

Gunter Schubert (Hrsg.): China: Konturen einer Risikogesellschaft auf dem Weg in das 21. Jahrhundert

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In recent years, there has been great interest in East Asia in general and in the People's Republic of China in particular. Different interpretations of the region's economic and political developments could be heard in academic and non-academic circles. Gunter Schubert's collection of essays on modern China reflects some of the current discussions on Chinese politics, economy, and society. The book contains twelve articles, two of which analyse current trends in China's liberalisation and democratisation, three focus on China's foreign policies, five essays deal with social issues, and two with China's miraculous economy. The contributors are well-known in Germany and some — most notable here are Gunter Schubert, Carsten Herrmann-Pillath, and Frank Umbach — also in East Asian and American academic circles.

As to the political part of the book, Ding Ding's analysis of the opposition movement in China is outstanding. Ding Ding (Freie Universität Berlin) obviously did a lot of research on this issue. His paper is based on excellent sources and, thus, very different from what can usually be found on China's opposition movement. Ding, in detail, describes the transformation of identity among opponents to the non-democratic regime in Beijing. Ding argues that China's opposition was a product of the 1989 uprising: Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, opponents to the regime were referred to as "dissidents", rather than termed "opposition". As one of the consequences of Tian'anmen, however, Chinese intellectuals began not only to question the regime but also started to take great interest in replacing it.

Among the social issues covered in the book are two essays on Chinese nationalism and national identity. The first article written by Gunther Schubert (FEST, Heidelberg) is on the historic development of the debate on nationalism. Schubert concludes that the discussion of the late twentieth century on a broadly-accepted definition of Chinese nationalism differs little from earlier attempts. In his article, Schubert also takes a quick look at Taiwan and argues that the majority of the Taiwanese still cling to the concept of one Chinese nation but has already discarded the idea of "one nation, one country." Thomas Heberer's work on ethnic minorities and ethnic conflicts in the PRC is the second article on Chinese nationality and identity included in the book. Heberer (Gerhard-Mercator University Duisburg) deals with government policies concerning ethnic identity and socio-cultural conflicts in China. His work is based on a variety of sources and enriched by results of his own fieldwork in China.

Monika Schädler's work is on the present situation and the perspectives of the Chinese social security system. Changing economic policies have made it necessary for the government to reassess its social security policies. Schädler (Hochschule Bremen) gives a good description of the changes, current impact and possible future impact on the pension system, health insurance, and other social services. The author believes that the success of the Chinese reforms mainly depend on the ability of the government to restructure the state-owned enterprises and the financial sector. Schädler's work is mainly based on publications by institutions such as the World

Bank and the Economist Intelligence Unit. Doris Fischer's paper is on a somewhat related issue: the changes of Chinese labour market and its societal consequences. Fischer (Gerhard-Mercator University Duisburg) is quite optimistic about the future development of Chinese labour market, despite the fact that the number of unemployed is on the rise. Since the implementation of new policy goals of state-run enterprises in the 1980s, the gap between the have and have-nots has increased dramatically. Fisher argues that the Chinese government will have to implement effective policies to regulate the Chinese labour market, that is to get rid of corruption and protectionism. The paper is mainly based on Chinese sources. Peter Heck (Fachhochschule Trier) analyses in his paper the current situation of environmental protection in China. In 1978, environmental protection was incorporated in the nation's constitution. Peter Heck points out that since then China has done an extraordinary job if compared with other developing countries. Nevertheless, corruption and a lack of qualified personnel are still obstacles to a sustainable economic development in China. Heck further stresses the fact that China as well as other developing countries have made the mistake of coping outdated environmentally unfriendly Western production methods in an attempt to catch up with industrialist nations. The articles is based on English publications.

The book contains two papers on China's economy. The first written by Markus Taube (Gerhard-Mercator University Duisburg) focuses on China's internal economic problems that have become even more serious as a consequence of the 1997 East and South East Asian economic turmoil. Taube's paper is mainly based on English publications. Carsten Herrmann-Pillath points out that in general modern science is short of theories explaining China's economy, but sees in the "théorie de la regulation" a way out. Herrmann-Pillath (University Witten/Herdecke) argues that the Chinese economic development is far more complex than simple a transition from a planned to a market economy. He concludes in his paper that the Chinese government has to distance itself from its current capitalist role or face social unrest. The paper is mainly based on Chinese and English sources.

