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ABSTRACTS

Can Confucianism Survive in an Age of Universalism and Globalization?

Gilbert Rozman

The comparative study of East Asia sheds light on the changing impact of Confucian social practices in China, Japan, and Korea. Over centuries Confucianization largely promoted universalism, speeding premodern development. Yet, increasingly, this legacy could be seen in entrenched particularistic influences that stood in the way of reform and blocked modernization when it arrived from abroad. By distinguishing several types of Confucianism, we can observe how some aspects of the tradition survived decades of de-Confucianization to shape a new era of accelerated modernization and the rise of countries in the region in the 1980s-1990s. In an era of globalization further de-Confucianization is needed since traditions are again largely a defence of narrow interests. As the most Confucian society, Korea has a special role in elevating Confucianism into a force with regionalism with China and Japan. If social integration on a global scale takes precedence, there is room for a synthesis of distinctive social practices and a regional identity. Korean debates on the role of Confucianism suggest that there is hope for survival even as nationalists try to use the tradition to oppose the new regionalism and to limit openness to global social practices. Another wave of de-Confucianization is needed as the region regroups, shifts models, and, after overcoming nationalism and vested interests, coalesces as a force in regionalism.

The Socio-Economic Dimension in Singapore's Quest for Security and Stability

Husin Mutalib

There has been a perceptible change in Singapore's management of the 'security' issue in recent years. While military hardware and defense matters continue to be important, more non-traditional aspects of security have received greater attention given trends arising from both international and regional currents. Social and cultural considerations have come to play in the new strategic thrust of the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF) and the importance of the SAF is now being subsumed under a broader and more comprehensive defense framework, called 'Total' Defense'. Economically, the pro-market global outreach of Singapore's new economic vision is also impacting the Republic's security paradigm as the governmental elite tries to manage the competing tensions and other dialectics, consequent to Singapore's immersion into the mainstream global ethos.

**Legacies of the Authoritarian Past:
Religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands**

Jacques Bertrand

In January 1999, sudden and surprising violence broke out between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia's Moluccan islands (Maluku). Three factors explain the sources of violent conflict: unresolved questions over principles of the nation; patrimonial relations under authoritarian institutions that reinforced group identities; and rapid democratic transition.

I argue that the conflict has its roots in the mid-1980s and 1990s when Suharto shifted to Islamic groups for political support. This change increased tensions between Christians and Muslims in Maluku because it created uncertainties about the civic form of nationalism at the basis of the Indonesian state and the future role of Islam.

Patrimonial features reinforced group identities and exacerbated tensions, as positions in the civil service were major sources of material resources and protection. Christians saw their interests threatened and Muslims saw possibilities of redressing past imbalances.

Rapid democratic transition in this context was also destabilizing. It directly threatened established patrimonial networks and intensified the uncertainties surrounding the role of Islam in the state. Muslims were concerned that Christians might reassert their regional dominance while Christians feared an erosion of their status in a state more strongly inclined to favour its large Muslim majority.

The article analyzes the events leading up to the eruption of conflict and the subsequent unfolding of violence between January 1999 and June 2000, including the beginning of the violence in Ambon and its spread to North and South Maluku.

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GILBERT ROZMAN is Musgrave Professor of Sociology at Princeton University. He specializes in regionalism in Northeast Asia, studying comparisons and bilateral relations of China, Japan, Russia and, recently, Korea. He can be reached at <grozman@smtprinceton.edu>

HUSSIN MUTTALIB is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore (NUS). His area of specialization is on contemporary politics of Southeast Asia and he teaches a module on the subject at the NUS. He is an author of four books including *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) and *Islam in Malaysia: From Revivalism to Islamic State?* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1994), and has more than ten articles in international refereed journals. He was also formerly attached as Visiting Scholar to Oxford University, University of California Berkeley, and Harvard University. Email: <polmutal@nus.edu.sg>

