

Book Reviews

Untying the Knot. Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait. By RICHARD C. BUSH. [Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005. xii + 416 pp. \$24.00. ISBN 0-8157-1288-X.]

Alexander the Great did not care about single strands when he cut the Gordian knot. Richard C. Bush cares about them a lot. Being one of the leading specialists on Taiwan in the United States and a former chairman of the American Institute in Taiwan (based in Washington), he is very much aware that there is no simple solution to the China–Taiwan tangle. No matter whether the task at hand is crisis management, stabilization or resolution, it is still essential to understand the nature of this dispute, which is one of the most volatile in the world and could easily erupt in war.

Bush identifies two issues as the main strands of the knot: sovereignty and security. After providing a short overview of Taiwan's history and a more detailed description of the paradoxical situation of growing economic and social interaction across the Taiwan Strait on the one hand and political deadlock on the other, he elaborates on both core issues, exploring the concept of sovereignty and addressing the security dilemma in more depth. The two substantive strands are closely intertwined because Taiwan's claim to sovereignty status strengthens its justification for US security assistance. Three more factors tighten the knot, which Bush discusses in ensuing chapters: domestic politics in each country, the decision-making process in both Beijing and Taipei as well as the leverage game, i.e. each side's attempt to gain an advantage over the other one. Since US policy is a special aspect of this game, the role of the United States is addressed here, too.

Resolving the conceptual stalemate will either require Taiwan to renounce its claim that its government possesses sovereignty or require China to significantly amend its “one country, two systems” formula. Unless this key issue is resolved, the dispute will never be settled. The security factor is a major obstacle to finding a solution. Both sides are caught in a security dilemma and feel profoundly vulnerable with respect to the other side. Whereas Taiwan feels threatened by Beijing's military build-up and its persistent threats to use military power against the island, the insecurity that Taiwan creates for Beijing is political. Furthermore, the American security commitment to Taiwan influences the island's assessment of the risks it might face. What makes the dilemma unique is that Taiwan's strong belief that the United States will defend it could cause the government to take political initiatives to permanently separate the island from the People's Republic of China (PRC), which, in turn, would force Beijing to take military action. What makes the matter rather complicated is

that both sides lack the awareness that this dilemma exists and appear to have opted for an uneasy status quo instead of negotiating a mutually beneficial settlement.

Domestic policy constrains cross-Strait choices. On Taiwan, the population's growing sense of having its own identity reinforces the substantive objections to China's "one country, two systems" proposal, and the pathology of the political system reduces the possibility of approving any good offer the PRC might make. The electoral campaigns speak volumes. In China, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s legitimacy could be seriously undermined by developments that threaten to make Taiwan an independent state. The officially promoted nationalist sentiment can be seen as evidence of the weakness of the state.

In both China and Taiwan, the decision-making system contributes to the nation's reciprocal security dilemma. Both systems are relatively centralized and are prone to misread each other's intentions – and then overreact. Bush elaborates on these misperceptions, which are particularly dangerous because they are so difficult to correct once they have received an official stamp.

The effects of the third factor are poisonous as well: each side sees the struggle as a zero-sum contest in which the gains made by one side are the other's losses. In trying to extend leverage – for instance by giving foreign assistance to third countries in order to get diplomatic recognition or by using United Front strategies to win the support of "compatriots" – both sides foster mutual mistrust. The United States has been at the centre of the dispute since it began. While it tries to avoid becoming a captive of either side, the Taiwanese and PRC governments each try to leverage the United States to their own advantage. What's more, when either side thinks it has gained an advantage, it often exaggerates the significance of that gain.

Up to this point, Bush's analysis of the Taiwan Strait issue is congruent to those of other authors; however, his personal insights and in-depth understanding as well as the combination of scholarly expertise and distinct writing even enable readers with little previous knowledge to get a very clear picture of the entangled state of cross-Strait relations. In the next chapter entitled "Muting Pressures, Reconciling Differences" Bush refers to his knowledge of the Taiwan issue as well as international relations in general and elaborates ideas with a view to how the tightened knot could be untied. It could, he concludes, "if either side would concede on fundamentals" (p. 269). Following his own arguments, that seems to be unlikely, however. Still, it is worth reading his explanation, which is a stimulating one. Initially, he reports on the ideas on solving the problem of sovereignty and security that have been aired so far, then he scrutinizes the potential for establishing common ground on these fundamental issues, adding: "None can be realized without a process through which the two sides can talk to each other" (p. 286). There are obstacles on the way to achieving a dialogue, of course, but there are

still new paths to look out for, as the Middle East peace process that began in 1993 has shown. If a settlement is not possible, it is important to preserve and manage a “cold peace” so that it does not dissolve into conflict and war. This is the topic of the last chapter.

Bush is perfectly right when he says it is essential to understand the nature of the dispute regardless of the way to handle it. His book contributes a great deal to this end. However, it concentrates on the three main actors (Taiwan, the PRC and the United States) and on political relations; Bush only briefly sketches the growing economic and social interaction between the two sides and concludes that Taiwan is being pulled into China’s orbit. This is only one side of the coin, though. Likewise he tends to understate the potential for political variation in China by exclusively looking at the centre. These are only minor objections to the overview, however. This informative book should be read by anyone who is interested in international politics and especially by those who are looking for ways of attaining peace in the Taiwan Strait.

GÜNTER SCHUCHER

Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics. Edited by DAVID SHAMBAUGH. [Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005. xix + 383 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 0-520-24570-9.]

In recent years China’s relations with the rest of Asia have undergone significant changes. New regional trading and investment patterns are emerging, interdependence is growing, China’s political influence is increasing as it is becoming more active in regional multilateral institutions. This excellent volume offers a very comprehensive and in-depth analysis of these changes. Organized into 16 chapters, the book brings together 17 leading scholars in the field. The first section of the book provides an overview of China and the region. David Shambaugh’s essay focuses on China’s growing economic importance to the region and makes some interesting observations about the relatively slow development of China’s “soft” power. Zhang Yunling and Tang Shiping discuss what they see as China’s emerging grand strategy in the region and argue that China is increasingly becoming a self-confident and responsible great power. The second section of the volume offers two excellent chapters by Hideo Ohashi and Robert Ash on China’s trade, investment and the development of interdependence with other Asian economies. Both essays provide a wealth of economic data backed by very thorough analyses. Section three provides several chapters that focus in on China’s diplomatic relations with Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Central and Southern Asia, and Russia. All the essays in this section are very good and provide useful insights into China’s changing relations with its neighbours. For example, Jae-ho Chung’s analysis provides some

striking details about the depth of improvement in South Korea's relations with China and some of his data will come as a surprise to many Americans.

Section four looks at China's regional status as a military power. The chapter by R. Bates Gill focuses on China's regional strategy while that of Michael Swaine examines China's military posture and provides an overview of its growing military capabilities. The two chapters compliment each other rather well. Section five of the book examines the implications of the new Asian dynamics for the United States. Robert Sutter and David Lampton provide contrasting assessments with Sutter seeing China seeking regional pre-eminence whereas Lampton argues that the regional tendency towards greater integration and interdependence is in America's national interest. Finally, Section six examines the implications of China's rise for Asia with a chapter by Jonathan Pollack focusing on regional security issues and a chapter by Michael Yahuda focusing on the emerging diplomatic order in Asia.

All the various sections of the book work well with each other and the contributors have obviously worked hard at co-ordinating their efforts in producing this volume. All 16 chapters are well written and researched. My only criticism of the content would be that given the growing importance of regional associations in Asia it would have been nice if the book had included a chapter focused exclusively on regional organizations and China. But that is a minor quibble.

This book will be of interest to anyone wanting to learn more about China's growing economic, military and political clout in Asia and what that might mean for the future. The book has lots of data and in-depth discussion on the issues that will appeal to experts on Asia as well as policy makers. At the same time the essays are very readable and provide enough background to make this book accessible to members of the general public. The book will also serve very well as a text for an advanced undergraduate or graduate class on Asian affairs or Chinese foreign policy. There is much here that ought to stimulate further debate and discussion.

THOMAS J. BICKFORD

The Politics of China's Accession to the World Trade Organization: The Dragon Goes Global. By HUI FENG [London and New York: Routledge, 2005. xiv + 202 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-1415-36921-5.]

China's Participation in the WTO. Edited by HENRY GAO and DONALD LEWIS [London: Cameron May, 2005. 486 pp. £125.00, \$238.00. ISBN 1-905017-15-4.]

These two books address the complex issues of China's accession to and participation in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in a quite different but complementary manner.

In a well-documented approach, drawing on a skilful use of historical sources, Hui Feng persuasively shows that the process of China's accession to the WTO was intertwined with the implementation of domestic economic reforms. Nearly five years after this accession, the question has been largely debated and one could wonder what a new book could bring to our understanding of the internal battle that took place amongst the Chinese leadership for more than 15 years. But one of the greatest merits of Hui Feng's work is to draw special attention to the political aspects of this multifaceted enterprise. The complicated relations between the different levels of government and the most obscure local bureaucratic factions reveal the many intricacies of China's gradual internationalization. Indeed, the opportunities and risks of this "gamble with high stakes" (p. 2) lie at the heart of Hui Feng's book. In a brilliant demonstration, he argues that "China's accession to the WTO is a state-led, leadership-driven, a top-down political process in which a determined political leadership partly bypassed and partly restructured a largely reluctant and resistant bureaucracy, under constant pressure from an increasingly globalized international system" (p. 6).

At a time when Marxist legal theory is unexpectedly reactivated to oppose the passing of the long-awaited property rights law and the genuine implementation of China's main commitments to the WTO, Hui Feng's analysis of the reformist-conservative cleavage within the top leadership sheds light on today's resistance to political change and economic modernization. The greatest quality of this book lies in its ability to highlight the particular features of the Chinese political actors in carefully scrutinizing the preferences and belief system of policy elites (Cf. Chapter three on Contending views on the WTO, Chapter four on Elite politics and the WTO accession, and Chapter five on Bureaucratic politics and WTO accession). The chapters devoted to the general context for WTO policy making (Chapter two) and to the foreign pressures on China's accession (Chapter six) are certainly weaker as they suffer from the absence of a serious technical knowledge of the WTO's legal and institutional mechanisms.

But this short essay, which builds upon a PhD thesis, easily reaches its main goal which is to help us understand the driving forces of China's deep integration into the global economy while enlarging the theoretical framework usually applied to the study of the relationship between global political economy and domestic politics. If we were to single out just one quality of Hui Feng's book, it would be its contribution to the conceptualization of the interactions between institutions and political actors in the specific context of an authoritarian state that is progressively questioned – and reinforced at the same time – by its integration into the international arena.

Based on a totally different, but not less ambitious, approach *China's Participation in the WTO* is the result of an international conference hosted in February 2005 by the East Asian International Economic Law and Policy Programme (EAIEL) of the University of

Hong Kong. Its objectives are threefold: to take stock of the progress made by China in implementing its WTO commitments; to identify the challenges Beijing is now facing; and to generate proposals on how to improve the effectiveness of China's participation to the Organisation.

For these reasons, this eye-catching programme makes us hope for a comprehensive review of the achievements and challenges faced by today's China. But this compilation of essays is certainly uneven as the quality of the chapters varies greatly from one expert to another. Published in the context of the WTO Sixth Ministerial Conference that took place in Hong Kong in December 2005, this book has obviously not been set to challenge the conventional liberal discourse on the WTO and its positive effects on the Chinese economy. Many contributions hardly refrain from adopting a diplomatic angle. Others do not deal directly with China, but offer the technical tools to understand a specific issue (Chapter four on the WTO safeguard system, Chapter fourteen on dispute settlement or Chapter fifteen on developing countries and the WTO dispute settlement system). This said, however, the volume brings together stimulating discussions which should provoke further interest in the practical consequences of China's participation to one of the main international bodies and to the development of our current trade framework.

Divided in four main parts (Trade Barriers and Trade Remedies, Market Access and Trade in Services, Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights [TRIPS] and Dispute Settlement), *China's Participation in the WTO* undoubtedly helps us enhance our perception of complex legal and economic issues in a synthetic and clear way.

Thus, Zeng Lingliang's critical perspective on the legal effectiveness and appropriateness of the transitional product-specific safeguard mechanism (Chapter five) or Henry Gao's contribution on "aggressive legalism," that is the increasing use of legal mechanisms in the Asian world (Chapter eighteen), give an excellent account of the challenges of China's integration into the global trade regime.

One could nevertheless regret the lack of a broader perspective on the role of law and legal transfers, and their influence on the building of another economic and possibly socio-political model. If China's accession to the WTO has underlined that international law could affect Chinese norms and practices by providing persuasion, some observers still wonder what the ordinary Chinese citizens can gain from China's accession to the WTO.

Indeed, the past decade has seen a tremendous transformation of the Chinese legal system. The widespread use of the concept of legalization (*fazhihua*) has resulted not only in the legitimization of the Chinese party-state, but also in an unprecedented public awareness of legal issues that progressively brings with it a new rights consciousness and a strong desire for justice. If unprecedented, this dynamic of change is also incomplete and disorganized. Moreover, the

authoritarian state still uses globalization as an engine to boost an economic development that guarantees its social stability.

These very different books offer two conceptions of China's integration into the global economy that are too often opposed and hardly reunited: a technical vision of a largely positive integration into international trade and a more complex political analysis. We can only recommend them. Indeed, an international perspective on Chinese legal and economic reforms could help scholars understand the problems arising from the new relationship between the state and a society that cares a great deal for social justice.

