zeigt, dass die GAM sich hinsichtlich Zielvorhaben und Methodik nahezu vollständig von einer klassischen Guerillabewegung zu einem Gewaltunternehmer im Sinne der „Neuen Kriege" gewandelt hat.

Die acehnesische Befreiungsbewegung GAM wird durch diese Studie entmystifiziert. Während andere Analysten mit der GAM sympathisieren oder gar, wie der renommierte australische Sozialwissenschaftler Damien Kingsbury, als GAM-Berater auf der Friedenskonferenz in Helsinki im Jahr 2005 aktiv werden, zeichnet die vorliegende Untersuchung von Antje Mißbach ein realistischeres Bild und prangert den religiösen und nationalistischen Chauvinismus der GAM an.

Ihr gelingt die Verknüpfung sozialwissenschaftlicher Theorie mit regionalkundlicher Kompetenz, so dass neue Einblicke und Erkenntnisse in die komplizierten Details des Aceh-Konflikts gewonnen werden können. Im Unterschied zu anderen, historisierenden Untersuchungen des Konflikts nimmt die Autorin eine gegenwartsbezogene und kritische Bewertung vor. Es wäre allenfalls wünschenswert gewesen, dass sie stärker landessprachliche Quellen und eigene Interviews mit den Akteuren verarbeitet hätte.

Das flüssig geschriebene und mit Literatur- und Quellenangaben sehr gut dokumentierte Buch ist sowohl Indonesienkennern als auch anderen Interessierten, die sich allgemein mit innerstaatlichen Kriegen in Entwicklungsländern auseinandersetzen wollen, zu empfehlen.

Patrick Ziegenhain

RICHARD MADSEN, *China's Catholics. Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society*. (Comparative Studies in Religion and Society 12). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. XIII, 183 pages, 12 ill., 2 maps, US$ 40.00. ISBN 0-520-21326-2

DAVID AIKMAN, *Jesus in Beijing. How Christianity Is Transforming China and Changing the Global Balance of Power*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003. 344 pages, ill., US$ 27.95. ISBN 0-89526-128-6

ROBERT CUMMINGS NEVILLE, *Boston Confucianism. Portable Tradition in the Late-Modern World*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture). Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000. XXXV, 258 pages, US$ 24.95. ISBN 0-7914-4717-0

With the collapse of quasi-religious Maoist ideology and the subsequent spiritual void, religion has reemerged on a large scale in China. Richard Madsen previously worked as a Maryknoll missionary in Taiwan and is now teaching sociology at UC San Diego. He was surprised that Catholics in Tianjin and Hebei Province, where he did most of his field research in collaboration with the Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences, were very devout, yet sometimes disturbingly competitive. His overarching question is whether China will develop a civil society of relatively autonomous communities that provides moral guide-

lines, both to mitigate the harshness of the market economy and to protect citizens from oppression. His focus is on the potential contribution of Catholicism to such a civil society. To forego endless definitions of 'civil society', he rather asks how much 'civility' the Catholic communities can provide to facilitate responsible self-governance in the future. Citing European traditions, he argues that formal independence from the state need not be the main concern for Chinese Catholics. Rather, they should constructively use the ambiguous situation to enhance forces of social solidarity and create a humane, democratic political order.

The hierarchical structure of the Catholic church has provided a home to many: "The grand ceremonies of Catholic worship" create a sense of hierarchical connection even to those faithful of humble origin. And the hierarchical element has resonated with Chinese culture. During the 16th and 17th century the Jesuits had accommodated the ruling elite so that Catholic hierarchy became intertwined with the imperial order. In 1692 the Qing emperor Kangxi issued an edict of toleration. Yet an internal dispute among the Catholic orders, that were competing with each other in China, finally caused the Pope to issue an edict in 1704 rejecting the Jesuit strategy of declaring Catholicism compatible with Chinese rituals. Thus Chinese rulers had to consider Catholicism as a parallel hierarchy with a claim to power of its own and banned all missionary activity. When foreign missionaries returned to China around 1840, they did so under the protection of imperialist powers that granted them immunity from Chinese law – which again made them unattractive to leading circles in China. Only in 1946 did the Vatican give Chinese Catholics the status of a national church governed by a national council of bishops.

Having alienated the Chinese elite, Catholic missionaries focussed on the rural areas. While Catholic villages largely resemble traditional Chinese village life, they are said to be more organized and less prone to crime, according to a report by the Public Security Bureau in the mid-1980s. Madsen cautions that this harmony sometimes prevails only among members and excludes outsiders. For instance, some Catholic communities refuse to contribute to public works projects. In such cases the Catholic virtue of solidarity does not contribute to a larger civil society.