JACQUES BERTRAND is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto, specializing in the politics of Southeast Asia – Indonesia, in particular. His research has focused on issues of ethnic and religious conflict, nationalism, democratization, and peasant resistance. He is currently writing a book entitled *Nationalism and Ethnic Violence in Indonesia*. He has published articles in *Pacific Affairs*, *Asian Survey* and *Comparative Politics*. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University. Email: <bertrand@pop.chass.utoronto.ca>

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ABSTRACTS

Democratic Standard and Performance in Twelve Pacific Micro-States

Dag Anckar

The small Pacific island states pose a challenge to democratic theory. On the one hand, as evident from a comparative examination of Freedom House data, they are indeed by any reasonable measure a qualified family of democratic nations. On the other hand, although they perform satisfactorily in terms of literacy rate, they do not generally satisfy the modernization theory requirements that equate wealth and democracy. Furthermore, explanations of democracy that stress the impact of a colonial legacy do not seem to apply. The islands may therefore be taken as a pretext for an idea already established in classical political thought, suggesting that small size and democratic conduct go together. To understand Pacific democratization and democracy, research into mechanisms and channels that link small size and democracy is needed; however, rather than focusing on Pacific particularities, research on political life and democracy in the Pacific islands needs to assume a broader comparative outlook.

Restitution of Land to New Zealand Maori: The Role of Social Structure

Steven C. Bourassa and Ann Louise Strong

This article has two interrelated objectives. One is to give an account of recent efforts by the New Zealand government to return land to Maori. The other is to consider the role of social structure in facilitating or hindering the restitution process.

Concerning the return of land, we commence with a brief statement of the historical context, followed by a discussion of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which initiated a process of restitution, and its 1985 amendment, which greatly expanded the scope of potential claims against the government. We then review the government's principles for restitution, relevant legislation and court decisions, and procedures for claims hearings and settlement.

In regard to our second objective, we hypothesize that the decentralized power structure of Maori society makes it difficult to resolve land issues, but that tribes with unusually strong leadership will tend to fare relatively well. We also hypothesize that the greater visibility and involvement of Maori in mainstream New Zealand society works to their advantage when compared with indigenous groups in other countries. We address our first hypothesis with comparative case studies of the successful Waikato-Tainui claim, submitted by a highly centralized tribe, and the unresolved Muriwhenua claim, submitted by a more typical group that lacks strong leadership. We then explore our second hypothesis by comparing the role of Maori in New Zealand society with that of indigenous groups in Australia, Canada and the United States. In particular, we note that Maori make up a relatively high percentage of the population, they are highly concentrated in urban areas, and they do not have to compete for attention with any other sizable ethnic or racial minority groups.

Nostalgia for the Future: The Resurgence of an Alienated Culture in China

Hanchao Lu

This article looks into the nostalgia in present-day Shanghai, including an emerging “coffee culture” that symbolizes the return of the city’s once celebrated Western influence and business practices. This nostalgia is part of the resurgence of the city’s old cosmopolitanism and commercialism. While the nostalgia in Shanghai, which has been caused in part by the wholesale destruction of the city’s physical past in recent years, shares some sentimentality commonly associated with nostalgia in general, it is far from a desperate, lost anomie. Unlike nostalgia that in most cases rejects mainstream culture, the Shanghai nostalgia is part of it. Unlike nostalgia that usually protests about the present, the Shanghai nostalgia celebrates it. Unlike nostalgia that is commonly negative, dispirited and withdrawn, the Shanghai nostalgia is positive, spirited and receptive. The author suggests that this nostalgia and its characteristics are not just a local phenomenon, but part of the nostalgic culture that has emerged in China’s reform era, in particular after the Mao fever waned in the late 1990s. In a political environment where, not long ago, longing for the past was the most-watched sentiment, the nostalgia of today still needs a foundation of political correctness. In the end, the boom of nostalgia in China reflects today’s greater freedom of self-expression as much as it does a wrangling with ideological justification and legitimacy, essential features of China’s political culture.

The Motivations Behind China’s Government-Initiated Industrial Investments Overseas

Mark Yaolin Wang

This paper attempts to examine the motivations for Chinese government-initiated industrial investment overseas by an evaluation of official statistics and an array of relevant studies and commentary over the last thirty years or so. It concludes that China’s overseas investment has been an element of a broader process of restructuring and political activities in which the government, rather than simply entrepreneurship, plays an important role. Chinese government-initiated industrial investments overseas have been motivated not only by traditional determinants but also by the pressures of globalization and regionalization. More importantly, there have been political and strategic considerations behind China’s decisions to invest overseas.