LEÏLA CHOUKROUNE

Japan and China in the World Political Economy. Edited by SAADIA M. PEKKANEN and KELLE S TSAI. Foreword by EZRA VOGEL [London and New York: Routledge, 2005. xix + 245 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-36901-0.]

China and Japan started their liberalization movements at approximately the same time – some 20 years ago. This is the main argument of a fascinating comparative study of Japan and China with a special and distinct focus on recent decades. The volume analyses five different dimensions: development models, trade, investment, finance and technology at the very end. The authors convincingly demonstrate that both Japan and China were forced in recent years to liberalize their societies through the twin effects of globalization of market economics and the rising voices of constituencies within their countries.

Many universities offer comparative courses on Japan and China with attention to painting and culture. The two countries have also been the focus of numerous studies on political conflicts, in earlier times and also most recently. Inherent animosity and military conflicts have contributed to a prevalent perspective of an early reformer and a China that has only in the past few decades moved into the league of modernizing nations. Japan found an easy way into modernization when after the Meiji restoration missions sent to Europe were returning with fresh insights and suggestions, and aggressive trading nations being kept at bay. China, on the other hand, suffered from several false starts; only in 1949 did it become a united nation with a strong state-directed notion of modernization.

In this book the editors and their collaborating authors have brought forward a completely new and refreshing comparison of Japan and China. They argue convincingly that the real liberalization of Japan coincides in time with liberalization in China which is generally referred to as the “open-door policy” started in 1978 under the direction of Deng Xiaoping. The authors advocate that when

viewing the two countries in their embrace of liberalization there is little fallback on development models. Thus, the conjuncture of similar and simultaneous change of liberalization should rather be understood in the timing of a historical perspective.

Several of the authors have been inspired by professor Ezra Vogel of Harvard University, who with his two books *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (1979) and *One Step Ahead in China: Guangdong under Reform* (1989) at a very early stage sensed major changes which are influencing the world. The first one hyped Japan several years before the country started to suffer from its bubble economy while the second volume identified changes in China which suggest a consistent long-term pattern of development.

The authors cover five areas in ten chapters which offer an almost equal coverage to each country. This occasionally gives the reader an impression of formalism due to the very different character and very different earlier history of Japan and China – before they became late liberalizers. In this attempt to analyse the countries in broad and rather short chapters, statistics are sparingly used and occasionally look outdated, although not distracting from the main theme of this book.

Vogel has written a foreword which brings a new perspective of combining area and political studies. In the introduction the editors argue that today it is most appropriate to conceptualize the ongoing debate on government shifts toward liberal market-oriented norms in Japan and China as those of late liberalizers, and I would understand them of being very late liberalizers. This is the main theme and a major contribution of the volume.

JON SIGURDSON

Crime, Punishment, and Policing in China, By BØRGE BAKKEN.
[Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005. ix + 245 pp. \$65.00. ISBN 0-7425-3574-6.]

In this book, Bakken puts together a collection of interesting essays on crime, policing and punishment in China, an area which has often been covered more by myth and rhetoric than rational discussion. A significant contribution of the book is its effort to de-mystify the Chinese criminal justice system (CJS) by arguing that since CJS in China is in transition it faces problems that many societies have faced and are still facing.

In addition to a lengthy introduction chapter by the editor, the book is composed of a series of paired articles: two on background, two on imprisonment and two on policing. Dikötter's chapter deals with the birth of prison in Republican China. Through introducing a

number of writers on prison reform in Republican China and their writings, Dikötter gives a detailed account of prison reform and the dynamics of the reform, especially the core value that was assigned to the concept of *ganhua* (transformation through education) in penal reform and the measures that were used to achieve that goal.

In the following chapter, Bakken attempts to measure crime in contemporary China by using different methodologies. Comparing crime rates internationally is tricky because, as Bakken points out, crime is a political and legal construct. On paper, China is by far the safest country in the world, but the general crime rate is highly misleading because Chinese law does not classify “minor offences,” mostly property and public order offences, as crimes, so a crime rate that includes minor offences would have little comparative significance. Major offences are better indicators of a country’s crime rate and, indeed, when one measures the rate of more serious crimes, homicide in particular, China clearly moves much closer to the international mean.

The next two chapters study the political economy of prison and prison reform in the post-Mao period. Dutton and Xu’s chapter analyzes the impact of economic reform on prison labour, prison financing and administration, and the ways in which prisons adjust themselves to the new social and economic circumstances. Key to their argument is the concepts of “carceral spread” and “net widening” in social control, meaning punishment, broadly defined, has moved beyond prison walls and the boundary between prison and society has been increasingly blurred.

But little evidence is produced to support the carceral spread thesis. What characterizes post-release conditions in post-Mao China, however, is the lack of discipline and assistance. Clearly, prison administration has no resource, expertise or incentive to provide any post-release supervision or assistance. Indeed China is trying to develop half-way institutions and a profession of social workers so that the carceral could be effectively spread to the society. It may be true that vagrants, drug addicts, prostitutes and other bad elements are increasingly subject to police detention, but the police-administered incarceration has resulted in the increasing isolation of offenders and institutionalization of punishment. Offenders are now moved apart from their community and the boundaries between prison and society are being clearly drawn.

Seymour’s paper addresses the contentious issue of sizing up China’s prison population. He concludes that the official figure of two million is a relatively accurate estimate. An important point that Seymour makes is that China’s prisons are essentially poorly managed state-owned enterprises and could not be expected to generate sufficient profits to sustain an ever-expanding prison system. However, China’s incarceration rate, broadly defined, would be higher if pre-trial detention and the (now repealed) custody and repatriation of migrants were included.

The book ends with two chapters on Chinese police. Tanner presents a concise and critical analysis of the *yanda* (strike hard) campaign. One issue that deserves further attention is the relationship between the CCP and the police. Campaign-style policing is costly and ineffective in crime control and order maintenance. The best people who know the limit are the police, then why have the police embraced *yanda* as they did? It is necessary to separate the CCP from its police and to bring the issue of police autonomy (or the lack of it) into the discussion of *yanda*.

Dutton's second chapter on the use of contract in police governance is the best piece in the book. According to Dutton, while China is shifting from revolution to modernization, the police also undergo a process of professionalization and specification and struggled to develop a rule-based governance. However, the method used to implement the reform is a monetary reward system based on contractual agreement in which individual officers are rewarded or sanctioned financially according to their performance. This contract-based system, which is intended to enforce accountability and develop professionalism, has actually derailed the course of police reform because it is principally based on monetary reward. For Dutton, the goal of police reform is clearly set and not problematic in itself, it is the destructive means that actually subverts the relatively liberal reform agenda.

The book brings together a variety of authors in a single volume to discuss the Chinese CJS but it does not break any new theoretical or empirical ground. This book could also have benefited by inviting a broader range of scholars and practitioners and covering a wider range of issues.

FU HUALING

Social Space and Governance in Urban China. The Danwei System from Origins to Reform. By DAVID BRAY [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005. xii + 277 pp. \$62.95, £43.95. ISBN 0-8047-5038-6.]

Danwei is probably the single most used Chinese word in contemporary Chinese studies. A wealth of literature has been produced on the origins of this uniquely Chinese form of social and economic organization, its history, economic rationale, structure and significance for China's socialist project of industrialization, urbanization and social order. Yet, there is one very important aspect of the *danwei* that has largely been overlooked, and that David Bray's book finally tackles systematically: space.

Why have work units been built as enclosed compounds? And how have the social and governmental practices that inspired the *danwei*

affected its spatial form? Even more importantly, what is the relationship between spatial design and the rationalities of Chinese socialist government?

To answer these and a number of other questions, Bray adopts the “genealogical” method of Foucauldian inspiration. Genealogies assume a non-linear interpretation of power which, rather than concentrating on a “binary state/society relationship,” privileges the interconnected analysis of systems of knowledge; concentrates on the operational principles (the rationalities) of government rather than on the institutional side of it; and finally emphasizes the importance of technologies of the body (including the creation of symbolic and social spaces) through which knowledge becomes power and transforms human life (pp. 8–9). With this in mind, Bray takes the reader on a fascinating trip between the forms of knowledge and power that generated the spatial and governmental form known as the Chinese *danwei*. He finds that its origin, successful implementation and political significance are the result of both its embodiment of the socialist rationality of government (and the need to create proletarian subjects) and of layers of cultural and operational influences, the origin of which is to be found outside China. The seeds of socialist spatial governmentality can therefore be traced back to traditional Confucian conceptions of social space, but also to European socialist utopian projects of collective life, Soviet functionalism (which Stalin ultimately considered too radical), and even the science of urban planning initiated by George-Eugène Haussmann’s Paris regeneration.

After the introduction, Chapter two introduces the symbolic and practical meanings of the wall, a central element of most urban *danwei* and a constant of Chinese space, in both ancient and contemporary China. Bray’s argument is that, rather than a sign of exclusion and the symbol of an enclosed and inward-looking society, walls are important because of the spaces they “produce” within them, where power relations and collective subjects are created. In Chapter three the *danwei* is traced back to its Yan’an era origins, when, while rejecting the Confucian ethos, Maoists organized production and livelihood around the idea of “public families.” Chapter four explains the relevance of Foucault’s “governmentality” approach (which concentrates on the indirect technologies of social control associated with a more scientific understanding of government typical of European liberalism). Where Foucault sees governmental technologies resulting in the creation of (modern and liberal) individual subjects, Bray argues that socialist governmentality aimed at the creation of collective subjects, a feature of the socialist *danwei* and of China’s government from the beginning and to the present. The experiences of normalization of urban spaces (Haussmann’s Paris, Owen’s productive communities and the radical urban planning of the early years of the Soviet Union) are presented as examples of how new spaces can serve the scope of overarching government rationalities (the importance of a smooth circulation of goods for Haussmann, and

a revolutionary social program for the Soviets). Chapter five introduces another variable, namely the radical transformation of socialist labour in the 1950s that contributed to the peculiar form of industrial relations which informed the work unit's social life. Chapter six details some of the specific spatial forms of the *danwei* which, in Bray's view, were aiming at spatial uniformity of the different *danwei* typologies. Among its general characteristics are, on one side, the symbolic primacy of the Chinese state and the centrality of labour and production within the *danwei*, and on the other, the need to create socialist subjectivities. Chapter seven is almost an appendix on the transition from the *danwei* to the *shequ* (community) of post-reform China, a new form of governance that retains some of the characteristics of the traditional work unit (spatial delimitation and what Bray terms the "pastoral role" of the cadres) despite a rapidly changing economic environment.

This book is an engaging and compelling read, much richer than it would ever be possible to summarize in a short review. It stands out as a well-researched and highly sophisticated theoretical work, and an insightful contribution to the analysis on the nature of the Chinese *danwei*.

The book's shortcomings are due mainly to the fact that it sometimes stimulates intellectual appetites that it cannot satisfy. Bray, for example, treats the *danwei* as an archetype and says so in his introduction. By so doing the book's search for the rationalities behind the *danwei*'s archetype fails to account for the significant differences between *danwei*, their social and governmental practices and subjectivities.

It also gradually becomes clear that, while the world of knowledge and influences that generated the idea of the *danwei* is well in focus, the practices that resulted from it are less so. The book relies for its empirical analysis on official documents and on secondary literature, which results in the analysis of the rationality of a social project rather than of the social realities it did or did not generate. While this provides us with the very useful genealogy of the archetype, it falls short of telling us (especially because of the absence of case studies) how these governmental technology affected collective subjectivities and how these worked, were mobilized and transformed within the political space of the work unit.

LUIGI TOMBA

Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China. By MARY ELIZABETH GALLAGHER [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005. xiii + 220 pp. \$35.00. ISBN 0-691-11761-6.]

Contagious Capitalism engages the important question of the relationship between China's dependence on foreign direct investment (FDI) and political reform during the reform era. The study is based on 28

firm-level interviews – spread across 13 firms of different ownership structure (state-owned enterprises, urban collectives, rural collectives, a variety of joint ventures, and a wholly-owned foreign enterprise) – along with interviews with labour lawyers, trade union officials and government officials. It is a rich and insightful study that contributes significantly to the research on the relationship between political and economic reform. It will be of interest to scholars of China's economic reforms, those interested in economic development in other transforming economies, as well as policy makers engaged in issues related to FDI.

Gallagher argues that the Chinese state has liberalized the economy while effectively resisting political reform and it is the state's reliance on FDI that has aided China in resisting political change. But Gallagher's argument is much more complicated than the simplistic view that the state has bought off the populace with economic reforms. The basic argument begins with China's liberal stance vis-à-vis FDI. China has been unusually open to FDI, compared to other export-oriented developing nations, a fact that gave it certain advantages in the reform process. As Gallagher rightly points out, SOE reform on its own does not bring about the types of competitive pressure in the economy to foster dynamic economic growth. However, there are other consequences of a liberal stance on FDI. According to Gallagher, FDI increased competitive pressure on the state sector, forcing SOEs to compete for skilled labour in ways that were, perhaps, unanticipated by the reformers. Competition over skilled labour, in turn, fragmented labour and thus diminished labour's capacity to resist the authoritarian state. With this argument in place, Gallagher unpacks the issue through an examination of the impact of FDI on increased competition, changes in the labour market, and the emergence of legal protections for labour.