The three articles on China's foreign and security policies include one by Gu Xuewu (University of Bonn) in which the author states that China's foreign policy has ever since tried to make use of conflicts between other nations. During the Cold War period, China used this approach to its advantage in the bipolar world of politics. With the end of the Cold War and the emergency of a multi-polar political landscape, Gu doubts, however, the effectiveness of China's traditional foreign policies, and believes that it would be difficult for the Chinese to change their thousand year old foreign policy making method, since it has already become the very "flesh and blood" of the Chinese. The author may have overestimated China's role in world politics by saying that China would play a leading role in negotiations between North Korea and the United States. Gu's analysis is mainly based on articles published in the German magazine *China aktuell* and the Chinese newspaper *Renmin Ribao*. Frank Umbach (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Bonn) describes quite detailed the modernisation of the Chinese army. In his paper, Umbach draws a clear link between China's military built-up and the nation's shortage

of energy resources. The book may be useful for those with a general interest in China, and some papers may also be of help to researchers.

Christian Schafferer

Wenfang Tang, William L. Parish: Chinese Urban Life Under Reform. The Changing Social Contract

Cambridge u.a.: Cambridge UP 2000, 388 S., GB£ 15,99

Die Transformation des sozialistischen Wirtschaftssystems in der VR China bewirkt einen grundlegenden Wandel der Sozialstruktur. Der klassische Sozialvertrag für die städtische Bevölkerung gewährleistete dieser die Erfüllung ihrer Grundbedürfnisse (Arbeitsplatz, soziale Sicherheit, Wohnung, Gesundheit) und den Erhalt eines grundlegenden Lebensstandards. Dabei wurde der Lebensstandard durch Vollbeschäftigung gewährleistet, und zwar v.a. in Staatsbetrieben, nicht durch soziale Sicherungsnetze. Bei einem wirtschaftsstrukturellen Wandel hin zur Privatwirtschaft müssen hier also ganz neue Institutionen geschaffen werden, abgesehen davon, dass "neue Traditionen" wie Konsum (Mehrarbeit lohnt sich) und die Entwicklung der Medien (gedankliche Flexibilität) hinzukommen. Das Buch von Tang und Parish gibt einen tiefen Einblick in diesen Prozess in den chinesischen Städten für die späten 80er- und frühen 90er-Jahre.

Der Wandel birgt zumindest zwei Dilemmata: Zum einen muss die Balance von normativen (Opfer für den Staat), Zwangs- (Furcht vor Sanktionen) und Entlohnungsappellen neu bestimmt werden; die ersten beiden verlieren wegen der Abnahme direkter Kontrollmöglichkeiten an Wirksamkeit, Letztere nehmen an Bedeutung zu. Dabei wächst für die politische Führung die Gefahr, dass bei ökonomischen Krisen die Unzufriedenheit steigt. Zum anderen ist es problematisch, die Balance zu erhalten zwischen steigenden Erwartungen und den Möglichkeiten zu ihrer Erfüllung. So erfordert die Entwicklungsstrategie z.B. den Ausbau von Erziehung und Bildung, durch das notwendige Mehr an Informationen steigt aber auch die Meinungsvielfalt.

Die Änderung des Sozialvertrages von einem sozialistischen zu einem marktwirtschaftlichen bringt somit grundlegende Veränderungen in den Lebensverhältnissen, den Privilegien und Opportunitätsstrukturen hervor, die Gewinner und Verlierer erzeugen, auf Zustimmung, Ablehnung und Widerstand stoßen. Tang und Parish versuchen, mit Hilfe einer Vielzahl von Surveys die sozialen und zu einem geringeren Ausmaß die politischen Aspekte der Transformation zu erfassen. Dabei verfolgen sie zwei zentrale Aspekte: Welche systemischen Konsequenzen (Sozialstruktur, Verteilung, Prestige, Mobilität, Abhängigkeiten und persönliche Beziehungen, Karrieremuster, Motivation, Zufriedenheit, Art der Interessenvertretung) haben sozialistische und marktwirtschaftliche Sozialverträge, wie werden sie von den Betroffenen erfasst, wie beurteilt und welche Reaktion erzeugt der Wandel. Wer sind die Gewinner, wer die Verlierer beim Wandel von einer auf Redistribution zu einer auf Produktion basierenden Gesellschaft und wie ist die Akzeptanz der Veränderungen.

Das Buch ist in vier große Teile geteilt. Nach der Darstellung der grundlegenden Linien der Veränderung und ihres Untersuchungsziels widmen sich die Autoren im