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DAG ANCKAR is Professor of Political Science at the Åbo Akademi University, Finland. His most recent book-length publications are *Ett ramverk för ett själöständigt Åland (Framing Independent Åland)* with Barry Bartmann (Finland: Mariehamn, 2000) and *Vägar förbi och igenom partier (Paths Through and Beyond Political Parties)* with Lauri Karvonen and Guy-Erik Isaksson (Stockholm: SNS-förlaget, 2001). Email: <dag.anckar@abo.fi>

STEVEN C. BOURASSA is Professor and Chair of the Department of Urban and Public Affairs at the University of Louisville. He was formerly Head of the Department of Property at the University of Auckland. Email: <steven.bourassa@louisville.edu>

HANCHAO LU is Professor of History and Asian Studies in the School of History, Technology, and Society at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Among his recent publications is *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), which won the 2001 Urban History Association Best Book Award.

ANN LOUISE STRONG is Emeritus Professor of City and Regional Planning at the University of Pennsylvania. Her most recent book, co-authored with Thomas A. Reiner and Janusz Szyrmer, is *Transitions in Land and Housing: Bulgaria, The Czech Republic, and Poland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). Email: <strong@pobox.upenn.edu>

MARK YAOLIN WANG is currently a lecturer at the School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne, Australia. Recently published books are *Mega Urban Regions in China* (Beijing: China Ocean Press, 1998) and *China's Transition to a Global Economy* (London: McMillan, 2002 forthcoming) with Michael Webber and Ying Zhu. Email: <myw@unimelb.edu.au>

The William L. Holland Prize

Pacific Affairs is pleased to announce **The William L. Holland Prize**, which will be awarded annually for an outstanding paper published in *Pacific Affairs* during the preceding year that, in the opinion of the Editorial Board, best reflects the ideals of Bill Holland in promoting international understanding of the regions and peoples of Asia and the Pacific. Details of the prize-winning article will be published in the Summer edition of *Pacific Affairs* each year.

William L. Holland was instrumental in bringing *Pacific Affairs* to the University of British Columbia and in building a tradition of excellence at UBC in Asian Studies and Asian Research. Throughout his career, Bill Holland has brought features of integrity, excellence and vision to the study of the regions and peoples of Asia and the Pacific. These ideals have informed and challenged the editors, contributors and staff of *Pacific Affairs* over the decades. The William L. Holland Prize allows *Pacific Affairs* to celebrate the excellence of its contributors, while also acknowledging the fundamental and lasting contributions that Bill Holland has made not only to *Pacific Affairs* but to the community of scholars that it represents.

Enquiries should be directed to:

Editorial Board
Pacific Affairs

University of British Columbia E mail: enquiry@pacificaffairs.ubc.ca
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Pacific Affairs at 75

Pacific Affairs is celebrating its 75th anniversary year. The journal has come a long way from its inception and its early links with the Institute of Pacific Relations; through the tumult of the McCarthy era and the move to the University of British Columbia in 1961, and finally to its current home at UBC's Institute of Asian Research. Through it all, *Pacific Affairs* has focused on providing peer-reviewed articles and book reviews offering the highest quality of academic discourse on Asia and the Pacific. With the invaluable contributions of a series of excellent editors and staff including, William L. Holland, Heath B. (Pete) Chamberlain, R. Stephen Milne, Diane Mauzy, Hazel Ackner, Ian Slater, Bernadette Chisholm, Jacqueline Garnett and others, *Pacific Affairs* has remained through the years an academic journal of central importance to a variety of scholarly, policy, and civic communities interests in Asia and the Pacific.

