, even official terms and data should be taken with a grain of salt.

The third, and perhaps most outstanding, feature of the book is its empirical richness. A major part of the book is written using primary information collected via surveys and interviews. Conducting systematic research deep in the Chinese countryside requires more than just sound methods; it is a test of a researcher's enthusiasm, commitment and, perhaps most importantly, patience. It is in this context that the width and depth of the seven case studies presented are especially impressive. In this sense, the book also does a great service in demonstrating the feasibility of doing in-depth case studies in China.



Xu Gang

The Chinese Economy in the 1990s. By Jun Ma. [London: Macmillan Press, 2000. xiv + 197 pp. \$69.95, £48.86. ISBN 0-333-75134-5.]

International Joint Ventures in China: Ownership, Control and Performance. By Yanni Yan. [London: Macmillan Press, 2000. xvii + 284 pp. \$75.00, £52.50. ISBN 0-333-73454-8.]

Contemporary world economic geography appears to be increasingly shaped by the economic transformation and development that have occurred in China since the late 1970s. The rapid growth in China's foreign trade over the last twenty years or so has been unprecedented. More importantly, China has opened further to foreign direct investment (FDI) than any other national economy in East Asia. For most of the 1990s China was by far the largest host country in the developing world for FDI by foreign companies, and from 1993 to 1999 it was the second largest global FDI recipient in the world, second only to the United States. During 1979-99, FDI inflows into China amounted to \$306 billion, representing some 10 per cent of the cumulative FDI world-wide and about 30 per cent of investment for all developing countries. Beginning with various policy initiatives to open the domestic economy to the outside world, in the last twenty years China has accepted the primacy of market forces by initiating programmes of economic decentralization, domestic marketization of enterprises and external marketization in the foreign trade sector, at a degree and intensity unmatched at any other period in modern history. Indeed no other country has ever come into line with the international economy so dramatically in such a short time span.

Of course, China's transition from Soviet-style central planning and mercantilism to the mixed state and market-led economy has stimulated the study of contemporary Chinese economics. These two fine volumes are among the newest additions to the area. Both appear in the "Studies on the Chinese Economy" series under the general editorship of Peter Nolan and Dong Fureng.

The Chinese Economy in the 1990s, largely based on the author's papers on China's reform experiences and his lecture notes for a course on the Chinese economy, is designed as an introductory text. The book consists of an introduction, followed by eight separate essays (chapters) on topics ranging from fiscal, monetary, banking and state-owned enterprise reforms, to stock market development, export promotion strategies, and regional policy and decentralization under reform. Jun Ma served as a consultant and public policy specialist at the World Bank (1992–97), and currently works as an economist with the International Monetary Fund. His insights into the Chinese economy come from his background as a faculty member at George Washington University and as a research fellow at the Development Research Centre for the State Council of the People's Republic of China (1988–90).

Ma's book combines narrative from his own experience in China with the analytical approach of Western economics. Most chapters offer lucid overviews and balanced descriptions of the various Chinese reformist



experiences, particularly those since the late 1980s (much of the analysis ends in 1997). Giving detail of the varied institutions in different parts of the Chinese economy, the book can be approached piecemeal. Those interested in specific topics can go straight to the appropriate chapters. This organization makes the book an easy and stimulating read, especially for the generalist.

One drawback of the book is that most of the statistics are taken on faith from official yearbooks. Another disappointment is that the range of topics covered, though broad, is not so wide as to encompass all key policy issues in China. Crucial topics such as income inequality, growing regional disparity, reform of the social security system, environmental degradation and its possible constraint on economic growth, the problem of debt-equity swaps between state banks and state firms, and the prospect of full convertibility of the *renminbi* get minimal coverage, or are not mentioned at all. Also missing from the book is a discussion of the possible impact of potential Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization.

Despite these qualifications, Ma's book is a valuable study. Any textbook on China is liable to omit some policy issues or other areas. And, in fact, the book does provide a good survey of important issues in China's recent economic history.

International Joint Ventures in China is concerned with some of the micro-organizational aspects of one particular trans-border co-operative relationship in international production. Reportedly, the establishment of new enterprises in the form of joint ventures has been the main mode of absorbing FDI in China. From 1979 to 1997, equity joint ventures, being the preferred means of foreign participation, took the lion's share of inward FDI flows into China (over 61 per cent in terms of the number of contracts and about 46 per cent in terms of contracted amount). While the magnitude of FDI flows into China and the main determinants of China's inward FDI have been quite well documented, the literature on Sino-foreign joint venture ownership and control issues is rather limited. In this latter regard, the present volume serves as a fine reference.

Yanni Yan, currently a faculty member in International Business and Management at the University of Essex, previously worked at the China European Management Institute and the University of Cambridge, and also as a consultant for a number of the world's leading corporations, including Diageo, Rolls-Royce and Siemens. This background is advantageous to Yan in researching the ownership, control and performance of international joint ventures. Based on a sample investigation of 67 joint ventures with local Chinese partners and interviews with over 200 senior managers (undertaken in 1994–95), Yan's work illustrates now the various features of joint ownership affect management control and performance. The study also explores the applicability of established economic theories to the Chinese business environment.

The book consists of three parts and four appendixes, the latter including a list of the Sino-foreign joint ventures surveyed and the interview checklist (sample questionnaire) on which the empirical work



was based. In Part I (four chapters), the author lays out the conceptual and theoretical framework for the research agenda. Part II (four chapters) deals with the research methodology employed and the empirical findings that emerged from the sample of joint ventures. Part III (one chapter) reviews the main findings of the investigation and draws some practical implications for joint venture partners.

International Joint Ventures in China is a well-researched and interesting account, offering useful information on doing co-operative business in China. The annotated bibliography is a good source list for other researchers. However, the size and complexity of China, and the variety of business activities engaged in by foreign business entities, makes a general assessment of the micro-organizational decisions made by individual joint ventures extremely difficult. Such an assessment is prone to over-generalization based on deficient or incomplete information. In this book, as indeed acknowledged by the author, the sample of 67 cases cannot be viewed as statistically representative, and findings drawn from two main sectors – the electronics and the so-called fast-moving consumer goods (FMCG) – may not apply to other business sectors. Nonetheless, these limitations are minor in comparison to what the book achieves.

In sum, while Ma's book should attract a wide non-specialist readership, the volume by Yan is recommended for practitioners of international business and is likely to become a major reference for future scholarship on international joint ventures.

YIN-PING HO

Chinese Business Groups: The Structure and Impact of Interfirm Relations During Economic Development. By LISA A. KEISTER. [Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2000. xiv + 220 pp. £12.99. ISBN 0-19-592075-9.]

Lisa Keister's book has two specific objectives. The first is to describe the emergence and structure of large, primarily state-owned business groups (qiye jituan) in China. The second is to analyse the processes that account for the structure of these groups and the impact of those structures on the performance of member firms. The author claims that the role business groups play in the imperfect markets of developing economies deserves greater attention and that, in particular, the paucity of research into Chinese business groups is quite disproportionate to their importance.

A business group is distinguishable from other collective organizational forms such as mergers, multidivisional firms and syndicates by the fact that its members are connected through social as well as economic relations. In China, a business group normally consists of a head or parent company (the "core firm") and a number of constituent companies. In addition to producer firms, there is usually a finance company to meet the need for credit, and frequently specialized administration, research and development, and marketing companies.



Keister's studies, as reported in this book, have been both extensive and intensive. She drew on basic 1990 firm statistics from the Economic and Trade Commission to identify the 40 largest business groups, and then, during 1995–96, conducted interviews in those groups to obtain more detailed information for the years 1988 and 1990 about performance, exchange relations, firm, dyad and group characteristics. The quantitative information permitted the modelling of 16,306 ordered pairs of dyadic relations within the groups. The author conducted further interviews in a larger number of groups to provide qualitative information on emergent Chinese business groups. Interviews with academics, researchers, business writers and others with specialized knowledge provided additional insight.

