## **Table of Contents**

Preta	ace	XIII
1.	Introduction: Economic Growth and New Challenges Joseph Y. S. CHENG	1
	Challenges in the Political Scene	4
	Economic Challenges	
	Social Challenges	
	Notes and References	
		31
2.	The Traits and Political Orientation of China's Fifth-generation Leadership	
	Willy Wo-Lap LAM	35
	Introduction	
	Traits of the Fifth-generation Leadership	
	Major Candidates for Leadership Posts	46
	Conclusion: China under the Fifth-generation Leadership	
	Notes and References	57
3.	Plus Ça Change, Plus C'est la Même Chose: Political Reform in Rural China	
	Sylvia CHAN	63
	Villagers' Self-governance or Village Party Committee Governance?	64
	Villagers' Representative Assembly:	
	Representing Whom?	
	Problems in Township Governance - Call for Reform	70

	Reform of Methods of Selection	
	of Township Government Leaders	
	Township Political Reform Since 2003	
	Conclusion	
	Notes and References	88
4.	Managing Rights Talk	
	in the "Harmonious Society"	
	Graham YOUNG and Yingjie GUO	97
	Rights Talk	
	Regime International Rights Talk	
	Regime Domestic Rights Talk	
	Popular Take-Up of Rights Talk	
	Threats of Rights Talk	
	Concluding Comments	
	Notes and References	
5.	The State and Labour Insurgency in Post-socialist China: Implication for Development Alvin Y. SO	133
	The Strong Party-State in	1.25
	Socialist and Post-socialist China	
		130
	Impose Political Repression to Disorganise the Working Class	140
	Set Up Labour Legislations	
	to Pre-empt Labour Protests	142
	Adopt the Tactics of Accommodation	
	to Diffuse Working Class Protest	143
	Maintain a Moral High Ground by Shifting	
	the Blames to the Lower-level Officials	144
	Rapid Economic Development and Market Hegemony	145
	The Future of Labour Insurgency in China	
	Implication for China's Development	
	Notes and References	149

6.	Conditionality for China's Peaceful Rise Guiguo WANG	153
	Interweaving of International Politics and Economy Supremacy of International Norms Policy Alternatives Notes and References	160 167
7.	Foreign Policy of a Rising Power: Is China a Threat or Is It a Responsible State? Gerald CHAN	179
	Foreign-policy Decision-making China's Global Behaviour: "Living with the Hegemon" China in Asia: A Threat or an Opportunity? Conclusion Notes and References	183 192 198
8.	How China Deals with the "China Threat" Perception  Joseph Y. S. CHENG	207
	Introduction	211 219 230
9.	The Challenges of China's Peaceful Development Guoli LIU	245
	The Emerging Pattern of China's Peaceful Development Internal Challenges of Sustainable Development External Challenges to China's Peaceful Rise Notes and References	255 262

10.	The PLA's Missile Force and Its Anti-NMD Initiatives	
	YOU Ji	273
	The Evolving Nuclear Strategy	274
	From Minimum Deterrence to Limited Deterrence	
	Contemplating Tactical Nuclear Warfare	
	Getting Ready to Fight	
	New Modernisation Programmes	
	The Naval Nuclear Connection	
	China's Effort to Break the U.S. Missile Defence	287
	Conclusion	
	Notes and References	291
11.	Non-traditional Security Threats in China: Challenges of Energy Shortage and Infectious Diseases	
	Pak K. LEE and Lai-Ha CHAN	297
	Changing Concept of Security	297
	China's Conception of Non-traditional Security	
	Economic Security in China: A Study of Oil Security Health Security in China:	
	A Case Study of HIV/AIDS	314
	Implications for Understanding China's External	
	Behaviour: Unilateral or Multilateral	323
	Notes and References	326
12.	Problems in Social Security Development: Challenges and Policy Reforms	
	Raymond NGAN	337
	Introduction: The Need for a Harmonious Society	
	amid Rising Wealth Gap and Social Unrest	
	Problems in Social Security Development	339
	Reforms in Social Security Provisions:	
	What Next and How Effective?	
	Concluding Remark: A Harmonious Society for All?	
	Notes and References	362