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Editorial Board, April 2002

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ABSTRACTS

**Islam and Nation Building in Southeast Asia:
Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective**

Kikue Hamayotsu

Since the onset of the financial crisis in 1997, political developments in the two largest Muslim-majority countries in Southeast Asia – Malaysia and Indonesia – have emphasized a recurrent theme that has lingered in both countries after independence: the uneasy relationship between Islam and nation building. It is, however, the markedly contrasting nation-building processes in the two neighboring countries that present a fundamental challenge to our conventional thinking on the relationship between Islam and nation building. Conventional wisdom contends that Islam is unfit to form the foundations of a modern nation-state that *transcends parochial religious sentiments*. The Indonesian case seems to confirm this claim: Islam did indeed prove to be a divisive force, reinforcing religious-oriented parochial sentiments. The rise of inter-religious hostility and violence, moreover, suggests that huge discrepancies in the people's perception of their national vision still remain. The Malaysian case, on the other hand, demonstrates that Islam can be compatible with the process of modern nation building. Despite undergoing a powerful surge of Islamisation, both at the state level as well as in society, Malaysia has witnessed a steadily growing "national" consciousness in the past decades.

This paper seeks to explain this cross-national variation in outcomes by examining the way in which Islam has been embedded in the two respective states' projects of nation building. It draws special attention to the ideological dispositions of the states' leaders, and locates these in the political as well as socio-economic spheres. In doing so, the paper argues that the position of Islam in each state's project of nation building – whether it was appropriated inclusively or exclusively – has played an important role in bringing about the diverging outcomes of national development.

**Japan and Industrial Adjustment in Asia:
Overproduction Problems in the Synthetic Fibre Industry**

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu

This article uses a case study of the synthetic fibre industry to examine why and how the Japanese government has committed to resolving overproduction problems in Asia. The Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), which increased its interests in overproduction problems in Asia after the early 1990s, conducted surveys of production capacity in major Asian fibre production countries and economies, and deepened the recognition of a likely oversupply of major synthetic fibres. Indeed, though MITI's initiative seemingly aimed to resolve the 'regional' production problems, it was also undertaken with the premise of assisting in the sound implementation of industrial adjustment in the 'domestic' textile industry. In addition, MITI's initiatives were based on the developmental state paradigm. The commitments were sustained by the perception that some kinds of government-led coordination were necessary for the sound development of synthetic fibre production, because free market competition tended to lead to market disruption. MITI also adopted a 'developmental' method in setting up a consultative forum comprised of government officials and private representatives. While MITI and synthetic fibre producers shared the objective of resolving overproduction problems in Asia, they did not manage to coordinate their efforts effectively. This failure stemmed from their inability to forge a reliable relationship with each other in response to the import pressures on the industry.

**The Shanghai Outlook on the WTO:
Local Bureaucrats and Accession-Related Reforms**

Peter H. Koehn

The actions of local-level bureaucrats will largely shape China's compliance with implementation measures associated with WTO accession. The article begins to address the critical issue of whether local bureaucrats are disposed to embrace or resist compliance by analysing data collected through a 1997/1998 survey of the dispositions of 426 lower-, middle-, and upper-management officials in Shanghai regarding three key accession-related institutional reforms (legal and regulatory, state enterprise, and combating local protectionism). The study finds broad early support for the selected accession-related policies among municipal and submunicipal bureaucrats of diverse backgrounds and organisational locus. The prevailing set of dispositions is expected to facilitate compliance at the most challenging and decisive levels of implementation. Study findings further suggest that support for the selected institutional reforms is more extensive among public and private bureaucrats working at domestic agencies and companies in Shanghai than it is among the Chinese middle-management staff of foreign-invested and export-oriented enterprises – who might perceive that their firm will lose some comparative advantage if these policies are successfully implemented. Given that favourable dispositions toward technology importation and foreign capital investment are strongly related to the three selected implementation measures, one would expect bureaucratic support for WTO compliance efforts to be deepened and sustained, provided that China realises technology and capital gains from participation in the global trade regime.

