

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 66, No. 1

Spring 1993

	PAGE
The Transformation of Macau	<i>Jonathan Porter</i> 7
Political Texts in Chinese Universities before and after Tiananmen	<i>Ruth Hayhoe</i> 21
Democracy and Development in Nepal: Prospects and Challenges	<i>Narayan Khadka</i> 44
New Immigration Policy and Unskilled Foreign Workers in Japan	<i>Keiko Yamanaka</i> 72
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 4-6)	91



ABSTRACTS

The Transformation of Macau

Jonathan Porter

At the end of 1999, Macau will revert to full Chinese sovereignty after almost 450 years as a Portuguese territory. While the city has long been known as a charming colonial backwater, in the last decade rapid development in many sectors has transformed it almost beyond any resemblance to its former character. In the process it is emerging from neighboring Hong Kong's shadow. Although previous phases of Macau's historical evolution have witnessed significant changes, none compares with its recent transformation. This article discusses changes in demography, land use and urbanization, economic and financial development, transportation and infrastructure, and political development. It concludes that Macau is increasingly becoming an integral leg of a triangular industrial, commercial, and financial complex centered on the Pearl River delta. This transformation amounts to a fundamental change in the city's relationship to the region and the world.

Political Texts in Chinese Universities before and after Tiananmen

Ruth Hayhoe

This essay considers political textbooks in Chinese universities before and after Tiananmen from the perspective of the search for cultural meaning. The first part discusses Habermas' concept of cultural rationalization and attempts to apply this to an overview of Chinese development since 1949. Part two examines the changes taking place in political education from the mid-eighties, with a special focus on the content and ideas of the new textbooks that were developed. These are interpreted as part of a process of cultural rationalization, which was brought to an abrupt halt as a result of June 4. Part three of the paper examines the attempts made to reformulate political education in the aftermath of June 4 in ways that restored fixed authoritarian categories of meaning and prevented further cultural rationalization. The paper concludes that these attempts to counter "all-out Westernization" are actually likely to produce distortions in China's modernization that have parallels with Habermas' depiction of the Western experience.

Democracy and Development in Nepal: Prospects and Challenges

Narayan Khadka

Like many Third World countries, Nepal's political system transformed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy after a mass upsurge had toppled the partyless panchayat regime in the spring of 1990. Nepal is now in the process of consolidating democracy after successfully drafting a new constitution, and conducting the general elections for parliament and local political bodies. But as in many fledgling democracies, Nepal's democratically elected government has been confronted by daunting challenges. The parliamentary opposition led by the various Communist factions, an inefficient and politicized bureaucracy, and inner-party and inter-party conflicts are some of the serious challenges. As a consequence of these challenges, the government has not been able to provide economic relief measures, and create conditions for just and equitable development. This paper examines the prospects of and challenges for democracy and development in Nepal, and offers some suggestions for institutionalizing democracy and developing the economy.

New Immigration Policy and Unskilled Foreign Workers in Japan

Keiko Yamanaka

Since the mid-1980s, a rising flow of foreign workers has posed a complex dilemma for Japanese society, where the majority embrace the myth of "racial" homogeneity. The foreign workers are drawn by factors that include wide wage differentials between neighboring Asian countries and Japan, and Japan's chronic labor shortage in labor-intensive industries — manufacturing, construction and services. Reform of the Immigration Law in 1989 sought essentially to preserve the status quo of no unskilled foreign labor. Yet since the reform, five distinctive groups of *de facto* cheap labor have emerged: (1) Nikkeijin (descendants of Japanese emigrants), (2) company trainees, (3) students of Japanese language schools, (4) female entertainers, and finally (5) illegal workers who overstay their visas. These persons total an estimated five hundred thousand or nearly one percent of the total work force. Willingly or unwillingly, Japan has opened its door to unskilled labor from developing countries, and is on the way to becoming a multicultural society. But its *ad hoc* immigration policies yield results that in effect treat immigrant workers as second-class citizens.

The New Zealand Journal of History

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Vol.26, No.2, October 1992 contains:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
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| Jeremy Mouat | <i>The Ultimate Crisis of the Waihi Gold Mining Company</i> |

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BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- STUDIES ON ASIA AND AFRICA FROM LATIN AMERICA. Edited by
David N. Lorenzen. *Edward L. Farmer* 91

China and Inner Asia

- THE CHINA-HONG CONNECTION: The Key to China's Open-Door Policy. By Yun-Wing Sung. *Gregory Eliyu Guldin* 92
- CHINA ON THE EDGE: The Crisis of Ecology and Development. By He Bochuan. *Vaclav Smil* 93
- CHINA'S COASTAL CITIES: Catalysts for Modernization. Edited by Yue-man Yeung, and Xu-wei Hu. *Dali L. Yang* 94
- CHINA: People and Places in the Land of One Billion. By Christopher J. Smith. *Suzanne Ogden* 95
- THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF CHINA: Volume 15. The People's Republic, Part 2: Revolutions Within the Chinese Revolution 1966-1982. Edited by Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank. *Keith Forster* 97
- MONEY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: A Comparative Study. By Gavin Peebles. *Paul Bowles* 99
- CLASSICISM, POLITICS AND KINSHIP: The Ch'ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China. By Benjamin A. Elman. *R. Kent Guy* 100
- RENTS, TAXES, AND PEASANT RESISTANCE: The Lower Yangtzi, 1840-1950. By Kathryn Bernhardt. *Mary Backus Rankin* 101
- RELIGION UNDER SOCIALISM IN CHINA. Edited by Luo Zhufeng. Translated by Donald E. MacInnis and Zheng Xi'an. *Frank N. Pieke* 103
- CRISIS AND TRANSFORMATION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA: Society, Culture, and Modernity in Li Yü's World. By Chun-shu Chang, and Shelley Hsueh-lun Chang. *Timothy Brook* 104
- BRUSHES WITH POWER: Modern Politics and Chinese Art of Calligraphy. By Richard Curt Kraus. *Kian-Chow Kwok* 105
- LAOGAI: The Chinese Gulag. By Hongda Harry Wu. Translated by Ted Slingerland. *David Bachman* 106
- THE HISTORY AND THE LIFE OF CHINGGIS KHAN. Translated and annotated by Urgunge Onon. *Alan J.K. Sanders* 108
- THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY ON MODERN TAIWAN: Mission, Seminary, and Church. By Murray A. Rubenstein. *Kim-Kwong Chan* 109

