

Book Reviews

Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet. Volume 2: The Calm before the Storm, 1951 to 1955* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 639p. \$60 hardback.

If the phrase “definitive history” is not a contradiction in terms, then Goldstein’s second volume of his history of modern Tibet is the definitive history of the first years of Tibet’s incorporation into the People’s Republic of China.

Goldstein is a leading scholar on Tibetan language, history, and society who manages to have good relations with the Dalai Lama and also to continue to do research in Tibet. Perhaps best known for his brief overview of Sino-Tibetan relations, *The Snow Lion and the Dragon*, the new volume continues the meticulous path of extensive interviews and archival research of the first volume of his history, and with more extensive use of Chinese sources. The result is a remarkably complete, careful and persuasive narrative.

It is a massive volume, with one page of text for every two days of the period covered. But it is a fascinating and multi-faceted story of the concerns and internal divisions of both the Tibetan and Chinese sides, and it is well summarized in the concluding chapter. It also provides a detailed discussion of American and Indian diplomacy with regard to Tibet during this period.

Volume One concludes with the defeat and capture of most of the Tibetan army by the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) in Chamdo in October 1950. Volume Two begins with the disorientation of the Tibetan government and its eventual move toward negotiations. It then describes the interactions between the Chinese and Tibetans in Lhasa, carefully dissecting the views and actions of the various groupings on each side. The final part of the narrative describes the lengthy visit of the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan leaders to Beijing, his close relationship with Mao Zedong, and the initial difficulties of his return to Lhasa in 1955. Presumably the next volume will treat the gathering tensions leading to the uprising in 1959.

The most basic impression is of the distance between the Tibetan elite and the incoming Han Chinese on the one hand, and the determined effort by the CPC and Mao in particular to win over the Tibetan elite. Clearly Tibetans did not consider themselves a part of China in 1951. Their negotiations were based on the lack of capacity for resistance, the unavailability of international support, and the desire of a minority to reform and modernize Tibet. But China made a very soft entry, and Tibetan attitudes began to differentiate between obstructionist conservatives, a cautious middle, and reformers. The Dalai Lama’s trip to Beijing put him decisively in the reform camp, so much so that Mao cautioned him not to be too leftist on his return.

The CPC’s decision to entice cooperation from the most feudal elite in China’s territory is remarkable in itself, and Mao’s personal role in wooing the Dalai Lama is even more remarkable. The CPC had the alternative of splitting its

Tibet policy by supporting the autonomy of the pro-China Panchen Lama, but Mao removed leaders who pushed this line. Instead, reform was postponed, Tibet was maintained as a unified entity, and the Dalai Lama was favored as its leader.

If one would ask for more about this period, it would concern its social history. Goldstein provides information about the initial social situation of Tibet and then narrates the pushes and pulls surrounding reforms, but there is little sense of the massiveness of change in this period. Considering the changes in store for Tibet after 1955, it would be nice to know how much occurred in the peaceful prelude. But future explorations of social history will take place under the umbrella of political history that Goldstein has so well provided.

BRANTLY WOMACK
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Guangqiu Xu, *Congress and the U.S.-China Relationship, 1949-1979*
(Akron, Ohio: The University of Akron Press, 2007), 409p. \$59.85
paperback

This volume deals with the question of what role Congress played in China policy-making between 1949 and 1979. Though much has been written on U.S.-China relations since 1949, the existing literature has relatively neglected the impact of Congress. Among the few scholars who have studied congressional involvement in China policy from 1949 to 1979, different conclusions have been reached.

Xu's historical account depends on the *Congressional Record* as an important source, as well as published congressional documents on hearings, investigations, discussions and legislation, and Department of State documents. The personal papers of key senators and presidents have been examined too. More important still, the author has benefited from new Chinese sources made available in recent years as the Chinese government opens its archives.

The book follows a chronological order and focuses on five periods. For 1949-1951, it examines how legislators in the U.S. Congress attacked President Truman's China policy; how Congress passed legislation to provide the Nationalists with economic aid; how Congress discouraged the Truman administration from recognizing Beijing; how Congress put pressure on the administration to defend and aid Taiwan; and how legislation calling for a trade embargo against Communist countries forced the Truman administration to establish a trade embargo against China.