A major division within the Catholic church emerged after foreign missionaries were expelled from China around 1951. At that time the Chinese government put pressure on the Chinese Catholic clergy to join the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, and to thereby renounce all foreign influence. The Vatican threatened all those who joined with excommunication – but could do nothing to defend local clergy from jail and torture. Madsen states that priests and nuns were left terribly alone, while laity was not much affected. Yet in a hardening of attitudes many Catholics rejected clergy who cooperated with the government. Thus an underground church developed alongside the official one and gave room to a strong spirit of martyrdom. In the words of a European Jesuit

observer, this made some underground priests "so invested with the identity of hunted martyrs" that they could not live a routine life and manage a normal parish. In his book *Bad Elements* (2001), Ian Buruma writes about former student leader Chai Ling, who, before thousands, talked about self-sacrifice in Tiananmen Square in May 1989. The same young woman gave an interview to American reporter Philip Cunningham shortly before the June 4 crackdown, which is part of the 1995 documentary "The Gate of Heavenly Peace". In the tactical dispute among student leaders she said she was hoping for bloodshed, because only "when the Square is awash with blood will the people of China open their eyes. Only then will they be united." Madsen frequently refers to a similar penchant towards martyrdom among church people. Yet while he found strong hostility between official and underground church in the poorer northern Chinese regions, this is less evident in the wealthier south, according to church workers in Hong Kong.

Since Chinese Catholics had long been cut off from the Vatican, the reforms in the Catholic church since the second Vatican Council in 1964 only reached China recently. These are now being studied intensively, and may contribute to a less hierarchical, more horizontal interaction among Catholics and with outsiders – in the spirit of an evolving civil society. Madsen mentions that Pope John Paul II, with his Polish experience of the close identification of Catholicism and nationalism, regards civil society with suspicion. In addition, the more traditionalist strain, especially in the U.S. Catholic church, has provided funds to the underground church to support internal opposition. Yet, with increasing prosperity, many Catholics become more mobile and leave the rural areas – and sometimes the church. Thus Catholicism today needs a message suited to the changing circumstances of life; in Taiwan the prospering economy has greatly reduced the role of the church. Given the pressures of economic change, the church has to overcome the internal split. Madsen hopes that an eventual normalization of relations between the Vatican and the Chinese government will facilitate this and allow Catholicism to focus on developing a new vision for a modern Chinese society.

David Aikman's journalistic portrait of Christianity in China focusses mainly on "house churches" of independent, or underground, Protestantism, which in the Chinese language stands for Christianity in general. He portrays various leaders of the house church network who have suffered greatly from persecution by the Chinese government, which enhanced their charismatic authority among followers. These house churches are evangelical/Pentecostal, while the state-recognized, official Protestant churches (of the China Christian Council) correspond more to the Lutheran or Anglican model familiar in Europe. The author cites estimates of roughly 70 million Protestants in China, the majority of them belonging to house churches, while there are roughly 30 million Catholics – a significant number even for Christianity worldwide – and growing annually. Aikman also mentions that Pentecostal Christians are estimated at 450 mn worldwide, the second largest group after Roman Catholics.

In a still unpublished article entitled "Religious organizations and local self rule in rural China", Richard Madsen characterizes the Protestant house churches as loose networks of individual members without overarching authority. This largely Pentecostal type of Christianity is based on the personal inspiration of individuals. Catholicism, in contrast, always aimed to covert communities, so that members are embedded in a family and village of Christians. The Protestant house churches are spread across the country; unlike the close-knit Catholic community they do not appear as a potential local power base. Nevertheless, the government is rather suspicious of charismatic practices, like faith-based healing, and their enormous growth. In addition, church leaders' willingness to suffer martyrdom by confronting the government is experienced as hostility and does not make them easy negotiating partners.

Aikman's book begins with a statement by a researcher from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences made in 2002 before a group of visiting American Christians, mostly ministers: Chinese researchers had studied reasons for the preeminence of the West and decided that "the heart of your culture is your religion: Christianity". That makes the West so powerful, having been conducive to the emergence of capitalism and subsequently the successful transition to democratic politics, according to the researcher. Today Christianity has reached the elite in China: A daughter of Li Peng became a Christian while studying in Japan, and three daughters of Liu Shaoqi, perceived opponent of Mao, are also baptized. Aikman cites Jiang Zemin from a private dinner party at the home of another senior Chinese politician in 2002: Asked jokingly what decree he would like to leave behind that would be obeyed in all of China, he is purported to have said: "I would make Christianity the official religion of China." (p.17). One can only guess where Aikman got such quotes; the book contains a long list of contacts.

Aikman points out that the majority of house church Protestants are "deeply pro-American and determined to evangelize the Muslim world, something Americans generally have been too frightened to do with much boldness." (p. 12) This is where the author expects a change in the global balance of power, as indicated in the subtitle: A Christianized China would be more pro-Israel and opposed to any Arab intentions to eliminate the state of Israel. The idea of spreading the gospel westward from China to Jerusalem goes back to a calling that Mark Ma, a Henan-born Christian, supposedly received in 1942. Aikman reports that the movement remains active today and receives support from American Christians like Eric Watt, son of the former Secretary of the Interior under Reagan and prominent in a network of Americans, Europeans and Koreans. The website www.backtojerusalem.org quoted by Aikman has since disappeared.