Northeast Asia

- THE JAPANESE ECONOMY. By Takatoshi Ito. *John C. Ries* 111
- JAPAN, ASEAN, AND THE UNITED STATES: Research Papers and Policy Studies #35. Edited by Harry H. Kendall, and Clara Joewono. *Richard Stubbs* 112
- THE JAPANESE VOTER. By Scott C. Flanagan, Shinsaku Kohei, Ichiro Miyake, Bradley M. Richardson, and Joji Watanuki. *Masaru Kohno* 113
- YOBIKO LIFE: A Study of the Legitimation Process of Social Stratification in Japan. By Mamoru Tsukada. *John Lie* 114
- PEARL HARBOR REEXAMINED: Prologue to the Pacific War. Edited by Hilary Conroy, and Harry Wray. *Owen Griffiths* 116

South Asia

- ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM: Theory and Comparison. By Paul R. Brass. *W.H. Morris-Jones* 117
- THE BHOPAL TRAGEDY: Language, Logic, and Politics in the Production of a Hazard. By William Bogard. *Ward Morehouse* 118
- KASHMIR: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990. By Alistair Lamb. *Ian Copland* 120

Southeast Asia

- SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM: The Agenda for the 1990s. Edited by Per Ronnäs, and Örjan Sjöberg. *Dan Ton That* 121
- REVOLUTION IN THE VILLAGE: Tradition and Transformation in North Vietnam, 1925-1988. By Hy V. Luong. *Douglas Pike* 123
- THE STRATEGIC TRIANGLE AND REGIONAL CONFLICTS: Lessons from the Indochina Wars. By Min Chen. *Leszek Buszynski* 124
- THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION OF 1945: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War. By Stein Tonnesson. *Mark W. McLeod* 125
- VIETNAM: The Struggle for National Identity. By D.R. Sar Desai. *Joseph Ellis* 126
- CAMBODIA — THE 1989 PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE: Background Analysis and Documents. Compiled and edited by Amitav Acharya, Pierre Lizee, and Sorpong Peou. *Pamela Sodhy* 128
- FROM PKI TO THE COMINTERN, 1924-1941: The Apprenticeship of the Malayan Communist Party. By Cheah Boon Kheng. *Anthony Short* 131
- FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS IN A MALAY ADMINISTRATIVE VILLAGE: An Ethnographic Portrait. By A.B. Shamsul. *Marvin L. Rogers* 133
- OPIUM AND EMPIRE: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore, 1800-1910. By Carl A. Trocki. *C. Mary Turnbull* 134
- THE BRITISH AS RULERS: Governing Multiracial Singapore 1967-1914. By Edwin Lee. *Robert L. Curry, Jr.* 136
- A HISTORY OF SINGAPORE. Edited by Ernest C. T. Chew, and Edwin Lee. *Robert L. Curry, Jr.* 136
- FROM MARCOS TO AQUINO: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines. Edited by Benedict J. Kerkvliet, and Resil B. Mojares. *Robert B. Stauffer* 137
- 'OPENNESS', POLITICAL DISCONTENT AND SUCCESSION IN INDONESIA: Political Developments in Indonesia, 1989-91. By Max Lane. *Colin Brown* 139
- GANGSTERS AND REVOLUTIONARIES: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949. By Robert Cribb. *Harold Crouch* 141
- ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON INDONESIA. By Herman C. Kemp. *J.N.B. Tairas* 142

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

- ECONOMIC RATIONALISM IN CANBERRA: A Nation-Building State Changes Its Mind. By Michael Pusey. *Robert J. Williams* 144
- WHITEFELLA COMIN': Aboriginal Responses to Colonialism in Northern Australia. By David S. Trigger. *David Turner* 145
- CONNAISSANCE ET COMMUNICATION: Actes du Troisième colloque C.O.R.A.I.L. Edited by Bernard Gasser. *Donna Winslow* 147
- MINING, POLITICS, AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC. By Michael C. Howard. *Ralph R. Premdas* 148
- BOUGAINVILLE: The Mine and the People. By Paul Quodling. *Eugene Ogan* 149

TWISTED HISTORIES, ALTERED CONTEXTS: Representing the Chambri in a World System. By Deborah B. Gewertz, and Frederick K. Errington.	<i>Geoffrey M. White</i>	150
TIKOPIA SONGS: Poetic and Musical Art of Polynesian People of the Solomon Islands. By Raymond Firth, with Mervyn McLean.	<i>Richard Feinberg</i>	152
THE AMERICAN PACIFIC: From the Old China Trade to the Present. By Arthur Power Dudden.	<i>Donald W. Klein</i>	153
JAPANESE AMERICAN ETHNICITY: The Persistence of Community. By Stephen S. Fugita, and David J. O'Brien.	<i>Takie Sugiyama Lebra</i>	154

BRIEFLY NOTED

REACHING OUT EFFECTIVELY: Improving the Design, Management and Implementation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes. Edited by Ismael Getubig, Jr., and M. Khalid Shams.	<i>Aprodicio A. Laquian</i>	156
PLACE AND SPACE IN EASTERN INDONESIA. By Gregory Forth.	<i>John R. Bowen</i>	157
INDONESIA ASSESSMENT-1991. Edited by Hal Hill.	<i>R.S. Milne</i>	157
MICRONESIA: Decolonization and US Military Interests in the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands. By Gary Smith.	<i>Glenn Petersen</i>	158