For 1951-52, the author concentrates on how Congress investigated China through a series of hearings from State Department staff. Dr. Xu here pays special attention to the long-term impact of the purge of the State Department's China experts and to the consequence of the return of American-trained Chinese scientists to China under the Internal Security Act.

For 1953-1963, Xu's volume examines the congressional approval of the Formosa Resolution and the Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan as well as congressional China policy. It also studies the Chinese leadership's response to full congressional support for the administration's Taiwan policy and Congress's actions and attitudes towards China.

For 1964-1972, the author considers how some members of Congress advocated modifying the containment-and-isolation policy towards China and what role Congress played in opening the door to China. For 1972-1979, the book focuses on the role of Congress in general and the influence of congressional trips to China especially in the process of normalization of relations. The relevant chapter covers the conversations and discussions between Chinese leaders and congressional leaders visiting China during that time.

Xu argues that the role of Congress transformed from emergency to strategic policies towards China between 1949 and 1978; and it played a more important role regarding the latter. Congress's attitudes and actions towards China had an impact on Beijing. Chinese leaders took congressional resolutions seriously because of their signaling functions; they adopted new policies on several issues in response to congressional actions and activities in this period. Xu's conclusion was that Congress was a prime factor in establishing the general context of the U.S.'s China policy and had many instruments to shape its formulation and conduct.

This is a highly informative book based on historical documentary research. But there are two serious omissions. The author does not analyze the influence of the Taiwan lobby on Congress in this period. He also omits the examination of the broad domestic and external factors shaping congressional actions and activities concerning China and Taiwan. Given that so much has been written on Sino-American relations, it is quite an achievement for a new volume to make a contribution through a careful study of a neglected aspect of the important topic.

JOSEPH YU-SHEK CHENG
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Ka Zeng ed., *China's Foreign Trade Policy: the New Constituencies*
(London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 183p. \$125 cloth.

In the era of reform and opening, China has rapidly emerged as one of the greatest trading powers in the world. From 1978 to 2006, China's foreign trade rose from \$20 billion to over \$1.76 trillion. In the same period, China grew from the 32nd to the third largest trading nation in the world. The speed and scope of China's rise as a trading power is unprecedented. This book provides a timely and insightful analysis of key issues in China's foreign trade policy. The volume represents a collective effort to unpack the domestic politics of trade policy-making in China and to tackle questions about the emerging forces shaping China's foreign policy.

Wei Liang examines the dynamics of decision-making underlying China's GATT/WTO accession negotiation and explores the institutional changes that will inevitably affect the development of China's foreign economic policy. She finds that domestic ministries' protectionist preferences and poor internal coordination problems were direct obstacles to Beijing's GATT/WTO policy formulation. Liang also provides an interesting case study of China's WTO commitment compliance. It involves the US-China semiconductor trade dispute. Her study shows that China has been more willing to address the concerns that the US raised through multilateral, rather than through the bilateral venues. Yuka Kobayashi's case study of the telecommunication sector illustrates that China's trade policy following its accession into the WTO is a more fragmented and complicated process. Despite numerous reform efforts, the environment remains inhospitable to the implementation of China's WTO commitments.

Megumi Naoi explores the case of Sino-Japanese trade disputes. Naoi argues that the Chinese government's dispute settlement choice is a response to two types of costs associated with export regulation: the cost of negotiating the export restraints with domestic firms and foreign countries and the cost of enforcing the export quotas on Chinese exporting firms. Andrew Mertha examines how US companies' fear of Chinese retaliation influences US trade policy. He provides some insights on the "transnational trade deterrence", or the explicit or implicit threats of sanctions made by local Chinese governments to deter foreign firms operation within their borders.

The emergence of China as a major global trading power has resulted in growing trade disputes between China and its key trading partners. Scott Kennedy explains the process by which China entered the antidumping game. He articulates the motivations behind decisions by the Chinese government to adopt an antidumping regime, the steps it took to learn and institute the regime, and the rules and procedures it stipulates to define the competition. Kennedy carefully examines the varying outcomes of antidumping cases by pinpointing the relevant economic and political factors at work. He concludes that the more economically important and politically powerful pro-openness interests are, the more porous protectionism becomes.