Seventeen propositions set out the author's arguments on the factors that influence the development of the structure of Chinese business groups and the impact of that structure on member firm financial performance and productivity. Most of these propositions are supported by her results. She found, for example, that whereas a high degree of reciprocity characterized the exchange of board members, commercial goods and managers within the business groups, the exchange of capital was unidirectional from finance companies to other member firms. Firms located in "uncertain" environments were mainly resource receivers. Her findings also support the argument that dense inter-firm connections within groups contribute positively to firm performance. A positive relation between density of exchange relations in a business group and the financial performance and productivity of member firms was maintained when controlling for other potential determinants.

This book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the role business groups are playing in China's economic development. As well as providing rare direct evidence on their role, Keister also offers much rich background on the context and history of Chinese business group development. At the same time, the book suffers from a number of limitations which one hopes further studies may remedy. The story and supporting statistics stop in the mid-1990s before the further phase of enterprise reform announced at the 15th Party Congress in September 1997. The author draws primarily on the sociological literature relevant to business groups but tends to ignore that on strategic management, which could enrich her theoretical perspective and introduce relevant work on networks and strategic alliances. Her focus is on State-owned groups and deserves to be extended to the rapidly developing non-SOE sector. She suggests that firms are more likely to be receivers of resources if located in uncertain environments, employing this as an indicator of market uncertainty, whereas it might make more theoretical sense to interpret it as indicating market opportunity. The key finding of a positive relation between density of exchange relations and firm performance could also be open to the alternative interpretation that business groups work more intensively when their members are active and doing well. Lastly, there is the question that has been brought to the fore by recent experience in Japan and Korea, namely whether at a more advanced stage of market development business groups become increasingly dysfunctional.

This book succeeds in its basic aim of considerably enhancing our understanding of an important subject that has hitherto been largely overlooked, especially by non-Chinese scholars. Its potential to enrich our theoretical appreciation of business groups and networks makes it suitable for graduate and advanced undergraduate study. Its contextual and qualitative material will also be helpful to foreign companies investing in China.

JOHN CHILD

Institutions and Investments. Foreign Direct Investment in China During an Era of Reforms. By Jun Fu. [Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000. xix + 285 pp. £31.00. ISBN 0-472-11178-7.]

China Business. Challenges in the 21st Century. By OLIVER H. M. YAU and HENRY STEELE. [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000. x + 504 pp. \$32.00, £22.35. ISBN 962–201–853–X.]

The Dragon Millennium. Chinese Business in the Coming World Economy. By Frank-Jûrgen Richter. [Westport, London: Quorum Books, 2000. xviii + 217 pp. \$59.95, £50.50. ISBN 1-56720-353-1.]

China's economic reform, now more than twenty years old, is entering an important new phase in its evolution. One factor governing this phase is the progressive internationalization and integration of the East Asian economies, and for China, potential WTO entry. Another factor is the generational shift inside China bringing new leadership to Party, Government and the economy – a leadership who in many cases scarcely experienced the pre-reform era.

In the 1980s, Western (and to some extent Japanese) business people were engaged in exploratory missions inside the newly reforming economy. By the mid-1990s, however, there had developed one of the world's periodic "China frenzies," during which investment and trade expanded remarkably. The Asian crisis and the slowing of the pace of growth and reform cooled this ardour, and interest has now stabilized at a level reflecting more caution.

Looking ahead, we may divide the analytical task into two parts. First, where is the reform heading? And, secondly, how will internal developments shape China's connection to the outside world? All these books throw light on the answers to these questions.

The volume by Jun Fu is the most focused and exhaustive of these studies, being entirely devoted to the issue of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Fu starts by examining the FDI data in terms of aggregate flows, contractual types, foreign investor origins and destinations inside China. Examination of aggregate flows shows that after very low levels in the 1980s, growth of contracted FDI peaked in 1993, fell and then stabilized at less than half the peak level. As for contractual types, in dollar terms



the share of Equity Joint Ventures has remained fairly stable, the share of Wholly Foreign-Owned Enterprises has risen and, mirroring the latter, the share of Contractual Joint Ventures has fallen (all on a contracted rather than actual flow basis). As is well known, most foreign investment is from Hong Kong and Macau, and the main destinations have been coastal.

Fu explains these patterns by reference to two factors: the improvement in the Chinese institutional framework for FDI, and variation in the "demand" for FDI by different government levels in China. He argues that the improved institutional framework explains investors' increased willingness to adopt contractual forms that involve higher risk for a given measure of control and sees it as an important factor in the rise of FDI between the 1980s and 1990s. This argument, however, raises the question of how a perceived institutional improvement through the 1990s is consistent with the cooling off of investors since 1994. Here the "demand" factor comes in. Demand is expressed through concessionary terms for FDI, which recently have worsened. Thus FDI is the net result of positive and negative factors, with the negative on the increase in recent years. The institutional approach is also employed to explain the behaviour of Hong Kong and Taiwanese investors, with Taiwanese investors starting late and hence using different contractual forms.

Overall this is an excellent study. It provides a solid core of data and much information on the evolution of policy, law and institutions. But it fails to offer much on the world background to trends in geographical production structures and to explore the impact and implications of industrial FDI in the Chinese case. It also tends to leave out discussion of overtly political elements in the picture, although the treatment of Hong Kong, Taiwan and the SEZs is incomprehensible without reference to these.

The book by Yau and Steele comprises a number of papers that throw more light on FDI issues, as well as analysing other aspects of China relevant to foreign business. These include a good paper by John D. Ho on legal change and an informative paper on accounting reform by Richard A. Maschmeyer and Michael D. DeCelles. The latter successfully integrates the problems of Chinese reform with recent international developments in accountancy. On the whole the authors are optimistic about accounting reform in China and the positive role it can play in economic reform. There are also three articles on retailing and distribution in China and a comprehensive analysis of the experience of pharmaceutical companies in the China market.

The volume by Richter focuses on the domestic scene, reform and the environment for foreign business. Part one comprises papers examining the evolution and prospects for state-owned, township and private enterprises in the Chinese system. In part two, on specific industries, Chen Jin's analysis of car-making is of particular interest in the context of how China is to achieve further internationalization in a way that retains domestic car-making capabilities. The article by Deng Shengliang and Xu Xiaojie on the evolution of the oil sector is pertinent to China's move into an era of oil deficit. Edward Tse's analysis of the problems faced by MNCs in

the China market is also noteworthy. Tse's summing up emphasizes the need to understand the regulatory system, the role of local marketing organizations and the huge variability of the Chinese marketplace. While quite general, it becomes persuasive when put together with a more empirical case study approach such as that found in the Yau and Steele volume.

CHRISTOPHER HOWE

Changing Workplace Relations in the Chinese Economy. Edited by MALCOLM WARNER. [Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press, 2000. 320 pp. £50.00. ISBN 0-333-75342-9.]

This book brings together experts from a variety of fields to address the changing face of relationships within the factories and offices of post-reform China. The dominant theme is the influence on Chinese workplace relations of the slow but clearly discernible adoption of a recognizably Western version of human resources management. And although Warner, in his introductory chapter, predicts a "rough ride ahead" for the Chinese economy, the contributors to this volume, for the most part, focus firmly on the benefits of embracing the new techniques.

The volume is organized in three parts: the first four chapters give an overview of the current state of labour—management relations in Chinese enterprises; the next seven chapters are detailed empirical studies; and the final three chapters attempt to identify future trends.

The first part begins with a general overview of the impact of economic reform on the "iron rice bowl" conditions to which most urban workers were accustomed in Mao's China (Warner). The remaining chapters analyse, respectively, the transformation in workplace relationships engendered by reform through a study of changing industrial relations concepts and terminology (Warner and Zhu), an assessment of the function of unions in both state-owned and joint venture firms (Chan), and an argument for the total disengagement of Chinese enterprises from any social or welfare role (Hussain).

The empirical chapters of part two, however, do not directly address any of these broad issues. Rather, they explore management theory and practice in China's current economic environment through a series of detailed, mostly small-scale, statistical analyses of data obtained from workplace surveys or interviews with managers and, to a lesser extent, workers. A strong theme is the balance between local and global influences on management and, in some cases, worker behaviour. Some chapters are concerned with assessing the extent of foreign control of management in Chinese enterprise, while others search for signs of manager and worker behaviour that reflect the adoption of Western values or techniques. The authors appear to agree that, although there is some indication of an increase in foreign (or global) influences, the evidence is mixed.

