

Special section on the People's Liberation Army in the Xi Jinping era, edited by

JAMES CHAR AND

RICHARD A. BITZINGER

MING-TONG CHEN ON CROSS-Strait political negotiations

SHEENA CHESTNIT CREITENS

on China's domestic security spending

SUSAN WHITING ET AL. on rural property rights



The China Quarterly

Published by Cambridge University Press for SOAS University of London.

The Editorial Office

SOAS University of London, Thornhaugh Street, Russell Square, London WC1H 0XG. Tel. +44(0)207898 4063

Email: chinaq@soas.ac.uk

Subscriptions

The China Quarterly (ISSN 0305-7410) is published quarterly in March, June, September and December by Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK/Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. The subscription price which includes electronic access and delivery by air where appropriate (but excluding VAT) of volumes 229 to 232 in 2017 is £219.00 (US \$362.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions; £46.00 (US \$80.00) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the journal is for their personal use. Students can subscribe at £21 (US \$37). Single parts are £62.00 net (US \$104.00 in USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT registered members should provide their VAT registration number. Japanese prices for institutions (including ASP delivery) are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK. or in the USA, Canada and Mexico: Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA. Periodical postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006,

The current plus three back volumes are available from Cambridge University Press.

Advertising

Advertisements are welcomed and rates will be quoted on request. Enquiries should be addressed to Advertising Promoter, Journals Group, Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK. Tel +44 (0)1223 325757 Fax +44 (0)1223 325801.

Copying

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Organizations in the USA who are also registered with the C.C.C. may, therefore, copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of U.S. Copyright law) subject to payment to the C.C.C of the per copy fee of \$12.00. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. Code 0305-7410/14. ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA, is authorized to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only. Organizations authorized by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions. For all other use, permission should be sought from Cambridge or from the American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

This journal is included in the Cambridge Journals Online Service which can be found at journals.cambridge.org. For further information on other Press titles access journals.cambridge.org.

© SOAS University of London, 2017 ISSN 0305-7410

Typeset by Techset Composition Ltd, Salisbury, UK. Printed in the United Kingdom by Bell & Bain, Glasgow

This journal issue has been printed on FSCTM-certified paper and cover board. FSC is an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organization established to promote the responsible management of the world's forests. Please see www.fsc.org for information.

The China Quarterly

an international journal for the study of China

December 2017 number 232

Special section: The People's Liberation Army in the Xi Jinping	Speci	al section	: The	People's	Liberation	Army i	in th	e Xi	Jinping	Er
---	-------	------------	-------	----------	------------	--------	-------	------	---------	----

- 841 Introduction: A New Direction in the People's Liberation Army's Emergent Strategic Thinking, Roles and Missions
 - James Char and Richard A. Bitzinger
- 866 Xi Jinping in Command: Solving the Principal-Agent Problem in CCP-PLA Relations?

 Chien-wen Kou
 - Cilicii-well Kou
- 886 China's New "Black Box": Problems and Prospects for the Central National Security Commission

 Joel Wuthnow
- 904 The US-China Naval Balance in the Asia-Pacific: An Overview Lyle Goldstein

Focus on Taiwan

- 932 Prospects for Cross-Strait Political Negotiation: Exploring Win-Sets Josh Wenger and Ming-tong Chen
- 956 The Strengths of China's Charm Offensive: Changes in the Political Landscape of a Southern Taiwan Town under Attack from Chinese Economic Power Shu Keng, Jean Yu-Chen Tseng and Qiang Yu
- 982 Soft Power Rich, Public Diplomacy Poor: An Assessment of Taiwan's External Communications
 Gary Rawnsley

Articles

- 1002 Rethinking China's Coercive Capacity: An Examination of PRC Domestic Security
 Spending, 1992–2012
 Sheena Chestnut Greitens
- 1026 Changing Property-Rights Regimes: A Study of Rural Land Tenure in China Loren Brandt, Susan H. Whiting, Linxiu Zhang and Tonglong Zhang
- 1050 Administrative Reform and the Transfer of Authority to Social Organizations in China
 Hong Gao and Adam Tyson
- 1070 Market Penetration, Institutional Niches and Job Searches in Reforming China Xianbi Huang
- 1094 The Xinjiang Class: Multi-ethnic Encounters in an Eastern Coastal City Zhenjie Yuan, Junxi Qian and Hong Zhu

Book Reviews

- 1116 Forget Chineseness: On the Geopolitics of Cultural Identification. By Allen Chun. Kevin Carrico
- 1118 Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China. By Rory Truex. Xiaobo Lü

