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Paper Abstracts

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Jean-Marc F. Blanchard, *Did Hot Economics finally become Hot Politics? Sino-Japanese Relations since 2005*

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In 2005, Sino-Japanese relations hit a nadir as illustrated by massive anti-Japanese protests in China. To explain the tense bilateral situation, analysts pointed to disputes over islands and sea boundaries, disagreements over Japan's quest for a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council, Chinese displeasure with Japan's relationship with Taiwan, the Sino-Japanese competition for primacy in the Asia-Pacific Region, and changes in both countries' domestic politics. A mere two years later the bilateral relationship had warmed immensely. The thaw occurred even though these two East Asian giants resolved nary a single bilateral dispute and the same geopolitical structural that existed in 2005 remained in 2007. Sino-Japanese economic ties, however, did grow between 2005 and 2007. To what extent was the thaw in Sino-Japanese political relations attributable to hot economics? I argue that while there was a correlation between growing economic relations and improved political relations it does not follow that expanded linkages produced the warming.

Chi Ming Victor Chan, *Critical Junctures, Governance Structures, and Compliance in China's SARS Control*

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The paper begins by discussing some theoretical issues related the concepts of critical junctures, governance structures, and compliance and applies them to analyze China's SARS control. Then, it traces back the health governance reforms, which have seeded non-compliance behaviors of China during early discovery. In spite of officially publicizing SARS contagion in China, the problematic governance structure still obstructed an entire shift to compliance strategy. The paper proceeds to explore how several changes in health governance enhanced the adoption of relatively complete compliance on SARS control and therefore brought about the success. Finally, the paper concludes by predicting whether China can sustain its compliance strategy to encounter further challenges from infectious disease control like the current avian flu challenge.

Ling Chen, *Taming the Electric Tiger: The Paradoxical Role of the Chinese State in the Power Sector*

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In the past two decades, despite the Chinese state's claimed intention to improve the electric power sector's performance and a sweeping array of reform strategies that have been carried out, the sector's perennial problems, such as chronic shortages of electricity, rising electricity rates, and rampant corruption still remain unsolved or have even worsened. These problems have not only affected China's overall industrial development, but have also recently aroused a new wave of societal instability, directly threatening the national goal of "building a harmonious society." What, then, accounts for the state's inability to enhance the sector's performance? This paper argues that during the process of policy formulation, political interests and political struggles captured the state's commitment to improve the sector, rendering reform strategies incoherent and fragmented. Contrary to conventional wisdom, then, the ineffectiveness of state intervention in the power sector does not stem from the state's seemingly monopolist strength, but lies precisely in its *de facto* weakness.

Weixing Chen, *Health Care Innovation: Co-Operative Health Care system in China's Shandong Province*

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This paper is a study of co-operative health care system in China's Shandong Province. Focusing on co-operative health care system in rural Shandong, it discusses the concept of co-operative health care system, examines peasants' attitude toward it, analyzes the initial result of various experiments with this system, and highlights the implications of this experiment for health care in rural China.

Xi Chen, *China in the Eyes of the United States: Demon as Before?*

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As the comprehensive power of China increases as a result of its impressive economic achievements, the new generation of Chinese leadership has adjusted both its domestic and foreign policies with an aim to pave way for China's rise as a peaceful big power. Pursuant to this, the Chinese has paid increasing attention to its international image and has taken various initiatives to repair or rebuild its distorted image in the west. How successful are Chinese efforts? To develop answers to this question, this paper researches the changes in the portrayal of China by the leading US newspapers before and after Hu's Administration took office. By conducting a content analysis of the reports on China by the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, I expect to provide answers to the following questions: What are the changes of Chinese image in the United States? Are the changes in agreement with Chinese government's expectations? What do the research results tell us about the effectiveness of Chinese efforts to improve its international image? What are the possible ways for China to further improve its future efforts in facilitating its communications with the United States?

Hok Wong Cheung, *Harmonious Compromise or Insult to Injury? The Hanaoka Settlement of Litigation between Kajima and Chinese forced labors in WWII*

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One facet of the reparation movement in China in recent years has been litigation in Japan courts. Chinese war crime victims from WW II have been demanding an apology and compensation from the Japan Government and corporations associated with Japanese war crimes. Litigation is of huge significance due to the absence of a formal and official apology from Japan Government to Chinese victims. This paper analyzed a representative litigation case (the Hua Gang or Hanaoka Rebellion) between China victims (forced laborers) and Japanese corporations (Kajima). In August 1944, 987 Chinese workers were shipped to Hokkaido in Japan to work as forced labors for Kajima Construction Corporation. After months of hardship and inhumane treatment, the Chinese workers rebelled. The subsequent suppression of the rebelling workers killed 418 individuals and injured hundreds. Geng Zhun, the rebellion leader, later initiated litigation in Japanese courts, which eventually was settled. This paper examines the Hanaoka Settlement and Joint Statement, and draws upon interview data from Chinese victims. It notes how the settlement of the litigation created obstacles for Chinese plaintiffs in other litigation cases in Japan.