Ka Zeng's chapter explores the motivations, manifestations and implications of China's use of legal trade remedies. Specifically, Zeng examines China's antidumping actions, China's reactions to the US steel safeguard measures, and the China-Japan safeguard disputes over textiles. According to her analysis, China's trade diplomacy is undergoing a subtle yet substantial shift from one based on power to one oriented toward legal rules. Beijing has invoked both its domestic laws and the rules of the WTO to protect Chinese industries from the vicissitudes of the international marketplace.

This is an empirically rich and theoretically informative book on China's foreign trade policy. It makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the rise of China as a leading trade power in the contemporary world. The authors

illustrate persuasively that China's foreign trade has undergone some major changes and the process of decision-making has become considerably more open and porous to the influence of non-state actors. This book should be read by anyone who is interested in China's deeper integration into the global economy.

GUOLI LIU
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Peter Moody, *Conservative Thought in Contemporary China* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 231 pp. \$28.95paperback

Conservative Thought in Contemporary China is a timely and important study on a topic which we have little serious and detailed work in any language so far. Based on a wealth of primary and secondary sources, the book details the evolution of conservative politics in China, which has become salient in the post-Mao China.

Chapter 1 sets the volume nicely, providing an excellent overview of the book. Moody argues that in the short term, the direction of Chinese politics is shaped by the play of power, and ideas are tools in this context. Chapter 2 traces some applications of conservatism in modern and contemporary Chinese politics. Chapter 3 sketches major aspects of the liberal and conservative traditions in the 20th century China. It argues that by the end of the century these traditions had exhausted themselves, and common inefficacy opened a space for conservative thought and actions. Chapter 4 outlines antipolitics as a conservative response to radical politicization. The chapter examines the early 1980s controversy on "alienation" in socialist society and critically analyzes the influence of antipolitics and traditional values on the current ideology of the Chinese politicians and citizens.

Chapter 5 scrutinizes the return to Confucian tradition in the reform era. The chapter contains a comprehensive account and analysis of "Asian Values" which was built upon this cultural conservatism. Chapter 6 traces the surge of conservative nationalism in the 1990s, not merely as an elite position but also in society at large. Chapter 7 discusses the growth of conservative populism and explains how the conditions in post-Tiananmen China have encouraged populist reaction. Chapter 8 examines the relationship between neo-conservatism and earlier neo-authoritarianism. Chapter 9 discusses the major findings of the study.

One remarkable feature is that the book offers a detailed account of the impact of the conservative thought on major political events. Moody demonstrates that much of the dynamic reforms in China, especially after the 1989 watershed, can be understood as a play between liberal trends and conservative ideas with Marxism being reinterpreted in terms of both. In addition, Moody's analyses incorporate the intellectual influences on Chinese politics from in and out of China. The impacts of

the leading intellectuals from Samuel Huntington in the West, to Wang Huning and Xiao Gongqing from Shanghai were discussed thoroughly.

In short, this neatly organized book fills a major gap in the literature and makes an important contribution to our understanding of the Chinese political thought. It is written with accuracy, insight, and elegance. Undergraduates might have a hard time to getting through this scholarly work. For them this book may seem to be overwhelming and encyclopedic. Nevertheless, the book offers the most sophisticated research on the contemporary Chinese conservative thought and is a *must* reading item for anyone seriously concerned with the Chinese affairs.

HE LI
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Suzanne Pepper, *Keeping Democracy at Bay: Hong Kong and the Challenge of Chinese Political Reform* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 448p. \$39.95 paperback

Suzanne Pepper's *Keeping Democracy at Bay* is a reinterpretation of the history of Hong Kong from 1841 to the present day and is written generally from the journalistic perspective. As an American writer and long-time Hong Kong resident, Pepper is both knowledgeable and sentimental about her chosen topic.

Two arguments are made in the book that are particularly inspiring and deserve further academic attention. First, Pepper attempts to parallel the political development of Hong Kong in its colonial time with that of the post-colonial period, as her coined terminologies such as "political reform without independence", which can intriguingly be applied to both eras (p.183), testify. While most studies on Hong Kong's history and its contemporary politics tend to demarcate between the two eras by presenting the many differences between British and Chinese governance, this book presents many convincing arguments about the similarities between the two nations when it comes to their rule of Hong Kong.