The final part on trends takes a rather over-optimistic view of the direction of Chinese society at the beginning of the 21st century. Cook's useful overview of the policies introduced by the Chinese government to deal with some of the social problems arising from enterprise restructuring leaves a strong, but perhaps misleading, impression of a pro-active government firmly in control of the situation. Ogden demonstrates that a wide range of interest groups are performing a growing and potentially influential representational role, as the government tries to come to terms with the increasing complexities of an open market economy. However, she may be overstating the case for the operational autonomy of such groups, particularly with regard to trade unions. Only Sheehan sounds a warning about the potential dangers inherent in the reform process as millions of displaced workers, the "new poor," who do not necessarily oppose the thrust of reform *per se*, protest about blatant managerial corruption and the fundamental inequity of the distribution of resources.

The mixture of perspectives presented in this volume tends to inhibit overall cohesion, and I would like to have seen a concluding chapter interpreting the relevance of the various empirical contributions in the light of the general points raised in the first and final sections. However, this collection provides a useful introduction to workplace issues in contemporary China, particularly for students of management who would appreciate the emphasis, in most chapters, on managers' responses to the challenges raised by China's economic reform process.

SHEILA OAKLEY

Labour Market Reform in China. By XIN MENG. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. xii + 223 pp. \$69.95, £48.86. ISBN 0-521-771269.]

Xin Meng's book serves two purposes. First, it summarizes policy reforms and institutional changes affecting China's labour market. Secondly, it provides in-depth and ambitious economic analyses of a range of important questions on this topic. Chapters cover pre-reform labour arrangements, reforms in agricultural and non-agricultural labour markets in rural areas, urban labour reforms and rural—urban migration.

As a summary, the book gives a concise, readable review of the main institutions and reforms relevant to China's labour markets. Meng draws on a broad range of Chinese- and English-language sources and provides illustrative statistics. Other studies provide more detailed and exhaustive reviews of particular aspects of China's labour system, but Meng's book brings together discussion of many different aspects of the labour system, and his overview provides important background for his in-depth analyses.

Where the book makes a new contribution is in these analyses. Meng addresses which several interesting questions. What are the determinants



of labour supply under the household responsibility system? How are wages determined in township and village enterprises? What explains the widening wage gap between rural agricultural and non-agricultural employment? How are wages determined in the urban sector, and are there differences between companies of different ownership forms? What explains wage differentials between urban workers and rural migrants?

Meng draws heavily on economic theory and econometric methods to answer these questions. Sources of data vary, but typically he makes use of existing surveys carried out by other researchers or institutions. For example, his analyses of migration employ surveys of migrants in Dongguan, Guangdong province, conducted by the Department of Sociology at Beijing University, and in Jinan, Shandong province, conducted by the Institute of Demography at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Some of Meng's analyses are more convincing than others. One of the less convincing is his explanation of the wage gap between rural agricultural and non-agricultural employment. Meng attributes this gap to technological dualism. Using both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence, he finds that the wage gap has arisen because township and village enterprises have adopted technologies that allow no, or limited, substitution in production between capital and labour, while agriculture allows considerable substitution between these inputs. This view seems at odds with other studies of China's rural non-agricultural sector, which usually portray China's rural township and village enterprises as using low-level, labour intensive technologies and as responding quickly and flexibly to market fluctuations. Thus Meng's conclusions are puzzling.

Meng presents an interesting analysis of labour productivity and wage determination in the urban enterprise sector. Based on his analysis, Meng concludes that urban state and collective enterprises are over-staffed and do not pursue profit maximization. Unfortunately he does not explain why these findings differ from those of other studies that find the reforms have improved incentives for workers and that state enterprises have become more sensitive to productivity and profitability in making employment and wage decisions. Such studies include Thomas Rawski's "Progress without privatization" (1994) in *The Political Economy of Privatization and Public Enterprise Reform in Post-Communist and Reforming Communist States* edited by Vedat Milor and Gary Jefferson, and Inderjit Singh's *Enterprise Reform in China: Ownership, Transition and Performance* (1999).

This book makes a useful contribution to the literature on China's economy – indeed, it is one of the first comprehensive studies of labour during the reform era. Much of the analysis is fairly technical and so of greater interest to specialists than to general readers. While the policy recommendations are somewhat superficial and certain conclusions conflict with those elsewhere in the literature, I would nonetheless recommend this book to serious researchers interested in China's labour allocation, institutions and reforms.



TERRY SICULAR

Market Communism: The Institutional Foundation of China's Post-Mao Hyper-Growth. By Lance L.P. Gore. [Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1998. xiv + 354 pp. ISBN 0-19-590758-2.]

This volume examines the strong economic growth of China in the post-1978 reform era in an institutional framework. Organized in six chapters, with introduction and conclusion, the book investigates the case of market communism in China under Deng. To maintain academic coherence, communism in Gore's context is defined as a concrete set of institutions that China adopted under Mao. Chapter 1 outlines the theoretical issues from neoclassicism to North's neo-institutionism. Chapter 2 provides an account of pre-1978 institutional structure and its road to reform. The working and mechanism of bureaucratic entrepreneurialism, which benefited from organization under Mao, is studied in detail in Chapter 3. Chapters 4 and 5 evaluate how the institutional alternatives generated by the bureaucratic entrepreneurs contribute to China's industralization, focusing on first institutional innovation and then the investment pattern. Chapter 6 compares and contrasts the success of the Chinese and other East Asian "miracle" economies.

Throughout his analysis, Gore attempts to address the influence of the communist institutions in China on growth and long-term development. Since institutions generate their own distinctive traditions, subcultures, value orientations and power relations, his analytical approach is interdisciplinary. He argues that the functioning of bureaucratic entrepreneurialism derives from three distinct impulses: economic profit, reward within the state hierarchy and the social demands of the community. Making a comparison with pure market economies with private ownership dominance in which economic profit alone is an incentive, the author holds that it is the latter two additional impulses that have caused the reforming Chinese economy to flourish. In his lengthy conclusion, Gore reaffirms this analytic logic.

An interesting discussion in this book is the comparison between the HPAEs (High Performance Asian Economies) and China in the last decades. According to the World Bank 1993 report, getting the institutions "right" has been core for the recent success of NICs. However, Gore maintains that it is the "messy" institutions in China that provide potential for government–business partnership or bureaucratic entrepreneurs to enable the non-state sectors to grow. He further stresses that bureaucratic entrepreneurialism has been relatively successful in preserving the pre-reform fusion of government and business, and stimulating economic dynamism through minimizing the distorted market competition that existed before the reforms.

According to Gore, neither the neo-classical model of behavioural endogeny nor another East Asian "miracle" economy can explain the surprising success of China's period of reform. Rather, the extensive use of the communist institutions, as firmly developed before 1978, has given as a rise to bureaucratic entrepreneuralism as a bridge between the market



As the author states, this is not a book on the politics of China's reform, which has been amply addressed elsewhere. Building on the neo-classical model, Gore develops an analytical framework based on neo-institutionism, elucidates the importance of bureaucratic entrepreneurs to China's reform (which differs from that of the HPAEs), and seeks to create another perspective for studying China's growth from a interdisciplinary horizon. *Market Communism* will be additional and useful reading for the student or researcher concerned with the Chinese economic development, economies in transition, or development studies in general.

FUNG KWAN

China's Managerial Revolution. Edited by MALCOLM WARNER. [London: Frank Cass, 1999. 255 pp. \$24.50, £17.50. ISBN 0-7146-5025-0.]

This book is better than many conference volumes. Nonetheless there are some shortcomings in the Introductory and Conclusions sections. The former is overly influenced by the then recent Asian financial crisis and the latter does not really offer conclusions at all but new material not drawn from previous chapters. The Conclusions are interesting but would have been better in a separate paper: the 13 directions suggested by the editor for government policy raise more questions than are answered. For example, the Chinese government is recommended to adopt policies that would "create a truly 'Chinese' model of the firm, with sound corporate governance." It is not clear what this means. And it is not a "conclusion" to which the papers lead.