The argument is appropriately complex and satisfyingly nuanced as a description of the role of FDI in the Chinese economy. My concerns with the argument lie with Gallagher's assumptions about the continuing strength of the Chinese state. It is true that China remains an authoritarian state. However, it is questionable to claim that the state has not been weakened over the course of the economic reforms; that argument rests upon simplistic views of authoritarianism and political reform. Much of the writing on political reform within China takes the position that, short of an explicit programme of political change in the form of rapid democratization, China remains an unchanging authoritarian system. While it is true that China has not adopted an explicit programme of political change, the gradual and incremental changes adopted throughout the reform era have fundamentally altered the strength of authority relations in the Chinese political system. Take, for example, the emergence of the rule of law in the area of labour reform. Gallagher does a thorough job of explaining the emergence of rule-of-law institutions and mentalities at the firm level, and she is correct that these changes have

fundamentally increased the rights of workers. She also correctly notes that these changes have encouraged workers to use the new institutions as weapons against the capricious rule of the state as exercised through the work unit system. Her view that these provisions have placated labour and fractured a united labour front seems right, but I cannot follow her in the next conceptual leap that these changes have left the state apparatus intact.

First of all, inasmuch as the authority relations in the firm were the cornerstone of state power under the pre-reform communist system, the fact that workers are protected from the capricious rule of authority relations within the firm by a rationalized legal system is in and of itself a major change to the political system. Second, if it was really the case that the authoritarian state was using labour reforms to fracture a labour coalition, we would expect then that these rule-of-law changes would be confined to the economy. However, they are not. Indeed, under Zhu Rongji's watch, legal institutional changes in many parts of the economy and society – many of which are loaded with legislation about individual civil liberties – were passed at national and local levels, including the National Compensation Law, the Prison Reform Law, and the Company Law, laws that have aided the growth in administrative suits against the state at a pace similar suits in the realm of labour. A different interpretation from Gallagher's is that reform-minded leaders, like Zhu Rongji, many of whom gave up on talking explicitly about political reforms after Tiananmen, have used the economic reforms to silently push forward political reforms through the building of a rule-of-law society. Rather than conspiratorially attempting to divide or buy off labour, at least one significant wing of the Party has been attempting to bring about broader change through the logic of economic reform.

DOUG GUTHRIE

Non-Governmental Organizations in Contemporary China: Paving the Way to Civil Society? By MA QIUSHA [London and New York: Routledge, 2006. xiv + 241 pp. £65.00. ISBN 0-415-36919-3.]

This latest contribution to the long-running debate over whether civil society is emerging in China explores the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in evolving state-society relations in post-Mao China. Chapter one provides a useful overview of these debates both inside and outside China, and an interesting summary of recent research on the development of associations in the late Qing and Republican periods. Chapters two and three cover the evolution of government policy on organizations and the system for regulating them, and sketch in the “NGO landscape” based on the limited official statistics and case studies of two semi-governmental organizations.

The impact of less formal, sometimes even unregistered, groups and networks is explored through the concept of “social capital” in Chapter four. This chapter covers the groups most commonly identified as “NGOs” in the Chinese context, mainly set up in the last decade, and profiles a number of “NGO leaders.” Chapter five revisits the debate among China scholars on corporatism, with the emergence of trade associations as case studies, most of which were set up in a top-down process, with the exception of the Wenzhou chambers of commerce. Finally, Chapter six looks at the operations of international NGOs in China, including their tenuous formal status, thematic focus and controversial role in funding the indigenous non-profit sector.

The author’s approach is comparative, in that it covers organizations in different sectors and seeks to assess the applicability of theoretical models based on associational life in “the West” to this data, although in practice the model is generally that of the United States. The author says her “major theoretical point ... is that under different cultural contexts civil society evolves to produce culturally distinct characteristics” (p. 14).

But the terminology used raises problems for demonstrating this. Although Ma does briefly explore the current Chinese words for organizations (pp. 79–86), her book uses the category “NGO” to cover the whole range of organizational forms. The application of a relative neologism that is rarely used in China due to its connotation of opposition to government (except in communications with people from outside the country) hardly serves the author well in illuminating the “culturally distinct” nature of Chinese associational life, or in unravelling the implications of the particular forms it is taking today.

Aside from Chapter five covering economic associations, the book evinces a somewhat uncritical acceptance of NGOs as a “good.” The account of government policy towards organizations in Chapters two and three is confused, describing the regulatory scheme as “increasingly restrictive” (p. 69), then saying that “it is progress that the government has legalized most of the NGOs and improved their legal environment” (p. 68). Part of the problem is, as Ma notes, that government policy has been contradictory. However, the deeper issue here is the question of whether “legalization” of the sector is positive regardless of the content of the regulatory regime. Although the book does mention the Communist Party – the author notes the issuance of a 1998 document requiring the establishment of Party branches in all “NGOs” that had three or more Party members (p. 67) – it does not explore its role in the formally established associations.

The author’s conclusion is that the growing number of NGOs in China means that the prospects for the development of civil society are good, and that the cultural climate means that NGOs and their leaders work closely with government. But is this culture, or politics? Ma’s case studies are mostly overly general; this reader would have appreciated more on the particular methods of establishment and

operations of different types of groups, division of labour vs. division of power, demarcation lines of political “forbidden zones,” and the relationship (if any) between formal organizations and social movements. Thus the culturally distinct form China’s emerging civil society is taking remains elusive.

Although the book contains a wealth of information, its quality is uneven. There are some errors in rendering names. Ma’s description of the regulatory arrangements is confusing at best, and sometimes actually wrong. For example, Ma assumes that institutions such as hospitals and schools are covered by regulations on “non-governmental non-commercial enterprises” (*minban feiqiye danwei*), which in fact were the subject of separate regulations on public service institutions (*shiye danwei*). For this and the reasons mentioned above, the book will be most useful for those who already have some knowledge of the field.

SOPHIA WOODMAN

Rural Women in Urban China: Gender, Migration and Social Change.

By TAMARA JACKA. [Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2006. 329 pp. \$29.95. ISBN 0-7656-0821-9.]

This book is a valuable addition to the growing literature on female migrants in China. It is based on fieldwork interviews conducted in 1999–2002 among members of the Migrants Women’s Club in Beijing and among migrant women in Haidian, a suburb of north-west Beijing.

It opens with a description of the home of a migrant family in a shabby settlement where rubbish is rarely collected and where there is a terrible stench from the communal toilets. The family has lived like this for seven years, and their children, excluded from schools run by the Beijing authorities, attend one set up especially for migrants. Every night the police remove vanloads of “illegals” from the settlement and there are rumours that all the buildings will be demolished in a clean-up to prepare for the 2008 Olympics.

In an introductory chapter, Jacka traces the treatment of city and country in state and popular discourse on Chinese development and struggle for modernity. She shows that the way “rural” has so frequently been identified with “different, inferior and backward” forms an essential backdrop to understanding the way in which rural migrants in China are viewed and view themselves. Her second chapter describes the origins and functioning of Beijing’s Migrants Women’s Club. Her account is nicely balanced. She recognizes that the Club provides a real haven for some from a world in which they are lonely and discriminated against but is critical of the Club’s top down ethos and of the simplistic individualistic solutions to migrant problems often proposed by speakers at the Club.

In the remaining chapters Jacka focuses on the women's own explanations of their decision to migrate, the way they see themselves, the contrast between the city and the countryside, their status as outsiders and their hopes and expectations for the future and their relations with others. The text is enlivened by long and often very moving passages in the migrants' own words. Chunzi, a member of the Migrant Women's Club explains the impact that her rural household registration has had on her life and on her husband and child. When she married a man with a Beijing *hukou* he lost his right to assigned housing because her *hukou* was rural. As a result they had to live in expensive and hard-to-find rented accommodation. As a mother from an outside place, when her daughter was born she was not allowed to register the baby in Beijing and her home village in Hebei also refused to register the child on the grounds that the mother had "married out." Her account of her trips backwards and forwards between Beijing and her village, the papers demanded, the photocopies made and the fees paid in order to try to sort out these problems would serve as excellent teaching materials for a class on Chinese bureaucracy.

An important strength of this study is that it reflects the diversity of migrants. Because Jacka based her fieldwork on sites of residence and leisure rather than on a single workplace, her informants included married and single women, new-comers and established migrants, maids, factory workers, waitresses and market sellers. She is very conscious of the complexity of their lives, motivations and senses of identity. She finds for example that very few of her subjects were sent to Beijing by their families, rather they made their own decision to migrate, but she points out that this does not mean that their families had no influence on the decision. Many girls decided to go out because the family was too poor to keep them at school or needed their remittances. She first sets up a juxtaposition between "filial daughter," who seeks a job in the city in order to help her family, and the "rebellious daughter," who would leave her village even if her family opposed the move in order to seek self-development and see more of the world, and then shows that most of her subjects in some way fit the both categories. Her discussion of married women and the calculations they made before accompanying their husbands to the city is especially valuable because there is little other work on married women migrants.

Jacka's intelligent and enlightening reflections on the subtext of what her informants tell her in interviews is informed by empathy, understanding and an impressive knowledge of the literature on Chinese society. This study should be read by anyone who is interested in migration, identities of the gendered labour market in China, and is readable enough to attract the general reader as well.

DELIA DAVIN

A la recherche d'une ombre chinoise: Le mouvement pour la démocratie en Chine (1919–2004). By JEAN-PHILIPPE BÉJA. [Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2004. 266 pp. €21.00. ISBN 2-02-051051-0.]

This book starts with the realization that during the 20th century, no political party has managed to establish a democratic regime in China. Yet, the author reminds us that since the late Qing dynasty, many voices have clamoured for establishing democratic institutions in their country. Béja rejects the argument that some form of cultural exception explains this failure and argues that since the late 19th century a democratic movement has continuously struggled to change China.

During the Republican era, he explains in his first chapter, a liberal “third force” that stood between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) could express itself publicly through its own newspapers, political parties and literary circles. In his second chapter, he argues that even during the Maoist period, intellectuals were able to articulate a form of democratic consciousness when the CCP was divided. However, the hegemonic control exercised by the CCP over the writing of history prevented that criticism from developing its own institutional memory. As a result, the popular movement that erupted after the 1976 “Tiananmen incident” was unable to learn from the failure of the 1957 “Hundred Flowers” campaign. The bulk of his book then offers in six chapters a detailed account of the “Virtuous Cycle of Democratization” between 1977 and 1989 that saw a democracy movement emerging as an active force in Chinese society.

What emerges from this narrative is the extent to which Deng Xiaoping went far in trying to restore bureaucratic rationality. This move cemented intellectuals’ support to the regime because they had suffered so much during the Cultural Revolution’s appeal to the masses. Chinese intellectuals who promoted democracy found support in Hu Yaobang, but this form of official sponsorship prevented that democracy movement from developing a real autonomy. The movement experienced significant growth because it was able to exploit conflicts between conservatives and reformers within the Party, and could count on reformers who wanted to show their programme was supported by a majority of the population. However, the democracy movement represented an elitist affair too dependent on the outcome of struggles between different factions within the CCP reformist camp. This problem came to a head in 1987, when Hu resigned. Then, the democracy movement despaired of the CCP’s ability to transform China. When the students took to Tiananmen Square in the summer of 1989, Béja continues, the movement committed a tragic mistake: by failing to convince the students to step back, it provided CCP conservatives with ammunition when they claimed that democratization threatens Party rule.

In the last three chapters, Béja describes the “Vicious Cycle of Authoritarianism” that followed the repression of June 4th. The main weakness of the democracy movement during the 1990s, he suggests, was its inability to take the lead in mobilizing peasants and workers. At the turn of the millennium, the author concludes, the Party has prevailed over the democracy movement because the intellectuals that were hitherto leading the democracy movement were now either exiled, went into business and gave up, or were content in offering advice to the government.

This book offers readers who can read French a very concise but also well-informed intellectual history. However, it suggests some form of co-ordination and continuity among pro-democracy intellectuals in a movement that experienced division and discontinuities. The author should be commended for including Chinese language sources on this topic, but the references in English do not quite do justice to the many authors who have written in that language on the topic. But this is a minor quibble. Most importantly, however, is the absence of reference to the democracy movements in Taiwan and Hong Kong. In the Republic of China, this movement has achieved a stunning success, as many of its main protagonists became part of the government in 2000. Perhaps this is an implicit refusal to accept the claim that Taiwan is part of China. Yet, one needs not agree with that argument to see that Taiwanese society is culturally Chinese, and therefore, that Taiwan demonstrates that Chinese culture is compatible with democracy. On the other hand, this book raises the important question of whether the CCP can follow in the steps of the KMT and adopt a strategy of gradual democratization. For Béja, this may not be necessary because the CCP has successfully overstepped the stage of democratization and made a transition towards “the administration of things” and the pragmatic “problem-solving” approach typical of “governance.” A majority of intellectuals, he notes, have given up on democracy, and have decided to support the current “post-political regime.” The sober thought that concludes the book may give little comfort to those who hope for a more democratic China, but because of its realistic approach, it stimulates reflection and deserves to reach a large readership.

ANDRÉ LALIBERTÉ

Bridging Minds across the Pacific: US–China Educational Exchanges, 1978–2003. Edited by CHENG LI. [Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005. xix + 264 pp. \$25.95. ISBN 0-7391-0995-2.]

Upon launching the “open door” policy in the late 1970s, China took active measures to dispatch students abroad, including the United States, to raise the level of the country’s scientific research and higher

education. The exact number of Chinese who have pursued advanced studies and research in the United States is unknown (as a whole some 900,000 Chinese have been overseas studying). But according to statistics from the Institute of International Education, the organization that promotes closer educational relations between the United States and other countries, for each of the past 14 academic years, the Chinese have accounted for some ten per cent (61,765 in the 2003–04 academic year) of the total number of international students in American institutions of higher education (with more than 80 per cent in graduate programmes), and constituted another 15 to 18 per cent (14,923 in the 2003–04 academic year) of the total number of international scholars. It was only in the 2001–02 academic year that India replaced China as the leading country of origin for international students in the United States. More impressive than the sheer number is the fact that US-trained scientists, along with those returnees from other countries, are now the leaders of China's scientific and educational enterprises who have transformed many aspects of Chinese life. In the meantime, especially in recent years, the United States has witnessed a significant increase in the number of its students and scholars going to China. In a word, "the depth and scopes of Sino-American educational relations today is almost unbelievable" (p. 66).