Kelvin Chi-kin Cheung, *Chinese identity under construction: revisiting the debate between the Liberals and the New Left*

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The rise of the new Chinese nationalism in the 1990s has generally been associated with the rise of the New Left, a group critical of the neo-liberal reform agenda advocated by the Liberals. The debate between the Liberals and the New Left became heated in the 1990s when the reform focus in China shifted from the question of whether or not to reform to how to achieve better reform. This paper will reexamine the debate between the Liberals and the New Left, within the social and intellectual context since reform began in late 1970s. I argue that, contrary to the common label of New Left as nationalist and the characterization of the debate as one between nationalism and globalism, the debate reflect a negotiation of the Chinese identity by re-narratizing the dispersed meanings of the past to create a representation of a Chinese nation that fit the present purpose of prescribing a particular mode of reform and a way to modernity. The debate is working within the broader reform discourse of ‘building a socialism with Chinese characteristics’ which has experienced a narrative shift from the discursive boundary of ‘socialism’ to the boundary of ‘Chinese characteristics.’

Mary Cooper, *New Thinking in Financial Market Regulation: Dismantling the “Split Share Structure” of Chinese Listed Companies*

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Whether globalization exerts pressure on national financial systems to converge toward a single model, or whether countries can thrive by following divergent paths is by no means settled. In China’s case, a distinctive set of stock market institutions was introduced in 1990. Among the characteristics of China’s stock markets was a strict separation between different categories of investors. By 2005, the barriers segmenting China’s stock market had been significantly relaxed. Nevertheless, a crucial barrier remained. An ongoing debate among Chinese academics, investors, and policy makers focused on how to resolve the “split share structure” (*guquan fen zhi*) in which a minority of shares were tradable while the majority of shares were excluded from the market. This paper analyzes the policy adopted to address the split share structure. The interesting question is to what extent do China’s new policies reflect new thinking on the part of China’s regulators? This policy appears to be a limited move toward convergence with Western financial market institutions.

Sheng Ding, *Analyzing Rising Power from the Perspective of Soft Power: Theories and Case Study of China's Ascendancy*

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Any state which is a rising power has traditionally been regarded as a dangerous power. However, the increasing resonance of Joseph Nye's "soft power" theory (based on a state's attraction and agenda-setting capabilities, and historically associated with the United States) presents a challenge to this notion. Through a theoretical discussion of soft power and a case study of China's current ascendancy, this essay will answer the following important question: Must a rising power still be regarded as a growing potential danger? My findings suggest that not only can the "soft power" theory be applied to rising powers, but when the government in question places emphasis on the accumulation soft power, its revisionist policy orientation is greatly decreased. This in turn allows for a smoother transition to the position of status quo power.

Hong Duan, *China's Rise, Domestic Debates, and the Changing Self-image of China*

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This article seeks to trace Chinese foreign policy elites' evolving conceptualizations of the nature of power and China's role and interests in world politics, which has led to dramatic changes in China's foreign policy in the past decade. China's rapid economic growth has made China's rise a problematic for scholars and decision makers. Many have analyzed other states' reactions and strategies toward the rising China. They have given less attention to China's own perceptions of and reaction to its rise. How do Chinese leaders, decision makers, and policy analysts think of the China's rise? How did they construe the origins of the China threat theory accompanying China's rise? Did they deem the theory solely as a conspiracy aimed to contain China's growth or did they acknowledge others might have legitimate concerns? How did they come up with discourse and strategies to counter the China threat theory? A careful scrutiny of domestic debates suggests that besides emotional denials and rational efforts to figure out ways to discredit the China threat theory, a new

understanding of the nature of power, of how to exert power, as well as of China's international role and interests emerged.

Teng Fu, *China's Pension System-- An Institutional Perspective*

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Aging is a global phenomenon. Yet, if China does not meet the aging challenge wisely, it will probably be hit the hardest of all because its aging is occurring with unusual speed. By 2040, there will be 397 million Chinese elders, which is more than the total current population of France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom combined. The paper focuses on China's pension reform. From the institutional perspective, it discusses the development of China's pension apparatus. Firstly, it reviews the sources of the reform. Secondly, the paper provides an analysis on the current governance of pensions, including the relationship among different government units at multiple levels. Thirdly, based on the impact of pension reforms, the paper offers some institutional building recommendations. By considering pension system models in developed countries and taking into account China's characteristics, China can develop strong political institutions during the current transitional stage and achieve the goal of a stable and prosperous China – a “harmonious society”.

Sidney J. Gluck, *The 21st Century in an Era of Epochal Change*

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The myriad of contradictions in China's revolutionary development cannot be fully grasped unless we place it in the context of an epochal world transition from one form of production relationships and its social content to another that carries forward achievements of the old society to better serve humanity. The most recent historic example is the European transition from feudal agricultural and handicraft based production relations to wage-labor relations of the capitalist system. The transition took hundreds of years of ebb and flow of conflicting interests between a rising mercantilist bourgeoisie and monarchial dominated feudal land enclosure. Many nations experienced revolutionary moments before the demise of feudal domination. In periods of transition, contradictions between the socio-economic relations of the new system and elements of the old defy description by any one simplistic set of relationships. The pace of change depends upon the ability of the old structure to make contributions to economic growth and ability to sustain and improve human conditions. The new grows as it brings greater social benefits. China's peaceful rise to world prominence must be seen through multiple lenses to determine the nature of its present stage of development and socio-political direction.

