

become increasingly evident, such as the poor economic development and declining government capability, the deteriorating social services and social indicators, the increasing urban and rural lawlessness, nepotism and corruption, the pressure on land and environmental degradation associated with mining and forestry, and since 1988 a rebellion on the island Bougainville. He concludes that the development of the country has been "disappointing". What is needed in his view is "less institutional reform than a fundamental shift in patterns of political behaviour." (p. 15f)

The following chapters of the volume address a broad range of topics such as PNG's foreign relations with Indonesia, a PNG-Philippines comparison with regard to the legitimacy of both states, the Bougainville crisis, the Sandline Affair, the emergence of chiefs in contemporary politics, the changing role of PNG's Defence Force as well as analyses of class, ethnicity, regionalism and political parties, decentralization and provincial government reform, and the political economy (in the reviewer's opinion the most impressive of all recent studies). Further historical studies look at the role of the Reserve Bank of Australia in introducing a new currency, the emergence of nationalist literature in the early 1970s, the period of decolonization and the first decade's performance as well as political education and micronationalist movements. Even if most of the articles presented are known to PNG specialists, the book provides a broader audience with an excellent compendium of important development trends in independent Papua New Guinea.

Roland Seib

SHELLEY RIGGER, *Politics in Taiwan*. London, New York: Routledge, 1999. 229 pages, € 30,-. ISBN 0-415-17209-8

Professor Rigger covers a fascinating subject matter: The gradual liberalization of an autocratic one-party state towards a fully fledged pluralist democracy in less than two decades (1972-1989). Authoritarian "Asian values" notwithstanding, this successful democratization – the first ever of a Chinese people – preceded the wave of democratic reforms which swept the world following the implosion of the Soviet empire in 1989 and 1991.

Local elections had been held ever since the 1930s under the Japanese (1895-1945), who in their model colony successfully attempted to co-opt the rural elite of landowners. It was during the pre-war period that the Japanese system of multiple member constituencies was also introduced in Taiwan, which to date characterises grassroots electioneering in both countries: Candidates of a similar ideological persuasion campaign against each other amongst the same electorate. This appears as the main cause of money politics, factionalism and clientelism both in Japan and in Taiwan since democratization. The Japanese left Taiwan in September 1945, with its economic development and infrastructure (roads, railways, electrification) and public education up to university level at a much higher standard than the mainland.

Initially greeted as liberators in September 1945 the ragtag troops of Chiang Kai-Chek soon turned out to be corrupt plunderers, who shipped the resources of Taiwan to the mainland for their own gains and to sustain the war effort. Native

Taiwanese were pushed out of public posts. Their local dialect was discriminated against by the mainlanders who insisted on Mandarin.

A spontaneous uprising on 28 February 1947 was suppressed with thousands of civilian victims. The governance of Taiwan changed dramatically when the defected KMT and some 1.5 million displaced mainland refugees, often well educated people with entrepreneurial talents arrived. Supported by U.S. aid, Chiang set up a more efficient administration. He introduced the land reform which he had failed to implement on the mainland, thus creating a broad stratum of independent small farmers, and 'liberated' the landowners to invest in industry. Economic policies supported import substitution and later export promotion.

The state of emergency was declared in 1949, and lasted formally until 1987. This gave President Chiang Kai-Chek absolute powers unchecked by any constitutional constraints. The mandate of the legislative Yuan was extended *sine die*. Out of its 3000 members in 1948, only 800 were left by 1984.

Parties other than the Kuomintang (KMT) remained prohibited. The Taiwan Garrison Command assured that this remained so (until 1986). It was in charge of censorship – there were only 31 newspaper licenses – and political surveillance. Arrests and the sentencing of some 10,000 individuals between 1950 and 1984 were carried out according to martial law ("White Terror", p. 70). This repression affected suspected advocates of Taiwanese independence even more than assumed Communist subversives (p. 109).