13.	The Emergence of Non-state Welfare in China Performance and Prospects for Civilian-run Care Homes for Elders	1:
	Linda WONG	367
	Residential Care for Chinese Elders – High Level of Unmet Demands	368
	Civilian-Run Care Homes for Chinese Elders: Research Findings	370
	Characteristics of the Sample Homes	
	Meeting the Needs of the Users	
	Staffing Issues	
	Financing Issues	381
	Meeting the Expectation	
	of Agency Investors/Founders	
	Conclusion	
	Notes and References	387
14.	Where is China's Rural Economy Heading for A Brighter Future or Problems Unsolved?	:
	Charles C. L. KWONG	389
		389
	Two Decades Later:	
	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	
	Two Decades Later:	390
	Two Decades Later: Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	390
	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	390
	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	390 394 399 405
	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	390 394 399 405
	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	390 394 399 405
15.	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?	390 394 399 405
15.	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?  1994 Banking Reform: Impediment to Rural Industrial Growth  Tightening Fiscal Constraint: The Source of Local Government's Predatory Behaviour.  Recent Development: A Brighter Future?  Conclusion	390 394 399 405 409
15.	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?  1994 Banking Reform: Impediment to Rural Industrial Growth  Tightening Fiscal Constraint: The Source of Local Government's Predatory Behaviour  Recent Development: A Brighter Future?  Conclusion  Notes and References  The Question of Land: An Alternative Model of Modernity?  Mobo GAO	390394399405407
15.	Two Decades Later:  Targets Achieved or Problems Unsolved?  1994 Banking Reform: Impediment to Rural Industrial Growth  Tightening Fiscal Constraint: The Source of Local Government's Predatory Behaviour.  Recent Development: A Brighter Future? Conclusion.  Notes and References.  The Question of Land: An Alternative Model of Modernity?	390394399405409

	Argument For and Against Privatisation of Land	420
	Land Ownership Problem:	
	Attack from Direction of the Right	421
	Land Ownership Problem:	
	Attack from Direction of the Left	
	The Challenge: A Model of Development	427
	Conclusion	
	Notes and References	431
16.	Fiscal Reforms, Rural Tension	
	and Prospect for Stability	
	Ray YEP	435
	Introduction	435
	Fiscal Scepticism in Post-commune Era	436
	The Attempt of Tax-for-fee Reform	439
	Abolishing Agricultural Tax	442
	Conclusion	452
	Notes and References	454
17.	China's Ethnic Minorities:	
	Policy and Challenges under	
	the Fourth-generation Leadership	
	Colin MACKERRAS	457
	Introduction	457
	Hu Jintao and Policy	
	Chinese Unity and Separatism	
	Foreign Policy and the Ethnic Minorities	
	Economic Development and	
	the Great Western Development Strategy	472
	Overview of the Challenges	474
	Separatism and Allied Issues	
	The HIV/AIDS and Drugs Crisis	480
	Conclusion	485
	Notes and References	487

18.	The Triangular Relations among China, Taiwan and the Vatican: A Taiwan Perspective	
	Beatrice K. F. LEUNG and Marcus J. J. WANG	
	Introduction: History of the Triangle	495
	Theoretical Review and Discussion	
	The Forgotten Catholic History in Taiwan	
	The Taiwan-Vatican Relationship under Threat	
	The Catholic Church with Taiwan's Ruling Parties	
	Conclusions	
	Notes and References	517
19.	•	
	Educational Developments in China:	
	Policy and Challenges	
	David CHAN	523
	Introduction	523
	Global Context of Education Reforms	
	under the Impact of Globalisation	526
	Context and Policy Agenda of Educational	
	Developments and Reforms in China	530
	An Overview of Basic Education in China	533
	Recent Educational Developments	
	of Higher Education in China	535
	Challenges of China's Higher Education Reform	547
	Conclusion	556
	Notes and References	559
20.	Hu Jintao's Policy towards Intellectuals:	
	Enlightenment, Deception, Disappointment	
	Jean-Philippe BÉJA	567
	Intellectuals Enter the Middle Class	570
	Hu-Wen's Line:	
	Towards a Reform of the Political System?	5/4
	The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee:	# C ~
	A Radical Change	580

Narrowing the Freedom of Expression of	
the Liberal Intelligentsia	584
A Crackdown on the "Third Sector"?	
Notes and References	591
21. Interpreting Inequality and Crime in China: A Social and Cultural Capital Perspective Guoping JIANG and Tit Wing LO	597
Rising Inequality	597
Rising Crime	599
Definitions of Inequality	601
The Pre-reform Stratification	
Social Stratification and the Four Capitals	603
Inequality Institutionally Constructed	606
Social Inequality and Power Intervention	
Crimes of the Disadvantaged:	
The Outcome of Income and Social Inequality	616
Conclusion	618
Notes and References	619
Authors	629
Index	635
Chinese Names of People Mentioned in the Text	635
Subject Index	641
State Organisation Chart of China	653
Map of China	655