Second, even though Pepper studies Hong Kong generally from the pro-democratic perspective, so to speak, of local Hong Kong English newspapers such as the *South China Morning Post*, she does offer an alternative angle to account for the reasons behind "keeping democracy at bay" in contemporary Hong Kong: the new value that is assigned to Hong Kong in China's own overall democratization process. She accordingly states: "Hong Kong in 1997 thus represented one more new beginning in China's century-long search for a modern political form, meaning one that must now be compatible with contemporary world standards and with China's evolving communist-led system" (p.18). Therefore, the widely circulated facts presented in the book are given a new impetus in the search for new justifications.

Both arguments, however, could be strengthened by providing more analyses from the political science thematic approach and thus increase the academic value

of the book. For example, when Pepper talks about the sense of continuity between the colonial and the Special Administrative Region governments in Hong Kong, more systematic parallels in terms of their administrative – in addition to theoretical – structures would be useful. How the Chinese government manages to borrow for its own use from Hong Kong’s colonial legacy, as exemplified by Beijing’s recent nomination of the former colonial civil servant Margaret Chan for the post of general-secretary of the World Health Organization, would add interest to the overall picture presented by Pepper. Also, when tying Hong Kong’s democratization with that of China, academic practice would normally include a detailed literature review of the various paths that might lead to democratization in contemporary China, as well as those that China has tried to walk in the past. Otherwise the exact relevance of the “Hong Kong model” to mainland China will be limited to the conceptual level also.

In short, Pepper has done a good job in reinterpreting known facts and offering readers many enlightened insights to ponder upon. Perhaps now other academic writers should take up the challenge of exploring her groundwork in another language from another discipline.

SIMON SHEN

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Kelly Sims Gallagher, *China Shifts Gears: Automakers, oil, pollution, and development* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006), 229p. \$21.00 paperback.

The growth of China and its consequences have seized the global limelight in recent years. Every year dozens of books are published that exam China’s economic growth trajectory and the opportunities and challenges it creates. However, few scholars have thoroughly studied and written about China’s flourishing auto industry. Gallagher’s book, which deals with the rapid rise of automobiles in China and its implications for China’s automotive industry, oil consumption, environment, and economic development in general, is a welcoming and valuable addition to the rich literature on Chinese economy.

As Gallagher has noted, China’s automotive industry is leapfrogging ahead with acquisition of new technology and expansion of production. As late as 1990, only 42,000 cars were produced each year in China; but in 2002, China was able to produce one million passenger cars. This tremendous growth offers an exceptional opportunity for Western countries to help China cultivate its own manufacturing capabilities in clean automotive technologies by transferring such technologies to China (p. 3). By 2007, China has become one of the largest automobile makers in the world. The problems caused by the overheating of the automobile market, such as increasing greenhouse gas emissions and growing dependency on oil imports, have to be dealt with timely before they become worse. But how can China solve

these development problems and leapfrog to more energy-efficient automobiles and a cleaner environment? There are basically two ways: developing its indigenous technological capacity or borrowing cleaner technologies from developed economies.

Gallagher explores whether and how technologies from Western countries can be used to help China cope with the challenges associated with the explosion of its automobile market. She examines how US automotive firms transferred technology to China from 1984 to 2002 by looking at three Sino-US joint ventures: Beijing Jeep, Shanghai GM, and Chang'an Ford. She also discusses the limits to China's technological "leapfrogging" due to the absence of proper incentives for the transfer of new technologies by Western auto makers. She points out three realms of policy that can affect the nature and extent of technology transfer from the United States to China: Chinese policy, US policy, and international policy. She concludes by suggesting that "with properly structured incentives, international technology transfer could be an effective tool for the deployment of cleaner and more energy-efficient automotive technology in China" (p. 141). However, China must shift gears, i.e. formulate and implement new policies to create the necessary incentives for foreign and Chinese firms to change their past behavior. A strategy that combines government policies, regulations, and nongovernmental initiatives is required for China if it wishes to leapfrog to the technological frontier of clean automobiles (p. 148).