Nonetheless, under the conditions of a one party system local and regional assembly elections have continued since 1946. Initially, independent candidates were only tolerated with a limited local agenda. Yet the electoral challenge motivated the KMT to penetrate all farmers' cooperatives, trade unions, chambers of commerce, women's associations etc. In the end, some 20 % of Taiwan's inhabitants were estimated to be KMT members – notably officials in the central administration, the military and the police. Yet most were thought to be nominal members only. But pressures for electoral success forced parliamentarians to build their personal grass-roots support networks, which often required gifts, services, patronage or straight vote buying. Having been a participant observer, Shelley Rigger has seen the whole range of instruments available and used by candidates (p. 171).

For Chiang Ching-Kuo, who in 1972 became Prime Minister and, after his father's death in 1975, President of Taiwan from 1978 until 1988, the elections provided the much needed democratic legitimacy of "Free China" – against "Red China", especially after the diplomatic reserve of the 1970s. Democratic reforms seemed essential to secure continued U.S. economic and military support.

Gradually independent candidates (*dangwai*) began to make notable gains at the local level. Their first breakthrough occurred in December 1977. These successes upset the KMT allocation of seats in the multiple seat constituencies, which intensified factional infights and ultimately caused the series of splits from which the party continues to suffer. The KMT's Leninist structure in which a Central Committee handed instructions down to the party cells (p. 64) began to unravel.

Once the emergency legislation with its ban on opposition parties was lifted in 1986, the *dangwai* organised themselves as the Democratic Progressive Party

(DPP). Demanding further democratization and a fairer representation of the ethnic Taiwanese majority (who make up 85% of the population), the party scored 32 % of the votes (and 21 % of seats) two months later.

After Chiang Ching-Kuo's death in January 1988, his deputy Lee Teng-hui, a Taiwanese, took over the presidency. When parts of the old guard left the KMT in 1993 in protest against Lee's attempts to strengthen Taiwan's separate identity and set up their own pro-unification New Party, Lee was able to "Taiwanese" the KMT even further. At the grassroots, the split led to an intensification of competition for the KMT's "iron vote" (the military, public employees, farmers' cooperatives) with increased vote buying, patronage and clientelist corruption practised by parliamentarians who felt their seats threatened (p. 171).

Democracy on Taiwan may be noisy, often confrontational and sometimes corrupt – the latter is no Chinese speciality, it can also be observed in Japan, Italy, Belgium and elsewhere – but it has become genuinely pluralist and free nonetheless.

Democratization in Taiwan is a relatively straightforward story. Rigger obviously knows her subject well. Yet she manages to generate a mess in her narrative. Themes and time periods get mingled. The book is at its best when describing the constituency situation of the KMT and DPP – subject of Rigger's Ph.D. thesis in 1994. Socio-economic variables important for the development of Taiwan's democracy get a rather cursory treatment. The emergency of its urban middle class, income and educational levels, media use and the role of NGOs are mentioned only in passing.

A lot has happened on Taiwan since the manuscript was finished in 1998. The DPP has won the presidential elections of 2000 and the parliamentary elections of 2001.

James Soong has left the KMT to form his own pro-unification People First Party (PFP), and ex-President Lee himself abandoned the KMT to set up the pro-independence Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), now closely allied with his erstwhile foes of the DPP. These unforeseen events do not devalue Rigger's book, which still gives an interesting account of the long birth of China's first democracy.

*Albrecht Rothacher*

WOLFGANG BAUER, *Geschichte der chinesischen Philosophie: Konfuzianismus, Buddhismus, Daoismus*. Hrsg. Hans van Ess. München: Beck, 2001. 339 Seiten, € 24,50. ISBN 3-406-47157-9

Auf eine chinesische Philosophiegeschichte aus der Feder Wolfgang Bauers (1930–1997) hatte man lange gewartet. Daß die *Geschichte der chinesischen Philosophie: Konfuzianismus, Buddhismus, Daoismus* vier Jahre nach dem Tod ihres Autors nun postum erscheinen konnte, ist zweifellos ein großes Verdienst des Herausgebers Hans van Ess, Nachfolger Wolfgang Bauers auf dessen Münchner Lehrstuhl für Sinologie, sowie des Beck-Verlages. Das Buch füllt eine seit Jahrzehnten empfundene Lücke in der deutschsprachigen sinologischen Literatur und macht einige der