

thought they were individually better or worse off after eight years of military rule. To the degree that workers felt their lives had improved, their responses can be interpreted less as evincing support for an authoritarian ideology than as expressing support for a regime that had helped them. If the survey data are sufficiently rich, these alternative interpretations can be tested by examining worker responses while controlling for their occupational mobility and changing income over the military years.

These caveats notwithstanding, *Manipulation of Consent* is an outstanding book. The mechanisms by which elites persuade subordinate classes to accept their condition are obviously a significant issue, and this book treats these mechanisms in a sophisticated and innovative way. For Latin Americanists and Brazilianists the book's importance will be obvious, but it will be extremely useful for anyone interested in the translation of power into ideology and control.

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Taiwan's Development: Implications for Contending Political Economy Paradigms. By Cal Clark. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989. Pp. 283. \$45.00.)

The Tiananmen Square massacre that occurred in Beijing on June 4, 1989, burst the bubble of the "socialist reforms" in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Before people's memory of this tragedy faded, revolutionary changes in East European countries had shaken the Communist block. As the West is still recovering from the aftershock of these democratization movements, very few people notice the *evolutionary* yet significant changes that have occurred in "the other China:" the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. The timely publication of Clark's book goes a long way in filling this gap. This book provides excellent and comprehensive coverage of the political and economic development of the island of Taiwan, which was received less attention than it deserves partly due to its political isolation in the world under the diplomatic pressure from PRC. Most interestingly, this book is written by an expert in both Eastern Europe and Taiwan. His efforts to compare the political economy of these two regions further enhance the relevance of this book to current events.

The puzzle of the "Taiwan miracle," as Clark conceives it, is how and why a military regime that failed so miserably on mainland China turned into a successful promoter of economic development after it fled to the island in 1949. In addition, the relationship between the regime and society has also changed significantly, with a slow but steady trend toward democracy. Given the abundant research on Taiwan's development in the economics literature, Clark is obviously not fully satisfied with these purely economic accounts.

He thus sets forth searching for both political and economic origins of Taiwan's development.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I first reviews developmentalist, dependency, and statist approaches (the term "paradigms" used by Clark may be too demanding for theories in the social sciences) for studying the political economy of development, and then presents a historical overview of Taiwan. The three chapters in part II investigate Taiwan's international role, political development, and economic growth, in the past four decades. The volume closes with a chapter discussing the implications of the Taiwan case for political economy theories. After this extensive examination, Clark concludes that the key factor of Taiwan's success lies in the mutual reinforcement between economic flexibility and periodic regime adjustment changes. As Clark puts it, "The state in the R.O.C. was distinctive in that it promised a strategy of economic flexibility and change . . . [which] can be explained both by the relative autonomy of elites in Taiwan from external forces and by their much greater willingness to tolerate and even stimulate change in the composition of the political and economic leadership" (226–27).

It is amazing that Clark presents such a rich collection of information (in a volume of less than three hundred pages) in such a lucid, organized, and even fascinating manner. Each chapter is well written and worth careful reading in its own right. Chapter two, which summarizes three perspectives of political economy and their variants and evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of each of them, can be read as a concise review of the diversified and often fragmented literature in this field. Chapters three through six, which discuss in chronological order the different dimensions of Taiwan's politics and economics, are not only helpful for those unfamiliar with Taiwan, but also provide a more integrated picture of Taiwan for those who already know the island well. Finally, the alternative model of the relationships among five principal elements in a political economy (foreign economic and political relations, nature of domestic elites, role of the state, economic structure and performance, and social structure and inequality) offers an interesting synthesis of contending perspectives. Although Clark calls it a model of the ROC's political economy, this model is actually derived from and has a direct bearing on the general literature reviewed by him. Perhaps he should have taken this step further by incorporating his model into the concluding section of chapter two and then organizing part II of the book according to this model. In this way, I believe, he could have brought to the front the *interactions* between and among those five elements embedded in the second part of the book. For example, the effects of Taiwan's diplomatic setbacks (covered in chapter four) on the progress and retrenchment of political democratization (covered in chapter five) deserves more focused examination than the single paragraph on page 129.

As the book's subtitle indicates, Clark intends to shed light on contending

approaches of political economy with his case study of Taiwan. Indeed, he successfully demonstrates how an eclectic approach like his can take advantage of the analytic power of those “paradigms” and yet avoid their weaknesses. Here, let me suggest a research topic inspired by Clark’s work.

One natural question arising from Clark’s solution to the puzzle of Taiwan’s development is why, then, the relative autonomy of state elites to society is not turned into absolute autonomy by power holders. Clark did not address this question directly but hinted that “the *willingness* of elites to forego maximizing their own material benefits might be tied to the Confucian value system, which gives the highest status to public-regarding bureaucrats . . .” (236, italics added.) Perhaps, but I have a nagging fear that Clark’s analysis relies too much on state leaders’ good will.

To answer this question, I suggest incorporating the rational choice approach into the analysis. This is not to argue that the school of “new political economy” is necessarily superior to others. But very much like the three “paradigms” reviewed by Clark, the rational choice perspective can also direct our attention to certain important issues in development. Using the jargon in this tradition we may rephrase the question this way. If economic growth and regime openness are themselves public goods (i.e., social conditions that an individual can enjoy for free), what makes it *in the interests of state elites* to formulate and implement public policies to achieve them? The assumption behind this question is that state leaders pursue self interests as vigorously as other individuals and will not forego the maximization of their political and economic positions. This approach may sharpen our analysis of elites’ decisions in adjusting regime-society relations. From this viewpoint, I suspect that one of the key factors behind the political evolution in Taiwan is the same elites’ attempt to maximize their political and economic gains by taking into account the *constraints* imposed by internal and external conditions, some of which were brought about by their own decisions. Periodic regime changes, therefore, represent the redefinitions of the balance of power between state elites and social and economic groups.

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Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music. By Richard Curt Kraus. (New York and Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. xiii, 288. \$36.00.)

This provocative, informative, and well-written book is likely to offend and infuriate a variety of readers, a prospect which, I suspect, would delight the author. Broadly, it concerns China’s participation in an international culture—represented here by Western classical music—originating in Europe, “the home of [China’s] former oppressors” (viii). Given its foreignness and its