Hollywood and China as Adversaries and Allies

Wan Jihong and Richard Kraus

Analyses of the politics of film in China typically stress the tension between film-makers and the Communist Party. Although United States film exports to China have not eliminated this conflict, Hollywood's entry into the Chinese movie market has reconfigured the political economy of film production and distribution. Chinese film-makers and Party leaders each have reasons to view Hollywood with hostility; film-makers are staggering from the new competition for domestic films and Party leaders want to use movies to promote nationalism. Yet the Party and the film industry each have strong motives to accommodate Hollywood and learn from their new rival. For the film industry, Hollywood can offer technical advance and commercial savvy. For the Party, Hollywood can offer a model of operating in a mixed economy and insight on how to produce more appealing propaganda.

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KIKUE HAMAYOTSU is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political and Social Change at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University. Her most recent publication is “Politics of Syariah Reform: the Making of the State Religio-Legal Apparatus” in *Malaysia: Islam, Society and Politics*, eds. Virginia Hooker and Norani Othman (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, forthcoming 2002). Email: <kikueh@coombs.anu.edu.au>

HIDETAKA YOSHIMATSU (Ph.D., Australian National University) is an Associate Professor in the Graduate School of East Asian Studies at Yamaguchi University, Japan. He is the author of *Internationalization, Corporate Preferences and Commercial Policy in Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 2000), and has published articles in *Asian Survey*, *Pacific Review*, *Review of International Political Economy*, and others. Email: <yoshih@yamaguchi-u.ac.jp>

PETER KOEHN is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Montana, Missoula, and a Fulbright New Century Scholar. He is co-editor of *The Expanding Roles of Chinese Americans in U.S.-China Relations: Transnational Networks and Trans-Pacific Interactions* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2002) and of *The Outlook for U.S.-China Relations Following the 1997-1998 Summits: Chinese and American Perspectives on Security, Trade, and Cultural Exchange* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1999). Email: <pngai@bigsky.net>

WAN JIHONG has an M.A. from the University of Oregon and is now studying in the Department of Cinema and Comparative Literature at the University of Iowa. Email: <jwan@blue.weeg.uiowa.edu>

RICHARD KRAUS is Professor of Political Science at the University of Oregon, Eugene. Email: <rkraus@oregon.uoregon.edu>

The William L. Holland Prize

Pacific Affairs is pleased to announce **The William L. Holland Prize**, which will be awarded annually for an outstanding paper published in *Pacific Affairs* during the preceding year that, in the opinion of the Editorial Board, best reflects the ideals of Bill Holland in promoting international understanding of the regions and peoples of Asia and the Pacific. Details of the prize-winning article will be published in the Summer edition of *Pacific Affairs* each year.

William L. Holland was instrumental in bringing *Pacific Affairs* to the University of British Columbia and in building a tradition of excellence at UBC in Asian Studies and Asian Research. Throughout his career, Bill Holland has brought features of integrity, excellence and vision to the study of the regions and peoples of Asia and the Pacific. These ideals have informed and challenged the editors, contributors and staff of *Pacific Affairs* over the decades. The William L. Holland Prize allows *Pacific Affairs* to celebrate the excellence of its contributors, while also acknowledging the fundamental and lasting contributions that Bill Holland has made not only to *Pacific Affairs* but to the community of scholars that it represents.

Enquiries should be directed to:

Editorial Board
Pacific Affairs

University of British Columbia E mail: enquiry@pacificaffairs.ubc.ca
Institute of Asian Research Tel: (604) 822-6508/4534
164 - 1855 West Mall Web: pacificaffairs.ubc.ca
Vancouver B.C. V6T 1Z2, Canada

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ABSTRACTS

Announce - Nous avons le plaisir de vous annoncer qu les sommaires d'articles publiés dans les numéros 70 à 75 sont maintenant disponibles en version français sur le site web <pacificaffairs.ubc.ca>

Announcement - We are pleased to announce that the abstracts for Volumes 70 to 75 are now available in French on our website at <pacificaffairs.ubc.ca>

Managing Transition: Unemployment and Job Hunting in Urban China

Ming Tsui

This paper explores the impact of layoffs on the lives of 29 urban couples in Wuhan, China, based on in-depth interviews conducted in the year 2000. One or both members of each couple was classified an off-post worker, despite having grown up believing in lifelong employment and job security.