Baogang Guo, *From Humanitarianism to Humanism: Value Orientation of the New Chinese Elite*

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The latest political development in China has signaled the rise of the politics of equity. While the efficiency-driven economic reform has transformed China's socialist economic system, it has also weakened the socialist appeal for justice and equality and the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The new politics is designed to expand humanitarian reach to the needy population, restore Chinese humanist tradition—while modernizing it with contemporary values of human dignity and human rights, and subsequently, to rebuild the CCP's legitimacy. This paper will examine the value orientation of the new Chinese political elite. Part one of the paper will examine differences between humanitarianism and humanism, and the way they separate the technocratic elite and the new humanist elite. Part two of the paper will look at traditional humanism and its demise. Part three will study the humanist orientation of the fourth generation of the CCP leaders and their latest initiatives. Part four will analyze the implication of the rise of the humanist elite on China's future political development, including the expansion of civil society and democracy.

Guo Xuetao, *China's Geo-Strategy in the New Century: Challenges and Opportunities*

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The world order since the end of the Cold War has been evolving in a new direction. Geopolitics has returned, but this time with more energy security concerns and intensive economic integration in international relations. The rise of China's power implies not only an adjustment of its relations with other great powers intensifying competitions and cooperation among them in trade, investment, antiterrorism, energy security and so on, but the reshaping of geopolitical order. China's geo-strategy has been taking its relationship with neighboring countries at the core, consisting of three geopolitical rings, namely the "Ring of Political Friendship", the "Ring of Economic Cooperation", and "the Ring of Military Exchanges",

and meanwhile pursuing strategic breakthroughs toward Africa and Latin America in a long term. This paper will talk about China's three-ring geo-strategy and how China withstands international security challenges and makes use of the new dynamics of world order for finding more geopolitical spaces on the basis of that geo-strategy.

Han Fuguo, *One Analysis Framework of Institutional Changes*

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Restraining the institutional game in the confines of one gradual approach but not the drastic one constructs the main effort of Chinese institutional changes. How can Chinese institutional game be restrained to one gradual approach? This article, adopting a positive approach rather than a normative one, studies the development of the interdisciplinary research models of Chinese institutional changes and, brings forward that the transition of the dual-agent organizations provide one carrier for the institutional game to play gradually. This article tries to demonstrate that the dual-agent function of organizations bore the task to interchange the information in the institutional games and thus has reduced the cost of the institutional changes.

Kai He, *Reining in the Dragon: Multilateral Institutions and China's Peaceful Rise*

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After the cold war, the most stunning foreign policy change by China is its gradual embrace of multilateral institutions. Why did China embrace multilateral institutions? What are the implications of this multilateral diplomacy to China's rise? Will multilateral institutions become a "dragon's weapon" to exert its power and influence or will they instead rein in the dragon? After examining the "agent bias" problem of four prevailing arguments, (Neo-Bismarckian reassurance strategy, deceptive revisionist tactics, a sinic zone of influence, and agent-driven socialization), I suggest a rationalist-based structural theory, institutional realism, to explain China's multilateral diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific after the cold war. I argue that China's embrace of multilateral institutions is shaped by two systemic factors: the distribution of power and economic interdependence. Using China's policy toward ASEAN Plus Three (APT) and the East Asia Summit (EAS) as a

case study, I suggest that China used multilateral institutions to conduct a new balancing strategy—institutional balancing—to pursue security under the conditions of high economic interdependence and anarchy.

Lilly Kelan Lu and Dennis V. Hickey, *The Future of Sino-American Military Cooperation: Challenges and Opportunities*

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East Asia's greatest challenge in future years is the maintenance of regional peace and stability. In order to ensure that peace prevails, nothing appears to be more important than the judicious management of Sino-American relations. As a part of this effort, both countries are seeking to expand bilateral military cooperation to improve military transparency, reduce miscalculation, and strengthen security cooperation against international and regional threats. This paper explores current trends in military cooperation between the US and China. It also examines the various challenges and opportunities that each of these nations confront as they seek to advance bilateral military relations. In conclusion, the authors suggest that, while significant progress has been made in recent years, both Beijing and Washington will need to do more to promote a cooperative and healthy military relationship.

Dennis V. Hickey, *Continuity or Change: Us Policy Toward Taiwan*

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Although the government and society of the Republic of China's (ROC or Taiwan) have changed markedly in the new millennium, the fundamentals of US policy toward the island remain intact. This study outlines recent developments in Taiwan and shows how they represent challenges to the US. It also discusses American policy toward Taiwan and examines several proposals for change that an American administration may wish to consider. In conclusion, the paper explains why the current policy, albeit contradictory and ambiguous, is in the best interest of the United States. There is a strong possibility that any major change in policy would succeed only in undermining peace and stability in the

Asia-Pacific region.

Eric H. Honda, *From Nationalism To Realism: Theorizing The International Politics Of Sino-Japanese Relations*

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In the study of Sino-Japanese relations, understanding the recurrent controversies about history textbooks, the Yasukuni Shrine visits, and the Diaoyutai/Senkaku dispute which sustain political animosities amidst such economic interdependence (caused by effects from trade and finance) leads to either nationalist or realist explanations—but not both. By showing, however, that nationalist means can lead to realist ends through constructivist IR theory, such paradoxical relationships (which portray conflict amidst cooperation) might be resolved in terms of cultural identities alongside material interest. For what has elsewhere been depicted as “civilizational realpolitik” characterizes the international politics of Sino-Japanese relations.