Apart from the introduction and conclusions there are ten papers in the book. The first two are general papers addressing big questions. "Communitarian Capitalism: A 'Market' Model for China?" by Douglas N. Ross asks which institutional "model" of capitalism seems the most suitable to encourage China's economic growth. But apart from the doubtful suggestion that China can learn some things from Japan, the paper does not deliver an answer to the question, instead drifting into interesting but inconclusive anecdotal material. The argument that the Chinese are different from the rest of the world and need their own form of corporate structure and set of industrial policies is unconvincing: McDonald's find their model works as well in China as elsewhere. The second substantive paper is written by a commune: Jan Selmer, Carolyn Erdener, Rolalie L. Tung, Verner Worm and Denis F. Simon. It concludes with the claim that "Internationally, China is well on its way to becoming a dominant force in international business and the global economy." My own impression is that, on the contrary, it is foreign companies, especially those owned by overseas Chinese, that have enhanced their "dominant force" by exploiting an advantage. Not one Chinese company has any prospect in the medium term of becoming a "dominant force" in the global economy. There is much "management speak" but not much substance in this paper.



The strength of the book is in the remaining eight papers, which are mostly case studies. They cover management issues in enterprise reform, *guanxi* and the salesforce, the construction industry, joint ventures, U.S.—China networks, organizational learning, and motivation and human resources. Through such careful and detailed studies the conclusion is invariably drawn, as by Paul L. Forrestor and Robin S. Porter, that the "state continues to exercise a high level of influence over management decisions of all kinds." Forrestor and Porter regard the reduction in the influence of the CCP as of "paramount importance" for the future development of Chinese industry. However, they also conclude, "Reducing the role of the state would need a profound change in China's political culture which, it would appear, is unlikely in the near term." Sadly, that is a conclusion with which I agree.

DAVID WALL

Qiaoxiang Ties: Interdisciplinary Approaches to "Cultural Capitalism" in South China. Edited by Leo Douw, Cen Huang and Michael R. Godley. [London and New York: Kegan Paul International; and Leiden and Amsterdam: International Institute for Asian Studies, 1999. 346 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-710-30659-5.]

This book examines the idea that cultural affinity is a factor in the existence and economic success of overseas Chinese business interests in China. Various aspects of overseas Chinese economic practices and organizations over the last 100 years or so are considered, but the contributors are primarily interested in the way those practices and institutions are influenced by hometown ties.

Chung suggests that while identity has been affected by changed economic and political realities, it still serves the interests of the parties involved. Sinn argues that there are many different scales of identity from sub-county to province and nation. Liu believes that the current surge in links with China is based on and sustained by cultural affinity. Cheng and Ngok hold that this is true from the point of view of mainland officials who are determined to attract investment and stimulate trade. Kuah maintains that the cosmopolitan Singaporeans have a more sentimental attachment to their hometowns and are creating new "socio-religious cultures," which may have consequences in China. Smart argues that social connections and common cultural understandings are in fact crucial to achieving results in mainland China. Thireau and Hua seem a little less sure: ethnic Chinese do rely on cultural practices to develop particularistic bonds, but in any given circumstances they pick and choose those practices and values that they think will be useful. Cen Huang proposes that while shared cultural values do not necessarily provide overseas Chinese with the advantages some ascribe to them, Chinese managers would do well to acknowledge the cultural background of their workers



and, if a more humane organization is to be created, take note of elements of Confucianism.

This is a valuable and interesting volume, raising issues that go beyond revelations about the overseas Chinese and China. In recent years the Chineseness of the overseas Chinese and cultural explanations of their institutions, practices and economic success have received some critical attention. It was never a clearly polarized debate, and the faith in culture was sometimes as much implicit as explicit. But in response to criticism, and to events in East and South-East Asia, there have been discernible shifts in position. The idea that culture determines or can be relied on to explain is now greeted with more scepticism, or at least caution. Broader a-cultural structures are given more latitude, provided they give culture room to breathe. And the idea that "culture" may be fabricated and that those fabrications may be consciously manipulated is now more acceptable, though the manipulation of culture may itself be seen as partly the product of culture's structures. These shifts in emphasis are reflected in this book, and so too is the continuing, though more thoughtful, allegiance to culture's power to explain. In summarizing Schak's unsettling argument – that culture is insignificant in comparison to geographical and social distance - Leo Douw adds the caveat: "In fact this may be taken to illustrate that culture is important [his emphasis]." Douw also finds culture at work in Godley's chapter which reproduces (though not always accurately) the arguments and views of those who are critical of cultural explanations of the overseas Chinese economic practices and who have doubts about whether reliance on personal relationships will be sufficient for China's future progress. Godley, it seems, is arguing that although culture may not be a decisive factor, its enabling and restraining qualities are an asset.

This volume does not retreat into a defensive insistence on the importance of culture. Nor does it cede everything to the catch-all "globalization," which often seems to represent an overly ambitious attempt to create an all-encompassing interpretative framework for both believers in universals and advocates of the particularities of culture. To this extent this book provides a sophisticated and stimulating contribution to the debate.

RUPERT HODDER

In One's Own Shadow: An Ethnographic Account of the Condition of Post-Reform Rural China. By XIN LIU. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. xvi + 245 pp. Paperback £9.95. ISBN 0–520–21994–5.]

We have very few ethnographic accounts of Chinese rural life written by Chinese, and even fewer of them are written with quite the objectivity or wonder of this one. In venturing into a distant and economically undeveloped region of China outside his own life experience, Liu Xin has convincingly combined the role of the non-native anthropologist with that



of the linguistic insider able to conduct research without the fear and tedium of the language acclimitization process which (whether openly declared or not) erodes the confidence and effectiveness of the non-native fieldworker. So convincingly is he the outsider that it is almost possible to read this as though it were the work of a Western-trained ethnographer.

Liu carried out his fieldwork in the early 1990s in the small community of Zhaojiahe, Shaanxi province. Only one of the households was not engaged in farming (wheat and cotton), and the population of less than 1,000 was relatively undifferentiated economically. The inhabitants lived in cave dwellings, some of them brick-lined, and shared one common surname. Despite some early rehearsal of the literature on lineage organization in southern China, Liu does not dwell on this extended kinship and clearly did not find it being exploited as a major organizational factor, nor does he deal in any detail with the work patterns or agricultural life-style of the people, perhaps because his six-month stay did not coincide with a full agricultural cycle.

He is more interested in inter-personal relationships and the face-to-face encounters of everyday and festive life. It is tempting to describe the book as "organized gossip," but that would run the risk of seeming to cheapen the artless insights it affords and the contribution it makes to our understanding of what being a villager in late 20th-century China was like. And those insights hold good in a timeless framework too. Liu speaks of a combination of traditional, revolutionary and modern elements in the villagers' world view. He seems to discern a strong current of uniformity in practice and in thought running through the vicissitudes of history, now checked now briefly diverted, which constitutes a corporate identity that is the strong backbone of the village.

The principal focus of the book is on household arrangements, food, hospitality, particularism, marriage and other rites of passage – on all Liu has interesting things to say. Such examples as the almost verbatim accounts of a matchmaker's negotiations and the bargaining carried on through a third party over the sale of some straw are highly illuminating and were doubtless achieved through Liu's understanding of the subtleties of the language. The same understanding enables the reader to perceive the attitudes of the villagers towards marriage, as Liu teases out the linguistic nuances of marriage terminology (pp. 60–61). Just occasionally the treatment of language raises question marks in the reader's mind: "What one eats depends on rainfall" is a context dependent translation of *kaotian chifan* (p. 8), and if the "afternoon meal ... generally served around three" is really called *shangwufan* (p. 101) it would seem to deserve some explanation.

Liu does not give a complete picture or exhaustive description of any of his themes. But he does provide an update on what others have written before, which carries more conviction because it comes from one so well versed in the literature and so well able to represent the views of Chinese society from the inside. To add to its merits the book is very readable.



HUGH D.R. BAKER

The Overseas Chinese: Ethnicity in National Context. Edited by Francis Hsu and Hendrick Serrie. [Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1998. 241 pp. ISBN 0-7618-1163-X.]

The original versions of the nine essays in this collection have been published previously – eight of then in a 1985 special issue of *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, and one elsewhere. The editors do not explain why, after some 13 years, these articles are reissued without substantial revision. One possible reason may be the recent "mini-boom" in studies of the Chinese diaspora, partly owing to the economic success of the ethnic Chinese in (South-East) Asia. Though somewhat out-of-date, the book does provide some interesting and informative cases for an understanding of the overseas Chinese within the national context.