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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Pacific Affairs

Vol. 66, No. 2

Summer 1993

	PAGE
Thailand's NIC Democracy: Studying from General Elections	<i>Somrudee Nicro</i> 167
Semi-Democracy in Malaysia: Withstanding the Pressures for Regime Change	<i>William Case</i> 183
Association and Adjustment in Japan's Textile Industry	<i>Dennis L. McNamara</i> 206
Chinese Investment and Business in Canada: Ethnic Entrepreneurship Reconsidered	<i>Peter S. Li</i> 219
Leaders, Institutions, and the Origins of the Great Leap Forward Review Article with Response	<i>Frederick C. Teiwes</i> 244
Correspondence	260
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 164-166)	263

ABSTRACTS

Thailand's NIC Democracy: Studying from General Elections

Somrudee Nicro

Thailand's recent economic growth suggests that this nation could be the next "newly industrializing country" (NIC) of the Pacific Rim. During the past decade, Thailand has also seen the institutionalization of its parliamentary system. This article explores the interrelationship between the nation's economic and political development. Particular focus is placed on the expansion of the private sector and the direct participation of business-people in national politics. The paper includes a case study of parliamentary elections in the northeastern province of Khon Kaen between 1933 and 1988. The analysis points to the dissolution of the "bureaucratic polity" which had dominated Thai politics since the 1960s.

Semi-Democracy in Malaysia: Withstanding the Pressures for Regime Change

William Case

During the last two decades, transitions from authoritarian to democratic regimes have occurred in a large number of countries, generating a vast scholarly literature. Questions about movement from "semi-democracies" to "full" democratic openness, however, have been less widely explored. By examining Malaysia's political record, one is able to specify more closely this category of "semi-" or "limited democracies", as well as assess the increasing pressures for further regime opening. During the two years before Malaysia's general election in 1990, socioeconomic trends, elite-level decisionmaking, and external influences implied transition toward broader democratic procedures and a more competitive party system. But in the period since that election, many semi-democratic controls have been swiftly reimposed. One concludes that semi-democracies may possess greater intrinsic resilience than "ideal-type" authoritarian regimes, enabling state elites effectively to resist pressures toward full democracy.

Association and Adjustment in Japan's Textile Industry

Dennis L. McNamara

The major spinning firms in Japan joined the state in shaping and enforcing a successful restructuring program from 1956 through 1983. Most larger firms in the powerful Japan Spinners' Association (JSA) cooperated in adjustment programs such as spindle reductions and production cartels. They took the opportunity to curtail spinning, diversify into nontextile production, and move spinning offshore. Success in a common program of change might suggest conformity, but the Japanese case highlights accommodation of divergence among a minority who reinvested in a declining spinning industry, as well as common directions of change away from spinning among the majority of the mills. The paper attempts to explain toleration of divergence in Japan's adjustment program from the perspective of neo-corporatist theory. The role of the JSA in shaping and implementing these programs, mobilizing the majority, and accommodating the minority provides a focus. I suggest that neo-corporatist patterns of policy formation and enforcement evident at the JSA supported accommodation of dissent among the minority of mills, without loss of consistent directions of change among the majority. A conclusion draws attention to institutionalized means of accommodating choices for market insulation or market exposure in adjustment programs beyond textiles.

**Chinese Investment and Business in Canada:
Ethnic Entrepreneurship Reconsidered**

Peter S. Li

Cultural and contextual factors have been used to account for the success of Chinese entrepreneurship in Canada; the former stresses the sojourning mentality of the Chinese and their kinship structure, and the latter, market discrimination. This paper argues that it is no longer accurate to consider Chinese business as having one type, and that recent changes have resulted in four categories of Chinese business: (1) the traditional small family-operated businesses in personal service; (2) Chinese-operated professional services; (3) subsidiary firms and investments controlled by offshore Chinese corporations; and (4) capital-intensive investments of Chinese business immigrants. While transplanted culture and blocked mobility are relevant to understanding the development of Chinese small businesses in the service sector before World War II, different explanations are needed to account for other types of Chinese business. Chinese professional services developed because of the emergence of the Chinese professional class in Canada and the growth of the Chinese immigrant population. The expansion in scale and capitalization of Chinese businesses in recent years is linked to capital-intensive investments by offshore Chinese corporations and by Chinese business immigrants. The emergence of these Chinese businesses can be explained in terms of an extension of a capitalist rationality, as Chinese financiers and capitalists expand their corporate empire with the capital accumulated in the fast-growing markets of Hong Kong and South China, and as the political future of Hong Kong and the immigration policy of Canada facilitate capital migration to Canada.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- THE MILITARY, THE STATE, AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. Edited by Viberto Selochan. *Zakaria Haji Ahmad* 263
 PACIFIC ASIA. By David Drakakis-Smith. *Brian Pendleton* 264

China and Inner Asia

- STATE & SOCIETY IN CHINA: The Consequences of Reform. Edited by Arthur Lewis Rosenbaum. *Thomas B. Gold* 266
 ECONOMIC THEORIES IN CHINA, 1979-1988. By Robert C. Hsu. *Nina Halpern* 267
 THE ECONOMIC CONTRACT LAW OF CHINA: Legitimation and Contract Autonomy in the PRC. By Pitman B. Potter. *William C. Jones* 268
 FROM SWORDS TO PLOWSHARES: Defense Industry Reform in the PRC. By Paul Humes Folta. *June Teufel Dreyer* 270
 WESTERN IMAGES OF CHINA. By Colin Mackerras. *Warren I. Cohen* 271
 THE EAGLE-DRAGON ALLIANCE: America's Relations with China in World War II. By Wesley M. Bagby. *Stephen R. MacKinnon* 273
 FACING JAPAN: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931-1937. By Parks M. Coble. *Diana Lary* 274
 VOYAGER FROM XANADU: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West. By Morris Rossabi. *Wayne Schlepp* 275