The evangelical house churches have been inspired, among others, by two Americans. Doug Sutphen was converted to Christianity during a Billy Graham crusade in California and came to Asia in 1970 to work with the Far East Broadcasting Corporation, an evangelical radio station. He developed a New

Testament version that looked like Mao's little red book and shipped thousands of copies into China through Burma or Hong Kong. Dennis Balcombe became a zealous Christian during high school in Los Angeles. After having been drafted to Vietnam in 1969, Balcombe began studying Chinese in Hong Kong in 1970. His Pentecostalism has inspired major house church networks: Fangcheng, Tanghe, and Wenzhou (named after locations in China). According to Aikman, Christians from Wenzhou can be found all over the world, even in Italy and Spain.

Public officials have at times recognized Christianity as a positive force, for instance in a remote village in Yunnan close to the 'Golden Triangle': Drug use/trafficking was stopped and impoverishment reversed drastically among the community of converts. Yet such recognition is limited to the official church, among whose protagonists is Bishop Ding Guangxun, who has widely been suspected by opponents of having become a member of the Communist Party early in his life. His defenders maintain that he greatly helped the church survive under extremely difficult political circumstances by providing a bridge to the political establishment. As an advisor to Zhao Ziyang he recommended bringing the underground church above ground, since it would be impossible to suppress it anyway.

Not only has Christianity been introduced to China, but Confucianism (together with other Asian philosophies) has gained interest in Western countries in the past century. Robert Neville's book appears like a complementary project to the spread of Christianity in China, though his ambitions are still directed mainly at professional scholars and educators in the humanities and social sciences. The idea of Boston Confucianism arose at the Second Confucian-Christian Dialogue Conference in Berkeley in 1991. Neville criticized that Confucianism is considered to belong to East Asia, while American philosophers can easily call themselves Platonists without being required to have Greek ancestors or even a knowledge of the old language. Thus, if Western philosophical heritage is taught throughout Asia, Asian philosophies should equally be taught in the West. Neville is Dean of the School of Theology at Boston University and calls himself a practicing Christian as well as a Confucian. He and his colleagues from sinology and philosophy are interested in multiple religious identities. Living in a very intercultural context, Neville takes up the challenge of studying the rich cultural heritage present in his environment. In his inclusive vision the emerging world society requires a world culture that respects diversity and finds responses crucial to issues like care for the environment, distributive justice and the meaning of human life in the cosmos.

In his foreword, Harvard professor Tu Weiming stresses the unique contribution of the Confucian principle of 'unity of knowledge and action' to Western philosophy. He also points out that the teacher-disciple relationship between Western and Asian philosophers is still deeply ingrained in the collective memory of Chinese intellectuals, who are just beginning to imagine that Confucianism may be relevant to modern America. Tu suggests comparing Christian tran-

scendence with the cosmic principle of the unfolding of creativity, which enables human beings to cultivate a life of interaction between individual and community and of harmony between nature and the human species, leading to a mutual responsiveness between the Way of Heaven and the human heart/mind.

Religion and philosophies are tested by being transported to other cultural contexts. Christianity has from the outset claimed to belong to all people in the world. Asian philosophies, among them Confucianism, are now gaining interest among a wider Western audience, among those dissatisfied with representatives of established Christian religion as well as those who want to discover the richness of other religions/philosophies – and their contributions to Western culture.

Sabine Grund

GEOFFREY MURRAY / IAN G. COOK, *Green China. Seeking Ecological Alternatives*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002. XVI, 254 pages, € 65.00. ISBN 0-700-71703-X

It's not their first book on China (cf. Cook, I.G./Murray, G., *China's Third Revolution: Tensions in the Transition to Post-communism*, London: Curzon 2000), but this time it's on issues of global concern – the Chinese environment. "We have set out to provide a fairly exhaustive study on the problems facing China today, as well as considering both existing remedies and possible scenarios for the future"(p.xiii).

With *Green China* Murray, originally a journalist and now research associate, and Cook, a professor of human geography, both from the Centre for Pacific Rim Studies at Liverpool John Moores University, have presented a fine study on a par with some other important environmental books written by Westerners, particularly R.L. Edmonds (*Patterns of China's Lost Harmony: A Survey of the Country's Environmental Degradation and Protection*, London: Routledge 1994 and *Managing the Chinese Environment*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000), and V. Smil (*China's Environmental Crisis: An Inquiry into the Limits of National Development*, Armonk, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), and some articles that attracted great attention (e.g. L.Brown/B.Halweil, "China's Water Shortage Could Shake World Food Security", in: *World Watch*, 1998, July–August issue).

On account of its sheer size, its population of 1.3 billion, its rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, China's environmental problems are also our problems.This is certainly true for some global goods, like climate and biodiversity, but possibly also for some private goods, like oil, minerals and food, where a dynamic, fast growing Chinese economy is affecting price and scarcity of resources on the world market. China has made a great leap forward, economically. But it was progress at high environmental cost.