However, educational relations, although important and integrated in the relations between the two countries, have been largely neglected in scholarly work (pp. 6–7). Indeed, not only has the story of American students and scholars in China been largely untold, leaving the impression that educational exchanges have been only one way, the post-1978 movement of Chinese studying in the United States and its benefits to both countries have not been paid enough attention. Now, *Bridging Minds*, the first comprehensive study examining the background, history, consequences and issues around the US–China educational and scientific exchanges and their implications for both countries, fills in the gap.

The book is the outcome of the international conference on the 25-year course of the Sino-US educational exchanges held at Fudan University in Shanghai in November 2003. Cheng Li's chapter not only provides an overview of US–China educational exchanges, but also lays out the theme of the book – educational exchanges are mind-opening opportunities for the participants from both sides of the Pacific. This introduction is followed by nine chapters, covering such topics as Fudan's American linkage and influence (by Ruth Hayhoe), the pioneering Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (CSCPRC) (by Mary Brown Bullock), the roles played by returnees in China's higher education, scientific research, and high-tech development (Li, and Stanley Rosen and David Zweig), efforts shaping Chinese higher education in international relations and public administration education by the early cohorts of US-bound Chinese students (Shiping Zheng, and Haiyan

Tong and Hongying Wang), to the burgeoning American study abroad programmes in China (Fei-Ling Wang), Hong Kong as a bridge of Sino-US educational exchanges (Gerard Postiglione), and the influence of American higher education on China's pursue of world-class universities (Kathryn Mohrman).

The authors are not only experts on the topics but they are also often participants and beneficiaries of such exchanges themselves. For example, Bullock was involved in the CSCPRC in various capacities, including being its director between 1977 and 1988; Mohrman is with the Hopkins-Nanjing Center, the first and still the only institution in China bearing the name of a prestigious American research university; others, including Li, Zheng, Tong, Hongying Wang, and Fei-Ling Wang, who went to study in the United States in the 1980s, now teach at American universities. Therefore, their accounts of the first-hand experience have enriched the book, and convinced readers of the enduring and profound effects of such exchanges.

The book reveals how much China has gained through educational exchanges and scientific collaboration with the United States. It would be balanced if more attention had been given to the way bilateral educational exchanges have benefited the United States. For one thing, some 90 per cent of those Chinese who have earned doctorates in science and engineering from American universities have managed to stay on. They have become new promoters and participants of Sino-US educational exchanges; nevertheless, sending students to the United States has drained China's best and brightest brain while at the same time relieving the shortage of highly skilled knowledge producers in the United States. Apparently, American policy-makers have realised the long-term strategic importance of its educational exchanges with other countries including China, not just simply training students, but also instilling American values of scholarship into them who have studied in the United States as well as achieving significant material gain in the exchanges. The China-origin authors of the book exemplify such benefits to the United States. There are more to be told.

CONG CAO

Education Reform and Education Policy in East Asia. By KA HO MOK.
[London and New York: Routledge, 2006. xiv + 258 pp. £65.00.
ISBN 0-415-36814-6.]

The goal of Ka Ho Mok's *Education Reform and Education Policy in East Asia* is to demonstrate that despite numerous similarities in educational policy and reform across six East Asian societies, the differences among them require us to look more critically at the idea of globalization as the major driving force for change. Drawing

attention to the distinction between policy rhetoric and policy reality, Mok argues that despite the inevitable effects of globalization on education, societies have responded in different ways because East Asian governments remain powerful actors in national development and because of the particularities of their histories, politics, cultures and economies.

In building this argument, Mok takes us step-by-step through chapters on globalization; education systems and policy change; the regulation, provision, and funding of education; and common challenges and emerging trends in higher education in Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan and South Korea. The second part of the book provides case studies of the “responses to globalization” of each of these societies’ systems of higher education.

Setting up a loose framework for the rest of the book, Chapter one examines the question of the effect of globalization on worldwide changes and reforms in education, with a focus on changing mixes of policy instruments, and draws attention to the primary manifestations of globalization to be covered in the rest of the book – the marketization, privatization and commodification of education. Chapter two provides brief overviews of the education systems (primary, secondary and higher) and recent education reforms and policy changes in the six societies of interest. For the case of China, the author draws mainly on Ministry of Education documents to outline reforms in compulsory education, school education quality and curriculum, and higher education structures and quality. The chapter concludes the overview with the observation that all six societies exhibit common reform agendas with regard to improving education systems and enhancing student competence in the face of globalization, but that at the same time local and regional variables have had important determining roles on education policy formulation. Chapter three focuses on Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and South Korea, outlining the situation of primary, secondary and higher education regulation, provision and funding for each case. It concludes by noting the dominant role of the state in Hong Kong and Singapore, relative to that in Taiwan and South Korea. Chapter four again focuses on these Four “Tigers,” looking at how these governments have undertaken higher education reform to deal with the “global tide of marketization and decentralization.”

The chapters of the second part of the book provide deeper discussion of higher education reforms in each of the case societies. The chapter on educational decentralization and marketization in post-Mao China will be of most interest to the readers of this journal. Drawing on government documents, interviews, and Chinese and western literature on the topic, the goal of this chapter is to examine the diversity of higher education in post-Mao China, with a focus on the effect of decentralization on higher education governance and management. To bring out the significance of decentralization policies, the chapter first provides an overview of the centralized

model of higher education from 1949 to 1976, characterized by tight government control over the financing, provision, and management of education. The subsequent discussion on decentralization first outlines three waves of the development of *minban* higher education from the 1980s to present, describes the various types of *minban* higher education, and discusses the social and political significance of a sector of education where the boundary between public and private is blurred and where the education market continues to be “governed.” Mok’s argument in this chapter’s conclusion is that despite the diversification in the provision of higher education, the state has remained in control, and that China’s *minban* higher education sector is characterized by “centralized decentralization.”

Overall, *Education Reform and Education Policy in East Asia* provides a good glimpse into recent education reforms in six East Asian societies, particularly focused on higher education, with the discussion framed within a context of globalization, marketization, decentralization and privatization. For readers primarily interested in the Chinese case, the other comparative cases may be useful in highlighting the features which Chinese education shares with its neighbours, but also its uniqueness. As acknowledged by the author, the book is a collection of papers which have previously appeared and therefore exhibits some repetitiveness (and, it should be added, some lack of continuity), but taken individually, the chapters will prove a good introduction to readers interested in current educational trends in East Asia’s Chinese societies and their neighbours.

GREGORY P. FAIRBROTHER

Salvation and Modernity: Intellectuals and Faith in Contemporary China. By FREDRIK FÄLLMAN. [Stockholm: Stockholm University Department of Oriental Languages, 2004. viii + 205 pp. ISBN 91-7265-959-9.]

The appearance over the last two decades of so-called “Cultural Christians” in China has attracted increasing attention in church and academic circles. While there is debate over whom the category includes and excludes, the term “Cultural Christian” usually denotes intellectuals sympathetic to, or actively studying, Christianity, who are largely dissociated from formal religious structures, and who may or may not profess any Christian faith. As such, these figures offer a distinct critique of Chinese society and of religion. Like most external labels, the term Cultural Christian can have pejorative undertones, and as Fällman notes, “separates them from the rest of believers, but in the eyes of non-believing intellectuals also somehow incorporates them into the circle of believers that they disprove of” (p. 42). *Salvation and Modernity* aims to describe and interpret the

phenomenon of Cultural Christians, with particular reference to the theologian Liu Xiaofeng. As the first major English-language study of contemporary Christian intellectuals, Fällman's work is a significant volume.

Salvation and Modernity begins with a brief overview of the introduction of Christianity to China, following the usual four-fold model of Nestorian, Yuan, Jesuit and Protestant missions, but goes into more depth tracing the outlines of debates on Christianity in the first third of the 20th century. Fällman reminds that the presence of Christian thought has often been downplayed in studies of the period. Amidst debates on science, modernism and democracy, Christian intellectuals were discussing national salvation in their own journals, the likes of Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi were publishing articles on Christianity and religion, Zhou Zuoren was opposing the Anti-Christian Movement, and Yenching University was being criticised by foreign missionaries for being a hotbed of radical theology. In the second section, "Cultural Christians," Fällman updates the intellectual scene through the 1980s and 1990s.

The central section (pp. 53–132) of *Salvation and Modernity*, entitled "Beliefs," traces aspects of Liu Xiaofeng's theology, as exemplified in his 1991 work *Xiaoyao yu zhengjiu* (*Easy wandering and salvation*). The chapter reads as a mini systematic theology, with sections on faith, hope and sin as well as suicide, Daoism, and Confucianism. Given that Liu and most of the other theologians discussed are western-trained (particularly in German faculties of theology or philosophy), the chapter reads as much as a digest of Chinese views of European theologians, as of Chinese thinking. In this context, the section on *Hanyu shenxue* – theology in the Chinese language – is of note. In this section Fällman also makes the point, affirmed by church leaders, that more, and better, theology is being done by Chinese academics than church theologians. The chapter, however, jumps between topics rather rapidly, and two-page sections on such major theological issues as despair or sin can only hope to give a flavour of the debates, and indicate some of their Chinese participants.

It is regrettable that Fällman's work, obviously a doctoral thesis, has not been published by a commercial press, which would have accorded it wider circulation. The bibliography is a good source in English and Chinese for scholars working in related fields, but there is no index, which is irritating, especially since so many well-known names appear in a newly nuanced context. Fällman's English, while good, is not native and would have benefited from editing (we are, inter alia, treated to some delightfully un-anglicized proper names, such as Plinius the Older, and some curious attempts at gender-inclusive language, such as "Man should know her limitations"). More seriously, at times Fällman's lack of technical theological vocabulary detracts from the value of his insights, an ever-present problem in cross-disciplinary studies. Fällman begins by laying out his

“eclectic” methodological approach, and the subject matter lends itself to historical, theological and linguistic perspectives. On occasion, though, the theologian’s tendency to personal reflection intrudes, and weakens the force of an otherwise rich volume, and one which deserves a wide audience.

CHLOË STARR

Miraculous Response: Doing Popular Religion in Contemporary China.

By ADAM YUET CHAU [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006. xviii + 317 pp. \$60.00. ISBN 0-8047-5160-9.]

Anyone who is interested in the history of religion in China is bound to keep a wary eye on contemporary anthropological literature. Traditional sources do not generally contain anything like the careful records of observation that we would prefer to use, so we are to some extent forced to extrapolate cautiously backwards whether we like it or not. And though for some parts of the Chinese world, notably Taiwan, we have enough material to help us imagine how things might have been as well as study how they are, this certainly is not the case for whole swathes of North China. A painstaking account of how religion works now in the local context in that area is therefore an invaluable addition to the literature not simply of anthropology but of history too. This is especially the case in a study like the volume under review, which is very careful to situate the religious life of one particular northern Shaanxi temple in the midst of the human relationships and economic forces that sustain it. Chapter after chapter we find concise but very helpful discussions of some of the most basic questions confronting any researcher about what Chinese religion is, and how it works, all rooted in the observation of a local situation far removed from the perfervid atmosphere of growth in which the revival of religion is now studied in much of South China, yet recognisably part of the same fast developing nation.

There is much here to make anyone – whether anthropologist, historian or student of religion in general – stop and think, for example the author’s account of use of the written word, and the “text acts” in which he becomes involved during his stay at the temple. Just because in China the collection of epigraphic records became an established antiquarian preoccupation we should not simply pillage them for information at the expense of forgetting the living religious environment in which these texts originally functioned. The discussion of the temple manager responsible for orchestrating the life of the temple in society should also be compulsory reading for anyone tempted to see Chinese religious edifices as mere places, not as the sites of complex and sophisticated social interactions. Teaching us so much about such aspects of religion does however mean that some

sacrifices have had to be made in order to preserve the coherence of the book. Specifically, it is perfectly obvious that the author is well aware of the centrality of performance, and especially opera performance, to the temple “events” he has witnessed, but to have made a study of performance central to his own writing would have probably have obscured some of the important points he has to make. On this score, then, the work under review inevitably sometimes gives the slight feel of Hamlet without the Prince. A major local study complementing it by giving a meticulous account of the role of opera within a local North China religious context of this sort – since a good beginning has been made elsewhere – would also be a very valuable addition to the literature.

Already, however, no historian can read this contemporary account without confronting the burning question that both historians and anthropologists would dearly love to be able to answer in a definitive way: is this sort of religious life the same as or different from that which existed before the massive changes of the 20th century, especially since 1949? Are we correct to speak of a “revival” of religion, or have there been subtle changes that we are missing, especially in view of the inadequacy of our historical evidence? One phenomenon visible in other situations and not just in Shaanxi intrigues me, and that is the somewhat “hand to mouth” operation of religious enterprises – though many institutions such as successful Buddhist holy places now apparently have patrons wealthy enough to give some predictability and stability to their existence. But further off the beaten track the “serve the people” ethic (in the religious sphere, that is) seems to be very much forced upon temple managers today, because a constant flow of donations must be elicited in order to keep the temple running by giving their visitors what they want. Was this always precisely so, in times when religious institutions could build up large landholdings providing a different (albeit not an alternative) income stream? And might this greater financial security have attracted those in the past who felt a yearning for an environment tinged by sanctity as much as an attraction for the exercise of social and managerial skills?