Northeast Asia

- THE JAPANESE QUESTION: Power and Purpose in a New Era. By Kenneth B. Pyle. *Michael A. Barnhart* 276
 INSIDE JAPAN'S DEFENCE: Technology, Economics and Strategy. By Michael W. Chinworth. *Frank C. Langdon* 277
 JAPAN'S RESPONSE TO THE GORBACHEV ERA, 1985-1991: A Rising Superpower Views a Declining One. By Gilbert Rozman. *Donald W. Klein* 279
 AUTHORITY WITHOUT POWER: Law and the Japanese Paradox. By John Owen Haley. *Lonny E. Carlile* 280
 HOW POLICIES CHANGE: The Japanese Government and the Aging Society. By John Creighton Campbell. *Andrew Dewit* 281
 THE U.S.-JAPAN ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: A Policy Framework for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. Edited by Kaoru Okuizumi, Kent E. Calder and Gerrit W. Gong. *Robert M. Orr, Jr.* 282
 KOREA OLD AND NEW: A History. By Carter J. Eckert, Ki-baik Lee, Young Ick Lew, Michael Robinson and Edward W. Wagner. *Vipran Chandra* 284
 U.S.-KOREAN RELATIONS FROM LIBERATION TO SELF-RELIANCE: The Twenty-Year Record. By Donald Stone Macdonald. *John Chay* 286
 FROM PUSAN TO PANMUNJOM. By General Paik Sun Yup. *Claude A. Buss* 287

South Asia

- FOUNDATIONS OF INDIA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY: Towards an Agenda for the 1990s. Edited by Subroto Roy and William E. James. *Pratap Bhanu Mehta* 288
 THE SIKHS: History, Religion, and Society. By W.H. McLeod. *Gurharpal Singh* 290

- CULTURE, CLASS, AND DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN: The Emergence of an Industrial Bourgeoisie in Punjab. By Anita M. Weiss. *Hassan N. Gardedi* 291
- THE IMAGE TRAP: M.G. Ramachandran in Film and Politics. By M.S.S. Pandian. *Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.* 292

Southeast Asia

- SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ERA: Politics in Asia and the Pacific: Interdisciplinary Perspectives. By Clark D. Neher. *Jim Placzek* 294
R.S. Milne 295
- SOUTHEAST ASIAN CAPITALISTS. Edited by Ruth McVey.
- QUAND L'OPIMUM FINANCAIT LA COLONISATION EN INDOCHINE. By Chantel Descours-Gatin. *Alexander Woodside* 296
- LOCAL POLITICS IN MALAYSIA: Patterns of Change in Sungai Raya. By Marvin L. Rogers. *Simon Barraclough* 298
- DEFORESTATION IN THE POSTWAR PHILIPPINES. By David M. Kummer. *Gordon Brent Ingram* 299
- THE MAKING OF A NATION. Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism. By John N. Schumacher. *Jose S. Arcilla, S.J.* 300
- MINDORO: A Social History of a Philippine Island in the 20th Century — A Case Study of a Delayed Development Process. By Volker Schult. *Remigio E. Agpalo* 302
- INDONESIE, L'ARMEE ET LE POUVOIR: de la Révolution au Développement. By François Cayrac-Blanchard. *François Raillon* 303
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MOUNTAIN JAVA: An Interpretive History. By Robert W. Hefner. *Luc Nagtegaal* 304
- PRIESTS AND PROGRAMMERS: Technologies of Power in the Engineered Landscapes of Bali. By J. Stephen Lansing. *G. G. Weix* 306
- STRANGE NEIGHBOURS: The Australia-Indonesia Relationship. Edited by Desmond Ball and Helen Wilson. *H. W. Arndt* 307

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

- ART AND IDENTITY IN OCEANIA. Edited by Allan Hanson and Louise Hanson. *Susanne Kuchler* 308
- DAMNED IF WE DO: Contradictions in Women's Health Care. By Dorothy Broom. *Nancy Waxler-Morrison* 309
- DARK SIDE OF THE DREAM: Australian Literature and the Postcolonial Mind. By Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra. *Robert Tonkinson* 310
- PILGRIM PATH: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii. By Mary Zwiép. *Mary N. MacDonald* 312
- A RAPE OF JUSTICE: MacArthur and the New Guinea Hangings. By Walter A. Luszki. *Lamont Lindstrom* 314
- SMOKE AND FIRE: The Chinese in Montreal. By Chan Kwok Bun. *Graham E. Johnson* 315
- VANCOUVER'S CHINATOWN: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980. By Kay J. Anderson. *Yuen-Fong Woon* 316

Briefly Noted

- REPORTING THE NEWS FROM CHINA. Edited by Robin Porter. *John Schidlowsky* 318
- THE COMMON LAW SYSTEM IN CHINESE CONTEXT: Hong Kong in Transition. By Berry Fong-chung Hsu, foreword by Roger B.M. Cotterrell. *Pitman B. Potter* 318

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND: A Portrait of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew (Second Edition). By James Minchin.	<i>R.S. Milne</i> 319
EEN HAAN IN OORLOG: Toloqna Arung Labuaja een Buginees heldendicht. By Roger Tol.	<i>Tineke Hellwig</i> 320
LIVING IN DELI: Its Society as Imagined in Colonial Fiction. By Lily E. Clerkx and Wim F. Wertheim.	<i>Tineke Hellwig</i> 321
AUSTRALIA COMPARED: People, Policies and Politics. Edited by Francis G. Castles.	<i>Charles Price</i> 322

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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Pacific Affairs