- 1119 Democracy in China: Challenge or Opportunity. By Yu Keping. Peitao Jia
- 1121 Shaken Authority: China's Communist Party and the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. By Christian P. Sorace. Wooyeal Paik
- 1123 The Red Guard Generation and Political Activism in China. By Guobin Yang.
 Michel Bonnin
- 1125 Bitter and Sweet: Food, Meaning, and Modernity in Rural China. By Ellen Oxfeld. Mikkel Bunkenborg
- 1126 Chinese Muslims and the Global Ummah: Islamic Revival and Ethnic Identity among the Hui of Qinghai Province. By Alexander Blair Stewart. Wlodzimierz Cieciura
- 1128 China's Quest for Great Power: Ships, Oil, and Foreign Policy. By Bernard D. Cole. James R. Holmes
- 1130 China-South Korea Relations in the New Era: Challenges and Opportunities. By Min Ye. Jae Ho Chung
- 1131 India—China Relations: Politics of Resources, Identity and Authority in a Multipolar World Order. By Jagannath P. Panda. Raj Verma
- 1133 Inheritance of Loss: China, Japan, and the Political Economy of Redemption after Empire. By Yukiko Koga. Kristin Vekasi
- 1134 News under Fire: China's Propaganda against Japan in the English-Language Press, 1928–1941. By Shuge Wei. Stephen R. MacKinnon
- 1136 Empires of Coal: Fueling China's Entry into the Modern World Order, 1860–1920.
 By Shellen Xiao Wu. Cord Eberspaecher
- 1137 The Body and Military Masculinity in Late Qing and Early Republican China. By Nicolas Schillinger. Michael Ng
- 1139 Borderland Capitalism: Turkestan Produce, Qing Silver, and the Birth of an Eastern Market. By Kwangmin Kim. David Brophy
- 1141 Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China, 1800–2012. Edited by Philip Clart and Gregory Adam Scott
- 1141 Recovering Buddhism in Modern China. Edited by Jan Kiely and J. Brooks Jessup. T. H. Barrett
- 1143 The Modernization of Chinese Art: The Shanghai Art College, 1913–1937. By Jane Zheng. Ros Holmes
- 1144 Filming the Everyday: Independent Documentaries in Twenty-First Century China. Edited by Paul G. Pickowicz and Yingjin Zhang. Luke Robinson
- 1146 Chinese Avant-Garde Fiction: Quest for Historicity and Transcendent Truth. By Zhansui Yu. Roy Chan
- 1148 Books Received
- 1150 Notes on Contributors
- 1152 Acknowledgements

Please visit the journal's web site at www.cambridge.org and online at http://journals.cambridge.org/cqy © SOAS University of London, 2017
Typeset by Techset Composition Limited
Printed by Bell & Bain, Glasgow, UK

The China Quarterly

Fditor

Tim Pringle

Editorial Managers

Raphael Jacquet Rowan Pease

Editorial Assistants

Joanne Phillips Rosemary Williams

Executive Committee

Chris Berry, King's College London Jane Duckett, University of Glasgow Harriet Evans, University of Westminster Dafydd Fell, SOAS University of London Peter Hays Gries, University of Manchester Enze Han, SOAS University of London Jude Howell, London School of Economics Chun Lin, London School of Economics Rachel Murphy, University of Oxford Elisa Oreglia, SOAS University of London Lina Song, University of Nottingham Jonathan Sullivan, University of Nottingham Patricia M. Thornton, University of Oxford Fulong Wu, University College London

Editorial Board

Joel Andreas, Johns Hopkins University Yanjie Bian, University of Minnesota / Xi'an Jiaotong University Loren Brandt, University of Toronto Donald C. Clarke, George Washington University Law School Deborah Davis, Yale University Joseph Fewsmith, Boston University Vanessa Fong, Harvard Graduate School of Education

M. Taylor Fravel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Natascha Gentz, University of Edinburgh Bates Gill, Australian National University Lei Guang, San Diego State University Stevan Harrell, University of Washington Thomas Heberer, University of Duisburg-Essen

Sebastian Heilmann, Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Berlin

Carsten Holz, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

Ching Kwan Lee, University of California, Los Angeles

Li Shi, Beijing Normal University Melanie Manion, Duke University Françoise Mengin, CERI-Sciences Po, Paris

Andrew Mertha, Cornell University Kevin O'Brien, University of California, Berkelev

Jean-Louis Rocca, CERI-Sciences Po. Paris

Lisa Rofel, University of California, Santa Cruz

Scott Rozelle, Stanford University Gunter Schubert, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen

Helen Siu, Yale University Xiaobing Tang, University of Michigan

Stig Thøgersen, Aarhus Universitet Teresa Wright, California State University, Long Beach

Guobin Yang, University of Pennsylvania

Former Editors

Roderick MacFarquhar (1960–68) David C. Wilson [Lord Wilson of Tillyorn] (1968-74)John Gittings (Acting Editor 1972)

Dick Wilson (1975–80) Brian G. Hook (1980-91) David Shambaugh (1991–96) Richard Louis Edmonds (1996-2002) Christopher B. Howe (Acting Editor 2005) Julia Strauss (2002–11) Chris Bramall (2011–16)