It is scarcely possible to answer such questions in the light of current scholarship on late Qing religion. At least one of the great strengths of this study is a fine awareness of the political constraints under which the temple concerned operates today. But equally these constraints are presumably what explain the investment of the temple in education, and in tree planting, since a school and an arboretum are both more acceptable forms of building up resources in a society that has made a point of doing away with its landlords. As always, however, one suspects that any question about continuity and discontinuity cannot be answered without a rather detailed discussion of what might be different, and what might be the same. Since the volume under review is quite understandably primarily directed to other matters, it does not directly address such problems, but in that it

raises them, no doubt it will help to stimulate further research amongst historians, and so deserves a readership not simply among the “scholars and students in Asian Studies, the social sciences, and religious and ritual studies” who are referred to on its jacket.

T. H. BARRETT

Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland. Edited by S. FREDERICK STARR.
[New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004. xv + 484 pp. ISBN 0-7656-1318-2.]

Throughout history the domestication of the inner marches of the Empire has always been a core strategic concern of the Chinese state. But it was not until the Qing dynasty that the traditional thinking in terms of buffer zones progressively gave way to a strategy of direct assimilation. After the intermission that followed the collapse of the Empire in 1911, this project was given a new impulse with the establishment of the People's Republic, and by the end of the 1950s the territories of Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner-Mongolia were resolutely folded within the envelope of the Chinese state, even though they remained highly indigenous.

Of all its borderlands, Xinjiang has always remained the most important to the PRC. As the largest province of China, its geographic position at the crossroads of the Eurasian continent and its history of violent opposition to Chinese rule made it a permanent strategic concern, rendered even more critical by the Sino-Soviet antagonism. Hence, the political upheavals of the Mao and post-Mao eras notwithstanding, Xinjiang continued to resonate with the key elements of the Qing state project, namely the overlapping objectives of political integration, diffusion of ethnic and religious tensions, promotion of Chinese immigration and reclamation of land, cultural assimilation of a segment of the indigenous population, and economic self-sufficiency of the territory.

But to what extent has this strategy really succeeded? Has the state's political legitimacy and the ethnic minorities' loyalty actually increased? Has the gap and hostility between Han and ethnic communities diminished? Has surveillance and suppression of religion weakened or rather strengthened the role of Islam? And are the eight million Uyghurs now recasting their ethno-national aspirations along the lines of Wahhabist-inspired Islam? What are the geopolitical implications of the internal situation of a territory bordering Kashmir, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and three newly emerged Central Asian states? In other words, to what extent is Xinjiang genuinely stable?

These are some of the themes and perplexing questions that are extensively discussed in the landmark monographic study of the province edited by S. Frederick Starr, *Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland*.

At 500 pages and with contribution by 16 authors, the volume was born out of a collaborative project initiated by Starr (the chairman of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at Johns Hopkins University) to “try to assay what is actually happening in Xinjiang” by “drawing on the best research available in the social sciences, including geography, anthropology, sociology, religious studies, and economics” (p. 22).

The resulting volume is certainly the most detailed and absorbing study of Xinjiang to see the light. All the contributions are informed by earlier field studies and supported by analyses of primary sources material. And despite their different methodological approaches, the chapters never sway from the book's unifying aim of cutting through the multiple claims and counter-claims concerning the nature of Chinese rule in Xinjiang and establish only what can be empirically demonstrated.

This cautious approach leads different authors to different – although not diverging – conclusions. It is true, for instance, that “[t]he vast majority of incidents apparently arise not from separatist sentiment but from more general forms of alienation” (p. 381). At the same time, it is equally true that “Islam is likely to play an increasing role in the Uyghur nationalist movement in the future” (p. 344).

There is, however, a general agreement about what constitutes the propelling force of political, social and economic change in this troubled territory. As Starr writes in the introductory chapter, “it is clear that in the early twenty-first century the single most consequential determinant of conditions on the ground in Urumqi, Kashgar, Ili or Turpan is the attitudes and policies of the Chinese government ... For better or for worse, though, they provide the institutional context against which all Turkic and Muslim aspirations in the region are set” (p. 17).

The 15 chapters of the volume are cogently organized around five parts, each covering a broad theme: historical background (from prehistoric times to 1978); Chinese policy today (from 1978 to 2001, with a specific chapter on military security); Xinjiang from within (covering economy, education and cross-border ties); cost of control and development (covering demography, ecology and public health); the indigenous response (covering identity, history, religion and irredentist politics). An 11-page bibliographic guide and a detailed index reinforce the book's additional usefulness as a reference volume.

China's Muslim Borderland is an indispensable volume for students and scholars of Xinjiang and Central Asian affairs, as well as a welcome addition to the growing literature on Chinese provinces.

NICOLAS BECQUELIN

The July 1 Protest Rally: Interpreting a Historical Event. Edited by JOSEPH Y. S. CHENG. [Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2005. xiv + 603 pp. \$34.00. ISBN 962-937-113-8.]

When half a million people took to the streets in Hong Kong on 1 July 2003, the visual and subsequently political impacts of the protest stunned many political leaders in Hong Kong and Beijing. Many protestors demanded the resignation of Tung Chee-hwa, the Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. A few days after the rally, the “ruling coalition,” composed of the executive arm and two pro-government parties in the legislature, crumbled down and the controversial national security bill was indefinitely shelved. This book, edited by Joseph Y. S. Cheng, a famous scholar-political activist in Hong Kong, interprets this dramatic event from a wide range of perspectives and standpoints.

The book is divided into three parts (19 chapters in total) analysing the political, economic and social aspects of the crisis leading to the protest. In the economic aspects, besides the Asian financial crisis which emerged in late 1997, Tung’s misguided housing policies were often blamed for triggering the economic recession in Hong Kong. Ho’s chapter considers that the collapse in housing prices could be attributed to the significant reduction of demand in the property market due to Tung’s new scheme which consisted in encouraging public housing tenants to buy their own units, and to other policies that created excessive supply. Lo’s chapter, however, argues that the blame on Tung’s housing policy shift was over-stated. Lo is more critical of Tung’s indecisiveness in formulating coherent policies and inadequate communication skills in the handling of the property market crash.

Tung’s lack of political competence and weak linkage with the community are believed to be further eroded by his ideological discrepancy with the core values of the Hong Kong people. Ngan and Li’s chapter on public welfare payments argues that besides the structural defect of the social welfare system in dealing with an ageing society, the Tung administration’s implementation of welfare cuts and welfare-to-work programmes during a period of economic downturn and rising structural unemployment failed to address the needs of the poor and the disadvantaged in the context of the widening gap between the rich and the poor and between the government and the people. But Liu’s chapter depicts a more intricate ideological outlook of the managerial and professional class of Hong Kong. Certainly, middle-class people are sympathetic to the economic hardship endured by the working class but many of them also believe that they should not rely too much on the government. To Liu, Hong Kong middle-class politics is hesitant, unfocused and discontinuous in actions. Given this political orientation, it is extraordinary to find that over half the protestors came from the middle class. Liu’s study reveals that the middle class felt extremely vulnerable as Tung’s

administration was seen as disrupting the rule of the game in social and economic advancement. The middle class sees the impasse as a problem of governance that cannot be fully dealt with without institutional change.

Part one of this book deals with this governance issue extensively by including a chapter by Anthony Cheung who argues that the government's heavy-handed manner in managing the controversial national security bill dramatically demonstrated her lack of accountability, responsiveness, transparency, fairness, and openness for participation. Cheung chor-yung's and Wong & Wan's chapters on the Principal Officials Accountability System (POAS) systematically discuss how "accountability without democracy" not only cannot ensure responsible government but may deepen the governance crisis. Cheung argues that the POAS undermines the principle of political neutrality of the civil service while it fails to develop suitable criteria to regulate ministerial responsibility. Wong and Wan also point out that the most direct approach to solve the governance impasse of Hong Kong is through institutional mechanisms such as popular elections and not through changing the civil system that has proven to be effective for so long. The curious impetus for making such a radical change, according to Hung's chapters, is Tung's ambition in re-making Hong Kong into a greater society in accordance with the world's generally accepted economic standards and Chinese political and cultural standards, and striving to make a contribution to China by supplanting the British influence.

The strength of this edited volume is its broad coverage though readers need to bear varying writing styles and duplications of background information of the protest in some of the chapters. In a place like Hong Kong, academic publications can hardly catch up with the flow of political events. Just before the publication of this book, Beijing took a bold step to replace Tung Chee-hwa with Sir Donald Tsang, a senior civil servant during the colonial period. Anthony Cheung, a liberal scholar and one of the contributors of this book, was also invited by Tsang to join his cabinet. These steps, among others, are regarded as signs of paradigmatic shift in Beijing's policy toward Hong Kong. As accurately predicted by Wong and Wan in Chapter six of this book, Beijing has greatly increased its surveillance and attempts to directly control internal politics in Hong Kong. But so far the intervention has been based on prudent political calculations that have successfully stabilized the situation for the moment. In light of this, Beijing's more dynamic approach to Hong Kong affairs also deserves attention from China observers who can see it as a case to study the new conception of governance in the Hu Jintao–Wen Jiabao era.

KIN-MAN CHAN

Little Friends: Children's Film and Media Culture in China. By STEPHANIE HEMELRYK DONALD. [Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005. xiv + 137 pp. £15.99. ISBN 0-7425-2541-4.]

Since China adopted the Open-door Policy in the late 1970s, there have been tremendous opportunities for Chinese people, including children, to come into contact with Western values. The Chinese government desperately wants to learn from Western technology but at the same time worries about spiritual pollution. As children are the future of the society, different socializing agents are keen to examine the media contents consumed by children to ensure that the younger Chinese generation receives the “right” kind of messages and values.

While most of the research on children's media content puts emphasis on television programmes, this entire book is devoted to the study of children's films. The author attempts to examine the effects of children's films and other media on the young mind and the major concerns of Chinese parents and educators about children's media in China. The study utilized different research methodologies, including focus groups and personal interviews with children, parents, teachers, children's film directors, media content providers and distributors, and film scholars, as well as discourse analyses of children's films and television programmes. Film and animation screenings were conducted in China as well as in Australia to collect parents' and children's responses to ideas and characters of the movies. Throughout the book, children's cinema is studied in different contexts, including the family setting and the school setting. Children's cinema is selected because it is “a passionate medium provoking strong reactions from audiences, practitioners and bodies of authority” (p. 2). Other media examined in the book include television, radio, advertising and computer-mediated communication.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first chapter outlines the different perspectives in studying children's media. The author took the proposition that children are active agents in the media spheres. They make their own decision on selection of contents, and also on the interpretation of the meanings. This chapter reviews the major milestones in the development of children's media in China.

Based on in-depth interviews with children's film producers and a review of the themes of classical children's films in the history of Chinese cinema, Chapter two argues that children's films in China reflect the adults' version of idealized childhood. In these movies, there is a strong tie between the young children and the older revolutionary generation, and the persistence of moral values of the past. The author comments that “treading a line between moral purity and the real challenges facing real children” in children's films are rare (p. 30). The author suggests that new fantasy and competency are

needed to accommodate the experience of children in contemporary and commercialized China.

Chapter three examines the images of children in children's films. The author argues that Chinese films often portray children as political agents to encourage social stability, even at the expenses of personal interests. When children are treated and portrayed as consumers, parents become anxious. They worry about pornography, acts of violence and undesirable values in children's media.

Chapter four documents an overview of the Chinese education system and philosophy, and the backdrop of the recent educational reform. It introduces an ambitious media literacy programme entitled "The Film Course Experiment" conducted since 1995. Over 50 primary schools participated in the experiments. Grade 2 to Grade 5 students from participating schools watched films (ranging from 20 to 420 titles) and teachers were encouraged to build a bridge between the films and the existing curriculum. Survey results indicated that children in Film Course schools were more likely to cite movie stars and sports heroes as major role models while children in the control group were more likely to cite their parents, teachers and classmates as role models. The results support a positive correlation between media usage and positive attitudes toward media. The author concludes that the education reform in China will prepare Chinese children for "an internationally oriented, economically dynamic, yet stable society" (p. 90).

The last chapter explores the role of computer-mediated communication among Chinese children. The author argues that children's mere decisions to use online forums for interpersonal communication represents a bold deliberation to step outside the limits of regulated contents. Using quotes from children's responses to favourite films and animation characters, this chapter examines creativity and fantasy in children's storytelling. Results showed a strong sense of patriotism and national pride among Chinese children. However, Chinese children were also inspired by cosmopolitan and international images portrayed in foreign media contents including Harry Potter, Disney characters, Hello Kitty and Totoro. The author points out that the minority groups, the economically poor children residing in the rural areas were often neglected in the current children's media scene.

Reading this book gives the feeling that the author is enthusiastic and passionate about children and children's media. The numerous observations obtained through interviews, drawings and theme analyses of children's films and animations are the biggest asset of this volume. These first-hand data have portrayed a vivid picture of the children's media and media usage in contemporary China. The information serves as an indispensable guide for creative and marketing personnel to produce media contents that are appropriate to the Chinese culture. Scholars from various disciplines including cultural studies, communication, marketing and psychology will find

this book a unique addition to the understanding of the complicated negotiation between children and media contents, and an in-depth discourse analysis of hybridized media in China.