Vol. 66, No. 3

Fall 1993

	PAGE
On Political Negotiation: America Pushes to Open Up Japan	<i>Michael W. Donnelly</i> 329
Transitional Politics of Korea, 1987–1992: Activation of Civil Society	<i>Su-Hoon Lee</i> 351
The Exit, Voice, and Struggle to Return of Chinese Political Exiles	<i>Shu-Yun Ma</i> 368
The Lin Biao Incident: More Than Twenty Years Later	<i>Stephen Uhalley, Jr.</i> <i>and Jin Qiu</i> 386
Book Reviews (listed on pp. 326–328)	399

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ABSTRACTS

On Political Negotiation: America Pushes to Open Up Japan

Michael W. Donnelly

Continuous bilateral trade disputes have marked Japanese-American relations for 25 years. This essay seeks to understand the process of political negotiations by "dis-aggregating" the state, on both sides of the Pacific, and by drawing on a body of negotiation theory relatively neglected by political scientists. The analysis suggests that negotiations are rooted in the difficulties faced by politically divided governments of two economically interdependent but competitive and structurally different economies over how to deal with economic and political adjustment. The process of negotiation on many specific issues involves four important elements of joint management: interest bargaining, integrative compromise, attitudinal adjustments and intra-state accommodation. Each of these elements has its own logic, implies particular tactics and strategies, and they all fit uneasily together. The result is a practice of political management that neither side likes very much and seems unable to resolve bilateral economic conflicts.

Transitory Politics of Korea, 1987-1992:

Activation of Civil Society

Su-Hoon Lee

The main purpose of this paper is to analyze contemporary Korean politics highlighting (1) liberalization of the regime, (2) activation of the civil society, and (3) weakening of the state. In doing so, I have utilized a conceptual framework which encompasses three key concepts, i.e., the regime, the state, and the civil society. First, I discuss the democratization movements in South Korea prior to the advent of the Sixth Republic, which resulted in the 1987 mass uprising. I note the critical role that the middle strata played during the uprising. Second, I paid attention to the activation of civil society under the republic by examining two cases of civil society movements, namely, the "Korea Anti-Pollution Movement Association" and "Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice." Third, weakening of the state is discussed not only in view of the relative increase of power in civil society but also in view of the erosion of state capacity. Finally, I conclude that liberalization of the regime made significant progress during the 1987-1992 period.

The Exit, Voice, and Struggle to Return of Chinese Political Exiles

Shu-Yun Ma

Chinese exile politics is a recent phenomenon that has not been sufficiently discussed in a scholarly manner. Extending Albert Hirschman's well-known Exit-Voice-Loyalty model, this paper identifies three defining characteristics of the Chinese political exile: exit, voice, and struggle to return. It analyzes the nature of Chinese exile politics in terms of these three features, and shows how they have given rise to an identity crisis among Chinese political exiles. Exit was automatically achieved once the exiles left China. After that, they need to continue "voicing" in order to maintain their identity as political exiles. But this can sometimes result in exaggeration and hypercriticism. Exit and voice are not enough to differentiate Chinese exiles from ordinary overseas Chinese. Only with the struggle to return can political exiles establish a clearly definable character. It is this quest for a definable character that is the major source of their problems.

The Lin Biao Incident: More Than Twenty Years Later

Stephen Uhalley, Jr. and Jin Qiu

The Lin Biao Incident in 1971 remains one of the foremost enigmas in the history of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese government's handling of the incident has given rise over the years to much speculation as to the truth of Lin Biao's fall and death. The authors of this article discuss different hypotheses concerning the incident including the official Chinese version and a popular provocative account. Special attention is given to a newly emerging hypothesis being discussed by Lin's daughter and others who were close to him. It reveals important new dimensions to the story of Lin Biao and, although still needing more corroborating evidence, this newer version opens up a new perspective on the incident. Aware of the reasons for the Chinese government's reluctance to pursue this matter, the authors note the passage of time since the incident and the desirability of shedding more light on it. They express hope that those who can provide useful information on it will soon do so.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- STATES AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE ASIAN PACIFIC RIM. Edited by Richard P. Appelbaum and Jeffrey Henderson. *Tun-jen Cheng* 399
- RICE SCIENCE AND DEVELOPMENT POLITICS: IRRRI's Strategies and Asian Diversity 1950-1980. By Robert S. Anderson, Edwin Levy and Barrie Morrison. *Gary Hawes* 400

China and Inner Asia

- THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1989 TIANANMEN CRISIS IN MAINLAND CHINA. Edited by Bih-jaw Lin, et al. *Judy Polumbaum* 402
- POPULAR PROTEST AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN MODERN CHINA: Learning from 1989. Edited by Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom and Elizabeth J. Perry. *David Ownby* 404
- TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC CHINA: The Intellectual Autobiography of Yan Jiaqi. By Jiaqi Yan. *David Bachman* 405
- BAREFOOT IN THE BOARDROOM: Venture and Misadventure in the People's Republic of China. By Bill Purves. *Pitman Potter* 406
- JOINT VENTURES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: The Control of Foreign Direct Investment under Socialism. By Margaret M. Pearson. *Pitman Potter* 406
- INVESTING IN CHINA: Ten Years of the Open Door Policy. By Richard Pomfret. *Pitman Potter* 406
- FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN CHINA 1978-1990. By Nicholas R. Lardy. *Pitman Potter* 406
- THE SCHOOLING OF CHINA: 2nd Edition. By John Cleverley. *Wenhui Zhong* 409
- CHINESE MILITARY THEORY: Ancient and Modern. By Chen-Ya Tien. *Ngok Lee* 410
- PILGRIMS AND SACRED SITES IN CHINA. Edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-Fang Yü. *Daniel Boucher* 411
- CHINA'S BITTER VICTORY: The War with Japan, 1937-1945. Edited by James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine. *John H. Boyle* 413
- CHINA DIPLOMACY: The Washington-Taipei-Beijing Triangle. By John F. Copper. *Thomas J. Christensen* 414
- A TRAGIC BEGINNING: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947. By Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers and Wei Wou. *John F. Copper* 416
- PERFIDIOUS ALBION: The Abandonment of Hong Kong 1997. By William McGurn. *Johannes Chan* 417