Antonio C. Hsiang, *China's Foreign Policy toward Latin America*

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For the following three reasons, both the US and Taiwan should pay more attention to China's aggressive and creative campaign to court economic and political leaders in Latin America. First, China uses Latin America to counterbalance its relations with the US. Second, China sees Latin America as part of global resource-hunting for its economic development. Third, China seeks to erase Taiwan from geopolitical map. China's rise in Latin America has three implications. First, increasing relation between China and Latin America will eventually diminish America's influence in the region. Second, for downplaying Beijing's aggressive resource-hunting in Latin America, Washington should accelerate the negotiation of the FTAA. Third, if China successfully sweeps out Taiwan from Latin America, Taipei may declare independence as the last resort to survive and increase the tension between Washington and Beijing.

Shaohua Hu, *Russia and Cross-Taiwan Strait Relations*

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The importance of the US and even Japan to the Taiwan issue is widely accepted, but the Russian factor has not received enough attention. This paper will examine the historical role of Russia before the end of the Cold War, and then assess the current importance of Russia, such as strategic partnership, arms sale, and energy supply. The final section will explore possible roles Russia might play in the event of a cross-Strait conflict, which include siding with the US against China; neutrality; and siding with China against the US.

Tianyuan Huang, *Harmonious World and US-China-Africa Relations in the Era of Globalization*

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In November 2006, leaders from 48 African countries attended the Beijing Summit and Third Ministerial Conference of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. Summit is even viewed as a successful “Junior UN”. This paper defines the progress of China-Africa relations as a success of China’s diplomatic idea of a “Harmonious World” and argues that the significance of China-African cooperation lies in the creation of an alternative mode in global politics, i.e. one country and one continent. The first part of the paper analyzes China’s “Harmonious World” diplomacy from the perspective of *constructivism*. First, this new idea is derived from the rebirth of Confucianism in China. Second, in constructing a “Harmonious World”, China and Africa have mutually recognized their cultural differences, and accepted each other’s development choices. Third, China is constructing a “Kantian” culture in the world. The second part discusses the implications of China’s African reach for the US-China Relations through a *liberal* lens. First, China is no longer a revolutionary model for Africa. Second, China’s “Harmonious World” diplomacy will have great positive impact on Africa. Third, China as a new model of globalization can cooperate with the U.S. in terms of spreading modern values.

John James Kennedy, *The Price of Village Democracy: Vote Buying and Village Elections in China*

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Local elections have been occurring in most villages for over a decade in rural China, and competitive elections are one of the key indicators of the democratic process. Indeed, competition is an important aspect of any democracy, and it increases the value of a villager's vote. So much so that, in some villages, a farmer's vote can be worth a small fortune. As village elections become more competitive, reports of voting buying are on the rise, and a number of journalists and academic researchers have condemned this growing practice in rural China. Accordingly, vote buying subverts democratic development and hinders democratization efforts. However, vote buying has a long history in well-established democracies such as United States and Great Britain. Rather than a subverting democratization, vote buying may be just part of the process or the price of village democracy. While policies and laws are needed to control vote buying in the long run, initially it may be a positive indicator that voting is an important and valuable process in rural China.

Yong-Bin Lee, *Searching for Hidden Great Wall in the Sea: China's Rising Naval Power in the Eyes of Japan and the United States*

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The rise of China, *zhongguo de jueqi*, has enhanced the naval power of China. As alliance partners, Japan and the United States together preserve maritime peace around the Pacific Rim. The aim of this article is to make clear the commonalities and differences in the perception of China's rising naval power by Japan and the United States. Is Japan as concerned about China's rising naval power as the United States? Or vice versa? The return of China to the sea demands rapid transformation of the function and organization of the US-Japan alliance. Any alliance needs a common identity including threat perception and clear target as well as strong cooperation. Is China's rising naval power strengthening or weakening the US-Japan alliance? Japan and the U.S. are gingerly searching for hidden Great Wall in the sea as demonstrated in the official publications of both states. As a result, any perceptual gap or identification against China's rising naval power between Japan and the U.S. is a very crucial point for forecasting the future of peace and prosperity in the Pacific Rim.

Han Lheem, *An Economic Calculation of Political Logic in China*

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Despite the significance of China's dramatic post-Mao development, including rapid economic growth, greater access to information and personal mobility, and the decline in the state role of the economy, Chinese experts question the validation of the causal link assumed between economic development and the achievement of democracy in China. All the important institutional reforms in the political system--such as the strengthening of the National People's Congress, legal reform, experiments in rural self-government--were all conceived and implemented in the 1980s. The "golden age" of political reform in the 1980s, however, was never intended to lead to democracy or to end one party rule. The national and local parliaments serve the executive or party's agenda, and are unable to provide independent oversight. Legal reform, too, is tactical in nature, set in motion to serve the party's overall strategy of maintaining its political monopoly through economic reform. This research examines the sustainability of the Chinese Communist Party's reform strategy pursuing pro-market economic policies under one-party rule.

Han Lheem, *China's Energy Security and Its Strategic Implications*

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Since the introduction to Deng's reform policy, China's economy has grown by an impressive rate. This dramatic and sustained economic prosperity with a population of more than 1 billion people has required more energy supplies. China's domestic production had failed to keep pace with its growing energy demand. China became a net importer of oil in 1993, and Beijing was the world's third-largest net importer of oil behind Washington and Tokyo in 2006. This current large gap between stagnant energy production and fast-growing consumption is projected to expand further in coming decades. This phenomenon combined by limited indigenous energy resources and rising demand has prompted Chinese leaders to adopt a multi-faced energy strategy. This research attempts to examine the outlook of current China's energy strategy. Three elements of this strategy can be identified: (1) reform the energy sector to maximize domestic production and attract foreign investment; (2) diversify the energy mix to reduce the nation's dependency on fossil fuels and contain pollution; and (3) diversify energy sources to restrain over-dependence on one or few producing regions.