KARA CHAN

Speaking in Images: Interviews with Contemporary Chinese Film Directors. By MICHAEL BERRY (Foreword by Martin Scorsese) [New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. x + 568 pp. \$24.50. ISBN 0-231-13331-6.]

This is a valuable new contribution to the burgeoning field of Chinese-language cinema studies, in which author/translator Michael Berry invites readers to listen in on a series of highly engaging interviews he conducted with twenty filmmakers known for their work in mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. As another filmmaker of some renown, director Martin Scorsese writes in the foreword, “*Speaking in Images* gives you the stories of individual artists, articulating their own perspectives toward their art, their working methods, their inspirations, the problems they’ve encountered” (p. viii). The result is an auteur-focused study that succeeds admirably in bringing to light the complex underpinnings of identity and ambition that have produced Chinese-language cinema’s “miraculous rise” (p. 1) within the international film market.

Berry’s motivation for assembling an interview-based project was, as he recounts in the book’s concise “Introduction,” to provide a “forum” (p. 2) in which Chinese filmmakers might directly communicate with English-speaking audiences. Yet he remains unmistakably the interlocutor here, and each interview is constructed around roughly the same set of questions and themes: educational and experiential background; film-by-film commentary; reflections on the current state of Chinese-language cinema and its relationship to Hollywood. The list of interviewees itself reads like a who’s-who of 1980s and 1990s film festival successes, and includes representatives of the Fifth Generation (Tian Zhuangzhuang, Chen Kaige, Zhang Yimou), New Taiwan Cinema (Hou Hsiao-hsien and Chu T’ien-wen, Edward Yang) and Hong Kong New Wave (Ann Hui), along with many others who have gained subsequent recognition as directors of either “commercial” (Ang Lee, Stanley Kwan) or “art” (Jia Zhangke, Tsai Ming-liang, Fruit Chan) cinema. While this review cannot do justice to the rich ethnography of contemporary Chinese-language filmmaking that such an approach provides, it appears that one of the central themes spanning *Speaking in Images* as a whole is the fundamentally international process – including not only film festivals but also patterns of securing technical training and investment – by which such recognition has been achieved.

Indeed, accompanying the *Bildungsroman* narratives of artistic development which emerge from these interviews is an almost ubiquitous sense of veneration for various European, Hollywood and East Asian cinematic influences, providing a detailed cultural map to what Evans Chan refers to as “China in the global context” (p. 523). Another notable feature of *Speaking in Images*, then, is that it also serves to undermine the conceptual clarity of “national” cinemas while at the same time allowing, as Berry notes elsewhere, for “fundamental similarities in the social, cultural, historical, and economic realities that filmmakers from the respective regions [of mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong] share and by which they have been shaped” (p. 16). Correspondingly, interviewees are grouped according to the region or regional film industry with which they have been most consistently associated. Yet even the regional approach, by the author’s own admission, is subverted by the undeniably Hollywood (or as Berry puts it, “transnational”) credentials of directors like Ang Lee, or the pan-Asian production strategies of Peter Ho-sun Chan. What such nominalist difficulties point to is an issue which haunts not only *Speaking in Images*, but discussions of Chinese or Chinese-language cinema as a whole – namely, that such designations cannot be understood except as denoting competition with, if not outright opposition to, the cultural products of other regional industries, Hollywood in particular. Consequently, nearly every allusion to the current and future state of Chinese cinema made by Berry and his interviewees is accompanied in the same or following breath by references to “America” (p. 78), “America’s commercial films” (p. 103), “the impact of American cinema” (p. 136) and so on.

Only two qualifications deserve mention. Berry, a specialist in contemporary Chinese-language film and literature, appears more mistake-prone when discussing Mao-era filmmaking as indicated by several errors concerning names (director Xie Tieli appears as Xie Tie; actress Yu Lan is identified as the mother of both Tian Zhuangzhuang and Chen Kaige). Finally, not all references to specific events, people, and places are contextualized within the rather lean notes. Yet this by no means detracts from the fact that *Speaking in Images* has something for everyone, including generous filmographies and bibliographies for each filmmaker and region, as well as enough “inside” knowledge and suggestive material to engage even the most knowledgeable reader. As such, the work provides an outstanding and largely unprecedented look into the world of individuals whose business, to borrow Edward Yang’s phrase, is nothing less than “providing ... possible life experience” (p. 293). State of the art in every sense.

MATTHEW DAVID JOHNSON

Chinese National Cinema. By YINGJING ZHANG. [New York and London: Routledge, 2004. vii + 328 pp. \$29.95. ISBN 0-415-17290-X.]

This is a general overview of Chinese-language cinemas in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan in the 20th century. Probably because of the need to fit in with the general theme of the “National Cinema” series of which this book is a part, Yingjing Zhang calls these cinemas the national cinema in “singular or plural” in “the three Chinas.” The book has its strengths and weaknesses typical of general overview of this kind. Covering the history of Chinese-language cinemas from 1905 to the present, Zhang generally succeeds in weaving the cinematic developments of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan together into a clearly organized story accessible to general readers. He is good in describing who made what films in which years and in chronicling the rise and fall of various film studios.

The book is a synthetic account based on academic and popular Chinese-language film histories (such as those by Cheng Jihua, Gongsun Lu, Yu Mo-wen and Lu Fei-yi) and published research materials (e.g. *Zhongguo wusheng dianying*, 1996). It is divided in three parts in accordance to “a cyclical or spiral pattern of development in Chinese cinema” (p. 6). Part one is dedicated to the cinemas of the “nation-people” (1920s to 1940); Part two focuses on cinemas of the “nation-state,” and comprises of three chapters on China, Hong Kong and Taiwan cinemas from the 1950s to the 1970s; Part three explores the return of the cinema of “nation-people” (1980s–1990s).

Typical of general overview, this book does not go much beyond the descriptive level. For example, its discussion of films usually involves only a short plot summary or a brief analysis of one or two lines, which makes it difficult for readers to get a deeper, fuller appreciation of these films (and many of them are not easily accessible). Without explanation and references, it is also unclear if Zhang has actually watched these films or has simply adapted these summaries and analyses from works by other scholars.

Zhang’s translation of some of the key terms he adopts to chronicle the developments of Chinese cinemas is also problematic. The most problematic one is his translation of *minzu* as nation-people. *Minzu* is an important concept in the history of 20th-century Chinese nationalism and nation-building discourse; it is always translated as race or ethnic nation. Why does he choose to translate it differently? What would it mean to his concept and narration of Chinese-language cinemas if the term *minzu* is understood as race and ethnic nation? Zhang owes us an answer.

The book is weak in explanation of ideas and concepts. No other concepts that need to be explained more clearly and vigorously is the concept of national cinema. What is the national of national cinema? What makes it Chinese in Chinese cinema? Is there a “national style,” a “national aesthetics,” a common tradition, or a similar concern that

brings these disparate cinemas into a singular “national cinema?” Does the “regional” of Hong Kong cinema refer to the region of Pearl River Delta (or Lingnan regional culture) or the East Asian region? And if Chinese national cinema has actually “exceeded the model of a national cinema” (p. 296) why is it a better concept (with its homogenizing tendency) than, say, Chinese-language cinemas (which has become popular among scholars in Hong Kong and Taiwan) discussing the growth and changes of the cinemas of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan? The book opens up these fascinating questions, but it fails to engage fully with them – whether on a theoretical or an empirical level. Indeed, at one point Zhang asserts that “Chinese” is “predominately a cultural and historical term.” Assuming what he means by “historical” is the process in which “China” has been “historically constructed, circulated and contested in Chinese cinema” (p. 5), but what does the “cultural” involve? At another point, he defines national cinema” vaguely as “a cinema of, by, and for the nation-people” (p. 6). What specifically is this “nation-people” of China? What is the idea of national in Luo Mingyou’s idea of “national cinema,” for example, in comparison to Fei Mu’s notion of “national style” or to the Hong Kong Cantonese-language film culture of the 1950s–1960s or to the Taiwanese-dialect cinema of the same period? Disappointingly, the book does not address the processes and politics of how the “national” has been variously constructed, understood and contested in and between the three Chinese cinemas.

The book has quite a few factual problems as well. For example, the first film made by Zhang Ailing and Sang Hu in post-war Shanghai was *Buliao qing* (*Everlasting Love*), not *Jiafeng xuhuang* (*Phony Phoenixes*), which was actually made by (Huang) Zuo Lin. Yonghua’s Li Zuyong had been a staunch anti-Communist film tycoon and been losing money because of his political stance long before he turned to Taipei for financial help. And it was 1982, not 1988, that Hong Kong won again the Golden Horse Best Film award after a long-time domination by Taiwan cinema.

This is the first comprehensive textbook for undergraduates with no background in Chinese cultures and cinemas. However, its problems remind us that we are in great need for a balanced, more complex textbook for the increasingly popular Chinese cinemas classes in English-speaking universities.

POSHEK FU

The Cult of the Fox: Power, Gender, and Popular Religion in Late Imperial and Modern China. By XIAOFEI KANG. [New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. xiii + 269 pp. \$45.00, £29.00. ISBN 0-231-13338-3.]

While the power of fox spirits is well known to students of “strange tales” (*zhi guai*) literature, the tradition of fox worship is far less so.

Using a combination of literary, historical and ethnographic accounts, this book reminds the reader that foxes are more than story characters; they are a fundamentally religious phenomenon, and one with deep social ramifications. The central argument is that foxes represent the power of the ambiguous. Undomesticated, yet familiar, foxes were alternately worshipped and exorcized, and much of the book is devoted to demonstrating the diverse and personal nature of the fox cult.

The first chapter introduces various conceptions of foxes from ancient times to the Song. The sight of a nine-tailed fox was an auspicious omen associated with the appearance of a sage king, yet foxes were also considered to be malevolent sorcerers who haunted graveyards, or as attendants to the beautiful but dangerously *yin* Queen Mother of the West. In Tang dynasty literature, the familiar features of foxes take shape, in particular the power they derive from their outsider status. The ability to take human form and seduce the weak-willed made foxes an easy metaphor for courtesans, while the possession of strange but useful skills with money or magic was comparable to the many foreigners who inhabited cosmopolitan Tang society. This ambiguity provoked mixed reactions from the forces of orthodoxy, including the established Buddhist and Daoist clerics, whose folk tales often show foxes bettering in both magic and morality.

Later chapters discuss the development of the cult during the Ming and Qing, when fox worship was ubiquitous throughout North China. Among the many flattering and pejorative names for foxes, the most common was *huxian*, or fox transcendent, a term which connotes powers and wisdom far beyond simple longevity. The images in literature and worship reveal not only the power of the fox, but also a common conflation of foxes with enchanting women, both divine and human. These literary accounts, often by southerners sojourning in the north, both combined the various meanings of *huxian* and spread the cult.

Within the domestic arena, foxes maintained an important but ambivalent status. As their power lay outside of the strictures of orthodoxy, resort to foxes could provide a practical shortcut for satisfying the needs of liminal members, such as concubines and dead ancestors. Foxes also appeared in a protective role for families, though more often a female one, demonstrating maternal care or shamanistic powers. The sexuality of the fox often represented a cautionary tale against morally ambiguous acts within the family, such as selling a wife or daughter into prostitution to pay a family's debts. Fox women often appeared as morally superior to their human counterparts, particularly in the role of loyal wife, although their ambiguous status often left them relegated to a secondary role, such as concubine.

Fox worship also interacted with a world of orthodox power, both divine and human. Although foxes lived under constant threat of attack by forces such as Five Thunder Magic, they could also

supplant orthodox forces within the celestial bureaucracy. The counterbalancing role of foxes is seen in the custom of marrying them to celestial bureaucrats, and their subjection to the goddess Bixia Yuanjun, who was herself legitimized by virtue of her charge to keep the foxes under control. Fox spirits also acted as counterpart to the official power of the human magistrate and gentry elite. Foxes exerted a degree of control over the *yamen*, in which they often took up residence, revealing hypocrisy of the gentry and flaunting their power by stealing the official seals of office, but also entering into alliances with the magistrate or his helpers.

The greatest strength of this book is its use of primary source material. Official and unofficial stories are presented in detail, making for a very accessible and engaging read. Conceptually, the book represents a new phase in the long evolution of the classic “gods, ghosts and ancestors” paradigm, which links conceptions of power and authority in the sacred realm interact with those of the secular. While recent years have seen conflict and change introduced into this model, Kang’s contribution is her refusal to tie fox worship to any single, definitive set of interpretations, linking foxes equally to scholars and prostitutes, to healing and curses, and to the divine and demonic. The drawback to this is that the effort to avoid one single narrative occasionally makes the larger analysis feel disconnected, and as a result, the claims made by the author can occasionally appear either repetitive or contradictory, but given the nature of the subject matter, a bit of ambiguity hardly feels out of place.

THOMAS DUBOIS

Women in China: The Republican Period in Historical Perspective. Edited by MECHTHILD LEUTNER and NICOLA SPAKOWSKI. [Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005. 511 pp. €59.90. ISBN 3-8258-8147-4.]

Women in China is reminiscent of an important book, co-edited by Hua Lan and Vanessa Fong, entitled *Women in Republican China: A Sourcebook* (London, 1999). However, the contributors to the two books differ significantly. *Women in China* represents the latest research findings, by a group of capable and dedicated scholars, on the situation of women in the Republican period. These scholars all participated in a conference entitled “Women in Republican China” at the Free University of Berlin in 2002. The editors of *Women in China* and organizers of the conference, Mechthild Leutner and Nicola Spakowski, were hoping to provide a stimulating forum for the exchange of new research findings. As it stands, this anthology of eighteen articles reflects the diverse perspectives, methodologies, and research questions involved in its writing, and points to future possible directions of research which will enhance scholarly knowledge in the field.