This is a significant interdisciplinary research that applies both first-hand and second-hand sources, including interviews with 90 government officials, industry representatives, and experts in both countries. The book identifies problems related to China's rapidly growing auto industry and investigates the extent to which US auto companies can help China's auto industry by transferring cleaner and more energy-efficient technologies. The book deals with a critical issue China faces in its efforts to promote sustainable development. Notably, Gallagher discusses the auto issue in the broader context of technology transfer, environment, international trade, foreign direct investment, and US-China cooperation. The findings in the book are impressive, the analysis is logical, and the policy recommendations are sound. The References and Appendixes contain helpful additional information about the book's topic. Appendix B is especially useful as it lists major automobile-related events in China since 1913, when Model T Fords were first exported to China. Those who are interested in China and China's auto industry and who care about China's economy and environment will enjoy reading this clearly-written book.

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Ching Kwan Lee, *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007) 325p. \$21.95, paperback.

Sociological studies of contemporary Chinese societies suffer from their narrow scope and insensitivity to general theoretical concerns. As a result, many impressive works are categorized as “regional studies” and then, as a victim of Orientalism, neglected by theory-oriented sociologists. However, this is not the case in Ching Kwan Lee's long-time devotion to the study of Chinese workers movement and politics, which is fully presented in her new book *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*.

Based on her decade-long studies and writings, the book is intended to explain the differences and similarities in working-class agitation between two provinces: Liaoning, a “rustbelt” region where numerous laid-off and retired workers went on streets to protest the government; Guangdong, a “sunbelt” region where young migrant workers resorted to legal activism to fight for their interests and rights. The differences are quite self-evident to any serious China observers, but not many of them can provide persuasive explanations by compelling narratives as Lee does. She coins a term “decentralized legal authoritarianism” to describe the dual process in which the Chinese state assigns accumulation tasks to provincial and even more local governments as well as legitimizes itself by resort to laws. The tension in the dual process leads to uneven economic development and diverse modes of state-workers relationship, which eventually shaped different strategies and trajectories of the workers' activism in the rustbelt and the sunbelt. In the rustbelt, legal regulations of workers and factories were stalled while accumulation was given top priority. The workers, who were used to the socialist contract relationship with the state, felt betrayed by the state and launched protests targeted against the government. In the sunbelt, the migrant workers who came from less developed areas never experienced the state-worker contract. And the local government regulated the labor problem by implementing laws and bureaucratic system for arbitration. Different insurgent identities forged in the movements also contributed to the differences. The rustbelt workers, who fell down from the “dominant class” in Mao years to poverty and insecurity, utilized collective memory of the good old days under socialist industrial system to form their identity as abandoned and betrayed people. The sunbelt migrant workers, who cherished the dream of upward mobility in a city of opportunities, saw themselves as the discriminated people.

By the two particular cases, Lee's book enriches our understanding of the state-society relationship in authoritarian societies. The most prominent contribution of her book is to go beyond the “state vs. society” stereotype which is widely seen in lay discourses and academic research. The picture of contemporary Chinese society, as a case of authoritarian state in general, is more nuanced and complex. Other scholars also indicate the fragments and contradictions in authoritarian state system, but Lee's contribution is to specify those observations by indicating the tension between development and legitimation in central government strategy as well as the inconsistency of policies between the central and local

governments. The only theoretical weakness is that the author does not seem to notice the massive literature on political opportunity structure, framing strategies, and identity construction in social movements scholarship. Social researchers do not have to mention all relevant works, but social movement study is so huge a field in American academic world that any study of protests and activism should at least speak briefly to it, even if there is an adequate reason to dismiss it.

The methodologies of the study are also impressive. The author illustrates her points by analyzing textual, statistical, and, most importantly, ethnographic data. The interviews and observations presented in the book can convince any sophisticated analyst of Chinese politics. Although the author only briefly mentions the hardship and danger she experienced during the field work, any fieldworker on difficult sites knows that sometimes those difficulties will probably lead to hesitation, frustration, and even withdrawal with decent excuses. I hope her admirable field work will encourage and inspire more grounded social scientific studies of China.

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