The scope of the book is wide-ranging; the essays "describe, compare and analyze a wide array of Chinese communities: in East, Southeast and South Asia, in Europe, and in North and South America" (p. 1). A focus is the changing nature of ethnicity on two levels: the internal dimension of Chinese (sub)ethnicity and how it is affected by the host cultural environment.

The essays by Ellen Oxfeld and Ann Maxwell Hill examine the socio-economic position of the Hakka in Calcutta and the Yunnanese in Thailand. They find that the Hakka's marginality has been influenced by their occupation – as tanners they represent one of the "impure" categories in the Hindu caste system, while that of the Yunnanese has been affected by geographical isolation, which has prompted them to enter into relationships with non-Chinese through political and military alliances and marriages. These cases reinforce an awareness of the heterogeneous nature of the "overseas Chinese."

The excellent essays by Bernard Wong and Betty Lee Sung on Chinese in New York City offer perceptive analyses of ethnicity from other angles. Wong argues that the adaptive patterns of the Chinese American family are closely related to the long-standing legislative discrimination prior to 1965, economic activities and residential location. He finds that Chinese American families tend to be "incomplete, enlarged, nuclear and nonresidential extended" (p. 150). Wong also identifies variations among old immigrants, American-born Chinese, new immigrants and professional Chinese. According to Sung, most studies of immigrants focus on the adults, few on the younger generation. "Yet children do have concerns of their own, and they react differently" (p. 173). By examining the cultural conflicts that commonly confront Chinese children in New York City in the home and particularly in schools, she contends that "bicultural conflicts" are present in terms of aggressiveness, sexuality, sport, demonstration of affection, education, thrift, individualism and dependency. She concludes that unlike adults, children perceive their marginality as a dilemma, which constitutes an impasse in their life.

In his chapter entitled "Chinese around the World: The Familial and the Familiar," Serrie uses the attributes of Chinese culture (continuity,



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inclusiveness, authority and asexuality) developed first by Francis Hsu as a point of departure to compare Chinese social organizations in 13 Chinese communities, ranging from those on the Chinese mainland to those in Mississippi. He concludes "Chinese social organization seems to build outward from the familial to the familiar, with the principle of contract least preferred" (p. 214). This observation confirms the editors' view that "the outermost boundary of familiarity is Chinese ethnicity" (p. 3). Other chapters in this book deal with the Chinese experiences in the Philippines (by George H. Weightman), Brisbane (by Lawrence W. Crissman, George Beattie and James Selby) and New Zealand (by Charles Sedgwick).

While the problematic term "overseas Chinese" and its built-in Chinaoriented connotations have been reassessed recently by such scholars as Wang Gungwu, the book does not address this issue, apart from a footnote in Hill's essay pointing out that the term is not appropriate to describe "the highly assimilated descendants of Chinese immigrants" (p. 62).

The major problem with the book is its neglect of the transnational dimension of the Chinese diaspora. Though it is concerned with the Chinese in the national context, it is impossible to understand them without considering long-standing transnational socio-economic activities (such as the pervasiveness of business networks), which in turn have a profound impact on domestic activities. The globalization of Chinese social organizations in recent decades is a powerful indication of a flexible ethnicity and remarkable horizontal mobility. A supra-national perspective, therefore, should be incorporated into the nation-state framework so predominant in the book.

HONG LIU

The Rural Economy of Guangdong, 1870–1937: A Study of the Agrarian Crisis and Its Origins in Southernmost China. By Alfred H. Y. Lin. [Basingstoke: Macmillan; and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. xiii + 226 pp. \$69.95, £52.50. ISBN 0–333–6999–8.]

This book describes the changing circumstances of agriculture in Guangdong as the province came under the onslaught of currency depreciation, export growth and political instability. Few new ideas emerge. The author throws himself into the optimist–pessimist dichotomy that characterizes the literature on the subject and emerges a pessimist, while yielding to much of the optimist argument. Farmers who produced for the market had a difficult time in the depression of the 1930s, he states, but they had always suffered, exploited through rent, tax and food shortages.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the well-worn debate on Guangdong's high population—land ratio and high yields. They by-pass the subject of supplementary crops, even though these formed possibly a quarter of the



common diet. In Chapter 4, Lin concedes that foreign trade stimulated economic growth and that cash-cropping raised per-unit land income. But he also holds that because merchants creamed off the profit, farmers, while suffering from trade depressions, did not benefit when trade boomed. The reader should be aware that Lin's suggestion that trade increase has often been exaggerated is based on the import-export statistics for Guangzhou and Shantou only, which by the 20th century accounted for most of Guangdong's exports but only about half its imports.

In Chapter 5, an account of increases in the land tax leaves the reader none the wiser about their consequences, because the increases are measured in money and the book does not reveal how farm prices had been rising. In Chapter 6, Lin postulates that landlords and tenants should not be thought of as polarized typologies but stresses that some tenants were exploited by unscrupulous landlords. Although he rightly believes that no study of landlord-tenant relations is complete without a discussion of the modes of rent payment and the level of rent, for a lack of data he excuses himself from quantifying rent increases. Where he does quantify, fixed crop rent appears in the same table (6.3) as fixed cash rent, where one is measured in terms of the percentage of crop paid as rent and the other the percent rent was of the price of land. The two cannot be compared – Lin simply laments that rent was too high for Guangdong. In Chapter 7, on credit and overseas remittance, Lin indicates a dislike for pawnbrokers and money lenders but regards overseas remittance with favour. The latter, it seems, was the only means that could have benefited Chinese farmers without cost.

In short, this is a muddled account of the rural economy. It brings scarcely any new evidence to the argument. There are good reasons for turning to the statistics of the 1920s and 1930s in treating the issues raised in this book, but little can be learned from them unless they are examined critically.

DAVID FAURE

Social Transformation in Modern China: The State and Local Elites in Henan 1900–1937. By XIN ZHANG. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 320 pp. £35.00. ISBN 0-521-64289-2.]

Henan is the most populous Chinese province, and therefore plays a strategic role in Chinese politics. Until recently, however, only a few books specifically addressed this important province. Xin Zhang here explores and empirically analyses the the role of local elites and the power structure of two regions in Henan, the south-west and the north, in order to discern how local politics transformed local society. The underlying hypothesis is that socio-political changes at the local level at the beginning of the 20th century led to profound shifts in the relationship



between state and society and contributed to changes at the national level, and to China's unique path to modernity. In contrast to previous studies, this book combines three approaches: it examines the function and development of local elites, the expansion of elite activism and the impact of state making. It thereby traces the interrelationship between changes in elite mobility, social mobilization and state making. The book draws on a wide range of societal activities, arguing that the process of social transformation in 20th-century China originated with individual needs, motives and actions to meet the societal challenges of the new century. The book's thesis is that Chinese modernity is distinguished from that of the West by the fact that it was based neither on industrialization nor on capitalist development. The author argues that China's development demonstrates that a society can achieve modernity without industrialization. The process of social transformation leading to modernity first appears as a change in a society's system of values. This process fosters social mobility and social activities, leading to interpersonal relationships that become impersonal and indirect.

After depicting the socio-economic setting of Henan and the two regions covered by the book, the author explores the transitional changes in local society and polity (for example, institutional developments, changes in power structures), elite mobility and activism, transregional activism and networks, and matters of local identity, localism and the crisis of legitimacy. It ascertains state-making endeavours during the Republican period not only from the top down but also from the centre to the periphery. Thus, it demonstrates that state-building is less a process of top-down power implementation and more a process of bargaining. Furthermore, it explores two distinct patterns of relationship between state and local society: a strong state presence in northern Henan, characterized by weak social resistance, and the reverse in the south-west. These two different patterns are due to the distinct processes of social transformation occurring before and during state making. Finally, the book concludes that the transformation was not spurred by external factors, but evolved within society as part of long-term political, social and economic changes. Xin Zhang calls this process transformation." The two contrasting state-making patterns within Henan demonstrate that modern social transformation in China has been a multilinear rather than an unilinear process.