Six sections make up the entire anthology. The first section deals with basic theoretical and methodological issues in the studies of women in Republican China. Contributor Hsiung Ping-chen finds that positioning women in modern China is a difficult task. One way of resolving that problem is to place women in a wider social history context. Yeh Wen-hsin believes that although Chinese women enjoyed increasing autonomy, it is “a paradox” because the autonomy was “the outcome of a historical logic of entrapment” (pp. 52–53). Editor Leutner offers a more constructive approach to the problem of incorporating women’s history into mainstream Chinese studies. She convincingly argues that Republican history needs to be engendered from within the China field.

Women and the nation-state is the central concern of the second section of this anthology. Gotelind Müller and Louise Edwards explore, respectively, the themes of Chinese anarchist discourse on women, and opposition to women’s suffrage in China. Some of their research findings, however, seem to have appeared in print elsewhere (pp. 106, 126–27). Deserving special attention is the little known area of women’s military participation in China. Spakowski provides a clear and insightful analysis of the patterns of women’s military participation during the 1930s to 1940s. She identifies the many and diverse ways in which women had participated in the army and seeks to challenge the feminist “right to fight” view posed by Judith Stacey (p. 161). Arguing in a similar vein, Helen Young discusses women soldiers in the Long March. Unlike village women, women soldiers – according to Young – were able to endure hardships in the Long March period.

The third section of *Women in China* takes a closer look at the posthumous careers of two political women, Qiu Jin and Jiang Qing. Arguing quite differently from previous research, Sabine Hieronymus suggests Qiu Jin’s ambitious plan was to create her own image of heroism which survived into Republican China. Earlier studies ignored the early career of Jiang Qing in Shanghai, but Natascha Vittinghoff fills this lacuna by showing that her political leadership in the Chinese Communist Party can be traced back to her professional career as a modern, attractive actress in Shanghai.

Of paramount importance is the fourth section of the anthology. The so-called “little traditions” and “otherness” (pp. 6, 242) are vital because so little has been written about these two fields. According to Maria Jaschok and Shui Jingjun, the role of Muslim women in modernizing Chinese society should not be underestimated. Despite the lack of religious women’s literature in the 1930s, Jaschok and Shui have been successful in reconstructing a view that the tradition of *jingge* (popular songs with a religious and social context) was an integral part of the Islamic female culture. A fairly little known field – female homosexuality in Republican China – is examined by Jens Damm. Although Damm has failed to acknowledge the existence of a monograph by Deborah Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female*

Same-Sex Desire in Modern China (2003), his article is somewhat inspiring and critical. In Damm's eyes, male homosexuality had existed in traditional China but female homosexual love was marginalized in Republican China.

The economic and social life of women constitutes the fifth section of this anthology. Tani Barlow adopts the term "vernacular sociology" (p. 314) to offer a new understanding of the "eugenic girl" in Republican China. She maintains that the female reproductive body was a central reality of this term. Again, Bryna Goodman draws attention to a neglected area of women's involvement in Shanghai stock markets. She concludes that female figures served a variety of purposes in the discussion of disturbances in the stock markets. Next, in her article, Zang Jiang demonstrates the relations between working women and the three phases of "women returning home" (1930s to 1990s). She suggests that there are certain similarities in these phases, for example, the women's movement in China was closely linked to national salvation and international women's movements. Two case studies are then presented by Du Fangqin and by Christina Gilmartin and Isabel Crook. It is not clear why Du's article is not appropriately placed in the sixth section (women's education, pp. 450–502) of this anthology. Her central focus is on how male reformers in Ding County (North China) implemented educational reforms for the two sexes and how the reforms changed the lives of women. By using anthropological data, Gilmartin and Crook point out that the Nationalist government had failed, to some extent, to implement marriage reform in rural Sichuan.

Although *Women in China* does not have a "conclusion," it is concluded by two articles on female education. Harriet Zurndorfer investigates women's access to higher education in Republican China and successfully shows how male conservatism had limited the progress of women's liberation at the time. Basing her data mostly on newspapers and journals, Yu Chien-ming concludes that the media played an important role in supporting the nation-building agenda and entertaining the general public in the Republican era. Female physical education is a case in point. One should note, however, that the term "general public" (pp. 491, 495) only refers to a limited percentage of the urban populace, though Yu has failed to point this out. The question "How many Republican Chinese could read and write?" is still relevant.

On the whole, *Women in China* presents a very rich array of articles pertaining to the studies of women in China and research into Chinese history in general. In spite of the aforementioned weaknesses, it is an invaluable reference for both beginner scholars and specialists in the China field. Its manifold perspectives (Western and Asian) and approaches (archives, literature sources, interviews, case studies) throw light on ongoing research projects in the field. Readers may expect a companion volume of this anthology to appear in print in the near future.

YUEN TING LEE

The Delusions of Invulnerability: Wisdom and Morality in Ancient Greece, China and Today. By GEOFFREY E. R. LLOYD. [London: Duckworth, 2005. 176 pp. \$23.95. ISBN 0-7156-3386-4.]

For the past ten years, Sir Geoffrey Lloyd has been charting new ground in comparing the social context and epistemology of the origins of science in early China and Greece. Several earlier volumes addressed the nature of authority, the origins of systematic inquiry and the role of science in ancient society. The aims of this book are somewhat different; its explicit strategy is to explore “what we can learn from the ancient world on questions that continue to haunt us today” (p. 7). The first three chapters explore the nature of learned elites in both societies; the next three consider the ideals and practices of ancient and modern societies.

Chapter one frankly celebrates philosophical pluralism. Lloyd uses Greek and Chinese examples to argue against an impression that philosophy ever was a systematic subject with clear boundaries and unified concerns. Lloyd has argued extensively elsewhere that Greek philosophical schools were preoccupied with competition and debate. Nor was there any consensus in early China, but instead of competing for pupils and reputation, Chinese philosophers competed for the ear of a ruler. This difference led to distinctly different career patterns, and both offer insights to the present. Lloyd emphasizes that the history of philosophy should be a resource for philosophizing, rather than an irrelevance to it. He also stresses that the purely “academic” enterprises of contemporary philosophy would have been alien to Chinese or Greek thinkers, for whom philosophy was essentially concerned with individual and social well-being. It thus implied a responsibility to reflect on, and remonstrate with, political power.

Chapter two takes up the training, control and permeability of learned elites, using the examples of Mesopotamia, China and Greece. Mesopotamian and Chinese learned elites were organized in official hierarchies devoted to the mastery of texts. Greek elites by contrast got by without official positions or state patronage, to their advantage and disadvantage. Despite these differences, common factors governed access to these elites: birth, moral probity, apprenticeship, initiation, textual mastery, examination and perceived success (p. 54). Lloyd compares these to the very partial broadening of access to university education in the 20th century and the ongoing intellectual conservatism of both university teaching and scientific innovation.

Chapter three turns to audiences. Here the contrast is between Greek debate intended to persuade a group of peers and Chinese debate intended to sway a ruler with sole power of decision. Against both Lloyd juxtaposes the apparent democratization of communication in the modern world, through the internet and the availability of media images. Again there is a caveat; the ancient situation contrasts

with present costs: lack of accountability by the media and the replacement of Greek participatory democracy with modern representative democracies.

Chapter four uses Greek, Chinese and early Christian contexts to consider a broad human tendency to seek invulnerability from misfortune and accident. Lloyd begins with Greek notions of the fragility of life and the importance of cultivating virtue or *aretê*. Next he turns to Chinese notions of the welfare of “all under heaven,” and distinctively Chinese notions of immortality and virtue. Early Christian monotheism created its own notions of virtue and reward, including the *prima facie* exclusion of non-Christians from its promises. By contrast, the modern tendency is to seek invulnerability through materialism and egotism, with unsatisfactory results on both counts.

Chapter five takes up Greek and Chinese ideas of social justice and relations between individual and group. Lloyd contrasts the Greek practices of involvement of citizens (a very limited group) in the legal process and the principle of equality before the law with Chinese legal codes. The latter focused on criminal (as opposed to civil) law and were administered by magistrates rather than by citizen juries. They also employed a broader notion of criminal responsibility that extended beyond the individual to include entire families. Here Lloyd emphasizes the mismatch between philosophical analysis and actual practice in both societies, and argues that it is as great in modern discussions as in antiquity. The modern problem is especially grave in international relations, where international organizations lack the means to enforce treaties or conventions. In one respect, the growing disparity between rich and poor, Lloyd considers the modern situation considerably worse than the ancient.

Chapter six, “Models for Living,” starts by noting how little such models matter in the modern world, where the main Greco-Roman value to survive is *carpe diem* (p. 145). The book concludes by suggesting three lessons we may take from the ideals (if not the practices) of the ancient world: the celebration of pluralism, the need to counter social inequity, and the importance and power of education.

Many of the arguments and comparisons of this book are familiar to readers of Lloyd’s previous works. The book, which is brief and by necessity selective, repeatedly emphasizes that many nuances are beyond the scope of its discussion, and stresses the importance of avoiding generalizations about “civilizations” or other imagined communities. Within those constraints, it uses antiquity to make powerful observations about the difficulties of the present, and to suggest a few remedies.

LISA RAPHALS

Chinese Houses. The Architectural Heritage of a Nation. By RONALD G. KNAPP. [North Clarendon, VT and Singapore: Tuttle, 2005. 288 pp. \$60.00. ISBN 0-8048-3537-3.]

House Home Family. Living and Being Chinese. Edited by RONALD G. KNAPP and KAI-YIN LO. [Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press; New York: China Institute in America, 2005. xxi + 453 pp. \$29.00. ISBN 0-8248-2858-5.]

Specialist of vernacular architectural traditions in China, and author or editor of more than a dozen works on the subject, Ronald G. Knapp has recently published two new books dedicated to the Chinese house. One is as author: *Chinese Houses. The Architectural Heritage of a Nation*, and the other, *House Home Family. Living and Being Chinese*, as co-editor with Kai-Yin Lo, a designer and independent researcher based in Hong Kong.

The first book deals with both the Chinese house and practices of dwelling in it over the last three or four centuries. Aimed at a non-specialized audience, it is richly illustrated with fine colour photographs by A. Chester Ong, and also includes various diagrams, drawings and reproductions of woodblock printed images, as well as plans of houses, which regrettably each time omit the compass direction. The work, containing a preface by Jonathan Spence, is completed by a brief bibliography and a rather sketchy index, unfortunately without Chinese characters. It includes two introductory essays: "The Architecture of the Chinese House" and "The Chinese House as Living Space," followed by "China's Fine Heritage Houses," a catalogue of 20 examples of fine residences, dating from the late Ming to the 20th century, that can still be seen today in 11 different provinces or regional entities. They range from those built for the literati elite to less prestigious ones, such as Northern cave dwellings. Whereas some are still inhabited, most of them have been literally turned into museums and stripped of complete and genuine accoutrements of a living house, such as the childhood homes of major 20th-century Chinese politicians (Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping), now converted into official pilgrimage sites. All these houses are indeed of interest for those wishing to know about Chinese cultural heritage and those who seek lessons for housing today, although the whole issue of national architectural heritage remains ambiguous.

A more academic audience is invited to refer to the second work, by various specialists of China, architects, historians, art historians, anthropologists and cultural geographers, which was published following a symposium held in April 2001 at the China Institute in New York, together with the exhibition "Living Heritage: Vernacular Environment in China" (January–June 2001). Prefaced by Wen Fong, it contains a general introduction by Ronald G. Knapp, followed by 16 essays, organized in two sections. The content is organized around

two aspects suggested by the polysemy of the Chinese word “*jia*,” rendered in the English title: house and home/family. Each section is introduced by an essay which presents the contributions grouped under that theme.

The first, “The House,” is more focused on architecture and building, and is devoted to the house as edifice, the second section, entitled “The Home and the Family,” takes a more anthropological point of view, dealing with the different occupants of the house and ways of inhabiting it. Both parts aim to highlight the specificities of the Chinese tradition, as one could observe them over the last few centuries.

In her introductory essay, Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt points out that the largely dominant Han ethnic group expressed, throughout its pluri-millennial history, a clear preference for houses built around an interior courtyard, dominated by orientation and symmetry along one main axis, according to the principles of *fengshui*. This ideal was interpreted, however, in various ways from one region to another, to such an extent that one may talk of a vernacular tradition. In addition, houses acquired even more differentiation according to how they were decorated, furnished, or adorned with gardens. The difficulty of defining “the” Chinese house and the importance of the role of *fengshui* are further developed by Ronald G. Knapp.

Joseph C. Wang shows that, in the rich garden tradition developed not only among the Chinese elite, but by others as well, the garden was an integral part of the house. Garden-making, like other related arts, could become a way of personal expression and provided place and time to enjoy solitude or share leisure with peers. Cary Y. Liu argues how the beauty of the house and the living space is to be found in the way cosmic patterns are duplicated and embodied in architectural forms as well as in the rituals which are carried out within them. Even nowadays, some of these traditional patterns may, in some cases, remain active even though new forms and functions appear.

Kai-Yin Lo shows how furniture, in its choice of materials, construction techniques, patterns of ornamentation, arrangement within the house led to the development of symbiotic relationships with the architecture of the house. New patterns of living and taste for ease, comfort and personal choice are now changing traditional ways of furnishing the home.