Bo Li and Chehuan Shen, *The Legal Status of Taiwan and The Defense Obligation of The United States: The Lawfulness of the U.S. Commitment of Defending Taiwan*

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According to the 1979 Joint Communiqué signed by the U.S. and the People's Republic of China (PRC), both sides agreed that "there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." However, official relationships between the U.S. and Taiwan have never been completely terminated. Shortly after the formal termination of the mutual defense treaty between the U.S. and Taiwan, Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). The TRA stated that "it is the policy of the United States to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character." In the context of the TRA, the U.S. has the obligation to provide Taiwan with adequate arms and give collaborative defense when Taiwan is being attacked by external forces. On the other hand, the U.S.-PRC joint communiqués are treaty-like legal documents which legally bind both the U.S. and the PRC. Per the joint communiqués, the U.S. government consents that "[r]espect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference each other's internal affairs constitute the fundamental principles guiding United States-China relations." In this paper, I argue that the U.S. commitments of defending Taiwan are in violation with international law.

Chenghong Li, *Economic Interdependence between Taiwan and mainland China and Its Implications to Taiwan-mainland China Relations*

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Some argue that economic interdependence increase the prospects for peace. Other scholars contend that by influencing power relations among trading partners, open commerce can undermine the national security of states. Most of the previous empirical studies on the relationship between interdependence and conflict tend to examine this relationship in method of statistics. As for the question how exactly the economic interdependence affects the prospect of war or peace is not so clear answered in this approach. To delineate the concrete causal mechanisms between economic interdependence and conflict might help correct this limitation. In this paper, I will try to delineate one possible mechanism through a detailed analysis of the Taiwan-mainland China case. More specifically, this paper will contend that the increasing economic interdependence between Taiwan and Mainland China provides a broad stage for the businessmen and other cross-Strait Actors to play a broker role in the interactions between Taiwan and Mainland China.

Wei Liang, *Trade Diplomacy: China's Engagement with the Global South since 1990s*

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Since the 1990s China has turned more attention and resources to deepening its once-lost connection with developing countries in many parts of the world, particularly Africa and Latin America. What are the fundamental economic and political reasons behind this policy change? This paper argues that China's changing trade behavior is driven by domestic/global market needs or by diplomatic/political needs? Management of image politics is central to Chinese diplomacy in the twenty-first century. With its rapidly increasing economic power and importance in global trade, would China apply trade penetration as a means to promote its foreign policy goal? If this is the case, what has China done in terms of expanding trade ties with the developing world? Has it been successful so far? What are the concerns raised by the U.S. and other developed countries in the West? How would China balance between these two camps? This paper aims to shed light on these important research questions.

Zhimin Lin, *The Rise of China, Public Perception and Support*

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The rise of China is a dynamic process involving not only China's growing power or the projection of its power but also the building a domestic base that supports such a mission. For the Hu Jintao team, the challenge arising from the latter has been three-fold: How to generate and sustain public support and enthusiasm for the prospect of a more powerful China without unleashing a nationalist movement that can easily go beyond its control? How to harness the increasingly diverse and competing domestic interests and constituencies into synergy rather than turning them into impediments to the rise of China? And finally, how to prepare the nation for the "glory" as well as the inherent cost associated with being a major rising power without triggering the kind of backlash that had hunted other nations in history? Using in part the data collected in a field research conducted in China in summer 2006, this paper tries to provide a preliminary look at how the Chinese public and elites have reacted to these issues and how well has the Hu Jintao's team been handling these challenges.

Guoli Liu, *Economic Development, Political Stability, and Social Harmony: Can All Good Things Go Together?*

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Under the policy of reform and opening, China has enjoyed three decades of rapid economic growth. In comparative perspective, Chinese politics in the post-Mao era has been relatively stable, though tensions have been rising with growing disparities in personal income and regional development. The current leadership has made building harmonious society as a top priority. Based on the U.S. experience, all good things including economic development and political stability could go together. This paper examines the remarkable experience of the U.S. while noticing the dramatic differences between it and China. Although the challenges of bringing all good things together are daunting, the possibility of achieving growth, stability and harmony does exist. It will take political wisdom, great skills, hard work, and good fortune. This paper highlights the difficulties of bringing the good things together, stresses the dangers of not doing so, and suggests some approaches to balance the contending demands for change and stability in contemporary China.

Yu-nu Lu, *The Liberalization of Chinese Television Media in the Era of Globalization: a Myth or not?*

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In the era of globalization, Chinese television media has faced four waves of challenges. In the late 1990s, Chinese television media faced the first wave of challenges from foreign satellite televisions. The development of the Internet in the early 21st century constituted the second wave. China's entry into the WTO earmarked the third wave of challenges. The most recent challenges should be from the 2008 Olympic Game in Beijing. Traditionally, Chinese media are regarded as the mouthpiece for the Party and the Government, and have been closely monitored by the latter two simultaneously. While confronting those challenges, government has usually made adjustments. The latest example that China has decided to substantially liberalize restrictions on coverage by foreign journalist ahead of the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. It seems that each those adjustments decreases the power of the state and increase the autonomy of the media. What are the content of those adjustments? Have adjustments really reduced the presence and power of the governmental agencies and allowed more autonomy of the media industry? Can those adjustments represent the process of media liberalization?