Xin Zhang's book offers a detailed view of the state-making process from below and questions former top-down approaches. It refutes the argument that during the anti-imperial movements, when Chinese society was buffeted by fierce debates about the political future and the course of development, Henan remained relatively untouched by radical notions of modernity. The analysis of the links between local development processes and state-building, depicting two different concurrent patterns within one province, is fascinating. The book will be of interest not only to researchers of regional development but also to those interested in interactions between different echelons and the state, as well as between different actors at the local and trans-local level. The book is not only of



historical value for understanding how local developments contributed to state-building, but is also important for an appreciation of current developments, examining, for example, the relationship between programmes of self-government in the 1920s and 1930s and current discussions on local self-government. Demonstrating high theoretical standards, the book could be recommended to every scholar studying modern developments in China from a historical and comparative perspective.

THOMAS HEBERER

Macau. Herkunft ist Zukunft. Edited by Roman Malek [Sankt Augustin: China-Zentrum and Institut Monumenta Serica, 2000. xvii + 666 pp. DM68.00. ISBN 3-8050-0441-9.]

This interesting collection of articles and documents on Macau was jointly published by China-Zentrum and Institut Monumenta Serica shortly after the handover of the territory. Unlike many recent publications on Macau, *Macau. Herkunft ist Zukunft* focuses mostly on positive features. The title, meaning "Origin is future," was chosen to emphasize the significance of Macau's past for its development. Most of the articles have been published previously, and are translated into German.

After the editor's introduction, there is a comprehensive chronology of Macau's history, with special emphasis on the role of the Church. The first part of the book covers different views of Macau's history. Roderich Ptak takes on the task of defining the prominent phases of Macau's development, focusing on economic and demographic components. He identifies six cycles, from the mid 16th century to World War II. His case for these divisions is argued convincingly. K. C. Fok presents his view of the special relationship between the different levels of the Ming administration and the Portuguese in the 16th century. Zhang Haipeng's analysis of Macau-related studies in the People's Republic of China reveals the still widespread stereotypes and one-sided argumentation used by many Chinese historians, partly owing to ignorance of foreign language sources. This first part closes with a homage to Monsignor Manuel Teixeira, Macau citizen, chronologist and historian.

The second part focuses on traditional religious customs in Macau. Peter Zheng Weiming provides an overview of the astonishing diversity of popular Chinese religious practices in Macau. Zhang Wenqin draws comparisons between Chinese and European religious traditions, offering an insight into religious similarities, although some of his conclusions are doubtful.

The third part is the most comprehensive. The focus is on missionary history, the impact of Christianity in Macau and the Sino-Portuguese relationship. Huang Qichen stresses Macau's importance as a bridge for cultural exchange between China and the West in the 16th and 17th centuries. Unsurprisingly, several papers pay tribute to the Jesuits, the dominant Christian order in Macau's early history, and their influence on



science and art. Manuel Cadafaz de Matos reveals the Jesuits' contribution to the development of book-printing and Sepp Schüler discusses the Jesuit painters in relation to the influence of Chinese on Western paintings and vice versa. Domingos Mauricio Gomes dos Santos underlines the significance of St. Paul's College, the first Western-style university in the Far East. The story of the presence in Macau of the prominent German Jesuit missionary Johann Adam Schall von Bell and his possible involvement in the defence against a Dutch invasion in 1622 are vividly narrated by Alfons Väth. A short biography of Robert Morrison by Jost Zetzsche recalls the growing influence of the Protestant missionaries in the 19th century.

The fourth part looks at present-day Macau and handover-related issues in society and the Church. In general this section is rather disappointing. An exception, however, is the article on the relationship between State and Church by Antonio Ng Kuok Cheong. Ng, for a long time the only opposition politician in Macau's weak Legislative Council, appeals to the Church to play a more active role in society and to make better use of its power to influence public opinion and political decisions.

In the Outlook, Gary Ngai delivers a cogent plea for preserving Macau's identity. Ngai is the most outspoken Chinese advocate of Macau's multicultural society. His vision is that Macau serves as a bridge between China and the Latin world. For the less idealistic, it is difficult to imagine how this could be achieved under a Chinese-led administration, when it was never seriously developed under the Portuguese.

In sum, the articles in this collection cover a wide range of topics relating to Macau's history and religion. They are mostly well-researched and can be recommended to anyone interested in Macau with an understanding of German. Present-day Macau and the 1999 handover are only briefly considered. Nonetheless, the book should stand as a welcome addition to Macau publications. The inclusion of handover-related documents and the extensive chronology makes it useful for reference.

PETER HABERZETTL

Macau Remembers. By JILL McGIVERING, with photographs by DAVID HARTUNG. [Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1999. xiv + 231 pp. ISBN 0-19-591735-9.]

This book is one of a series of three dealing with reminiscences – the other two focus on China and Hong Kong. The core of the work is 26 interviews with Macau's eminent and not so eminent just prior to the return of administration of the territory to China. The interviews are grouped around politicians, the old-time upper class, those connected with gambling and organized crime, immigrants, those interested in culture and religious leaders. Each section is preceded by a simple description of Macau life.

While I learned little from the descriptions, the interviews provided



new insights into Macau's recent past and the beliefs of various groups about Macau's future. The Portuguese and Macaense were more prone to lament or to be worried about post-1999, whereas many of the Chinese were looking forward to Chinese administration. There are some oddities owing partly perhaps to the author's background as a Hong Kong-based journalist. Macaense and Portuguese constituted a disproportionately large number of those interviewed. The religious leaders were all Catholics and larger than expected emphasis was placed on Macau's traditional fishing community. While this is not a high-powered work (there are no footnotes or bibliography), it is an enjoyable read and a must for anyone interested in understanding the transition from Portuguese to Chinese rule in Macau.

RICHARD LOUIS EDMONDS

Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century. By Hanchao Lu. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. xvii + 456 pp. \$55.00. ISBN 0-520-21564-8.]

While the history of modern Shanghai has received an extraordinary – if not disproportionate – amount of scholarly attention in recent years, Hanchao Lu believes that the daily lives of ordinary people have not been adequately portrayed. Offering a richly textured account of life in the alleyway neighbourhoods, where many made their homes after the 1880s, Lu goes beyond the bustling commercial culture and the neon lights of Nanjing Road in search of a lost world. He writes with verve and style, reconstructing everyday life in Shanghai with the ethnologist's passion for telling detail, from the shape of nightsoil pots to the dimensions of a bathtub.

After an uneven introduction which contrives to acknowledge the different theoretical approaches used in recent scholarship on modern China, Lu draws back from broader historiographical issues to focus on the warp and weft of ordinary life in Shanghai. The book hits its stride in Chapter Two, as the figure of the rickshaw puller is submitted to close ethnological scrutiny. It reveals in vivid detail the varying backgrounds of rickshaw pullers and their diverse fates, some dressed in rags and living no better than beggars, others earning sufficient to send their children to school. "Hard work and thrift," some of them comment, helped make the leap from rags to riches.

Throughout the book, Lu attempts to understand ordinary people, from poor dockworkers to shantytown beggars, as agents trying to build a better life – the city offered more opportunities to poor people than the harsh countryside from which many escaped. Even in the shantytown, the topic of Chapter Three, the poor had their dreams: for a slum dweller, a stable factory job was an enviable rung up the social ladder.

The majority of "little urbanites" (*xiaoshimin*), who are the focus of the book, lived in alleyway houses (*lilong*), row houses combining European



and Chinese features and usually situated within gated compounds. The *lilong* was considered unextraordinary by contemporary observers. In Chapter Four Lu sets out to correct this neglect, tracing the rise of the modern real estate market, the architectural evolution of the *lilong*, the use of space inside the houses, the renting agreements and the backgrounds of the residents. In the next chapter Lu insinuates himself under the eaves of the *lilong* to construct a picture of everyday life, from the nightsoil man on his daily round to the peddlers hawking edible goods such as fried noodles, sweet almond broth or sweet cakes filled with ground beans. Evening conversation, romance, love affairs, squabbling and fights between neighbours are tellingly reconstructed.