The author examines their coping strategies and their successes and failures in job creation and job searches, as well as the relationships between these strategies and demographic variables: gender, age, education, class, social and family networks, whether or not the respondent was "sent down" during the Cultural Revolution, and whether or not the respondent received a government-mandated living stipend. The data reveals a relationship between success in re-employment and the variables of gender, the send-down experience, networks and living stipends. The author found that the least successful interviewees were working-class, poorly-educated males who had never worked in rural areas and who received financial assistance from the state.

Female Leadership of Democratic Transitions in Asia

Mark R. Thompson

Over the past decade and a half, women have led successful popular uprisings against dictators in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Philippines. Moreover, women are currently leading anti-dictatorship struggles in Burma and Malaysia. This is striking given the absence of female leadership of democratic transitions elsewhere in the world, not to mention the general rarity of women leaders. In Asia, rather than blocking their rise to leadership, gender stereotyping proved to be a political advantage. As the widows, wives and daughters of male martyrs, these women symbolized the nation's suffering while appearing non-partisan. Belonging to the "weaker sex," they stressed non-violence. They were less threatening to potential rivals, making it easier to unite the opposition. Ironically, the same qualities that enabled women to lead democratic revolutions also contributed to the difficulties of democratic consolidation. Women should reign, not rule, it was claimed. Efforts to seek justice for their martyred fathers or husbands prompted accusations that they were wreaking revenge. Once praised for leading a moral struggle against tyranny, women leaders were accused (not always unfairly) of governing in the interests of their family dynasties.

Taiwan's Democratization and the Rise of Taiwanese Nationalism as Socialization to Global Culture

Daniel Lynch

Democratization and democratic consolidation entail the successful socialization of state-society units into a rationalist global culture that esteems bureaucracy, markets, and formal equality of actors. Taiwan's experience is a good illustration. The authoritarian Republic of China (ROC) state sent students abroad for higher education beginning around 1960 to help facilitate economic development and turn Taiwan into a model Chinese province. But while abroad, many students unexpectedly absorbed the democratic values of global culture and then returned to agitate for Taiwan's democratization. Some were also motivated by a nascent Taiwanese nationalism, which envisioned democratization as the triumph of a centuries-long struggle to achieve freedom from a series of foreign oppressors. The delicate interplay of domestic and global ideational factors is in this way likely to prove central to the democratization process in all Asian countries.

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CORRECTION to book title:

Books Reviewed List Title in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 3, Fall 2002, page 348

"Japan's Reluctant Realism: Politics, Economics, and Security. By Glenn D. Hook, Julie Gilson, Christopher W. Hughes, and Hugh Dobson. Reviewed by *F. Hilary Conroy*, page 454.

SHOULD BE: **"Japan's International Relations:** Politics, Economics, and Security. By Glenn D. Hook, Julie Gilson, Christopher W. Hughes, and Hugh Dobson. Reviewed by *F. Hilary Conroy*, page 454.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MARK R. THOMPSON is Professor of Political Science at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany. He has written extensively on dictatorship and democratization in comparative perspective. His book *Democratic Revolutions: Asia and Eastern Europe* is forthcoming from Routledge : London, U.K. in 2003. He may be reached at <mark_euro@web.de>

DANIEL C. LYNCH is Assistant Professor of International Relations at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles. He is the author of *After the Propaganda State: Media, Politics, and "Thought Work" in Reformed China* (Stanford (California): Stanford University Press, 1999). He may be contacted at <dlynch@usc.edu>

MING TSUI is an Associate Professor of Sociology at Millsaps College, Mississippi. Her research focuses on contemporary urban China. Her recent publications include articles on the one child and educational opportunity for girls, divorce and women's status, and the status of the elders in Chinese cities. She may be contacted at <tsuim@millsaps.edu>

SORPONG PEOU is Associate Professor of Political Science/International Relations, on the Graduate Program, Sophia University, Tokyo. He has written on theoretical issues in the sub-field of International Security. His major publications include *Conflict Neutralization in the Cambodia War: From Battlefield to Ballot Box* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) and *Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Toward Democracy?* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000). He may be contacted at <speou@eudoramail.com>