Josef Gregory Mahoney, *On the Way to Harmony: Lessons from the Long March for New Democracy.*

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Eschewing the all too frequent discussion of neo-Confucianism accompanying various studies of Hu Jintao's call for "harmony," this paper instead focuses on a Marxist-Maoist examination of dialectical syntheses with particular attention paid to the legacy of the Long March, Mao's initial call for "New Democracy," the transhistorical effects of the Cultural Revolution, and Deng Xiaoping's respective leadership selections of Jiang Zemin (movement to the right) and Hu Jintao (movement to the left). Contrary to many popular contemporary analyses, I craft a narrative framework linking these topics to illustrate what I believe is an ongoing, *robust* Marxist-Maoist ideological worldview within the Chinese Communist Party, and certainly within Deng Xiaoping Theory and its subsequent variations under Jiang ("three represents") and Hu ("harmony"). I conclude by discussing the potential significance of my arguments.

Barrett L. McCormick, *Prospects for Chinese Media Politics in Comparative Perspective*

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In recent years Chinese media have evolved in two contradictory directions. First, Chinese media have been commercialized with audiences and distribution increasingly structured by market forces rather than administrative forces. Many but not all commentators argue that media markets result in the production and consumption of commodity entertainment which facilitates atomization and political passivity. However regrettable this may be, it is typically a decentralized and self-regulating system that allows for considerable freedom at its periphery. Second, under Hu Jintao's leadership there has been an intensification of authoritarian and hierarchical controls over media. This suggests two further poles of comparison: Mao's 'totalitarian' media system -- where media served as a tool for ideological mobilization -- and authoritarian states such as Taiwan prior to democratization where media controls were extensive, but served more to censor and repress than to persuade and mobilize. Each of these three media systems -- liberal-market, ideological-mobilization, and authoritarian-repressive suggests a different set of relationships between citizens, intellectuals, and the state with different types of political dynamics and prospects. Recent developments in Chinese media will be analyzed to see where China fits in this triangle and what sorts of political dynamics and prospects are likely.

Jing Men, *China's Rise and Its Relations with the Other Major Powers--Competitors or Partners?*

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China's rise is a challenge to the international relations. In order to appease the other major powers, the Chinese leaders developed first the peaceful rise policy, and then revised it to peaceful development policy, and shifted it to a policy called "peace, development and cooperation". The other major powers in the world, including the US, the EU, Russia, Japan, and India, adjust their China policy and reached various kinds of partnership with China. Although the nature of these types of partnership needs to be examined closely, it is noticeable that China's peaceful diplomacy helps facilitate a global cooperative environment. This paper studies the partnerships between China and the other major powers in the post-Cold War era, analyses the behavior of these state-actors and the essence of the partnerships in order to get a clue whether competition or cooperation will be the dominant theme of the future international politics.

Kaisa Oksanen, *Democracy rhetoric in Hong Kong*

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the rhetoric of democracy in the context of political development in Hong Kong. This paper reviews Hong Kong discussion on political development concentrating on the democracy rhetoric during the first 10 years after the handover and sovereignty change 1997. The paper has two parts: firstly the rhetorical themes used by Hong Kong political analysts, intellectuals and political actors, secondly the analysis of the concept of democracy in Hong Kong. Question such as 'What special characteristics underlie in Hong Kong political rhetoric and politics analyzed through rhetoric or what kind of political development is pursued through produced rhetoric in the public political sphere?' will be discussed in the context the political development that is one of partial democratization and fragmented political culture that has divided Hong Kong.

Pan Zhongqi, *China's Changing Image of and Engagement with the World Order*

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A nation-state's general image of the world order, along with its dynamic gap that drives from the discrepancy between reality-based image and vision-based image, is an important perspective from which we can judge this state's attitude toward and relationship with the world order. The nature, extent and changing tendency of the image gap toward the world order could be defined by examining a state's engagement with, benefits from, and impacts on the world order during a historical period of time. We can argue that, in general, China's dynamic image gap toward the world order tends to be increasingly more reconcilable in nature, lower in extent, and narrower in tendency. Since 1949, China has transformed from the world order's antagonist and revolutionary defier to critic and advantage-taker, and further to today's proactive supporter and shaper. China is thus no more a revisionist state today, but a quasi status quo power instead.

Qin Zhiyong (秦志勇教授), 通向和谐社会文化构建

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本文从三个方面论述了“通向和谐社会文化构建”。一，为什么和谐社会必须进行文化构建？二，怎样进行和谐社会的文化构建？三，构建和谐社会的基本内容

James Reilly, *The Role of Public Opinion in China's Japan Policy: 1998-2005*

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Does popular sentiment impact upon the foreign policy of authoritarian states, and if so, to what extent and through what mechanisms? This study explores this issue by asking two questions. First, why did China increasingly place ideological issues at the core of its Japan policymaking after 2001? Secondly, what explains the variation in China's Japan policy across ideational, security, and economic issue areas? I develop an explanation for China's Japan policy from 1998-2005 based on the variable of domestic public opinion, and test it against Realist and Liberal explanations. This paper is a case study focusing on various issues in China's Japan policy in which there was a high level of public mobilization in China. For each of these issues, this study will trace the process by which each issue emerged as a policy issue. Comparing the role of official government documents and statements to the role of popular newspapers, magazines, and the internet will indicate whether the government is generating these issues or reacting to popular mobilization. I will then describe the government's decision making process and policy outcome in each area, and compare the expectations of the public opinion approach to Realist and Liberal alternatives. My paper will suggest whether public opinion can usefully augment dominant explanations for Chinese foreign policy in cases where public mobilization is high.