The question of the preservation of old houses and its importance today in terms of local identity and protection of sites is raised by Nancy Berliner. Efforts made recently in the Huizhou region of Anhui include new laws (not always implemented), relocations to open-air museums open to tourists, on-site preservation of groups of “old dwellings” (*gu minju*) and various solutions chosen by individuals.

The second part of the book, introduced by Nancy Jervis, deals with the different configurations of the family and the more or less adequate ways in which the house fulfils its function as a dwelling.

Throughout the seven essays the issues of the identity of the various occupants, the evolving community and the diverse groups formed within it, the particular status of women, the diverse conceptions of the household, the practices and beliefs linked to domestic aspects of religion are explored.

Myron L. Cohen analyses the impact of modernization on the size and workings of the family unit, as well as the changes wrought upon it by the form of dwelling. Francesca Bray explores the forms and practices in late imperial China of the inner quarters for women, and shows how one's gender changes one's relationship to the domestic space. Her interpretation of the numerous woodblock print illustrations bears out this theory for the period discussed. David Faure examines to what extent the two-fold ideal of "co-residence and common property" and of "five generations under one roof" is more or less translated into reality, according to the changing forms of the family by means of a spatial distribution between houses and villages. Puay-peng Ho shows how, in villages of Southern China, common ancestral halls play an essential role in the existence and affirmation of a common lineage, beyond the existence of individual families in separate housing units. James A. Flath analyses the role, today in distinct decline, of printed images in various rites which pattern the life of the household. He shows how these images which are traditionally displayed inside the house illustrate a certain conception of the family and domestic life, also serving to perpetuate that conception. Maggie Bickford explores the role of lucky motifs in various domestic milieus, including the late imperial court, focusing on practices such as "counting the nines," related to the winter solstice. Finally Yunxiang Yan demonstrates how, since the 1980s, new ways of organizing domestic space express and at the same time construct a new social organization for the family, leading to new forms of private life and conjugal intimacy.

Across the work as a whole, whereas the life of women, couples and questions relating to generations are subject to particular analysis, other groups within the household – children, the elderly, servants, animals – which equally appear in illustrations, are mentioned simply in passing, and no full analysis is made of their place and role. Equally, some questions as of the sharing out of tasks and domestic activities, of the education of children, are only raised through the illustrations and their captions.

Many technical aspects of the Chinese house, its furnishings and the ways one lives in it and shares it, are omitted or not fully discussed, although they often appear in illustrations and are sometimes suggested in the captions. Apart from some explanations of specific items in the household (such as beds or altars), more general issues such as heating, lighting, hygiene or storage, which involve various technical solutions and equipment, are not raised and analysed in a systematic way.

Regrettably, there are few detailed analyses of precise examples which would show how the architecture of the house and its organization are not only a reflection of a system of thought and of social relationships, but also contribute to construct the practices and representations of the home and the family, making their actors Chinese. In reality, the two are inextricably linked. The distinction between what can be attributed to technical aspects of housing and dwelling, and what is conditioned by social links, and the way the two are interacting, is not always clearly established in the various essays.

Far from ending the debate on the questions raised, this stimulating book has the great merit of opening numerous new perspectives of research on various aspects of the house and the Chinese family. The work is completed by an abundance of bibliographical references and a glossary, with the Chinese characters, which would have usefully been merged with the rich index. This volume inaugurates the series entitled "Spatial Habitus: Making and Meaning in Asia's Vernacular Architecture."

ANTOINE GOURNAY

A Dictionary of Cantonese Slang: The Language of Hong Kong Movies, Street Gangs and City Life. By CHRISTOPHER HUTTON and KINGSLEY BOLTON. [London: Hurst & Company, 2005. xxiv + 489 pp. £45.00. ISBN 1-85065-419-0.]

Unquestionably a first in the history of Cantonese-English lexicography, this dictionary takes the field a big, bold step forward with its wealth of colloquial and slang lexical items; both innocent and bawdy words and expressions share company with an unprecedented collection of contemporary triad jargon which the interested reader will discover has been so conveniently translated into its English equivalents and illustrated with sentences. Since colloquial Cantonese in Hong Kong has absorbed numerous triad expressions as a result of their appearance in movies (the subtitles of which may be in a mixture of standard Chinese and Cantonese) and adult comic books (the Cantonese dialogue of which is transcribed with standard Chinese and Cantonese characters), the authors clearly found these two products of Hong Kong's contemporary culture to have been a gold mine of language material.

In the Preface the authors explain the history behind the compilation of the dictionary and the sources for their lexical data. They also discuss written Cantonese which they acknowledge has developed on an unprecedented scale for a regional Chinese dialect. They survey briefly the history of the compilation of Cantonese dictionaries, along with specialized dictionaries devoted to Cantonese

slang and idioms. The Preface concludes with a brief section on secret languages about which they have acquired considerable expertise.

The Guide to the Entries includes a useful comparison of the initial and final consonants and vowels that form the Yale romanization system with their corresponding IPA symbols (in the far right column the allophones of three Yale vowels have been enclosed between slashes, although the usual practice in phonetics is to enclose them within square brackets).

Because the format of the lexical entries is relatively simple, the Summary of Symbols lists only four symbols to indicate English loanwords, an “official source” on triad jargon compiled by the Hong Kong Government, tail-less puns, and quotations used as example sentences.

The main dictionary runs to 463 pages. Organization of entries is according to the alphabetization of the Yale romanization of head characters which have been translated into their English equivalents; listed alphabetically under these are the lexical combinations with the head characters. The English glosses of head characters have been kept simple and brief. The entry format is minimalist, comprising the romanized spelling of the word, phrase, or sentence, the corresponding Chinese characters, the English gloss, and a note enclosed in parentheses on the source of the item. Nothing is said about syntactic categories.

The compilers have followed the convention of the empty box to indicate that a meaningful morphosyllable exists but that it lacks a standard Chinese or Cantonese character as its written form (as acknowledged on p. xxii, some years back this reviewer coined the term “chorphan,” a portmanteau of “character” + “orphan,” to designate such lexical items). While this problem is due in large part to the lack of standardization of written Cantonese, as it turns out, a few more empty boxes have been used here than need be, as Cantonese characters exist for some items and have been recorded in some Cantonese dictionaries. At the same time, one finds a standard Chinese character being used in place of the more common dialectal one: on p. 321 the standard Chinese character pronounced *lin* has transcribed “female breast; milk” even though it has been more often written with either of two Cantonese characters (this word was recorded in some 19th-century Cantonese-English dictionaries, but interestingly, many younger Hong Kong Cantonese speakers today say they have never heard of it, which suggests it is on its way out of the language).

From pp. 464 to 481 there is a Chinese-character index in which characters are listed by the total number of their strokes and by the shape of their first stroke and then followed by their pronunciations. Even though there are no page numbers to refer the reader to the characters in the main dictionary, this index would still prove helpful to the reader who encounters a character and wants to know how it is pronounced in Cantonese; once the pronunciation is known, then the

character's meaning can be looked up in the main dictionary, since characters are arranged by their romanized pronunciations.

The References section provides a very handy and relatively comprehensive listing of the authors and titles of Cantonese dictionaries, books on Cantonese studies, and Chinese slang and secret languages. On p. 485 the authorship of *Guangzhou Fangyan Cidian* (dictionary of Guangzhou dialect) which was published in 1998 by the Jiangsu Education Publishing Company has been incorrectly attributed to Li Rong; the correct author is the noted Cantonese scholar Bai Wanru, while Li Rong was the general editor of the series of dictionaries on Chinese dialects of which her Cantonese-Putonghua dictionary was just one.

From pp. 167 to 194, 272 to 337, and on p. 340 the use of bold font to set off the main lexical entries from the rest of the text has been unfortunately omitted, and this omission makes it inconvenient for the reader to pick out words from their definitions.

In sum, this dictionary has made a substantial contribution to Cantonese lexicography and will undoubtedly prove useful to students of Cantonese: if their friends will not tell them what an X-rated word or phrase means, then they may find it defined here; at the same time, as far as uttering many of the lexical items listed, glossed, and illustrated, they will need to exercise some discretion. It will also be indispensable to anyone who translates colloquial Cantonese, slang expressions, but especially triad jargon!

Lastly, I would like to note that Hutton and Bolton have also been responsible for the reprinting of several Chinese-English dictionaries from the 19th and early 20th centuries, including the very first English-Cantonese, Cantonese-English dictionary published in 1828 and compiled by the English missionary Robert Morrison.

ROBERT S. BAUER

Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia, By ROBERT E. HERZSTEIN. [New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xv + 346 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-83577-0.]

Robert Herzstein has opened a new window on a crucial period in US policy toward East Asia, examining how the most prominent publisher of his time sought to mold American attitudes and actions regarding China, Korea and Vietnam in the two decades following the Second World War. Building on his earlier biography of Henry Luce, which focused on Luce's role in US politics and culture up to the Second World War, Herzstein also provides a fascinating case study in the capacity of a powerful individual to exert both limited and lasting influence on history.

Luce (1898–1967), born in China to missionary parents and a product of prep school and Yale, already is well recognized in scholarship on postwar Sino–US relations as a fervent apostle for Chiang Kai-shek, Christianity and anti-Communism. Herzstein’s detailed chronological account of Luce’s activities as businessman, editorial czar, public figure and quasi-private citizen during the last part of his life has expanded the record considerably with respect to China, while adding new dimensions regarding his positions on US involvement in Korea and Indochina.

As the main founder of the *Time-LIFE* publishing empire – today but a fiefdom of the behemoth Time-Warner, but in its pre-TV heyday the dominant media company in the country – Luce had access to a huge swath of the American reading public as well as the nation’s political and military leaders. In documenting Luce’s relentless exploitation of both media channels and personal networks to champion his own views, Herzstein, a University of South Carolina professor of history, has drawn on a wealth of special collections and archives – perhaps the most curious and important being hitherto undisturbed cartons of dispatches from *Time* correspondents stashed at Harvard’s Houghton Library. Through the simple but laborious exercise of comparing cables and letters from reporters in the field with what *Time* actually published, Herzstein finds significant and growing discrepancies between original reports and articles in print. The result was “flawed journalism,” he concludes, for which Luce, as the very hands-on publisher and chief editor, was to blame.

In Herzstein’s view, Luce’s ideological crusading is not merely a matter of historical curiosity or clarification; rather, it is key to understanding the evolution of US foreign policy during the Cold War – as well as the justifications for exporting the American world order that endure to this day. Above all, Luce was an ardent advocate for bringing American-style freedom to parts of the world he deemed benighted – and as such, Herzstein maintains, represented a mindset that continues to supply rationales for a muscular US geopolitical role, e.g. the current nation-building project to convert the Muslim world to “democracy.”

The Luce portrayed by Herzstein possesses utter certainty and impenetrable blinders who – despite his extraordinary success with an enterprise reaching a quarter of the US adult population – ultimately proves out of synch with his constituencies, both the powerful and the reading masses. In particular, Herzstein makes a convincing argument that Luce saw Asia as the centre of world at a time when most Americans and US policymakers were oriented toward Europe. The chorus of conservative dismay about the “loss of China” to the Communists never provoked the full-scale counter-offensive he sought, but he continued to advocate preparing the Kuomintang for its return from Taiwan to the Chinese mainland – and in his view, both Korea and Indochina were key fronts for “liberating” China.

During the Korean War, Luce remained aggressively interventionist even as the Truman administration eventually settled for a policy of containment; and in Indochina, while recognizing the problems of French colonialism and the reality of Vietnamese antipathy toward China, his advocacy of greater support for the French military and then for South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem foreshadowed what would grow into American immersion in a civil conflict. During the Kennedy administration, when few Americans were even aware of the 10,000 US military "advisers" in Vietnam, *Time* was preparing readers for deployment of combat troops. At the same time, its own correspondents were beginning to see the dangers of supporting Diem and expanding US involvement in the war.

Despite his bias and obstinacy, Luce was a complex person whose contradictions emerged in his publications: His magazines criticized and even ridiculed Red-hunters, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, Truman's loyalty board and Joseph McCarthy and upheld domestic civil liberties, even as they persisted in imperial hubris and an anti-Communist line. (Unlike other media organizations that insisted on a political litmus test for employees, Luce publications also sought the best talent regardless of politics, hiring editors, writers and photographers who had been blacklisted elsewhere – among them my father Ted Polumbaum, a reporter-turned-photographer who was welcomed into *LIFE* magazine's freelance fold after being fired by United Press for refusing to cooperate with Congressional inquisitors.)

Luce publications also supported Johnson's War on Poverty and civil rights initiatives, even while cheering the escalation in Vietnam and denigrating the counter-culture and antiwar protesters. Herzstein finds that, "*Time* continued to ignore unwelcome reports and to mislead its readers" on Vietnam until early 1966, when "*Time's* euphoria finally dissipated, never to return," as the magazine acknowledged that the war was going badly.

By now, Luce's health was deteriorating and he had retired to the US southwest. Upon learning that, "Harry had always wanted to be a regular guy, perhaps a boy growing up in a small town in Iowa," the hamlet of Oskaloosa, Iowa, offered him honorary citizenship, and there he felt "appreciated, even loved," Herzstein relates.

These and other human touches aside, however, Herzstein sees Luce's last two decades as "a cautionary tale." Up to his death in early 1967, Luce remained deeply committed to the export of the American way and profoundly unable to see otherwise, despite drastic evidence to the contrary that increasingly appeared in his own publications. The US leadership that had worked for war-shattered Europe and Japan was doomed to failure in Asia, Herzstein concludes. Rather than promoting Luce's vision of benevolence and peace, the postwar anti-Communist consensus Luce helped build made the world a more dangerous place.

JUDY POLUMBAUM