

and the fact that, as one can discover by digging around in the book, the essay and poem cited were written for the examinations about ten years before Wen apparently became this man's student (pp. 50–51) and forty years before the teacher recommended Wen for the examinations. Mou's hypothesis that Wen changed his writing of *yun* is the only theory in this section that cannot be shown to be utterly lacking in foundation; even so, it must be treated with caution.

Mou has given the scholarly world a challenge. It is not enough to say that he is wrong; someone with comprehensive knowledge of ninth-century politics, tolerance for exceedingly allusive prose and poetry, and prudence in the formation of hypotheses must now step forward to determine and discover other right answers to the issues that Mou has raised.

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Holding China Together: Diversity and National Integration in the Post-Deng Era.
Edited by BARRY J. NAUGHTON and DALI L. YANG. Cambridge and New
York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xi, 304 pp. \$80.00 (cloth).

A center-local perspective on the development of China's polity has been and remains analytically powerful and extremely convincing by way of explanation of the People's Republic of China's (PRC's) politics. One reason for this purchase is the regime's explicit adoption of the center-local binary as its own political instrument. In its view, the center's role is to provide the national political unity which would otherwise fall prey to China's inherent social diversity. In this relationship, "local" is broadly conceived so that the current party-state defines the provincial level and its subordinate administrative territorial levels as local even though most provincial-level jurisdictions are the size and scale of nation-states elsewhere in the world.

The scale issue is one problem with accepting a center-local perspective on China's politics too much at face value. Another is that as with so many such binary alternatives, it is a brittle relationship of necessarily limited explanatory power. Within the PRC during the Mao-dominated era of China's politics, localism became a punishable offense. In the 1980s and 1990s, as PRC politics began to change, external analysts frequently regarded the changing roles of central government and indeed the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the framework of governance as signs of the decline in power of the center.

The impact of a center-local perspective on the external literature analyzing the PRC's politics reached an apogee in the early 1990s with a rash of publications suggesting its possible disintegration. This was followed almost immediately by a literature, at least partly acting reactively, pointing out that disintegration was less likely than change within a framework of interaction (and fairly constant interaction at that) among the center, provincial-level jurisdictions, and even lower administrative-order localities.

Barry Naughton and Dali Yang's excellent edited volume belongs centrally to this now dominant view of the impact of reform and economic growth on the PRC's politics. Its strengths are not simply that it emphasizes the sustained importance of the Party-state's control of appointments throughout its structures as an instrument of centralization, as well as providing four examples of this control being exercised in

different policy areas, but also that overall it provides an outstanding introduction to the PRC's politics during the 1990s and into the new century. Quite apart from its arguments about increased centralization during the decade, it emphasises the issues that have concerned PRC officials themselves as they seek to adjust to the social and economic impact of reform. These necessarily focus on issues of economic restructuring, crucially concentrating not so much on the new as the existing and including the analysis of the unemployed, peasant migrants, the state sector, regional development, and poverty.

Holding China Together: Diversity and National Integration in the Post-Deng Era is a cooperative, multi-authored venture that results from a project and a couple of workshops organized at the University of California, San Diego. Its focus is broadly on the workings of the central state and how it manages its centralism in an environment that is complex and diverse. Its central thesis is that centralization has increased not least because during the 1990s the CCP reversed its earlier reform initiative of withdrawing from government. In that process, the CCP became more sophisticated in dealing with complexity and diversity; this should not, as the editors emphasize in their introduction, however, be confused with a tendency toward fragmentation. On the contrary, the political institutions of centralism have become stronger and more refined.

The first part of the collection deals with the institutions of political and economic control. Cheng Li examines elite recruitment, emphasizing how the apparent greater localization of the party-state's leadership is offset by highly centralized factionalism and a commitment to greater institutionalization. Zhiyue Bo in a similar vein examines the relationship among hierarchies (and particularly between the CCP and the other institutions of the party-state) stressing the prudential as well as the formal rules for a successful career. Susan Whiting provides a careful analysis of the control processes that ensure that local officials are monitored and evaluated. Here too the emphasis is on the changing environment and requirements being placed on officials. Yang highlights increased central government interference, especially in government functions that are extractive or regulatory of the economy.

The second part of the volume presents four case studies of policy implementation, each of which emphasizes not only the regional variations but also the central-local negotiations at the heart of the process. Dorothy Solinger's investigation of labor-market policy operation in Shenyang, Guangzhou, and Wuhan not only exemplifies this approach but highlights how apparently varied local actions are manifestations of a complex central government policy. Population control is a universally sensitive issue. Yanzhong Huang and Yang argue that administrative capacity, especially the quality of staff, is the key to a more sensitive (and less coercive) local approach to policy implementation. Fubing Su considers the negotiation of local and central government interests in the development of the coal industry. In the final chapter, Naughton examines the Western Development Program—the campaign to “Open up the West”—as an economic program designed to bolster national unity. He emphasizes both the increased state capacity indicated by the policy as well as its limitations, primarily the potential for national policy goals to be out of kilter with the aspirations of local officials.

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