Life beyond the compound, in restaurants, tailor shops, open-air food markets and bathhouses, all within walking distance, is treated in the last chapter. Here, the author highlights the limitations on government intervention in Republican China. Shopkeepers relied on their own wits rather than legal or administrative codes to maintain a basic level of social order, accommodating rather than antagonizing beggars or local toughs. Neighbourhood life was conducted away from central authorities.

Lu has produced a riveting and solidly crafted monograph, although the primary sources on which he relies are limited to a few social investigations of the 1930s, and memoirs and memories of Shanghai residents. Lu is not so much a historian with a nose for fresh material as an ethnologist as who weaves surveys and interviews together in a "thick description" of life in the neighbourhoods. While not always avoiding the (often elitist) nostalgia for the presumed "local traditions" informing many of the sources he deploys, he does display great sensitivity and awareness of a world partly lost. As in Europe and the United States until a few decades ago, however, the recovery of an urban past concentrates on residential houses while entirely overlooking industrial buildings. No sweatshops appear in Lu's Shanghai, let alone factories and plants, where most of the "everyday life" was spent. One can only hope that an equally gifted historian will undertake an industrial archaeology of Shanghai before the beautifully evocative monuments of industrial culture vanish into general oblivion.

Despite a promise in the introduction to transcend the stale categories of "China" and the "West," the book is marked by a parochial replication of the dichotomy between the native and the foreign, the latter equated with modern and the West. This becomes painfully clear in the conclusion, which insists on the marginality of things "Western," with automobiles given as an example. Throughout the book, the "modern," from cigarettes to the factory, is elegantly airbrushed out of history in order to create a seemingly flawless picture of life "beyond the neon lights," which appears to mean "authentically local." The use of nightsoil pots is analysed in a page-long disquisition, although nowhere is mentioned the fact that virtually all Shanghai workers in the 1930s used tooth powder, toilet paper and foreign soaps. Lu offers a colourful gallery of Shanghai portraits, but too often the intricate ways in which the new was enmeshed in the old is overlooked. Despite this serious shortcoming, the

book is a tremendous achievement bringing to life in compelling detail the largely overlooked everyday life of residential Shanghai.

Frank Dikötter

Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943. Edited by Yingjin Zhang. [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. 369 pp. Hard-cover \$55.00, ISBN 0–8047–3188–8; paperback \$19.95, ISBN 0–8047–3572–7.]

This stimulating and admirably cohesive collection of essays represents a substantial step forward for the study of Chinese cinema and the cultural history of the urban milieu from which it arose in the first half of the 20th century. As Yingjin Zhang points out in his useful introductory essay on the historiography of early Chinese cinema, the development of Chinese film studies has often been confounded by the fragmentary nature of the materials available to scholars. Many, if not most, early Chinese films have been either lost or destroyed as a result of war, revolution and years of neglect, while the standard film histories from the People's Republic of China and Taiwan have occluded those swathes of Chinese film history inimical to their respective ideological interests. Even now, access to films and archival materials preserved in such institutions as the Beijing Film Archive remains limited. This is especially so with regard to genres (the "soft" entertainment films, martial arts films and tales of the supernatural of the interwar years) and time periods (wartime cinema produced under Japanese occupation) that have little or no place in official narratives dedicated to the construction of a politically engaged, artistically serious and eminently national, or nationalist, cinematic canon.

These difficulties have, in part, shaped the scholarly approach of the nine essays that make up this collection. Rather than focusing exclusively on textual analysis of specific films (many of which, in any case, can only be reconstructed from contemporary journalistic accounts), the contributors draw on diverse off-screen archival resources, and various methodologies from contemporary cultural studies, to paint a richly historicized portrait of film production and reception. They also delineate the politics of some of the new and distinctly modern forms of leisure culture that grew up in conjunction with the cinema in the polyglot precincts of semi-colonial Shanghai, such as the popular press, the dance hall and the cabaret. For example, Shelly Stephenson examines the wartime stardom of the fascinatingly mercurial Japanese actress and popular singer Li Xianglan (Ri Koran). Unable to view Li's admittedly propagandistic feature films produced in China on behalf of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Stephenson instead provides a meticulous examination of the tangled politics of her representation in the Japaneseadministered Shanghai popular press. Other essays draw on similarly careful archival research to chronicle the emergence of a distinctly Chinese star system, to unravel the nature of Kuomintang film censorship



in the 1930s, and to describe the architectural and social spaces in which the films were screened.

The focus on space is exemplified by Zhen Zhang's innovative reading of one of the earliest extant Chinese silent films, Laogong zhi aiqing (Labourer's Love, 1922). Emphasizing the context of the Shanghai teahouse in which cinema was initially introduced into China, Zhang allegorizes the cultural specificity of the Chinese reception (and appropriation) of this eminently global medium. Her rigorous analysis of this particular film, as well as its productive engagement with theorists and historians of early cinema and mass culture such as Siegfried Kracauer, Miriam Hansen and Tom Gunning, not only helps to decentre previous scholarly models, but also points the way forward to as yet unexplored questions about the imbrication of technology, spectatorship and "national cinema" in semi-colonial Shanghai.

Although the theoretical lucidity of Zhang's piece is not always sustained in the volume, the cumulative effect of these studies in cinematic culture is similarly suggestive of new avenues and topics for research and investigation. Indeed, the range of the material on offer here - from Kristine Harris' examination of 1920s silent costume dramas on classical literary themes to Sue Tuohy's groundbreaking analysis of leftist film music in Chinese talkies of the 1930s - break the boundaries of the somewhat restrictive model for the practice of cultural history (a histoire des mentalités inspired by the work of Roger Chartier and Jacques Le Goff) outlined by Yingjin Zhang in his introduction. One might also quibble with the seemingly arbitrary temporal boundaries (1922 and 1943) established by the title of the book, which function neither as accurate "bookends" for the essays, nor as heuristically valuable watersheds in Chinese cinematic history. Such minor points, however, do not detract from the significance of the volume, which should become mandatory reading for all students and scholars of Chinese cinema, urban media culture and Republican era cultural history.

ANDREW F. JONES

Chinese Literature, Ancient and Classical. By Andre Levy, translated by WILLIAM H. NIENHAUSER, Jr. [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000. xi + 168 pp. \$22.95. ISBN 0-253-33656-2.]

In this slim volume, the author aims to present a picture of Chinese literature up to the early 20th century. As stated, the picture is inevitably incomplete, the goal being "to enable the reader to form an idea of traditional Chinese literature" and "not to establish a history of it" (p. 3). The work begins with the classics of antiquity, and is followed by three chapters on prose, poetry and the literature of entertainment. The approach is by genre, and for each genre samples with translations are introduced to give a flavour of the writing.

Chapter One deals with the classics of antiquity up to the 2nd century



AD, and discusses the Mohist, Legalist, Taoist and Confucian writings on which the common culture of the educated elite was based. Comments on literary aspects of these works and their contribution to later genres are particularly enjoyable. For example, the author notes the rich dialogue in the *Zhanguo ce (Intrigues of the Warring States)* and the concern for detail in the *Yi li (Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial)*, both of which are features of later novels.

Chapter Two introduces facets of prose-writing, including prose anthologies; historical narratives such as the *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), which reads almost like a novel; the epistolary genre; prose of the Tang and Song masters; *xiaopin wen* (free essays), with delightful examples of Li Yu's passion for crabs and arbutus berries; and literary criticism. Again, the author notes that only an incomplete picture can be presented, and a rich field remains to be explored, for example, "mandarin genres" such as dissertations, tributes, judgements and occasional writings.

Chapter Three turns to the wealth of Chinese poetry. It covers, and offers many insights about, the *Chu ci* (*Words of the State of Chu*); poetry of the Han court; erotic poetry; poetry by such luminaries as Tao Yuanming, Li Bai, Du Fu, Bai Juyi, Li Shangyin and Su Shi; the *ci* lyrics of the Song period, and the *qu* arias of the Yuan.

Chapter Four focuses on classical anecdotes and short stories, the opera-theatre of the north and south (the crab-loving Li Yu is again highlighted for his Chinese comedies) and the author's speciality of fiction. A masterly account is given of the relationship between oral and written literature, showing the development from oral literature, stories and novellas to the six major novels of the Ming and Qing periods.