Simon Shen, *Reemergence of Blood-sweating Horses in 2006: Distorting Sino-Turkmen Relationship in the Peaceful Development Framework*

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At most, the bilateral Sino-Turkmen relationship, if mentioned by the Chinese government at all, is quoted as an example of China's "new silk road saga" or its "peaceful development" policy. In 2002, a differentiated identity was finally granted to Turkmenistan by China, namely its status as the origin of the legendary blood-sweating horses, a creature made famous in China's Western Han Dynasty (220BC-9AD). As the Turkmen president paid another state visit to China in 2006, the same identity was reinforced, making these horses the symbol of Sino-Turkmen "friendship" as depicted by the Chinese government. However, the real substances of Sino-Turkmen relationship—particularly the apparent neutrality of the landlocked country – are severely under-stated in the story of the blood-sweating horses. What are these substances and why is their importance being tuned down? How does the story of the horses fit into the peaceful development framework? Answers to these little studied questions could reveal a more comprehensive picture of the Sino-Turkmen relationship.

Shi Zhongwen (史仲文教授), 儒学传统与和平崛起

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本文重点讨论儒学传统在中国和平崛起中的作用及相关问题。分四个部分。一，分析儒学文化可资积极借鉴与继承的 8 个层面。二，儒学文化在中国古代文化中的两大历史性积极作用。三，分析儒学文化及其传统的消极方面。四，儒学文化及其传统在一些层面对当代中国和平崛起产生的积极影响。

Gary A. Stradiotto and Sujian Guo, *The Breakdown of Principal Agent Relationships in China's State Owned Enterprises*

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In the late 1970s, China began a gradual economic transformation, moving away from the structural deficiencies of the command economy towards a model of market socialism. Since that time, China has implemented various reforms of its state-owned enterprises (SOEs). While progress has been made, a large number of SOEs remain inefficient and uncompetitive in the market-reform environment. In this paper, we argue this is primarily due to the breakdown of principal-agent relationships. The nature of these relationships obstructs day-to-day management due to loose disciplinary and incentive mechanisms. State owned enterprises represent an important material foundation of socialism and play a dominant role in the economy, employing an estimated half of China's 750 million workers. Without effective restructuring of SOE operations, China risks losing control of the reform process which may eventually lead to political fallout.

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As a consequence of urban housing reform, an increasing number of urban residents own their houses. They and other agents such as real estate developers are involved in a number of conflictual situations which can be divided into two kinds: one is between public powers and private rights, the other is among private rights. According to the real estate laws and policies, homeowners have two sorts of rights by buying houses. One comes from their rights as the general consumers while the other roots in their ownership of the houses. However, these rights are often damaged. Therefore, homeowners' consciousness of protecting rights is very strong, that they struggle for their rights has become a focal point of urban social conflicts. At the same time, internal dissension among homeowners also occurs. Generally speaking, their struggles take one of six forms: 1) administrative channel; 2) judicial channel; 3) legislative channels; 4) political channels; 5) nonviolent and noncooperation confrontation; and 6) collective violent actions. What's interesting is that the government frequently gets stuck in these conflicts. This indicates the unfitness between the inertia of old governance model and the new need of growing civil society in transforming China.

Chung-Chian Teng, *Conflict Resolution in East Asia: The China-Taiwan-North Korea Conundrum*

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Two flashpoints in East Asia in which China has a major role are the Taiwan Strait and the Korean Peninsula. For the purpose of dealing with potential conflicts in East Asia, China has two feasible approaches: a unilateralist or multilateralist one. With its peaceful rising, China must play a responsible big power. Being a responsible big power, China has to demonstrate its willingness and assertiveness to maintain peaceful environment in East Asia. Following this logic, China has to choose multilateralist approach to the solution of disputes. As the existence of high tension or some kind of crisis in these two sparkling spots, China has to defuse it by means of standard international principles and norms. For this, it requires the application of negotiation to contain the local or regional conflicts as well as to prevent their escalation to an all-out war. In this paper, I will focus on 1) how China has dealt with high tension in Taiwan Strait and North Korea nuclear crisis by means of international mediation and the use of third parties and 2) whether Korean Peninsula Crisis would affect China's relations with Taiwan.

Gabe T. Wang, *Population, Polity, and Socioeconomic Development in China and India*

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Both China and India are becoming new super powers in the world although they are quite different. This proposed research project intends to make a systematic comparative study of how populations have affected the polity in China and India and how the population and polity have affected their social and economic developments. More specifically, this research will study how history, language, religion, and social structure have affected the populations and polity of China and India; and how the population and polity affected the social stratification, women status, education, and economic developments in the two countries. Since China and India are the most populous countries and both are developing most dynamically, understanding the similarities and differences in the two societies and in their socioeconomic developments will be quite significant.