Northeast Asia

- JAPAN'S FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND ASIAN ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE: Production, Trade, and Financial Systems. Edited by Shojiro Tokunaga. *Jeremy T. Paltiel* 419
- WILL THE 21ST CENTURY BE THE AGE OF INDIVIDUALISM? By Ronald P. Dore. *Adrian Marriage* 420
- IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE IN MODERN JAPAN. Edited by Roger Goodman and Kirsten Refsing. *J. Victor Koschmann* 422
- SOCIAL MOBILITY IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN. By Hiroshi Ishida. *Millie R. Creighton* 424
- RE-MADE IN JAPAN: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society. Edited by Joseph J. Tobin. *Bernard Bernier* 425
- US-JAPAN ALLIANCE DIPLOMACY 1945-1990. By Roger Buckley. *Michael W. Donnelly* 427

- POWER, ECONOMICS, AND SECURITY: The United States and Japan in Focus. Edited by Henry Bienen. *Robert E. Bedeski* 428
- STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN A NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRY: The Korean Experience. Edited by Vittorio Corbo and Sang-Mok Suh. *John Lie* 430

South Asia

- THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY II.3: The Sikhs of the Punjab. By J.S. Grewal. *Pashaura Singh* 431
- CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN SOUTH ASIA: Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. By Veena Kukreja. *William L. Richter* 432
- BOUNDARIES AND IDENTITIES: Muslims, Work and Status in Aligarh. By E.A. Mann. *Theodore P. Wright, Jr.* 433
- SUFI SAINTS AND STATE POWER: The Pirs of Sind, 1843–1947. By Sarah F.D. Ansari. *Derryl N. Maclean* 435
- INDIA BRIEFING, 1991. Edited by Philip Oldenburg. *Arthur G. Rubinoff* 436
- THE HOPE AND THE REALITY: U.S.-Indian Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan. Edited by Harold A. Gould and Sumit Ganguly. *Deepa Khosla* 438
- TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER: Adjusting India-U.S. Relations. Edited by Leo E. Rose and Eric Gonsalves. *Deepa Khosla* 438
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMERCE: Southern India, 1500–1650. By Sanjay Subrahmanyam. *Balkrishna G. Gokhale* 440
- TOWARD EMPOWERMENT: Women and Movement Politics in India. By Leslie J. Calman. *Dorothy Stein* 441
- GENDER TRANSFORMATION, POWER AND RESISTANCE AMONG WOMEN IN SRI LANKA: The Fish Don't Talk about the Water. By Carla Risseuw. *Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam* 442
- ELECTORAL ALLEGIANCE IN SRI LANKA. By Dilesh Jayantha. *Patrick Peebles* 444

Southeast Asia

- DRAGONS ENTANGLED: Indochina and the China-Vietnam War. By Steven J. Hood. *William J. Duiker* 445
- TIGER IN THE BARBED WIRE: An American in Vietnam 1952–1991. By Howard R. Simpson. *Mark W. McLeod* 447
- MONARCHIE ET FAIT COLONIAL AU VIET-NAM (1875–1925): Le Crépuscule d'un Ordre Traditionnel. By Nguyen The Anh. *Alexander Woodside* 448
- HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF LAOS. By Martin Stuart-Fox and Mary Kooyman. *Joel M. Halpern* 449
- INDOCHINA IN THE 1940S AND 1950S: Translation of Contemporary Japanese Scholarship on Southeast Asia. Edited by Takashi Shiraishi and Motoo Furuta. *Nguyen Manh Hung* 451
- READING SOUTHEAST ASIA: Translation of Contemporary Japanese Scholarship on Southeast Asia. By Noriaki Oshikawa, et al. *Tineke Hellwig* 453
- THE PHILIPPINES: Colonialism, Collaboration, and Resistance! By William J. Pomeroy. *Robert B. Stauffer* 454
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GENDER: Women and the Sexual Division of Labour in the Philippines. By Elizabeth Uy Eviota. *Virginia A. Miralao* 457
- ILOCANO IRRIGATION: The Corporate Resolution. By Henry T. Lewis. *Robert C. Hunt* 458

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

- THE PRICE OF HEALTH: Australian Governments and Medical Politics 1910-1960. By James A. Gillespie. *Anne Crichton* 459
- WORKING FOR CHANGE: The Movement Against Domestic Violence. By Heather McGregor and Andrew Hopkins. *Deborah Montgomerie* 461
- IDENTITY THROUGH HISTORY: Living Stories in a Solomon Islands Society. By Geoffrey M. White. *John Barker* 462
- ANDROGYNOUS OBJECTS: String Bags and Gender in Central New Guinea. By Maureen A. MacKenzie. *Miriam Kahn* 464
- TRADITIONAL FISHING IN THE TORRES STRAIT ISLANDS. By R.E. Johannes and J.W. MacFarlane. *Richard Feinberg* 465

BRIEFLY NOTED

- THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE: Managing the Regional Fall-Out. Edited by Trevor Taylor. *Paul Marantz* 467
- JAPAN CHALLENGES AMERICA: Managing an Alliance in Crisis. By Harrison M. Holland. *Hilary Conroy, with Peter Shin* 467
- THE COLONIAL PAST: Dutch Sources on Indonesian History. Edited by Peter Boomgaard. *Paul W. Van der Veur* 468
- EAST ASIAN ART AND AMERICAN CULTURE: A Study in International Relations. By Warren I. Cohen. *Hsio-Yen Shih* 469