This work provides an insightful overview of traditional Chinese literature, and is especially recommended for general readers and beginning students. As a sketch, one enjoys the book for the framework and revelations offered, and is less concerned about omissions, although a mention of Buddhist sutras in the development of the Chinese imagination would have been appreciated. There are a few *pinyin* and Chinese character typographical errors. The work is liberally sprinkled with fine translations, and although there are no footnotes, lists are provided for further reading, including two websites for exploration.

Andrew Lo

Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. By Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer. [Munich: Beck, 1999. 686 pp. DM98.00. ISBN 3-406-45337-6.]

After its first publication (Bern, Munich, Vienna: Scherz Verlag, 1990), Professor Schmidt-Glintzer's *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur* became the standard introduction to traditional and modern Chinese literature in use at a number of German institutes of Chinese studies. It has



served as a convenient, highly informative, fairly reliable and well organized description of the development of poetic, narrative and philosophical-religious Chinese literature and its cultural background. The author covers the various stages of the development of Chinese literature, with accompanying notes, bibliography of basic readings and index with Chinese characters. Specialists may take issue over some minor points, but in a time of increasing specialization in scholarship, for one person to cover a period of some 3,000 years is a laudable achievement. This second edition (1999), we may agree with the author, confirms that his presentation is as valid as when the book was first published.

The book serves as a solid introduction to the history of Chinese literature, and, by virtue of its references, also leads the reader to specialized publications in specific fields of interest. The bibliography, however, focuses on learned articles in Western languages, thus including fewer Chinese works than one might hope for. For the second edition, especially in the light of recent publications, it would have been preferable to add some bibliographic updates.

Undoutedly, Professor Schmidt-Glintzer's book is the most comprehensive single-volume overview of this field written by a single author in any Western language. At institutions outside continental Europe, it becomes increasingly difficult to include books published in European languages other than English on the curriculum. I believe, therefore, that many undergraduate students of Chinese literature would welcome a reliable English translation of this substantial contribution to our teaching of Chinese literature.

BERNHARD FUEHRER

The Hall of Three Pines: An Account of My Life (Sansongtang zixu). By FENG YOULAN, translated by DENIS C MAIR. [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000. 416 pp. Hard cover \$57.00, ISBN 0-824-81428-2; paperback \$27.95, ISBN 0-824-82220-X.]

Feng Youlan was one of the most productive, influential and controversial scholars in modern China. His life spanned nearly the entire 20th century, and he witnessed the turmoil and changes both before and after 1949. His book *A History of Chinese Philosophy* has been, and still is, the most authoritative work in its field. Yet there are very few writings in English on Feng Youlan's life. Denis C. Mair's translation of Feng's autobiography, completed by Feng in November 1981 and first published in Chinese in December 1984, is thus a much needed work in the field of Chinese modern intellectual history.

Sansongtang zixu, as the "zixu" element indicates, was the author's "personal preface" to his complete works, Sansongtang quanji. The preface – a book in itself – has three chapters and a brief conclusion. Chapter One is an account of Feng's life, divided into three parts: the late



Qing period, the period of the Republic and the period of the People's Republic of China. In this chapter, Feng discusses his relationship with Mao Zedong and Mao's wife Jiang Qing, and openly admits that in order to please Mao he made some mistakes during the Cultural Revolution, when some of his writings were less than sincere. It is quite remarkable that Feng is able to examine and analyse himself so effectively in his late years.

Chapter Two gives a chronological summary of Feng's philosophical development, and assesses the strengths and weaknesses of his main work, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. He was particularly proud of *Zhenyuan liushu*, his six-book series published between 1939 and 1946, regarding as the framework of his philosophy. In *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (1963), Wing-tsit Chan praised *Xin lixue* (*The New Rational Philosophy*), the first title of Feng's six-book series, as "the most original philosophical work in this century," and Feng as "the most outstanding philosopher in China in the last thirty years."

Owing to Feng's dramatic ideological change from Confucianism to Marxism in the early 1950s, scholars in both China and the West have harboured suspicion about his intellectual integrity. Many have wondered whether the sudden conversion was merely a political gesture, made in order to survive under great political pressure and sanctions. In this work Feng tries put forward that his conversion from a Confucianist to a Marxist was not a ploy but a complex ideological transformation. Although not entirely convincing, his argument at least offers his own view on the question of his ideological shift.

Chapter Three deals with the history of three universities that Feng was associated with: Beijing University, Qinghua University and the South-West United University. This chapter not only contains much insightful interpretation of the educational issues of the time but also records fascinating anecdotes about Feng's contemporaries. It is an enjoyable and interesting read.

The autobiography closes with an examination of what Feng feels he accomplished during sixty years as a scholar and philosopher by quoting the entire text of his speech on receiving an honorary degree from Columbia University in 1982. Feng concludes on an optimistic and patriotic note, saying that his revised edition of *A History of Chinese Philosophy* is "not merely a narration of the past, but also a nourishment for the philosophy of the future" (p. 371). Feng was convinced that Chinese philosophy would play a more significant role on the stage of world philosophy.

Denis C. Mair's translation is mostly accurate and fluent, but contains a few minor errors. For example, in October 1949, Feng wrote Mao Zedong a letter expressing his eagerness to adopt the Marxist viewpoint to write a new history of Chinese philosophy. In his reply, Mao advised Feng, "It is better to adopt an honest attitude" (zongyi caiqu laoshi taidu weiyi). Mair's translation is, "Adopting a humble attitude is always best" (p. 159). By translating laoshi as "humble" rather than "honest," Mair misses a key point in what Mao was saying to Feng – in effect that both



knew Feng was no Marxist, and that Feng should be more honest about it.

Mair's translation adds Notes and an Index, which greatly enhance the readability of the book.

CHIH-PING CHOU

The Oxford Starter Chinese Dictionary. Edited by Yuan Boping and Sally K. Church. [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. 450 pp. \$14.95, £9.99. ISBN 0-19-860258-8.]

This first edition of *The Oxford Starter Chinese Dictionary* is a paperback volume divided into a very brief Chinese–English dictionary and a more comprehensive English–Chinese one. It is a portable but not pocket-size dictionary, designed to be used by English-speaking beginners of Chinese. In the Chinese–English section, the entries are words (*ci*) rather than individual Chinese characters (*zi*). The system adopted for the transliteration of Chinese characters is *pinyin*. In the Chinese–English section both British and American English variants are listed and explained.

In the Chinese–English section, although the *pinyin* entries are organized alphabetically, the order of the words is determined by the head character, and not by a strictly alphabetic letter-to-letter sequence as in such dictionaries as DeFrancis' revolutionary *ABC Chinese English Dictionary*. The adoption of this "double" alphabetic ordering, explained as a means of giving "a sense of the semantic range of a character," is confusing because of the discontinuity it introduces in the order of words. For example, the word *gongji* "to attack" appears after the word *gonglao* "contribution." The layout is also potentially confusing in the English–Chinese section because of the symbols used to indicate the several fields of an entry ("=" for translations, "!" for explanatory notes, "." for separate senses of the word, and "*" for language register as to whether the term is formal, colloquial, literary, or slang).

The dictionary includes a general glossary of grammatical terms – where the Chinese aspectual markers (such as *le* and *guo*) should have appeared but do not. Notes on basic grammar points are intended to help students make up sentences in Chinese, and an explanation of how to write Chinese characters gives a list of basic strokes. There is also a guide to Mandarin tones and a list of common Chinese measure words with usage examples.

A strong point of *The Oxford Starter Chinese Dictionary* is the large print size. Most people should be able to distinguish clearly all the strokes of the characters without using a magnifying glass. Another useful feature is that characters can be looked up both under their classifiers in a radical index, and by the total number of strokes, particularly helpful for students not familiar with the radical classification system. Also helpful is the



inclusion of both Chinese characters and *pinyin* for the translations and the usage examples in the English–Chinese section.

The Oxford Starter Chinese Dictionary only gives the simplified forms of characters. It would have been useful to include the traditional forms, since most students of Chinese will need them – if only for reading material from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau. After all it is now sufficiently proven that presenting the two forms together in reference works helps students become familiar with both, even if they usually use only one form.

While the dictionary contains much good vocabulary, many common words are missing, especially in the Chinese–English section. The traveller to China will not find this the most comprehensive dictionary available.

Maria Trigoso



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