Jianwei Wang, *'New frontier' of China's diplomacy*

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Entering the 21st century, particularly under the reign of Hu Jintao, China's diplomatic landscape has significantly expanded. The most glaring examples in this regard is Beijing's increasingly pro-active diplomacy in Africa and Latin America, which has drawn both alarm and criticism in the Western camp. How should we interpret China's "new frontier" diplomacy? Does it indicate Beijing's more sophisticated and ambitious strategic thinking as a global power or merely reflect its pragmatic calculation for energy and market? Is it an old form of colonialism with Chinese characteristics or a new path towards a global power status? How does Beijing's "new frontier" impact its ties with the world "center?" Is it a sort of revival of the Maoist theme of "encircling the cities from rural areas"? Can it trigger a peripheral "Cold War" between China and the United States similar to that between the United States and the Soviet Union? This paper attempts to explore the new geopolitical thrusts in China's foreign policy by addressing these important questions.

Brantly Womack, *Democratic Prerequisites of a Governing Party*

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While many observers judge political reform in China in terms of progress toward a multi-party legislative democracy, this paper addresses the question of the democratic prerequisites of a sustainable party-state political system. Four prerequisites are discussed: rule of law, citizen participation, public media, and inner-party democracy.

Qiang Yan, *Institutional Changes and Geographical Inequality in China*

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In this paper I analyze how the two durable shifts of Chinese political institutions shaped China's uneven development. The first one occurred in 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power and artificially tried to narrow geographic inequalities impacted by international context and the ideology of equity. The second shift happened in 1979, when the CCP staged economic reform and open door policy, which helped China achieve amazingly development. But it enlarged geographic inequality, imposing political and economic influences on China's future development.

Bin Yu, *China's Rise: In Search of Harmony*

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Under the forth generation leader Hu Jintao, China's "charm diplomacy" has been in full play at a global scale. While geo-politicking and economic pragmatism always operate in the background, current policy trends indicate a discernible "back to the past" thinking in China's search for its place in the 21st century world. Behind the rhetoric and behavior of a peacefully rising China lies an old thinking of harmony and order at the global scale. This, however, by no means suggests a simple return or repeat of the Sino-centric regional system of hierarchy. Rather, Beijing seeks to preserve the existing international system of nation-states by harmonizing the interests of various parties concern with an optimized "win-win" outcome, or alternatively, avoiding lost-lost consequences. This line of thinking, and its policy counterparts, not only separates China from the familiar trajectory of rising powers vs. status quo powers, but also from the ironical "revolutionary power" of the United States. The biggest challenge for China's foreign policy makers, however, is to dance with the world's sole superpower, not just for China's own interests, but also for those of the global village.

Yanmin Yu, *Why Corruption Is So Difficult to Combat in China?*

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Corruption exists in every society, and China is no exception. However the scope, magnitude, variety, and tenacity of corruption in China are alarming. A number of hypotheses and theories have been proposed and tested and explanations have been offered from legal, economical, political, social, cultural, and/or behavioral perspectives, and anti-corruption campaigns have been launched one after another. Yet corruption continues. This baffles many social scientists who try to elucidate the problem, government officials who are determined to create a clean government, and the public who are fed up with corruption. This paper will analyze corruption from a socio-cultural perspective. In particular it will examine how corruption is legitimized, how having multiple mistresses becomes a status symbol, how media entertainment glamorizes certain corruptive behavior, and how China's socio-cultural environment provides a breeding bed for corruption to persist despite the government's continuous effort to combat corruption.

Zhang Guang, *Political Trust and Citizens' Evaluation of Urban Government in China*

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Do Chinese people trust their government? What impacts does people's political trust have on their overall evaluation of government performance? In this paper, I will utilize data collected from a survey of Tianjin citizens to answer these questions. Our questionnaire uses three specific statements to measure citizens' trust in the Tianjin government. 1) the government fulfills what it has promised; 2) the media's report of government is accurate; and 3) most officials of the Tianjin government are clean and uncorrupt. Our primary analyses indicate that no matter what control variables –e.g., party membership, income and education levels, and the like - we introduced, the first and second trust-related variables emerge among the five predictors that offer the greatest explanations of citizen ratings of the Tianjin government performance. The third index for political trust appears a much less important determinant. Another interesting finding is that while the means of political trust indices of party members are significantly higher than those of regular citizens, the differences turn insignificant if the income levels of the two groups are controlled. This indicates that income is more important than political status when people come to evaluate local government performance.

Zhang Xiaoming, *POW/MIA Dispute: Enduring Legacy for Sino-American Relations*

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For the past ten years, although both Washington and Beijing have been cooperating in search of U.S. POW/MIAs in China, progress has not been made so far as Washington has expected. Historical, ideological and cultural differences prevent China and the United States from approaching the matters with same understandings and attitudes while the former does recognize the importance of the issue to the U.S. government and people and has cooperated to varying degrees with our efforts to locate our missing patriots. Based on declassified U.S. and former Soviet documents and available Chinese sources, this paper discusses a legacy of the Korean War involving our current effort in search of POW/MIAs in China. By carefully examining some specific cases, the paper points out that the problems that continue to exacerbate the accounting of our service members missing from the Korean War and Cold War. It concludes that failure to make any significant progress to address the POW/MIA dispute could cast a negative influence on development of a healthy relationship between the United States and China.