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Pacific Affairs

Vol. 66, No. 4

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	PAGE
China's Foreign Debt	<i>Erika Platte</i> 481
The Politics of Deforestation in Indonesia	<i>Peter Dauvergne</i> 497
The Uneasy Peace: New Caledonia's Matignon Accords at Mid-Term	<i>Stephen Henningham</i> 519
Secret Sino-Soviet Negotiations on Outer Mongolia, 1918–1925	<i>Bruce A. Elleman</i> 539
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 478–479)	564
Index to Volume 66 (1993)	627

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ABSTRACTS

China's Foreign Debt

Erika Platte

China's external debt has increased rapidly since China opened its doors to the outside world in 1978. In terms of total debt accumulation China ranks among the most indebted countries in the world. But its strong export performance has kept the debt rate and the debt servicing rate well below levels at which debt servicing difficulties would arise. Due to the impressive growth rate of the Chinese economy, the ratio of total debt to gross national product stands out as the lowest among the developing-country debtors. A low level of short-term debt and more than adequate foreign exchange reserves ensure that the country is not exposed to a liquidity risk. In spite of various drawbacks in the manner in which China handles the borrowing of foreign capital, it has very good credibility as a borrower. The key to preventing a debt crisis lies in the success of the ongoing economic reform.

The Politics of Deforestation in Indonesia

Peter Dauvergne

Despite growing concern over the extent and consequences of tropical deforestation in the 1980s and early 1990s, it is continuing unabated. This article maintains that a key reason for the failure to slow deforestation is the inadequacy of conventional explanations. These provide important insights into the specific agents and underlying causes of deforestation but do not sufficiently explain the process which leads to the destruction of tropical forests. To better understand this process, it is necessary to examine the politics which shape and drive the various factors contributing to deforestation. In the case of Indonesia, a centralized military-dominated leadership, attitudes of the Javanese decision makers, institutionalized corruption, an emphasis on stability and national integration, a political system which mainly benefits the elite, and financial and technical support from international institutions and Northern countries, especially Japan, encourage deforestation while protecting interests which exploit the forests. This political context increases the environmental impact of land clearing for agriculture, large-scale development projects, logging, poverty, population growth and poorly designed government policies. As a result, Indonesia continues to lose nine hundred thousand hectares of forest every year. The analysis suggests that to decrease the rate of forest loss in Indonesia it is essential to recognize and reshape political institutions and attitudes driving deforestation — only then will effective solutions be possible.

The Uneasy Peace: New Caledonia's Matignon Accords at Mid-Term

Stephen Henningham

In June 1988, the Matignon Accords established an interim settlement between New Caledonia's indigenous Melanesian nationalists and their nonindigenous, pro-France opponents. These accords are now half way through their ten-year span. This article reviews their implementation, and examines attitudes to them.

Conflicts and bitterness endure. The future of the accords will depend on continued moderation by leaders on both sides, and on careful management by the French government. Nonetheless, the accords have restored peaceful conditions and initiated development programs for the disadvantaged Melanesians. They have also created a context which may permit the negotiation of a longer-term settlement, possibly involving independence-in-association with France.

**Secret Sino-Soviet Negotiations
On Outer Mongolia, 1918–1925**

Bruce A. Elleman

After the Red Army invaded Outer Mongolia in 1921, the USSR publicly promised to respect China's sovereignty, but relied on a 1924 secret protocol with the Peking government to avoid fulfilling this promise. This protocol stated that all former Sino-Russian treaties were not to be enforced between the signing of the May 31, 1924 Sino-Soviet treaty and the negotiation of new treaties at an official conference, scheduled to meet one month later. After delaying the Sino-Soviet conference until August 1925, the USSR falsely claimed that the Red Army had already withdrawn from Outer Mongolia, thus making a new treaty unnecessary.

By resorting to secret diplomacy, the Soviet government was able to retain *de facto* sovereignty over Outer Mongolia from 1924 through until the late 1980s. Outer Mongolia's incorporation into the Soviet bloc during 1924, twenty years before the USSR carried out similar policies in Eastern Europe, suggests that the Cold War did not originate in Europe, but made its first appearance in the Far East.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

Asia General

- EDUCATION IN ASIA: A Comparative Study of Cost and Financing.
By Jee-Peng Tan and Alain Mingat. *Hyung-chan Kim* 564
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MERCHANT EMPIRES: State Power and
World Trade 1350-1750. Edited by James D. Tracy. *Roy S. Hanashiro* 565
- UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD: A Study of China
and India. By A.S. Bhalla. *André Laliberté* 567

China and Inner Asia

- FAIRBANK REMEMBERED. Compiled by Paul A. Cohen and
Merle Goldman. *Susan Naquin* 568
- AN OLD STATE IN NEW SETTINGS: Studies in the Social
Anthropology of China in Memory of Maurice Freedman.
Edited by Hugh D.R. Baker and Stephan Feuchtwang. *Graham E. Johnson* 569
- CHINA BRIEFING, 1992. Edited by William A. Joseph. *Graham E. Johnson* 571
- EDUCATION AND MODERNIZATION: The Chinese Experience.
Edited by Ruth Hayhoe. *Suzanne Ogden* 572
- QUELLING THE PEOPLE: The Military Suppression of the Beijing
Democracy Movement. By Timothy Brook. *Tony Saich* 573
- ROADS NOT TAKEN: The Struggle of Opposition Parties in
Twentieth-Century China. Edited by Roger B. Jeans. *Arif Dirlik* 575
- TIME FOR TELLING TRUTH IS RUNNING OUT: Conversations with
Zhang Shenfu. By Vera Schwarcz. *Diana Lary* 576
- DISORDER UNDER HEAVEN: Collective Violence in the Ming
Dynasty. By James W. Tong. *Timothy Brook* 577
- MODERN CHINESE WRITERS: Self Portrayals. Edited by Helmut
Martin and Jeffrey Kinkley. *Diana Lary* 579
- EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN HONG KONG: Toward One Country
and Two Systems. Edited by Gerard A. Postiglione and
Julian Leung Yat Ming. *Ruth Hayhoe* 580
- TAIWAN'S ENTERPRISES IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE. Edited by
N.T. Wang. *Cal Clark* 581
- TAIWAN: Beyond the Economic Miracle. Edited by Denis Fred
Simon and Michael Y.M. Kau. *Thomas B. Gold* 583

Northeast Asia

- ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT IN JAPAN.
By Brendan F.D. Barrett and Riki Therivel. *Roger W. Gale* 584
- THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF JAPAN: Volume 3: Cultural and
Social Dynamics. Edited by Shumpei Kumon and
Henry Rosovsky. *Solomon B. Levine* 586
- JAPAN'S FOREIGN AID: Power and Policy in a New Era. Edited by
Bruce M. Koppel and Robert M. Orr, Jr. *David Arase* 588
- THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JAPAN. Edited by Glenn D. Hook
and Michael A. Weiner. *Lonny E. Carlisle* 589
- POLITICS EAST AND WEST: A Comparison of Japanese and British
Political Culture. By Curtis H. Martin and Bruce Stronach. *Ian Neary* 590
- JANUS-FACED JUSTICE: Political Criminals in Imperial Japan.
By Richard H. Mitchell. *Sheldon Garon* 591
- THE JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER AND PUBLIC POLICY.
By Kenji Hayao. *Peter Dauvergne* 593
- THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF OSUGI SAKAE. Introduced and
translated by Byron K. Marshall. *Stephen S. Large* 595
- THE PRISON MEMOIRS OF A JAPANESE WOMAN. By Kaneko Fumiko.
Translated by Jean Inglis. *Barbara Molony* 596

- TSUDA UMEKO: and Women's Education in Japan.
By Barbara Rose. *Barbara Molony* 596
- HEROIC WITH GRACE: Legendary Women of Japan. Edited by
Chieko Irie Mulhern. *Barbara Molony* 596
- WOMEN OF THE MITO DOMAIN: Recollections of Samurai Family
Life. By Yamakawa Kikue. Translated by Kate Wildman Nakai. *Anne Walthall* 599
- KOREA BRIEFING, 1992. Edited by Donald N. Clark. *Chung-in Moon* 600

South Asia

- BANGLADESH AND THE SOUTH ASIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM.
By Dilara Choudhury. *Craig Baxter* 601
- ECOLOGY AND THE POLITICS OF SURVIVAL: Conflicts over Natural
Resources in India. By Vandana Shiva. *Robert S. Anderson* 603
- SOUTH ASIANS OVERSEAS: Migration and Ethnicity. Edited by
Colin Clarke, Ceri Peach, and Steven Vertovec. *Kathryn Hansen* 605
- PORTS AND THEIR HINTERLANDS IN INDIA 1700-1950. Edited by
Indu Banga. *Frank F. Conlon* 607
- EUROPEAN MERCHANT CAPITAL AND THE INDIAN ECONOMY:
A Historical Construction Based on Surat Factory Records
1630-1668. By Ruby Maloni. *Douglas E. Haynes* 608
- LANGUAGE, RELIGION, AND ETHNIC ASSERTIVENESS: The Growth of
Sinhalese Nationalism in Sri Lanka. By K.N.O. Dharmadasa. *Patrick Peebles* 609

Southeast Asia

- ANTHROPOLOGICAL OTHER OR BURMESE BROTHER: Studies in
Cultural Analysis. By Melford Spiro. *Mya Maung* 611
- BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS AND THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
THAILAND: From Bureaucratic Polity to Liberal Corporatism.
By Anek Laothamatas. *Ansil Ramsay* 612
- SIAM BECOMES THAILAND: A Story of Intrigue. By Judith A. Stowe. *Benjamin A. Batson* 614
- AN ISLAMIC APPROACH TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT — The Arqam Way.
By Muhammad Syukri Salleh. *Judith Nagata* 615
- BOUND TO EMPIRE: The United States and the Philippines.
By H.W. Brands. *Belinda A. Aquino* 617
- BANGKA TIN AND MENTOK PEPPER: Chinese Settlement on an
Indonesian Island. By Mary F. Somers Heidhues. *Kian Wie Thee* 618

Australasia and the Pacific Regions

- THE DIVERSE ASIANS: A Profile of Six Asian Communities in
Australia. Edited by James E. Coughlan. *J.C. Harles* 620
- BIG MEN & GREAT MEN: Personifications of Power in Melanesia.
Edited by Maurice Godelier and Marilyn Strathern. *John Barker* 621
- FOOTSTEPS IN THE SEA: Christianity in Oceania to World War II.
By John Garrett. *John Barker* 623

BRIEFLY NOTED

- RECORDS OF THE GRAND HISTORIAN: Han Dynasty Volumes I
and II (Revised Edition). By Sima Qian. Translated by
Burton Watson. *Edwin G. Pulleyblank* 625
- RECORDS OF THE GRAND HISTORIAN: Qin Dynasty. By Sima Qian.
Translated by Burton Watson. *Edwin G. Pulleyblank* 625
- FRIEND OR ALLY: New Zealand at Odds with its Past.
By Ewan Jamieson. *Stephen Levine* 626

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A History of Chinese Medicine

Dominique and Marie-Joseph Hoizey
Translated from the French by Paul Bailey

This intriguing book offers the first European account of medicine in China from the earliest times to the present. The authors examine the myths and legends of the Shang dynasty and discuss the theories of *yin* and *yang*, the five elements, acupuncture, and the use of medicinal herbs and drugs.

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